

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

POST-MEDIEVAL COLONISATION IN THE FORESTS OF BOWLAND,
KNARESBOROUGH AND PICKERING

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POST-MEDIEVAL COLONISATION IN THE FORESTS OF BOWLAND, KNARESBOROUGH
AND PICKERING

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ABBREVIATIONS

Borthwick Paper	Miscellaneous papers published for the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York
Clitheroe	Farrer W., <u>Court Rolls of the Honour of Clitheroe</u> . Vol. I (1897), Vol. II (1912), Vol. III (1914)
Ec.H.R.	<u>Economic History Review</u> , Second Series
Harrogate	Jennings B.(Ed.) <u>A History of Harrogate & Knaresborough</u> , 1970
Kirkstall	<u>Kirkstall Abbey Coucher Book</u> , Thoresby Society, Vol. VIII, 1904
Knaresborough	Wills and Probate Inventories of the Honour of Knaresborough at the West Yorkshire Archive Service, Sheepscar, Leeds. All references in this thesis to these archives give the name of the testator and the date of the document; their individual reference numbers can be found in <u>Knaresborough Wills</u> , Index, Surtees Society, Vol. 110. 1905.
L.P.S.	<u>Local Population Studies</u>
Nidderdale	Jennings B.(Ed.) <u>A History of Nidderdale</u> , Second Edition, 1983
N.Y.C.R.O.	North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton
Pickering	Turton R.B.(Ed.) <u>The Honor and Forest of Pickering</u> , North Riding Record Society, Second Series, Vol. I (1894), Vol. II (1895), Vol. III (1896), Vol. IV (1897)
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
Rossendale	Tupling G.H., <u>Economic History of Rossendale</u> , Chetham Society, New Series, Vol. 86, 1927
V.C.H.	<u>Victoria County History of Yorkshire</u>
Y.A.J.	<u>Yorkshire Archeological Journal</u>
Y.A.S.	Yorkshire Archeological Society, 'Claremont', Clarendon Road, Leeds
Y.P.R.S.	Yorkshire Parish Register Society, (now incorporated in the Y.A.S.)

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 493/6 " " "
 494/12/1 et. seq. " "
 495 " " "
 496/11/12 " " "
 498/9 " " "
 500/4/5/6 " " "
 502/12 " " "
- Class DL 39 (Miscellaneous Surveys)
 5/15 Knaresborough Forest
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 208/201 Staincliffe wapentake, 1545
 210/393 West Riding, 1664
 210/400 West Riding 1672
 262/11 West Riding, 1666

c) Parliamentary Surveys for Yorkshire

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1. Public Record Office (continued)
 - d) Augmentation Office, Miscellaneous Books

Class E315 422 Rental and Survey of Rosedale
 - e) Tithe Documents

Class 1R 29 Tithe Awards
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12165 Pickering, 1838
 2. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York
 - a) Bishop's Transcripts of Parish Registers

Cropton Chapelry (Parish of Middleton by Pickering)
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PREFACE

It is the intention of this thesis to examine late settlement on the wastes of former royal hunting forests in Yorkshire. Three forests only were selected for study in detail; those of Bowland, Knaresborough, and Pickering, but they were well spaced across the former county of Yorkshire with their extremities extending virtually from coast to coast. Although their origins were diverse, and they show considerable differences, they were chosen largely on account of their unifying characteristic - the fact that all became part eventually of the Duchy of Lancaster.

This is of some importance since it conveys uniformity to a principal source of information - the lists of those fined at the forest courts for illegal encroachment on the forest wastes. It was, in fact, the principal means of colonisation in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the existence of many such lists at the Public Record Office - most particularly for the Forest of Knaresborough - constitutes a hitherto untapped source, for this Forest at least. It is clear that lists of names are of little use unless they can be related to particular places, and this information is never given explicitly. A large part of the research was therefore concerned with correlation of different sources with this end in view. In the process, it was discovered that other civil sources, too, were capable of revealing more about the geographical location of individuals than they are normally given credit for, particularly when used in conjunction with parish registers by utilising the technique of family reconstitution.

The Public Record Office holds most of the records referred to, and I am happy to acknowledge the help I have received both there and at the numerous other record offices visited. For the background examined in Chapter II, I am however particularly indebted to Professor Bernard Jennings who made available to me his transcripts, made at the Public Record Office, of the Knaresborough Forest Court Rolls for the Middle Ages. My debt to him is, in fact, much more extensive than that suggested, since in addition to supervising this thesis he was responsible, many years ago, for arousing my interest in this particular topic.

CHAPTER I THE MATERIAL OF THE THESIS AND METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

Prior to the great spate of Parliamentary enclosures which began around 1750, commons and wastes had provided a reservoir of land capable of accommodating periodic surges of population growth.(1) Some of the most extensive areas of waste were found in former hunting forests. It is convenient to use the term 'forest' generally, rather than to attempt to separate royal 'forests' from baronial 'chases', as the latter distinction was not consistently maintained in Yorkshire. The large Yorkshire forests contained, even in the early 16th century, great tracts of undeveloped land. These wastes can be distinguished from those of non-forest areas in the county by two features: the size of the administrative units, which made control of encroachment difficult; and the sharing of the extensive pastures between large numbers of townships and settlements without any physical division.(2)

The lord of the forest was always a remote figure, depending for the efficient management of his interests upon stewards and their officers. Where the latter were unable effectively to oversee the extensive wastes, colonisation might take place in unlicensed fashion almost at the whim of the settler, but elsewhere the lord might act, either directly or through the device of the fee farm, to encourage new tenants to settle on the common waste. Both methods required the consent - willingly given or otherwise - of existing tenants, who stood to lose part of their common rights, but the upland wastes of the Yorkshire forests were vast and this was not always an issue. Both licensed and unlicensed routes to settlement seem to have been practised in the 16th and 17th centuries on those Duchy of Lancaster estates in the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire which form the subject of this thesis, and many wholly new hamlets were created. A third source of hamlet formation, through the fragmentation of monastic farms or manorial vaccaries, began rather earlier but was less common on Duchy lands across the county than on some former forest wastes in other hands.(3)

Three Yorkshire forests, all part of the possessions of the Duchy of Lancaster throughout the period considered (c.1500 - 1750), will be examined with the intention of displaying the variety of forms that late colonisation could take. In geographical terms Bowland, Knaresborough and Pickering Forests, though each included similar marginal hill land, embraced a wide range of topographical, vegetational, and climatic types, extending across England virtually from coast to coast (Map 1). Even more various were the cultural, tenurial, and land-use factors which played an equally important role in the creation of hamlets.

A major part of the study will, however, be concerned with the question of how such hamlets, which rarely received any administrative recognition, were able to fit into the pattern of existing communities; how permanent such settlements became; how their inhabitants were able to make a living; and how they stood in the estimation of their long-settled neighbours. The answers to such questions are likely to be found only by a combination of different approaches, establishing first which were the long-settled hamlets and deciding how they came into existence, then studying particular hamlets for evidence of size and permanence, of growth, and of the families, occupations and social circumstances associated with each.

Since, by their nature, documentary evidence of the creation of cottage-hamlets as named communities is unlikely to be forthcoming, their late arrival on the scene will have to be established by demonstrating their presence in the 16th and 17th centuries and their absence from medieval records. Inevitably, this will involve building up quite a comprehensive picture of the kind of forest communities existing in the Middle Ages. We should note in passing, however, that the Dissolution of the Monasteries - which permitted a final withdrawal from the grange economy of earlier centuries and thus marked a turning point in the colonisation of areas formerly under monastic control - was of only minor significance in the forest areas considered here.(4)

Having established the approximate date of settlement of these later hamlets a more serious obstacle arises, for whereas hamlets comprising the substantial farms of copyholders or their sub-tenants can often be studied through the wills and probate inventories of their inhabitants, and through surviving buildings, cottages are less likely to have survived and their occupants only rarely had anything worth leaving. Nevertheless, something can be learned from the form of the hamlet itself, for although a squatter settlement may now consist almost entirely of rebuilt dwellings, the site, shape, and character of the hamlet will have been dictated by its origins. It is often possible, in fact, to identify such settlements by their situation on the former commons (often near the township boundary); by their tendency to nucleation (unusual in itself in the uplands); and by the near-absence of working farms or their ancillary buildings. The contrast with copyhold hamlets is clear, for in areas of scattered settlement the farms, though well separated, form a more or less continuous line along a contour marking the edge of the cultivated fields.

For evidence of the life style of cottagers, however, it will be necessary to turn to the comments of contemporary observers (often highly biased), to occasional entries in the Forest Court Rolls, or to manorial surveys. Early estate maps often show hamlet communities - though whether in realistic or conventional representations is a matter for conjecture - and towards the end of the period those hamlets which survived, and which were considered by then to be permanent features, appear on enclosure maps and in early directories.

Only rarely is more than one of these sources available for a given community, and even then detail may be lacking, but fortunately there are three other sources - which have nearly always survived in some form or another - which can be used in association to illuminate the topic by a study of the families concerned.

The sources referred to are the parish registers; the Hearth Tax returns of the restored monarchy after 1660; and the lists of encroachers presented at the forest courts, while the necessity for using them in association results from the fact that none is complete in itself. The parish register ought to be the most comprehensive source but - even assuming no deficiencies in recording - it is rarely the case that most inhabitants featured in it within the decade or so which is usually the practical limit for detailed analysis. The quality of the register will vary, of course, from parish to parish and from time to time but, given the extensive multi-township parishes usual in forest areas, any register which fails to note at least the township - and preferably the hamlet - of the person concerned is useless for the present purpose. Even when the register is satisfactory in this respect it may only feature members of the established church (though Nonconformists and Roman Catholics were sometimes buried there too) and, denominational considerations aside, the registers used in this work give grounds for suspicion that cottagers did not always have their children baptised - for whatever reason.

Burials, even of paupers, were always recorded, though in Knaresborough Forest it has proved necessary to use Hampsthwaite burial register in conjunction with that of the Society of Friends on account of the strong Quaker influence locally. Since Hampsthwaite parish register is the most complete of those used in this study - and contained only townships in Knaresborough Forest, whereas most others contained some non-forest townships - it may be worth mentioning that the technique in this case was to compile an index of every hamlet referred to (with its inhabitants) between 1603 (when the register began) and 1678. Since this was the peak period for encroachment here, it has proved possible by this means to establish the approximate date of creation of a number of cottage hamlets.

This particular register, moreover, showed up very clearly the deficiencies of the Hearth Tax return as a listing of inhabitants, for in one admittedly exceptional hamlet only four taxpayers were recorded from an estimated population of about twenty-five families, though the 1666 return - which listed those exempt - is missing for this township. The Hearth Tax is perhaps more usefully employed as an indication of where people lived than as a measure of the number of inhabitants, since it will be shown that the returns were compiled in a definite geographical order of houses, even though this was very rarely specified. The same sequence was used (though sometimes in a reverse order) for the returns of 1664, 1666, and 1672, which have all survived for the West Riding more or less intact, so that the actual route followed by the tax collector and constable through the township can sometimes be deduced.

In the squatter hamlets, where taxpayers were few and far between, the encroachment lists form a much better guide to the settlements since they, too, can be shown to depict a geographical sequence. This is surprising, for illegal squatters were supposed to be presented and fined in the forest courts, but it is probable that this had gone on for so long that the fines had become in effect a rent collected by forest officials. This supposition appears to be confirmed by the depositions of witnesses at an enquiry held in 1698 into a charge of extortion made against the Deputy Steward of the Honour of Knaresborough. The witnesses described how the fines were collected by successive Graves and Beadles of the Forest, going back many years, and made it quite clear that they did in fact visit each illegal cottage in turn. The encroachment lists, nine of which have been transcribed for Knaresborough Forest between 1612 and 1708, not only provide valuable evidence of the numbers of illegal encroachers throughout the century but also, in association with the parish registers, allow the sites of the squatter hamlets to be located. It has even proved possible in some cases to establish the layout of the hamlet, by making use of 18th century enclosure maps, though there is a gap of some thirty years between the two sources of evidence. The success of this approach owes much to the care with which these records were kept for Knaresborough Forest, and comparable sources for Bowland Forest have proved to be useful only for the identification of certain encroachment sites. For the Honour of Pickering, moreover, only urban lists have survived, though a number of complaints of illegal forest enclosure in the 17th century have been utilised.

Finally, it is necessary to make some reference to the very confusing question of the legal standing of forest tenants, and the nature of their landholdings. It will be shown that in the later Middle Ages a distinction was made between the assessed land of the township - measured in bovates and held in exchange for services rendered to the lord of the manor - and the non-assessed assart land, measured in acres, for which a money rent was paid.(5) The distinction was always present, but in the forests it assumed an enhanced significance on account of the increased opportunities for new land to be taken in from the waste. Newly-assarted land might be freely granted by charter, as sometimes happened in the Manor of Slaidburn, but was much more likely to be held by customary tenure. In Knaresborough Forest this meant copyhold, for which a legal title to the land resided in a copy made of the relevant entry in the Court Roll when the land was transferred to the new tenant. Such land could readily be granted to an heir, even before the death of the legal tenant, and the rents were fixed though the entry fines were variable - facts which proved to be of great importance later. These favourable tenurial conditions did not apply to all assarted forest land, however. Much of it in the Forest of Pickering was revealed in the 17th century to have been copyhold for only a short time and, the rents and fines being variable, the tenants had no safe legal title. In Bowland Forest, too, part of which had been colonised by the lord of the Honour and part by Kirkstall Abbey (to whom grazing rights had been granted), most of the vaccaries were held in fee farm so that the tenants had only limited rights. Ancient copyhold seems to have been extremely rare, if indeed it existed there at all, and as in Pickering the crown was able to claim that the rents were not fixed but could be increased at will.

Copyhold could clearly imply a greater or lesser degree of security depending on the conditions, but one feature of assarted forest land which seems to have been quite general is that it was assessed according to a larger measure than the statute rod, pole, or perch. The magnitude of the forest acre which resulted from the use of this bigger linear measure will be discussed in detail later; it should be noted, however, that because it was not a standard measure, but varied from place to place, the significance of the areas noted in the records is open to doubt. Unless attention is drawn to the local measure, therefore, it can be taken, throughout the text, that 'acre' always means 'forest acre' and that this measure was larger by an indeterminate amount than the statute acre.

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CHAPTER II THE MEDIEVAL BACKGROUND TO ENCROACHMENT

Encroachment of waste land is known to have been practised ever since records began, and nowhere more successfully than in the medieval forests where only a small proportion of the land was used for agriculture. Since the word itself denotes a trespass on territory over which someone else already has rights, we need to know who this was and what use was being made of the land at the time. Forests were created for the purpose of hunting, and within them Forest Law was enforced with the intention of preserving the game. It follows that the function of a forest was to provide food, shelter and protection for game in anticipation of future sport, either by the lord or by his associates. It is evident that a forest in the botanical sense was not only unnecessary but was in fact a hindrance to the fulfilment of this function, and forests - though always sited on the poorer land - typically contained a mixture of woodland, heathland and marsh which was progressively converted to pasture and meadow.(1) In addition, there would necessarily be an arable component to support whatever population existed, whether indigenous or adventitious (2), which in some places was surprisingly large. In the royal Forest of Feckenham, in Worcestershire, c. 1250 there were no less than 170 tenants encroaching, with 280 draught beasts; 100 horses; 25 mares; 154 oxen; 40 cows; 135 goats; 550 sheep; and 122 pigs.(3) A lower level of settlement (and no evident encroachment) existed in the forests examined when the first surviving manorial records begin, but it may have been more ancient. The records date from the 13th century or even earlier and suggest continuity in some degree from the pre-Conquest period by their use of minor place names of only local significance which were in use before 1066.

The existence of tenants - or of trespassers from outside - and the consequent risk to the game led to the appointment of officers peculiar to the forests, with a variety of functions.(4) The principal officer was usually the Master Forester or the Master of the Game (the title varied somewhat), though Master Forester's accounts have rarely survived. But where they have they show that the Forester's responsibility was mainly for the deer and the woodland, and that serious offences, such as taking the deer, were dealt with by the forest courts under his direction. Such courts, concerned with the affairs of the forest as a whole, were of more than one kind, held at different intervals and dealing with matters of differing severity. For administrative convenience, however, most forests were divided into wards, each with a woodmote court responsible for minor matters such as straying animals, and the profits of the individual woodmote courts had to be accounted for by the receiver for each ward, usually under the title of 'Minister's Accounts'. Attendance at court was compulsory for major officials such as the ranger or the bowbearer, and for a

whole host of minor officers; agisters, verderers, foresters and woodwards.

The forest officers responsible for safeguarding the boundaries and presenting encroachers were known as regards. They were expected to review from time to time the progress of encroachment and to present offenders at the Forest Eyre, nominally held every three years for the Forest of Pickering but in practice much more irregularly. Other forests were more meticulous in the presentation of encroachers; at Knaresborough the twice-yearly Sheriff's Tourn was used for this purpose while the Forest of Bowland was subject to a Court Leet held at Whitewell twice a year, the latter being combined with a Woodmote Court on the same day under a different jury. (5)

The utilisation of forest land

Even though forest areas contained scattered communities, some of them sizable, cultivating a little arable and meadowland, there can be no doubt that by far the greater part of the forests was devoted to wood or grazing land. The latter took the form either of extensive heath or moorland, or of woodland glades, depending on local soils and climate. But in every case there seems to have been a clear distinction made within the forests between two categories of land use; the covert, which was the home of the game, and the clearings, often known as launds, which were used to grow hay for the sustenance of the deer in winter. The term 'laund' which was much used in manorial documents was not part of common speech, so that in the Forest of Galtres, for example, the medieval launds have been shown to coincide with the many scattered farm sites having names ending in -thwaite. In that Forest, too, a definite boundary between covert and laund is implied by a regulation prohibiting the milking of cows within 300 feet of the covert during the fence month, when the deer were giving birth. (6)

This raises the question of conflicting usage of forest land for, although the primary purpose was to harbour game, the forest was part of the lord's demesne and he could if he wished utilise it for some other purpose entirely or, more commonly, share it between compatible users. This could be done in a number of ways. First; since forest lands were extensive and certainly not over-used, it was possible to let off the grazing rights of certain areas in the form of agistments to tenants or others. Second; in some - but not all - forest areas the lord regulated the use of the land by creating the manorial

farms known as vaccaries (for cattle), bercaries (for sheep), or studs (for horses). The wastes were therefore made to yield a return by stocking them with the lord's beasts, looked after by tenants who by this means were enabled to make a living. Third; since the tenants had certain customary rights over the open forest, many lords found it convenient to close off some areas for their own exclusive use, designating them deer parks. As the popularity of hunting declined, however, other usage increased, and by the early 14th century studs were usually sited in deer parks and agistment was frequently practised there. None of these activities prohibited the use of the forest lands for hunting, for the interests of the deer were always paramount, but as time went by the economic return from the forests began to outweigh their value for sport.

The introduction of more tenants brought with it economic benefits for the lord. There was not only the income from rents and fines, which constituted regular outgoings for the tenants, but also irregular or once-only payments which might take the form of licences for mining or charcoal burning, or marriage dues or heriot payable on the death of a tenant. Although there was a requirement in principle that tenants should perform labour services, just as there was outside the forests, it is doubtful if 'daywork' was ever exacted within them. And whereas 'boonworks' were due at busy times of the farming year, they were usually commuted in the forests to money payments. The composition was frequently at the rate of only 4d a year per messuage, an almost nominal payment whose only purpose may have been the recognition of an obligation to the lord. (7)

The overall situation was that the lord was able to exploit his forest lands in a number of alternative ways, but because forest tenants were not hard-pressed - by comparison with tenants elsewhere - the acquisition of common rights in the forests became desirable, particularly in view of the extensive wastes. Landlords and tenants were therefore agreed on the virtues of forest settlement, but the demand was characterised by different kinds of activity at different periods (though, as we might expect, all such activity reached a peak at times of national population growth). We must now distinguish between the fairly large-scale assarting (to use court terminology) of forest land in the early Middle Ages and the later and generally smaller encroachments made in much the same way, particularly in relation to the sites that were used.

The nature of medieval clearance

The essential distinction is that assarting was done by permission of the forest court, for which permission an entry fine was demanded for the land and an annual rent exacted. It may also have been necessary to seek the approval of the township.(8) Encroachments, on the other hand, were illegal but being generally small in size were either ignored or were tolerated on account of the regular income to the court in the form of fines for the offences. Assarting began on a large scale in the 13th and early 14th centuries but declined in importance after the Black Death of 1349, since the surviving population was too small to make use of all the available land - much less to clear new ground. When the market for land began to recover in the 15th century it was in response to a growing population which continued intermittently through the 16th century and reached a peak in the 17th, but the assarting procedure had by then been forgotten and encroachments of whatever size were dealt with by a system of fines bearing only the most tenuous relationship to the value of the land.(9) This is not to say, of course, that encroachments were unknown in the 14th century; such unlawful assarts and enclosures an acre or so in size were commonplace in the Manor of Wakefield (in 1316) and elsewhere.(10) We shall, for example, find evidence of them in parts of Pickering Forest between 1280 and 1334, during which time there was no Forest Eyre at which they could be licensed. Nevertheless, illegal encroachments contributed very little to the clearance of the waste in the forests now considered before the late 15th century, and even then the movement was slow to gain momentum.

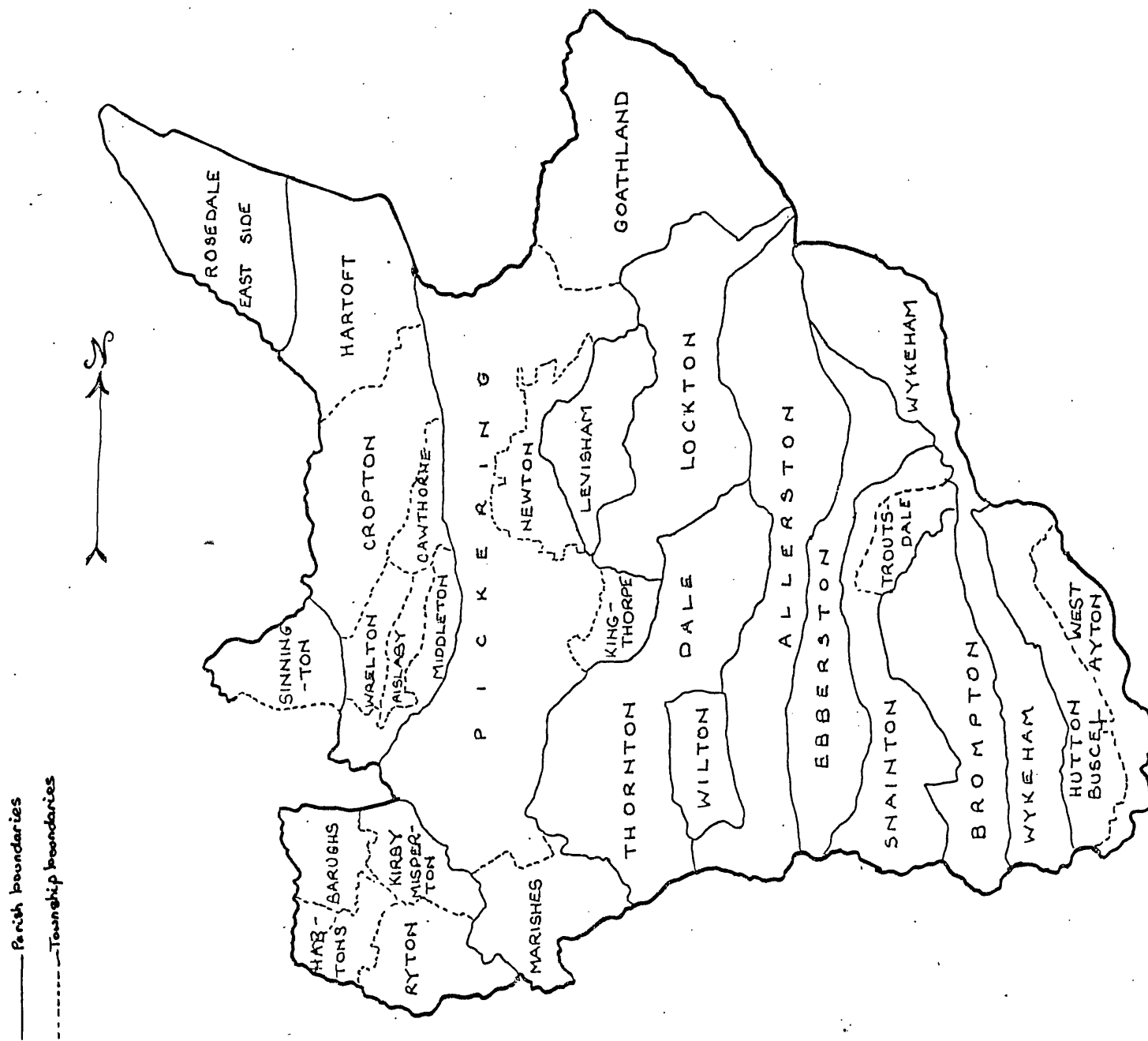
We must now consider the nature of the land that was used in each phase of clearance, for there is evidence to suggest a progression, from the use of the launds for the deer alone to their utilisation as agistments for farm stock, and from this to the farm held in severalty with subsequent assarts made in the covert, giving rise to names like 'Ridding' and 'Stubbing'. The full sequence was not always carried through, however. When forest land was granted to monastic houses with permission to create pastoral farms - or when the manorial lord himself created such farms - the second stage might be omitted. Alternatively the landlord, whether lay or monastic, might encourage tenants to make assarts on the common waste. There is a clear example from the Forest of Pickering, where in 1262 a flatt (cultura) of land in Newton by Pickering, called the Ridding and extending to 4 acres and $1\frac{1}{2}$ roods, was said to have been occupied by someone with the revealing

name of William de la Launde. (11) It had originally been part of the common pasture of Newton and after being assarted by William it passed into the hands of the Prior of Malton, who held it in 1262. It nevertheless remained part of the king's demesne throughout, an important point, since it confirms that it was not added to the oxgangs of Newton but was 'forby' land in individual ownership - though physically part of the arable open field. In yet other instances, and here surviving deer parks might be taken as examples, the suggested progression was halted at the agistment stage. But outside the deer parks the covert was 'ridded' of trees in the process of extending the laund at an early date, even though it was a slow business on account of the limited time available when subsistence farming was the norm. To fill out this general account, more detailed descriptions of medieval clearance will now be attempted, based on three medieval forests all of which eventually became part of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Early clearances in the Forest of Pickering

The extent of the Forest of Pickering turns out to be surprisingly broad, the Forest being divided into east and west wards whose external boundaries seem to coincide with those of the Honour. This is rather unusual but is confirmed by a list of townships and hamlets said to be in the Forest in 1619, which included all the vale-edge villages as well as the upland ones, and even those in the centre of the Vale of Pickering, sited on the highest ground above the marshes. ⁽¹²⁾ In response to a query from Norden's survey these were all claimed to lie within the jurisdiction of the Swainmote Court of the Forest, but it is not necessary to conclude that Forest Law was rigorously upheld throughout the whole of each township. In fact, the long north-south strips (see Map 2), including as they did vale-land meadow and pasture; arable open fields on the limestone slopes; woodland in the dales and heather moor on the highest land, provided ample scope for the segregation of hunting from farming pursuits. The Pickering Forest records make it quite clear that the game lived in the wooded dales (and perhaps to some extent on the open moors), which occupied the northern part of each township, and deer were never recorded as being taken in the vicinity of the long-established arable fields. As we might expect, the deep wooded valleys, providing both covert and laund, were prime sites for medieval encroachment.

Map 2. TOWNSHIPS COMPRISING THE FOREST AND HONOUR OF PICKERING



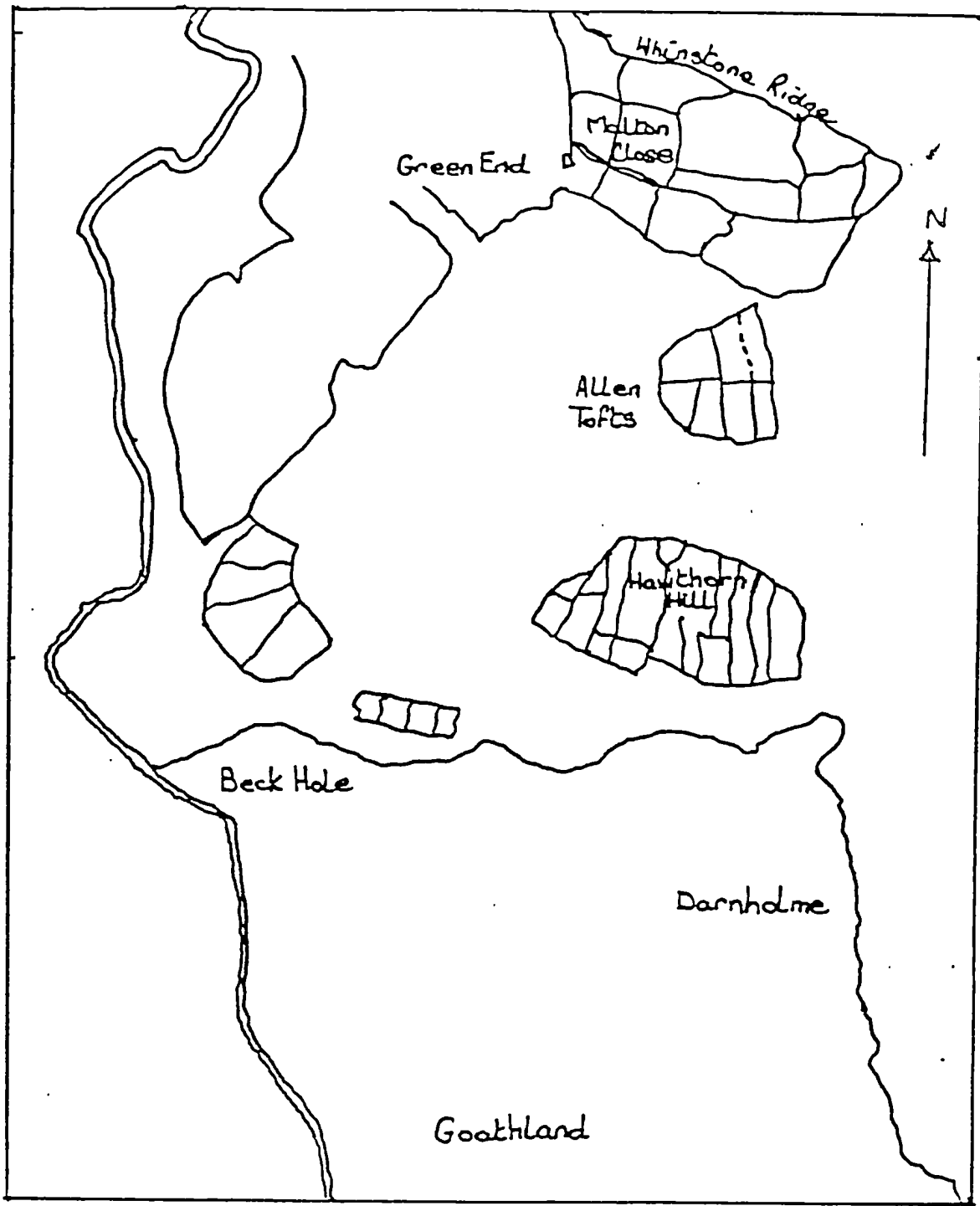
The Coucher Book (13) provides the earliest published source of evidence for medieval clearance in Pickering Forest. It reported that the court of Forest Pleas held at Pickering in 1334 was the first since 1280, and the Regard of the Forest for 1334 required the presentation of all encroachments made there since 1217. Those made between 1217 and the last Forest Eyre in 1280 were termed old assarts, and those since 1280 new assarts, and taken together the enormous amount of business to be conducted caused the sittings to last, on and off, for four years. They considered in addition hundreds of charges of unagisted cattle being taken in the Forest, and of unlawful felling of timber, and so many presentations for poaching over the previous forty years as to make it impracticable to count the offenders. A great number failed to appear, due no doubt to death or disappearance in the interim, and several hundred persons - including many from well outside the Forest - were outlawed. Fines for offences against the deer ranged from 1s up to as much as £2, but Forest officials, many of whom were accused of poaching, usually got away quite lightly.⁽¹⁴⁾ Surprisingly, in view of all this, enough deer and woodland were left for an Inquest as late as 1562 to declare there were 264 red deer in the open forest and 600 fallow deer in Blansby Park and the adjoining woodland.⁽¹⁵⁾

The fines for assarts listed in 1334-5 suggest that some large-scale clearances were carried out at the instigation of the landlord. "Thomas late Earl of Lancaster ... inclosed with a ditch a parcel of land at Fullwood, containing 80 acres, and granted it by deed to one Elias Stapelton to hold for term of life paying to the said Thomas 6s 8d a year ... Let the close be seized into the Lord's hands and let inquiry be made as to the sowing and the mowing of it meantime. Afterwards the constable proves that the rent is paid to the Lord, and that the inclosure may be suffered to exist without prejudice to the deer. Therefore stay further proceedings."⁽¹⁶⁾

The granting of lands in fee farm, for assarting under the direction of the landlord, occurred on a larger scale still in the former agistment of Allentofts at Goathland where clearance had begun by 1282.⁽¹⁷⁾ It was noted in 1334 that "Robert de Conysclif, bailiff of Pickering, of old caused an assart and encroachment to be made of 190 acres and 1 rood within the demesnes of Gotheland and Aleyn-toftes and fixed a rent for the use of the Lord. His successors as bailiffs caused a like assart and encroachment to be made of 308 acres there, and fixed a like rent for the use of the Lord. As the several occupiers thereof hold the same at rackrent they may continue to do so."⁽¹⁸⁾

Goathland was a remote settlement at the northern extremity of Pickering manor some fourteen miles from its centre. It was the site of a hermitage founded c.1113 and a confirmation of its charter, very soon after the foundation, grants in addition "one carucate of arable land such as are the carucates of Picrinch [Pickering], with pasture for all their cattle in my pastures of Picrinch, as far as the bounds of the Abbot of Wyteby." (19) Evidently a boundary between Goathland and the Whitby Abbey lands was already defined through this remote area, which suggests the presence of a local community whose interests were to be respected, and the phrase "such as are the carucates of Picrinch" strongly suggests that this new land was to be treated as part of the assessed (or oxgang) land of the manor and not as acre (or forby) land. The hermitage soon became a cell of the Benedictine Abbey of Whitby, and later a chapel of ease called St. Mary's in Goathland. (20) Its original function as a hermitage might explain its odd position, well to the south of the focal centre of the early scattered community of Goathland. The tenants of the Abbot of Whitby paid in 1334 back-dated agistment fines for the previous half-century for offences at Allentofts in Goathland, and the continuance of arable farming is attested by the fine paid for 16 oxen taken in that agistment. (21) This makes it clear that the extension of cultivation within the 500 acres of Goathland fee farm - which certainly included at least part of Allentofts - did not preclude the continued use of the remainder as an agistment.

