



# North Craven Heritage Trust

JOURNAL  
2016



## TALKS PROGRAMME

Tuesday 16 February 2016 at 7.30pm

### Rediscovering the Ancient Chapel of St Helen in Malham

Dr Victoria Spence Village Hall, Long Preston

Friday 29 April 2016 at 7.30pm

### Settle-Carlisle Railway 1850-1990 – Decisions, decisions, decisions

Martin Pearson The new St John's Methodist Church, Settle

Wednesday 14 September 2016 at 7.30pm

### European Parks – their splendour, our treasure, our care

Wilf Fenten Joint event with the Yorkshire Dales Society  
Langcliffe Village Institute

Saturday 8 October 2016 at 11.00am

### Limestone quarrying in North Craven

Dr David Johnson Langcliffe Village Institute  
(Optional walk to follow. See also Events programme)

Wednesday 12 October 2016 at 7.30pm

### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING (Members only)

Followed by

### Responding to the challenges of Farming in North Craven

Anthony Bradley Victoria Hall, Settle

Tuesday 15 November 2016 at 2.00 pm

### Giggleswick Parish inventories: local life in the early 1700s

Sheila Gordon Austwick Village Hall

## MEMBERSHIP

Details of membership are available from the Membership Secretary:

Mrs E M Slater, Manor Farm House,  
Langcliffe BD24 9NQ

01729 823205

### Subscriptions:

Single (65 or over) £6, Joint (both 65 or over) £10,

Single (under 65) £11, Joint £15, Corporate £35  
(please state category on application)

Membership expires on December 31st 2016

The Trust's website address is:

[www.NorthCravenHeritage.org.uk](http://www.NorthCravenHeritage.org.uk)

Charity Commission Registration Number 504029

Data Protection Act:

If you wish to view your personal details held on the Trust's files, please ask the Membership Secretary

Visitors are welcome to attend talks and  
join outings at a cost of £2

## EVENTS PROGRAMME

*If walking conditions are doubtful please telephone the Leader.*

*Visitors are welcome to attend talks and join outings at a cost of £2*

### Music Festival 12 to 20 March 2016

See separate leaflet and website for details.

The programme includes

#### Wednesday 16 March 2016 at 7.30pm

#### Organ concert –Melodic Time Travel

Paul Fisher, Giggleswick School Chapel

£5/£7 Net proceeds to NCHT Historic Buildings Fund

#### Wednesday 13 July 2016 at 1.00pm

#### Slaidburn Village and Archive

Kevin Illingworth 01422 844941

Meet at Slaidburn Car park SD 714 523

#### Thursday 11 August 2016 at 2.00pm

#### The Grange, Carla Beck Lane, Carleton BD23 3BU

Carole Beattie (01729 823497) SD 977 495

Visit to the gardens (Go south past Swan Inn at south end of village.

Left on Carla Beck Lane, keeping right. White gates. Name on gateposts).

£7 cost includes tour and tea. Parking limited – car share please.

#### Saturday 8 October 2016

Joint event with Royal Geographic Society

Dr David S. Johnson 01729 822915 (evenings only)

#### Talk at 11.00am Limestone Quarrying in North Craven

Langcliffe Village Institute

12.15 Drive to Stainforth YDNP car park SD 821 673

Pre-ordered lunch possible at Craven Heifer Hotel in Stainforth

Meet outside Craven Heifer at 1.30pm

#### Walk at 1.30pm. Lime Burning and Salmon leaping

A walk from Stainforth via Hoffman Kiln, Langcliffe Locks and Stainforth Foss (Torch and stout footwear).

#### Sunday 11 December at 1.45pm

#### Mince Pie Walk: The clapper bridges of Austwick

Gwen and Graham Cleverly 015242 51185

Meet on Austwick village green SD 767 684

(Offers of mince pies to Gwen please)

## SUMMER MID-WEEK OUTING

### Lanercost Priory and Naworth Castle

Dr David Johnson

will lead his 14th outing on

*Wednesday 8 June 2016*

Pre-booking and pre-payment essential. Full details of costs and the day's itinerary can be found online, or, for those without access to a computer, directly from David.

Enquiries to David Johnson

01729 822915 (evenings only)

Please note that, except for those who have already subscribed to the 17-seat minibus which is now full, this outing is based on car usage and is not a walking trip. Anyone else wishing to join the excursion must provide their own transport and pay entrance fees to David by the end of March 2016.

Members are asked to share cars whenever possible as parking is limited.



It should be noted that on occasion, for all outings and events, the addresses of participants may have to be given to owners of places visited (for their insurance purposes) and this is a condition of any such visit.

Cover picture: St Wilfrid in St Mary and St Michael's Catholic Church, Settle. © J. Asher

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NORTH CRAVEN HERITAGE TRUST



# North Craven Heritage Trust

which is a registered charity No. 504029

## Editorial

### NORTH CRAVEN



### HERITAGE

made for churches, research is never static and never finished. There will always be opportunity for revision of past opinions. Discussion will continue to be recorded in the Journal.

The continuing eagle eyed help of Sylvia and John Harrop, at the draft stage of the Journal is much appreciated by us.

*Maureen Ellis and Michael Slater*

Most of us grew up learning history and heritage dominated by the lives of kings and queens and the great and the good (?bad). There is now, appropriately, more interest in ordinary people and their belongings and artefacts. Much of the content of the Journal reflects this trend. Writers have realized that information in wills throws light on some of the humble belongings that were valuable to leave to family and friends as well as more major bequests. People have always re-used durable material and it can be a detective job to find their original purpose.

Because the NCHT has always had walks and outings the results of scholarly research can be seen in the field. Meticulous recording of the outings and talks builds up knowledge, interest and perhaps further research.

The Journal is secular but metaphysical/spiritual matters creep into most of our lives and are represented in this publication. Concerning lives sacrificed in uprisings over religious suppression, and the beautiful art and craft

## Chairman's Report

Of all the noteworthy events of 2015 the death of Bill Mitchell in October stands out. Our President for four years, he was actively engaged with the Trust for much of his career. We publish an obituary in this Journal.

Bill, we hope, would approve of our current efforts to tell the story of North Craven. Several of our members are researching actively, including working with the 'Stories in Stone' project focusing on Ingleborough. We have supported another MA student from Lancaster University to analyse Giggleswick wills and inventories of the early 18th century.

Our website is increasingly used as a repository for local research. We can put some confidence in the longevity of this archive thanks to a project by the British Library to back-up sites such as ours.

The scope of our 'Historic Churches' grant scheme has been widened to include any historic buildings not in private ownership. It is very pleasing that our appeal for bequests has resulted in two legacies this year, which will strengthen the Trust's defence of our local heritage.

One challenge on which we have not made satisfactory progress is the safeguarding of our green lanes. We had hoped that a commitment by the last government, with cross party support, to set up a stakeholder working group would be honoured by the new government. Thus far there is no sign of any action and more pressure may be required.

As you will see from this issue, the Journal is in good hands, and thanks are due to the editors, contributors and website managers. Our talks and events remain popular and increasingly well-attended. The popularity of joint programmes with other bodies has prompted us to extend their number and scope. In 2016 we plan talks, walks, musical events and visits with no fewer than eight other organisations – we hope to report on the success of this policy next year!

The appointment of Anne Read as our President has restored links with The Folly and the Museum of North Craven Life. Together we will seek to ensure North Craven's heritage is enjoyed today and by future generations.

*John Asher*



New President Anne Read (right)  
New Vice-President Dr David Johnson (left)  
with Chairman John Asher (middle)



# ***Guidelines for submission of articles for the North Craven Heritage Trust Journal***

We prefer articles submitted as MS Word computer files sent by email to either editor if possible but other formats or hand-written material may be acceptable. Please attach files to any email, rather than pasting contents into an email since this destroys formatting. It is helpful to use Times New Roman font size 12. An approximate limit on the number of words is 4000 (about four sides in the Journal). However, we will accept longer articles on occasion. We often print shortened articles in the Journal accompanied by longer versions on the NCHT website, with full references or more images for example. Pages should not be numbered.

Pictures in jpg format are preferred but we can scan photographs and other material if required. Pictures should not be embedded in text files but kept separate and captions provided. The printer needs to be able to place pictures on the page to suit the layout of text. Titles of books and journals mentioned in the text and list of references or bibliography should be in italics.

Footnotes are not acceptable. References may be in either of two preferred formats: the Harvard (author name, date) system, or the numbering system. Please do not use sophisticated software such as EndNote which may cause trouble in the publication software used by the printer. References need to contain all the information necessary for a reader to find the source with certainty. The style is not so important and rigid adherence to any system is not an objective. The Harvard system is typically (Jones, 2010), or (Jones, 2010a) if there are several publications by Jones in 2010. The references are listed at the end in alphabetical order using an author's surname followed by initials, then the year of publication, title of the work and publisher, or journal name, volume, issue number and page (p) or pages (pp). This system is often not easily used if official documents, archive reference details or notes are required in which case the number system may be better employed. The number system typically uses a superscript

23 or number on the line in brackets [23] and references are listed in numerical order. Neither system is perfect but clarity is important and distraction of the reader with multiple references in the Harvard system can be an issue. We require sources of information to be available in the interests of readers and historians in particular. However, our articles are for general readership and those requiring substantial numbers of references are best placed on the website with a simplified version in the Journal together with a note that a fuller version is available on the website. The internet has several useful sites discussing referencing systems, such as <http://en.wikipedia.org> or [www.library.dmu.ac.uk](http://www.library.dmu.ac.uk) or [www.shef.ac.uk/library/](http://www.shef.ac.uk/library/) and the editors will help resolve any questions.

Any quotation marks should be “ ” not " ". We prefer double quotation marks for exact words of reported speech, single quotation marks for reported text and for highlighting or emphasizing a name or word(s). Long pieces of reported text can be in italics or can be indented. See for example [www.informatics.sussex.ac.uk/department/docs/punctuation/node30.html](http://www.informatics.sussex.ac.uk/department/docs/punctuation/node30.html) and [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quotation\\_mark](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quotation_mark)

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The NCHT website is at [www.NorthCravenHeritage.org.uk](http://www.NorthCravenHeritage.org.uk) and the editors can be contacted at [mandmslater@mypostoffice.co.uk](mailto:mandmslater@mypostoffice.co.uk) and [mstay7465@aol.com](mailto:mstay7465@aol.com)



# The Horton Wills Project:

## A study of wills in the period 1418 to 1603

### *Horton History group*

#### Introduction

The history of Horton in Ribblesdale is very well discussed in the booklet *Horton-in-Ribblesdale – the story of an upland parish* produced by the Horton Local History Group in 1984. The Horton wills studied here range from 1418 to 1603, when Elizabeth I died. The first three are in Latin and the rest are in English. A total of 117 wills was considered, of which 103 were made by men (88%) and 14 by women (12%). Most of the wills were made between 1509 (when Henry VIII became king) and 1603 (death of Elizabeth) and the majority of these were in Elizabeth's reign (1558-1603). The population of Horton parish is not known for this period but using parish registers' data averaging 20 burials/year and a lifespan of 40 years a figure of 800 is estimated.

In the later Middle Ages in the parish of Horton land was held by Furness Abbey (Selside and Birkwith), Fountains Abbey (Horton, Studfold), Jervaulx Abbey (Birkwith, Horton) and Clementhorpe Priory (Horton). Small parts were held by the Manor of Austwick and Sawley Abbey and possibly other manorial lords. Rents were due to these various landowners as manorial lords, and tenement entry fines known as gressums were due when a tenant died and a new lease was arranged, usually with the same family. (See will of 1561 of Miles Wedderard 'fyne of title' and will of 1536 Thomas Procter 'ingressione').

The content of wills must be considered along with knowledge of the testator's family circumstances - the context needs to be known and generally this is not available. Wills are rather selective in nature since arrangements for widows and children may already have been made. Many men were content to die intestate because their affairs were settled or satisfied by common law descent of lands and goods. Wills are not representative of the population - perhaps about 30% of men left wills. A will was needed to devolve property in ways in which common law could not, so we may see examples which are not representative of common practice. Any conclusions reached are specific to a parish since conditions elsewhere varied and generalization to conditions in the North of England cannot be sustained. It may be that oral testimony was sufficient as a will in early times but there was a drift to written contractual agreements in common law as time went by. Declaration to 'recorders' was also an accepted procedure. The Statute of Wills of 1540 made an age of 14 for boys and 12 for girls the minimum for making a will.

#### Religious aspects

Nearly all the wills include a reference bequeathing the soul to almighty God. Further statements are sometimes added, first in a Catholic manner, and later in a Protestant manner, or with no further mention. Pre-Reformation (1536), gifts were made to the church and clergy, money was bequeathed to priests to pray for a testator's soul and

payments of the obligatory mortuary fee and for forgotten tithes were normally made (to minimize any stay in Purgatory). Several wills mention tithe payments, tithe corn, and wool, but in general mention of forgotten tithe payments is absent since the monasteries as landlords were exempt from paying tithes. Post-Reformation, bequests for church repairs, road and bridge repairs, and to the poor were encouraged.

Analysis of the religious preamble has been made in terms of reference to

- a) Mary and saints in heaven
- b) prayers or masses for the soul
- c) the glorious/celestial company in heaven
- d) Jesus and redemption
- e) no reference at all

From 1418 to 1558 (Catholic Queen Mary's death) the reference to Mary was found in all the wills except when the Protestant Edward VI reigned (1547-1553). In Elizabeth's reign after 1558 the reference to Jesus was common, but most of the wills showed a distinct lack of religious fervour. In the later 1500s a phrase such as: 'with such liberality towards the poor as my friends think good to bestow upon them' is very common.

In 1579 Edmund Procter of Selside uses the phrase 'honored in secknes, and in healthe' as used in our current marriage ceremony.

#### Clergy

Parish priests are often quoted as witnesses.

- 1511 Richard Lupton
- 1522 Sir John Joye
- 1534 Sir Edmund Wy...stone
- 1536 Sir William Hougyll curate
- 1541 Miles Wedderhirde parish clerk
- 1542 clericals Fr Jeffray Holme Fr John Blakborne
- 1548 Geffraye Holme
- 1555 Arthur Redema (Redmayne?) curate
- 1561 Thomas Yveson curate
- 1567 to 1577 Roger Holden  
(Howden, Howlden, Hoolden) curate and clerk
- 1581 to 1599 William Waller  
(Walker, Walter) curate and clerk

The style adopted in some wills suggests that each priest had his own preference for what was written in the religious preamble.

#### Mortuary payments

In medieval times it was customary to give the best animal belonging to the testator to the Lord of the Manor and the second best to the parish priest as a mortuary payment. An act of 1529 regulated the payment of the mortuary so that people with goods valued under 10 marks (£6.13s.4d) were exempt and those liable to pay were on a sliding scale. Mention of the best beast is found in only four early wills, of 1418 (de Qwarff), 1439 (Taylor), 1511 (Hulson) and 1522



(Bentham). Thereafter the term 'at right will' is used in six wills, from 1522 to 1565. In most cases after 1534 there is no mention of any mortuary payment so presumably the testators were worth less than 10 marks, but attitudes to the church had changed in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. The phrase 'all duties to be done as the law requires' is usual in the later 1500s.

### Charitable bequests

There are 15 wills out of 117 (13%) which bequeath to charity other than to clerics. This proportion is the same as that found for Giggleswick wills for the same time period. True to common practice, in 1418 William de Qwarff leaves 5 pence to distribute to relatives and poor people on the day of his burial, but in addition he leaves 40 pence to distribute for his soul between poor people the day of his burial. In contrast, he leaves 13s.4d to several groups of friars to pray for his soul for one year. He leaves 6s.8d to the parish of Clementhorp and 13s.4d to the Convent of Clementhorp, thought to be his landlord. Many of the remaining charitable bequests are to the poor. John Hulson in 1511 gives 5d to every firehouse (household) in the parish. William Hughson (1544) bequeathes 8d to every house within Horton parish. In 1548 Thomas Howson gives 1d to 'everie clerke that can (is available to?) singe' at his funeral. Similarly, John Sygeswike in 1548 gives 1d to every poor body and scholar at his funeral. In addition he leaves 3s.4d to the 'power manns box' and to 20 of the poorest in the parish 4d each. Furthermore he gives 40s to help build Leingill Bridge. Thomas Proctor of Old Ing in 1534 leaves 10s to Our Ladies school of Horton. In 1536 Thomas Proctor of Birkquythe gives £6.13s.4d to the chantry of Our Lady and 13s.4d to the finishing of the new bridge. James Lyndsey of Selside gives a cow with calf to mend the steeple! Horton Church does not now have a steeple.

After 1548, i.e. after the death of Henry VIII, charitable gifts are less common, perhaps a sign of changing post-Reformation religious attitudes to charity. In 1570 John Procter gives to 20 of the poorest folk in Horton 20s to be divided amongst them at the discretion of his witnesses. Francis More in 1572 gives 3s.4d to the bridge of 'branssilbecke' and also to the bridge in Horton. In 1586 Anthony Twissilton bequeathes 12d to repair Horton church. Edmund Siggeswicke in 1591 gives 6s.8d to the poor people in Horton parish. In 1592 John Tompsonn *alias* Wyldman gives 3s.4d to the poor people of the chapel of 'hubbram' (Hubberholme) and 3s.4d to the poor of Horton. Miles Tayler in 1599 gives the remainder of his money to the poor of the parish at the discretion of his witnesses. James More in 1596 bequeathes to the town of Horton and to Selside each of them a bull or so much money to buy one, as long as they provide sufficient ground to keep it on. The bull was to be marked or burned as belonging to 'Moore of horton and hacneyshawe'.

### Widowright and Title and Tenement right

Women generally did not hold tenements in their own right but based their titles on their husband's or son's agreement with their lord, hence 'title and tenant right' 'with the licence of the lord'. Of the 41 wills passing the tenement right to the testator's wife 60% pass on the whole tenement, 29% pass on half, and 11% (in later years) one third. All

these examples are found over the whole time period. The remaining wills divide the property in a whole variety of ways, to other family members typically, often because there is no mention of a wife, when the tenement passes on, the phrase: 'my wife to be the best at my house', or similar, is often used to make sure she has control until her death for example, so that she has money to raise children. In many cases goods are divided into three parts, the last part being the so-called 'dead part' which is disposed of as the testator wishes freely, not constrained by any law.

### Clothes

As may be expected, women place more importance on clothing. Of the 14 women amongst the 117, 50% leave clothes as bequests, whereas amongst the 103 male testators only 14% do. Garments given are largely coats (of various colours e.g. blue, fawn or black, or just plain old), doublets (fustian, buckskin, leather or chamlett – a more expensive cloth) or more rarely a jerkin or jacket. Pairs of hose are also a popular bequest amongst men, or by 1581, a pair of stockings. Only two shirts (one testator) feature. Early in the century James Lyndsey leaves two gowns, red and blue – a man possibly with church connections, as he leaves money to clerics. Headgear features – a bonnet in 1554, and a couple more bequests of hats and caps.

For a flavour of the times and an idea of how clothes were given as useful mementos, John Abbatson (1596) leaves to various parties his workday clothes and doublet, one hat and a cap, one coat, best hat save one and two shirts (no doubt coarse ones of flax or harden (hemp)). As for the women, two at the end of the century just leave all their raiment to daughters, but the remainder make specific bequests. Petticoats are given (white, best and especially red). In 1570 widow Grace Howson left to various people most of what she probably had – two smocks, four kerchiefs, best red petticoat, best cloak and cap, apron, black and old coats, silk hat, rayle (neckerchief) and a gown. Presumably her hose were worn out. In 1586 Agnes Battersbie bequeathed a silk kirtle, linen bands or rayle and free sleeves (as the name implies), and a silk hat, clearly special garments of hers, as well as two red petticoats and a cap. John Wyldman 1558 left white cloth to make a petticoat, and John Wedderhead 1570 mentions a special bequest of a silver dight (adorned) belt plus other raiment not specified. Shoes appear in about three cases only – after all they are not much good unless they fit. With the exception of the handful of special items the clothes are everyday garb, but still of great value for work in house and field to recipients who have little themselves.

### Household matters

In 1548 Adam Eglyne of Studfold refers to a property he has built, and in 1582 Anthony Clarke mentions 'a paire of Crocks (crucks) and a paire of Ribs ... upon the buyldinge of an house'. Robert Clarke mentions timber for a house in 1584.

The domestic contents of a house specifically mentioned include: 'pannes, potts, table and forme, arkes, a great chiste which standethe at the fyer end, chaires, Staulls, one chest and one hamknop, one brasse pot, chiste, one meat table, all other bordes, bedstockes, Chaires, bordes'. John Tompsonn in 1592 bequeathes 'all my working toyles' and Christopher Litton (1586) has 'wombles, gavelock and axes' in his



bequests. (A wamble is a tool used for making hay trusses; a gavelock is a crowbar.) Stephen More in 1556 leaves his sword and buckler. The unusual term 'fyer and flett' is used by Edmund Feildhouse in 1584, meaning fire and houseroom.

### Livestock and produce

It is noticeable but not surprising how many of the 117 wills mention livestock – 53 or 45%. These are found throughout the whole period. Produce found in nine wills is variously wool, wheat, grass, corn, oats, barley or hay.

The number of wills gifting cows, calves, heifers (or quys), kine, stirks, steers, stotts, bulls or oxen is 33 of the 53. The varied terminology shows the deep specialist knowledge of the population. Some cows are identified by colour, e.g. red, or white-headed. The problem of the need for a local bull is addressed by James More (1596) who promises two bulls for Horton and Selside if ground for their keeping can be provided – and there is only one further bull mentioned (Edmund Grine 1597). One cow only is bequeathed in some wills (e.g. Giles Bentham 1595) – probably the family milk cow.

The Horton parish today will be thought of as a sheep-farming area. Of the 53 livestock wills, 34 bequest sheep in all their variety of nomenclature – sheep, lambs, ewes (or yowes), wethers, twinters, hoggs, gimmer hoggs, wether hoggs ... A lamb is often left to a child or woman or a servant. James Burton (1596) makes a bequest of 10 of his best sheep – so he had a sizeable flock. John Proctor (1570) also farmed sheep in a big way – six ewes of 52 and 26 hoggs of 52 are bequeathed.

Horses also feature, a necessity to those who wanted to get around. Horses, mares, colts, staggs and fillies appear as bequests. Money is left toward the shoeing of a horse (Margaret Jenens 1591). Christopher Hesselden leaves a female relative one gray horse to do her necessities with, and John Sygeswike (1548) leaves a less exciting bay nag.

Crops and wool also feature – one bushel of wheat, stones of wool, straw, and crops of corn and hay still growing. Roger Procter (1585) leaves oatage and grass for two oxen and William Howson (1593) gives money raised from tithe wool. Edmund Grine (1597) bequeaths bushels of oats, bigg or barley to a son.

### Money

There were no banks so money was held in cash. Money was lent out to others and sometimes the debt was forgiven in the will. John Grene (1567) kept 'xx s which a pann lyeth upon' (i.e. 20 shillings).