Assarting at Allentofts is well-documented because so much was reported about it in the post-medieval period, when several surveys tried to distinguish between the fee farm lands of Goathland and some clearances which paid a separate rent but dated from the same period, though why they were outside the fee farm is not clear since they were certainly in the same locality. Clearance was still proceeding at Goathland in the 17th century and will be considered under that heading later, but the limits of the medieval fee farm can be approximately stated since the sites of some of the components were specified and can be identified. Thus, a jury of 1619 confirmed that "Somerholme, Hawghton or Hawghthorn Hill and Lythebeck are in Gothlande and so is Allentofts. And as they thincke are parte in fee ferme with Gothlande." (22) Further questioning elicited the information that "91 acres in Allentofts at Malton Close" was also part of the fee farm and, putting together these facts, we may deduce that the Goathland fee farm of 1334, which we have seen amounted to $498\frac{1}{4}$ acres, comprised the northern part of Goathland township



Map 3

MEDIEVAL ENCROACHMENTS IN GOATHLAND TOWNSHIP

and must have included at least part of the Allentofts agistment. Its general location is represented by the assarted area between the river and the moor shown on Plate Ib, but the name Allentofts, which is still in use, is nowadays taken to refer to the moorland above the assarts where there are stone-walled 'island' intakes as shown on Plate Ia and Map 3. Although these look like late clearances they cannot be so, for Hawthorn Hill is also situated there and the jurors claimed it as part of the medieval fee farm (its 'island' nature and plateau site are clear from Pl.2).

Medieval clearance, it now appears, spread both up onto the moorland and down into the woodland from the laund, which in this case occupied a narrow ribbon of grassland. Its site is still marked by a line of farms (including 'Malton Close', now Morton Close) between the 130 and 150 metre contours, and the road connecting them. 17th century clearance, as we shall see, consisted of small encroachments in the remaining woodland - which has still not been fully cleared down to the valley bottom - but the boundary of the wood was marked at an intermediate stage by the hamlet (seen to the left of Plate Ib) with the revealing name of 'Green End'. It is likely that the settlement corresponds to the limit reached after an intensive phase of clearance in the 16th century, when there were at Malton Close "by estymacion 70 acres sett with thre thousandes okes and Scrubbs whereof 300 Tymbre trees worth to be sold xiid and the rest iid". Prior to this, however, in 1501, a long list of timber removed from all parts of Pickering Forest concluded with the statement that "the seid John (Kemp) hath sold all the eshes that was in Malton Close in Goathland to cowpers of Whitby to the value of ... £10."(23)

Different physical conditions and manorial restraints imposed a quite different pattern on two other agistments, at Dalbydale and Langdale, which lay respectively to the south and south-east of Goathland but were usually leased together. Both had demesne meadows kept for the sustenance of the deer, sited in each case on alluvial soils in fairly broad valleys, and both had extensive upland grazing. But whereas Dalbydale was cleared of woodland at an early date to judge by the medieval records (though the steep valley sides were left), Langdale in the 14th century appears to have been still in an almost natural state. Although both areas carried agisted cattle the emphasis at Langdale was heavily biassed towards hunting, and many offences against the deer in that place were recorded at the Forest Eyre

of 1334-8. Nevertheless "William son of Hugh lately this year made an assart of 20 acres in Langdale in the Lord's demesnes, appurtenant to the townships of Ruston and Wykeham; each acre is rented at 1s a year so nothing is said about the sowing. Alexander Eskell the same year made an assart of 20 acres there ... rented at the same rate; Henry Ellerby the same. Since these assarts are proved to be rack-rented the occupiers may hold them." (24) However, 60 acres even when added to the 40 acres of ancient demesne meadow at Langdale Bridge, shown in Plate 3, was only a small proportion of the thousand or so acres available in Langdale and it is not even certain that all the 14th century assarts mentioned above were taken up. For although Howden in Langdale was the traditional meeting place for a Forest Court held each Whitmonday (25), we shall see that the only hamlet (Langdale End) did not come into existence until the 17th century.

Dalbydale might be thought to be equally remote and unpopulated, to judge by the residence there in 1323 of a hermit, William de Dalby. But according to the Close Rolls William was then permitted pasturage for one more cow and its issue up to two years old, in addition to the pasturage he already enjoyed for two cows and their issue. (26) He may have been providing food for travellers, for Dalbydale was crossed in the Middle Ages by an east-west route classed as a part of the 'King's Highway'. (27) In addition, Dalby had long been an agistment and in the early 14th century was a base for the manorial sheep flock, comprising around 1200 wethers kept on the high moors and nearly 200 ewes and their progeny kept on the former laund. The Issues of the Forest for 1313-14 reveal that the laund, previously reserved for the deer at Dalby, had become 40 acres of open meadow plus 7 acres enclosed, segregated in summer to allow a hay crop to be taken for the use of the sheep in winter. (28) Later accounts describe the carriage of hay from the Dalby meadows (along Dalby Beck) to a distant sheepcote three or four miles away at an unspecified site, and there is a mention of folding the sheep, presumably to manure an arable plot.⁽²⁹⁾ All the work was done by demesne tenants, but in later years at least this was not a labour service owed to the lord but paid work on his behalf. The large staff, which comprised 4 shepherds and 2 stock-keepers full time, with a further 10 men assisting at shearing time, suggests they were also responsible for the wether flock which was washed and sheared on the moors, and perhaps kept there permanently. Agistment fines were regularly imposed for pigs and oxen - as well as sheep not included in the demesne flock - at Dalby, but once it was leased to tenants, as it was

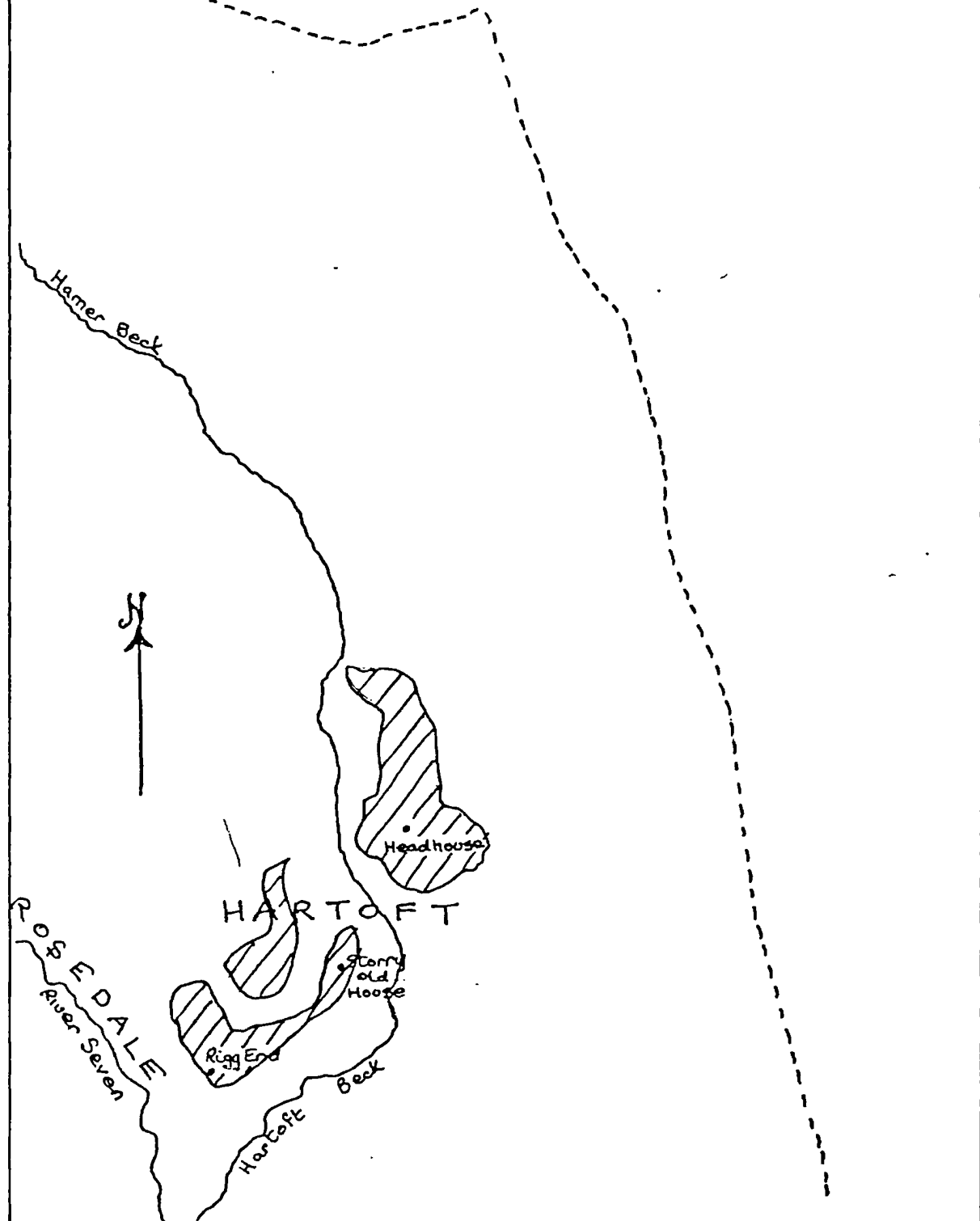
in 1434 when the manorial flocks were finally disposed of, it was inevitable that new encroachments would eventually appear, though they are not mentioned in the records until 1580. (30)

There were, however, a few places in Pickering Forest where small encroachments were made by individuals at a much earlier date, and the Coucher Book makes particularly detailed reference to assarts at Hartoft, in Cropton township. The scattered hamlet of Hartoft occupies a small valley - a tributary of Rosedale - in the extreme west of Pickering Forest. It was part of the fee of Thomas Wake of Lidell, who may have instigated the assarting, but small encroachments ranging from 1 to 9 acres in size were made by 10 tenants before 1280 and cropped intermittently with oats. A typical entry from the Regard of Pickering Forest dated 6th October 1334 reads "William le Cartere of Hartoft made an old assart of 4 acres in Hartoft in the fee of Thomas Wake. It was sown 10 times with spring corn, but nothing is to be charged because it was rented at the last eyre of the Justices [1280], to wit each acre at 7d. Since Alice in le Head of Hartoft, the present occupier, has inclosed it in a manner contrary to the assize of the forest she is to be amerced. All the same, the inclosure is to be broken down and the rent paid to the Earl." (31)

Every single tenant with arable lands assarted before 1280 was fined for taking a crop, either oats or unspecified 'spring corn', on the same number of occasions (i.e. ten) since 1280, and although this could only have been a nominal figure it does at least show that the arable was not continuously cropped. The uniformity of treatment of the tenants of arable land - which amounted to 36 acres - together with the invariable claim of illegal enclosure since 1280, strongly suggest a common arable field before that date, but if so then it must have taken the form of scattered and separated cropping divisions. The initial evidence comes from fieldwork, which shows that very few fields have that characteristic feature of old arable fields on a slope, a pronounced headland lynchet at the lower edge. But the crucial facts are that those fields which do show this feature are invariably sited on soil of the Brown Earth type (Map 4); invariably adjoin ancient farm sites; but are not all found in proximity. In fact, such arable fields occur in three different localities corresponding to three separate areas of Brown Earths, at Hartoft Rigg, Storry Old House, and Head House, separated by extensive patches of wet gley soils.

Map 4 ANCIENT FARM SITES RELATED TO BROWN EARTH SOILS

IN HARTOFT



The Brown Earths are said to be derived from former deciduous woodland, rich in humus, whereas the gley soils on a clay base were always badly drained, and it is therefore likely that the first, after clearance, were utilised for cereal production and the latter, after drainage, for meadow. The essential point, however, is that the farm sites have always been scattered and that there is no suitable location for a single arable open field conveniently placed for the whole community. It is possible to go further and suggest that the earliest colonists have been commemorated in the present farm names; Peter del Tung and Adam del Tung (assarting between 1312 and 1324) at the prominent tongue of land known latterly as Hartoft Rigg; Robert Storour (1312) at Storry Old House; and Alice atte Head (who occupied in 1334 land assarted before 1280) at Head House, the farm names being as shown on the first edition of the 6" Ordnance Survey Map.

It is not easy to see what advantage could be derived from a common arable system comprising such widely scattered blocks, unless it was the case that the blocks were independently cultivated and only the post-harvest grazing was shared. This would certainly explain the complaint in 1334 of illegal enclosure of the arable, and also the decision of the court that the fences should be broken. But it may be that it was not only the custom of average the court had in mind but also the question of access for the deer, for the forest regulations stipulated that fences must be such as to allow the game to enter cultivated lands freely. The presence of deer, incidentally, is confirmed by the case of two men presented in 1332 for killing a hind at Mulfosse in Hartoft, very close to the cultivated lands.(32) Meadow and pasture, on the other hand, almost certainly was unenclosed until after 1280, for it was never mentioned before that date and no rent was paid for it. Moreover, c.1300 three of the colonists, John Stirkhird, John Wetherhird, and Henry Youhirde, had names suggesting duties in connection with the common herds and flocks of the hamlet. After 1300 the situation began to change and these three men were among the many fined in 1334 for enclosing pasture, apparently for the purpose of converting it to meadow - though it was not good enough initially to take a crop of hay every year. For example, "Abraham, son of Alice, 22 years ago made an enclosure of 4 acres. It is not now and never was sown, but 2 acres were mown 8 times. Value of a mown acre 10d, of an unmown acre 6d, a year. Present occupier, John Wetherhird, rents it at 1½d an acre." In a few cases a cereal crop was taken immediately off a new assart, and in these instances it is quite certain that it was independently

cultivated. An enclosure of 3 acres made 18 years before 1334 by John Scotte had 1 acre sown 7 times with spring corn; 1 acre mown 7 times; and 1 acre which grew neither hay nor corn. Another enclosure of $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, made 22 years before by Henry del Tung, had 1 rood sown 14 times with oats; an acre mown 12 times; and the remaining rood neither mown nor sown. A 1 acre enclosure made 20 years before by Alan Erwart had been sown 8 times with spring corn but never mown; and Elias Cokerell's 22 year old enclosure of 1 rood had been sown 7 times with oats but, again, never mown.(33) The overall effect of assarting can be seen from the Table below.

TABLE 2.1

TENANTS AT HARTOFT IN 1334			
	Arable	Meadow	Pasture
John Stirkhird	9 ac.	1 ac.	1 ac. + $\frac{1}{4}$ ac.
William Yeland et al.	4 ac.		
'Hawisia'	2 ac.		
Alice atte Head	4 ac. + 1 ac.		
Joan widow of Richard Knot	6 ac.		
Hugh Souter	3 ac.		$\frac{1}{4}$ ac.
William Lambe	3 ac.	2 ac.	1 ac.
Henry de Ging	3 ac.		
John Clyf	1 ac.	$\frac{3}{4}$ ac.	$1\frac{1}{4}$ ac.
John Bransdale			6 ac. + $1\frac{1}{2}$ ac.
John son of Robert		2 ac.	$2\frac{1}{2}$ ac. + $1\frac{1}{2}$ ac.
John Wetherhird		2 ac. + 1 ac.	2 ac. + $2\frac{1}{2}$ ac.
Joan widow of Richard Knappere		1 ac.	1 ac.
William del Myre	1 ac.	1 ac.	1 ac.
Adam Gykel		1 ac. + $6\frac{1}{4}$ ac.	1 ac.
William Erwart		3 ac.	1 ac.
Alan Erwart	1 ac.		
Henry del Tung	$\frac{1}{4}$ ac.	1 ac. + 1 ac.	3 ac. + $\frac{1}{4}$ ac.
Thomas ?Forester		$\frac{1}{2}$ ac.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ ac.
Peter Gervaus		$\frac{1}{2}$ ac.	
Richard son of John		$\frac{1}{2}$ ac.	$\frac{3}{4}$ ac.
Hugh son of Stephen		$1\frac{1}{2}$ ac.	
Elias Cokerell	$\frac{1}{4}$ ac.	1 ac.	
Henry Youhirde		$\frac{1}{2}$ ac.	$2\frac{1}{2}$ ac.
Peter Smalhesel		1 ac.	$1\frac{1}{4}$ ac.
Totals	$38\frac{1}{2}$ ac.	$28\frac{1}{2}$ ac.	33 ac.

It is clear that new land was designated as either arable or potential meadow from the start, for the same parcel never alternated between the two uses. But the post-1280 assarts were always enclosed and nearly always divided into two or more portions, despite their small size. Usually one portion was cropped for hay and the other left as pasture, the examples quoted in the previous paragraph being the only ones where there was an arable component. However, neither arable nor incipient meadow was cropped continuously, both being subject to rest periods. An analysis of the frequency of cropping shows that 37 harvests of spring sown corn were gathered in 82 plot-years, and 148 crops of hay in 354 plot-years, so that, after allowing for harvest failures in some years, it appears that the intention was to take a crop, whether corn or hay, from designated plots every other year. A simple two-course rotation of crop and fallow for the arable seems much more likely than the alternative - continuous cropping of an outfield until its fertility failed - partly because the poorest portion of each enclosure was always kept as pasture anyway, and partly because in one instance where corn land was allowed to go back to the waste, this fact was explicitly stated. Table 21 also shows that by 1334 the total areas of arable, meadow and pasture were comparable and coincidentally? add up to 100 acres. It must be pointed out, however, that since both corn and hay closes were cropped less often than one year in two, the true areas cropped in any one year would be about 16 acres of arable and 12 acres of meadow.

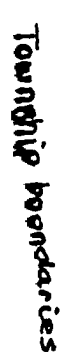
A final point needs to be made regarding the importance of sheep in the Forest of Pickering for the above rotation, on steep slopes causing rapid leaching of nutrients, would only have been feasible given adequate manuring. We have seen that the manorial flock survived until 1434 and Waites, noting that such a late survival stressed the suitability of the area for sheep, commented that "The persistence of demesne farming on the Pickering estate in a period characterised by leasing elsewhere becomes more significant when it is recollected that monastic farmers, too, in this region, clung more tenaciously to their lands and flocks than did their counterparts in other parts of England". (34) He has demonstrated elsewhere (35) the scale of both lay and monastic sheep farming in north-east Yorkshire. To take one parish as an example, for Middleton (which contained several townships including Hartoft), he has calculated that the lay flocks alone totalled 8000 sheep in 1341, in addition to the 2000 sheep kept in the same parish by the small nunnery of Rosedale in 1308. More light is cast on this practice by the grant

to Malton Priory in 1221-4 of pasture for 1000 wethers and six score other animals on the commons of Levisham, for it was associated with 52 acres of arable on which the sheep were folded overnight - the usual practice by lay and monastic farmers alike on the Tabular Hills.⁽³⁶⁾ Such evidence leaves no room for doubt about the importance of sheep in the medieval economy of the Forest of Pickering.

Medieval colonisation in Bowland Forest

Monastic involvement in forest farming also played a part in Bowland, where it took a very different form. The lords of Clitheroe granted to Kirkstall Abbey around 1190 the vill of Rushton in the upper Hodder valley, and these lands were much extended c.1235 by a further grant of woodland and pasture likewise east of the Hodder. The whole area later became known as Dalehead and, following the Dissolution of the Monasteries, was added to Easington, but as this township lay outside Forest jurisdiction we shall not be concerned with it further.

This by no means disposes of monastic involvement however, for the same charter by which Robert de Lacy granted the vill of Rushton to Kirkstall Abbey served also to grant them unspecified forest grazing for 160 mares and their foals up to 2 years old, and for 200 cows and their calves up to 3 years old.⁽³⁷⁾ Although no bounds were stipulated for this pasture, it must have been extensive and could only have been utilised through the creation of forest vaccaries. The earliest sites were probably at Gradall and Crosdale, where permission to make folds was granted ⁽³⁸⁾ before 1211, and the grazing rights were extended c.1220 by the grant to Kirkstall of an adjoining area known as 'Gamellesarges'.⁽³⁹⁾ The name is not subsequently recorded, but the boundaries defined make it clear that it, too, was west of the Hodder though close to Rushton, and a continuing monastic presence in the Forest is indicated by 3 independent 'Horse Closes' (apart from the lodges mentioned) belonging to Kirkstall in the 1360s.⁽⁴⁰⁾ At a much earlier date, however, evidence for considerable lay activity in Bowland is summarised in an Extent of 1258.⁽⁴¹⁾ Just outside the Forest, at Slaidburn Woodhouse, assarting had proceeded at such a rate that 316 acres had been cleared - far more than the former open-field land of the vill of Slaidburn which, according to the same Extent, comprised only 30 bovates of 6 acres; 30 acres of arable demesne land; and 8 acres of demesne meadow, totalling 218 acres in all. ⁽⁴¹⁾



The Extent reveals also that within the Forest 7 manorial vaccaries had been established, of the kind being created at this time by the lords of Clitheroe throughout their Forest possessions - of which Bowland was only one. The rent paid for the herbage of each was the same and was only 5s; this may have been a nominal sum but it should be noted that the same Extent gave the fixed rent as 4d an acre, both for bovat and assart land, suggesting a nominal 15 acres. Seven such holdings would, however, have made no impact at all on the enormous grazing lands of Bowland (some 10-15,000 acres, excluding moorland), and even including the monastic settlements in the Forest the land brought into cultivation by the vaccaries was so small as to suggest a total absence of population pressure or other demand for land. (The point can be made more forcibly by comparing Fountains Earth in Nidderdale, where in the 13th century 8 monastic vaccaries shared only 2500 acres of available grazing below the moorland edge. (42))

There may be an explanation, however, for the century from c.1225 to 1325 was characterised by a growth of population and consequent expansion of assarts throughout England (43), and we have already seen its effect in the Forest of Pickering. It may be, therefore, that development was deliberately inhibited in Bowland Forest in the interests of hunting, at least until the 1340s, when we begin to get a record of encroachment. In the 1360s clearances made during the previous 20 years were noted (44), and the timing is significant, since in 1362 the Forest finally achieved a measure of stability when the de Lacy lands comprising the Honour of Clitheroe - which had frequently been forfeit - became part of the Duchy of Lancaster. The survey may have been required by the new lords of the Honour but, in any event, it appears that about 280 acres of Bowland Forest had been encroached in those two decades, and the vast majority must have been cleared before the Black Death intervened in 1349. If this is true, the rate of encroachment in Bowland must have been in excess of that in the Forest of Knaresborough, where some 90 acres were taken in during 1342-9 (45), suggesting that colonisation had indeed been restricted hitherto.

There can be no doubt that assarting suffered a severe setback in most places after 1349, and population recovery was delayed for another half century by recurrent attacks of the plague. That it did recover after 1400 and that there was then renewed pressure for land in the Honour of Clitheroe has been established by William Farrer, on the strength of a detailed examination of

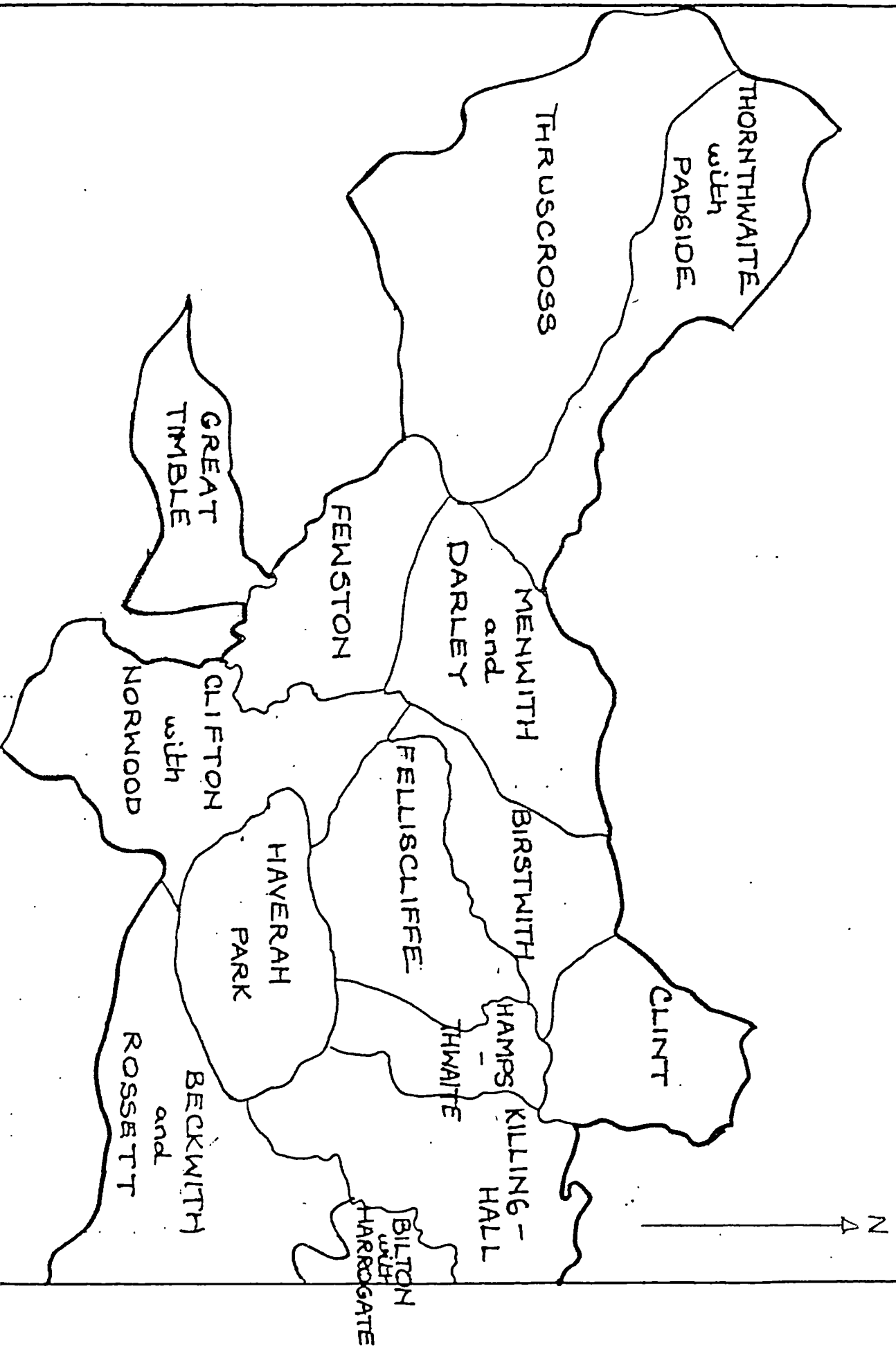
the Clitheroe Court Rolls. "At an early period in the 15th century the forest lands or vaccaries ... were demised for short terms (generally seven years) to 'farmers' who sublet the land in small parcels 'to their utmost profit and advantage' to small tenants or squatters ... These people afterwards became the tenants of the 'Newhold', and in or about the 22 Henry VII the leases granted to the 'farmers' of the forest lands were cancelled, and the tenants of the Newhold were admitted to fine with the King for their tenements, which they held ... by copy of Court Roll, and under customs similar to those relating to other ancient copyhold lands in the Honour of Clitheroe." (46)

That this happened in some parts of the Honour - and specifically in the Forest of Trawden according to Farrer - is beyond dispute for similar events have been noted in the Forest of Rossendale (47), but it did not happen in Bowland Forest until much later, and then only on certain vaccaries. The Minister's Accounts for Bowland in 1422 reveal that manorial stock was still run on all vaccaries (48). There were in all 9 bulls, 179 cows and heifers, 42 young oxen, 44 bullocks and 150 calves; of these 1 bull and 42 oxen were at Leagram Park and the rest spread among 8 vaccaries. At some subsequent time the manorial stock was withdrawn, and the number of tenants increased from 19 in 1443 to 53 who paid 'old copyhold' rents in 1527 (49), though the most rapid increase was later. If Farrer is correct, then the 'old copyholds' in 1527 would have included both 'ancient copyholds' (if any) and the 'newhold' tenants who had acquired a form of copyhold right. But not all the Bowland vaccaries by any means were taken over by fee farmers or newhold tenants, for in addition to the 15 sites so held there were at least 6 vaccaries - most of them subdivided - still held by lease direct from the king (50) as late as 1652, a topic that will be dealt with later. There were still deer in Bowland at that date, and the tenants were still fined if they kept without licence a dog bigger than would go through a 'sturup' to hunt the deer out of their corn. In spite of the great expansion of cultivation in the Forest of Bowland, therefore, its preservation for hunting was still paramount long after the medieval period, and was not limited to the deer parks of Leagram and Radholme within the Forest.

Migration into Knaresborough Forest after the Black Death

Of the forests considered here, Knaresborough was without doubt the most open - or least preserved - in the Middle Ages. Manorial farming was confined

Map 6.
TOWNSHIPS COMPRISING THE FOREST OF Knaresborough



to two vaccaries noted in the early 13th century (merely located within the Honour, but thought to have been sited within the Forest and possibly coincident with later deer parks)(51), and the deer parks themselves. The only monastic vaccary was one mentioned at Birstwith between 1151 and 1176, and which seems to have been short-lived. The contrast with Bowland was therefore complete, but there was little similarity with Pickering either for development, by means of small-scale assarting was taking place throughout Knaresborough Forest - with the exception of the deer parks and some preserved woodland - in the first half of the 14th century. Indeed, all the clearances at this time seem to have been carried out by individuals, with the sole exception of fourteen acres assarted by a group of seven men at Tang Nab in Felliscliffe (52) in 1345-6. An even more remarkable fact about assarted copyholds in Knaresborough Forest concerns their transfer to strangers - people from outside the forest bounds - and not as middlemen, but as settlers. It has proved possible to examine this movement by noting the surnames of Forest tenants appearing either as agisters or defaulters from jury service, or in the 1379 Poll Tax. The agistment lists are for Haverah Park (1365-6) or Bilton Park (1366-7), and there is a pannage roll for Spruisty (1354-5); all have been published and are said to be complete with the exception of 16 illegible names on the pannage roll (53). The number of individuals listed was 66, 91, and 46 (+16) respectively, and it will be noted that these were the survivors of the Black Death of 1349. Their domicile is not given, but the coverage has been increased and the sample size enhanced by adding the names of those failing to attend the Honour Court in 1332-3 (from the same source), and those listed in the Poll Tax of 1379, since both give, if not the township, at least the township group comprising the constabulary. The Forest Poll Tax contained, moreover, no less than 357 names.

The method of analysis was suggested by the work of Redmonds.(54) He argued that the scattered nature of settlement in the West Riding was responsible for the high proportion of surnames derived from purely local place-names; that surnames could denote anything from a township down to a single farmstead; that such names had a purely local currency which did not survive migration over any distance but that, conversely, a locality name would survive for many centuries near its place of origin. The implication of his remarks is that in the local context a surname, up to about the last quarter of the 14th century, could reflect where a man lived, or where he had just moved from, provided his place of origin was sufficiently close to be known.

It is, therefore, possible to divide local surnames based on place-names, which comprise nearly half the total, into the following four groups, with some confidence that they reflect recent origins.

1. Place-names arising unmistakably within the Forest.
2. Place-names arising unmistakably outside the Forest.
3. Names of non-specific local origin (atte Bek, del Cote, atte Kirk, del Mosse) assumed to arise within the Forest.
4. Names of places now disappeared and untraceable in 'Place-names' for the East, West, or North Ridings (Allerthwaite, Chilray).

The first three groups are presented in full in Tables 2.2-2.4, along with the information on locality provided by the source. The fourth group is not really very useful for the present purpose. Accepting that the first and (probably) the third group must represent families resident within the Forest at this time, the difficulty is to decide where the second group fits in. Were they outsiders utilising Forest grazing rights ; were they recent incomers ; or had they been resident in the Forest for a generation, keeping their parent's place of origin as identification?.

The first question can be answered quite quickly. This group is surprisingly large - about equal in size to the first and third groups taken together. Its surnames indicate great geographical diversity, from Scriven on the edge of the Forest to places as far apart as Corby, Derby, Kendal, Lunesdale and Teesdale. The names themselves tend to reduce the chance of the first explanation being the correct one, and when the 57 place-name surnames are examined for locational evidence in the documents it turns out that two-thirds of them paid Poll Tax in the Forest. Moreover, of the remaining third, only Robert Webster de Arthington, Richard de Scotton, Richard de Screvyne, John de Staynelay and Richard de Weeton look likely to have been outsiders with grazing rights. Since the usual practice in such cases was to distinguish them on the agistment roll- as was done for the tenants of Nidd when they used the Haverah Park grazing - we can probably dismiss such instances.

TABLE 2.2 SURNAMES ARISING WITHIN KNARESBOROUGH FOREST

<u>Surname</u>	<u>Number of mentions</u>	<u>Date and place of occurrence</u>				
		<u>1332-3</u>	<u>1354-5</u>	<u>1365-6</u>	<u>1366-7</u>	<u>1378-9</u>
de Beckwith	2+	K'hall		Haverah		(Killinghall (Beckwith (Clint (Timble
de Bestan	1					Timble
de Bland	2					Timble
de Clifton	2	Timble				Killinghall
de Clynt	2					Clint
Dalay	2					(Thruscross (Clint
de ffarnhill	2+		Spruisty			Clint
de ffellesclyff	2			Haverah		Clint
de ffoeston	2		Spruisty	Haverah		Timble
de Hampstwayte	1			Haverah		
de Hardolfsty	2+					Timble
del Hill	2+		Spruisty	Haverah		(Beckwith (Killinghall
del Holme	2		Spruisty			Thruscross
Ketilsyng	1					Timble
de Kilinghale	1			Haverah		
Langskall	1				Bilton	
de Megill	2					Timble
de Menwith	2+					Thruscross
de Padsyde	1		Spruisty			
de Roudon	2+					Clint
de Thakwra	2+			Haverah		(Timble (Thruscross
de Thornthwayt	2			Haverah		Thruscross
de Thurescroft	1					Thruscross
de Trees	2	Clint				(Clint (Timble
Tymble	1					Thruscross
del Wrekis	1	Clint				Clint

Sources for Tables 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4 Kaye W.J. Records of Harrogate,
Leeds, 1922; and Transcript of Poll Tax 1378-9 (kindly provided by
Prof. B. Jennings)



TABLE 2.3 SURNAMES ARISING OUTSIDE KNARESBOROUGH FOREST

Surname	Number of mentions	Date and place of occurrence				
		1332-3	1354-5	1365-6	1366-7	1378-9
de Arnecliff	2		Spruisty	Haverah		
de Arthington	1			Haverah		
de Blakburn	1	Timble				
de Boltby	1		Spruisty			
Brathwayt	1					Timble
de Brocton	1					Beckwith
de Burley	1					Thruscross
de Clapham	1					Beckwith
de Corby	2+					Killinghall
de Couton	1					Clint
de Craven	1					Thruscross
de Derby	1					Clint
de ffolyfayt	2+					Beckwith
de Gatesheued	1					Clint
de Goukthorp	2+			Haverah		(Clint (Timble
de Graystok	1			Haverah		
de Herefeld	2	Timble				Timble
de Heghley	2					Thruscross
de (H)usburn	2				Bilton	Beckwith
de Hoton	1					Beckwith
de Kendal	1			Haverah		
de Kirkeby	2					(Clint (Thruscross
de Kyghlay	1				Bilton	
de Ledes	1			Haverah		
de Lethelay	1					Beckwith
de Lethom	1					Thruscross
de Lofthous	2		Spruisty		Bilton	
de Lonesdale	1					Killinghall
de Mallum	1					Clint
de Merston	2+				Bilton	Beckwith
de Nesfeld	1				Bilton	
de Neusom	1					Beckwith
de Pensax	2+			Haverah		Beckwith
de Potterton	1					Timble
de Raghton	1					Clint
de Ryplay	1			Haverah		
de Rypon	2					Timble
de Scalwra	2+					Beckwith
de Scotton	2+			Haverah	Bilton	
de Screvyne	1				Bilton	
de Skrevyngham	1					Thruscross
de Slingsby	2					Thruscross
Stableton	2		Spruisty			
de Stainton	1			Haverah		
de Staynelay	1				Bilton	
de Stavelay	1					Beckwith
de Stockeld	2					Billinghall
de Swanley	1					Clint
de Swynton	2+			Haverah	Bilton	Beckwith
de Tesedale	1					Thruscross
de Thorp	2	Clint	Spruisty			
Thurstan	1	Timble				
de Walsay	1				Bilton	
de Wandesford	1			Haverah		
de Wegton	1			Haverah		
de Whetelay	2			Haverah		Beckwith
de Wyndeslay	1					Thruscross

TABLE 2.4

SURNAME OF NON-SPECIFIC LOCAL ORIGIN

Surname	Number of mentions	Date and place of occurrence				
		1332-3	1354-5	1365-6	1366-7	1378-9
del Anot	2	Timble		Haverah		
del Bank	1					Beckwith
del Bek	2+				Bilton	Beckwith
del Berch	1			Haverah		
atte Brigg	1					Timble
del Broces	2+		Spruisty	Haverah	Bilton	
del Cocwro	1	Clint				
del Cote	2+	Thruscross		Haverah		
atte Garthend	1					Timble
atte Gate	1					Clint
del Gyll	2+		Spruisty			(Beckwith Timble)
del Hall	2+					Clint
de Hirst	1					Clint
de Holyns	1					Timble
atte Kirk	2		Spruisty		Bilton	
de Langhouse	1			Haverah		
del Marche	2+		Spruisty			Thruscross
de la More	2+	Thruscross				Clint
de Morehouse	1					Thruscross
del Mosse	2+		Spruisty			Beckwith
del Ouerhous	1	Thruscross				
del Park	1				Bilton	
de Riddyng	2					Clint
del Schagh	1					Killinghall
del Smythy	1	Thruscross				
de Stodfald	2	Thruscross				Timble
del Stubbing	2	Timble				Clint
Underbank	2		Spruisty			Beckwith
atte Wall	1				Bilton	
del West	2					Clint (Killinghall)
de Whelehous	1					(Clint)
del Wodde	2+	Thruscross		Haverah	Bilton	Beckwith
in le Wra	1			Haverah		
de Wyndhill	2			Haverah		Clint

It appears that, as a general rule and in the absence of any other indication in the agistment roll, the grazing rights were used by Forest tenants; but we still need to know how long those with names originating outside the Forest had been living within it. One way of deciding might be to examine each of the three surname groups in turn for the number of 'mentions' in the appropriate documents. A single mention ought to indicate (other things being equal) a more recent arrival than a family name which occurs frequently. The number of 'mentions' for each family name is given in Tables 2.2-2.4, (2+ can range from 3 up to 18). It can be seen that, among the 26 surnames of the first group, 17 families are mentioned at least twice and the other 9 are mentioned once only, so that frequent mentions outnumber single instances by nearly two to one. When the second group is examined this situation is found to be reversed. Of these 57 surnames, 37 are mentioned once only and the remaining 20 more than once; the proportion is again nearly two to one, but now in favour of single mentions.

The distinction between the first and second groups seems very clear, and implies that those families with surnames arising outside the Forest were relatively recent arrivals, but two further checks can be carried out. One of them entails an examination of the third surname group, and shows that here the ratio of single mentions to multiple mentions is exactly one to one (17 against 17). This group is therefore of an intermediate character between the first and second, and is just what we might expect, because although these names are local to the Forest their status appears to be inferior - Robert atte Brigg or Henry del Smythy are hardly likely to figure in official documents as frequently as Adam de Beckwith or Roger de Clifton.

The final check requires a study of the occurrence of surnames from outside or inside the Forest over a period of time, from 1332 through to 1379. The list of fines for non-attendance at Court in 1332-3 provides rather shaky evidence, in view of the small number of names and the bias inherent in the tendency for offenders to live in the more remote regions of the Forest. However, it happens that the 1332 list tells exactly the same story as the 1354-5 Spruisty pannage roll. In both cases the 'within Forest' surnames of the first group occur twice as frequently as the 'outside Forest' names. A different picture is revealed by the 1365-6 and 1366-7 agistment rolls; the 'outside' names now occur more frequently than the 'inside' names. As it has already been demonstrated that the agistments were only used infrequently by outsiders, this seems to be quite definite evidence in favour of an influx of new tenants in the 1350s and 60s.

There is, moreover, another source of evidence which shows that outsiders were largely absent from the Forest before the Black Death. For if the Rolls of the Honour Court for 28th October and 18th November 1349 - the first after plague struck the Forest - are examined (55), it is found that 69 transfers of land occurred due to the death of the tenant, and of these 43 tenants had surnames indicating a place of origin, yet only 3, de Quyxley, de Pensax, and de Fonteyns, were outside the Forest. In spite of the exceptionally high level of assarting in the Forest during the previous decades (56), therefore, the tenants involved, who died in the Black Death, were overwhelmingly local men and in fact most of their place-name surnames were of the non-specific local type already displayed in Table 2.4. It must be borne in mind, however, with reference to all the arguments advanced here, that they are based entirely on the surnames of tenants - and nothing whatever is known of the names of sub-tenants. It is not even known for certain that there were any sub-tenants at this date, but because the Forest customs allowed sub-tenancies for periods of up to a year without a surrender we should be aware of the possibility of their existence.

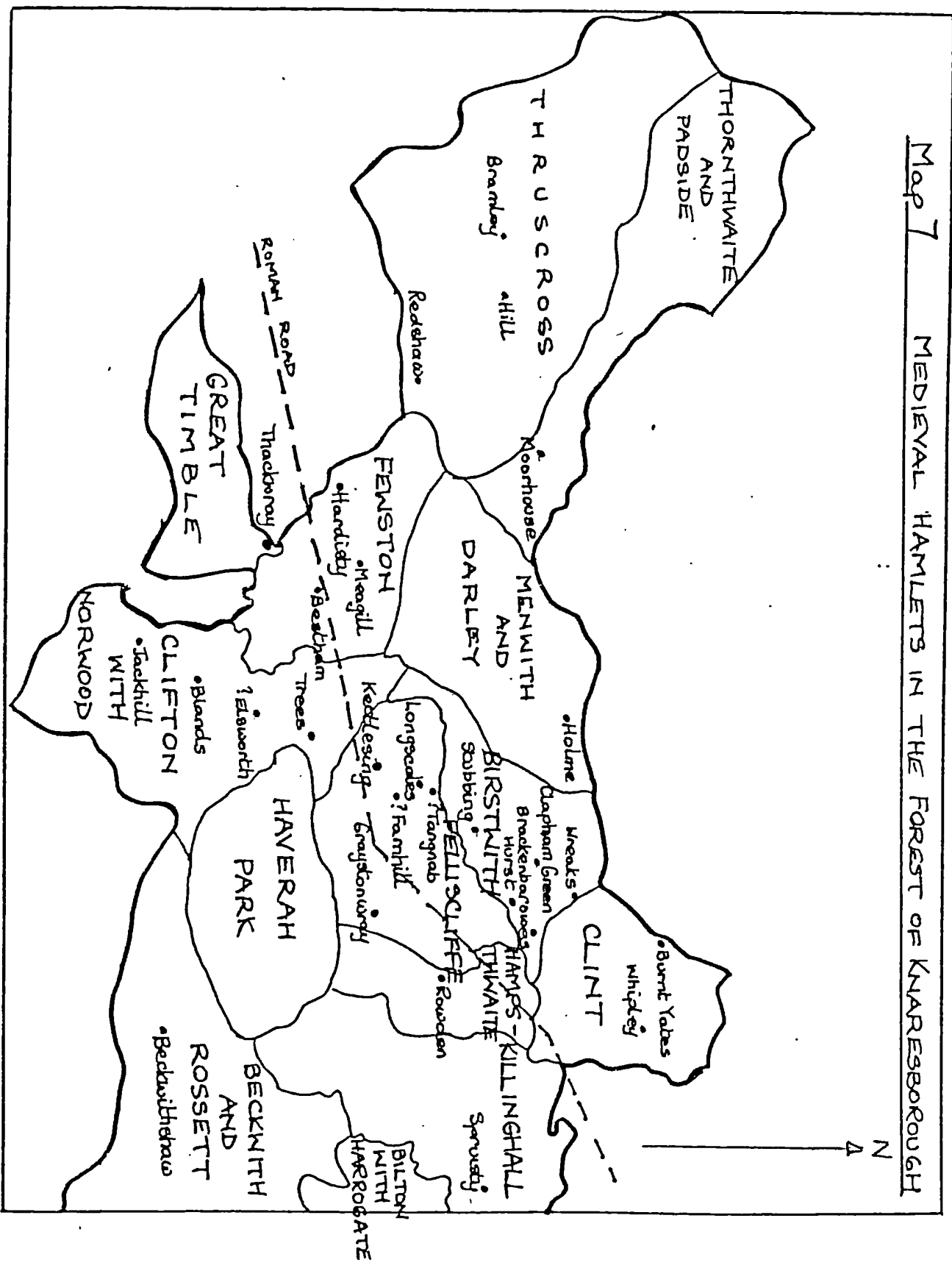
The idea that migration into the Forest was uncommon in the 1340s yet became frequent in the late 1350s and 1360s seems to contradict other conclusions drawn from the same Court Rolls, for it is known that much of the poorer land was abandoned after the Black Death and was still in decay in 1384 (as much as 143 out of 313 acres in Thruscross and Padside). (57) But there is a feasible explanation since certain individuals, William and John Pulleyn in particular, were busily engaged in finding a market for Forest land during the period 1351-60. According to the Court Rolls William acquired, mainly in Clint, 2½ messuages and a cottage with parcels of 5, 6, 12 and 21 acres, and surrendered 2 messuages, a cottage, and a total of 37 acres. (58) Yet apart from one surrender of 20 acres the remainder were all small parcels, seven being of one acre only. This strategy suggests that his interest was not so much in building up a compact holding, for ease of working, as in disposing of the land to smallholders. William's son John was less obviously supplying a market for small parcels of land, but the fact that every one of his nine acquisitions during this period was in a different township certainly argues against any intention of creating a compact estate. A market for land in small plots (with common rights) could well have been created by incomers, and although none of William's surrenders were directly to individuals with surnames indicating origins outside the Forest, such people could well have been sub-tenants. If the four properties acquired and eleven disposed of by William were at all typical, it is easy to see how new tenants could have been accommodated, in spite of a reduction in the area of customary land in use.

It is difficult to imagine what could have attracted migrants into the Forest after the Black Death, when there must have been surplus land everywhere, but such moves are not without precedent. Pinnock (59) concluded that in the period from 1327 to 1377 population decline was accompanied by a shift in distribution. His analysis of the 1377 Poll Tax showed a radical change whereby the heathlands of south and east Staffordshire (later occupied by the Black Country) acquired a large population relative to the agricultural villages. The incentive in that case may have been the industrial opportunities offered by the existence of coal and iron deposits, along with woodland for charcoal manufacture, but although these were also to be found in the Forest of Knaresborough it has been shown that many bloomeries ceased to operate in the 14th century, perhaps due to the shrinking woodlands.(60) Though there is evidence of some survivals, and expansion at a later date, it could hardly have been a factor conducive to immigration into Knaresborough Forest in the 14th century. We therefore have to fall back upon an explanation in terms of an urge to escape the restrictions of highly regulated agricultural communities, for it may be that forests in general were seen as providing scope for men of humble origins to make good.

The medieval settlement pattern in Knaresborough Forest

The surnames listed in Table 2.2 can also be utilised to throw light on another question, that of the settlement pattern in the Forest. Before about 1300, the only source of information relating to settlement sites is Domesday Book. But this is unsatisfactory for such a purpose because the names of the villis leave unresolved the question of whether they were nucleated sites in 1086 or merely the names of territories comprising scattered dwellings. In any event, there are no names at all above Birstwith (in the area subsequently administered as crown forest), and most of those further down the dale were waste at that date. The whole topic is therefore shrouded in mystery until the 14th century, when new sources of information can be brought to bear upon it. Surnames like de Farnhill, or de Hardolfsty, when they appear in medieval Forest records, tell us unambiguously that the individual lived, or had lived, at that particular hamlet. Subsequently these names changed to become those very common West Riding surnames, Farnell and Hardisty, and although the first had an alternative origin at Farnhill in Airedale, the second appears to be unique.(61) Such habitative surnames can be used to plot a map of 14th century settlement sites, but because the lists used so far cannot possibly be

Map 7 MEDIEVAL HAMLETS IN THE FOREST OF KNARESBOROUGH



comprehensive, it would be better to extend them by adding hamlet names from the Forest Court Rolls. Clearly, it would be an impossible task to search all the medieval rolls for names, but those examined for other purposes have yielded many more instances of hamlets and, together with those already recorded, they constitute a sufficiently large sample to be worth plotting. The results are shown in Map 7 for the parishes of Fewston, Hampsthwaite, Ripley and Pannal.

It should be noted that in Map 7 no attempt has been made to locate the sites represented by the township names, on account of the difficulties already discussed. However, the distribution of medieval hamlets compiled by this means is distinctly odd. It is no surprise to find most hamlets on the more fertile soils of the eastern - as distinct from the western - forest, but they do not merely occupy gentle slopes in the valleys of the Nidd and Washburn, as might be expected, but cross the watershed between the two following the line of the Roman Road from Ilkley to Aldborough. This does not, of course, mean that the hamlets necessarily had such ancient origins - though there is evidence from fieldwork that some may go back that far - but merely suggests they were associated with an important cross-country route. The line of the Roman Road is, in fact, still followed in part by a trunk road and much of the remainder of its line through the Forest, though now disused, was formerly utilised by the coach road from York to Lancaster as depicted on Ogilby's strip map of 1675.

Measures of Forest land

We have now considered the progress of colonisation in three representative medieval forests, concentrating in each case on those aspects revealed by the most prolific sources. To try to find common factors using such different sources is not easy, but there was one feature of medieval colonisation which seems to have been generally applicable, and that was the use of a larger measure of land than that set by statute. Measurement by the 'Forest Acre' was often specified in Knaresborough Forest, though only rarely in Pickering and Bowland, the latter perhaps indicating a general acceptance of the special measure used. Since forest land was rarely of high quality the introduction of larger measures for which similar rents were paid to those of more favoured areas was only natural, but there was no unanimity about the size of the larger unit. For although the acre was everywhere specified as four roods, each forty perches (what we would call square perches) in area, the perch as

a linear measure varied considerably. In all cases, however, a longer measure than the statute perch of $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards was used in the forests, giving rise not only to larger acres but also to longer miles. This is quite evident from the location of numerous milestones of the pre-Turnpike era still surviving in the Forests considered, but may have been general throughout the North of England.⁽⁶²⁾ It is quite certain that the large acre was always used in Knaresborough Forest, but the length of the perch was never stated here and may not even have been laid down. The early guide-stoops mentioned, however, when located on open moorland - so that a reasonably straight-line route can be assumed for the former road - give distances only about two-thirds of those now measured in statute miles, suggesting the use of a perch of eight yards. This would give rise to a Forest acre equal to rather more than two (in fact $(8.0/5.5)^2$) statute acres, and although the Knaresborough Forest acre was said in the 17th century to be equal to four statute acres this may have been merely an attempt to set an upper limit. Measurements in statute acres of areas assessed in Forest acres, for a number of townships, suggest that the ratio was between 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. ⁽⁶³⁾ Fieldwork in the former open arable fields of Timble suggests, moreover, that the individual strips or selions, though nominally one rood, as in non-forest districts, had different proportions. For whereas the notional rood elsewhere was 1 perch wide by 40 perches long (i.e. 5.5×220 yards), the hypothetical forest rood was probably 2 perches wide by 20 perches long (i.e. 16×160 yards for an 8 yard forest perch). It is in Bowland, however, that documentary sources come to our aid. Farrer's study of the Clitheroe Court Rolls revealed that "rodeland (non-oxgang land) was always measured by a rod (pole or perch) generally 7 yards long, a fall or rodefall being equal to 49 square yards of land".⁽⁶⁴⁾ This has to be compared with a statute (square) perch of $5\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ or $30\frac{1}{4}$ square yards, and gives rise to a Forest acre equal to 1.62 statute acres. The rod, pole or perch was not always 7 yards long, however, even in the Honour of Clitheroe, for there is other evidence from Bowland of a rod of 8 yards in common use and it has been shown that in Lancashire there was a whole range of lengths.⁽⁶⁵⁾

We may conclude that the Yorkshire forests which eventually became part of the Duchy of Lancaster were managed in a variety of ways during the Middle Ages. Much depended upon the policy of the earlier lords of each Honour, who might prefer to keep a strict control in the interests either of hunting or of manorial farming. Alternatively, and particularly if the lord was a paid

servant of the king, he might be prepared to allow extensive grazing and eventually settlement for the income it would bring. In every instance settlement began in natural clearings which were extended by the process of assarting, either into woodland or onto moorland depending on the local situation. In the mid-14th century assarting ceased for a time as a result of a catastrophic fall in population, and although there was no shortage of immigrants eager to take up some of the abandoned land the parcels they acquired were small - whether bought as copyhold or leased initially as part of a fee farm - even after allowing for the greater size of the forest acre. Some tenants were fortunate enough to hold their land for a fixed rent which gave them security; others were not so lucky and suffered the loss of their copyhold rights in the 17th century. But customary tenants of all kinds, concerned with the future welfare of their children in view of the rapid growth of population between about 1560 and 1640, found it expedient to make illegal encroachments on the waste, and the study of that activity forms the major part of this thesis.

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CHAPTER III TENURES, RENTS AND TAXES IN THE TUDOR FORESTS

It is the intention in this chapter to examine the circumstances, as revealed by 16th century sources, which created the necessary social and economic climate for post-medieval colonisation. Though it certainly began in the Tudor period, a clear picture of encroachment does not appear until the following century. Nevertheless, there are several sources capable of revealing the potential for early encroachment, and a number of scattered Elizabethan references to its impact.

Major factors in any discussion of colonisation must be local tenurial custom and the general level of prosperity. From the point of view of the first, the three chosen forests display a diversity which might not have been expected, since "roughly north of a line drawn from Lancaster to Scarborough, there existed until the land-law reforms of this century a distinctive form of customary land tenure called tenant right." (1) This very approximate boundary divides the West Riding Forests of Bowland and Knaresborough from the North Riding Forest of Pickering but, as might be expected of the customs over such a wide sweep of country, tenant right was not a single custom but a multitude of manorial customs having certain common features. Hoyle argues, in fact, that "Tenant right developed out of a system of life leases ... [in which] the granting of leases was a prerogative of the lord." (2)

Such leases, while ensuring security of tenure and granting rights of inheritance, were not always backed up by a legal document. Canon Atkinson noted the survival into his own 19th century incumbency of the parish of Danby in Eskdale of leases for life without written confirmation (3), but elsewhere in north-east Yorkshire, and particularly in the Forest of Pickering, leases for a fixed term or occasionally for three named lives were the usual form of tenure in the 17th century (4), many dating back to Elizabeth's reign.

A clear distinction must be drawn between tenant right, which was usual in Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland and, it now appears, north-east Yorkshire, and copyhold, where the tenant held according to the custom of the manor, which was particularly well-established in the West Riding. In fact "The Duchy of Lancaster in 1557 ordered that its demesne copyholders at Knaresborough (who could show copies dating from Richard II) were not to be impeached and that no leases were to be granted of their lands." (5) But though the essence of copyhold was its ancient customary nature, there is no doubt that new copyholds were being created in the 16th century in the north of England.

We shall see that in the Honour of Clitheroe, of which Bowland Forest formed part, copyholds of inheritance were created following the disafforestation in 1507 of the Blackburnshire forests. Moreover, as late as 1580 the Duchy of Lancaster was creating new copyholds at Slaidburn (where, oddly enough, the subtenants were calling themselves tenants by tenant right (6)), but, "These copies were legally insecure. It was open to the grantor, or his successor, to sieze upon their invalidity and demand either their surrender for leases ... or the payment of a composition for their confirmation (as in Blackburnshire in 1607)." (7) This was exactly the situation revealed in the Forest of Pickering, where a survey of 1619-21, referring to newly-granted copyholds, found they were "lately created by a Commission ... to graunte copiehold estates of suche landes and tenementes as eyther were helde without rente or by a smaller rente than was fit". However, "as towchinge the copies which he graunted within the Honor of Pickering there was no copieholde custume at all ... therefore are all the Copies meerlie at the Princes will ..." (8)

Bowland and Pickering Forests, then, stood in total contrast to 16th century Knaresborough, where tenants had been able to confirm their ancient copyhold rights. The latter group was extremely fortunate, not only in their security of tenure but also in their fixed rents and fines at a time of inflation, while Bowland and Pickering had the worst of both worlds in that tenant right had in places been supplanted by copyholds which in the event proved worthless. With regard to the regions within which tenant right on the one hand, or copyhold on the other, was predominant, it appears that Bowland until the 16th century was at one with Cumberland, Westmorland, and north-east Yorkshire, while the central Pennines remained firmly attached to their ancient copyholds. However, Hoyle has noted that "The lesson of tenant right is that a lord's capacity to exploit his tenants depended little on their theoretical legal security or the willingness of the courts to moderate his demands. Rather it turned on his grasping of the initiative towards them and his ability to persuade them to give him what he wanted." (9) Granted that this was the case, there was still a considerable advantage in finding oneself, as a tenant, in the position of being able to insist on paying only the fixed customary rent - as did the tenants of Knaresborough Forest. (10)

The evidence of the Tudor Lay Subsidies

Regardless of the tenurial position it ought to be possible to establish if there were genuine differences in the prosperity of tenants from the different forests, based on their liability for tax. Although the forest tenants did not form a very high proportion of the whole in many districts, Smith (11) has analysed the Subsidy of 1546 by wapentakes and found regional variations among some less wealthy West Riding tenants who were taxed on the value of their land, which are very interesting for Knaresborough and for Bowland.

The most numerous group of taxpayers in 1546 was that assessed on the lowest level of goods (£5 - £9), of whom there were 2145 in the West Riding, comprising 46% of the whole. They were evenly dispersed over the county, whereas the next most numerous group, assessed on land worth £1 - £4 and comprising 29% of taxpayers, showed marked regional differences. The basis of assessment for the latter group, according to Smith, was probably the annual income from the land, that is to say, the difference between the rent paid and the annual value, and he remarks "We know that people assessed on lands of under £5 were smallholders of some kind".(12) This statement appears to be based on his comparison of the assessment of 1545 relative to that of 1546, and he concludes that "assuming the commissioners were not hopelessly ill-informed, all the 1358 people assessed for taxation on lands worth between £1 and £5 in 1546 had goods of a lower value than £10; and that a great many of them had goods worth under £5. If nothing else, we can now place these people on an economic level lower than that of peasants and farmers with goods worth over £10."(13)

It is questionable, however, whether the term 'peasant' had any relevance to the forest tenants we are now considering, moreover, we shall find examples of those taxed on lands worth between £1 and £5 who by no stretch of the imagination could be called smallholders. That term might be better reserved, in fact, for the 46% taxed on goods worth £5 to £9 in 1546, on the grounds that since the rate of tax on goods never exceeded that on land, and was often less, they would have been taxed on land if they had held enough. A better term for those taxed on the lower values of land might simply be 'secure tenants', to emphasise the fact that, though less prosperous than the yeomanry and the gentry, they were no less secure in their tenures and were of some status in the community, and it is proposed to use it in future.

Turning now to the distribution of these very interesting people, Smith finds that "This group was present in all parts of the Riding, but the proportion of people in it was very much greater than average in Agbrigg and Morley wapentakes, and noticeably higher in Claro, Ripon and Knaresborough. On the other hand the proportion was very much lower in Staincliffe and Ewcross".(14) He had already noted that Agbrigg and Morley was exceptional, both in the number of its taxpayers and in their individual contributions - facts which he attributed to the lucrative cloth trade, particularly in the Halifax district - but there was nothing comparable in Claro wapentake. Nevertheless, he showed that in 1546 (for which the coverage of the Subsidy Rolls is virtually complete) the proportion taxed on lands worth from £1 to £4 was 41% in Agbrigg and Morley; 36% in Claro, Ripon and Knaresborough; and only 12½% in Staincliffe & Ewcross.

By selecting these localities with very high or very low proportions of such secure tenants, and subjecting them to more detailed analysis, he shows that "within Agbrigg and Morley, the townships with the highest proportion were those within the lordship of Wakefield; whilst within the area of Claro, Ripon and Knaresborough there was a sharp contrast between the high proportion found in the Knaresborough district [74%] and the low proportion in Ripon lordship [12%] ... Most striking of all, though not numerically important, was the contrast between Bolland Forest [55%] and the rest of Staincliffe wapentake". (15) The Staincliffe figure is not given, but in Ewcross it was only 8%.