The mark, (not an English coin), worth 13s.4d (two nobles or angels of 6s.8d) was a measure of weight of gold or silver and a monetary unit originally representing the mark weight of sterling silver, worth 13s.4d in English and Scottish currency. People thought in terms of units of 13s.4d (mark), 6s.8d (noble) and 3s.4d as well as pounds, shillings and pence. The shillings commonly come in sets of 5, 10, 20 and 40. They are all mixed up in any one will. Many of the large sums are for money owed and for marriage gifts, typically of tens of pounds. Yearly rent of a tenement is quoted in many later wills – ranging from 3 shillings to 46 shillings and eightpence.

In 1543 a sum of seven pounds is quoted, then repeated as '5 marks and fourtie pence' to be paid twice. Now 40 pence is half a mark (or one noble). One mark is 13s.4d, i.e. 160d. Five marks is 800d. The total is then 840d, i.e. £3.5 since 240d make one pound. Now did Thomas Bentham of Studfold (1543) do this sum in his head? Three marks is four pounds but this does not help much.

The phrase 'penny or pennyworth' is used in 1579 and 1581 meaning to be paid in cash or kind.

### Schooling

In 1543 Thomas Procter refers to 'Our Ladies scoole of horton'.

In 1579 Edmund Procter of Selside makes a long will and includes arrangements for his son Peter as follows. The wording is typical of the period and illustrates the unregulated approach to spelling. The presence of an ' indicates that a letter is missed out to reduce the use of ink and paper.

*I'm I will that whereas my sonne in lawe, Alan Wharffe owethe me the som'e of Tenne poundes whiche I lent hym upon condicon that he should bourde my sonne Peter at gegleswicke scoole so longe so longe (sic) as he kept that Tenne pounce, Therefore I will that my wyf and Roger my sonne shall keipe Peter my sonne at scoole or at learnynge the Space of eighte or nyne yeares, and yf they p'ceyve that he cane proffyt by learnynge, I will that Roger my sonne shall paye, or cause to be paid to hym the said Peter at twentye one yeares ende, the som'e of fortye markes, in consideracon of his holle agrement of my fermhold or tythe agayne Suche tyme and tymes as he be able to proceyd to further learnynge. And yf he cannot p'ffyt by learnynge, I will that he be kepte at home, and obbedyentlie obaye his mother, and his brother, and have meate drynke and clothyng honestlye, and at twentye one yeares and to have Rowme for a bedd, and his cloise in the loft in the chamber, and suche other thynges as he haith neyde of until he come to better preferment of lvyng, I'm I will that yf allan my sonne in lawe bourde my sonne Peter honestlye at Gygleswicke Scoole accordynge to o'r bargayne, I will that my wyf and Roger my sonne shall fynde Peter clothyng, and give allan Tenne shillings by yeare Nowe yf allan Wharffe thinke yt not good to bourde hym for the laine(?) of the tenne poundes and the Tenne shillings, let Allan gyve Peter the Tenne poundes of lawfull money and so be acquyted, And yf Peter do not lyke of his bourde, lett Peter gyve Allan a wholle yeares warnynge, for the p'paracon of the payment of the money, and them paye him yt, and so be acquyted.*

### Acknowledgements

Helen Sergeant indexed and obtained hard copies of the wills from the Borthwick Institute for Archives at York University over many years. The transcriptions were made by Sheila and Ian Fleming, Sheila Gordon, John Harrop, David Johnson, Helen Sergeant, Mary Slater and Michael Slater and others of the Horton History Group over a period of about 3 years. All the wills seen are the probate copies lodged at the Borthwick Institute and not the originals. The copies are currently held by Horton History Group.

The booklet *Horton-in-Ribblesdale – the story of an upland parish* produced by the Horton Local History Group is still available.



# To the Baltic and Beyond: the Remarkable Descendants of John Armitstead of Austwick

Mary Slater

Families of the name Armitstead and its variants have long been present in this area. There is still a farm today at Armitstead, on the Giggleswick and Lawkland boundary. The Clapham parish register reveals that on 3 November 1734 a John Armitstead was born in Austwick, the son of another John, a yeoman. His mother may have been Anne Brogden, with his parents' marriage having taken place in May 1733. (Anne being the name of his first-born daughter makes this likely). He was ordained (without a degree) in 1760, starting his pastoral career at Coxwold, north of York, as assistant curate, and in 1771 became the vicar of nearby Easingwold, a post he held until his death in 1812.

There he married twice, firstly Ann Roccliffe, and after her death, Mary Roccliffe. With Mary he had around seven children. He died in 1812 and the burial entry in the Easingwold register reads: 'The Rev John Armitstead .... son of John Armitstead of Austwick near Settle yeoman, died 16 July universally lamented by all his parishioners', and he is commemorated by a window panel in Easingwold church. Only three children survived to be mentioned in his will – two daughters including Anne, and a son George who had been born in 1785. The daughters received land and property (some of it purchased by John from his son George) and George himself received £100. (Incidentally, Edmund Paley, who followed John Armitstead in the living, was the son of the famous Archdeacon William Paley and grandson of the Langcliffe-born William Paley, headmaster of Giggleswick School.)

The Easingwold parish register of the period lists many flax-dressers amongst the local population, and George, in 1812, arrived in Riga (nowadays the capital of Latvia) to work as a flax merchant. One unsubstantiated and confused account has him fleeing northwards from his father (whose wishes as to his career he did not agree with), assisting on the road a wealthy Dundee merchant who was being robbed, and being subsequently employed by him. Riga was an old Hanseatic League port important in the Baltic trade, and had many British merchants working in varied import and export businesses, flax being one important element. English demand for linen at the time was such that imports of flax were necessary, despite inducements by the government to increase home cultivation. George went on to marry Emma Jacobs, a Russian Jew, and had a family, including four sons, which became influential in that city.

The first son was John William. He grew up to be involved in the foundation of an Anglican Church there in



Statue of George Armitstead and his wife in Riga

1857, for the benefit not only of the expatriate British community but the many British sailors who visited the port. It is brick-built but Yorkshire stone was reputedly used in its construction on British soil taken over as ship's ballast. During and after the Soviet era the church was used for other purposes, but it is now restored to Anglican use. The second son was another George, born in 1824. He was German-educated and came over to Dundee in the 1840s in connection with his family's trade with Britain, to further the flax and jute businesses and shipping line it now had, under the name of George Armitstead and Co. In 1848 he married into an influential Scottish flax-milling family, became involved locally in public affairs and subsequently became a JP and a Deputy Lieutenant. He also had two periods as MP for Dundee. He had friends in high places and was especially close to W. E. Gladstone, to whom in later life he provided personal and financial support and at whose funeral he was a pall-bearer. Becoming very wealthy, he had large properties in Scotland and a London house, and was able to make many sizeable donations to charitable causes and to found trusts and a Dundee lecture series (still running today). In 1906 he was created Baron Armitstead. However his marriage was early mired with scandal and there were no children so the barony died with him in 1915.

The third son of George (the original emigré to Riga) was James. He became a businessman with flax and other interests, a banker and also chairman of the Riga Stock Exchange committee. After his death the Riga children's hospital was founded in 1899 with half the legacy of £40,000 he had left for charitable purposes. The building still exists today, with his name above the entrance. The fourth son was Alfred.

The next generation was equally notable. John had a son George born in 1847, who left his own extensive legacy in



Riga. He was a civil engineer, educated at the Riga Polytechnic, Zurich and Oxford, first working elsewhere in Russia and then in Riga, where by now his family owned many businesses and properties. In his lifetime he was responsible for many of the schools, hospitals, cultural buildings, the first tram line, parks, a forest suburb and other socially beneficial public works in this by now major city. He had a large country house built for himself. In 1901 he was elected Riga's fourth Mayor, and was granted honorary citizenship shortly before his death in 1912. It was rumoured that an impressed Tsar Nicholas II had even asked him to become mayor of St Petersburg but the offer was declined. He fortunately did not live to see a son and two other close relatives shot by the Bolsheviks in 1917. Various memorials to him exist around the city, including a statue of him and his wife which was unveiled by Queen Elizabeth II in 2006 during her visit to Riga. The Armitstead's Newfoundland dog, named Robber, that features in the statue, had formed a passionate attachment to Richard Wagner when the composer gave lessons to their daughter, or in an alternative version of the story, when he called in at Armitstead's shop. It had therefore been presented to Wagner and followed him everywhere thereafter.

Alfred's son Henry Alfred, Riga-born, besides becoming later a director of Armitstead and Co., was a Hudson's Bay Company agent in Archangel. According to a recently published book, Andrew Cook's *The murder of the Romanovs*, he was involved in 1918 with a Norwegian Arctic seas explorer and Siberian steamship-line owner, and also with the precursor of the British MI6, in a plot to extricate Tsar Nicholas II's family from Russia. The Russian royal family were at that time under house arrest at Tobolsk on the Irtysh River (over 600 km east of Ekaterinburg where they were finally assassinated) and it appears the plan was to effect a rescue via the river northwards to the sea, using the Norwegian's expert knowledge, and thence to Murmansk and a British vessel. However, the royal family were removed before this could be done. Armitstead was involved on the fringes of a further rescue plan from Ekaterinburg (which

proved too hard to achieve), the Hudson's Bay Company co-operating in promising to provide transit accommodation at Murmansk for the 'valuables'.

This generation were the great-great-grandchildren of John Armitstead, yeoman of Austwick. Could he have known, he must surely have been amazed at so many of his descendants' achievements from such small rural beginnings.

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Other pictures can be found on the web.

## The Farrer Family

Ken Pearce

The Farrer family is one of great significance to residents of North Craven, particularly those living in and around Clapham. The family became one of the major landowners in the north of England and has had a considerable impact on the villages and communities of the Clapham area over many years.

Dr. Farrer (1921-2014) claimed that the Farrer family in Britain originated with the arrival of Walkland de Ferriere, who led William the Conqueror's horse troops in 1066. The name is thought to come from the Norman French 'ferriere' and its English derivative 'farrier'. The family legend has it that Walkland and his colleagues employed such skilful farriers that their horses were said to virtually fly. This legend is perpetuated in the Farrer family crest, a winged horseshoe, and in the name of the hotel they built near Clapham station, The Flying Horse Shoe. The family's historians believe that their immediate family stemmed from one Henry Farrer of Ewood Hall in the township of Midgley near Hebden Bridge. He bought Ewood in 1471 and the property passed down through the generations. It is



OLIVER FARRER, 1742-1808.  
From a Miniature at Ingleborough.



believed to have been the birthplace of Robert Farrar, one of the English martyrs recorded by Fox. One descendant, another Henry, was summoned to the infamous Court of Star Chamber in 1610, where he was murdered while still without heirs. The hall was then bequeathed to a nephew, passed through many Farrer hands before being sold outside the family about 1720-30 and is now the site of a modern housing estate. The old house has presumably been demolished.

Another member of the family, also a Henry Farrer, was a yeoman farmer in Heptonstall. He moved north-west 'over the hills' to Worsethorne but in 1623 moved on again, buying a small farm called Lower Greystoneley near Chipping in the Forest of Bowland. Here, in 1686, Henry's grandson Richard Farrer (1657-1742) married Elizabeth Guy of Lanshaw, which was then in the parish of Clapham. He thus acquired Lanshaw by marriage. The couple seem to have moved between Lanshaw and Greystoneley for some years. In 1716 Richard transferred Lower Greystoneley to their first son Robert (1690-1766) and Lanshaw to their second son Oliver (1693-1731). In 1718 Oliver married Jenet Banks of Orcaber, a farm near Lanshaw. They had a son James (1719-66) but Jenet died when James was just five years old. Her brother Thomas Banks at Orcaber took young James into his own household and brought him up. In 1725 Richard left Robert's household and moved into Lanshaw with Oliver following a dispute over Robert's bad marriage, described at the time as 'a very unsatisfactory connection'. From this point the family story concentrates on Oliver's descendants.

Young James later went to work as clerk for an Ingleton solicitor. James married a Mary Harrison of Ingleton in 1741 and set up house at Yew Tree Cottage in Clapham. He became a successful solicitor and was appointed Deputy Steward to the Manor of Austwick. Sadly his eldest son, Oliver Farrer (1742-1808), later described James as 'a drunken attorney with little practice and nothing to give to his sons'. By 1761 James was bankrupt and before his death in 1766 had been compelled to sell off all his land, even the house in which he was living.

His son Oliver was more enterprising. Aged 17 and penniless, he went to London in 1759 and secured a job with a law firm belonging to the Coulthursts of Gargrave. He lived frugally, drank water from the pump in the yard and dined on penny buns, hence his nickname of 'Penny Bun' Farrer. He prospered and in 1769 was made an equal partner with Coulthurst, inheriting the firm soon after. He made a fortune by investing and lending money in addition to his legal work. After sixteen years he was worth £40,000, a sizeable fortune at that time.

In 1799 the Farrer who then owned Lower Greystoneley tried to sell it to the wealthy Oliver. An estate plan was drawn for the sale. Oliver sent his own surveyor to check the property – he reported it to be 'almost a wilderness, the home actually falling down, the country a vile one and the roads most wretched'. Tenants had neglected the property. Oliver did not buy and in 1801 the property was sold out of Farrer hands. The original estate plan survives but a modern house now stands on the site.

Oliver had married Ann Fawcett in 1782, while his brother James had married Frances Loxham in the splendour

of Manchester Cathedral. Oliver's marriage proved childless but James produced two sons, also named James (1785-1863) and Oliver (1786-1866). 'Penny Bun' Oliver chose to spend his fortune on his brother James and James' two sons. He, the wealthy Oliver, set about buying back all the land and property which his father had lost. His ambition was to establish a sporting estate and country seat for the pleasure and entertainment of his nephews. In 1805/6 10,000 trees were planted beside Clapham Beck and around the site which had been chosen for the development of a shooting lodge.

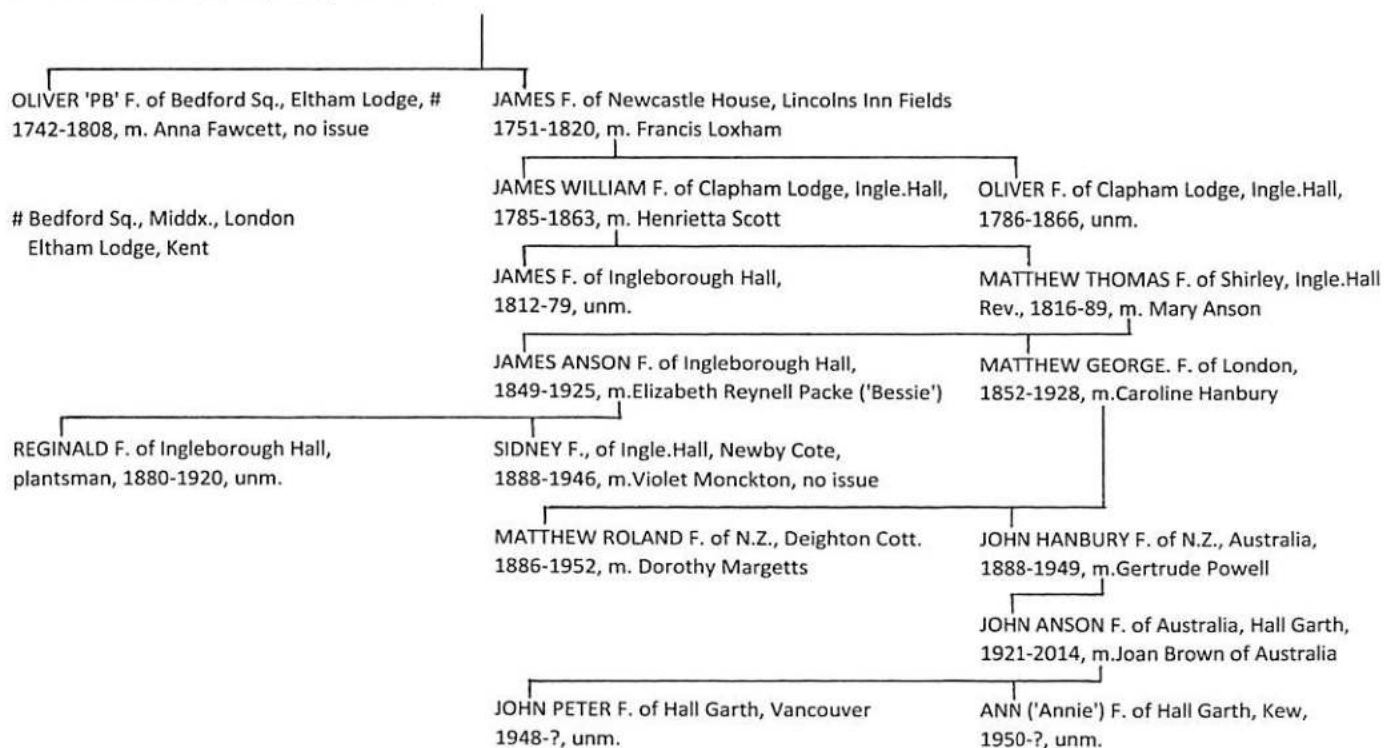
One of Oliver's early purchases was later recorded as 'the land on which Ingleborough Hall – then a farmhouse - now stands, with shooting on Ingleborough'. This is supported by a codicil which 'Penny Bun' Oliver added to his will, written on 3 November 1806, in which he wrote: 'I have this very day and after the above (i.e. his will) was finished agreed to build for my Nephew James some additions to an Old house on his father's Estate at Clapham'. This codicil is also dated 3 November 1806. The record is confused by an 1806 estate plan in the Ingleborough archives, which shows near the church a field called Pithills, a virgin site with no buildings. Pencilled over it, as if an afterthought, is the recognisable outline of Clapham Lodge, the predecessor to Ingleborough Hall, complete with distinctive bay window. Whatever the truth of its origins Clapham Lodge was a more modest building than the later Ingleborough Hall. It is believed to have been designed by Nicholson of Giggleswick and cost £1,000 though Oliver had in his will allowed £1,500 for the work.

Oliver died in 1808 leaving the growing estate to his nephews. By 1878 he, his brother, his nephews and nephew James' son James (1812-79) had acquired 168 properties in the locality at a total cost of £266,000, much of it bought at times of recession when hard-pressed farmers were keen to sell. The Ingleborough Estate at its largest ran to 35,000 acres owned outright, with a further 15,000 over which the Farrers had shooting rights. It extended from the summits of Ingleborough and Cam Head to Bowland Knotts, from Blea Moor to the limits of Austwick. It included over 40 farms, three grouse moors and a large acreage of common land, as well as every house in Clapham except for the vicarage. In 1782 James Farrer (1751-1820) had purchased the Manor of Austwick from Robert Shuttleworth; in 1810 James' sons Oliver and James purchased the Manor of Newby from the Duke of Buccleugh and in 1856 they purchased the Manor of Clapham from Rev. T.W. Morley. At some point they also acquired the Manor of Dent. All this gave them power and influence over a wide area. James Farrer (1812-79) became a Master in Chancery, one of twelve close advisors to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as being Justice of the Peace for Lancashire, Westmorland and the West Riding of Yorkshire and Deputy Lieutenant for the West Riding. Oliver (1786-1866) became Justice of the Peace for the West Riding, Westmorland and Lancashire.

James (1785-1863) and Oliver (1786-1866) ran the Estate jointly. Throughout the 19th century the Farrers remained practising London lawyers, Farrer & Co., with offices at 66 Lincoln's Inn Fields and several members of the family as partners. They visited their estate in Clapham several times a year and at least once a year moved most of



**FARRER FAMILY TREE (simplified) 1742-2014**



the household to their lodge at Gearstones for the shooting. At every visit further changes to the Hall and village must have been planned. The crooked approach across Higher Bridge and past the church to the Lodge was straightened in 1806. In 1812/14 the nave of the church was demolished and rebuilt at more than double the size. In 1828 Clapham Beck was dammed to create the lake. In 1832 Thwaite Lane was rerouted; the lower section became a private driveway to the Hall, while the upper section was redirected further from the Hall (for greater privacy) and along a new Church Avenue which connected Gildersbank to tunnels (more privacy) taking the new Lane to rejoin the original route to Austwick and beyond.

In about 1833 the brothers employed a full-time agent, a Scot named James Stewart, who lived in the newly extended premises of Hall Garth where he also had his offices. His careful copperplate ledgers show that several members of the family simultaneously owned separate parts of the Estate, so their individual profit and loss accounts had to be calculated as land and properties changed hands among them. Stewart had the unenviable task of supervising the implementation of the vision conceived by 'Penny Bun' and developed by his nephews, all in the face of continual demands to cut costs and hasten the work. Letters flew back and forth between Stewart in Clapham and Farrers in London, sometimes two or three times a week, all reporting on progress or stipulating details of the next phase of the grand design. The later letters show the damaging effects of the gout from which both of the brothers suffered.

In the 1830s and early 1840s Clapham Lodge was extended to become the Ingleborough Hall we know today. The design was by a London architect S.B.Wilson, whose work the Farrers had seen when he was building premises for the Royal College of Surgeons near Lincolns Inn Fields.

Wilson submitted two schemes at £3,400 and £5,600 but it is not clear which was adopted. To create the Hall gardens the village green was taken, while tithe barn, vicarage and other houses were demolished. A new vicarage was built, now known as Arbutus House. A great earth terrace was built above Church Avenue to level off the garden and to hide village and Hall from each other. To enhance the approach to the Hall some buildings near the Gildersbank entrance were demolished and others made more fashionable with smooth render and drawn joints. A row of ten old cottages in the market square was also demolished.

In 1837 the Farrers extended and personally explored the accessible parts of Clapham Cave, later known as Ingleborough Cave. This attracted many visitors and the Bull Inn was renamed The Bull & Cave to exploit this attraction. In 1846 they negotiated a railway route which left their best pastures undamaged. Two or three years later they built The Flying Horse Shoe Inn to accommodate visitors coming to shoot grouse or to view the wonders of Ingleborough Cave. In 1858 they provided a village reading room stocked with newspapers and books. 1864 saw them paying for the building of a new, larger school to replace the one situated in the corner of the churchyard since 1686. They later provided land for village sewage works, a new cemetery, Keasden School, the Keasden teachers' house, Keasden church, the village hall, and many other community facilities. In 1883 they provided filtered water from the lake, piped into every house and in 1896 hydroelectricity generated from the lake was supplied to the Hall, community facilities and the village street. Later the houses were also supplied.

Newby seems to have gained little from this programme of improvements though the Ingleborough estate account ledgers for 1834 show that the Estate did build a new school



ledgers for 1834 show that the Estate did build a new school in Newby that year, originally a Sunday School. This school was taken over by the County Council in 1906/7 a few years before it was replaced.

In providing many of these facilities the Farrers worked in a sort of partnership with the village community. The new church was built with the help of weekly contributions paid by each household, the reading room was self-supporting from subscriptions, the footpath from the village centre to the railway station was paid for by subscription and the redevelopment of old farm buildings given in 1926 to create the village hall was financed by local contributions. Payment of 'school pence' was expected for attendance at the new school. When improvements were made to Estate farms or housing the rents were raised a little. A charge was made for piped water and electricity to many houses.