Smith devotes much effort to an attempt to explain these contrasting groups in terms of landownership and local tenurial custom, but is forced to admit that the evidence is inconclusive. (16) Perhaps more important than the reason for the existence of the pattern Smith has revealed, however, is its relevance to the development of trade, particularly in rural areas. Smith came to the conclusion that there might be a contrast in the character of the taxation assessments between the areas which developed rural industry and those which remained purely agricultural, for the former was cottage-based and "It so happens that the most important cottage-industry districts were amongst those whose subsidy pattern we have just been discussing at length." However, "The idea that manufacturing was a cause of the peculiar subsidy pattern must be dismissed, for the pattern is not limited to industrial areas. But", he asks, "is it possible that the presence of this special group of smallholders [i.e. secure tenants] represents a factor in the development of rural industry?" (17)

What Smith has in mind, undoubtedly, is the existence of a cottage-based pool of rural labour which was drawn into an emerging rural industry but, for the forests at least, there are strong counter-indications. The detailed discussion must be deferred for the moment but, briefly, it will be shown that cottagers at this date were few in number and paid no tax, while cottage communities only came into existence later as a result of local industrial opportunities. Moreover, the poorer taxpaying tenants Smith is discussing were of moderate means, and although they may well have been involved in the creation of the dual economy, it was as instigators, not as labourers. Nevertheless, he has raised an extremely important question, and one which deserves to be taken further. It is also very pertinent to the present thesis, not least because Smith has pinpointed the Forests of Knaresborough and Bowland as distinctive areas with a high proportion of taxpayers having land worth between £1 and £5. The relative position of Pickering has not been examined, since it lay outside the West Riding, but the relevant question is whether Knaresborough was in a better position to foster rural industry,

on account of its favourable copyhold tenure, than either Pickering or Bowland; or whether Bowland was on a par with Knaresborough, as Smith claims, on account of the existence of his special group of 'smallholders'. As a preliminary to answering this question, it is necessary to look at Smith's evidence more closely.

The first point that emerges is that the assessments look artificial rather than realistic, with many individuals taxed on precisely the same values of land - often 20s or 40s. The same comment has been made relative to assessments based on moveable goods in Calderdale, where "The general use of round figures, e.g. the frequent occurrence of £20 for goods, suggests that the assessors did not go round to every farm or house but put people into different categories according to their reputed economic standing - a substantial yeoman-clothier £20, a smallholder-weaver £2 or £1, and so on." (18) If this is a general feature, as appears to be the case, it need not invalidate the regional differences noted by Smith. We can then concentrate on the fact that one of his groups comprised 'Knaresborough, Scriven and Knaresborough Forest', where 74% of the taxpayers were assessed on lands worth less than £5, while another was 'Bolland Forest' where 55% were in the same category. The first group contained 191 taxpayers in 14 townships, and although there are serious omissions among those taxed in the borough of Knaresborough, the returns for all the other townships seem accurate. (19) Certainly when the ten Forest townships are examined as a group, it turns out that 75% were taxed on lands worth £1 to £4, very close indeed to Smith's figure. Moreover, they prove to be remarkably consistent from one township to another. There is therefore no doubt that Knaresborough Forest was an exceptional area in terms of the proportion taxed in this bracket in 1546, but Smith's 'Bolland Forest' is a different matter entirely.

Suspicion is immediately aroused by the fact that he finds a total of only 20 taxpayers in 9 townships, and by the further fact that he used returns from 9 townships when Bowland Forest comprised only 2 in Yorkshire (and a further 1 in Lancashire, not included in this particular Subsidy return (20)). His use of 'Bolland', incidentally, is idiosyncratic; the Subsidy Roll gives 'Bowlande' and the most likely source of the name is from O.E. 'bogena-land', the 'district of the curving valleys'. (21) Moreover, Smith makes the mistake of equating the section of the 1546 Subsidy Roll headed 'Bowlande' with Bowland Forest. The list of townships makes it abundantly clear that what was intended was Bowland in the wider sense (in which it was often used) of the manor of Slaidburn, Bowland Forest proper being entirely absent from the Roll.

The reason for its absence is puzzling, but it may be that there were no taxable tenants, since when the 'Foreste of Bolande' was correctly included as a separate section in the return for the previous year (22), every one of the 19 tenants was assessed on goods worth less than £5 - which would have made them exempt in 1546. This is a point we shall return to, but in the meantime we can say without any doubt that Smith was mistaken in believing that he had identified a high proportion of his 'smallholders' in Bowland Forest in 1546.

Reverting now to the question of the identification of 'smallholders' with 'secure tenants', we can use the very reliable evidence from the Knaresborough Forest townships in the Subsidy Roll and compare it with the Minister's Accounts for the same townships in the same year of 1545-6 (23), which list customary tenants and freeholders.

Table 3.1 Taxpayers and tenants in Knaresborough Forest 1545-6

<u>Township</u>	<u>Total taxpayers</u>	<u>Those paying on lands worth £1-£4</u>	<u>Customary tenants plus freeholders</u>
Beckwith and Rossett	17	15	49½
Bilton with Harrogate	17	10	28
Birstwith	13	10	30
Clifton	13	7	12
Clint	17	10	44 + 7
Felliscliffe	12	12	30
Killinghall	18	14	43 + 2
Menwith and Darley	11	9	?
Timble with Fewston	20	13	28 (Fewston only)
Thruscross	18	17	?

Sources: P.R.O. E179/207/191, and the P.R.O. DL 29/476/7706

Table 3.1 displays this information, though the Minister's Account fails to give the total of messuages in some townships. As already remarked, the proportion of taxpayers assessed on lands worth £1 - £4 is very high, but it is now apparent that they constitute only about one third, on average, of all tenants. Moreover, when the names of the individuals are examined, it becomes clear that those taxed in this category can hardly be classed as smallholders. On the contrary, they appear to have been men of lesser yeoman status, for the only Forest tenants who paid more tax were the most prosperous yeomen and members of the gentry, while husbandmen were rarely taxed at all, having lands assessed at less than £1 a year and goods worth less than £5 in 1546.

The exceptions in the last group are worth looking at for, rather surprisingly, a few husbandmen - notably in Timble with Fewston - who had been assessed on goods worth £4 in 1545 had their valuations raised to £5 in 1546, making them liable for payment when they would otherwise have been exempt. This brought them into Smith's most numerous category - those paying on goods worth £5 to £9 in 1546 - and reinforces the point that these were the real smallholders, since if they had held land worth more than £2-£3 they would have been assessed on it as this would have brought in more tax. In Birstwith township, on the other hand, though there were a few changes in valuation between 1545 and 1546, they were not such as to bring individuals into the tax bracket, but instead reduced the amount they had to pay. Both Margaret and Katherine Farnell, who had been taxed on lands worth 60s and 40s respectively in 1545, were reassessed at 40s and 20s a year later. But these were all exceptions, and we should concentrate rather on the very numerous group of secure tenants whose assessment in both years was on land worth between £1 and £5.

In Birstwith they comprised 10 of the 13 taxpayers in 1546, and since the 3 outside this group were taxed on goods worth £5 to £9 there was no one at all in this township assessed on land valued at £5 or more. Yet the tenants - on the evidence of their wills - were relatively well off, and in one case, that of Miles Stubbs of Longscales in Birstwith, we can be much more specific. He was taxed on lands worth £4 in 1546, paying 8s subsidy, and was one of the group Smith considers was "on an economic level lower than that of peasants and farmers" (24), yet his standing in the community was considerable. It so happens that he was a progenitor of Bishop William Stubbs of Oxford, who investigated his ancestry and found that Miles was "elected Bedell of the Forest on October 5th 1541, certified as an Archer, able person, parcell-harnessed in the Muster of 1535 under commission dated February 3rd, 26 Henry VIII, and as a Bylman, able person, harnessed in the Muster on Harrogate Moor March 27th 1539; a feoffee under the will of William Parkoure of Kettlesinge in 1546, and witness of the will of Christopher Craven of Hampsthwaite [parish], December 15th I Mary." (25) Such a man was clearly of the yeoman class, and one of the more influential of the Forest tenants.

Miles Stubbs may not have been completely typical of his tax group, but there is much evidence that the occupiers of ancient copyholds were paying less tax and probably less rent than yeomen elsewhere. They were the dominant group among Knaresborough Forest taxpayers in the first half of the 16th century, and reference to later wills and probate inventories makes it clear

that over the next century these were the families who participated in the dual economy and have often been termed farmer-weavers (26), though we shall see that they were often concerned with trades other than textiles. The vital question now is how this situation compared with that in Pickering Forest, for which a good Subsidy Roll of 1546 exists, though it lay outside Smith's remit.(27)

As it happens, the wapentake of Pickering Lythe, which was the unit for tax collection, corresponded very closely to Pickering Forest. On examining the Subsidy Roll for the townships of the west ward (which was comparable in area to Knaresborough Forest), we find that less than a quarter of the tenants were assessed on land rather than goods - which is exactly the opposite situation to that found for Knaresborough. This calls into question the validity of the comparison, particularly as no study has been published of the Tudor Lay Subsidies for the North Riding as a whole. For what it is worth, those Pickering Forest tenants who were taxed on land appear to have included just as high a proportion paying £1 to £4 as in Knaresborough. We should, however, be very cautious about this conclusion, for in addition to the objection just raised we find that every Pickering Forest township contained far fewer taxpayers than was the case in Knaresborough. Typically there were 2 or 3 and, just as typically, they were taxed on goods rather than on land. The only large number of taxpayers was in Pickering township, where there were 34, but this was by far the most populous place and it is possible that Kingthorpe was included with it. With such a low proportion of the population being taxed there are obvious dangers in trying to draw conclusions - a point made much more forcibly in Bowland Forest, where there appear to be no tax-payers at all in 1546. In view of these difficulties - and in the light of the probable link between tax assessments and rents - it might be as well to attempt a direct analysis of the rents paid in the different forests.

The evidence of manorial rent rolls

Rent rolls c.1545 do not appear to be available for the three forests. For 1526-7 however, a Rental for Knaresborough Forest is known (28) which can be compared with one for Bowland Forest. (29) The latter Rental, moreover, is found to include two other forests in the Honour of Clitheroe, those of Pendle and Trawden, which were exploited through manorial vaccaries in just the same way as Bowland and can be used to broaden the comparison. This leaves Pickering Forest unrepresented, since no Rental has been traced of the relevant date, but in view of the attention which will be focussed later on the newly-created 16th century hamlet of Horcum with Saltergate, an Elizabethan Rental has been included.(30) All the rents are given in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2

Analysis of Tudor Rent Rolls for various forest areas - percentage of tenants in each category

<u>Rent paid</u> <u>per annum</u>	<u>Forest of</u> <u>Bowland</u>	<u>Forest of</u> <u>Trawden</u>	<u>Forest of</u> <u>Pendle</u>	<u>Knaresborough</u> <u>& Rossett</u>	<u>Forest</u> <u>Birstwith</u>	<u>Thruscross</u>	<u>Pickering</u> <u>Forest</u> <u>Horcum with</u> <u>Saltergate</u>
less							
than 1s	6%		1%	8%	36%	23%	22%
1s - 5s	8%		6%	35%	41%	50%	52%
5s - 10s	6%	4%	16%	24%	18%	23%	22%
10s - £1	25%	33%	39%	33%	5%	4%	4%
£1 - £2	40%	59%	23%				
£2 - £5	13%	4%	10%				
£5 - £10			3%				
over £10	2%		2%				

Note: The number of tenants in individual townships of the Forest of Knaresborough was comparable with the number in the whole of the Forest of Bowland (Trawden had rather less and Pendle rather more). For this reason, Knaresborough is represented by three townships spread across the Forest, from the best land (Beckwith and Rossett) to the worst (Thruscross).

Sources C1itheroe II, Appendix II; P.R.O. DL 43/10/19; and P.R.O. DL 42/124

The table shows that the most probable category of rent paid by Bowland Forest tenants was between £1 and £2 - a moderate level, and one which was matched in Trawden Forest with Pendle not very far behind. The Rental from which these figures are taken shows that by 1527 subdivision of the former vaccaries had not proceeded very far. The rents therefore represent substantial holdings on good land, but because their level approached that of the annual value of the land, and the assessments reflected the small income, few tenants were in fact taxed in any Subsidy. The average quality of the land in Knaresborough was no doubt comparable, and the holdings of similar size, but the level of rents was remarkably different. No one in these particular townships paid more than £1 a year, and many paid less than 1s, though there was a gradation in the average rent paid from Beckwith and Rossett to Birstwith and Thruscross. The quality of land in the latter case, and likewise its altitude and exposure, would be comparable with that to be found in the newly-established hamlets of Horcum with Saltergate in Pickering Forest, where the rents were very similar. It should be noted, however, that these were very low rents for Pickering, no doubt on account of the work necessary to make the land even moderately productive.

In Knaresborough Forest, the two highest categories of these very low rents, those ranging from 5s to £1, were paid by lesser yeomen forming a group taxed on the moderate surplus available from their lands. But in addition to the numbers of such tenants noted by Smith, there was an even larger group not taxed at all - and these were the tenants paying less than 5s a year rent in 1526. Though their minimal amount of land was assessed at less than £1 in 1546, and their goods at less than £5, they had nevertheless been liable for tax in 1545 when the level of assessment was reduced to £1 in goods. In almost any other locality, we would be justified in thinking that tenants paying so little rent would have been living on tiny holdings at subsistence level. But rents in Knaresborough Forest were fixed at 6d for each large customary acre, equal to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ statute acres, so that even without the falsifying of acreages that undoubtedly occurred, a rent of 5s a year would correspond to a holding of around 25 statute acres. It is now apparent why those tenants paying more than 5s rent, and assessed on land worth more than £1 a year, were of the yeoman class. It is also clear that their relatively large holdings (and they had in addition access to unstinted common grazings), together with their low rents and moderate taxes, allowed them to accumulate a surplus which could be used to provide capital for small industrial schemes. Smith was therefore correct in his deduction of the industrial potential of Knaresborough - though not quite in the way he imagined - and this may apply to Wakefield and Hallamshire too. But he was quite wrong in thinking the same situation existed in Bowland.

Before leaving the topic of tax assessment we should perhaps compare Knaresborough, with its industrial potential, against another district selected by Smith as having a high proportion of taxpayers assessed on land worth between £1 and £5. Such a district was Sowerbyshire with Halifax, having 52% in this category (31), and it happens that Halifax was already being noted by contemporaries on account of the wealth generated by its cloth trade. One way of assessing prosperity in 1546 would be to compare the average assessment for tax in the townships of Knaresborough Forest against those Calder Valley townships for which an analysis is in progress (32); and which in fact prompted the present comparison. The table below lists both numbers of taxpayers and total tax assessments by townships for the two districts.

Table 3.3 Average tax assessments in 1546

Township	Number of taxpayers	Total township assessment	Average assessment per person
<u>Knaresborough Forest</u>			
Bilton with Harrogate	17	£75	£4.4
Killinghall	18	£51	£2.8
Birstwith	13	£35	£2.7
Beckwith and Rossett	17	£47	£2.8
Timble with Fewston	20	£57	£2.8
Felliscliffe	12	£22	£1.8
Clifton	13	£48	£3.7
Thruscross	18	£33	£1.8
Clint	17	£72	£4.2
Menwith and Darley	11	£20	£1.8
<u>Calder Valley</u>			
Halifax	43	£343	£8.0
Sowerby	81	£581	£7.2
Warley	47	£353	£7.5
Midgley	26	£146	£5.6
Wadsworth	40	£203	£5.1
Heptonstall	21	£103	£5.1
Erringden	12	£51	£4.2
Stansfield	18	£99	£5.5
Langfield	6	£27	£4.5

Sources P.R.O. E179/207/191, and Jennings B. Pennine Valley: A History of Upper Calderdale (forthcoming publication); Chapter 5, 'Beginnings of Industrial Growth'

It is immediately apparent that the total valuations are much higher for the Calder Valley townships than for Knaresborough Forest, and although this is partly accounted for by a bigger taxpaying population, the average assessments are higher too. In fact, in the most prosperous of the Calder Valley townships, which was Halifax itself, the average assessment of £8 was nearly twice as much as in Bilton with Harrogate, where the wealthiest inhabitants of Knaresborough Forest lived. This ratio, moreover, extended right down the scale, so that even the poorest Calder Valley townships paid on average as much as the richest in the Forest. This is clear confirmation that Knaresborough had yet to benefit from industrial development, but we have still to establish if the taxpayers considered in Table 3.3 formed the same proportion of the total population in each case. After all, if the Halifax taxpayers turned out to be relatively few in number, the general prosperity might not have been any greater than it was in Knaresborough.

Population statistics are extremely difficult to come by prior to 1550, on account of the late introduction of parish registration and the tiny proportion of early registers which has survived. Table 3.1 showed that in Knaresborough Forest about one third of the tenants paid the Lay Subsidy in 1546, but where Rentals of comparable date are not available it may be possible to draw some tentative conclusions based on the records relating to the Dissolution of the Chantries in 1548. The certificates (33), give for each parish an estimate of the number of 'houselynge people', that is to say, those of an age to take communion. "This possibly meant all those over the age of 14 or 15 so that the certificate may indicate 60% of the population". (34) There are understandable doubts about the accuracy of these figures, however, which are always rounded and were, of course, estimated without the benefit of reference to long-standing parish registers. There may also have been a tendency to exaggerate, and some authors have in fact taken the estimate given in the Chantry Certificates as the total population. (35) For comparative purposes this is the only reasonable course, and we find that the 5 townships of the parish of Knaresborough contained an estimated population of 1200, compared to two estimates, of 1600 and 2000 respectively, made for the 5 townships comprising the Chapelry of Heptonstall (the last five names in Table 3.3). The lower estimate, of 1600, has been thought to be more likely (36), and on this basis the 97 taxpayers, when multiplied by the usual factor of $4\frac{1}{2}$ members to each household, give a taxed population of 436 corresponding to 27% of the whole. The comparable figure for the parish of Knaresborough turns out to be $22\frac{1}{2}\%$; moreover, when the parish of Hampsthwaite, which lay wholly in the Forest, is examined the taxed population proved to be 27%, so that the proportion of tenants too poor to be taxed in 1546 was around three quarters in all cases.

Though numerically less important, there is no doubt that the taxpayers were the dominant group in both Knaresborough Forest and the Calder Valley. In the latter district they were the clothiers, the more prosperous of whom were taxed on goods rather than on land, while the lesser men fell into Smith's 'smallholder' category. In Knaresborough Forest, on the other hand, we have seen that low rents and secure tenancies were responsible for the creation of a group of tenants taxed on land worth between £1 and £5, who subsequently formed the backbone of the dual economy.

Tudor encroachment on the common wastes

The combination of low rents, secure tenancies, an incipient dual economy (see Chapter IX) and suitable facilities - such as water power and the presence of some raw materials - for promoting it, provided ideal conditions for population growth in Knaresborough Forest. Equally important was the absence in practice of a system of primogeniture, for together they created a climate in which the children of local families could all make a living without the need to move away, and this applied just as much to the non-taxpaying majority as to the few who provided the employment opportunities. The children, once married, rarely stayed in the family home, however, and we have now to consider the provision of accommodation in the later 16th century, while deferring for the moment the demographic side of the topic. The building of cottages on the waste is a matter which will have to be discussed in depth in a 17th century context, when regular presentments of encroachers were made at the twice-yearly Sheriff's Tourn. But the only really comprehensive survey known for this forest in Tudor times is an undated one (37), which appears from internal evidence to have been made quite early in Elizabeth's reign.

It takes the form of a list of cottages, intakes, and 'undersettles' (sub-tenants) throughout Knaresborough Forest, and differs in a number of ways from the 17th century encroachment lists which constitute a major source of evidence for this thesis. The Elizabethan document is not a presentment but "A note of all the cotages and intakes vewed by James Pullayne esquire and certene other cople houlders within the forest of Knaresbrough". It makes no mention of their illegality, sets no fines, and differs in its categories from the later lists. Whereas the latter make a distinction between cottages (presumably landless), cottage-encroachments, and intakes (with the second predominating), the former mentions no cottages with land at all. Cottages and intakes are noted in very nearly equal numbers but there are in addition two instances of "a new bulded house on the common". It may be that in this particular document a house constituted a dwelling with land attached, but there is little doubt that their situation on the common denotes illegality.

Some of the cottages, on the other hand, certainly had a legal title, for Walter Gill's in Timble was said to be held by lease for 21 years, and two others in Clint were "leased before the costum", whatever that meant. In the following century, many illegal cottages were converted to copyhold on payment of a lump sum - though we have already remarked on the dubious nature of late copyholds - and it may be that the leasehold cottages were held by tenant right. Four of the others may be suspected of being illegal since their occupants were fined at the Sheriff Tourn held at Knaresborough on 6th October 1563, though the nature of their offence is not specified.(38) The list of cottages and intakes appears, therefore, to be a composite one, comprising all cottages in Knaresborough Forest, whether legal or illegal, and all recent intakes. If so, the numbers are quite moderate, for although cottages ranged from 6% of all dwellings (based on the figures in Table 3.1) in Beckwith and Rossett to more than a quarter in Birstwith and Felliscliffe, we shall see when we come to look at the 17th century evidence that illegal cottages alone outnumbered messuages by two to one in some townships.

The movement towards provision of cottages, either on copyholder's land or encroached on the commons, was therefore only just beginning when Elizabeth came to the throne. The propitious conditions existing in Knaresborough Forest, revealed by the 1546 Lay Subsidy and the earlier Rentals, evidently took a long time - at least one generation and probably more - to make an appreciable impact on the number of cottages in the area. When growth did begin, later in Elizabeth's reign, it must be contrasted, however, with the absence of any evidence at all for the simultaneous existence of a rural cottager class, or any associated cottage industry, in either Bowland or Pickering Forests. The one comprehensive document that holds out some hope of identifying cottages in all the forests of interest is a "Survey of Incroachments in the north parts" (of the Duchy of Lancaster), (39) dated July 1580, which proves to be a disappointment. The survey for Knaresborough Forest includes only a few townships, and that for Pickering Forest is limited to a few cottages in Pickering town. Yet a contemporary (though undated) "proposition made for the incloseinge and takeinge in of divers parcels of the Moores and Commons belonging the Forest of Pickeringe", claimed that "there is generally thought to be divers incroachments made upon the said Forest which upon an inquiry would be found out and much advance her Majesties revenue" (40), though these may have been intakes only.

The survey of 1580 entirely omits any reference to the Forest of Bowland, but that, in this case, there was no oversight or deliberate evasion seems

to be suggested by much later sworn statements made to an Inquisition of 1662 for the Blackburnshire forests of the Honour of Clitheroe.(41) There it was unequivocally stated "Wee have nether cottage nor incroachment within the Forest of Trawden", though industrial development was confirmed by the statement that "formerly there hath beene a Cole Myne in Trawden and Cole gotten therein."(42) On the following day the Inquisition for Pendle found that, following disafforestation and the granting of copyholds in 1507, "noe wast land remaines".(43) In Rossendale, too, though encroachment did occur, there were only 10 presentments in over half a century (44) from 1495 to 1551 (and even less frequently thereafter), or less than 1 every 5 years at a time when there were no less than 30 individual tenants in the Manor of Accrington.(45) Because Bowland was not included in Blackburnshire, being a Yorkshire estate of the Honour of Clitheroe, no statement of the situation regarding encroachment was made in 1662, but we shall see that the few intakes noted in the previous century were of very minor significance, so that Bowland at the later date would have been in the same category as Trawden and Pendle.

We therefore have a situation in which cottage encroachment and associated cottage industry in Knaresborough Forest, beginning in the late 16th century, has to be contrasted with, on the one hand, a similar but well-established situation in the Halifax district, and, on the other hand, a total lack of evidence for any such development in either Bowland or Pickering Forests. The Blackburnshire forests of the Honour of Clitheroe may have occupied an intermediate position, since they certainly participated in the dual economy, as is well-attested in Rossendale, yet illegal encroachment, if it played a part at all, was late in getting started.

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CHAPTER IV THE DEMOGRAPHIC EXPERIENCE OF FOREST PARISHES

Historical demographers have long been aware of a period of population growth in England between about 1540 and 1630.(1) Given the ample evidence of increasing encroachment of forest commons beginning in late Elizabethan times, some connection between the two is very likely, but to suggest straightforward cause and effect would be to ignore the many complexities of the relationship. The peak period for encroachment in Knaresborough Forest, it will be shown, came two generations later when the population was static, and there are inevitably other factors to be considered. There is, for example, the question of opportunity; in Knaresborough Forest there was so much common waste, and the social climate was so favourable to encroachment, that the fines levied on squatters were merely nominal. Such settlers were primarily landless cottagers, or copyholders with so little land that it could only be made viable by extra intaking. And it was generally accepted in the reign of James Ist that population growth in the forests was at least partly due to this ability of cottagers to provide for themselves and their families, "the people (especially the poorer sort) increasing in such abundance as they do."(2) But even if population pressure proves to be widespread, the effects of this pressure have still to be demonstrated in the different areas under examination, and it will not be surprising if the effects prove to be diverse.

The present chapter surveys the demographic situation throughout the three forests considered, by the use of parish registers. Ideally, population growth would be assessed over the whole period to allow a comparison with the progress of encroachment, but parish registers rarely remain consistently usable for such a long time. A change of incumbent, or in the practice of recording entries, or simply accident or loss ensure that even one generation of accurate and uninterrupted records is a rarity - perhaps a blessing in disguise in view of the work involved in analysing a representative group of registers for each of the forests. In an attempt to overcome this problem the evidence for population growth or decay will be examined comprehensively for three generations only, in Elizabethan, early Stuart, and late Stuart times. Though it will be shown that the two earlier generations suffered occasional setbacks due to hunger or disease, they nevertheless increased their overall numbers. Their descendants, whose parish register entries will be examined from 1671-1700, lived in very different times; indeed, according to Wrigley and Schofield, the 30 year period from 1661 to 1690 was the only one in 3 centuries when the national population actually fell, from 5.14 to 4.95 million.(3)

These two periods of comprehensive study will be supplemented by shorter periods from registers of particular interest in the mid-17th century, a time which cannot be surveyed accurately on account of the loss or defacement of so many parish registers. Very few indeed continued to maintain a proper record during the Civil War, though this is offset to some extent by the very detailed records available for the Commonwealth period, following changes in registration (particularly of marriages) in 1653. Using these records it has been possible, from 1654 to about 1660, to look at the important question of age at marriage of brides and grooms.

In order to assess population growth or decay using registers of baptisms and burials we need a measure which is independent of the size of the parish population. The arithmetic surplus or deficit of baptisms over burials is obviously unsuitable, since when using this measure it is impossible to compare parishes of different size, or even the same parish at different times if its population had changed in the meantime. The standard work on population history concluded that it was possible to "achieve the desired effect by expressing total births as a ratio to total deaths in each quinquennium."⁽⁴⁾ This recommendation has been followed, with the qualification that because baptisms are recorded, and not births, the number is slightly deficient on account of those infants who died before baptism. The deficiency is, however, likely to be small, both in absolute terms and in relation to other errors which could well have arisen and which are discussed later. It should also be pointed out that a ratio of baptisms to burials in excess of 1.00 is only indicative of a growing population in a closed community, i.e. in the absence of migration, and similarly for shrinking populations when the ratio is less than 1.00. Where there is reason to suspect that migration was taking place this aspect will be discussed, but elsewhere the ratio will be taken to be a true measure of population growth.

The parishes chosen as representatives of the forests considered are hardly ideal, due to the loss of all or part of some of the most important registers. Knaresborough Forest, as it happens, comes out well, being represented by the registers of Knaresborough (5), Hampsthwaite (6), and Fewston (7), the last two of which drew their parishioners almost wholly from the Forest. Only Knaresborough, however, has surviving records for all three periods studied. Pickering Forest is less well served, being represented only by Pickering itself (8) and by Hackness (9), which lay outside the Forest but catered for outlying areas of the townships of Wykeham and Hutton Buscel within it.

Lastingham was in the same position relative to part of Rosedale, but though Hackness register was impeccably kept and is a delight to use, that of Lastingham is reliable only for certain periods and has been used selectively.(10).

Goathland chapelry catered exclusively for forest tenants but is too patchy in its records for use before the 18th century. Bowland Forest contained no parish church but was shared between the parishes of Slaiburn, Chipping and Waddington on no very consistent basis. The register of Chipping (11), in Lancashire, which catered for part of Low Bowland Forest and the whole of Bowland with Leagram, is the most relevant and also the most reliable, in spite of the fact that many years are missing, and it has been necessary to supplement it by the use of the registers of Slaiburn and Waddington on occasions.

The demographic information for the parishes of Knaresborough, Pickering, and Chipping in the late 16th century is displayed in Table 4.1. Although these are the only parishes for which early records have survived, it should be noted that none of them were solely concerned with forest dwellers. Whatever trends are revealed have therefore to be treated with caution, as representatives of mixed forest and non-forest areas, and this warning is particularly relevant to Knaresborough and Pickering parishes which both included market towns subject to the rather special conditions enumerated for this period by Clark and Slack.(12) The Chipping register for the Elizabethan period, moreover, which survives only as a record of baptisms from 1560 to 1583 inclusive, has had to be included as the only representative of a wholly rural area.

TABLE 4.1 ELIZABETHAN BAPTISMS AND BURIALS

Parish	Statistic	1561-65	1566-70	1571-75	1576-80	1581-85	1586-90	1591-95	1596-00
Knaresbro'	Baptisms	249	249	265	271	243	233	273	282
	Burials	185	243	216	183	216	301	246	247
	Ratio	1.35	1.02	1.23	1.48	1.12	0.77	1.11	1.14
Pickering	Baptisms	211	158	180	--	--	216	212	220
	Burials	186	159	187	--	--	318	205	286
	Ratio	1.13	1.00	0.96	--	--	0.68	1.03	0.77
Chipping	Baptisms	165	173	223	234				
	Burials	Missing							
		1560-64	1565-69	1570-74	1575-79	1580-84	1585-89	1590-94	1595-99
A national sample of 404 parishes	Ratio	1.28	1.48	1.35	1.54	1.58	1.32	1.23	1.24

N.B. The national figures are taken from Wrigley, E.A. & Schofield R.S., The Population History of England 1541 - 1871, Table 6.8

Table 4.1 fails to show, in fact, any real consistency with the national figures appended. Instead, there are differing experiences, a static or declining population in Pickering contrasting with a growing one in Knaresborough, though both suffered in the 1580s or 90s. During the five-year period from 1586-1590 we find that 1587 gave rise to a quite exceptional number of burials, running at three times the normal level in Knaresborough. The effect was less marked in Pickering parish, but there it was repeated in 1597, and in both places any periods with large numbers of burials were characterised also by unusually small numbers of baptisms. Similar demographic crises were observed in Halifax parish in 1587-8 and 1596-8.(13)

It has been suggested that it is possible to differentiate between some epidemic diseases by examining the seasonal pattern of burials. For "virtually all plague epidemics in England and on the European continent in the 16th and 17th centuries followed the same pattern: the first cases appeared in late spring or early summer, then mortality curved upward to a peak in late summer or early autumn, followed by a decline with plague deaths stopping altogether by about 1st December."(14) In contrast, "Epidemic outbreaks of typhus usually begin in winter ... and disappear with the coming of warm weather. In addition to its winter incidence, typhus very rarely kills children; although they sicken from the disease, their mortality rate is very low."(15) When Appleby analysed the events of the 1580s and 90s in Cumberland and Westmorland, he was able to show that exceptional mortality in the winter of 1587 was characteristic of typhus rather than plague, and this can be shown to be the case in Knaresborough too, whereas 1598 was associated with plague in the towns preceded by a more general subsistence crisis in 1597. Both 1587 and 1597-8 showed very small numbers of baptisms, and Appleby pointed out that although in principle the decline in births might simply reflect the death from disease of pregnant women, this is unlikely in practice since in each case cited the number of births the following year exceeded the average for the years before the crucial year. On the other hand, a reduction in births caused by amenorrhea triggered by malnutrition was very likely, though we must note that in Knaresborough in 1588 the evidence was less clear, since subsequent recovery in the number of births was only to the previous level. Moreover, in Pickering after 1597 recovery was delayed until 1599, making amenorrhea less likely, but it could be due to a minor outbreak of plague in 1598 which continued to depress baptisms while keeping burials at a high level.

The overall effect was that population growth in Pickering must have been non-existent during the whole of Elizabeth's reign, and this may have been one of the factors discouraging encroachment there. In Knaresborough, however, baptisms generally exceeded burials, suggesting a better standard of living

with lower mortality than in Pickering. We should note also that since the number of baptisms in the former parish when records began was not much greater than in Pickering, in spite of the much larger number of taxpayers in 1546, their populations could not have been too dissimilar. If a higher proportion was liable for tax in Knaresborough, it does seem to confirm greater prosperity. Growth was nevertheless at a slower rate than the nation experienced as a whole, giving no grounds for thinking that the national population surplus was taken up either by Yorkshire forests or Yorkshire towns. Turning finally to Bowland, the extremely limited evidence from Chipping parish suggests only that baptisms were increasing more rapidly in this rural area than in the others considered prior to 1580, but the impact, if any, of the crises of the last two decades of the century is quite unknown.

Table 4.2 displays the same statistics for the 17th century, utilising those parishes for which records were best kept at the later period. The ratio of baptisms to burials reveals two important facts; there is a high degree of consistency in the demographic experience of all the parishes - in spite of their diversity - within each period, but whereas the early decades are marked by a surplus of baptisms over burials the end of the century is characterised by a deficit. The early growth was not uniformly maintained, however, for each of the parishes experienced a contraction - or at least a reduction in growth - in the period 1621-5 with a minimum which more detailed examination shows to have been in 1623, a year which is known to have been very difficult in some parts of northern England.(16)

The character of the calamity in Knaresborough parish was in many ways similar to that of 1587, with most burials in the winter months and a recovery in the number of baptisms within a year or two. We can now show that these features appeared in each of the Knaresborough Forest parishes, suggesting a typhus epidemic allied to malnutrition. Indeed, it is known that "The harvest year 1623-4 was in many places the worst of a succession of bad harvest years."(17) Even so, this forest was by no means as badly affected as Bowland, where the very absence of a Slaidburn register good enough to allow figures to be calculated may be a direct result of the impact on the people living there. For example, the register of Waddington parochial chapelry - catering for part of Low Bowland Forest - was entirely discontinued in 1623 and 1624 though it was carefully kept by the same incumbent both before and after these dates. At Chipping parish church, which was attended by another group of Bowland Forest tenants, the annual burials rarely exceeded 20 in the early years of the century (though many years are missing), but in 1620, 1621, 1622

TABLE 4.2

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BAPTISMS AND BURIALS IN SELECTED YORKSHIRE PARISHES

Parish	Statistic	1601-05	1606-10	1611-15	1616-20	1621-25	1626-30		1671-75	1676-80	1681-85	1686-90	1691-95	1696-00	
Knaresborough	Baptisms	312	347	313	306	306	314		296	348	303	286	280	306	
	Burials	261	255	254	263	328	247		294	375	376	276	304	330	
	Ratio	1.20	1.36	1.23	1.16	0.93	1.27		1.00	0.93	0.81	1.04	0.92	0.93	
Hampsthwaite	Baptisms			170	192	166	144		138	150	139	145	186	162	
	Burials			78	103	171	99		170	189	185	181	209	151	
	Ratio			2.18	1.86	0.97	1.45		0.81	0.79	0.75	0.80	0.89	1.07	
Fewston	Baptisms	128	136	147	165	133	153			116	127	153	155		
	Burials	121	88	129	90	152	102			149	168	153	149		
	Ratio	1.06	1.55	1.14	1.81	0.87	1.50			0.78	0.76	1.00	1.04		
Hackness	Baptisms	102	100	100	86	78	81				56	67	57	53	
	Burials	51	63	87	67	74	54				48	50	38	36	
	Ratio	2.00	1.59	1.15	1.28	1.05	1.50				1.17	-1.34	1.50	1.47	
Chipping	Baptisms								141	148	113	113			
	Burials								242	178	221	148			
	Ratio								0.58	0.83	0.51	0.76			
A national sample of 404 parishes		1600-04 1605-09 1610-14 1615-19 1620-24 1625-29										1670-74 1675-79 1680-84 1685-89 1690-94 1695-99			
	Ratio	1.35	1.48	1.20	1.29	1.30	1.18		1.04	1.01	0.89	1.07	1.07	1.13	

N.B. The national figures are taken from Wrigley, E.A. & Schofield, R.S., 'The Population History of England 1541-1871', Table 6.8

and 1623 the totals were respectively 19, 32, 59 and 147. Annual baptisms for the same four years were in turn 47, 52, 33 and 9, so there can be no doubt that the appalling number of deaths in 1623 (which were evenly spread throughout the year) was preceded by few conceptions in 1622. This assumes, of course, that none of the burials was an abortion, for the entries do not suggest this, nor was the number of children's burials excessive, in fact, burials of adult men exceeded those of either women or children. Evidence from another West Riding parish at Kildwick-in-Craven, where the precise status of those buried is given, suggests that the poor may have been most at risk, for the 158 burials in 1623 (which fell to 52, 46 and 51 in the three succeeding years) included a disproportionate number of paupers, 16 in all.(18)

None of these registers gives any clue to the nature of the calamity, though that for the same year at Greystoke in Cumberland refers repeatedly to death through starvation (19), but an entry in the Chipping register for 1600 makes it clear that harvest failures - though worthy of note - were no new thing. For "between Pendle & Pirelook two knowne hills there was not three fare days in all in sixe weeks last before the sixt of October above said & sixe weeks before to the great losse of mucche corn being great showe on the grounde." East of the Pennines there is evidence which suggests, however, that harvest failure was not the main cause there in 1623. Certainly there were many more burials than usual but in Goldsborough parish, a corn-growing area close to Knaresborough Forest, the inventories of five yeoman farmers who died in 1623 showed that their stock of corn was not much less than in a normal year.(20) The first of these, made on 17th September 1623, showed that the harvest was late, since both hard corn and ware corn were still in the fields, but the quantities were normal for this township and the valuation of about £2 an acre for wheat was no higher than usual and does not suggest any shortage. Even if the weather had been worse in Knaresborough Forest than at Goldsborough it is unlikely - since both used Knaresborough market - that this fact would not have been reflected in the valuation of crops at Goldsborough. There must, therefore, have been some other factor east of the Pennines to account for the exceptional number of burials and the decrease in baptisms.

In spite of the considerable setback to population growth represented by the events of 1623, Table 4.2 shows that, for Knaresborough and Pickering Forests at least, growth was quickly resumed. Indeed at Hackness, where the interruption was minimal and was characterised by a halving of the baptism rate in 1623-4, rather than any increase in burials, baptisms were back to normal by 1625.

'Normal' at Hackness was in fact 3.6 children per family (calculated as a fertility index (21), which ranged from 2.3 to 4.2 in the first three decades of the century) and after 1630, when a new parish clerk exhibiting meticulous care in the recording of events was appointed, it is also possible to calculate that abortions and stillbirths comprised about 5% of all births. Such detail in the burial entries is unknown elsewhere among those registers examined, but the fertility index can be calculated and in Knaresborough it turns out to average 5.4 in the early 17th century, rising to 6.8 between 1626 and 1635 - an exceptional figure in view of the national average of just over four (22), which is in fact the average found for Hampsthwaite parish between 1611 and 1640. Knaresborough and Hackness parishes therefore exhibit for the same three decades from 1601-30 two extremes of fertility index (5.4 and 3.6 respectively) which might suggest very rapid and less rapid growth, but these are the very parishes where immigration and emigration respectively can be shown to have been taking place.

The fertility index is calculated by dividing the number of baptisms in a five year period by the number of marriages in the previous five year period, and there is an implicit assumption that children were baptised in the parish in which their parents were married. But if there was a tendency for young couples to marry in rural parishes and then move to a town where their children were born, the baptism rate would be depressed in the rural village by comparison with the number of marriages, resulting in a low fertility index, whereas the town parish, conversely, would exhibit a high value of the index. There is evidence that this is precisely what was happening in agricultural villages east of Knaresborough, where Allerton Mauleverer, for example, had an index of only three in the early 17th century when the level in Knaresborough was more than five.⁽²³⁾ It is known from the wills of Knaresborough men later in the century that many had their origins in these villages on the edge of the Vale of York, where they often continued to hold a little land to the end of their lives, particularly at Dunsforth, Ouseburn, and Marton cum Grafton.⁽²⁴⁾ Moreover, the indemnities required in the 1680s by Scriven township (which included the industrial suburb of Knaresborough called Bond End) against incomers becoming a charge on the poor rate, were guaranteed by men from these same villages - presumably friends or relations of the migrants.⁽²⁵⁾

It seems very probable that the same mechanism was operating at Hackness, with reference to the nearby town of Scarborough, which would readily explain the low fertility index in the former parish. Unfortunately, the Scarborough

parish register does not begin until the 1680s, so that it is impossible to check the level of the urban index early in the century, but other evidence from Hackness confirms the tendency to migrate. For whereas there was no consistent change in the marriage rate between 1601 and 1630, the baptism rate fell by one quarter during the same years. The peak period for emigration seems to have been between 1616 and 1620 when the fertility index was at its lowest level of 2.3, while the number of baptisms reached its minimum value between 1621 and 1625, though we have seen that this was an exceptionally bad period everywhere.

The general picture for 1601-30, therefore, is one of considerable population growth in all the forest areas under consideration, with baptisms outnumbering burials by two to one for some five year periods in some parishes. The ratios, as might be expected, are more variable than those for national growth (which varied between 1.18 and 1.48), both because the national figures are averages over a large number of parishes (404) and because the severe cutbacks in the north in 1623 are masked by the southern parishes which were unaffected. (26)

Local variations are important not only for what they reveal about the bad times, but also on account of their relevance to migration, which affects the ratio of baptisms to burials by changing the age structure of the local population, as well as affecting the fertility index. We should remember, moreover, that neither ratio can provide more than a pointer to migration, since for every married couple who moved there may have been several single people migrating, whose movement made no immediate impact on the parish records though eventually the number of baptisms would have been affected.

By comparison with the early years of the century, the demographic experience for the period 1671 - 1700 looks very different. Table 4-2 shows that in the long term burials exceeded baptisms in every parish (with one exception) until the late 1690s when the rapid decline in numbers was halted. The Table also reveals that the decline was experienced throughout England, and it has been noted that it was in the mid- to late-17th century "that out-migration was at its highest, removing young and potentially fertile people from the English population, many of them to North America". (27) Contemporaries certainly thought so; Roger Coke attributed the weakness of English commerce in 1670 to this factor. "The abundance of our people (besides those which the hand of God hath taken away) are diminished in peopling our plantations, and in re-peopling Ireland since the late war and massacre there; so as thereby the

strength as well as trade of the nation is abated proportionably".(28) The facile conclusion, that populations were in decline everywhere due to emigration, needs to be modified however in the light of contrasting situations at different times or in different localities. The falling baptism rate at Hackness in the early 17th century, which was taken as evidence of migration, appears again, it is true, at Chipping around 1680, when baptisms were outnumbered two to one by burials - suggesting that it was an ageing community - even though the remaining population exhibited quite a high fertility index. But Chipping was exceptional, either by local or national standards, as was Hackness in the opposite sense - having an unusually high ratio of baptisms to burials late in the century. These exceptions will have to be considered in their own contexts, but the important topic at the moment is why baptisms were so low relative to burials nationally, and why this trend in the eastern Pennines coincided with a period of steady progress and prosperity - on the evidence of wills, probate inventories, and surviving yeoman houses, which were so often rebuilt at just this time.

One possibility that comes readily to mind is the idea that the apparent excess of burials over baptisms in every parish was due to a deficiency in recording. It has been suspected,⁽²⁹⁾ for example, that nonconformity, which involved substantial numbers of people after 1660, was responsible for under-registration of parish events. In upper Nidderdale 30 recusants, mainly Roman Catholics (30), were listed in 1679 and 25 in 1683, but in the lower dale and particularly in Hampsthwaite parish the dominant force was that of the Society of Friends (31), who had their own burial ground at Hardcastle Garth after 1658. Since they kept their own records it is possible to show by means of the following Table that the maximum number of burials (and therefore of members) occurred during the period under discussion. (32)

Table 4.3

QUAKER BURIALS IN LOWER NIDDERDALE

Decade	1656-65	1666-75	1676-85	1686-95	1696-1705
Burials	13	21	24	33	32
Decade	1706-15	1716-25	1726-35	1736-45	1746-55
Burials	20	25	24	13	16

We must assume that the burials in the last decades of the 17th century were of individuals who had been converted to the Quaker faith in the first flush of enthusiasm in the 1650s, and there is no doubt at all that these were the people who paid for their beliefs through persecution and imprisonment.

But the immediate question is whether Quakers in Nidderdale, or other sects elsewhere, could possibly have affected the balance of baptisms and burials recorded in the Church of England. The answer seems to be that they did not, for several independent reasons.

First; the numbers involved were small. To produce 20 or 30 burials in each decade, as shown in Table 4.3, would require a population of about 100, on the basis of the approximate death rate for England in the 17th century of 20 per 1000 of the population per annum.⁽³³⁾ This number, moreover, was spread over several parishes one of which, Hampsthwaite, had over 1000 parishioners, therefore Quakers could have comprised only a few percent of the population. This small percentage, admittedly, might have contributed towards an explanation, since their children were never baptised in the Anglican church though their burials were sometimes recorded. Hampsthwaite burial register,⁽³⁴⁾ for example, recorded in the 1690s many interments which actually took place at the Quaker burial ground at Hardcastle Garth.

Second; both burials and baptisms were recorded for some non-communicants.⁽³⁵⁾ Hackness parish register also noted the burials of Quakers, as when "George Watson dyed the sayd 12th day [of September 1656] and was buryed the next, beinge of the Quakers sect, and many of them were at his buryall but Mr Prowde [the Vicar] was not called to bury him, and after they see him buryed they went away". But this gave rise to no error, for even unofficial baptisms were recorded by this unusually efficient parish clerk. "James the sonn of Thomas Moore gentleman borne the second of September in the morninge, baptised the tenth day privately it is supposed by a popish preist beinge a straunger then at the mannor. Mr Thomas Moore was then at London". (1661) There may have been a malicious intent in this last instance, for "the clergy at Hackness were consistently Puritan from 1599 to 1636, a tradition continued by Francis Proude ... who was there from 1636-80"⁽³⁶⁾. Subsequent baptisms in the same family were also recorded, though without comment, but it is unlikely that they took place at the parish church in spite of their appearance in the parish register.

Third; even where the parish registers were not so carefully kept, it has been pointed out by a historian of the dissenting churches in Cambridgeshire that "It is just possible ... that the excess of deaths over births recorded from the late 1650s to the mid 1680s is a mere reflection of deficient registration.

If this was so, however, the recovery beginning in the mid 1680s, round about the time that toleration effectively started, is difficult to account for."(37) The point is just as valid for Yorkshire, though recovery came a little later, beginning in the 1690s but with baptisms consistently outweighing burials only after 1700.

The presence of dissenters could not, therefore, have had any effect on the statistics presented for the late 17th century - much less those from before the Civil War - and since migration was not an important factor we must look for an alternative explanation. If Table 4.2 is examined with the absolute levels of baptisms and burials in mind. rather than their ratio. it becomes clear that there were certain periods in the late 17th century when the parishes of Knaresborough, Hampsthwaite and Fewston showed an exceptional number of burials. More detailed examination shows that these were confined to fairly short periods in certain years - behaviour which can be demonstrated by analysis of the burial register for Pateley Bridge. (38) The chapelry of Pateley Bridge in the parish of Ripon, though it did not include any Duchy of Lancaster Forest, lay wholly in Nidderdale adjoining the parish of Hampsthwaite. The burials for the years 1688 to 1697 inclusive have been analysed by annual quarters and are presented in Table 4.4

<u>Table 4.4</u>	<u>Analysis of burials in Pateley Bridge by quarters</u>									
	1688	1689	1690	1691	1692	1693	1694	1695	1696	1697
Jan.- Feb. - March	13	11	16	14	13	22	18	12	11	15
April - May - June	20	21	29	14	10	27	31	9	12	12
July - Aug. - Sept.	12	13	18	11	11	14	19	8	10	9
Oct. - Nov. - Dec.	26	9	5	14	14	4	17	6	13	9

Exceptional periods with large numbers of burials did not occur in every year, nor did they always occur in the same quarter - though the summer quarter, as might be expected, was singularly free of heavy mortality. But if those quarters with more than 25 burials are examined in more detail still, it is found that children were predominantly the victims in 1690 and 1694, but adults in 1693.

Figure I displays these features more clearly in the form of separate curves for burials of adults and of children, plotted as moving averages over nine-month periods. Each point is plotted at the mid-month of its period, so that the peaks of mortality do not coincide exactly with the worst months for burials, but it is clear enough that exceptional numbers of children died in the summers of 1690 and 1694, while adult deaths were at their peak in the spring of

Fig. 1. PATELEY BRIDGE BURIALS ~ NINE MONTHLY MOVING AVERAGES.

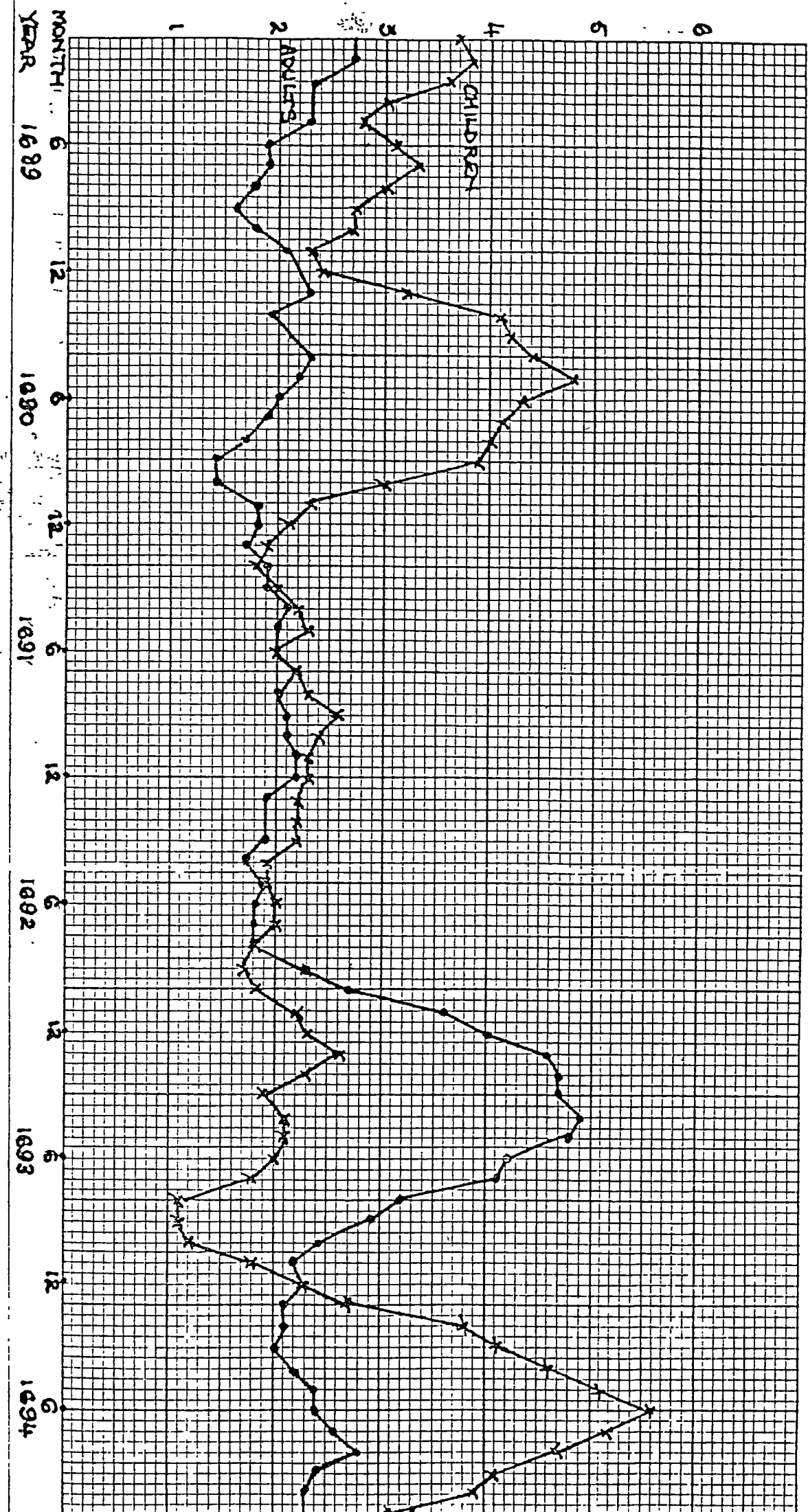
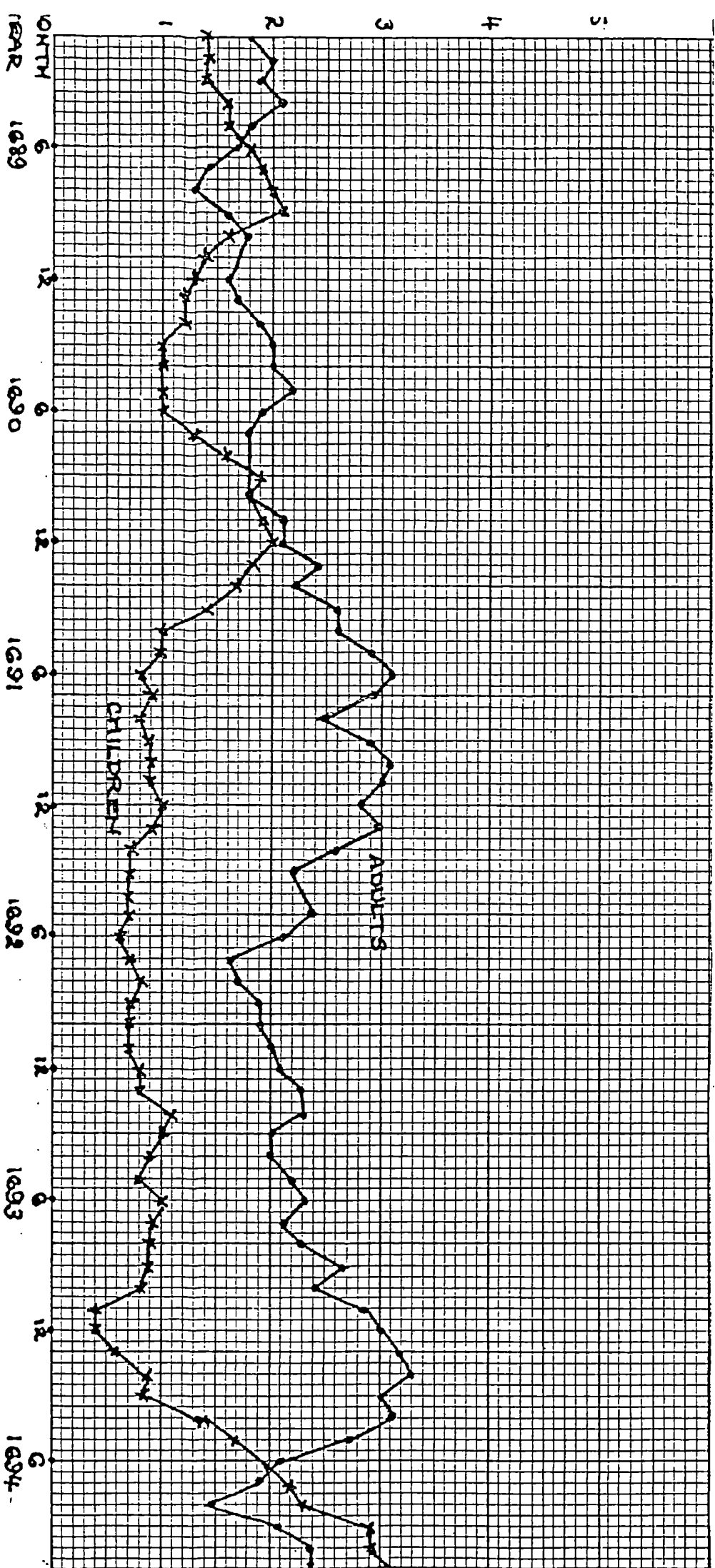


Fig. 2. HAMPSHWAITE BURIALS ~ NINE MONTHLY MOVING AVERAGES



1693. It appears, therefore, that in 1690 and 1694 there was some form of epidemic which predominantly affected children, and indeed the burial register for those years shows depressing successions of child burials in some months. In 1693, however, the very large number of burials in the first 6 months of the year was due primarily to the deaths of adult males, usually elderly, with a comparatively small proportion of wives and widows. Since wives so often died in childbirth, their burials are spread throughout the year, but elderly men are likely to have succumbed to a particularly cold winter, or perhaps to a return of the 'epidemic fever' of 1685-6 which followed 2 years of excessive drought, with severe winters.(39)

Pateley Bridge has been chosen for this illustration because it shows very clearly the difference between adults and children, but Hampsthwaite parish register, too, analysed in exactly the same way and reproduced in Figure 2, shows peaks in children's deaths in 1690 and 1694, though less pronounced and some months later than at Pateley Bridge. Adult burials at Hampsthwaite, however, are consistently higher than those for children and give rise to no particular peak, either in 1693 or any other year. There can be no doubt that in Nidderdale, at the end of the 17th century, the surplus of burials over baptisms was not due to a deficit in baptisms, nor to a failure to record them, but to a high death rate apparently due to epidemics which predominantly affected children. It is now clear why material prosperity continued undiminished, but it is ironic that the generation which put so much effort into rebuilding their houses in a form which would outlast their own lives should have had so few surviving children to benefit from them.(40)

As to the nature of the epidemic, it has been noted that during an outbreak of the plague in 1603, "mortality was highest among those aged under twenty-five".(41) But by the 1690s the plague had not been known for thirty years, and we must look for other epidemic diseases with similar characteristics. As it happens, "a large proportion of the other diseases likely to have been prevalent in late medieval England display a preference for young victims, including smallpox, measles, scarlet fever and diphtheria. Moreover, there is evidence that at this time tuberculosis was particularly fatal to adolescents and young adults".(42) These remarks, though made in the context of late medieval conditions, are just as relevant to the 17th century and leave wide open the question of the nature of the epidemic. There is, however, another disease, that of dysentery, which "raged in late summer, killed primarily the young, and did not cause a drop in conceptions".(43) The two latter conditions were certainly met, though the deaths were in spring rather than late

summer, but this still leaves dysentery as a likely contender. But identification of the disease is less important than assessment of its consequences, and a high death rate among younger people would have the effect not only of inflating the number of burials relative to baptisms in the short term, but also of distorting the age structure of the population in the longer term. Clearly, a generation which had been depleted by the loss of an exceptional number of children would later have had great difficulty in reproducing its numbers, and this may explain why burials outweighed baptisms for so long - if it turned out that the previous generation, too, had been subject to such epidemics. There is some evidence that this was the case, but time has not allowed an exhaustive analysis of the parish registers for such an extended period.

There is, however, another feature of the analysis of Knaresborough and Hampsthwaite parish registers for the 1660s and 1670s which has yet to be discussed, for there is a puzzling discrepancy between the number of burials of men and of women. In Hampsthwaite parish 132 women died in ten years compared to 103 men, and in the nearby and much larger parish of Knaresborough 121 adult women were buried in five years against only 94 men. This cannot be explained in terms of death in childbirth, moreover, because this would only change the timing rather than the number of burials. And in any event, it appears that men were more subject to death by plague than women (44), so that until this disease finally disappeared in the 1660s there was always some compensation. Whatever the reason, there was certainly a surplus of adult women; this is evident both because widowers were usually able to remarry very quickly (such remarrriages within their own parish accounted for as many as a quarter of all Knaresborough weddings between 1669 and 1673), and also because it has been found that a very high proportion of Knaresborough Forest cottagers were either widows or single women. We are, therefore, left with the situation that there was in the Forest of Knaresborough in the second half of the 17th century an imbalance both between the sexes and between old and young, which seems to have been connected with epidemic disease but which certainly had the effect of inhibiting population growth for a generation or more.

Turning now to the more fragmentary records for the period from 1631 to 1660, we find that Slaidburn (45) and Lastingham (46) parishes, both of which catered for some forest tenants, confirm the pattern of baptisms outnumbering

burials before the Civil War. Baptisms likewise continued to exceed burials in the only parishes for which adequate records were kept during the Civil War (i.e. Hackness, Knaresborough and Pickering), though the accuracy of the first two is questionable in 1644, when both Scarborough and Knaresborough castles were besieged and Knaresborough register was wilfully damaged. Nevertheless, these parishes showed simultaneous declines in baptisms, marriages, and burials, all of which continued to fall throughout the 1640s, and this is exactly what would be expected if a proportion of the young men went off to fight. None of these registers gives any further hint of the events of the war, apart from five soldiers buried in Knaresborough churchyard in 1640, who were evidently killed in training rather than in battle. There were twice as many burials as usual in Knaresborough that year, but they are more likely to have been the result of an epidemic than anything to do with the impending war.

Other registers which are inadequate over extended periods give useful information at certain times. It is of particular interest to try to establish the demographic experience of Rosedale, since this is the only part of Pickering Forest believed to have engaged in a range of industrial activities. The existence of ironstone mining and smelting was recorded there in the 14th century (47), and continued in some fashion until the tremendous exploitation of the mid-19th century, but the impact of the early industry on population is so far unknown. Glass furnaces were also established in the dale in Elizabeth's reign, worked by immigrant glassmakers whose Huguenot surnames have been traced in Lastingham parish register (48), and coal mines at a later date.(49) To decide the numbers of Rosedale tenants in the 17th century is not easy, for it was shared between two Honours. The total number of inhabitants, in any event, can only be estimated from the parish register, which is in a poor state for the most part.(50) But from 1639 to 1646 inclusive it is - in contrast to the usual state of affairs at this time - both legible and complete, the entries comprising 70 baptisms, 57 burials, and 18 marriages. This is in no way exceptional, indicating that the Civil War made little impact here, but to obtain comparable figures for the post-Restoration period, when Rosedale tenants attended also the parish church of Lastingham and the equally accessible parochial chapel of Cropton in the parish of Middleton by Pickering, it is necessary to look at the registers for each.(51)

Fortunately it happens that for one particular period - the five years from 1669 to 1673 inclusive - all three registers coincide in keeping reliable records which specifically mention the inhabitants of Rosedale. Inevitably, only a proportion of them feature during this time, but when entries from the three registers are added together it does appear that baptisms considerably exceed burials - an unusual situation in the post-Restoration period and one which was not repeated in nearby Goathland. There were in the half-decade 38 baptisms, 21 burials, and 5 marriages in Rosedale, suggesting a young and vigorous population whose characteristics would repay investigation.