When nephews James and Oliver died the estate passed to James' son, another James (1812-79) and when he died it passed to his younger brother Rev. Matthew Farrer (1816-89) from Shirley in Surrey. Matthew's first wife was childless. His second wife was Mary Anson, great-great-niece of the redoubtable Admiral Anson, after whom Matthew and Mary named their first son James Anson Farrer (1849-1925). When Matthew died James became 'tenant for life' under the terms of the Settled Land Act, and in his time the Ingleborough Estate reached its peak. He married Elizabeth Reynell Packe, a cousin of the Sitwells and widely known as Bessie. They had two sons, Reginald born in 1880 and Sidney born in 1888.

The First World War took at least 70 men from the parish, many from the estate workforce. Thirty three of the 70 died in the carnage; life at Ingleborough Hall became a little more difficult. James Anson Farrer died in 1925. His place as Squire was taken not by his elder son Reginald, who had died in 1920, but by his younger son Sidney. As Squire, Sidney chose to live at Newby Cote rather than at Ingleborough Hall where his mother lived on. He married Violet Monckton in 1925 but the marriage was childless.

Bessie died in 1937 and the contents of the old family home were sold off in an auction lasting several days. Only a caretaker staff stayed on at the Hall and as the Second World War loomed the estate's agent Claude Barton made strenuous efforts to find new tenants for the Hall and estate. He negotiated with a girls' boarding school and then with a retired Bradford businessman looking for a mansion and hobby farm. Neither came to fruition. Several estate workers joined the Armed Forces, grouse shoots became impossible and the loss of that income, coupled with the loss of staff caused a further run-down of the estate.

The situation was saved to some extent by the arrival of Stone House School, evacuated from Broadstairs on the south coast. The school was run by Captain John Oliver Farrer MC (1894-1942), a second cousin of Sidney. Ingleborough Hall made a logical wartime home for the school. The Captain's son Bill once ventured onto the Lake in a small rowing boat, only to be swept boat and all over three waterfalls and out under Ingle Bridge, suffering only a broken arm. At the end of the war Stone House returned to the south coast. On Boxing Day 1946 Sidney Farrer died though his widow lived on until 1985.

When Sidney died, responsibility for the estate passed to

his first cousin Matthew Roland Farrer (1886-1952) from New Zealand. He was known as Roland and took up residence at Deighton Cottage on Riverside, a house made available only when the occupant was induced to move out. After the war the West Riding County Council rented the Hall for retraining youth leaders, but it soon became apparent that the building was too far from the West Riding, so the county council quickly changed its plans and decided to use the Hall as a residential school for delicate children. In 1949 they purchased the building with 30 acres of the surrounding land for £6,350, while the rest of the Estate remained in Farrer hands. Roland died on Christmas Eve 1952 while at a dance in the village hall. The resulting imposition of a third set of death duties in just 26 years was too much for the estate's precarious finances to bear. In one day in 1952 ten of the estate farms were auctioned off to balance the books. The estate was gradually reduced from 35,000 acres to 10,000 acres.

The Ingleborough Estate was inherited by male entailment i.e. by the eldest surviving son of the most closely related family. Roland and his wife Dorothy had a son Matthew (1922-45) but he was killed in 1945. This meant that Squire Roland's younger brother John Hanbury Farrer (1888-1949) or John's eldest son would inherit. John had migrated as a child of three from the UK to New Zealand and later to Australia but had died in 1949. His son John Anson Farrer (1921-2014) was therefore next in line as 'tenant for life' of the estate. In 1952 he was a Melbourne doctor and when the fateful telegram arrived, telling of his inheritance, he was performing a surgical operation. His wife Joan, a former theatre nurse, wisely concealed the news until the operation was over. John visited Ingleborough in late 1952 to examine the books. With some misgivings and against family advice he accepted the challenge of making the ailing estate sustainable. He was shocked by living conditions in Clapham and also resolved to improve them. The following year he returned with his wife and two children, John Peter and Ann. They moved into Hall Garth, the former agent's house.

Their process of adjustment must have been traumatic. They had lived all their lives in a less deferential Australia and found it difficult to rise to Clapham's expectations of them as presumed gentry. It quickly became clear that the Estate accounts had not been entirely accurate. Rather than showing a small profit they should have shown a loss. John dismissed the agent and undertook the unaccustomed task himself. He secured a variety of medical jobs to keep the family, so that estate income could all be ploughed back into the estate. Joan even considered returning to nursing but was dissuaded. The estate became almost John's first priority, while Joan looked after domestic and social matters. He soon abandoned the legal status of 'tenant for life' in favour of outright ownership of every house in the village apart from the vicarage. Whenever feasible he sold two houses or land on which to build two houses. This practice continued for 30 years, reducing his expenses, increasing his working capital and giving the community more independence. The houses retained were let at affordable rents, preferably to families with young children to help in keeping the local school and shops going. He strove to avoid Clapham becoming a village of second homes and holiday lets, empty



and desolate for much of the year.

Both John and Joan worked hard on the estate and in the village, planting trees, fixing leaks in ancient pipes, even repairing the top of the church flagpole, managing the grouse moors, running field courses about the work of the estate, welcoming new residents, ringing the church bell, washing up in the village hall, keeping a daily weather record, running stalls at the annual street market. Anything and everything!

In 1961 Clapham Parish Council calculated that the village received 9,000 visitors per year. In 1970 the lakeside footpath past Ingleborough Cave was designated the Reginald Farrer nature trail in memory of the well-known plant collector. By 2009 the number of visitors had grown to 154,000 per year.

The estate became sustainable, just. The treble death duties were finally paid off in 1973 when land was sold for the Clapham bypass. It had taken 20 years to pay them off and another 20 years to ensure that the burden never recurred. In 1953 the estate owned 56 of the 57 houses then in the village, in 1968 it had 49 of the 78 houses, in the 1980s 42 of the 84 houses and now it owns 40 of the 113 houses in the village.

Joan died in 2008, only hours after directing from her sickbed the Macmillan coffee morning being held in Hall Garth that day. John continued his habitual daily stint in the Estate Office until he needed nursing care. He died on New Year's Day 2014 at precisely the moment when Clapham church clock stopped. He had been Squire for over 60 years.

Today the estate is administered by John's three executors and a firm of professional land agents. The estate now runs to 10,000 acres owned outright with a further 8,000 acres over which it has shooting rights. Only seven farms remain in estate ownership and only one of the three grouse moors, Burnmoor. The shooting is now in the hands of a syndicate. Reginald's commercial nursery has gone, along with the Hall's kitchen garden and manicured grounds. Staff number just a small handful and community groups undertake a little of the grounds' maintenance.

This brings the story of the Ingleborough Estate up-to-date. Other branches of the family also have interesting stories. Farrer & Co., the law firm, have already been mentioned. Thomas Henry Farrer (1819-99) was Permanent Secretary to the Board of Trade for over 20 years, working with Gladstone and Joseph Chamberlain. He received a baronetcy and a peerage, both hereditary, as Lord Farrer of Abinger. The title continued to the 5th Lord Farrer. Oliver Farrer (1786-1866) was founder and director of banks in Ireland, North America, Australasia and Greece, while Gaspard Farrer (1860-1946) was a partner in Barings Bank. Other members of the family engaged Sir Edwin Lutyens to build a Grade 1-listed house in Queen Anne style in Sandwich, Kent. Oliver Farrer (1819-76), Rev. Matthew Farrer's younger brother, became squire of Binnegar in Dorset and left an estate larger than the Ingleborough Estate.

The most well-known of all the Farrers was Reginald Farrer (1880-1920). Reginald was born with a cleft palate and a hare lip, was educated privately and something of a recluse. He spent many hours exploring Ingleborough's hill and became an expert on upland flora. He travelled on plant-hunting expeditions to distant parts and died in Kansu on



OLIVER FARRER, 1742-1808.  
By Romney at Ingleborough, 1923.

the Burma/China border in 1920. He wrote books on the collecting and cultivation of alpins and introduced important changes in the design and care of alpine rock gardens. His life is recorded in several biographies.

In summary, the Farrer family possibly arrived from Norman France. They lived as yeoman farmers for several centuries, by stages moving just 30 miles north westward from Ewood Hall near Hebden Bridge to Clapham. Here they first took up permanent residence in 1725. Key members of the family became solicitors and lawyers. Their legal practice prospered and they became wealthy landowners, some with a passion for the sporting life of a country squire in a country house. Other branches of the family pursued careers in the civil service and banking, while yet others occupied more conventional roles or migrated to Australia, Canada, New Zealand or the USA. At least 22 of them have been decorated for gallantry or have received honours for service to the nation. The most well-known of them was famous as a plant-hunter and propagator.

One of their greatest achievements, largely unsung, has been to lead Clapham from estate village to thriving community without despoiling the charm and interest enjoyed by many thousands of visitors.

### Photographs

A painted miniature by an unknown artist, once displayed in Ingleborough Hall, photographed and reproduced in 'Some Farrer Memorials 1610-1923' Pub. 1923, Sherwood, London. The painting by Romney is from the same source.

### Sources

The Farrer family documents are held in the Clapham Estate Office or in the North Yorkshire County Record Office and the West Yorkshire Archive Service at Morley.



# Aspects of Life in Giggleswick and Horton Parishes during the Eighteenth Century

Sheila Gordon

The Giggleswick Inventories Project was born out of a desire to examine and subsequently transcribe a series of probate inventories drawn up between 1705 and 1750, before making them available to the general public for personal research. The documents are held at the Borthwick Institute for Archives at York University and can be divided into two groups: those up to 1722 which had not been put on microfilm but were available to view and photograph; and those from 1723 - 1750 which were still in their original state in tightly-rolled bundles and not accessible for viewing. This latter group required expert conservation before being digitised.

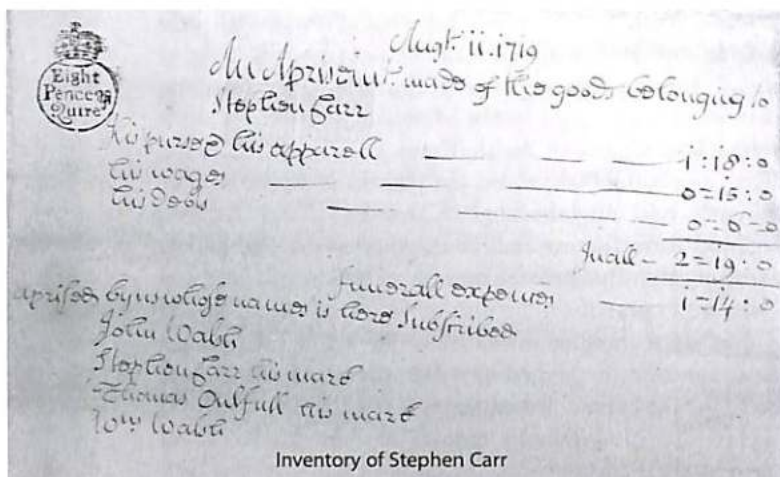
A successful Heritage Lottery Fund bid was submitted under the banner of North Craven Historical Research Group and work began in February 2015. Workshops were held locally when members of the general public were invited to join in the process of transcribing these fascinating documents which had not been seen before. It has long been recognised that detailed inventories from this period contain a wealth of detail concerning aspects of everyday life that historians of other periods might envy [Arkell, et al., 2000, 13].

The 289 inventories form the basis of the following analysis and cover the Ancient Parish of Giggleswick, comprising the townships of Settle, Giggleswick, Langcliffe, Stainforth and Rathmell (hereafter Giggleswick Parish) and also the parish of Horton in Ribblesdale. In all, 65 inventories were located for Horton and 224 for Giggleswick parish. They provide a unique view of life in the Early Modern period and on occasion also provide a glimpse of the inside of the shops which were emerging in greater numbers in towns across the country. There is a scarcity of records relating to shopkeepers of this period and 'where they were made by conscientious appraisers with an eye for detail they provide a view not available from any other source' [Vaisey, 1966, 107].

An inventory was a document drawn up after a person's death, listing all the deceased's goods and chattels and leasehold property but not his or her real estate. The appraisers valued the goods according to their secondhand value or selling price [Arkell, et al., 2000, 8]. These appraisers or assessors were often neighbours or friends or anyone with a vested interest (for example creditors), and comprised two, three or four men or women; in our own study they were more likely to be drawn up by three or four men. In the case of a shopkeeper's inventory it was preferable for someone with detailed knowledge of the business to assist in this valuation process.

## Occupation and Status

A study of the inventories for the first half of the 18th century proves invaluable when determining a person's occupation, as people started to become associated with one



trade or another. However, we must be wary of making assumptions as many people had more than one occupation, subsidising their farming activities with another trade; therefore what a man was described as was not necessarily what he did [Riden, 1985, 98]. Another point to bear in mind is that the appraisers were not obliged to list a person's occupation or status, and where there were several they only chose one. A good example is Leonard Bolland of Settle, described as an apothecary (1712), whose inventory runs to four columns of goods and chattels. Apart from an extensive list of apothecary items he also had cattle, sheep, hay, straw and husbandry gear, confirming his farming activities. As we progress further we discover brewing equipment and 'in the cellar Nine Barrels' and find that he was also running the Golden Lion Inn. Another shopkeeper was Richard Balderstone, grocer of Settle (1732), who although not involved in farming was still multi-tasking. Apart from shop goods to the value of £115 (sadly not individually itemised) he also had 'Implements Belonging to Book Binding'. As Philip Riden [1985, 98] notes in *Probate Records and the Local Community*: 'Too many studies in the social and economic history of the 17th century and in particular studies of towns, still seem to make too much of the distinction between gentlemen, yeomen and tradesmen or professionals', and this point could be made of the early 18th century also.

Having stated all the above it is nevertheless still an important and useful exercise to list all the occupations noted from the inventories, to help give an overall view of trades and professions at this time.

## Occupations of testators in Horton

Analysis of 65 inventories in the parish of Horton shows the following breakdown of occupations and titles:

Yeoman	18	Clothier	1
Husbandman	20	Mercer	1
Widow	7	Innkeeper	1
Spinster	2	Smith	1
Tanner	2	Linen weaver	1
Singleman	1	Not specified	10



## Occupations of testators in Giggleswick

Analysis of 224 inventories in the Ancient Parish of Giggleswick shows the following breakdown of occupations and titles:

Gentleman	6	Feltmaker	1
Yeoman	42	Clerk	1
Husbandman	12	Ropemaker	1
Spinster	9	Musician	1
Labourer	2	Fellmonger	1
Clothier	4	Mason	2
Tanner	2	Chandler	1
Mercer	2	Sadler	2
Innkeeper	5	Shopkeeper	1
Blacksmith	1	Linen Draper	1
Linen Weaver	4	Physician	1
Grocer	5	Shoemaker	1
Apothecary	1	Sailor	1
Carpenter	4	Whitesmith	2
Butcher	2	Fisherman	1
Ironmonger	1	Not specified	104

A comparison of the two parishes shows a large percentage of yeomen/husbandmen in Horton (59%) as opposed to 24% for Giggleswick. When we look at the figures for trades which include shopkeepers and innkeepers there were 22% involved in trading in Giggleswick parish and only 11% in Horton. As the parish of Giggleswick includes the township of Settle this makes sense, as you might expect traders to congregate around the local town. However, if we look at the number of inventories where no trade is specified we see that 15% of the Horton and 46% of the Giggleswick inventories are untitled, so it is impossible to make any accurate assessment based on this information alone.

Similarly the above tables show that about 5% of Horton and 8% of Giggleswick testators were involved in the textile industry. If we include items such as looms, spinning wheels and textiles (listed in the inventories), the figures rise to 17% and 14% respectively. This is a clear indication of the importance of textiles in the two parishes which is not apparent from the occupation tables alone. Of the remaining occupations listed, many were trades or crafts found in most villages to meet local needs [Pers. comm., David Johnson, 2015].

## Wealth

Care must be taken when assessing a person's wealth from their inventory alone; suffice it to say here that it is quite possible that a farmer who died with very few items listed in his inventory had retired and was living with his son who had taken over the running of the farm [Riden, 1985, 16]. Hoskins [1951, 12] describes the scene thus;

It is perfectly clear from the Yeoman's will, if not from his inventory also, that he had handed over his farm, with all the live & dead stock, to his eldest son, & retained only *his parlour* in the old farmstead. There, surrounded by his few treasured bits of furniture, & with a cow or two & a bit of land to keep him quietly happy outdoors, he ended his days.

There are instances, however, where it is obvious that the deceased was of some considerable means. A case in point is the inventory of Mabella Lister, widow of Giggleswick

(1743), who had her goods, chattels and money owing valued at £3,153, easily the wealthiest person found during this survey. Her household furniture was not itemised separately but all valued together, as was her 'plate', but she had £3,093 loaned out 'on Securitys'. Mabella was a money-lender, an occupation popular with widows of substantial means and Anne Laurence [1996, 131] confirms this in *Women in England 1500 – 1760*: 'Spinsters, widows and bachelors without business or family commitments invested their surplus cash in loans to their neighbours'. Although not in Mabella's league, another widow loaning money was Mabell Banks, widow of Roome-houses, Giggleswick (1712), who had £105 lent out 'in Specialty' and £11.14s.0d 'without Specialty', i.e. without contract.

As far as Horton is concerned, the wealthiest person was undoubtedly Anthony Dowbiggin, yeoman of Newland House (1742), whose estate was valued at £1,483.10s.8d. Like Mabella Lister of Giggleswick, his wealth was far in excess of any others studied in the parish. Anthony was also probably lending money as amongst the items listed is one for '£1,419.0s.0d owing by several persons'. This particular document is invaluable in giving us an idea of the size of his property as the items of furniture are spread over ten named rooms including 'the little room at stairsfoot'. However, this can only be an approximation as any empty rooms would have been passed over by the assessors as they were only interested in valuing goods.

## Beds and Bedding

Beds were a valuable item up to the mid-eighteenth century and even beyond, as many people did not possess such a luxury, merely sleeping on a pallet on the floor with just a 'chaffe' mattress for comfort: a 'chaffe' bed consisted of a mattress filled with cut straw and was common throughout the period studied. The number of beds listed in an inventory is therefore a useful measure of a person's wealth, if not social standing. Bedstocks, which is the term most commonly used in this period, describes the frame of a bed which had perforated holes, through which strong cords were threaded, forming a base for a mattress [Milward, 1986, 9]. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give an accurate figure of the numbers of bedstocks contained within a property at this time – not least because there was a tendency in the early 18th century to group the items from one room under a single heading – for example, 'Goods in the Parlour' or 'Household Stuff'. This proved to be the case in 39% of the Horton inventories and 21% in Giggleswick. As the century progressed it became the norm to group everything together, probably as a result of people gaining more possessions, no doubt helping the appraisers cut down on paper work.

For Horton, 40 (62%) of the inventories contain bedstocks, top of the list being Thomas Howson's of Blindbeck, yeoman. Thomas made his will on 21 December 1705 and was buried on Christmas Day. His 'Goods & Chattells debts & Creditts' were assessed on 10 January 1705/6 and totalled £153.14s.7d. This extensive inventory listed cattle, sheep and many household items spread over seven rooms, plus a substantial amount of husbandry gear (farming equipment). When we count the number of beds and bedding it looks possible that he was running an inn as well as being a farmer. Apart from five bedsteads, six chaff beds, one feather bed and one truckle bed there are fourteen



bolsters, several coverlets and eight pair of blankets: a truckle bed was a low bed which could be pushed under a standing bed [Milward, 1986, 56]. The fact that Thomas had a large number of dishes, plates, tubbs, gallons and piggins (a half barrel) further helps to support the idea that this may well have been an inn or public house.

Of the six people with no beds listed, Stephen Carr's inventory of 1719 is arguably the most poignant:

	£	s	d
His purse & his apparell	1	18	0
his wages	0	15	0
his debts	0	6	0
In all	2	19	0
funerall expences	1	14	0

Stephen must have been an employee as he was receiving wages and appears to have had no possessions, so must have slept on the floor. Needless to say he died intestate.

The percentage of Giggleswick inventories containing references to beds is slightly less than for Horton, 57% as opposed to 62%, but these figures are only a rough estimate. There are many pitfalls when interpreting inventories and the one drawn up after the death of Dorothy Banks is a good example. Dorothy was a spinster with a total valuation of goods of £80 (a not inconsiderable sum in 1712), yet there was no mention of beds or bedding. It is difficult to believe that a woman who had £20 in her 'purse & apparell', £3 in pewter, £5 in linen, chests, desks and trunks valued at £2 plus £5 owing in bills, bonds etc. did not possess a bed. Either the bed was overlooked by the appraisers, which is unlikely, or Dorothy had already promised the bed to someone else and it had been taken away before the valuation.

When we look at Thomas Carr's inventory (1718) we are on much firmer ground. He is described as a butcher but was running an inn as well, judging by the number of beds, which total 29 and include a 'Press bed', that is, one which folds up when not in use. Also included in this very long inventory are 26 pairs of sheets in one store room, and 189 gallons of ale, brandy, wine and cider in the cellar. When we look at his will we see that he had made provision for his wife to carry on this trade after his death (running an ale house was another acceptable occupation for widows): 'And First I will and Require that my dear and well beloved wife Agnes Carr shall ... keep a publicke and follow the Ale Trade in that messuage or dwellinghouse at Settle aforesaid wherein I doe now dwell'. Thomas was also farming, as evidenced by the amount of husbandry gear and number of

stock which included 138 sheep.

### The Textile Industry

Spinning and weaving were carried on in most households during this period and were occupations which grew exponentially with the coming of the industrial revolution in the 19th century. Up to the middle of the 18th century however, these were cottage industries carried on in the farmhouse as an additional source of income. Farmers were self-sufficient long before the 1500s and these skills were put to good use in these later centuries to help augment their livelihood [Youings, 1984, 25].

The inventory of Christopher Lawson of Lodge, Settle (1706), is a good example of the above. He was titled a linen weaver, and a pair of looms and gear are included in the list, which also includes farming gear, cows, stirks and a mare, the latter probably for riding purposes. The income from weaving was obviously helping him to eke out a living and his total assessment came to £24.5s.4d. Christopher died intestate so we have no information about his family, although we are more fortunate with John Camm of Settle, weaver. He was a widower with six children as evidenced by his will and the total value of his possessions came to £3.6s.2d. John Camm's only possessions appear to be his bedstocks, bedding, looms and gear and 11s.2d in household goods. Clearly, weaving was John's sole occupation and with no horse to take his finished cloth to market (although he could have passed a horse onto his son), he must have been dependent on a clothier bringing him the yarn and collecting the finished web.

The clothier acted as a middle-man, buying the raw wool and transporting it to farms to be carded, spun and woven before finally collecting the finished web [Youings, 1984, 30]. The goods were transported on the backs of pack-horses which, together with horse sleds, carried everything in hilly areas, often along very narrow tracks until roads began to be



Rolled document prior to conservation



improved with the coming of the turnpikes. Even then it was often cheaper and quicker to use pack-horses, particularly during the winter months, when carts would get bogged down and be unable to proceed.

Stephen Eglin of Selside, Horton (1706), was classed as a clothier, but to what extent he was involved in the 'putting out' system is difficult to say. His inventory lists looms, gear and a wool dyeing vat but there is no evidence of anyone spinning in the family, as no wheels or other carding equipment are mentioned. Possibly he took the wool to another farmstead to be carded and spun by the wife and children as was often the case. He died in 1706, leaving small amounts of money to his young children but passing the bulk of his estate, valued at £77.11s.0d, to his wife Margaret. She appears to have carried on the business, as her own inventory some 17 years later listed a pair of looms 'and other things belonging woollen trade'.

If the term clothier was rather ambiguous, the term mercer could be equally confusing. Originally a dealer in silk, the mercer had by the mid-sixteenth century developed into more of a general dealer [Vaisey, 1966, 108]. The inventory of John Beck of Selside (1739) merely states: 'In mercery & other wares which he traded in'. Unfortunately the 'other wares' are not listed, neither are they in the inventory of William Carr junior of Settle (1722) which simply states 'Goods in the Shop £374.12s.4d'. We fare much better with William Carr senior, a Gentleman/Mercer of Settle whose total wealth in 1731 amounted to £1001.15s.5d, making him one of our wealthiest testators.

William was obviously a prosperous farmer with lands valued at £300 and with six oxen and 126 sheep/lambs amongst his stock. The '4 She asses' are an unusual item, and are valued at £3.6s.8d. Asses are sturdy animals and like mules were frequently used as pack animals in the medieval period, although this is the first instance I have come across in the Settle area at this time. As William's inventory also lists three load saddles, we can safely assume that these animals were being used to transport goods. A load saddle was just one way of carrying them; often made of wood, the pack saddle was padded beneath and secured to the horse by a leather strap or wantey [Brears, 1972, 134]. There is no mention of looms, gear or fabrics by the appraisers, just wool to the value of £4.10s so possibly William was selling his fleeces at the markets, carried there on the backs of his asses.

William Carr was a friend and associate of Joseph Symson of Kendal, a prominent merchant at this time. Correspondence between the two can be found in Symson's Letter Book [Smith, 2002]. Symson had trains of pack-horses travelling as far south as Southampton and London, delivering textiles and returning with imported goods but, more importantly for us, had a train of 20 to 30 horses travelling twice a week to Settle. He supplied goods to many of the tradesmen in Settle and the trains of pack-horses must have caused great excitement when they arrived in town with bells attached to the leading horse heralding their approach. A study of the letters between Symson and the Settle traders is just part of my personal

ongoing research.

## Summary

This article has presented a brief glimpse of some aspects of life in Giggleswick and Horton parishes during the Early Modern period, but the scope for more intensive research on any number of subjects is endless. One of the findings of the survey was the multiplicity of occupations of many of the testators and the significant part that the textile industry played in their lives. In these 289 inventories we have a microcosm of life in the first half of the 18th century within a small area of North Craven; the fact that from 1750 onwards the numbers of inventories decline rapidly throughout the country makes these documents even more important.

This research was made possible through a substantial grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund for which the group is very grateful. The project was part of a much bigger body of work [Gordon, et al. 2010] concerning the Ancient Parish of Giggleswick. We now have all the wills/inventories from 1390 through to 1750 - a total of 1,092 documents - and all will be available on-line, providing an invaluable resource for historians and genealogists and anyone interested in the lives of the people of North Craven.

## Acknowledgments

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# New evidence reveals Eighteenth century Craven drovers summer pasturing their cattle on the Lincolnshire fens

Tony Stephens

## Introduction

The NCHT *Journal* of 2008 included an article by the author describing the cattle-droving activities of the Birtwhistle family of Skipton. Between 1745 and 1819, John Birtwhistle and three of his sons, William, Alexander and Robert, ran one of the most successful cattle-droving businesses in Britain. They brought Scottish and Irish cattle fattened on their holdings in South-West Scotland through Craven on their way to markets in East Anglia.

John Birtwhistle bequeathed the business to the three droving brothers as tenants-in-common and, when the last of the brothers died in 1819, there was an inheritance dispute which was only finally resolved in the House of Lords in 1841. The estate remained intact during the dispute, and the court records in The National Archives provide a detailed account of the Birtwhistle land in Craven.

By far the largest Craven holding was an 872 acre estate on the Long Preston/Airton hilltops. This comprised Crakemoor farm in Airton, purchased by John Birtwhistle in 1784, and the adjacent Langber pasture in Long Preston, acquired by the three brothers under Long Preston's Parliamentary Enclosure Act of 1799. Although Langber Lane (Fig.1) which runs through the Birtwhistle's hilltop holding had not been recorded as a drove road by previous authors, it must have been so at the end of the 18th century. It will have been down this lane that Birtwhistle cattle set off on their way to southern markets.

Recent researches by Professor Julian Hoppit of University College London in the Sutro library in San Francisco have led to the discovery that, for many years, the Birtwhistles pastured large numbers of cattle illicitly on unenclosed fenland to the north of Boston in Lincolnshire. Having read the on-line version of the Birtwhistle article in the 2008 NCHT *Journal*, Professor Hoppit kindly contacted the NCHT to make the author aware of his findings. The purpose of this paper is to discuss how Professor Hoppit's researches extend our understanding of the Birtwhistle droving business, a business of major importance to the North Craven economy in the last half of the 18th century.

## The Sir Joseph Banks papers in the Sutro library San Francisco

Sir Joseph Banks, who circumnavigated the world with Captain Cook, was descended from Laurencius del Bank who is recorded paying rent for a property in Giggleswick in 1314. The Banks family lived in Giggleswick until the 17th century, giving their name to the area known as Bankwell. It was Sir Joseph's great-grandfather who moved to



Figure 1 Langber Lane in Long Preston; an important drove road at the end of the 18th century

Lincolnshire in 1714, on purchasing the 11,000 acre Revesby estate to the north of Boston. With ownership of Revesby came chairmanship of the fenland court, which had jurisdiction over 40,000 acres of fenland lying to the north of Boston. Sir Joseph's papers were offered for sale at Sotheby's in 1880, and the fenland court records were among the lots which eventually found their way to the Sutro library in San Francisco. Fortunately, although much of the Sutro library collection was destroyed in the San Francisco earthquake of 1906, the Banks papers survived.

## The Birtwhistles invest in Lincolnshire fenland

Fenland comprises some hundreds of thousands of acres of land, lying roughly between Cambridge in the south and Lincoln in the north. To understand why the Birtwhistles should be active in the northern rather than the southern fens requires an understanding of how the fens were enclosed, and how their enclosure affected property rights on them.

Today fenland is some of the most valuable arable land in England, but this was not always the case. Being low-lying and badly drained by slow moving rivers, the fens were frequently subject to inundation, making their natural state marshland. In earlier centuries fenland provided subsistence livings to residents in the small hamlets bordering the fens, their main occupations being fowling, fishing, gathering sedge for roofing and willow for basket-making, and the pasturing of a few cattle during the summer months.

The potential for the fens to be drained and converted to high quality arable land was well recognised in the 16th century, but it was not until after the Civil War that serious attempts at drainage were made. The largest and best known



of the fen drainage projects was of the fens surrounding the Great Ouse and Nene rivers. This was undertaken by the Duke of Bedford and fellow 'adventurers' who employed Dutch engineer Cornelius Vermuyden to devise a scheme which involved creating two twenty-mile channels to increase water flows, and sluices to avoid tidal ingress. This hugely expensive project was financed by the Duke and his 'adventurers' but, in return, they rewarded themselves with large tracts of reclaimed land; the 'commoners' traditional rights on the fens were expunged.

The fens to the north of Boston were badly drained because the slow-moving river Witham falls only 16 feet in the 20 miles between Lincoln and Boston. A drain was created between Cowbridge and Boston in 1568 (the Maud Foster drain) and this was followed in 1631 by a scheme devised by Sir Anthony Thomas under which he and fellow 'adventurers' claimed 16,000 of the 40,000 acres of the Wildmore, West and East fens. However, unlike in the fens to the south, the 'commoners' on the northern fens successfully fought back against the 'adventurers'. They took matters into their own hands by breaking the sluices and dykes and flooding the 'adventurers' land. An appeal to parliament by the 'adventurers' was unsuccessful, and the 'commoners' regained their traditional fenland rights.

Unlike the southern fens, which had fallen into private ownership on enclosure, the fens to the north of Boston were still unenclosed when John Birtwhistle purchased land in Skirbeck near Boston in 1769. As may be seen in Figure 2, this was still the case when the fens were mapped by Armstrong in 1778, and it was not until 1801 that a Parliamentary Act was passed to enable them to be enclosed. What must have influenced John Birtwhistle to purchase property in Skirbeck in 1769 was that with ownership came 'commoner' rights to pasture cattle on the West and East Fens to the north of Boston. At the same time as purchasing land in Skirbeck John also purchased the rectory of Skirbeck, installing his eldest son, Rev. Thomas Birtwhistle, as the Skirbeck rector.

A high proportion of Scottish cattle coming into England in the 18th century were destined for the London market, but they did not normally proceed directly there. Cattle lost typically around one third of their body weight on the long journey from Scotland, so needed fattening for several months close to their final market before being sold to butchers. The simplest arrangement was for the drovers to sell their cattle at St Faith's Fair near Norwich. The graziers who purchased the cattle fattened them on turnips over the winter months, and the cattle were taken to Smithfields in the spring - a walk of around a week. Norfolk farmers were

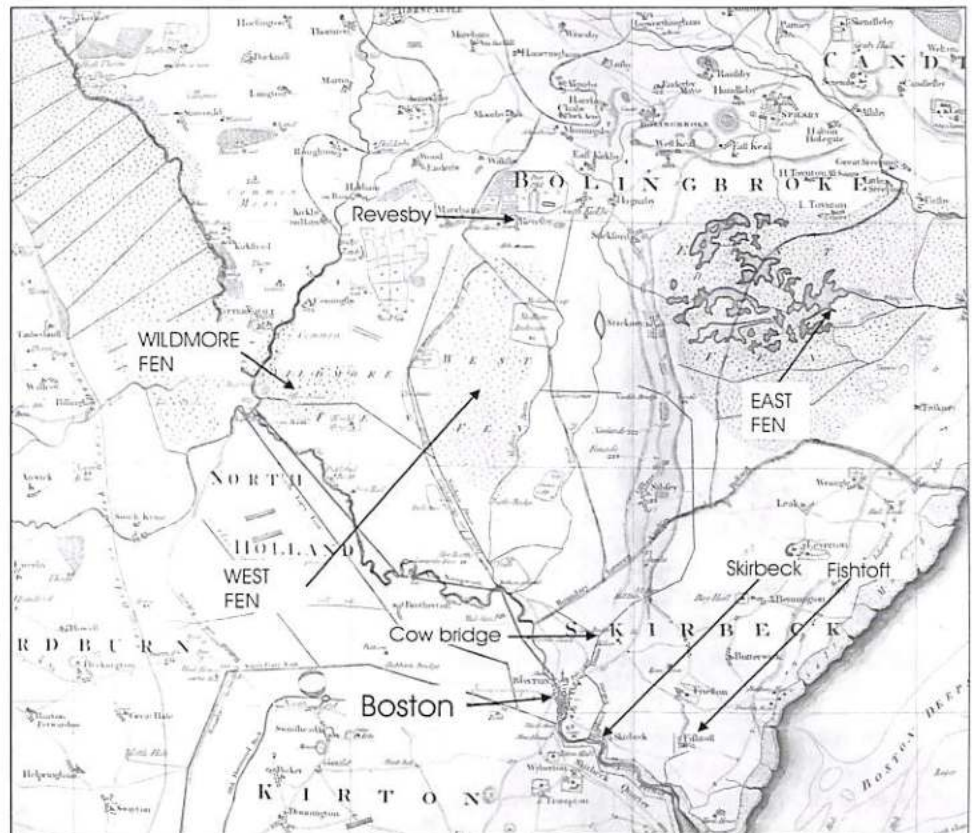


Figure 2. Armstrong's map showing that the fens lying between Boston and Revesby were unenclosed in 1778 (the original of this map is to be found at Lincoln in the Lincolnshire Record Office)

keen to accommodate droving cattle on their turnip fields, since the manure generated increased wheat yields later in the year.

St Faith's Fair, near Norwich, the most important cattle market in England since medieval times, was held over a three-week period from 17 October. With Boston being only a week's drive from St Faith's, the Birtwhistles could take their cattle to St Faith's Fair in much better condition than cattle which had just arrived from Scotland. Also, with access to pastureland in Scotland, Yorkshire and East Anglia, the Birtwhistles were not entirely dependent on selling at St Faith's; they could take cattle to markets closer to London at times of the year when prices might be higher. There are records of William and Alexander Birtwhistle offering 'strong fresh Galway Scots' for sale in Hoxne (to the south of Norwich) in March 1782 and of Messrs. Birtwhistle offering cattle in Ipswich in December 1803.

### What the Banks papers tell us about the Birtwhistle activities on the Lincolnshire fens

The Skirbeck land tax return of 1771 shows the newly installed rector of Skirbeck, Rev. Thomas Birtwhistle, paying around two and a half times the average Skirbeck land tax. This should have entitled him to put around 20 cattle on West fen, but the fenland court records show this entitlement being considerably exceeded. Because the pasture rights on the fens had never been properly defined, the fenland court struggled to find a basis for mounting a legal challenge. Describing the Birtwhistles as 'delinquents', a Mr Coltman complained in a letter to Sir Joseph that 'no man has ventured to declare the law therefore it becomes necessary to ascertain and establish both the general and individual right on the commons.'

In 1784 the court was advised that 520 owners had a total of 3936 cattle on the West fen that year, 300 belonging



to Rev. Thomas Birtwhistle, and no-one else having more than 60 cattle. A Table appended to the minutes showed that there had been an average of around 600 Birtwhistle cattle on West Fen during the period 1774 to 1784.

Year	Number of Reverend Thomas Birtwhistle's cattle on West Fen
1774	300
1775	700
1776	800
1777	700
1778	582
1779	198
1780	720
1781	600
1782	500
1783	868
1784	300

Table 1 Record of Reverend Thomas Birtwhistle's cattle on West Fen 1774-1784

Because the cattle on the fen were in the name of the Rev. Thomas Birtwhistle, the older brother of the three drovers, there was justified suspicion that the rector was acting as a front man for his three professional drover brothers. Following a court meeting, Sir Joseph wrote to the Rev. Birtwhistle questioning whether 'there has been any collusion between yourself and any other person'. He added: 'I have before me the quantities of stock you have depastured on the fens every year for the last ten. I do not see how any jury ... can estimate the profit which has arisen to you in those 10 years ... as less than £3000'. Despite reminding the Rev. Birtwhistle that: 'I stand forth in character of the Kings approver for the fens an office instituted for the express purpose of regulating the conduct of the commons', Sir Joseph appears to have been powerless to persuade the Rev. Birtwhistle to reduce the number of Birtwhistle cattle on the fens. In 1792 the fen court recorded that there had been 568 Birtwhistle cattle on West fen that year.

After the Rev. Birtwhistle died in 1789, it was no longer possible to pretend that the cattle were his, and the fenland court meeting in 1792 recorded that the cattle belonged to Robert Birtwhistle (the former rector's youngest brother). Benjamin Hildred, the Cowbridge toll keeper, reported to

the court that Robert had come to his toll bar in person on 5 October and had paid the toll for 240 cattle taken through the toll bar towards Boston that day. A further 311 Birtwhistle cattle had been taken through the toll bar on 17 October, followed by 17 cattle on 24 October, the toll for these two droves being paid by Peter Blackburn, a Boston innkeeper, 'on behalf of Mr Robert Birtwhistle'. A Thomas Herring advised the court that a local man, William Carry of Sibsey, had looked after the Birtwhistle cattle on the fens during the summer months, and that they had been driven out of the fen and through the toll bar at Cowbridge towards Boston by a person 'dressed like a Scotchman in plaid'.

During the 1790s commissioners toured the country preparing detailed reports for the government on the state of the country's agriculture. In Settle they were baffled to see cattle which were 'long horned and seem in shape, skin and other circumstances to be nearly the same as the Irish cattle'. It is likely that these were indeed Irish cattle, brought from Galloway by the Birtwhistles. One of the attractions to the Birtwhistles of buying several large farms in Galloway had been the availability of cattle which could be purchased in Ireland for £4.50 to £5, sold in Lincolnshire for £8 to £9, or for £13 to £17 if fattened for a summer in Lincolnshire. These figures are consistent with Sir Joseph's estimate that the Birtwhistles' annual benefit from putting their cattle on West Fen was more than £3000. The Birtwhistles had a close relationship with the laird of Gatehouse of Fleet, who invited them to build a cotton mill in the town (which survives as the Gatehouse of Fleet Visitors' Centre). The laird had a large but unprofitable cattle estate in Galway, and it is likely that it would have been cattle from his Galway estate which William and Alexander Birtwhistle described as 'very strong fresh Galway Scots' when offered for sale at Hoxne in Suffolk in March 1782.

Much of the information in the commissioners' report about agriculture in the Boston area appears to have been derived from a visit they paid to Sir Joseph Banks at Revesby. They were concerned to see that the fens to the north of Boston were still unenclosed and worth only 3 shillings an acre, when they would have been worth 18 shillings an acre if enclosed and put to arable use. Sir Joseph explained that, although he was keen to see the fens enclosed, the 47 parishes which had commoner rights on the fens were still divided on

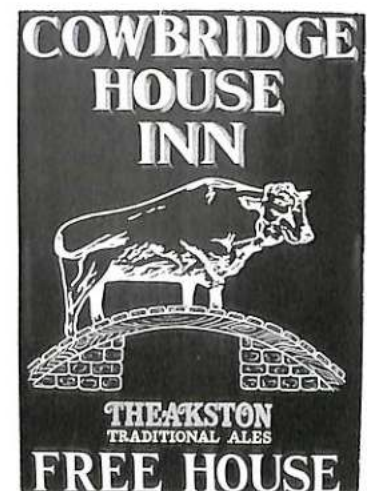
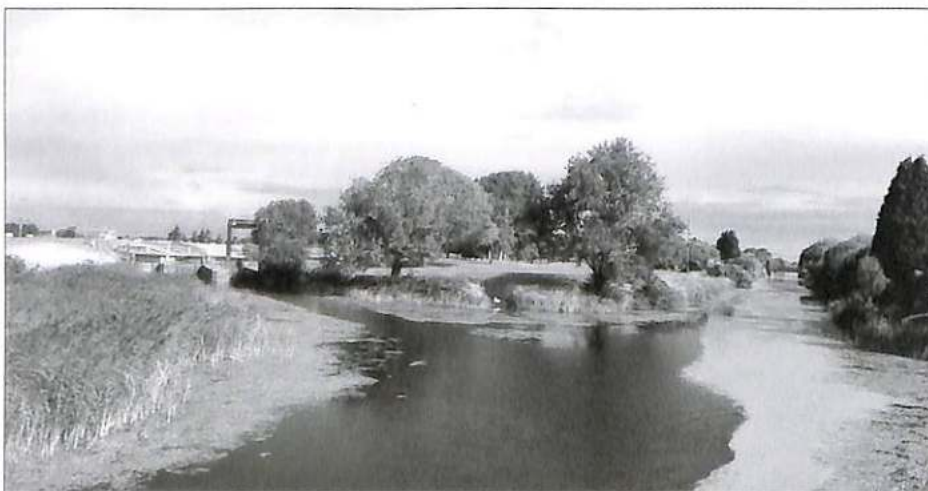


Figure 3 The sluice at Cowbridge (Lincolnshire) and a sign at the nearby Cowbridge House Inn which recalls usage of Cowbridge in droving days



the matter of enclosure.

Although we are aware from the Sutro archive that the Birtwhistles summer-pastured cattle on the West Fen, the commissioners' report, published in 1799, revealed that they also placed cattle on the East Fen. 'Mr Birtwhistle (Robert)... is much spoken of for stocking East and West Fen, chiefly the latter with Scotch beasts... this person was a contractor for vast numbers, even to the number between 700 and 800 even 1000, which he summered here, and then drove them into Norfolk to sell for turnips; and it is said his father made much money by this practice'. It is also highly likely that they will have pastured cattle on Wildmore fen since, in addition to purchasing the rectory of Skirbeck for his son Rev. Thomas Birtwhistle, John Birtwhistle also purchased the adjacent rectory of Fishtoft for his son-in-law Rev. John Vardill. Fishtoft residents had pasture rights on Wildmore Fen.

As rector, Rev. Vardill was not required to be resident in Fishtoft, and at different times lived in London, Yorkshire and with the Birtwhistle family in South-West Scotland. It was from his London residence in 1791 that his brother-in-law, William Birtwhistle, wrote a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, expressing an interest in the enclosure of the Lincolnshire fens. However, his letter did not have the desired effect; when the fens were enclosed under a Parliamentary Act of 1801 the Birtwhistles were only allocated land due to them as Skirbeck residents. Sir Joseph is unlikely to have felt kindly disposed to the droving brothers who had, despite his remonstrations, continued to overstock the fens with their cattle.

### The drove route from the Lincolnshire fens to St Faith's Fair

The Birtwhistle cattle are likely to have skirted the Wash on their route to St Faith's, following a well-established droving route through Wisbech and Swaffham, with a rest stop at Sketchey, just to the south of Kings Lynn. Drivers needed to plan their routes carefully to ensure that there was feed for their cattle at the end of the day, and one of the attractions of Sketchey was that its farmers made their fields available to drovers. Although St Faith's was the main cattle fair in East Anglia, there were also many subsidiary cattle fairs in villages on the way to St Faith's (such as Sketchey), and also on the way from St Faith's to Smithfields market in London (such as Hoxne). Although the Birtwhistles had a bank account in London, no records have yet come to light of them having taken cattle further south than Ipswich.

### Concluding remarks

The droving trade was of major economic importance to the economy of North Craven for approximately a century from the middle of the 18th century to the advent of the railway age. Although John Birtwhistle and his sons were only actively engaged in the droving business between 1745 and 1819, their executors kept much of their estate intact during the protracted inheritance dispute which was only settled in 1841. Their records therefore span most of the period when droving was at its peak. Because of its fragmentary nature, droving was poorly documented by contemporaries. The importance of the Birtwhistle records is that they enable us to build a picture not only of the Birtwhistles' activities, but also of the likely activities of Craven drovers for whom no records survive.

What emerges from the records is new insights into

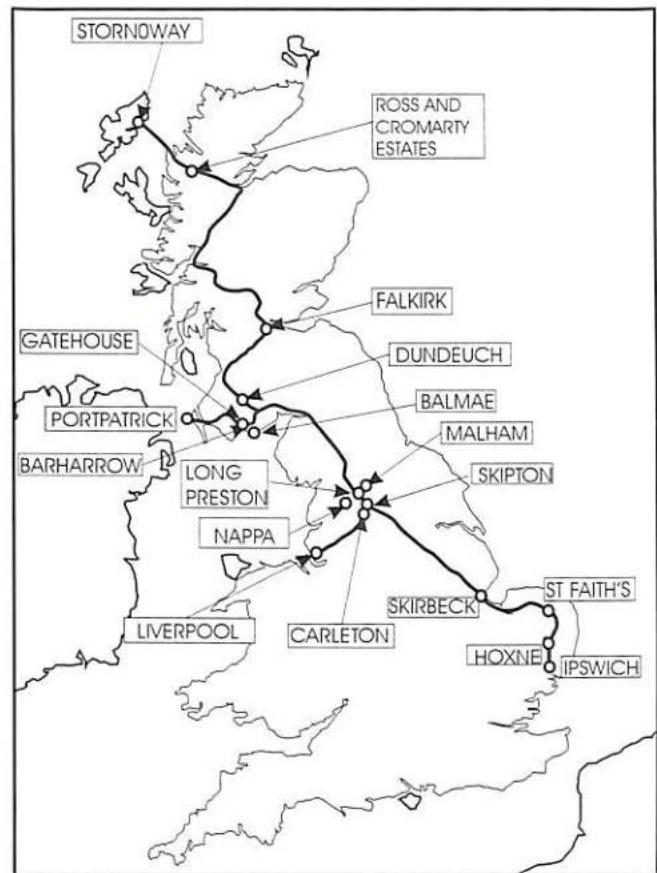


Figure 4 Locations associated with the Birtwhistle droving business, 1745-1819

North Craven's involvement in the handling of cattle in transit from Scotland and Ireland to East Anglia. St Faith's Fair in late October is likely to have been where many of the cattle seen briefly in North Craven were sold to graziers for fattening on turnips before being driven to Smithfield market the following year.