So far, attention has been focussed on the registers of baptisms and burials because of their importance in assessing population trends. The marriage entries in general are brief in the extreme, and little use can be made of the register if only the names of the spouses and the date of the ceremony are given, but for a period of up to five years in the Commonwealth era, after 1st October 1653, the information given was vastly extended. The improvement was nationwide and resulted from the fact that Parliament then substituted civil marriage for the traditional church wedding, and directed that Registrars should be chosen by every parish, to be approved and sworn by a Justice of the peace, for the registering of births, burials, and marriages. Only rarely were births, as distinct from baptisms, recorded in fact, but a change in procedure is much more evident in surviving marriage registers. The Act passed on 24th August 1653 provided "That whosoever should agree to be married within the Commonwealth of England, after 29th September 1653, should (21 days before such intended marriage) deliver in writing unto the Register ... for the respective parish, where each party to be married lived, the names, surnames, additions, and places of abode of the parties so to be married, and of their parents, guardians, or overseers, all which said Register should publish three Lord's days next following in the ... church or chapel or (if the parties desired it) in the market place .. on three market days". The information so published was also recorded in the marriage register and is of immense value for understanding 17th century society. (52)

The appropriate Justice of the Peace for Knaresborough was Thomas Stockdale Esquire, a strict Parliamentarian who was noted in several local parish registers as having appointed their respective Registrars.⁽⁵³⁾ For this reason the manner of registering the calling of banns or the granting of licences was unusually uniform and initially the information given was very detailed,

including the ages of both bride and groom and their respective circumstances in addition to what was called for in the Act. The improvement was temporary and only the parish of origin was consistently recorded until 1657, but where the ages are given they prove very informative and can be analysed as follows:

Table 4.5

AGES OF BRIDES AND GROOMS

<u>Age</u>	<u>Bridegrooms in 5 parishes</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Brides in 4 parishes</u>
Under 18	0	Under 18	0
18 -- 20	2	18 -- 20	4
21 -- 23	12	21 -- 23	10
24 -- 26	8	24 -- 26	3
27 -- 29	6	27 -- 29	1
30 -- 32	6	30 -- 32	2
33 -- 35	0	33 -- 35	1
36 -- 38	3	36 -- 38	1
39 -- 41	1	39 -- 41	1
Over 41	3	Over 41	0

The parishes considered in this analysis were a group centred on Knaresborough, some in the Forest, some outside, and some partly within and partly without. The combination was necessary to provide sufficient data, and it is not in this instance feasible to draw a distinction between different kinds of community. They were; Knaresborough⁽⁵⁴⁾, Farnham⁽⁵⁵⁾, Spofforth⁽⁵⁶⁾, Pannal⁽⁵⁷⁾, and Ripley⁽⁵⁸⁾, but for some reason the last gave the age of the bridegroom only. Although, as the table reveals, the most favoured age for marriage was 21 to 23 years for both bride and groom, the average age for brides was $22\frac{1}{2}$ compared to $25\frac{1}{2}$ for bridegrooms. This does not, of course, mean that any of the couples actually corresponded to the average pattern. On the contrary, there were some outstanding examples of divergence from this theoretical behaviour. Richard Norfolk of Knaresborough for example, yeoman aged 60, married Catherine Vitty of Burton Leonard aged 33, and William Grafton of Knaresborough, yeoman aged 23, married Anne Latham of Knaresborough aged 39. It is very probable that widows or widowers were involved here, though the Knaresborough register fails to mention the status of any of the marriage partners. Where this information is consistently given - and this is true of Farnham parish only, so that the sample is very small - it appears that about 20% of brides or grooms had been married before.

Examination of the registers for an entirely different forest area - that included in the parish of Slaidburn - shows that the ages of bride and groom were never given, even in the Commonwealth period. However, the registers for 1654 to 1660 inclusive give the parents of the bride and groom and, by carrying

out a limited family reconstitution, it has proved possible to trace the baptisms of 20 brides and 13 grooms and calculate their ages when first married. The sample is too small to permit the analysis of age distribution, but the average age of the brides was 22 years and of the grooms 24 years, suggesting that the factors determining age at marriage were similar in both Knaresborough and Bowland Forests. For Pickering Forest no register has yet come to light which gives the age of marriage partners directly (except for two untypical entries at Goathland), and a family reconstitution for Hackness parish (which would be perfectly feasible) has not yet been attempted.

Having established the general population trends in 17th century Yorkshire forests; the evidence for migration; and the average age at marriage (where the information is available), it would be logical to continue the analysis of parish registers by looking for evidence of insularity - or otherwise - in forest communities by considering the origins of brides and grooms where they are known. But this topic falls more naturally into a later section dealing with the origins and social circumstances of colonists on the forest wastes, and will be dealt with in that context.

The present chapter can be concluded by noting that the demography of the forest areas considered here differed from national population trends only in the Elizabethan period. We find for that era a static population (at best) in Pickering parish, and only moderate growth in Knaresborough though it is possible that the urban parts of these particular parishes made them appear to be more subject to epidemics than the rural forest parishes. For the 17th century, however, the trends were wholly consistent with those experienced nationwide, which were for growth before the Civil War; some recovery under the Commonwealth (when there is evidence of relatively early marriage); and a general deficit of baptisms compared to burials during the last three decades of the century. This last feature was associated with migration only in one unrepresentative parish, although this is the explanation which has been put forward elsewhere (admittedly in conjunction with a balance of baptisms and burials) to account for the national population decline, and in Nidderdale at least it has been shown that a series of epidemics affecting primarily children was the probable cause. In north-east Yorkshire, however, the populations of both Hackness parish and Rosedale were growing at this time, and there is no evidence of any epidemics.

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The problem of poverty in 17th century England

By the end of the 16th century, all authorities were agreed that some provision had to be made for the various categories of the poor. The Poor Law Act of 1601, though not the first attempt to make such provision, was the most comprehensive to date and called for the establishment of overseers of the poor in each parish. Their job was to ensure the "... setting to work of the children of all such (poor) whose parents shall not ... be thought able to keep and maintain their children; and also for setting to work all such persons married or unmarried having no means to maintain them, (or) use no ordinary or daily trade of life to get their living by; and also to raise weekly or otherwise, by taxation of every inhabitant ... competent sums of money for and towards the necessary relief of the lame, impotent, old, blind, and such other among them being poor and not able to work, and also for the putting out of such children to be apprentices".(1) An instance of the numbers of the poor needing assistance is revealed by a census made in January 1615/6 at Sheffield, an industrial community in which about half the households manufactured cutlery. "... it appeareth that there are in the towne of Sheffelde 2207 people; of which there are 725 which are not able to live without the charity of their neighbours. These are all begging poore. 100 householders which relieve others. These (though the best sort) are but poor artificers; among them is not one which can keep a teame on his own land, and not above tenn who have grounds of their own that will keepe a cow. 160 householders not able to relieve others. These are such (though they beg not) as are not able to abide the storme of one fortnights sickness but would be thereby driven to beggary. 1222 children and servants of the said householders; the greatest part of which are such as live of small wages, and are constrained to work sore to provide them necessaries".(2)

The problem was so acute at Sheffield, it appears, because there was a large wage-earning population and only a very limited amount of land - which might otherwise have provided grazing for an animal to tide the family over when trade was bad. The situation was much easier in the forests considered here; landless cottagers comprised only a small proportion of the population since the common wastes were extensive and certainly not over-used, but whether or not encroachment was permitted was a matter for the landowner and for agreement by existing tenants. In the Forest of Knaresborough the social climate

was favourable to encroachment by local people. Even so, beggars and vagrants from elsewhere were regularly moved on, one of the principal duties of the Constable of Beckwith and Rosset being to escort them to the next parish. Often they were cripples, and in such cases were taken on horseback, while large groups might require other means of transport. The Constable's account included on one occasion, "to ten people with a pass, whereof seaven of them was carried in a carte to Harrogaite with three horses and three men with the said carte".(3)

Paupers who resided in the parish were the responsibility not of the Constable but of the two Overseers of the Poor, one of whom was appointed each year for Beckwith and the other for Rosset. Their accounts show that the provisions of the Act of 1601 were still being carried out to the letter in 1668: "In charges at Henry Burnes when Sharpwray Son was first apprenticed - 1s." "Paide for the makeing of his Indentures - 1s." The amount paid by the parish as a whole was actually twice as much, since the Overseers for Beckwith and for Rosset each made an identical claim in this case, but provision for paupers was usually made by the hamlet in which they resided. Thus Caleb Sharpwray, whose son had been apprenticed, was paid a total of 27s by John Prentice, the Overseer for Rosset, while Arthur Bickerdike was paid 25s 3d by William Benson on behalf of Beckwith. These were large sums, paid for maintenance over a whole year; more typical were the payments of 2s to Thomas Browne, 2s 7d to Ellen Jackson, 2s to Katherine Thompson and 2s 6d to Agnes Leatham, though one-off expenses were listed separately; "Payd to Edward Bentley for a paire of cloggs for Tho. Browne" (the amount illegible), and 2s "To Ellen Jackson to buy her a coate".

It appears that Ellen Jackson and Thomas Browne received smaller sums because accommodation was being provided for them; "to Henry Harrison for harbouring of Ellen Jackson - 4s", and "to Thomas Dighton for harbouring of Tho. Browne - 2s 6d". Sometimes they were kept in this way for several years, until the pauper died, and new names were added in most years. The overall impression, however, is that provision was determined not so much by the needs of the paupers as by the amount of money available. The sums spent in each half of the parish each year were always very similar, though there were certainly occasions when a pauper from Beckwith was paid for out of the Rosset contribution, and vice versa.

The situation revealed in the Pannal accounts forms an interesting contrast with that a century earlier, when it was enacted that all illegal cottages in the Forest of Knaresborough should be pulled down (4), and we shall see that earlier in the 17th century even 'undersettles' were strongly disapproved of.

It appears that after the Restoration sub-tenancies were so much a part of life that they were seen as one solution to the perpetual problem of accommodating paupers, while others, like Caleb Sharpwray, were living in illegal cottages on the common. The question of encroachment must, however, be deferred to allow consideration of the reasons for the presence of so many paupers.

The increase in population after 1560 must have been important, though social commentators at the time tended to blame enclosure of the arable in favour of sheep farming, or engrossing of land by the rich at the expense of tenants who were being squeezed financially. We shall see that there was an exceptionally buoyant market in land in Knaresborough Forest between 1585 and 1634, but it might be as well to look beyond these manifestations of economic change to the underlying economic trends, and particularly to the matter of inflation.

A purely economic argument has been advanced by Phelps Brown and Hopkins (5) to show that inflation, which bore most heavily on the poor, was directly linked to population pressure, and the argument has been summarised so succinctly (6) that it may be permissible to quote from it at some length. "The case rests on the basic premise that agriculture was unable to expand its total output to meet all the requirements of an expanding population - not only for food but also for industrial raw materials, construction materials and fuel. This gave rise, from the early 16th century, to fluctuating but sustained increases in agricultural product prices, and, under the twin impetus of rising prices plus increased competition for holdings, to rising rents. At the same time the increasing population produced a buoyant labour market, and competition for jobs kept wages from rising to the same extent as agricultural prices. Nevertheless wages did rise, and this, coupled with increases in raw material costs, reacted on industrial product prices. Industrial prices rose less than agricultural ones, however, because demand and supply elasticities were greater, because industry was able to increase its productivity rather more than agriculture, and because rent was not such an important cost element. It has also been suggested that the rate of increase in the demand for industrial products in general was less than that for agricultural products, owing to the decline in the real incomes of many wage earners and the shift of income in favour of those - the yeomen in particular - with a high propensity to save".

This rather complex explanation does seem to fit the known facts in Yorkshire quite well. It has been shown for Nidderdale (7) that if the new landlords of

the former monastic estates were moderate in their demands "a good part of the profit arising from the increased value of farm produce would accrue to the tenants. The more prudent ones would therefore be in a position to buy their holdings if offered favourable terms. Many of the tenants in Brimham, Hartwith, Winsley and Fountains Earth were, in fact, able to buy their farms in the fifteen seventies and nineties." So much for the benefits of inflation, but the other side of the coin can be seen in the industrial city of York, where panic measures of civic economy in 1558 were justified by "thexceedyng dearth of all maner of vitaylls and other necessities of howskepyng wiche in theis our dayes doo cost duble and treble the mony that in tymes past they were wont to do."(8)

The important questions with respect to the crown forests is which - if either - of these two situations was relevant. It is unlikely that forest-dwellers were as hard hit by inflation as the artisans of York; on the other hand, former monastic lands were not in great supply in any of the forests considered. Copyhold fines which had been variable in the Forest of Knaresborough were fixed in the 16th century - to the tenant's great advantage - but not in Pickering or Bowland Forests where the poor certainly came under pressure. It may be that population growth was inhibited in the latter areas for this very reason, while substantial increases were occurring in Knaresborough Forest, but population pressure must have affected general living standards and we must now turn to this topic.

The evidence for subdivision of holdings

In a hypothetical, wholly agricultural, community, a local increase in population could only be dealt with in three ways: by subdivision of holdings, with a general lowering of living standards; by taking in new land from the waste; or by emigration. The last, we have seen, was not a factor locally, while encroachment will have to be dealt with in some detail later, but it ought to be possible to draw conclusions about the first from an analysis of the size of copyholds over a long period. The effect of progressive subdivision of holdings, where it was customary for them to be shared on the death of the tenant between several or all of the children, is well known, and in Yorkshire has been demonstrated on former monastic granges in Swaledale and Nidderdale (9), but it is important not to extrapolate this finding uncritically elsewhere.

The prevalence of certain surnames in Swaledale hamlets originating as monastic granges, which has been used as evidence of continued subdivision starting with

the family of the grangekeeper, can be shown to have been paralleled on the manorial vaccaries of Bowland Forest by 1527. The degree of subdivision, moreover, was similar. Five (and later seven) monastic granges of Rievaulx Abbey had by 1539 increased to a total of 56 tenants on their former estates in Swaledale,⁽¹⁰⁾ while seven manorial vaccaries in Bowland Forest in 1258 had between 43 and 46 tenants in 1527.⁽¹¹⁾ For the Forest of Rossendale - like Bowland part of the Honour of Clitheroe - Tupling showed that each manorial vaccary was divided in 1507 into 3, 4, or 5 tenements (12), which a generation later might well have become 6 or 7. A need for caution is evident in the case of Nidderdale, however, for while subdivision on inheritance was commonplace, and led to rapid fragmentation of the leasehold farms of Byland Abbey (13), on the adjacent Fountains Abbey granges division was minimal. This must have been associated with the fact that Byland granges were let off for money rents at an early date, while Fountains' stock was kept on Fountains Earth until the Dissolution, but it is noteworthy that in an area where division of holdings regularly occurred the five granges known to have been in existence before 1296 were in the hands of only ten tenants in 1539.⁽¹⁴⁾ Even this degree of subdivision was recent (15), and it is clear that regular division in each generation had never been allowed - nor had descendants been allowed to create new farms on the common waste. A desire for subdivision must, in this case, have had to give way to the rules imposed by the manorial lord, and it will therefore be necessary to consider each case individually.

The medieval copyholds of the Forest of Knaresborough were inherited according to a custom which stipulated primogeniture but allowed subdivision by reversion (16), so that subdivision would have been expected to occur regularly. Nevertheless, the messuages can be shown to have remained very largely undivided until the early 17th century and, moreover, the undivided messuages were held by tenants with a variety of surnames. The explanation may lie in the comparative freedom locally to take in new land from the waste, and in the following analysis it is necessary to distinguish between the size of the copyholds, which might be either fractions or multiples of a messuage, and the size of the unit messuage, which might be extended by assarting or, on the other hand, be reduced by splitting off portions using the fiction that they were new units. This ploy may seem both unlikely and unnecessary, but there is clear evidence of it being used under different circumstances in Knaresborough, where 'waste' plots were abstracted from burgages,⁽¹⁷⁾ and in the open arable fields of Pickering, where portions of oxgangs were transferred to children without any loss of their intrinsic unity. (18) It can only be assumed that the

motive was the acquisition of common rights associated with the portion removed, while retaining the unity of the original holding.

The documentary sources for this analysis are a Knaresborough Forest Rental (19) of 1526, and the Forest Court Rolls for the mid-14th century and for the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries.⁽²⁰⁾ The first gives the rent paid by each copyholder in every Forest township and reveals the existence of many tenants paying less than 1d when two-thirds of all copyholders were paying more than 1s. It turns out, however, that these tiny copyholds were never messuages, and rarely even agreed fractions of messuages, but were either legalised encroachments or, more likely, portions split off. Both paid 'new' rents (which might in fact be very old, but had been carried through in the accounts as extraneous items year by year), and were distinguished from messuages by the fact that they did not pay the usual 4d per messuage for boonworks, or pro rata for fractions or multiples thereof.

Leaving aside the new rents, Table 5.1 shows that fractions of a messuage were comparatively rare, comprising only about 7% of all holdings, and although this gives no guide to the occupation of land in practice (because whole or part messuages could be let for up to three years without the formality of a surrender and without appearing in the Rental), we can be sure that subdivision on inheritance was not usual. On the contrary, as many as 57 out of 92 original messuages had been incorporated into larger holdings. Although the only townships considered here are those for which messuages were unambiguously distinguished from legalised encroachments, they do represent a cross-section of the Forest from Thruscross, where the land was so poor that much of it was never reclaimed after the Black Death, to some of the best land (and the richest copyholders) in the Forest at Killinghall.

Table 5.1 Messuage holdings per tenant from the 1526 Rental, for the townships of Thruscross, Hill & Bramley; Fewston; and Killinghall

Number of messuages	Frequency	Equivalent whole messuages
$\frac{1}{2}$	4	2
1	33	33
$1\frac{1}{2}$	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$
2	15	30
$2\frac{1}{2}$	0	0
3	4	12
$3\frac{1}{2}$	0	0
4	2	8
$4\frac{1}{2}$	0	0
5	0	0
$5\frac{1}{2}$	0	0
	1	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Total	<u>60</u>	Total <u>$92\frac{1}{2}$</u>

It may be noted that the total number of messuages in these townships after the Black Death, according to the Steward's Accounts for 1384-5, was 95, with another 23½ in decay,⁽²¹⁾ so it would appear there was land and to spare, and no need for new assarts, in 1526. Nevertheless, new rents were fairly common, and a count of only 60 holdings in these three townships is certainly incompatible with other evidence for the number of families in the early 16th century, so that it is necessary to look at the overall picture. In Table 5.2 the distribution of rents is shown for seven rather than three townships, moreover, copyholds of all kinds are included, though the effect of short-term subletting is still not represented since it was never recorded.

Table 5.2 Distribution of rents (including both old messuages and new rents) in 1526 for seven Knaresborough Forest townships

Rent paid	Frequency	Percentage of tenants in each group
0 - 6d	59	22.7
6 ¹ / ₄ d - 1s	33	12.7
1s0 ¹ / ₄ d - 1s6d	34	13.1
1s6 ¹ / ₄ d - 2s	21	8.1
2s0 ¹ / ₄ d - 2s6d	18	6.9
2s6 ¹ / ₄ d - 3s	12	<u>4.6</u>
3s0 ¹ / ₄ d - 3s6d	15	68.1
3s6 ¹ / ₄ d - 4s	15	
4s0 ¹ / ₄ d - 4s6d	7	
4s6 ¹ / ₄ d - 5s	10	
5s0 ¹ / ₄ d - 5s6d	7	
5s6 ¹ / ₄ d - 6s	9	
over 6s	<u>20</u>	
	260	

Source P.R.O. DL 43/10/19

It is now apparent that the most common rent for a holding was 6d or less, suggesting its area was 1 acre or less if the customary rent of 6d a forest ære was adhered to, though an enquiry in the following century noted that new encroachments were frequently larger than their declared size. Nevertheless, by 1526 considerable polarisation of holding sizes had occurred, with multiple messuages in the hands of a small group of individuals many of whom must have been subletting, while at the other extreme we find a large number of copyholders living on tiny scraps of land. The unfortunate consequences normally attributed to subdivision were therefore present, though the mechanism was concealed.

Changes in the size of tenements with time

We can now turn to the second consideration which is the actual size of the unit messuage, and how it varied through the centuries. For Knaresborough Forest it is possible to calculate this from the records of surrenders in the Honour Court, by examining those periods when a sufficiently large number of tenancies changed hands in a comparatively short time, the first being between 28th October 1349 and 26th May 1350 when the Black Death gave rise to 208 new tenancies. (22) It is impossible to find a comparably rapid turn-over of land in subsequent centuries, but because there was a flourishing land market at the end of the 16th century it is feasible to take the period from 1585 to 1634 and calculate the size distribution of transferred messuages (23) in the same way. The figures are presented in Table 5.3 but two facts should be kept in mind when considering them. First, the areas noted were measured in forest acres, which in Knaresborough Forest were up to $2\frac{1}{2}$ times bigger than statute acres. Second, the land necessary to support a family usually averaged about 15 statute acres (24), and in those districts where holdings lay in open fields a bovate of this size was the norm.

In Knaresborough Forest, therefore, about 6 customary acres would have been necessary, while Table 5.3A shows that the average messuage size was about 10 Forest acres, but the average is distorted by a small number of very large messuages of over 20 acres, no doubt resulting from intaking. The most likely size for a holding was in fact 6 acres, and the notion that 6 Forest acres was the accepted size for a messuage is confirmed by the Forest customs, first written down in the reign of Elizabeth but formulated much earlier. As established by decree on 24th May 1562 they included the provision that a heriot of the best beast was payable by customary tenants with 6 Forest acres and a building, whereas those with less than 6 acres paid 2s an acre as heriot. (25)

Table 5.3A

Forest acres per messuage in 1349-50	Frequency
0.0 - 4.0	43
4.1 - 8.0	51
8.1 - 12.0	48
12.1 - 16.0	30
16.1 - 20.0	14
20.1 - 24.0	8
24.1 - 28.0	8
28.1 - 32.0	4
32.1 - 36.0	2

Table 5.3B

Forest acres per messuage between 1585 and 1634	Frequency
0.0 - 4.0	43
4.1 - 8.0	25
8.1 - 12.0	11
12.1 - 16.0	8
16.1 - 20.0	5
20.1 - 24.0	0
24.1 - 28.0	0
28.1 - 32.0	0
32.1 - 36.0	0

Sources P.R.O. DL 30/478/13 and DL 30/494/12/1 et seq

The effects of message splitting or aggregation are not, of course, visible in Table 5.3A because the frequent surrenders of half-messages at that time (in contrast to the later situation) have been doubled (or pro rata for other sizes) to allow the table to be compiled, but it may be noted that although there was no regulation in the Forest prohibiting more than one division of a holding, as there was in the Liberty (26), lesser fractions than a half are very rarely recorded in 1349-50. No doubt many of the halves were recombined subsequently; the Steward's Accounts a generation later, in 1384-5, show many whole messages still in decay following the Black Death, the decay being most evident in the more remote townships on the poorer land (27), but division of messages was not apparent, nor would it be expected.

Turning now to the post-medieval situation, Table 5.3B displays the sizes of messages surrendered between 1585 and 1634 - though we should note that for this period the surrenders for the Washburn valley townships are not included. In spite of the smaller size of the sample it is clear that holdings of more than 20 acres must be rather rare, and that the largest group of holdings consists of those less than 4 acres in extent. These are important and surprising conclusions, because if messages were generally smaller we would expect this to be due to subdivision, and there should be more of them in total. Yet Table 5.1 showed that there were fewer ancient messages in 1526 than in 1384-5.

This is so surprising that we should perhaps question the validity of the sample, for although the data were collected over a full half-century it is possible that this was an unrepresentative period. The reasons for so many messages coming on to the market at this time are not hard to find. An attempt to establish reasons for a similar burst of selling in Cambridgeshire concluded that "the holdings at risk were actually fragmented between 1598 and 1636 ... following the highest grain prices ever yet recorded". (28) If this was the case in Yorkshire then the sample used for Table 5.3B would be biased towards the smaller holdings most at risk, while the larger messages would be under-represented. There can be no doubt that inflation in the late 16th century simultaneously put pressure on smallholders while making it advantageous for more prosperous farmers to have access to sufficient land to provide surplus agricultural produce for sale at high prices. The active market in land is therefore explained, and it is probable that the messages sold were smaller than average, but the facts remain that they could only have come into

existence after 1526 (subdivision having been uncommon before that date) and that many failed to survive the vicissitudes of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The smallest could only ever have been viable if extended by encroachment, or if assisted by participation in the dual economy, and it is very significant that both activities begin at just this time.

The association of a little copyhold land with an encroached cottage dwelling provided an alternative to the straight subdivision of an ancient messuage, when tackling the problem of accommodating a rising population on a limited area of copyhold. It allowed, of course, for the possibility of encroaching further land from the common to add to the cottage, and this is no doubt the reason for the transfer of so many apparently landless cottagers to the ranks of the cottage-encroachers at successive Honour Courts in the mid-17th century. But the crucial importance of owning a little copyhold land must always have been for the acquisition of common rights which, since commons were unstinted, were of great benefit to rich and poor alike.

The increase in the number of copyholders over and above the ancient messuages can be seen in Table 5.4, which shows that by 1651, when a Parliamentary survey was made (29) of the rents paid by copyholders in each township, the trickle of 'new rents' had become a torrent in many places and over the Forest as a whole there were nearly as many new as old copyholds. This activity was still continuing, moreover, for if we take it that Hearth Tax payers were all copyholders (which seems to be the case in every township except - possibly - that of Clifton with Norwood, where there was no detailed survey in 1651 anyway), then the Table shows a further increase of nearly 20% in 21 years in spite of the surplus of burials over baptisms already demonstrated at this time.

Table 5.4 The increase in copyholders between the 14th and 17th centuries

<u>Township</u>	<u>Copyholders</u>		<u>Hearth Taxpayers</u>
	1385	1651	1672
Killinghall	44	46	55
Bilton with Harrogate	--	65	75
Beckwith and Rossett	--	67	106
Clint	44½	57	63
Felliscliffe	35	56	70
Birstwith	30	65	58
Hampsthwaite	17	35	37
Thruscross	12	)	
Hill	15½	) 46	43
Bramley	10	)	
Thornthwaite	15	20)	
Padside	11	10)	39
Menwith	11	)	
Holme	10	) 55	71
Darley	15	)	
Totals	270	522	617

Sources P.R.O. DL 29/465/7604; E 317 Yorks 32; and E 179/210/400

Some of the foregoing figures need a little explanation, since those for 1385 include messuages in decay at that time, while the 1672 figure for Beckwith and Rosset is inflated by the inclusion of Swinden. The decline in numbers in Birstwith is almost certainly the result of a few houses by Tang Beck being included in Birstwith in 1651, but in Felliscliffe in 1672, and many specific instances have been found of confusion here over several centuries. None of these facts, however, affect the main conclusions.

It should be noted that the increased number of copyholders was paralleled by increased building of tied cottages, for "not a few yeoman farmers were indicted ... before 1640 for building accommodation for their labourers".(30) Locally it began with the use of ancillary buildings, as when it was ordered in 1603 that "John Barber and Edward Beckwith shall remove John Miller and his wife and all others out of his kilne house before Whitsunday next".(31) More positive evidence that such tenants were employees comes in 1654 when seven copyholders, apparently in Fewston parish, were each fined 1s for erecting cottages - not on the common, as might be expected - but on the copyholder's own land.(32) The source suggests that this action particularly incensed the Joint Lords of the Forest under the Commonwealth, who tried to regulate it, but it supports the view that the forests did not merely acquire an increased population on account of commons encroachment, but were also under pressure due to a rise in the number of subtenants. We should note, moreover, that neither squatters nor subtenants are featured in Table 5.4. The question of squatters on the wastes - landless cottagers who worked at various jobs when work was available - must be deferred until later, but Everitt has pointed out that "various sources suggest that in the Tudor and early Stuart periods the labouring population probably formed about one quarter or one third of the entire population of the countryside."(33) He goes on to stress, moreover, that partible inheritance was not the only custom responsible for the rise in the number of landless labourers. "Small-holdings were either divided up amongst children and subdivided again till they shrank to mere curtilages, or else bequeathed to the elder son alone, so that the younger children were left propertyless."

The last statement is questionable. When the manor of Goldsborough, where there was a strict rule of primogeniture, is compared to the adjoining Forest of Knaresborough where, as we have seen, partible inheritance in some form was practised, it is found that provision for younger children was not that different.

Goldsborough tenants either bought land outside the manor for children other than the eldest, or found the money for apprenticeships for the boys or dowries for the girls.(34) This might nevertheless have been a financial strain; in 17th century Cambridgeshire where "a great effort was made to establish younger sons with land ... the tendency must have been to weaken farming units and make them less capable of weathering bad harvests and surviving as viable economic units. Even where there was no attempt to provide younger sons with land, the effort to provide them with a cash sum to start them off in life often had a weakening effect on the holding."(35) The inevitable result was that some holdings failed to survive, so that tenants became labourers, while the bigger holdings were enhanced by the acquisition of the failures. This happened in Goldsborough too, but although the consequences were sometimes unfortunate it was not because "the younger children were left propertyless". For the Forest of Knaresborough, which is our main concern at the moment, we can conclude that although subdivision of messuages took place by a roundabout route, which resulted in the creation of splinters rather than fractions, the end result was probably the same.

Subdivided holdings in Forests other than Knaresborough

Turning now to the Forest of Bowland, for which the data are assembled in Table 5.5, it is apparent even before the figures are examined that we are dealing with a different situation to that found for the Forest of Knaresborough. There is, admittedly, a division into townships in both tables, but the manorial vaccaries of Bowland, even centuries after they ceased to function as economic units, continued to fulfil an administrative function - and this is just as true of the crown leaseholds as it is of the fee farms. The essential distinction between Bowland and Knaresborough Forests is that subdivision on inheritance caused both vaccaries and fee farms to remain largely nucleated, whereas the Knaresborough copyholds were scattered due to their origins as assarts, forming loose clusters of dwellings. Copyholders in Bowland therefore saw themselves as members of more closely-knit communities than those comprising the Forest of Knaresborough, and the surveys reflect this view. The number of Bowland Forest tenants changed very little between 1527 and 1539, and the repetition of some surnames associated with particular vaccaries suggests that until this time colonisation had proceeded largely by subdivision. The customs of the Honour of Clitheroe, however, while admitting or even encouraging subdivision, do so only when there was no male heir - which should surely lead to a proliferation of surnames. Tupling's interpretation is that

Table 5.5

NUMBERS OF BOWLAND FOREST TENANTS IN THE 16th and 17th CENTURIES

Township	Former Manorial Vaccary, Deer Park, or Crown Leasehold	Number of Tenants in 1527	Number of Tenants in 1539	Crown lease-holders in 1652	Fee-farm tenements in 1652	Families in Bowland Tithery 1676	Hearth Tax payers in 1664	Hearth Tax payers in 1672	Heads of families in P.R.'s 1661-1680
Low Bowland Forest	Leeshouse (M.V.)	1	1	-	} 64	} 72	} 7	7	6
	High & Low Lees & Stakes (C.L.)	-	-	4				16	14
	Browsholme & Over Brows. (M.V.)	2	2	-				8	?
	(Newhay)	-	-	-				9	6
	Burholme (M.V.)	6	7	-				10	8
	Radholme Park (D.P.)	Rent paid suggests 6 tenants (5)		-				6	7
	(Incl. Whitewell)	7	6	1				6	?
	Harrop & Nettlecarr (M.V.)	7	6	-				7	?
	Total	22	22	5				52	34 + ?
High Bowland Forest	Thorneyholme (M.V.)	1	1	-	} 64	} 72	} 7	7	6
	Stableoak (M.V.)	2	2	-				16	14
	Hareden (M.V.)	3	5	-				8	?
	Sykes with Trough (M.V.)	9	8	-				10	8
	Brennand & Whitendale (C.L.)	-	-	4				6	?
	Beatrix (M.V.)	5	7	-				9	6
	Croasdalescor (M.V.)	Rent paid suggests 1 tenant (1)		-				10	8
	(Gradel1)	-	-	-				11	?
	Total	21	24	4				52	34 + ?
Bowland with Leagram	Wardsley (C.L.)	-	-	3	} 64	} 72	} 7	7	6
	Lickhurst (M.V.)	3	3	-				16	14
	Burnslack (M.V.)	3	3	-				8	?
	Greystoneley (M.V.)	1	2	-				9	6
	Dinkling Green (M.V.)	2	2	-				10	8
	Fair Oak House (M.V.)	2	1	-				6	?
	New Launds & Fence (C.L.)	-	-	3				7	6
	Windyhill (M.V.)	1	1	-				8	?
	Leagram Park (D.P.)	Rent paid suggests 12 tenants (12)		-				9	6
	Total	24	24	6				52	34 + ?