This paper illustrates the value to authors of publishing in journals such as the NCHT whose articles later appear on-line. Without having read the on-line version of the NCHT Birtwhistle article of 2008, Professor Hoppit would not have appreciated the value of his discoveries in California relating to the Birtwhistles, and would not have fed his findings back to the NCHT. Also, as new research material continues to emerge from the archives and be placed on the web, it is possible that important additional insights into the droving trade still await discovery.

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# Haver and Stirks: Farming in Austwick from 1550 to 1750

Michael Pearson

## Introduction

According to *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* Austwick means 'east dairy-farm'. Today there is no dairy farming in the parish. The existence of strip lynchets and the survival of ridges and furrows shows that arable farming was more prominent in the past. In 1851 the Tithe Schedule recorded that nearly 200 acres were being ploughed. In 2015 there was just a single field devoted to growing corn. Clearly the pattern of farming has changed over the past centuries and no doubt will continue to change in the future.

The documentary evidence for this change is scant. However, probate inventories provide some useful clues. Inventories are lists drawn up by neighbours of the possessions of a deceased person who had left a will. They list and value the testator's furniture and household possessions, sometimes room by room, the animals and crops as well as any farm equipment. They date from the 1530s and continued into the 19th century. The late Stan Lawrence devoted much of his life to researching local history and transcribed over 70 of these inventories from the Lancashire Record Office relating to Austwick, dating from the 1550s to the 1740s. These have formed the basis of the following analysis and the light they shed on the changes in farming from just after the dissolution of the monasteries to the agricultural revolution.

## Analysis

Table 1 is a summary of the number of inventories and the net value of the estates grouped in fifty-year periods. The net value was calculated as the total value of the assets plus any debts owed to the deceased minus any of the debts owed by the testator. For example John Ash, who died in 1621/2 (old style calendar with year end of 25 March) left animals, crops, household item etc. valued at just over £48; he was owed nearly £8 by two individuals but in turn owed £16 which included 30 shillings for his servant's wages. So the net value was £40. In some cases the debts exceeded the total value of the moveable assets. However, the inventories do not include the value of any land held let alone the acreage farmed. Thus the deceased was not necessarily insolvent. We will return to this further in a wider discussion of the economics of farming and village life.

In the sixteenth century the sample included just one woman but all had been engaged in farming in that they kept animals or grew crops. In the first half of the seventeenth century the proportion of women was similar (14%) and all but two of the group had been engaged in farming. However, these two still kept hens. For the second half of that century the proportion of women remained at 14%, but nearly a third of the sample were not engaged in farming, though some of them owned a horse or kept a single cow. In the final group the proportion of women was unchanged. Three of the group were not farmers, though one of them still owned farm equipment. The other two were women who did not keep any animals.

The net value of the estates varied considerably in all four groupings. The richest person was Arthur Ingilby who died in 1701. If his data are excluded the highest value for the eighteenth century group is reduced to £145, which is similar to the maximum found in the preceding periods. Similarly the average falls to £44. This suggests that due to the small size of the samples the data for one individual can skew the results. Nevertheless, it appears that the average net values of estates were similar from 1550 to 1750, with the exception of a possible dip at the start of the seventeenth century.

## Sheep

Table 2 is a summary of the figures extracted from the inventories for sheep. After the Tudor period, when all the people in the sample kept sheep, there was a decline in the number of people keeping flocks. (The term seems inappropriate for a group of four sheep!) Of the 20 farmers who died between 1650 and 1699 only seven reared sheep, and of these only two had flocks valued at £10 or more. In the eighteenth century sample, while the proportion keeping sheep increased, the size and value of the flocks generally declined. It is interesting that the wealthiest farmer, Arthur Ingilby, kept no sheep at all. Occasionally the valuers made the distinction between ewes and hoggs (lambs) and it is sometimes possible to calculate the price per animal. It appears that the value of sheep increased after the 16th century but then remained fairly static until at least 1750. Throughout the period from 1550, though sheep were a part of the farming landscape, they were not the dominant part they are today.

## Cattle

The inventories include an interesting range of names for cattle. Terms such as heifer, kye, stirk, stote, why, calf steer, cattle and oxen all appear in a variety of spellings. Some retain their current meanings while others need further explanation. 'Why' is a Craven dialect word for a heifer, whilst stirk is a heifer between the age of one and two years but can also be used for cattle of either sex. A stirk becomes a stote when it is old enough to be yoked in a plough. Finally a kye, sometimes spelled quy, is a cow or in plural kyne.

Table 3 is a summary of the inventory data. In the Tudor sample all but one of the group owned cattle, which accounted for just over a third of the net value of the estates. In the first half of the 17th century all but four of the sample kept cattle, which again accounted for a third of the estates. Though there was a further decline in the proportion of people rearing cattle the average value remained at about a third.

A distinction can be made between draught animals and other cattle. In the earliest sample all but two of the deceased owned oxen or stotes. As both of these people also owned corn, which presumably they had grown, it would suggest that they either hired oxen for ploughing or else used horses for the job. In the next sample only four inventories listed



oxen among the possessions. The remaining farmers did not always possess horses, or possessed only a single mare, so it seems probable that they borrowed or hired their neighbours' oxen. In the latter half of the seventeenth century the number of farmers owning oxen remained unchanged. John Paley, who died in 1650/51, owned a total of twelve oxen which were valued at £56. This amounted to about 30% of his net estate and was a significant investment. In the next century only three inventories listed oxen, with ten beasts being owned by Arthur Ingilby. Again this suggests a continuing decline in the numbers owning oxen with little evidence that their role was being performed by horses.

Analysis of the inventories shows that rearing cattle, other than oxen, was an important part of farming throughout the period. This was both for milk production as well as beef. From the inventories it is often possible to calculate the value of the different types of cattle. For example, in the Tudor period oxen were worth between £2 and £2.17s each. In the next sample they ranged from £2.3s to £3.3s each. In the final half of the seventeenth century values ranged from £2.10s to £4.3s. The final sample shows that prices had risen with the beasts being worth from £4 to £5 each. There seems to have been a steady increase in their value over the period. This may explain the decline in the numbers of farmers keeping oxen. If you had a limited amount of land to plough then keeping oxen would be an expensive investment; it would make more sense to invest in rearing cattle for beef or cows for milk.

The values of the other cattle have also been listed in Table 3 and it is clear that there is a wide range in values. This is possibly due to the age and condition of the animals. In one inventory 'one old poore, lame cow' was valued at £1.3s.4d, when in the same period other cows were valued at £2.10s each.

### Crops

Table 4 is a summary of the information extracted from the inventories. There is one obvious proviso: the season in which the testator died would have had an important effect on the value of the crops. The earliest inventories provide the greatest details about which crops were grown. In the sixteenth century only corn, haver (oats), barley, bigg (a variety of barley) and hay were listed. Beans were listed in the next century. From then onwards the level of detail deteriorated and items were often simply described as 'crops'. Generally quantities were not provided, with the three exceptions listed. With more examples it might be possible to calculate the areas under cultivation. Very occasionally timber was listed and there is a single instance of hives and bees. Also there was an instance where a manure heap was valued.

In the Tudor period crops were listed in all the inventories, with an average value of £10. In the next sample a smaller proportion of farmers grew crops and the average value fell to £4 before recovering to £10 in the second half of the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century a greater proportion of farmers were growing crops but when the estate of Arthur Ingilby was excluded the average value had fallen to £3. This could be due to a fall in grain prices, a decline in the acreage being planted or a combination of the two.

Although not strictly a crop, wool was listed in a number of inventories throughout the period. However, this would depend on the time of death of the farmer and the time of shearing. In some cases wool was listed but the farmer did not have any sheep. This may suggest that wool had been bought for spinning or weaving. This is supported by the listing of looms in three inventories between 1600 and 1649. John Frankland, who died in 1650, was described as a webster and possessed wool and cloth valued at £20. In 1710 William Beecroft died leaving wool, cloth and looms valued at £9. He was described as a clothier. It is interesting that hemp, 'lynin' and flax appear more frequently in the inventories than wool. Either hemp and flax were grown locally or were purchased to be spun and woven as part of a way of supplementing farm incomes.

### Farm Equipment

Often described as 'husbandrie gear' the inventories rarely specify the value of individual pieces of equipment. Hay and turf carts, yokes and ploughs were listed but these were lumped together and given fairly modest values. Table 5 is a summary of the range of values over the period with some examples of the values of individual items. In the final period, if the estate of Arthur Ingilby is excluded, the maximum value of farm equipment falls to £2, which is in line with the previous century.

### Horses, Pigs And Hens

Table 6 provides the comparative data for horses. Used for transport, drawing carts, as pack animals and possibly for harrowing and ploughing, it is not surprising that they were commonly listed in the inventories. The number of these multi-purpose animals remained fairly constant over the period, with Arthur Ingilby's stable skewing the data in the final group. Once again variation in the values of animals may be explained by their age and condition.

Pigs were regularly listed in inventories of all periods. However it is clear from Table 7 that not every household kept pigs and, if they did, only limited numbers were reared. There was one exception: John Granger kept a herd of pigs valued at £12. A lack of woodland in the area for foraging may explain the low number of swine. On the other hand hens were far more commonly kept. Numbers were rarely specified and the values listed were modest. Stephen Procter had six hens valued at 2s. By the 18th century poultry were no longer listed: perhaps their value was so low that the valuers ignored them.

### Discussion

The sample of 71 inventories is a small one, particularly as they span 200 years. In fact Stan Lawrence did not transcribe all the probate inventories for Austwick held by the Lancashire Record Office. When all of the remainder have been transcribed we will have a better idea as to whether the sample analysed here is representative of the larger group. The next issue is whether inventories, as a group, are representative of all classes of the community. Not everyone who died left a will and an inventory. Although the sample described above was drawn from a wide variety of social classes (gentry, yeomen, husbandmen, tradesmen and widows) women were significantly under-represented. This may not be so critical when considering the pattern of farming in the area. Even so, the changes in agriculture



described and the explanation for the causes of these changes must remain tentative. The analysis of the inventories for neighbouring parishes, as well as the transcription of the remaining Austwick ones, will provide greater confidence in the trends and observations described above.

Analysis demonstrates that farming in Austwick was not static between 1550 and 1750. Various trends have been identified: a decline in sheep rearing, the dominance of cattle (whether for beef or milk) in the economy and the continuing importance of arable agriculture, along with the development of other employment to supplement incomes. The shift from sheep to cattle is supported by studies elsewhere [Whyte and Shaw, 2013]. Studies of Nidderdale also show a decline in sheep-rearing and the development of the domestic textile industry [Turner, 1995]. In the case of Nidderdale the change was attributed to a reduction in the size of agricultural holdings. The average medieval message was said to be about 20 acres which was enough to support a family with a small surplus. By the early seventeenth century the average holding had fallen to 12 acres with copyholds repeatedly divided to provide an inheritance for younger sons. Even with common grazing rights this was not sufficient to support a family without an additional income. Hence the growth of the linen industry.

This was not necessarily the case in Austwick. Unfortunately we do not have details of the acreage of individual farms. Whilst this is available from the Tithe apportionment of 1851 and the census of the same date there are no data for earlier periods. The Court Baron records provide information about the exchange of land but not the actual size of holdings. An examination of Austwick wills, however, does not support the continued division of farms to provide for younger sons. For example when William Browne died in 1663, he left his eldest son, Adam, all his land except Moore Close, which was left to his other son and daughter unless Adam paid them £5. Similarly, when Robert Armitstead died he left his nephew all his customary lands and tenant right. He also made provision of cash rather than land for his other nephew, and sister as well as other relatives. To meet these bequests the main beneficiary may have had to dispose of land. However, this is not supported by the Court Baron records. Alternatively the main beneficiary may have borrowed money locally to pay for the other bequests.

The peasant proclivity for hoarding money under the bed does not seem to have existed in Austwick. The probate inventories show that only small sums of ready cash were kept. From the start of the seventeenth century the inventories show that the deceased may have had debts, credits or both. For example, William Yeadon, who died in 1631, had goods valued at £3 but was owed £10.9s. He possessed no

animals or sources of income so probably lived off the interest he charged on the loans. At the other extreme Isabel Yeadon, who died in 1650, had goods valued at £59, was owed £158 and in turn had borrowed £6 leaving a net estate of £210. In Lincolnshire the probate inventories showed that one third had debts or credits [Holderness, 1976]. Part of this borrowing may have been due to problems of liquidity between sowing and harvest, fluctuations in prices and yields, as well as a source of capital for the purchase of stock or land. Far from hoarding, there is plenty of evidence for redistributing idle capital towards the economically active or those in difficulty in the community. This is an avenue for the further exploration of the economics of a farming community.

Another area for further investigation is that of the role of oxen and their part in the rural economy. Research on medieval England has demonstrated that while horses were more expensive to keep than oxen they were also more versatile on the farm [Langdon, 1982]. Nationally, by the late 16th century horses were said to comprise more than half of the draught herd. By the 19th century oxen appear to have been of little importance, with the minor exception of the Yorkshire Dales [Collins, 2010]. Analysis of a wider sample of inventories may provide further insights.

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**TABLE 1 Number of inventories and net values of estates**

	1550-99	1600-49	1650-99	1700-49
No. of inventories	7	23	28	13
Net estate (£)	11 to 155	1 to 104	2 to 210	0 to 502
Average (£)	54	31	56	79

**TABLE 2 Data for sheep**

	1550-99	1600-49	1650-99	1700-49
No. of entries	7 out of 7	8 out of 23	7 out of 28	7 out of 13
Value of sheep	£2 to £12	14/- to £24	3/- to £20	£1- £14
No. of sheep	11 to 51	4 to 113	1 to 104	7 to 38
Value per animal (s/d)	wethers 1/7 ewes 2/4 lambs 2/7	sheep 3/7 to 5/4	hogg 3/7 sheep 3/- to 4/-	3/- to 7/4

**TABLE 3 Data for cattle**

	1550-99	1600-49	1650-99	1700-49
No. of entries	6 out of 7	19 out of 23	19 out of 28	10 out of 13
Value of cattle (£)	4 to 42	1 to 32	1 to 92	7 to 222
Average (£)	19	13	16	38
No. of oxen	0 to 7	0 to 6	0 to 12	0 to 10
No. of cattle	2 to 36	0 to 21	0 to 26	0 to 54
Value per animal (£/s)				
oxen	£2 to £3	£2/3 to £3/3	£2/10 to £4/13	£4 to £5
kyne	£1/18 to £2	£1/15 to £2/10	£2 to £3	£2 to £3/10
stirke	£0/6 to £1	£0/13 to £1/3	£0/15 to £1/0	£1/10
stotte	£1/1	£2/16	£1/15 to £2	£3 to £3/10
calf	-	£0/8	£0/7 to £0/10	£1 to £1/10

**TABLE 4 Data for crops and wool**

	1550-99	1600-49	1650-99	1700-49
No. of entries	7 out of 7	16 out of 23	16 out of 28	9 out of 13
Value of crops (£/s)	£3 to £33	£0/11 to £11	£0/10 to £27	£0/10 to £50
Average (£)	10	4	10	16
Values	1 acre (haver) £2:	½ acre (oats) 4s : ½ acre (barley) £1		
Hemp/wool (no. entries)	4 out of 7	10 out of 23	9 out of 28	1 out of 13

**TABLE 5 Values of farm equipment**

	1550-99	1600-49	1650-99	1700-49
No. of entries	5 out of 7	14 out of 23	19 out of 28	9 out of 13
Value of farm equip.	6s to £10	2s to £2	13s to £2	10s to £15
Values	plough gear 6s	hurroweing gear 3s/4d axeltrees 2s weale 8s 2 dickeing spades 20d spades 10d picke & 2 hames 1s	carts £1/15/0 plough gear £1/10/0 harrow & plough gear 16s/8d	

**TABLE 6 Data for horses**

	1550-99	1600-49	1650-99	1700-49
No. of entries	7 out of 7	14 out of 23	17 out of 28	9 out of 13
Value of horses (£)	1 to 13	1 to 112 to 24	2 to 40	
No. of animals	1 to 7	0 to 6	0 to 6	0 to 10
Values (£/s/d)	Mare Horse £1/3/4	£1/16/8 to £4	£2 to £4 £6	£1 to £4

**TABLE 7 Data for pigs and hens**

	1550-99	1600-49	1650-99	1700-49
No. of entries (pigs)	2 out of 7	15 out of 23	8 out of 28	4 out of 13
Values (s)	10 to 240	2 to 13	6 to 40	10 to 40
No. of entries (hens)	6 out of 7	13 out of 23	7 out of 28	0 out of 13
Values (s)	1-4	1-3	1-6	-



# The Settle Coal Gas supply, retorts and stumps

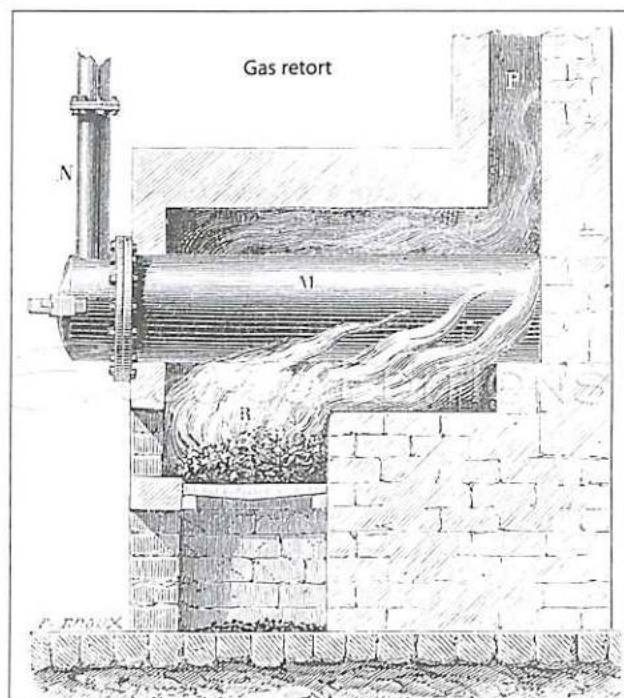
Michael Slater

Many local residents and visitors have walked by the curious stump on the footpath starting on the road to Buckhaw Brow near the Hartshead Inn going down to Giggleswick Church past the graveyard. There is a very similar stump on the path from Settle Bridge by the riverside leading to Queen's Rock in the river. This one is said to have been removed from the weir in the river bed. But what are they?

A few enquiries led to the suggestion that they came from gasworks. Brayshaw and Robinson [1932] note that an attempt to provide gas for Settle was made in 1824 when individuals were canvassed asking how many lights they would like so that the size of the apparatus for making gas could be determined [Local Notes, Brayshaw, c.1903]. John Tatham and Sons (Castleberg Outdoors, see 2015 *Journal*) and J. W. Hartley subscribed and provision was made for about ten public lights to be paid for by public subscription. This attempt does not seem to have been implemented. In 1851 the Vegetable Gas Light Company (set up in 1830) from Hull (S.T. Halsted, T. Horncastle, J. Watson, tar and turpentine distillers) tried to set up works behind the Spread Eagle Inn (near Victoria Hall on land leased from T. Briggs). There is no evidence that this came about but they must have set up a plant elsewhere since the *Settle Chronicle* of 1854 criticizes the siting of the four lamps close together in Settle and the poor quality of the gas (costing 12 s per 1000 cubic feet), the four street lamps having been funded by individuals. It is thought that this effort did not last long, but by 1857 Settle had a proper gas supply provided by the Settle Gas Company (a joint stock company) who had acquired the undertaking and lease of the Vegetable Gas Light Company – with four retorts, 63 meters and the service pipes. During 1881 a gasworks was built close by the river on Sowarth Green and was modernized in 1900 with horizontal retorts 21 feet long and 19 inches by 9 inches cross-section. Gasholders were erected in 1882, 1900 and 1925. The Settle Gas Company was incorporated in 1896 to supply gas to Settle, Giggleswick and Langcliffe and continued until 1949 on nationalization of the gas industry.

The parish vestry and later the parish council negotiated annual contracts for gas supply to street lamps with discord arising from arguments over price discounting. The use of gas for street lighting was discontinued after about 1937 and no lighting was allowed during World War II. In World War I gas was supplied by Haigh Bros. and E.H.Ellis for gasbags on cars.

Bill Mitchell [1993] supplies further information. Mr Hassel of Hull, of the Vegetable Gas Light Company, built his gasworks on Bond Lane (where Settle Coal and Coke Co. are situated). The gas 'smelled most vile' and when the gas worker thought he had supplied enough gas for local needs he went home. It is presumed that anaerobic (oxygen-free) decomposition of vegetable waste was the source of a gas containing some methane. John Tatham was involved in a successful venture in 1856, using coal instead of vegetable matter to minimize the unpleasant smell and improve the quality of the gas. A gasholder was erected in the yard near



Victoria Hall, but later moved to Upper Settle. The disposal of liquid effluent into the river was not a good idea.

When coal is heated in the absence of air the volatile chemicals can be driven off leaving a solid residue of coke. In the chemical industry, a retort is an airtight vessel in which substances are heated for a chemical reaction producing gaseous products to be collected in a collection vessel or for further processing. The gas released from coal is combustible, but when it cools down ready for storage and distribution, tar oils condense out – these chemicals can be utilized for other purposes including making disinfectants. Early versions of coal gas plants contained a set of horizontal iron or ceramic tubes (retorts), closed at one end, packed with coal and heated externally by burning, with air, more coal or the coke residue raked out from the retorts. The opening end (covered by a hinged door) held a valve and pipe to lead the gas off for treatment and storage, and provision for raking out the coke. (Diagrams are available on-line for coal gas horizontal retorts).

The stumps found locally are indeed made of iron as proved using a magnet. They are both hemispherical at the top but oval at the exposed part at the bottom. There are two indented regions on one side but only one on the other. It is not known how deep they are buried. Currently they are about 115cm high, 50cm wide, 40/35cm thick at the thinner section, and 45cm (18 inches) diameter at the top. The strange shape could be explained by gradual distortion on repeated heating of such a cast iron cylinder supported horizontally at two points on brickwork in a furnace, the top then sagging accordingly. The temperature for coal gasification is about 350 to 750°C. Iron melts at well over 1000°C but loses strength markedly as temperature rises above 500°C. The stumps are considered to be hollow: if the stumps were solid they would weigh one to two tonnes so are unlikely to have been moved very far or even at all from their original home. One cannot imagine what such solid objects could have been used for.