N.B. Hamlets in brackets (Newhay, Whitewell, and Gradel1) are of unknown origin.

"On the death of a customary tenant his estate ... descended to his nearest heir ... subject to the claim of the copyholder's wife to one quarter of the estate as her dower ... If a tenant died leaving no sons but two or more daughters, his property descended to them all as joint owners". For Rossendale he quantified the subdivision; "... the original holdings in the forests, which must have been of quite considerable dimensions, did not long remain entire. Portioned for the most part into 3, 4 or 5 tenements at the approvement of 1507, they were successively divided until, in little more than a century and a half, they had increased fourfold in number ... The 72 parcels of the original 23 settlements had become 101 parcels (mostly held by different tenants) in 20 years ... In 1662 ... the Rental of the Honour showed that the 72 tenements of the 'newholds' in Accrington and Rossendale had been divided into 315."(37)

It is unlikely that the disafforestation of some parts of the Honour of Clitheroe in 1507 applied to Bowland, nevertheless, change was in the air in Bowland as in Rossendale, and the removal of manorial stock from the former vaccaries was accompanied by their subdivision. For the Clitheroe Court Rolls (38) list only 19 tenants (and no freeholders) in the Forest of Bowland (including Bowland with Leagram) in 1443, yet there were 67 in all in 1527. It is probable that such subdivision would have given preference to the sons of existing tenants, which would account for the number of branches of the same family at each former vaccary in 1527 in spite of male inheritance by primogeniture.

For the subsequent period, however, the analogy with Rossendale breaks down, for there was no comparable expansion in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Certainly the population started to increase at some time after 1539, in line with the general trends already revealed, but the 46 copyholders in Low and High Bowland Forest taken together increased to only 64 by 1652, as shown in Table 5.5. The Tithery of Bowland, moreover, comprising Low Bowland Forest and Bowland with Leagram, was said to have only 72 families (or 62 if leaseholds are excluded) in 1676, implying a similar increase.(39)

If, however, we take instead the Hearth Tax payers, in either 1664 or 1672, as a measure of the number of families in the two Bowland Forest townships, even the incomplete totals approach 100 suggesting that the number of copyholders and leaseholders together was half as large again as in 1652.(40) A comprehensive count, including cottagers and possible subtenants, would of course have been larger still, as is evident from the number of heads of

families recorded in the parish registers in just 20 years, and it should be noted that even this number is deficient since the tenants of Newhay, Harrop, and Nettlecarr rarely attended either of the parish churches from which these totals have been compiled. The hamlet with the largest number of families mentioned in a parish register⁽⁴¹⁾ was Beatrix (formerly Batteris) with 19, yet there are only 2 farmhouses today. However, Plate 4 shows one of them to be a large house which may well have been subdivided between several families.

Considerable colonisation may therefore have occurred after 1652, and one is left wondering about the attitude to encroachment of General Monck, who was granted these lands in the 1660s.⁽⁴²⁾ It may be that expansion in Bowland over several centuries was confined to the two periods discussed, in the early 16th and mid 17th centuries, when colonisation was perhaps actively encouraged. Growth outside these periods was certainly less marked than in the Forests of either Rossendale or Knaresborough, and it may be suspected that this was on account of the absence of a dual economy - which was prominent in both Nidderdale and Rossendale.⁽⁴³⁾ It is certain that the number of encroachers presented at the Forest Courts of Bowland was tiny compared to those of Knaresborough, in spite of the vast extent of the Bowland commons, and Plate 5 illustrates the scope for colonisation remaining even today on the valley floor at Brennand. The farm shown was held on lease direct from the crown; one of three held by William, John, and Robert Parkinson, whose total holdings in 1652 comprised no less than 3,738 acres at Brennand, of which the vast majority was unenclosed fell land.⁽⁴⁴⁾ But it is clear that even the valley bottom was largely unused, though such sites in Knaresborough Forest were eagerly encroached upon, and its absence here must surely indicate a lack of industrial opportunities - or perhaps active discouragement. It will be shown that lead mining and iron smelting in Bowland - though there is documentary evidence of their existence in the 17th century - never employed more than a handful of men, and evidence for any involvement in textiles at this time is noticeable by its absence.

The only conclusions that can be drawn, therefore, are that subdivision of manorial vaccaries occurred under particular circumstances, but was nevertheless far more important than encroachment as a means of accommodating growth up to the mid-17th century. Subsequently the population increased more rapidly, but colonists clung to the vaccary sites for the most part and, oddly, scattered farms are a feature not so much of Forest townships as of those nearby in the manor of Slaidburn, where several commons were enclosed in 1621.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The Forest of Pickering presents a different situation again. Here the typical colonisation of the wastes seems to have been carried out at the instigation of the manorial lord or the fee farmer, but only rarely are sources available which allow an assessment of the practice of subdivision of holdings. Usually it is necessary to resort to inference, as for example at Hartoft, where we saw that in 1334 one hundred acres was shared between twenty-five tenants.(46) Although they were presumably forest acres, the smallest of such holdings could never have been subdivided to provide for an increasing population, but there was always the possibility of further intaking. The subsequent history of the Hartoft assarts is, however, unknown, and for evidence of the size of ancient holdings surviving in the 17th century we have to turn to Goathland.

We saw in Chapter II that the extensive fee farm of Goathland, amounting to very nearly 500 acres in 1334, still included much woodland in the valley bottom in the 16th century, even though the moorland above had been subject to intaking centuries before. The 17th century sources are, in fact, unusually detailed and allow observation of the nature of the holdings as they passed from one generation to the next. They begin at the turn of the century with a Rental (47) of 1599, followed by Norden's Survey (48) of 1619-21, both of which are incorporated in Table 5.6 but we should note the discrepancy between Norden's remit and his conclusions. He was asked to put forward proposals "For the improving some of his Majesty's forests", on the grounds that one evil to be remedied was that "infinite poor yet most idle inhabitants have thrust themselves, living covertly, without law or religion, rudes et refractarii by nature, among whom are nourished and bred infinite idle frye, that coming ripe grow vagabonds, and infect the common wealth with most dangerous leprosies".(49) Yet his Rental for Goathland, at least, taken together with the parish register, shows the intakers to be the most respectable husbandmen with relatively small families, and a far cry from the "infinite poor yet most idle inhabitants". It is, of course, arguable that the latter, if they existed, would not have paid rents anyway, but the parish register gives no hint of pauper burials at this date and Norden's Survey, which was designed to seek out squatters, would surely have mentioned any that were discovered.

It should be noted in Table 5.6 incidentally, that although the total rents are almost identical the individual rents do not always match, due to internal adjustments. Nevertheless, the brackets show that grouping individual rents together often results in a good match, any remaining discrepancies being small, suggesting the interchange of components between neighbours.

Table 5.6

Goathland tenants in 1599 and 1619-21

<u>Tenant in 1599</u>	<u>Tenement</u>	<u>Rent in 1599</u>	<u>Tenant in 1619</u>	<u>Rent in 1619</u>
William Harbart	Sadelerhouse	19s 11d	William Harbutt	28s 4d
William Harbart	Pullan hill	8s 6d	William Harbutt	9s 6d
George Cockerell	Thornillhouse	9s 6d	Nicholas Bushell	18s 2d
George Cockerell	Patricke hill	18s 2d	Christopher Keld	10s 6d
John Harlande	Browehouse	10s 6d	John Harlande	15s
Mary Hardinge	Hunthouse	15s	Robert Harbutt	14s 7d
John Robinson	$\frac{1}{2}$ Williamgaithouse	14s 7d	William Johnson	18s 10d
Robert Robinson	$\frac{1}{2}$ Williamgaithouse	14s 7d	Robert Robinson	10s 8d
Robert Lighton	Williamgaithouse	14s	Richard Boyes	21s
George Sleightholme	Gaithouse	21s	John Sleytholme	7s
Chris. Sleightholme	Loningehouse	7s	Edward Sleightholme	19s 2d
William Harlande	Nether Mortarpithouse	19s 8d	William Harlande	4s
Richard Jackson	Over Mortarpithouse	3s 4d	Stephen Duche	5s 4d
William Keld	Over Mortarpithouse	6s	William Keld	7s 10d
John Peatch	?Hwiehouse	6s	John Petch	12s
William Duche	Beckhole	12s 6d	William Duche	12s 10d
John Duche			John Duche	5s 9d
Marion Duche			Thomas Addison	7s 8d
Thomas Gration			Marmaduke Petch	6s 7d
Stephen Sleightholme	?Gymerholme	15s 8d	George Sleightholme	7s
Robert Lee	Allantofthouse	17s 4d	Thomas Oxley	13s 6d
Thomas Corner	Bankehouse	7s	John Noble	28s 6d
John Chapman	Somerholme	13s 6d	John & Wm. Chapman	12s 6d
John Duche	Southhouse	28s 6d	Henry Duche	4s 2d
John Duche	Craggecliffe	12s 6d	Christopher Hunter	11s 8d
Edward Kildell	Craggecliffe	4s 2d	George Dayle	14s
William Harlande	$\frac{1}{2}$ Longclose	5s 10d	Robert Harlande	7s 4d
Christopher Daile	$\frac{1}{2}$ Longclose	5s 10d	Robert Newton	7s
Thomas Harlande	$\frac{1}{2}$ Maltonclose	14s	Peter Fayrewether	12s
Robert Newton	$\frac{1}{2}$ Maltonclose	14s	Thomas Addison	12s 2d
William Keld	Hawthorn hill	12s	John Skinner	15s
Ralph & John Skinner	Frearehouse	8s	William Harlande	2s
Richard Harlande	Hoodehouse	4s 2d	Richard Harlande	6s 6d
William Worfolke	Darneholmehouse	18s 4d	Henry Barnarde	3s 4d
John Dowe	Cowewathehouse	12s 6d	Roger Munckman	2s 8d
Henry Barnarde	Gotelandhouse	21s 4d	Edward Barnarde	21s 4d
Lawrence Knagg	Birkehouse	14s	Lawrence Knaggs	14s
John Sleightholme	Chapplegrene (cottage)	4d		
Total		£21 9s 3d	Total	£21 9s 5d

Sources P.R.O. DL 44/593 and DL 42/124

Table 5.6 reveals that 35 individual holdings in 1599 (in the hands of 36 tenants) had increased to 37 (in the hands of 38 tenants) by 1619, though bare statistics conceal important changes. William Harbutt had amalgamated his two adjoining tenements at Sadelerhouse and Pullan hill, while George Dayle and John Skinner had each combined two formerly independent tenements. However, Darneholmehouse may have been split into two for the first time, and Cowewathehouse into three.

These were both large holdings, easily divided, but since none of the tenants in 1619 had the same surnames as those in 1599, there was no division between sons. On the other hand, a moderately large tenement at Beckhole was being shared in 1599 by William, John, and Marion Ducke, and Williamgaitehouse by John and Robert Robinson, both implying family subdivision in the fairly recent past. Other tenements, however, at Maltonclose, Longclose and Over Mortarpitt house, were shared by different families suggesting division some time back. It is worthy of note that although virtually all the Goathland wills proved between 1616 and 1630 were for tenants appearing in the Rentals of 1599 or 1619, two thirds of the wills proved between 1604 and 1615 were for individuals who did not so appear, which rather suggests it was customary for Elizabethan tenants here to give up their farms some years before they died.⁽⁵⁰⁾ This, of course, fits the economic facts very well, since these were the very people who started farming when inflation was taking hold, and were able to utilise their large farms to produce a surplus for the market. The profits could then be invested in more land, which may account for some of the amalgamations noted between 1599 and 1619.

The most influential factor promoting either subdivision or amalgamation would, of course, be the size of the population. Goathland parish registers were not well kept in the early 17th century, so that the local population trends are unknown, but we have seen that the experience elsewhere was for numbers to increase rapidly and it would be as well to check for the existence of any new intakes in Goathland in the first few decades of the century. Fortunately, this is quite easy to do, for intakes were a major preoccupation⁽⁵¹⁾ of Norden's Survey and a separate Rental was compiled for them in 1619-21 and again by the Commonwealth Survey of 1651.⁽⁵²⁾ The former survey made it quite clear that some of the intakes were extremely ancient, for the intakers' names were quoted - presumably from old records - as Richard and William Geringes, Diones del Banckes, Alan Reedes, and John Truslowes, which not only sound like medieval surnames, but are completely absent from 16th and 17th century Goathland records. They must have been made after the fee farm was established however (probably in the 14th century), since each intake paid a separate rent which amounted in all to 23s 10d. It was for this reason that an independent Rental for the intakes was drawn up in 1619-21, showing that virtually every leaseholder in Goathland had some such land, and it was further observed in 1651 that the intakes "lyeth intermingled amongst certaine lands of the fore-said persons which they hold in Fee farme", which must surely indicate great age.

Since splitting of holdings only occurred infrequently, and intaking was not a recent phenomenon, it seems that population pressure had not been a factor here in recent centuries. Nor were things about to change, for the 1651 survey listed only 29 intakers compared to 31 in 1619, and although there were many sub-tenancies in 1651 the parish register, when it becomes sufficiently reliable to use as a source of evidence, does not indicate any growth of population. The number of families, according to Archbishop Herring's Visitation of 1743, (53), was still only 44, which was not a great increase on the 36 recorded in 1599. This no doubt accounts for the limited evidence of illegal intaking, suggested only by a note in the 1651 survey that "there was lately taken up certaine parcells of land conteyning 8 acres more or less now in the occupacon of Wm. Robinson jun. But he claimeth it by no lease". (54)

Two last points must be made regarding encroachment in 17th century Goathland. The first is that, by comparison with Knaresborough, the holdings were very large, the 500 acres of the fee farm being shared by only 37 tenants in 1619 giving an average of $13\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Moreover, nearly every tenant had in addition some ancient intake land, averaging 5 acres apiece. But there is little doubt that these were forest acres, for although they were never specified as such at Goathland a copyhold at Horcombe in 1619 was said to comprise "a messuage and 50 acres of lande foreste measure .. containinge by statute measure about 100 acres".⁽⁵⁵⁾ A ratio of two to one would convert the average holding at Goathland to about 37 statute acres, and the combined area of fee farm and intake land there to some 1300 acres which, in fact, agrees very closely with the area of enclosed land within the moor wall today. And this is as expected, because all the farms named in 1599 which can be identified lie at the moorland edge, indicating that little new encroachment on to the moor has taken place since that time.

An average holding of some 37 statute acres is so much larger than that typical of Knaresborough Forest at this time (see Table 5.3B) that it is necessary to suggest an explanation. Undoubtedly the crown rents at Goathland had been exceptionally low and encouraged the growth of sub-tenancies, for intake land until 1651 had been paying less than 2d a (forest) acre on average.⁽⁵⁶⁾ This was certainly not the economic rent, because sub-tenants were then paying from 1s an acre upwards (57), and the discrepancy was noted by the surveyors in 1651 who set the 'improved' rent of the Goathland intakes at £32 12s (in addition to the 22s 11d paid before), so that the Commonwealth received about 30 times as much for the land as the crown had done previously. It should be noted,

however, that rents per acre, both new and old, covered a wide range reflecting the quality of the intakes, so it would appear that some trouble was taken to ensure fair dealing.

The final point relates to the way the land was farmed in 17th century Goathland, for there is a suggestion that open field arable was still employed and such farmers may have been more amenable to sub-letting - and more resistant to encroachment - than their contemporaries farming in severalty. Open field was only mentioned obliquely, in 1599, when closes belonging to Nether Mortarpitt house were described by reference to an extensive area known as the Longe flatte, but in addition the field boundaries shown on the first edition of the 6" Ordnance Survey map reveal a distinct difference between the huge fields with straight line boundaries (and surviving rig-and-furrow) north-east of the church, and the tiny fields with irregular boundaries to the north.

We have seen that, in contrast to both Knaresborough and Bowland Forests, the taxable population of the township of Goathland in Pickering Forest was more or less static after 1619, and it now appears that limited growth in the untaxed population was accommodated not by illegal intaking (except very rarely) but by sub-tenanting. It is in the nature of sub-tenancies that they are incapable of quantification, but it may be surmised that a large part of the increase in rents imposed in 1651 would have been passed on to the sub-tenants some of whom were certainly forced out of farming. It is known that by 1733, when the occupations of parishioners begin to be recorded in Goathland parish register, there was a great deal of cottage industry which will have to be considered in Chapter IX.

To sum up the experience of the three forests considered with respect to the reasons for encroachment is not easy, on account of their variety. Provision for descendants or for elderly relatives must always have been a matter of concern for anyone making a living from a limited resource such as land. For although when times were hard, or epidemics raged, problems of succession must have been eased (since local populations barely maintained their numbers), there were other times, such as the early 17th century, when numbers increased rapidly and the problem of providing for more than one successor came to the fore. And although there were marked differences in the behaviour of communities in each of these forests, it appears that the choices were not made primarily on the basis of inheritance customs but had more to do with ease of encroachment - which probably changed from century to century. As for incentives, it seems that

opportunities for encroachment were not in themselves sufficient reason, for most people, and that the existence of natural resources providing a basis for employment were at least as important in the 17th century.

Finally, we should note in passing that the enclosure by agreement of such arable open fields as existed in the forests now considered appears to have played no part in promoting 16th and 17th century encroachments. In Pickering Forest those townships - like Levisham and Lockton - with extensive and highly regulated open field systems, continued for another century to be cultivated by the yeomen who constituted a different social group from the encroachers of nearby Horcum, for example. At Goathland, on the other hand, where the open fields are less well documented, sub-tenanting seems to have taken the place of encroachment - which was not practised at all during the period under review. In Knaresborough Forest, where no township had more than a remnant of its former open fields by the mid-17th century, it has proved impossible to connect this phenomenon with the practice of encroachment. And in the Forest of Bowland any relationship between the two was confined to the early 16th century when arable open fields were still being extended locally.

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CHAPTER VI

ILLEGAL ENCROACHMENT IN THE FOREST OF KNARESBOROUGH

When John Norden, surveyor to the King, complained in 1607 that "the people bred amongst the woods are naturally more stubborn and uncivil than in the champion [i.e. open-field] countries", he may have had in mind the copyholders who stood on their rights and paid only ancient rents, rather than the economic rents the crown would have liked to impose. His comments, however, reflected a widespread feeling that the lack of regulation which typified some disforested woodland and moorland areas remote from manorial centres, and allowed the creation of squatter hamlets on the unenclosed commons, was providing a seed bed for discontent.⁽¹⁾ It is certainly true that the discipline imposed by the seasonal rhythm of work among peasant farmers was absent in the cottager communities, but it will be shown that illegal encroachments on the common, which precipitated many complaints by outsiders, were made with the full approval - and often the assistance - of old-established customary tenants who were simultaneously taking in new land themselves. Although these copyholders would theoretically have been deprived of part of their share of the common rights by an influx of settlers, the commons were, in fact, sufficiently extensive to provide pasture, wood, and turbary for all comers. The manorial lord, on the other hand, had a real grievance since he received little in the way of fines or rents for what could sometimes be sizeable holdings. But no income had ever been received from this unenclosed waste, and the loss was therefore hypothetical.

Nevertheless, the crown was concerned about its loss of potential revenue, particularly in the case of its Duchy of Lancaster estates, and from Elizabeth's reign onwards surveys were made to assess the practicability of enclosure, and regulations were passed to limit the expansion of encroachment. The earliest for the Forest of Knaresborough appears to be a decree of 1595 which limited encroachments to one rood, and permitted them then only if they were announced in the Honour Court and unchallenged.⁽²⁾ Its effectiveness may be doubted since a century later it was complained that "whatever quantity of ground is at any time enclosed, it is never called in court at above a rood, though it be in reality several acres".⁽³⁾ The first attempts to enclose the Forest were made by the crown through the efforts of middlemen, who aimed to make a profit by imposing annual rents at a realistic level. They succeeded, however, in alienating the copyholders, who had hitherto paid only the small ancient customary rents and who would, moreover, be liable for the costs of improvement. Forest tenants reacted as might have been expected by rejecting these proposals, and were then subjected to abuse as "headstrong people", capable of "wilful untowardness".⁽⁴⁾

Although enclosure of the Forest was seen partly as a means of increasing revenue, and partly as a way of stopping encroachment, the two were in fact distinct issues. Encroachers had been periodically presented at the Honour Court since early in Elizabeth's reign, and in 1592 it was ordered that "all cottages being no messuages nor ancient buildings allowed shall be seized into the Queens majestie's hands" and, although cottagers were to live rent free for their own lifetimes, their cottages were to be pulled down there-after.(5) This - predictably - proved impossible to implement, and regular presentations for encroachment were a feature of the six-monthly Courts Leet from 1611 on, as also were those for harbouring 'undersettles' or 'inmates' (sub-tenants, seen as a potential charge on the poor rate). At this time, and for the next 60 years, the record of fines in the Honour Court takes the form of a list covering the Forest as a whole, commencing with those fined 2d for a cottage and continuing with those fined 3d or more for a cottage-encroachment or an intake. The only information given is the name of the encroacher and the fine levied; no township name appears, and although the same individuals - by and large - are featured at successive courts, there are always deletions and additions, and the order of appearance changes.(6)

The changes are never random, however; a glance at a typical list (Table 6.1), to which the order of presentation at the previous court has been added, shows immediately that this was no standardised list updated for each Court Leet, but a record newly compiled for each court in which neighbours adjoin but the order of presentation of blocks of neighbours is often reversed or otherwise distorted. What happened, it appears, is that offenders were presented by townships - though these are unstated - while the township order was often changed. Rather more important is the fact that, once the townships are identified (by locating groups of names in each township, through the parish registers), it can be shown that the groups correspond to the constituent hamlets, which were visited in a more-or-less regular sequence.

It will be noted that the encroachment list featured in Table 6.1 includes the names of only 79 cottagers, though 129 had been presented at the previous Court Leet. Conversely, whole blocks of names appear on the later list (numbers 13 - 18 and 23 - 28, for example) which were totally missing from the earlier one. It appears that presentation was at the discretion of the relevant official, who was allowed considerable scope, but the disappearance of cottages between one Court Leet and the next may not be a matter of their destruction, nor even of leniency on the part of the official, but more likely a transfer to the list of 3d fines on account of new land taken in from the waste.

Table 6.1(based on P.R.O. D.L. 30/500/4)

FOREST OF KNARESBOROUGH COTTAGERS PAYING 2d FINE MAY 6th 1652

"THE JURORS afores'd also p'sent that:

1.	Miles Ingleson	(also paid 2d Oct.16th 1651, no. 123)	
2.	John Hardesty senior	(" " " " " " " " 116)	
3.	John Hardesty junior	(" " " " " " " " 117)	
4.	Widd. Pott	(" " " " " " " " 115)	
5.	Dorothy ffarnell	(" " " " " " " " 119)	
6.	Ann Johnson	(" " " " " " " " 120)	
7.	Jane Morhouse	(" " " " " " " " 122)	
8.	Ann Morehouse	(" " " " " " " " 47)	
9.	Robert Shut		
10.	John Beane		
11.	Richard Russell		
12.	Margaret Waite	(" " " " " " " " 49)	
13.	Abraham Stubb		
14.	Thomas benson		
15.	Isabell Grason		
16.	Ann Gratenwood		
17.	Katheran Umpleby		
18.	Anthony Lund		
19.	Margaret Marston	(" " " " " " " " 754)	
20.	Thomas Lax	(" " " " " " " " 49)	
21.	Widd. fflesher		
22.	John Dickinson	(" " " " " " " " 88)	
23.	Ann Hallyday		
24.	Willm. Powell		
25.	Arthur Pott		
26.	Peeter Hemsley		
27.	Thomas Hodgson		
28.	Al'ce Migings		
29.	John Wilkes	(" " " " " " " " 56)	
30.	Robert Benson	(" " " " " " " " 57)	
31.	Robert Barker	(" " " " " " " " 58)	
32.	Edward Smithson	(" " " " " " " " 59)	
33.	Widd. Leming		
34.	Jane Spence	(" " " " " " " " 61)	
35.	Ralph Spence	(" " " " " " " " 63)	
36.	Jonathan Slator	(" " " " " " " " 62)	
37.	Widd. Shutt	(" " " " " " " " 64)	
38.	Widd. Rowille	(" " " " " " " " 65)	
39.	Willm. Ellis	(" " " " " " " " 66)	
40.	ffrancis Ellis	(" " " " " " " " 67)	
41.	Richard Elliot	(" " " " " " " " 3)	
42.	Isabelle Jackson	(" " " " " " " " 2)	
43.	Christopher Craven	(" " " " " " " " 1)	
44.	Thomas Burnitt	(" " " " " " " " 4)	
45.	Jane Cocke	(" " " " " " " " 6)	
46.	Christopher Joy	(" " " " " " " " 9)	
47.	Jane Myer	(" " " " " " " " 7)	
48.	Elizabeth Lewty & Simon Browne	(" " " " " " " " 8)	
49.	Elexander Hothwaite	(" " " " " " " " 10)	
50.	Willm. Martin	(" " " " " " " " 11)	
51.	Uxor Myers	(" " " " " " " " 12)	

Table 6.1(continued)

52.	Uxor Swaile	(also paid 2d Oct.16th 1651, no. 16)
53.	Willm. Marston	(" " " " " " " 17)
54.	Edward Knowles	(" " " " " " " 18)
55.	Elizabeth Kattalle	
56.	Ann Atkinson	(" " " " " " " ?20)
57.	Henery Paweson	
58.	Thomas Wamsley	(" " " " " " " 103/4)
59.	John Lawton	(" " " " " " " 105)
60.	Isabell Leath	
61.	Willm. Waide	(" " " " " " " 101)
62.	Thomas Preistman	(" " " " " " " 100)
63.	ffrancis Brotherton	(" " " " " " " 106)
64.	George Myers	(" " " " " " " 107)
65.	Willm Slingsby	(" " " " " " " 109)
66.	Isabell Robinson	(" " " " " " " ?114)
67.	Widd.Baioke	(" " " " " " " 111)
68.	Margaret Gill	(" " " " " " " 112)
69.	Mary Hall	(" " " " " " " ?113)
70.	Widd. Askwith	(" " " " " " " 43)
71.	Jane Snaw	(" " " " " " " 38)
72.	Isabell Myer	(" " " " " " " 44)
73.	Willm. Groves	(" " " " " " " 40)
74.	Alice Barker	
75.	John Stubb	(" " " " " " " 37)
76.	Mathew Robinson	(" " " " " " " 23)
77.	Robert Umpleby	(" " " " " " " 24)
78.	George Hardesty	(" " " " " " " 25)
79.	John Brathwait	

hath & every of them have cottages or new erections within the s'd fforrest
for etc. theirefore every of them are amerced as appeares upon theire heades".

It is also worth noting that the total number of encroachers was increasing so rapidly that presentations for the whole Forest at one sitting became impossible, so that from 1670 onwards presentation was by township, each of which was now named. It is likely that this change was more far-reaching than would appear, involving the separation of amercement from collection, for in 1680 it was reported that "every cottage and incroachment are amerced every year by the grand Inquest for the Forest ... which fines and amercements are gathered in every year by the officers of the Forest".(7) Moreover, the evidence given at an enquiry into alleged extortion by the Deputy Steward (the effective custodian, since the steward was a remote figurehead) in 1698 makes it clear that in recent years even the setting of fines was an excuse for threatening visits. A succession of Forest officials - Graves and Beadles for many years past - testified against him that "Mr Andrew Holden the Deputy Steward never Impannelled a Jury ... but viewed himself all or most of the Incroachments and after that ... assessed the fines himself and made them much higher than they ought to be; and having so raised the said Fines put them into the Estreats and collected what possibly he could get".(8) Holden appears to have been so powerful that none of the Forest officials could make a stand against him, and they testified repeatedly in 1698 that they had been forced to make the collection of extortionate fines on his behalf, visiting each encroacher in turn. The value of the amercement lists as a source of historical information is largely due to the fact that the encroachers of each township were listed in geographical order, probably to make life easier for the collectors. It is not possible to say just when this procedure began, but because encroachers were listed by township from 1670 on, and because fines for 'undersettles' had ceased to be levied by that time, it is proposed to consider separately the progress of encroachment before and after that year.

Table 6.2 Encroachment in the Forest of Knaresborough from 1612 to 1669

	Oct. 1612	April 1613	Oct. 1651	May 1652	April 1654
Cottagers paying 2d	42	48	129	79	91
Cottage-encroachers and intakers paying variable fines (fixed during the Commonwealth period)	25	16	88	114	71
'Undersettles' or 'Inmates'	2	4	9	9	11
Totals	69	68	226	202	173
Cottagers as % of the whole	61	70	57	39	52

Sources P.R.O. DL 30/496/11/12; DL 30/500/4/5/6

Table 6.2 reveals that the total number of encroachers increased more than three-fold between 1613 and 1651 (and we shall see that there was a comparable growth later in the century). The reduction between 1651 and 1654, moreover, was due primarily to the conversion to copyhold of numerous intakes, whose numbers fell from 74 in 1652 to only 12 in 1654, whereas the equally numerous conversions of cottages were disguised by those newly erected. It may also be the case that presentments did not reveal the true numbers, which were independently estimated in correspondence connected with a petition by Sir Thomas Slingsby to be granted the farm of the encroachment fines. In a letter from John Shallcross to Sir Thomas Ingram, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, dated 18th February 1669, Shallcross reported that in 1662 he was informed that there were about 450 cottagers and encroachers, rendering for the most part very small rents or none at all, "also about 30 cottages and incroachments were sold by late usurpers by copy of court roll on very small rents, which I conceive are yearly paid". Furthermore, "the most part of the inhabitants of these cottages and incroachments are poor people and live on the charity of their neighbours, as I was informed, and most of their cottages very poor habitations and no wood within the said forest to repair them, and the incroachments for the most part barren land. I conceive", he concluded, "4d a cottage and 1½d a rood of land ... may be thought a moderate price betwixt the king and the worthy petitioner Sir Thomas Slingsby".(9)

(10)

This proposal came to nothing, at least in the short term, for in 1670 and 1671 the cottage fine was still 2d, but at this stage it would be helpful to know the social distinction between those paying the fixed fine of 2d for a cottage only, and those paying the variable fines of 3d and upwards for a cottage-encroachment or an intake. It seems likely that landless cottages were occupied largely by labourers, single women (including many widows), or paupers, while cottages with land (less than one rood according to the regulation, but more by traditional usage) were occupied by smallholders with secondary occupations. Intakes, on the other hand, which had no associated dwelling, paid from 6d up to as much as 3s 4d depending on size, and seem to have been held by copyholders. These are, however, only generalisations and exceptions abound. The list of cottagers, for example, contains not only the names of some who are known to have been receiving poor relief in Pannal parish, but also a number of copyholders. The latter can be explained on the grounds that some customary tenants built cottages with the intention of renting them out - and were fined for doing so - but other copyholders may have built for the benefit of their children or, very often, for elderly

relatives. When such dwellings were bequeathed (as they often were) to the next generation the fines were of course paid by the new occupants.