Giggleswick stump



Bentham stump

There is another stump in Bentham, on the Bentham Heritage Trail footpath going a short way east past St Margaret's parish church. It protrudes about 140cm above ground and is about 45cm diameter with a roughly hemispherical top. There are several deep slots in one face which are hard to explain, but might be where horizontal supports have bitten into the retort. The now-missing information board suggested it was used for charcoal manufacture, maybe for gunpowder manufacture, which is consistent with coal gas production if wood had been used. It is known that gunpowder production required pulverized charcoal and that heating of wood in retorts gave a better, more uniform product [Crocker, 1999].

*The Lancashire Gazette* of 2/11/1867 notes that the Bentham Gas Co. was set up to provide a Gas Works with a capital of £1000. By 1872, the High Bentham Gas Co. Ltd. was selling gas at 6s.8d, in 1873 7s.6d per 1000 ft<sup>3</sup>, in 1893/4 5s/1000 ft<sup>3</sup>; the Gas Co. Ltd. was still in operation in 1930/31. The plant was probably situated behind the Kidde factory alongside the railway line. Gas House Lane runs off the high street down to the site. It is possible therefore that the retort/stump in Bentham came originally from this gas works.

Ingleton Gas Company was set up in 1866 in works next to the mill which burned down in 1904. John Coates already had a gas works adjoining the mill so he leased the equipment for 20 years from 1866. The gas was considered to be of poor quality and expensive at 7s.6d/1000ft<sup>3</sup> (then 4s elsewhere). In 1900, when electricity became available for lighting the gas company replaced its obsolete equipment with a new retort and purifier and charged 5s/1000ft<sup>3</sup>. The last use was in 1956 and the gasholder and buildings were then demolished [Bentley, 1976].

Brian Skipsey believes that the retorts/stumps seen in Settle were used for charcoal production. Information came from the Huntsworth golf club green-keeper at the time when the Giggleswick Tarn was drained. Trees on Buckhaw Brow are pollarded and were used perhaps 100 years and more ago to provide wood for charcoal. There is a coal seam nearby, above the golf course, (in 'Coffin Wood', alias Cave Hole or Cave Ha' Wood presumably) thus providing a source of fuel, although admittedly of poor quality. The

Settle Coal Company was set up to mine this coal. The retorts would presumably have been sealed but with a vent hole or pipe to allow gases to escape. It is imagined that they were placed horizontally to make it easier to support the retort and add and remove contents. The temperature required for charcoal manufacture is 300 to 700°C.

Humphries [2003] notes a payment to Stavely Coal and Iron Co. of Derbyshire in 1883 for a Gas Retort for the cotton mill in Bentham – maybe this was the source of the retorts used locally since they were in the business of iron castings.

The editor of *Historic Gas Times*, Barry Wilkinson, has provided the

answers [2015]. The stumps are the remains of iron gas retorts used for making gas from coal in the early days of gas-making, in the 1800s. The weakness of cast iron at the high temperatures required for making gas led to distortion of the retorts and eventual scrapping. Most were recycled as scrap but they have been found in many areas being re-used as farm gate posts. Iron retorts were replaced with fireclay types which were more successful. They may have been used for making charcoal, but the traditional method was slow heating of suitable timber in stacks. The late Ken Golisti, Archivist to the Gas Board, researched in detail the development of gas production in Settle from early days to about 1971. His notes are partially incorporated into this article.

### Acknowledgements

Ken Waters, Barry Wilkinson (*Historic Gas Times*) and Kerry Moores (National Grid Information Records Management) were most helpful in finding information.

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# North Craven and the Pilgrimage of Grace 1536-7: the view from Giggleswick

Kathleen Kinder

The Pilgrimage of Grace is the name usually given to the popular uprising in the 1530s against the policies of Henry VIII and his officer Thomas Cromwell to dissolve the monasteries and acquire their assets for the Crown. Its full name was The Pilgrimage of Grace for the Commonwealth. In this instance, 'commonwealth' meant 'for the common good'. The uprising first began in Lincolnshire and then spread to many places in the north of England, principally in Lancashire, North Yorkshire, and what is now Cumbria. Its focus, however, centred on York where a lawyer, Robert Aske, descended from an old, respected Yorkshire family, assumed leadership.

Throughout the Middle Ages, five monasteries, four Cistercian and one Benedictine, had acquired land and influence in North Craven. Jervaulx owned land principally around Horton in Ribblesdale. Fountains Abbey had land around Horton and Fountains Fell. Furness Abbey had land in Stackhouse and Giggleswick (Brigholm), while Finchale Priory, (the only Benedictine foundation) had Giggleswick Church and its living. The biggest landowner in the Settle – Attermire – Langcliffe – Rathmell areas was Sawley Abbey, situated just thirteen miles from Settle. The others were distant and absent landlords. There are several local place names which derive from the monastic period. Whitefriars from Settle refers to the Cistercian monks who stayed there during visits to their property in the Settle area, while Abbeylands in Stackhouse had similar monastic connections. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, the monastic owners were content to rent out the land for others to farm. There were also local landowning gentry like the Percies, Hamertons, Cliffords and Tempests, whose lands and properties were adjacent to those of the monasteries.

There is no doubt that by the early sixteenth century, many monastic foundations had seriously departed from their original religious aims. Some had accumulated vast wealth. Many monks lived lives that were relatively immoral, luxurious and corrupt. Nevertheless many monasteries still provided care for those in need. Sawley Abbey seems to have had a reasonably good reputation amongst local people, unlike many of the larger monastic institutions elsewhere. The residents of Giggleswick parish would miss the services offered by Sawley Abbey, particularly education for the poor, the spiritual teaching and pastoral care from the monks, the food the Abbey provided for beggars and the hungry, hospitality for travellers as well as medicines and



The wounds of Christ.

care for the sick and elderly. North Craven's communities were isolated, Roman Catholic in religion and a long way from the Protestant influences sweeping across London, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and many areas of the South and Midlands, influences which motivated men like Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, Thomas Cromwell and his fellows.

The majority of local people were devout Roman Catholics, followers of the 'old religion' and supporters of a monastic system which in many cases provided their livelihood. All kinds of rumours were circulating regarding planned attacks from the Crown on local religious life. These added further to the unrest amongst the inhabitants of North Craven. What led Henry VIII to sanction the dissolution of the monasteries seems to have been principally greed and a desperate need to fill his empty coffers to support an extravagant lifestyle and to fund foreign ventures, military and otherwise. The king excused his actions by claiming, amongst other things, that the monasteries no longer fulfilled their original purpose. No doubt in many cases, that was true. The Pilgrimage of Grace rebellion only strengthened his determination to speed up the destruction of the monastic system.

The abbeys needed a large number of retainers to look after their lands and properties in North Craven. With the abbeys gone, and until the lands were sold off to private owners, there would be no employment for the ordinary people who called themselves 'the commons'. Some of the local landowners found themselves aligning with the 'commons'; they too had their grievances against the Crown. Others were reluctant to take such a dangerous step. Even



St Alkelda's Church, Giggleswick





Hamerton Hall

before the dissolution of the monasteries and the actual Pilgrimage of Grace there was serious agricultural discontent amongst the local folk who saw common land increasingly being enclosed by land-owning gentry. In June 1535, in North Craven, centring chiefly in Giggleswick parish, there was a riot involving over 300 people. Eighty-two men were indicted for three different riots and eighteen were imprisoned for destroying fences and enclosure dykes (walls) in the Giggleswick area. Amongst others involved were women and children intent on tearing down hedges surrounding enclosures of moors and 'waste land'.

The rising of the Craven 'commons' began on Percy ground, in Giggleswick. The Percy family had been lords of the parish for most of the Middle Ages. In 1527 Henry Percy, sixth earl of Northumberland became lord of the parish, but King Henry VIII soon banished him to the northern Percy border lands for being secretly engaged to Anne Boleyn, with whom Henry was in love. At that time, Anne was maid-of-honour to Henry's Queen Catherine of Aragon. Giggleswick was formally handed to the Cliffords of Skipton Castle in 1536, a family who were much more in the king's favour. Certainly, in 1536, on several grounds, there was not much love for the king and his officers in Giggleswick parish.

Sir Stephen Hamerton belonged to one of the wealthiest families amongst the local gentry. It was said that you would pass through land owned by some branch of the Hamerton family all the way from Slaidburn to York. Today, Green and Kirk Hammerton, two villages just off the A59 near York, bear witness to the extensive land ownership of this family in the early sixteenth century. Note that the modern spelling of the place name is Hammerton. Sir Stephen held the manor of Slaidburn, where the fine Tudor building, Hammerton Hall, is still to be seen. At the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, his residence seems to have been Wigglesworth Hall. He also owned Hellifield Peel. There is a chapel dedicated to the Hamertons in Long Preston Church and a farm called Hamerton in Wigglesworth.

In October 1536 Sir Stephen Hamerton's attention was drawn to a notice nailed to the door of Giggleswick Church summoning the inhabitants of the parish to a muster to take place at Neals Ing, on the north eastern edge of Stainforth

parish. The same, now ancient door, remains the main entrance to Giggleswick Church. Neals Ing was at the foot of Fountains Fell, on the road that led by Penyghent over to Littondale, then Wharfedale, and on to the Grassington road via Pateley Bridge to York. The farmhouse at Neals Ing is still there. Sir Stephen's account states that he was seized by a band of Percy tenants and forced, so he said, 'to take the Commons oath'. One gets the impression from reading all the accounts that some of the local land owners and nobility were initially hesitant about joining the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Around 400 people took part in the progress to Neals Ing, gathering reinforcements from nearby dales as they went. Some may have arrived first in Giggleswick

from lower Ribblesdale and Bowland. Another muster had been called at Monubent, near Forest Becks, north of Bolton-by-Bowland. However, many moved north immediately, because they felt that to gather at Monubent would leave them vulnerable to attack from the pro-royal Cliffords at Skipton Castle. Two of Sir Stephen's companions on the progress were John Catterall, lord of the manor of Rathmell, and Sir Nicholas Tempest of Bashall, near Clitheroe. Sir Nicholas was the younger brother of Sir Richard Tempest of Bracewell. Another branch of the Tempests held the manor of Stainforth. Like Sir Stephen Hamerton, Sir Nicholas seems to have been one who was 'persuaded' by a group of the 'commons' to join the rebellion. He and his companions were probably amongst those who moved from Monubent north up the Ribble valley, to join the North Craven muster.

As the Pilgrims moved from Neals Ing towards Penyghent, they carried a banner depicting the Five Wounds of Christ. They stopped at the ancient Ulfgil Cross, long since gone, although a large base stone was more recently to be seen on the Stainforth-Littondale road between Fountains Fell and Penyghent. There they sang a hymn, written specially for the Pilgrimage by a monk of Sawley Abbey. The first verse of this hymn is printed in Brayshaw and Robinson's *History of the Ancient Parish of Giggleswick* which contains an account of the Pilgrimage of Grace as it affected North Craven. The verse is written in late Middle English and reads:

Crist crucifyid,  
For thy woundes wide,  
Us Commons guide  
Which pilgrimes be  
Thrughe Gode's grace  
For to purchase  
Old welthe and peax  
Of the spiritualitie.

The North Craven muster was but one of many from the northern counties which moved to York to join the rebellion against the king's actions against the monasteries. As Diarmaid MacCulloch wrote of the Pilgrimage of Grace in his book, *Reformation: Europe's House divided 1490-1700*: 'The whole 'commonwealth' of the north was making known its hatred of religious change'.



The outcome of the Pilgrimage of Grace was utterly tragic. The king acted swiftly and brutally against the rebels. In 1537 Robert Aske, the main leader, was hung, drawn and quartered in York, while Sir Stephen Hamerton and Sir Nicholas Tempest were hanged, being spared the more horrific death of quartering and disembowelling because they were gentry. Sir Stephen's son Henry died of a broken heart on the day of his father's execution. He is buried in York Minster. Sir Stephen's wife Elizabeth died in the same year of her husband's execution, and so came to an end this particular branch of the Hamerton family, and an end too of the ill-fated rebellion against Henry VIII called the Pilgrimage of Grace.

One wonders how the people in North Craven recovered after such a profound upheaval to their way of life. At least the king was generous enough to offer a general pardon to the ordinary folk who had taken part in the uprising. Monastic lands, however, passed to the king or to people who could afford to buy them, sometimes on generous terms, it seems. The ordinary peasant folk began to find employment with their new landlords. There must have been a realisation that the people of Giggleswick parish had to be thoroughly schooled in the Protestant faith to ensure that there would be no further rebellions like the Pilgrimage of Grace. In 1538, the great Benedictine Priory of St Cuthbert's in Durham, was dissolved and so was the associate establishment of Finchale Priory which had held the living of Giggleswick Church for most of the Middle Ages. The living now passed to the Crown. Fortunately for the king and his Protestant advisers, the vicar, Robert Newton, who had been vicar since 1517, retired voluntarily in 1545. Although the living had been promised to another priest, it was James Proctor, who earlier had been chaplain to Thomas Cromwell, who in 1546 was appointed vicar of Giggleswick. He stayed just two years and was replaced in 1548 by another Protestant stalwart, John Nowell, who had been chaplain to the new King Edward VI.

Giggleswick School has reason to be grateful to John Nowell whose incumbency lasted for eight years, well into the reign of the Catholic queen, Mary Tudor. John Nowell was able to use his influence at court to recover the money from the Giggleswick chantries, appropriated by Henry VIII, to ensure that Giggleswick 'Grammer Schole' could continue to offer education at first to local boys, and then, from the late 20th century to the present day, function successfully as an independent public school for boys and girls.

People of Giggleswick, Settle, Langcliffe, Stainforth and Rathmell with Wigglesworth, residents of the ancient parish of Giggleswick, do not commemorate the involvement of their Tudor predecessors in the Pilgrimage of Grace, unlike the people of Aughton, near York, the home parish of Robert Aske. There has been for many years an annual service and presentation in Aughton Parish Church on the last Friday of June, commemorating the tragic events of 1536. In June 2015 a cantata entitled *In the Year of Our Lord 1536*, composed and directed by Carole Readman, was performed



Neals Ing, Pen-y-ghent.

by the Weighton Waytes Choir in Aughton Church and Selby Abbey. For the first time the people of Aughton Parish learned a little about the people from North Craven who walked all the way to York to join the Pilgrimage of Grace under the leadership of their Aughton parishioner, Robert Aske.

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Note: \* A rare, antiquarian copy of Joseph Baron's Ribbleland Guide is available for study at the Folly Museum, Settle. Please apply to the Honorary Curator

Acknowledgement: copyright-free illustration: Banner of the Holy Wounds, from <https://commons.wikimedia.org>



# The Foster, Poor Close and Poor's Allotment Charity

Ben McKenzie

17: 100  
quire.

Rec(eiv)ed by us  
Metcalfe Thomas  
Church wardens &  
Overseers of the poore for the  
parish of Giggleswicke in the County of Yorke for the time  
being the sume of five poundes of Lawfull English  
money of & from the hands of Mrs Ann Wiglesworth  
adm(inistratrix) of the goods & Chattells of Mr Henry Wiglesworth  
her late husband deceased which saide sume of five  
poundes is in full consideration of A Legacy of One  
hundred poundes Given by Thomas Foster of  
Slaidborne in the County aforesaid Gent late deceased  
to the poore people of the said parish of Giggleswicke  
for this present year due this Twentys first day  
of December As Witnesse our hands this Twentys  
first day of December Anno Dom 1696

Witnessed  
Richard Ellershaw Clerk  
Charles Nowell  
Antho: Foster  
John Waidson  
J: Willson

Thomas Armitstead  
Jeremy Lawson Christopher  
Wilson & Roger Armitstead  
Fawcett  
Jere(my) Lawson  
Thomas Armitstead  
Chris: Metcalfe  
Roger Armitstead  
Tho: Willson

The legacy payment receipt 1696

A recent *NCHT Journal* article on the the Foster, Poor Close, Poor's Allotment charity set up to support the poor of the Ancient Parish of Giggleswick noted the legacy of Thomas Foster of Slaidburn of £100 to purchase a rent charge of £5 on a property called Blackhouse in 'Essington in Bolland'. In his will of 1692 Thomas bequeathes household items to his niece Ann Wiglesworth. (Slater, M., 2010. 'The changing fortunes of charities in the ancient parish of Giggleswick', *NCHT Journal*, p3-6.)

In 2013 I acquired a document which is a receipt for one of the annual payments of £5 out of this £100 legacy. It notes that £5 has been given to the Church Wardens and Overseers of the Poor of Giggleswick Parish by Mrs Ann Wiglesworth. There are ten witnesses including the vicar (clerk) of Giggleswick Church, Richard Ellershaw. Richard was vicar in 1686 (BA 1682, MA 1688).

Rec(eiv)ed by us  
Metcalfe Thomas  
Robert  
Church wardens & Overseers of the poore for the parish of

Thomas Armitstead  
Jeremy Lawson Christopher  
Wilson & Roger Armitstead  
Fawcett

Giggleswicke in the County of Yorke for the time being the Sume of Five poundes of Lawfull English money of & from the hands of Mrs Ann Wiglesworth adm(inistratrix) of the goods & Chattells of Mr Henry Wiglesworth her late husband deceased which saide Sume of Five poundes is in full Consideration of A Legacy of One hundred poundes Given by Thomas Foster of Slaidborne in the County aforesaid Gent(leman) late deceased to the poore people of the said parish of Giggleswicke for this present year due this Twentys first day of December As Witnesse our hands this Twentys first day of December Anno Dom(ini) 1696  
Witnesses

Richard Ellershaw Clerk  
Charles Nowell  
Antho. Foster  
John Waidson  
J : Lawson  
On other side  
The Church wardens & Overseers for the poore of the Parish of Giggleswicke receipt for 5li for the year 1696

Jere(my) Lawson  
Thomas Armitstead  
Chris: Metcalfe  
Roger Armitstead  
Tho: Willson



# Cocket and Swaw Beck, Giggleswick

C. Roger Moss and Michael Slater

*This article has been compiled incorporating much information from Dr Tony Stephens and has benefited from the opinions of others as acknowledged below.*



Swaw Beck 1950s

Swaw Beck house near Giggleswick Station (SD 801 628) has attracted the attention of historians and those interested in vernacular architecture in recent years, in part because it has unusual constructional features. It is probable that it is on the site of Cokhed (Cocket)Lodge, known from the Clifford rent survey of 1499 (held at the Yorkshire Archaeological Society). Its location in the landscape is notable, at the edge of the flood plain, with views of Ingleborough and surrounding country. How and when was the house constructed? Was there ever a tower or turret later incorporated into the house?

John Brinnand is the first recorded owner of Swaw Beck (Swarbeck, Shaw Beck), in 1726 [Hoyle, 1986 p.127]. The Swaw Beck lies to the north nearby across the lane (partially culverted). The meaning of the name may be that of Old English *swalg*, (pool or pit) or Anglo-Saxon *swaer* (slothful, inactive) coupled with OE *bekkr*. There is a Swar Beck in Swaledale. The Scottish National Dictionary suggests *svaga* (Scandinavian) meaning wave, ripple or glide.

A date of 1726 (owner John Brinnand) is compatible with what we see today, inside and outside the house. It is considered to be a gentleman's high status residence with a ground plan very similar to a few other properties in the area. The exterior appears very little changed from the time it was built. The south-facing exterior wall with water-shot stones contains windows of 1700s type. The north-facing wall (not water-shot) contains four mullioned windows, probably moved from an earlier building, a tall 1700s window to light the stairwell, and a very small window to light the under-stairs space at ground level. The west-facing gable shows the considerable height and width of the house. The current roof slope is 35°, typical for slated roofs, rather than a slope of near 60° which is normally indicative of thatching. Three

chimney stacks indicate a high degree of comfort. The third middle chimney offers the key to understanding the method of construction of the roof space and stairwell giving support to a heavy roof. The wall thicknesses throughout the current house are about 2 feet (60cm), apart from some thin internal modern walls.

The house is unusually deep from north to south, being about 11m, and rather high at about 8m. There are ceiling joists in the two bedrooms which are very long at more than 5m. The rectangular stairwell with dog-leg staircase is wide at 2.7m (1.2m or 4ft stair width). The attic space is also unusually high at 3.5m (11ft) to the ridge and relatively unobstructed, giving plenty of head-room, with a doorway through a north/south dividing cross-wall, suggesting that it was a living space. There is an attic window on the west gable. The demand for more living space in the 1700s explains the design of the roof space as a garret – rather than an

attic or loft with less headroom.

The house is situated in good quality farmland and altogether appears to be that of a prosperous family, likely to have had servants or farm-hands living in. There is a well or sump just outside the west end of the house and a separate barn behind the east end of the site. The location as far as old routeways is concerned might be relevant to its early history. An ancient causeway across nearby Cocket Moss is noted by Brayshaw [1932].

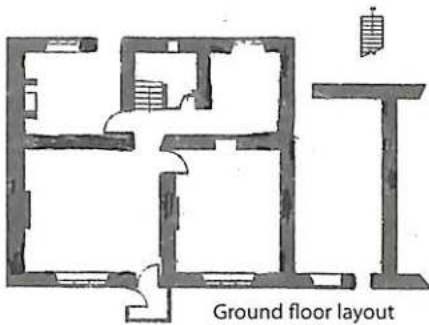
## The roof space

The roof structure includes a curved beam in a half-truss and other old oak timbers. The use of 'upper crucks, curved inclined principal rafters like true crucks but rising from the beams at garret floor level' is a known technique after the 1660s for providing more headroom [Brunskill, 1992]. The west end upright king post has been trimmed on one side. The timbers in the roof are old and re-used. They were presumably taken from an older property and adapted to suit the new c.1700 house.

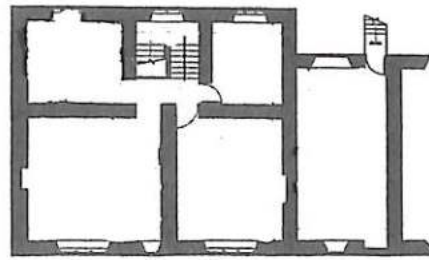
There is a rectangular stairwell structure, 2.7m by 3.6m, reaching up from the ground floor to the roof slabs (properly called stone slates). The width is large for a staircase but not exceptionally so as to require an alternative explanation such as a tower.

There are lines of edges of thin slabs visible on the inside of the east gable end of the house and the central north/south wall in the roof space which correspond to the flues in these walls. The slabs lie below the ends of purlins to reduce the fire risk. The central flue has to reach the chimney stack centrally located on the ridge and the stack needs to be supported by the central north/south wall underneath. The ground plan does not allow for an east/west wall

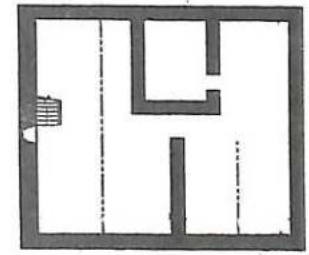




Ground floor layout



First floor layout



Attic layout



Attic west



Attic east



Stairs



Attic central

supporting the ridge of the roof. The central north/south cross-wall is keyed to the stairwell wall in the roof space mainly by a very substantial stone lintel over a doorway under the ridge line. This keyed-in lintel is thought to be necessary for giving the roof structure rigidity and support for the chimney stack directly above. It then follows that the timber half-truss in the east end is adequate to support the roof. The use of the stairwell masonry to support the roof reduces the need for long purlins on its east and west sides.

The large stairwell quoins in the roof space are very clean and sharply cut with pecked surface and do not appear to be weathered. The stairwell is an integral part of the current house rather than a pre-existing structure. There is also a small opening with a stone lintel into the stairwell giving access to a rather small closed space under the roof. This might have been made to allow internal access to the roof slabs and timberwork.

### First and ground floors

There are building plans for other local houses which show an external square or rounded turret for a staircase [Harrison and Hutton, 1984 pp. 53, 70]. The Swaw Beck rooms either side (east and west) cannot realistically be considered to be later additions to a turret because of the same wall thicknesses, the bonding of walls at junctions and the uniform appearance of the whole of the north-facing house wall.

The rectangular stairwell is notably wide, of a fine domestic quality, made of oak. In the stairwell walls of Swaw Beck House on the ground and first floors are internal doorways. The lintels are combined stone and old oak. It was common practice to re-use old wood and embed and encase wooden lintels in stone or plaster in rebuilt houses [White, 2000]. The walls on one side of two of the doorways have been substantially chamfered to make access easier and on the first floor a long oak beam has been used to support the load above in the absence of a solid wall. It would have been very difficult to make this chamfer on a previously unchamfered wall and therefore it is thought to have been done purposely during building of the house. There was a small doorway facing the road, now blocked to make a window. The entrance door in the east wall is a modern alteration.

The room heights are generous and some beams are chamfered, all suggesting that this is a gentleman's house. One can imagine that John Brinnand requested his builder to provide two larger rooms and two smaller ones (rather than four of equal size), an imposing rectangular stairwell, a fireplace in the centre of the house and a large attic space. The first consequence was that the central chimney flue had to be fitted into a thick north-south wall to slope to reach the



roof ridge and that this wall had to support the chimney stack and roof. The position of the rectangular stairwell meant that the north-south cross-wall did not reach from the rear to the front of the house and in the attic space it could not be supported underneath but had to be keyed into the stairwell structure which was continued upwards to support the roof. A doorway had to be provided in the cross-wall in the attic. If the third central chimney had not been required the roof structure could have been simplified with an east-west wall reaching the roof and supporting it.

### The granary and barn

At the east end of the house is a small building, a 'granary' or byre with exterior access steps. The neighbouring modern dwelling was converted from a barn. Substantial foundation boulders are now hidden in the base of the granary wall; flooring was of very thick stone slabs. Further large boulders were found when the barn was converted and these were removed into the garden of Swaw Beck.

The granary is less deep, north/south, than the house and inside on the house gable end can be seen a line of edges of thick roof slabs, 0.5m lower than the roof at the apex, and at a different angle to the current roof. The roof must have been raised at some time to match the barn roof since three old re-used uneven beams are not supporting the current roof. There are two deep square holes through the west wall which are probably ventilation holes; these are now blocked by the house gable end. This indicates that the current Swaw Beck house was not present when the granary was built. The vent holes are of a shape typical of the 17th century.

There is also a possible old doorway in the east wall. All this suggests that the building is older than Swaw Beck house and was modified by altering the roof and frontage when Swaw Beck was built. The old barn roof is in line with the 'granary' as seen in the 1950s photograph. The barn was probably built after the house, after 1700. It is speculated that an earlier house on the east side was taken down at the time of building the new house.

### Comparable local houses

There are many plans showing a rectangular section containing a staircase with similar although smaller dimensions to that of the current staircase in Swaw Beck, e.g. The Holme [Rural Houses, 1985] and Great Broughton, Grange Farm, [Harrison and Hutton, 1984, p.53]. A very similar ground plan with a stairwell is found at Keeper's Cottage, Brackenbottom, near Horton in Ribblesdale, with two chimneys in the gable ends [YVBSG, 1998]. This is dated to about 1720 and the plan is said to be very traditional after 1650. The off-centre wall between front and back rooms rises to the rafters to take most of the roof weight and carry the ends of horizontal tie beams of half-trusses to further support the roof. The half-trusses are linked with an iron tie bar. One of these half-trusses is the same in principle as that in the east end of Swaw Beck. Other houses with similar ground plans are Vipont House in Airton [Pevsner, 1966] and Lower Winskill with datestone 1675.

The central chimney stack on the roof ridge of Swaw Beck has to be supported by a masonry wall underneath and a flue has to be connected to it. The chimney-supporting wall has to sit on a wall on the lower floors and be thick enough to contain the flue. In the case of Swaw Beck this is the central north/south wall. Because this reaches only part

way across the house it is necessary to give it support by keying it into the wall of the stairwell made to reach into the roof space. The cross-wall cannot be continued directly over the stairwell due to lack of support underneath.

Confidence in the state of society encouraged investment in property in the later 1600s, as evidenced by the datestones seen on many local houses [[www.NorthCravenHeritage.org.uk](http://www.NorthCravenHeritage.org.uk)]. The Hearth Tax data of 1672 show that the house at that time had only one hearth, tax paid 4d. The current house with its three chimneys post-dates 1672 and a build date of around 1700 appears appropriate.

### Cocket Lodge and estate

We can now consider the question of the origin of Swaw Beck and whether it was earlier known as Cocket. In the Middle Ages abbey and large landowners such as the Percys and the Cliffords managed their vast estates with a series of lodges or farmsteads scattered across a large area, many of which still exist. These were either freehold as was Cocket, or tenanted by at-will unfree tenants. The fact that Cocket was freehold might suggest that it has a pre-Conquest origin with the landholder making some agreement with a new feudal lord after 1066. Grainhouse, Rome, Fieldgate, Close House, Paley Green, Craven Ridge and Armistead were other Giggleswick lodges and further afield were Colt Park, almost certainly a stud farm, Lodge Hall, Nether Lodge and Thorns.

In early times Cocket estate was held by the king and administered by the bailiff of the manor of Giggleswick. Cocket is recorded as a lodge in the early 14th century [Littledale, 1916]. The Clifford rent survey of 1499 names Cocket as a freehold lodge. It might have been located near the right of way described by John le Fleming in 1256 running from Swainstead in Rathmell *via* what is now Little Bank Farm to the River Ribble and perhaps onwards to Giggleswick Church [Stephens, 2011]. The 1520 rent survey made for the Cliffords includes Cocket as the only named lodge. The rent survey of 1579 [YAS DD 121/24/2] names Cocket and other local lodges.

Two meadows adjacent to Swaw Beck House are called Cocket Meadow and Under Cocket in the 1844 Giggleswick Tithe Award. It seems most likely that Swaw Beck House lies on the site of Cocket lodge.

### The residents of Cocket

The Poll Tax of 1379 for Giggleswick notes Thomas Cokheued & ux (i.e. wife) and Willelmus Cokheued & ux both paying the minimum 4d [Speight, 1892] – surnames often denoted the place of residence or origin at this time. Willemus Kokheud & ux lived in Rathmell, also paying 4d. The farmstead was not therefore wealthy. The 1579 Clifford rent survey for Giggleswick shows that 'Thomas Browne holdith at L.(Lord's) Will the viij th parte of one Rode (rood) neire unto his house at Cockhead of the rent of 1d.' [YAS DD 121/24/2]. The rent survey of 1579 lists Cristofer Cocket renting a croft and two closes for 23d and a 30s entry fine and also mentioned is a close called Cocket estimated at two (customary) acres near the 'field yeate'. Field Gate is the neighbouring property to Swaw Beck.

The Giggleswick Parish Registers in the period 1566 to 1612 show that Cocket was held by one family, the Brownes. Although we have many wills of members of the Brown family (from 1548 to 1689), only one, for Christopher



Browne of Cockett, 1611, mentions Cocket – there is no other relevant information to be gleaned from his will. As recorded in a court case *Brown v. Nowell* [TNA C3/283/42, RP(SG15)] date range 1596-1616 ‘... Allan Carre late of Capleside in the Countye of yorke Gen was lawfullie seized amongst dyvers other lands & ten(emen)ts of greate value of and in one messuage or Tenem(en)t and Certaine lands meadows and pastures with the appurtenances Comonlie called Cockenhead als Cockhead situate lyinge and beinge in Giggleswicke’. After 1612 there is a succession of different residents recorded in the Parish Registers so perhaps Christopher was the last Browne to reside at Cocket. William Johnson, resident in 1674 [Hoyle, 1986 p.16] had only one hearth and was too poor to pay the Hearth Tax in 1672. The house may have been in a poor state at this time.

A deed of 1648 concerns Robert Carr of Hesberthaw, Margaret Wigglesworth, widow, and Thomas Wigglesworth her son of Cocket in Giggleswick [YAS, 1648]. Roger Willson was a resident in 1689 of Cocket and Tofts [Hoyle, 1986 pp. 35,40, 44, 50].

There is reference to Cocket as a residence in 1704 [Maria Reynoldson de Cockit vid; Hoyle, 1986, p.85]. Any change of name of Cocket to Swaw Beck therefore took place after 1704 assuming that they are the same property.

What is the meaning of the name Cocket? Is the 14th century name Cokheud or Cokhed descriptive of an early resident – with a head like a cockerel, a red-head? There is a village in Brittany called Vezin-le-Coquet and this may be the source of the name (coquet meaning neat or pretty in French – dictionary.reverso.net). There is also La Motte-Coquet (Verneuil En Bourbonnais 3500). The ancient local Paley family probably arrived from France with the Conqueror and the settlement at Paley Green not far away may derive from the French village Paley near Paris. A link of Cocket with France is therefore possible. The Old English word *coc* probably related to medieval Latin *coccus* and Greek *kokkos* can mean a berry or seed or something round – a reference to a round head or bilberry or the like?

### The Scottish raids

During the turbulent early 1300s the fortification of houses could have been considered by some householders and the question arises whether Cocket might have been fortified. The nature of the local topography is such that a group of raiders might have chosen to pass this way at some time, to give the inhabitants real cause to worry about their safety and loss of property. Brayshaw [1932] mentions a causeway being nearby, crossing Cocket Moss, west of Little Bank, but its location is not certainly known.

McNamee [1997] has written of the raiding of northern England in the period 1311-1322. The main aim of Scottish raiders was to obtain cash (by means of hostage taking) rather than robbery. Mid-summer of 1316 saw an attack on Yorkshire through Swaledale and Kirkby Lonsdale. The next serious raiders came in 1318 and 1319 travelling by several routes including Airedale and Wharfedale to Ribblesdale. Bolton Abbey, Skipton and Giggleswick suffered, amongst many other places. The taxation Lay Subsidy of 1319 records the vills applying to have their taxes reduced because of the Scottish depredations. The Bolton Priory Compotus [Smith et al., 2000] notes ‘Pro j stirketto liberato de manibus

ballivorum apud Setyll post recessum Scotorum’ (for one stirk released from the hands of the bailiffs near Settle after the retreat of the Scots.)

### An earlier house – 1600s?

William Harrison (in the 1570s) reported that villagers would marvel at the ‘multitude of chimnies lately erected’ and that ‘everyman ... will not be quiet till he have pulled downe the old house, if anie were there standing, and set up a new after his own device’ [quoted by Woodforde, 1970]. Thus any house built prior to about 1700 may well have been pulled down. Chimneys are a 16th century improvement so any previous house, pre-1672, may have been built or modified with a chimney in the late 1500s.

Because of the existence of old re-used oak beams in the roof it seems very likely that an earlier building stood nearby. The existence of the granary/byre with a house on its east side, seems probable. One can imagine a smaller house with one or two bays with mullioned windows, one chimney, and a small barn attached at its west end, containing a few cows – a laithe house.

The Swaw Beck house appears to have been built in the early 18th century on a new site on the west side of the extant granary and the large barn (now converted). The existence of another barn to the east has to be accounted for but its age is uncertain. It was probably associated with an early 17th century house, but not attached to it.

Even earlier, in medieval times Cocket Lodge was likely to have been a rough single storey dwelling, with no chimney, probably thatched, but sited in a favourable position for agriculture.

### Conclusions

It is not doubted that the house known as Cocket /Swaw Beck has a long history, probably of British/Anglo-Saxon origin, as a small farmholding. After the Conquest the owners were presumably freeholder tenants under a Norman lord subject to feudal rules, later to become freeholder tenants of a lodge owned by the Clifford family. After Dissolution and associated turmoil in the 1500s a simple stone house, maybe thatched, with a single hearth and a barn may well have been built in the 1600s. Oak beams in this building may even have been taken from an earlier property. It is likely that between 1704 and 1726 the house was completely rebuilt on an adjacent new site and renamed, to make more space and provide more comfort for accommodation of people or goods, the granary/byre being retained and a large barn added. The stone and oak beams from an earlier house were re-used since large timbers were valuable. Some of the mullioned windows were also re-used.

### Acknowledgements

The observations of Alison Armstrong, Diana Kaneps, David Shore and Dr Tony Stephens have formed the basis of much of this account. Andrew Longbottom, the builder who worked on the house in recent times, has provided valuable professional opinion on building techniques and insight into the construction of Swaw Beck.

References are provided in the web version of this article.



# A Stained Glass Whodunnit

Anthony B Boylan

The Catholic church in Settle, St Mary and St Michael's, is fortunate to house three outstandingly fine stained glass windows. They depict three Yorkshire saints. The central one is of St Wilfrid, bishop of York in the 7th century (see Cover). St Robert of Gargrave is the second one; he was born and brought up there and, after his ordination to the priesthood, served there for a few years before joining the monastic community in Whitby. He is also known as St Robert of Newminster in Northumbria, where he was sent about the year 1138 to found a monastery. The third one depicts St Alkelda of Middleham, about whom little certain is known. (See NCHT *Journal* 2008, p.6 and *Journal* 2015 p.3). Members of the North Craven Heritage Trust may remember that a fine photograph of the third window appeared on the front cover of the Trust's *Journal* in 2007.

When I arrived in Settle in 2006 as parish priest I was impressed by the quality of these windows and I decided that my first duty towards them was to provide them with adequate protection from the weather. With the help of a kind grant from the Trust, they now have that: perspex panels mounted in wooden frames set an inch or so away from the windows so that air can circulate around them, making them less likely to suffer any damage from condensation. Sadly, they are installed on the garden side of the church and are not visible from Tillman Close. They can be viewed only from the inside of the church.

Intrigued by these windows, I gave myself the task of discovering where they were manufactured and the identity of the artist who painted them. It took me, on and off, the whole period of my ministry as parish priest in Settle (2006-2014). Very quickly I learned that they were originally installed in the first Catholic church in Settle since the Reformation, which was built on the very edge of Upper Settle in 1864. That site proved to be very inconvenient, as the considerable uphill climb to it was too demanding for less agile members of the congregation. When the present church was built in 1974, the three windows were transferred to the new building.

As a former chairman of our diocesan Art, Architecture and Heritage committee, I had learned something about the art of stained glass. I knew that sometimes such windows incorporate the signature of the artist or (to give them their correct designation) the glass painter. These windows carry no such signature. If ever they did, the signatures may have been lost when the windows were transferred. It is quite clear that they were slightly cropped to accommodate them in the new church; the signatures may have been lost in the cropping.

The style of the glass painting is recognisable as belonging to the Arts and Crafts period, and from enquiries I made among parishioners, I discovered that they were not installed in the old church when it was first built, but considerably later, probably during the 1920s. It turned out that they were the gift of a local Catholic family that had resided in the parish for many decades, but no-one could give me any information about the manufacturer or the identity of the glass painter. That prompted me to begin a hunt in the

district for windows of a similar style with which I could compare ours.

The challenge was where to begin the search. I made visits to several antiquarian bookshops, finding some quite specialist books that I thought would help me in the search. The first was a most useful handbook: *The Arts and Crafts Movement in the North West of England*, by Barrie and Wendy Armstrong (2005). It is an illustrated catalogue of works of art of the period, arranged in chapters for different counties from Cumbria to North Staffordshire. The handbook included an entry for the church of St Bartholomew in Barbon, near Kirkby Lonsdale. Included in the entry is a photograph of a light depicting Peace, one of two lights in the same window, the other being *Fortitude*. The style resembled that of our windows, so I made a visit to that church and came away with the impression that the glass painter was the same as the one who had painted ours. The handbook also gave the detail that almost all the stained glass in that church had been supplied by Shrigley and Hunt, glaziers of Lancaster, and the very specific information that the two lights mentioned above used designs purchased from Henry Wilson. The handbook also contains a final chapter, *Who's Who*, in which all the people and places mentioned in the book are listed alphabetically, including detailed information about both Shrigley and Hunt and Henry Wilson. I thought that I was well on the way to solving all my questions, but I needed to know more about the work of Henry Wilson and of the glaziers, Shrigley and Hunt.

Quite by chance I found in a second-hand bookshop in Carnforth a copy of a monograph by William Waters (2003), *Stained Glass from Shrigley and Hunt of Lancaster and London*. It contains details of many of their known works, but by no means all of them, arranged by the county where the works are to be found. Although many of the photographs of their windows are clearly in the Arts and Crafts style similar to the style of our windows, I could find no reference in the monograph to ours.

The next line of enquiry was about Henry Wilson, the artist. An internet search gave me information of a recent book about him: *Henry Wilson – Practical Idealist* by Cyndy Manton (2009). It is a very thorough biographical study recording details of his many artistic works in many different mediums, not only stained glass. Born in 1864 and living until 1934, he could be the glass painter of our windows. But more disappointment; again, I could find no reference in the book to our windows.

Probably in frustration, not to say desperation, I wrote to Cyndy Manton and sent photographs of our windows, seeking her opinion about them with the question about whether they could be designs by Henry Wilson. She replied saying that they were almost certainly not his work and suggested that they could have been made in the Hardman studios in Birmingham. Once again my research had stalled. Hardmans is a well-respected company of glaziers with a prolific repertoire of stained glass commissions for churches and civil buildings all over the world. I knew it to belong to a Catholic family who had worked for many years along with



the Pugin family, the celebrated Victorian neo-gothic architects.

My next task was then to find examples of their stained glass in our part of the North West and make comparisons. I consulted Barrie and Wendy Armstrong's handbook again, but found no entry in the *Who's Who* section for any stained glass from the Hardman firm. I had drawn another blank.

Another very recent source book I discovered was *Hardman of Birmingham – Goldsmith and Glasspainter*, by Michael Fisher (2008). This would surely help. Indeed it did, but not in the way I had hoped. I wrote to the firm, sending photographs of our windows and making the same enquiry that I had made with Cyndy Manton. A month later the whole package was returned by the Post Office. It was only much later that I discovered that the firm had very recently moved to new premises and had even changed the name of the firm! The new name of the company is Pugin, Hardman and Powell. No wonder the Post Office had returned it. But I would not be defeated.

I then consulted the very useful Appendix A entitled *The Hardman Archives* in Michael Fisher's book. It details the present locations (four of them) of the Hardman archives, most of them accessible to the public. Two large collections are held. The first is in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, the second in Birmingham City Archives, which are stored at Birmingham Central Library. The library has a most informative website which confirmed that the Hardman archives are kept there.

On 21 March, 2010, I contacted Birmingham City Archives. I gave all the details of the windows that I had, including my guess at the period in which they were manufactured (1920s). I explained that, as I was a considerable distance from Birmingham, I would be grateful for an assurance that I would be able to search the Hardman archives if I made the journey to Birmingham. Three weeks later I had a reply from the searchroom supervisor of Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service. She confirmed that John Hardman and Company were responsible for manufacturing our stained glass windows. They are listed in a Day Sales Book in an entry for May 1922; the subject of each window, although very briefly described, clearly identifies them and even states that the cost for each one was £80. My first question had been answered. I now knew where and by whom they had been manufactured. But who was the artist?

But there was more disappointment. There were no details in their archives about the designer of the windows. That information, the supervisor told me, might be amongst the Hardman archives held at the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery. Access to those, I learned, is much more strictly controlled, and the supervisor gave me the impression that the details held there are far from complete. I could be making a fruitless journey to Birmingham. Where to go next?

Returning to Michael Fisher's book, knowing now the certain date for the manufacture of the windows, I worked out that Hardman's chief glass painter in that period was a certain Dunstan Powell, a member of another family closely associated with the Pugin and Hardman families. So he then became my prime suspect. But, as I had no particular opportunity to make the journey to Birmingham Museum, which

could have been a fruitless one anyway, I left the enquiry lying for a while.

The research was resurrected by a quite extraordinary coincidence in June 2014. I had been invited to an annual gathering of some distinguished Catholic laypeople in York, and the principal convenor of the gathering was a well-known person in the Leeds diocese, Mr John Hardman. Our paths had crossed many times before, but I had never connected him with the Hardman firm of glaziers. John had invited a religious sister, Sr Barbara Jeffrey, who is presently based at a convent in Yeadon, near Leeds, to give a lecture about the Hardman family. I was hooked on the research again. Previously, Sister Barbara had been at a convent in Birmingham, which over the years had received many benefactions from the Hardman family. Out of her own personal interest, Sister had researched the history of the family, with a particular interest in the large number of female members of the family who had become religious sisters. After her lecture I approached her to request her help in finding the name of the artist who had painted our windows. She agreed whole-heartedly. I purchased a copy of her modest book about the family.

A few days later I once again gathered together my photographs of the windows and posted them to her along with all the information I had received from Birmingham Central Library. My hope was that Sister Barbara would be able to recognise the work of the artist by comparison with other examples that she knew to be of his work. In her reply a few weeks later she expressed her conviction that they were indeed the work of Dunstan Powell (my principal suspect) and forwarded a photograph of one window, certainly his, in a church in Boston USA. The painting of the face on that window was strikingly similar in style to the faces of the saints in our windows. I was now 95% certain that he was our glass painter. Such evidence in a court of law would probably be sufficient to find him guilty.

Sister Barbara was also able to give me Dunstan's dates (1861-1932) and his very distinguished pedigree. He was the principal designer at Hardmans at the time, the son of John Hardman Powell, a partner in the firm, whom Dunstan succeeded in the partnership on the death of his father. John Hardman Powell's wife was Ann Pugin, the eldest daughter of Augustus Welby Pugin, the great Victorian neo-gothic architect. Dunstan Powell was, therefore, the grandson of A. W. Pugin. It was a very pleasing outcome to my research that, on and off, took almost eight years.

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# The Summer Outing 2015



**Leader - David S. Johnson**  
**11 June 2015**

All Hallows Church and Great Mitton Hall

This year's outing was to visit All Hallows Church and Great Mitton Hall nearby in Great Mitton in the morning, then Ribchester Roman Fort, Stydd Chapel and Stydd Almshouses in the afternoon.

In lovely weather we congregated at the church, were greeted by our guide, and then had a guided tour. The Grade I listed church has stood on this spot since about 1170 but the earliest extant fabric dates from the 13th century. The tower is 15th century and the north chapel 16th century. The north chapel contains the vaults of the Shireburn family of Stonyhurst Hall, now a school. The Shireburns held the lordship of the manor of Twisleton-with-Ellerbeck from 1565 to 1625. The earliest vault is 16th century. The alabaster tomb is that of Sir Richard Shireburn (d.1594) and his wife Maud. There is also a curious, badly defaced effigy in the chapel said to be that of Sir Richard. The chancel screen is part-medieval, possibly brought from Sawley Abbey after the Dissolution of the Monasteries. In the churchyard is a late 19th-century cross with a fine 14th-century head. Outside the south door, normally closed, stands another shaft dated 1683, now with a sundial on top, which may originally have held a cross. An unusual but well-worn grave slab rests in the churchyard – probably of considerable antiquity.

We were allowed to go up the 77 steps of the tower with two guides, four at a time because of space limitations. The clock mechanism is now electrically wound. The six bells can be hand-rung from the clock chamber below – with instructions for use! The view from the top is extensive as expected, and Great Mitton Hall next door can be seen to advantage.

The Grade II-listed Great Mitton Hall is essentially 17th century on the outside but is a 14th century timber H-shaped hall in origin. The building is now much altered. An even earlier wattle and daub construction hall lies under part of the present structure. The hall was the seat of the lords of the manor, the de Mitton family, who became the de Sotheron family who eventually married into the Shireburne



Stydd Chapel

aka Shireburne family, but this family's association with the hall ended in 1310. The house is private but the fine gardens were open to us (and open in one weekend in June as part of the National Garden Scheme's Gardens for Charity).

In the afternoon we proceeded to Ribchester Museum. Our excellent enthusiastic guide gave us a most informative talk about the foundation and development of the museum over the 100 years of its existence. He explained how the fort came into being and the part it played in local affairs. A timber fort

to control the crossing of the major roads from Chester, York and Carlisle was built here in the early AD70s, but fully rebuilt in stone within a century or so, to become the administrative and military centre of this part of the North-West. Inevitably, a civilian settlement – the vicus – grew up outside the fort's walls and it is thought that its extent more or less mirrors the extent of the modern village. The fort remained in use into the 4th century. Much of the fort has either not yet been excavated or has been built on. St Wilfrid's Church probably stands on the site of the Principia (the headquarters building). Much has been lost to the meandering River Ribble.

The ground was such as to preserve important artefacts and a coin gave a date for latest known occupation. Lancashire has very little by way of Roman material or structures so the museum has an importance belied by its size. We then looked at the granary buildings and had explained to us the complex features and puzzles of the very well-preserved building foundations. We also viewed the baths nearby and wondered about the water supply and its use.

Very near to Ribchester stands Stydd Chapel in some isolation. The name Stydd means 'place' or 'farm' an 'estate in land'. It is a simple building but nevertheless impressive for its unadorned simplicity with features dating from a multiplicity of periods. The Holy House of Stydd has been

in existence since before 1136 and was once the church for a large leper sanctuary and pilgrim's focus, under the 'jurisdiction' of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem. A leper's squint can be seen. The chapel is associated with a holy well and a Roman road. It has its original 12th-century door and some Norman masonry. Stydd Almshouses stand nearby – built

by the Shireburn family in 1728, they were built to house poor people of the parish, originally for six residents, now four. A splendid, astonishing house in a quiet garden adjacent to farmland.

We are grateful to David and his informative notes (on which this report is based) for yet another excellent summer excursion.



# The Ingleborough Terraces – a walk back in time

**Leader - Chris Bonsall**

**20 May 2015**

Last year a visit was made to the northern terraces below the north-west side of Ingleborough where the remains of many Bronze age burial mounds are to be found. This year the southern terraces were visited.

From the church car park at Chapel-le-Dale a party of ten walked up to Southerscales Farm with its attractive decorated datestone 1765 R M M (Metcalf) and rapidly decaying barns. The larger barn is probably ancient and the site itself has a well-documented very long history. We walked further up the hillside but off the main path to overlook Southerscales deserted medieval village, with clearly seen remains of rectangular structures and attached enclosures. This is only one of several old settlements along these terraces; recent research work by Ingleborough Archaeology Group suggests that the site might be Anglo-Saxon in origin.

The next point of interest was a very small circular cairn structure containing sandstones – remarkable in the limestone surroundings. Just nearby appear to be the sandstone foundations of a burial mound from which these coloured stones may have been robbed. The geological layers of limestone, shales and sandstones making up Ingleborough towering above, probably had some impact on the belief system of the local people in post-glacial times.

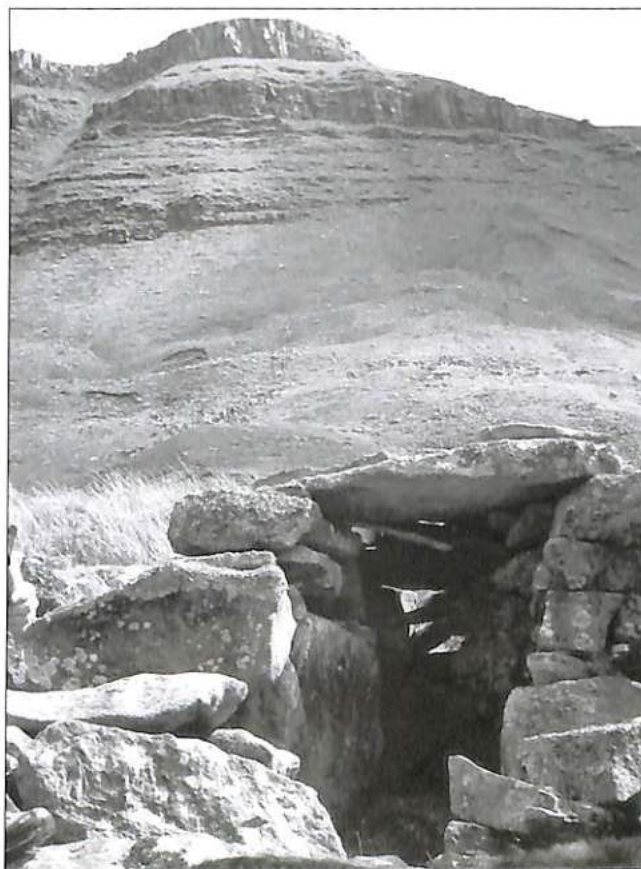


Spechscaflade

Several rectangular, circular and linear features were inspected during the day. Some may have been animal enclosures or exclosures – keeping animals in or out. Two small double-cell structures on the terraces suggest shepherd shelters. The remains of straight boundary walls were found, plunging over the terrace edge on to the next terrace below. None of these items can be dated yet since excavation is not allowed without very good reason. However, it is not difficult to envisage considerable activity thousands of years ago, probably making use of good pasturage – remembering that the current exposure of limestone pavement is relatively



Cairn



The quarry shelter



recent. No house remains have been found on these terraces, so use was perhaps seasonal.

A 13th-century document refers to a boundary between Ingleborough and Whernside and it can be followed today, apart from one place called 'Spechscaflade' – which is thought to mean 'speaking post stream'. It may be the curious banjo-shaped clearance area which sits on the terrace with evidence of some walling and a trackway down the hillside. It could have been used for stock but maybe it was a meeting place like Thingvellir in Iceland, where the law-givers spoke to tribesmen and where disputes were settled. Ingleborough summit is covered with ring cairns (not hut circles) where funerary or religious activities are surmised to have taken place. Ingleborough is an outstanding landmark so it is not unreasonable to suggest that it was a meeting point with religious significance.

Yet another obvious large enclosure has walls several feet high and is well-constructed with very large regularly-shaped stones. This is Harry Hallams Fold but who was Harry Hallam? Bearing in mind that the area was owned by Furness Abbey in later medieval times this construction gives the impression of an upmarket meeting place rather than an animal enclosure.

Not all holes or depressions are simply swallow-holes in the limestone. Chris pointed out that man-made holes have spoil heaped on one side. We looked at two such small holes which were dug in the (unsuccessful) search for lead, and the surroundings were notable for being covered with very fine white gravel.

On the return home at a higher level under the steep slopes of Ingleborough we looked at the remains of millstone cutting from daystones – i.e. very large boulders of millstone grit - with evidence of a line of holes made by feathering to split off a suitable piece which could then be rounded to make a millstone. A roughed-out millstone lies nearby, together with a concave piece of stone broken off the edge of another. A rather small stone shelter was presumably used to avoid the worst of the weather for the quarryman.

Not only did we all enjoy an excellent day out in decent weather with marvellous views, but we got to appreciate just how important a place these terraces are in understanding the pre-history and history of upland North Craven, thanks to the very knowledgeable leadership of Chris. Much more detailed information can be found in the reports of the Ingleborough Archaeology Group website.

## Malham Field Studies Centre: Walk around reserve



**Leader – David Tayler (above)**

**30 June 2015**

We met on a hot day near the Quarry Car Park start of the trail around the reserve at Malham Tarn, to be introduced to the excursion on the board walk on the National Trust reserve by David, who has previously worked at the Field Studies Centre and is now Deputy Director of the Yorkshire Dales Millennium Trust. He explained the geology of the Tarn and how the reserve was formed after the ice age



**Bogbean (*Menyanthes trifoliata*)**

and how it was affected by control of the water outlet from the Tarn. Thomas Lister of Gisburn, the 18th-century owner, later becoming Lord Ribblesdale, operated the estate commercially, including the nearby mining of calamine (zinc carbonate/zinc silicate – not as used in calamine lotion which uses zinc oxide and iron oxide); calamine was used to make brass. The reserve is currently actively managed to maintain diversity of flora and fauna.



Dr Judith Allinson has produced a leaflet *Flowers of Malham Tarn Fen and Bog in June* which is an excellent guide with 38 coloured photographs of plants in the several different zones of the reserve. This was most helpful and instructive in identifying species and made the walk so enjoyable to all. Some of us needed help from David in locating the plants, since in some cases the size was either much smaller or much larger than we expected. One of the plants, star moss, was used in the First World War in the absence of proper wound dressing, and it was discovered that infection was less when the moss was used, probably because the moss is slightly acidic.

We proceeded to the house built by Walter Morrison in

about 1852, now used as the Field Centre, on a guided tour with a leaflet about the house. The house was donated to the National Trust in 1947 and is leased to the Field Centre. We started in the cellar with a blocked mullion window and stone floor which became integrated into the 18th-century later structure. This is thought to be the remains of a small two-storey hunting lodge. The house is older than at first it seems. The house has a long history in a landscape with a mesolithic site on the edge of the reserve and bronze age mounds on nearby hilltops. The room used by Charles Darwin overlooking the Tarn is most attractive.

An excellent day out with an excellent leader.

## The Settle Town and Country Walk

15 August 2015

The U3A, The Royal Geographic Society and The Institute of British Geographers joined forces in 2013 to showcase the landscape and history of Settle and its surrounding countryside by producing a booklet describing a walking route with comment on what was to be seen. The

Victoria Cave we looked at the Neolithic cup markings on a rock near the Langcliffe/Settle parish boundary, then descended from the limestone to the gritstone boggy land of Attermire below the scar. We looked at the medieval wall bounding Attermire with its orthostat boulders and noted Attermire and Horseshoe Caves in the uplifted Mid-Craven



The joint forces

walk was designed by Tony Stephens and submitted as an entry to a competition. (The booklet is on sale in the Folly, the TIC and Settle Station). An introductory illustrated talk was given by Tony Stephens in the Quaker Meeting House in Settle in the morning, and the guided walk led by NCHT members followed in the afternoon. The talk was well-attended by about 50 people, local residents and visitors. Similarly the walk was well-supported by about 20 RGS and NCHT members and others.

The six-mile walk started in Settle Market Square and went via Banks Lane towards Langcliffe via the path on the hillside and on to Victoria Cave. Points of interest were the 1757 Settle Enclosure Act straight walls climbing the hillsides, medieval manorial boundary walls, Settle Bridge seen from a distance, the three peaks and Winskill. Beyond

Fault scar above. Stockdale Lane was followed over the limestone reef knoll of High Hill and the walk continued down Lambert Lane to Preston's Barn on the boundary of medieval Newfield. Just past the barn is a cattle underpass at the point where a path leads towards Settle. The boundary wall of Newfield has examples of two different types of wall construction – the early type with large basal boulders and the 19th-century type with regular courses of throughstones protruding slightly from the wall, as if to prove that they were actually present. At the western end of Newfield field, very large clearance boulders have been used to make the wall and soil on the uphill side has slowly migrated down the hillside to render levels very different on the two sides – evidence of considerable age. A view over the low Townfields reveals

the presence of agricultural terraces or lynchets which are probably of Anglo-Saxon origin. The walk concluded with inspection of some of the old houses in Settle – Castleberg House on Victoria St, the Folly, Liverpool House on Chapel Square associated with the proposed canal scheme of 1773, John Birkbeck's warehouse on Cheapside (now a sports shop), Sutcliffe House at the corner of Cheapside built by the apothecary Abraham Sutcliffe in the early 1700s, Bishopdale Court where John Wildman had his grocer's shop, and the Naked Man café in the Market Square.

The walk can be done comfortably in four hours of walking – a steady climb of 400m is involved up to Victoria Cave and hill-walking clothing and footwear are needed. Further self-guided walks of this type can be found at [www.discoveringbritain.org](http://www.discoveringbritain.org).



# Visit to Settle Town Hall and talk on Conscientious Objectors

Jeremy Taylor and John Asher

13 December 2015

A large group met at Settle Town Hall to be shown around the premises by the new owner Jeremy Taylor. The building has needed much renovation work and is not yet finished. So far new shops have been created at ground and cellar levels, the middle floor is being occupied by new businesses and the top floor is a set of flats in progress of modernization.

Jeremy began by relating some of the history of the building, which dates from 1832. He then spoke of the necessary renovation work. The old inefficient central heating system with its basement boiler and large iron pipes embedded in the walls has been removed and new boilers installed on each floor. Insulation has been added with secondary double glazing to preserve outward appearance, and decorative plasterwork has been renewed sensitively. The bill for heating has been greatly reduced. Modern LED lighting with time-delay switches contributes to energy saving. The old council chamber has been reduced in size; the new room at one end has large ceiling air vents, possibly meant for gentlemen's smoke removal in days gone by! The Council Chairman's chair has been saved and is kept in the entrance lobby. The large old map of the Settle Rural District Council area is now in safe keeping with the North Yorkshire County Record Office in Northallerton.

The cellar level is now used for shops and showrooms. At one corner of the building water was found to be coming through the walls and it was discovered that an old slate-lined drainage system had been upset by works done in the past. New drains have been fitted to take water to the original central sump in the room. The water level in this sump seemed to be little affected by attempts to pump water out, so it is presumed that water is flowing along some underground system. The rubble walls have been insulated, water-proofed and plastered.

At ground level it is seen that the new dress shop on the south side is floored with stone slabs, two of which are numbered (to mark out stall positions?). Originally, this shop frontage was open as an arcade up a set of steps; this can just be seen on one old photograph.

Restoration of the clock is on the agenda which will be a fitting finale to the restoration project.

After thanking Jeremy for a most interesting and informative visit we met in the Friends Meeting House to hear John Asher speak about Settle conscientious objectors, and their positive contributions during World War I. Finally, mince pies and drinks to round off a most satisfactory event.



# Obituary Miss Hilary Green (1918 - 2015)



Hilary Green



Town Head, Settle

Hilary Green was a very generous benefactor over many years to local groups involved in heritage matters and in 2015 the NCHT and other local organizations were beneficiaries of legacies she had decided upon. She loved Settle. The NCHT would like to express appreciation of her kindness, along with other groups who have contributed to the preservation of the beauty of Settle, its buildings, and its surrounding countryside.

Hilary was one of the first members of the Settle Civic Society in the 1970s (which became the NCHT) and she helped with setting up the North Craven Building Preservation Trust (which now owns The Folly and other local property). Her family lived at Townhead and she was very saddened by its demolition in 1974. The Settle Civic Society and the Building Trust (NCBPT) were originally closely connected; NCHT and NCBPT were well-supported by substantial annual subscriptions and donations made by Hilary. As a result of a legacy she received she set up the J.H.F. Green Trust in 1972 for general charitable purposes at the Trustees' discretion and administered by the National Council for Voluntary Organizations. She also used her private funds in giving substantial donations to the NCBPT.

Her link with Settle goes back a long way, and in particular with Townhead, a grand house which was bought by William Bolland in 1763 and rebuilt by him. The Bolland family were notable in Settle as landowners, apothecaries (1730s), shopkeepers (1730s) and woolstaplers (mid-1700s). In 1843 Susannah Bolland of Townhead in Settle married William Clayton, Rector of Low Bentham. After William's death Susannah returned to Townhead. Her eldest daughter Susannah married Dr James Walker Edgar in 1883 – he was one of Settle's general practitioners – and they lived at Townhead (Hillside, in 1891). Their daughter Mona Jean Edgar married Ralph Green, a schoolmaster, in 1915. Their children spent childhood holidays at Townhead

– including (Jean) Hilary Frances – and continued to visit Settle as adults. Hilary was related to and great friends with Dick and Jessie Clayton, who were also founder members of NCHT, and through the Clayton side of the family had links with Langcliffe Mill and Coniston Hall. The link with Coniston Hall arises from a late 18th century elder sister (Francis Catherine) of William Clayton junior, who was a cotton spinner and friend of Richard Arkwright. Francis married J.B. Garforth of Coniston Hall.

In a letter dated 2008 Hilary wrote: 'there was a tunnel from Townhead that went under the road and led onto Castleberg where we used to find a few 'white' raspberries. When we reached Townhead the first thing we did was to go up Stony Lane to watch Burton milking the cows and then were able to have milk for our supper still warm from the cow; it had been ladled out by Burton from his churn into the maid's jugs. Oh! that taste! Granny used to give us a shining silver 3d piece on Tuesdays to spend in the market and I remember a shop in Upper Settle where the most wonderful brawn was sold, and I seem to remember a shop near Nelsons, the shoe and clog shop, that sold large delicious humbugs'.

Hilary spent most of her life in Sussex but visited Settle every other year or as often as she could. In later years John Miller and Alan Bennett visited her at home to give her news of the activities of the NCBPT and NCHT. Her wonderful garden was the setting of a celebration of her life on 31 May 2015. Hilary was a private person who did not like fuss, but Settle folk all have reason to be very grateful for her generosity.

*These notes are based on the information provided by Mrs Anne Read, Hon. Curator of the Museum of North Craven Life, and Mr John Miller, Secretary and Trustee of the NCBPT. Further information came from local deeds placed on the NCHT website and a letter to the editors.*



## Obituary Phyllis Houlton (1921-2015)



Brian Shorrock with Phyllis

It is inevitable that as organizations change and mature the contributions made by earlier members might be forgotten or not be known to more recent ones. We do not wish this to happen to the memory of Phyllis who died in July 2015. Phyllis attended the National Society's Training College of Domestic Subjects based in Hampstead, but evacuated to Bournemouth during World War II. She became Head of Domestic Science in a school in Northern Ireland and on retirement came to live in Settle.

As her obituary notice in the *Craven Herald* records: 'She loved the outdoors, especially the Yorkshire Dales'. This is borne out by her long-standing involvement with the Trust. She wrote about a Footpath Planning Group in 1994 encouraging NCHT members to help resolve any problems of access or obstructions to public footpaths. She was a driving force in the idea of monthly Sunday afternoon walks and she led winter walks reported in the Journals in 1994 and 1999. The

idea was an opportunity to meet up with other members. The walks were a monthly highlight and very well attended - there were not as many walking groups around as there are now and everyone was younger.

From 1993 to 1995 she was a committee member and sub-committee convenor for footpaths. In 1997 she was elected a Vice-President, an honour extant up to the time of her death. As a result of her background as part of a local farming family, she was able to augment the information given by the leaders of Sunday walks, and for many years provided a contribution to the food at the Christmas Party held at Harden. She also provided generous hospitality to a multitude of Sunday walkers after each December walk, when we enjoyed mince pies and hot drinks together at her home in Settle. In later years she obliged us by delivering Journals and Newsletters during the year and maintaining important personal contact with members.

She told friends: 'If you hear I have died, it's a mistake'.



# Obituary

## W. (Bill) R. Mitchell, MBE, Hon. D. Litt. (1928 – 2015)

The *Craven Herald* item of 22 October 2015 and the *Daily Telegraph* report of 13 October provide much detail of Bill's life as a journalist, editor, historian, outdoor enthusiast, Methodist lay preacher and raconteur. His legacy of books, photographs, articles, interviews on tape and stories about local people and Dales country life is outstanding. His personal qualities of generosity, modesty and warm-heartedness with a lively sense of humour endeared him to all his acquaintances, friends and colleagues.

From 1981 to 2002 he supported the North Craven Heritage Trust by organizing an Annual Field Day – rambles by car. On every occasion he led a group of members into our local dales to explore countryside, old houses, places of worship, mines, watermills, smithies, almshouses, castles, farms, schools, folk museums, abbeys ... the list is endless. He accompanied his trips with useful informative notes about what was to be seen and explored. Since he knew everyone in the Dales we had access to many private places – giving those who enjoyed these events an insight into Dales country life which otherwise would have escaped our attention.

Bill was President of NCHT from 2004 to 2008 and made a point of attending committee meetings to help make up the programme every year. He was so much in demand by local groups that pressure on his time became somewhat overwhelming so we are grateful that he lent us his support as President for these years.

For the record the Field Days for which we have notes are as follows:

1987 Swaledale lead Mines  
1990 Upper reaches of the Eden  
1991 Westward into Bowland



Bill's Cake

21st Field Day  
NCHT



What do I do  
with this?



Tricky?



Be bold!



Gently does it.



Phew!



Piece of cake , really.

1992 Treasures of Upper Lunesdale  
1993 Wharfedale  
1994 Wensleydale  
1995 More Wensleydale  
1996 Swaledale  
1997 Nidderdale  
1998 Upper Eden and Mallerstang  
1999 Ribble Valley beyond Clitheroe  
2000 Lunesdale  
2001 (Foot and Mouth epidemic)  
2002 Sedbergh and Upper Lunesdale and 21st anniversary with a cake!



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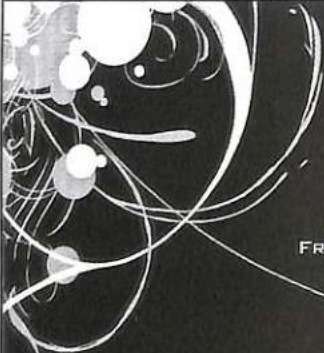
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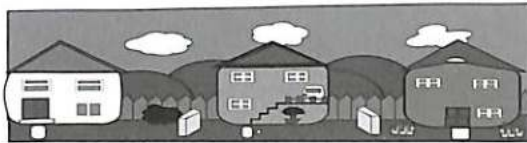
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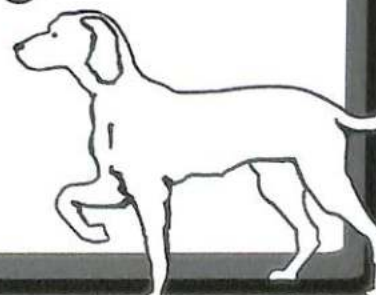
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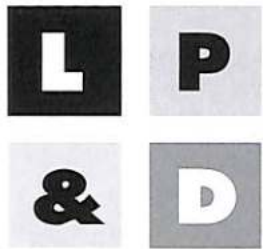
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## North Craven Heritage Trust Aims and Objectives

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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