Such practices may explain why, on occasions, a cottager fined 2d was also fined a larger sum quite independently, at the same court, for an intake, rather than being fined for a cottage with an attached encroachment.⁽¹¹⁾ This only makes sense if the 'cottager' was in fact a copyholder paying the fine for a dwelling occupied by someone else, but simultaneously intaking elsewhere. The whole question of who was being fined for what is fraught with such difficulties before 1670, and is not helped by the fact that so many cottagers are totally absent from any alternative listing. If they were elderly, as so often they were (the number of widows named in the encroachment lists is out of all proportion to their numbers in the population at large), then the only chance of finding them is in the burial register. But pauper burials were not noted as such in Knaresborough Forest at this time and a bare entry such as "Elizabethe Feriman buried xxxth day of Marche 1654", for example, tells us absolutely nothing except that she probably lived in the relevant parish until she died. The question of who the encroachers were will be discussed more fully in the context of the later 17th century, when the records are a little more revealing, but for the period before 1670 it is now necessary to look at encroachment from another angle.

The creation of new hamlets 1600 - 1669

We saw in Chapter II that the sites of known medieval hamlets in the Forest of Knaresborough were markedly localised. The source of the hamlet names for that period was the Court Rolls, which continue to be useful, but after 1600 we have an additional and much more informative source in the local parish registers. Because parishes were typically large, it was often necessary to distinguish between individuals of the same name by adding the name of their township, hamlet, or even the particular dwelling. Naturally, the practice varied from time to time and from parish to parish; the earliest surviving register associated with the Forest is that of Fewston,⁽¹²⁾ beginning in 1593, but useful information is very sparse for the first half-century. The Hampsthwaite parish register⁽¹³⁾ began in 1603 and from the outset gave occasional information⁽¹⁴⁾ regarding domicile, but that of Pannal, which began later, is not very helpful at all. It is to the parish of Hampsthwaite, therefore, that most attention must be directed (with some help from Fewston) and Table 6.3 shows the earliest known mention of both the post-medieval hamlets and the individual farms.

The basis for the distinction is the number of distinct surnames associated with each, though it is of course possible that a site appearing as an individual farm had more than one branch of the same family living there. It should be noted, incidentally, that in a few cases the earliest mention of a name is from neither the Court Rolls nor the parish registers, but from wills, probate inventories, or surveys. (15)

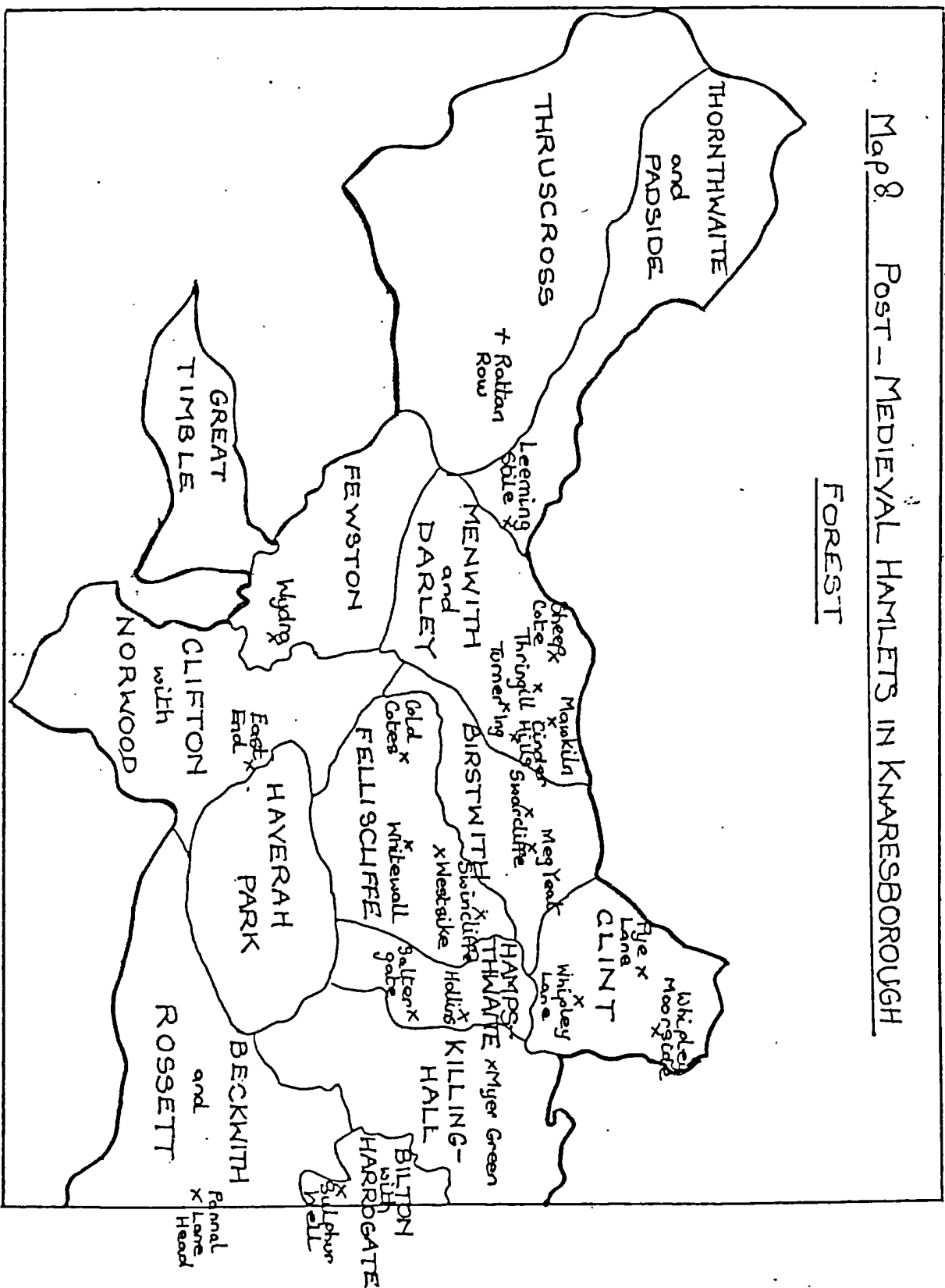
Table 6.3 Post-medieval settlement sites in the townships of the Forest of Knaresborough

<u>Earliest known mention of hamlets</u>	<u>Earliest known mention of individual farms</u>
Cinder Hills (Menwith & Darley) 1657	Beckside (Clint) 1558
Cold Cotes (Felliscliffe) 1579	Beckwith Head (Beckwith & Rossett) 1675
East End (Clifton with Norwood) 1681	Brame (Clifton with Norwood) 1672
Haverah Park 1551	Broadgate (Menwith & Darley) 1658
Hollins (Hampsthwaite) 1639	Brownbank (Clifton with Norwood) 1676
Leeming Stile (Thornthwaite) 1677	Carr (Menwith & Darley) 1650
Mawekilne (Menwith & Darley) 1597	Cockber (Thruscross) 1613
Megyeat (Birstwith) 1553	Cockhill (Hampsthwaite) 1613
Moorside (?Clint) 1650	Cowyeat (Clint) 1576
Myer Green (Killinghall) 1633	Crag (Felliscliffe) 1636
Pannal Lane Head (Beckwith & Rossett) 1665	Cragg Hill (Killinghall) 1660
Pye Lane (Clint) 1676	Dicken Dikes (Menwith & Darley) 1669
Rattan Row (Thruscross) 1613	Gibbhouse (Thruscross) 1670
Saltergate (Hampsthwaite) 1605	Gillbeck (Felliscliffe) 1675
Sheepcote (Menwith & Darley) 1669	Gillthorne (Hampsthwaite) 1678
Swarcliffe (Birstwith) 1656	Hallgarth (Hampsthwaite) 1663
Swincliffe (Felliscliffe) 1652	Harperyeat (Thornthwaite) 1585
Sulphur Well (Beckwith & Rossett) 1668	Heckgill (Menwith & Darley) 1675
Thringill (Menwith & Darley) (now Fringill) 1672	Holehouse (Beckwith & Rossett) 1603
Turner Ing (Menwith & Darley) 1566	Hoodstorth (Thruscross) 1681
West Sike (Felliscliffe) 1650	Hopper Lane (Fewston) 1686
Whipley Lane (Clint) 1681	Inglanhouse (Hampsthwaite) 1592
Whitewall (Felliscliffe) 1551	Ings (Thornthwaite) 1669
Wytherey (or Wydra) (Fewston) 1676	Isgaithouse (?) 1572
	Laund (Menwith & Darley) 1676
	Mosses (Birstwith) 1655
	Newbridge (Birstwith) 1644
	Newhall (Birstwith) 1565
	Paisehouse (Felliscliffe) 1624
	Redsike (Thornthwaite) 1676
	Shutt Nook (Killinghall) 1613
	Spinksburn (Fewston) 1683
	Staupes (Birstwith) 1530
	Stumpes (Menwith & Darley) 1675
	Stockfield (Birstwith) 1563
	Whinns (Birstwith) 1659
	Wyndehill (Birstwith) 1509

N.B. Some of the topographical names included above occur in the Middle Ages (e.g. Swincliffe), but not as settlement sites.

The post-medieval hamlets are plotted on Map 8 and it is clear that, when compared to the medieval pattern discussed in Chapter II, there are some surprises. There has been no general movement into the more remote townships,

FOREST



where land was left in decay after the Black Death, but instead new hamlets have been created in areas already well-settled in the Middle Ages. The new communities were not primarily concerned with land, therefore, and this impression is reinforced when, on closer examination, it appears that they were often sited on poorly-drained wastes along the stream courses. This suggests the prospect of employment opportunities in industries using water power, but the new hamlets were also conveniently sited for mining both coal and iron, and for making charcoal in the remaining woodland. Names like Cinder Hills and Mawekilne, moreover, are indicative of some industry.

The general form of the names is also revealing. The great majority are topographical - indeed, apart from Dicken, Gibb, Harper, Myer, Shutt, and perhaps Turner, personal names are neglected in favour of those describing the terrain. The most prevalent features are natural : gills, sikes, becks, mosses and cliffs; though man-made clearances (carrs, ings, garths, greens and lanes) complement man-made artifacts (dikes, houses, halls, rows, stiles, walls and yeats). The name 'yeat' appears five times, in fact, including the medieval Burnt Yeats, and its indication of a physical barrier (gate) suggests a gap in the boundary fence between the cultivated lands and the common. In another Duchy of Lancaster Forest, Needwood in Staffordshire, where ancient settlements surrounded an uninhabited woodland in the Middle Ages, each village had its own gate into the Forest and many had become new settlement sites by 1596.(16)

It is tempting to think that the hamlet names might reveal a difference in the intention of settlement - distinguishing hamlets which had grown by infilling gaps between old-established scattered copyholds from newer squatter hamlets on the common. It did seem at one point that 'green' might sometimes indicate the latter, but sufficient medieval examples are now known to disprove this theory. A more promising identification of squatter settlements might be based on location, for many hamlets which can be shown to have contained a high proportion of illegal encroachers were sited not at the boundary between the common and the cultivated lands - as were the copyholder's hamlets - but at the extremity of the common, on the township boundary. Hollins, for example, straggled over the boundary between Hampsthwaite and Killinghall townships; Swincliffe between Hampsthwaite and Felliscliffe; Leeming Stile between Thornthwaite and Menwith; and Kettlesing Bottom (as distinct from the medieval copyholder's hamlet of Kettlesing Head) between Felliscliffe and Birstwith. The hamlet of Burnt Yeats, however, which grew up at the township boundary between Clint, in Knaresborough Forest, and Hartwith cum Winsley, part of the Fountains Abbey estates, was

medieval in date and owed its origin to the access provided by a gateway in the Monk Wall. It therefore requires some care to distinguish squatter hamlets unambiguously, and this may best be done by examining the status of the inhabitants, as will be shown later.

The slowing down of encroachment in the late 17th century

It is now necessary to consider the progress of encroachment after 1670 over the Forest as a whole, the relevant figures being given in Table 6.4 (where the totals for the early part of the century are repeated to allow comparison). It is evident that total encroachments increased more than threefold in the forty years between 1612-3 and 1651-2; nearly doubled again in the twenty years from 1651-2 to 1670-1; but then increased by only 50% in the thirty years from 1670 to 1698. From 1698 to 1708 the numbers appear to have been quite stable.

Table 6.4 Encroachment in the Forest of Knaresborough from 1612 to 1708

	Oct. 1612	April 1613	Oct. 1651	May 1652	April 1654	Oct. 1670	April 1671	Dec. 1698	Sept. 1708
Cottagers paying 2d before 1671 or 4d later	42	48	129	79	91	87	80	111	104
Cottage-encroachers and intakers paying variable fines (fixed during the Commonwealth period)	25	16	88	114	71	264	287	426	425
Undersettles or Inmates	2	4	9	9	11	no entry	no entry	no entry	no entry
Totals	69	68	226	202	173	351	367	537	529
Cottagers as percentage of the whole	61	70	57	39	52	25	22	21	20

Sources As Table 6.2, with the addition of P.R.O. DL 30/502/12 and DL 42/129

There was evidently a fairly uniform tendency throughout the whole century from 1612 to 1708 for the proportion of cottagers to decline, as more and more of them took in land, paid a larger fine, and were classed as cottage-encroachers distinct from both landless cottagers and intakers. This did not, of course, inhibit the creation of new landless cottages, which were much in evidence in certain hamlets, notably Kettlesing, at the end of the century. The slowing down of encroachment between 1698 and 1708 is nevertheless noteworthy, and needs to be considered in the context of the Enquiry into extortion on the part of the Deputy Steward held in the former year.

We have seen that fines had been raised to unprecedented levels by very unorthodox means, to say the least, and the testimony of some of the witnesses to the Enquiry suggests that extreme pressure had been applied to force them to pay large sums to have their encroachments made copyhold. The most relevant is that of William Dowsland of Beckwithshaw, husbandman, who testified that he "about 10 years since built a cottage and took in an Intack of about 3 or 4 acres and for the first year Mr Holden made this deponent pay 1s, for the second 2s, for the third 3s 6d, and for four years after Mr Holden demanded 6s 6d a year which this deponent not being able to pay ... Mr Holden agreed that if this deponent would pay him 26s for the said four years rent and also 50s more Mr Holden would enfranchise and make free the said cottage and Intack. The deponent procured this sum by means of a mortgage to John Guisley, drawn up by Andrew Holden, but, being in arrears with the interest payment after two years, Holden issued a warrant by means of which the Court Officers threw this deponent's goods out of Doors and also turned him, his wife and children out of possession, and then also seized of two Cows which this Deponent had hired to Milk to support his family. And the said officers and Guisley would not part with the said Cows till Gregory Popplewell gave a bond for payment of 40s, by which practices this Deponent his wife and 5 children were thrown upon the Charity of the Town". (17)

This case, though extreme, was not an isolated one, and it is clear that Holden's methods resulted in wholesale conversions to copyhold which must have had the effect of appearing to stabilise the number of offenders who were presented for illegal encroachment. The outcome of the Enquiry is unfortunately not known, but after 1698 fines were paid at a much lower level and were strictly related to the area encroached. (18) For whatever reason, after the end of the century new encroachment fell to a very low level, as will be shown later by examination of a different source of evidence. In the meantime we can cast further light on the question by subjecting the figures relating to illegal encroachment in 1698 to analysis by townships, as shown in Table 6.5

This Table reveals two very clear trends. First, the totals show a marked increase as we move away from the most prosperous townships at the top of the Table towards those on the poorest land at the bottom. This might, of course, reflect a greater inclination to allow settlement where there was greatest scope, or where the land was least valuable, but we shall see that it was often copyholder's sons who were involved, and they would not necessarily be satisfied with the worst land. Second, the differences between

TABLE 6.5

THE NUMBERS OF ENCROACHERS IN 1698, BY TOWNSHIPS

	Killinghall	Bilton with Harrogate	Beckwith with Rossett	Clint
Cottagers paying 4d or less	5	4	4	12
Encroachers paying 4d to 8d	4	6	13	6
Intakers paying 1s or more	8	20	24	20
Totals	17	30	41	38
	Hampsthwaite	Felliscliffe	Birstwith	Thruscross
Cottagers paying 4d or less	8	8	16	6
Encroachers paying 4d to 8d	9	6	1	3
Intakers paying 1s or more	21	39	44	47
Totals	38	53	61	56
	Menwith with Darley	Timble with Fewston	Clifton with Norwood	
Cottagers paying 4d or less	15	15	18	
Encroachers paying 4d to 8d	1	8	6	
Intakers paying 1s or more	47	45	48	
Totals	63	68	72	

Source P.R.O. DL 42/129

the townships are not the result of local population pressure, since the number of encroachers in each is not related to the number of tenants. In Killinghall, Bilton with Harrogate, and Clint, for example, taxpayers outnumbered encroachers by 2 or 3 to one (and this may be true of Beckwith with Rosset also, though the figures there are not comparable). In the remaining townships, however, the number of encroachers was similar to the number of taxpayers. Bilton with Harrogate is a particularly interesting case in view of the large number of taxpayers resulting from considerable activity at the spa of Harrogate after the Restoration.(19) Yet although there is abundant evidence of a seasonal demand for services in connection with the spa bath houses, which might have been satisfied by landless cottagers, the number of illegal encroachers in Bilton with Harrogate was the second lowest in the Forest. It rather looks as though the sensibilities of the gentry taking the waters were not to be upset by the appearance of hovels on the common - even when the common (part of which is still preserved as Harrogate Stray) was extensive and the Sulphur Well, at least, lay at the township boundary.

The physical form of squatter encroachments as compared to copyholder intakes before 1730

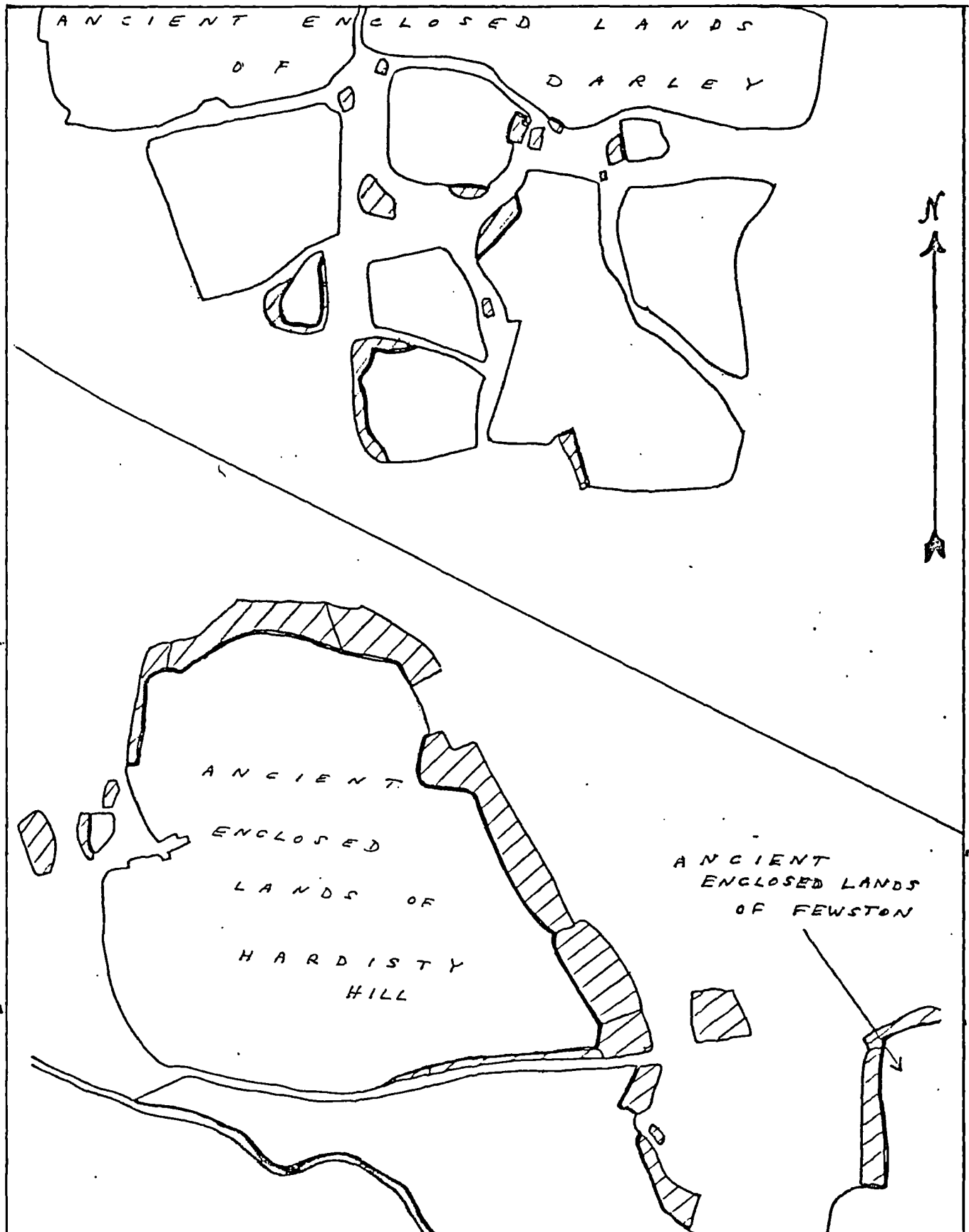
The geographical aspects of new settlements are of considerable interest, but it is not until after 1700 that the necessary evidence becomes available. There are two useful sources: the encroachment list of 1708 which gives for the first time the sizes of individual plots (20); and the Award of 1778 which put into effect the provisions of the Enclosure Act of 1770 for the commons and wastes of the Forest of Knaresborough.(21) The relevance of the second source to the early part of the century lies in the fact that encroachments upon the common made before 1730 are distinguished in the Schedule to the Award from those made between 1730 and 1770, since only the former were deemed to have a legal title to their land, by virtue of long occupation. In all, 506 unlicensed encroachments were found to have been in existence before 1730, and the size and location of each was listed. Their occupants in the 1770s are, of course, irrelevant to the present enquiry, since they are for the most part many generations removed from the original encroachers. But it is very significant that new encroachments made between 1730 and 1770 numbered only 46 over the whole Forest.

The location given for each encroachment in the Schedule makes it possible to group them, at least approximately, into hamlets. All those said to be at 'Hampsthwaite, in the Hollins', for example, can be shown by examining the plot numbers on the Enclosure Map to lie in close proximity. In this particular case there are other encroachments to be considered too, since the hamlet lay at the township boundary and contained many listed as 'Killinghall, in the Hollins', or even 'Killinghall, Lunds Lane'. It might be thought that the Enclosure Map alone would make it clear which were the squatter hamlets, but this is not the case, for the map does not always distinguish the genuine encroachments from the tiny new (1778) allotments granted to pre-1730 encroachments. The Schedule and the Map must, therefore, be used in conjunction.

By this means it is possible to say that there were at least nine sizeable squatter hamlets in the Forest prior to 1730. Some caution is necessary because counting the encroachments listed in the Schedule for each locality is not a sufficient guide, for although the majority were cottage-encroachments many others were unlicensed intakes. Nevertheless, squatter hamlets certainly existed at High Harrogate; at Hampsthwaite and Killinghall Hollins; at Swarcliffe in Birstwith; at Stocks Green and Low Green in Darley; at Blands Hill and at Norwood Edge in Clifton; at Kettlesing; at Beckwithshaw, and at Hookstones with Thornthwaite Brow. Other hamlets which seem at first sight to contain large numbers of cottage-encroachments turn out on closer examination to be of a different character, best illustrated by specific examples.

The first is an area just to the east of the Washburn valley, extending about a mile from east to west, in which encroachments were described in 1778 as being in Hardisty Hill; in Meagill; in Hopper Lane; or in Beeston Lees. The first three names are still in use to describe the same localities; the last has disappeared, both as a place name and as a settlement site, and in the 18th century probably only existed as the last remnant of the Domesday vill of Bestham, lying alongside the Roman road. The encroachments are shown by shading in the lower half of Map 9. They were large in size, up to 8 statute acres, and consisted almost entirely of intakes in the form of extensions of the ancient enclosed lands of Hardisty Hill and of Fewston on to the commons. The only cottage encroachments were at Hardisty Hill hamlet and at Hopper Lane, and in each case adjoined copyhold farms. Nothing resembling a squatter hamlet ever existed in this vicinity.

Map 9. ENCROACHMENTS AT DARLEY (UPPER)
AND HARDISTY HILL (LOWER)



This pattern of intaking contrasts strongly with the situation at Darley, shown in the upper part of Map 9. At Darley, though instances exist of unlicensed intaking for the purpose of extending the copyhold lands, they are small in scale (all being under 2 statute acres) and are greatly outnumbered by cottage-encroachments. The latter are sited in the driftways between the assarts and are centred on the intersection of several driftways at Sheepcote Hill, where the first Nonconformist chapel in Darley was later built. It should be noted, incidentally, that although both Darley and Hardisty Hill acquired water-powered spinning mills at a later date, centralised industry of this kind was not a factor influencing the location of 17th century encroachments. There may, however, be a clue in the nature of the ancient enclosed lands, the undivided block at Hardisty Hill revealing, on field examination, every sign of prolonged arable use. They are almost certainly pre-Conquest in date, forming part of the 7 carucates in Fewston and Bestham, berewicks of the Manor of Knaresborough, listed in Domesday Book. The smaller assart blocks of Darley, on the other hand, are not so listed and show no such signs, being characteristic rather of 13th or 14th century woodland clearances. The difference must have been significant, but it is not immediately apparent why 16th and 17th century cottage encroachers should have been tolerated at Darley and not at Hardisty Hill, unless it was that they chose to live in the former township (where there was another squatter settlement at Hookstones).

The following Table contrasts the size of encroachments at Hardisty Hill with those at Darley. They are listed in the order in which they appear in the Enclosure Award Schedule, which is alphabetical according to the tenant's surnames. (24)

Table 6.6

SIZES OF KNARESBOROUGH FOREST ENCROACHMENTS, 1778

HARDISTY HILL					DARLEY				
Schedule reference	Area		Site	description	Schedule reference	Area		Site	description
	a	r	p			a	r	p	
1581	8	1	8	Hardisty Hill	1655	0	1	36	Near School
1557	4	0	27	Hopper Lane	1670	1	1	16	Near Carr
1589	8	1	6	Meagill	1666	0	0	33	In Carr
1582	4	2	18	Meagill	1658	0	0	37	Near Whai?
1567	0	0	24	Hardisty Hill	1660	0	1	5	On Menwith Hill
1573	0	2	38	Hardisty Hill	1673	0	1	35	On Menwith Hill
1591	5	3	34	Meagill	1663	1	3	19	On Menwith Hill
1565	2	1	6	Hardisty Hill	1651	0	3	19	Near School
1553	2	2	32	Hopper Lane	1614	0	3	16	Heck Gill
1543	3	1	24	Beeston Lees	1674	1	1	24	On Menwith Hill
1571	0	1	12	Hardisty Hill	1656	0	1	2	Near Holme
1560	5	2	0	Hopper Lane	1669	0	1	36	In Carr
1555	3	0	0	Hopper Lane	1650B	0	0	20	Near Holme
1551	0	1	16	Hopper Lane	1654B	0	0	4	Darley School
1561	0	0	32	Hopper Lane					
1540	1	3	8	Beeston Lees					

Analysis

0 - 0.9 ac.	5
1 - 1.9	1
2 - 2.9	2
3 - 3.9	2
4 - 4.9	2
5 - 5.9	2
6 - 6.9	0
7 - 7.9	0
8 - 8.9	2

 Total 16

Analysis

0 - 0.9 ac.	11
1 - 1.9	3
2 - 2.9	0
3 - 3.9	0
4 - 4.9	0
5 - 5.9	0
6 - 6.9	0
7 - 7.9	0
8 - 8.9	0

 Total 14

It can be seen that, although every encroachment at Darley is under 2 acres, only 37% of those at Hardisty Hill fall within this category. This is, of course, rather a small sample; to obtain confirmation using a larger one it is necessary to choose the largest of the known squatter hamlets, at Hollins, and compare it with an extensive area of unlicensed encroachment, in those parts of Thruscross west of the Washburn known as Bramley Head and Redshaw. The same type of analysis then yields the following result:

Table 6.7

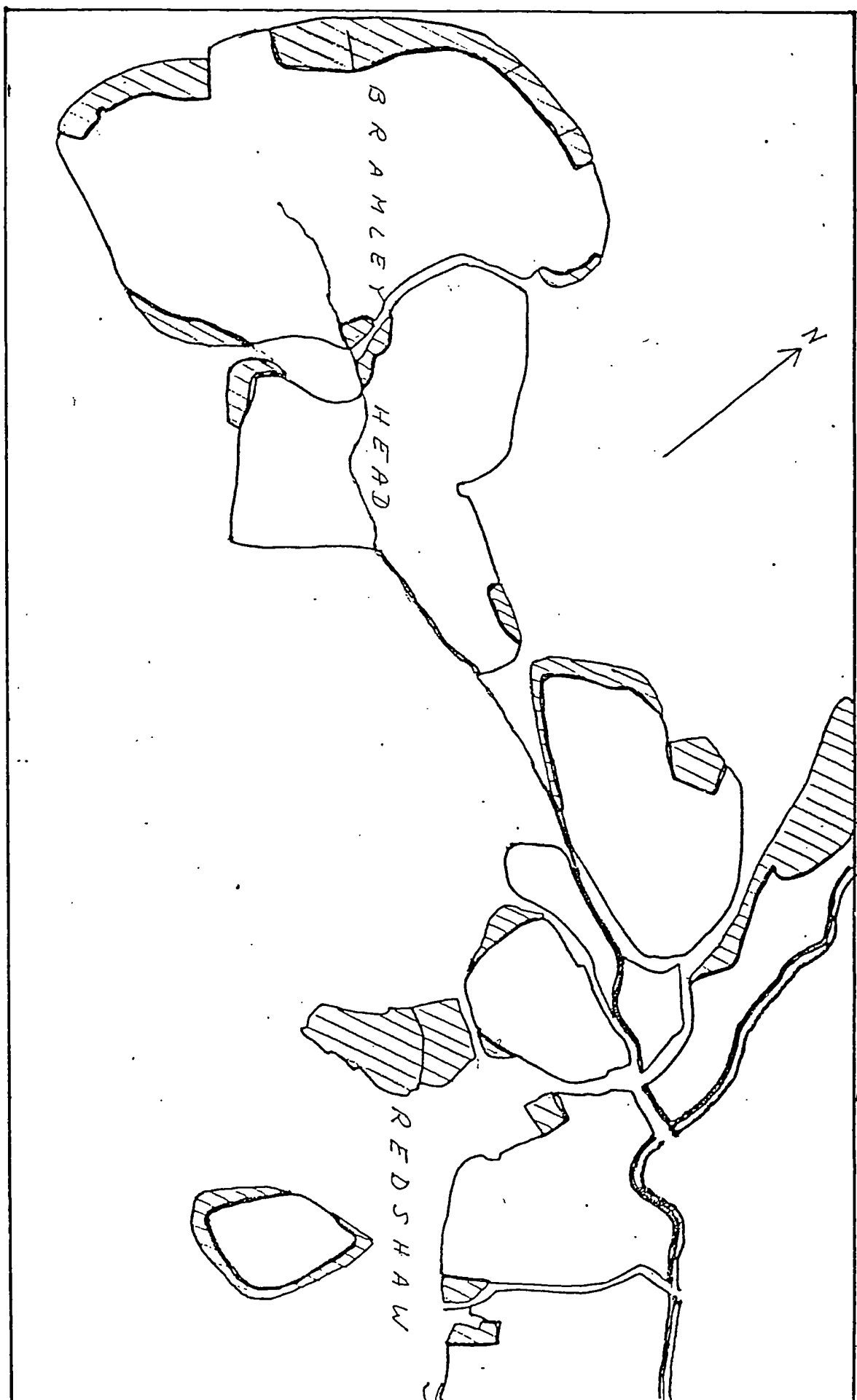
ANALYSIS OF ENCROACHMENT SIZES, 1778

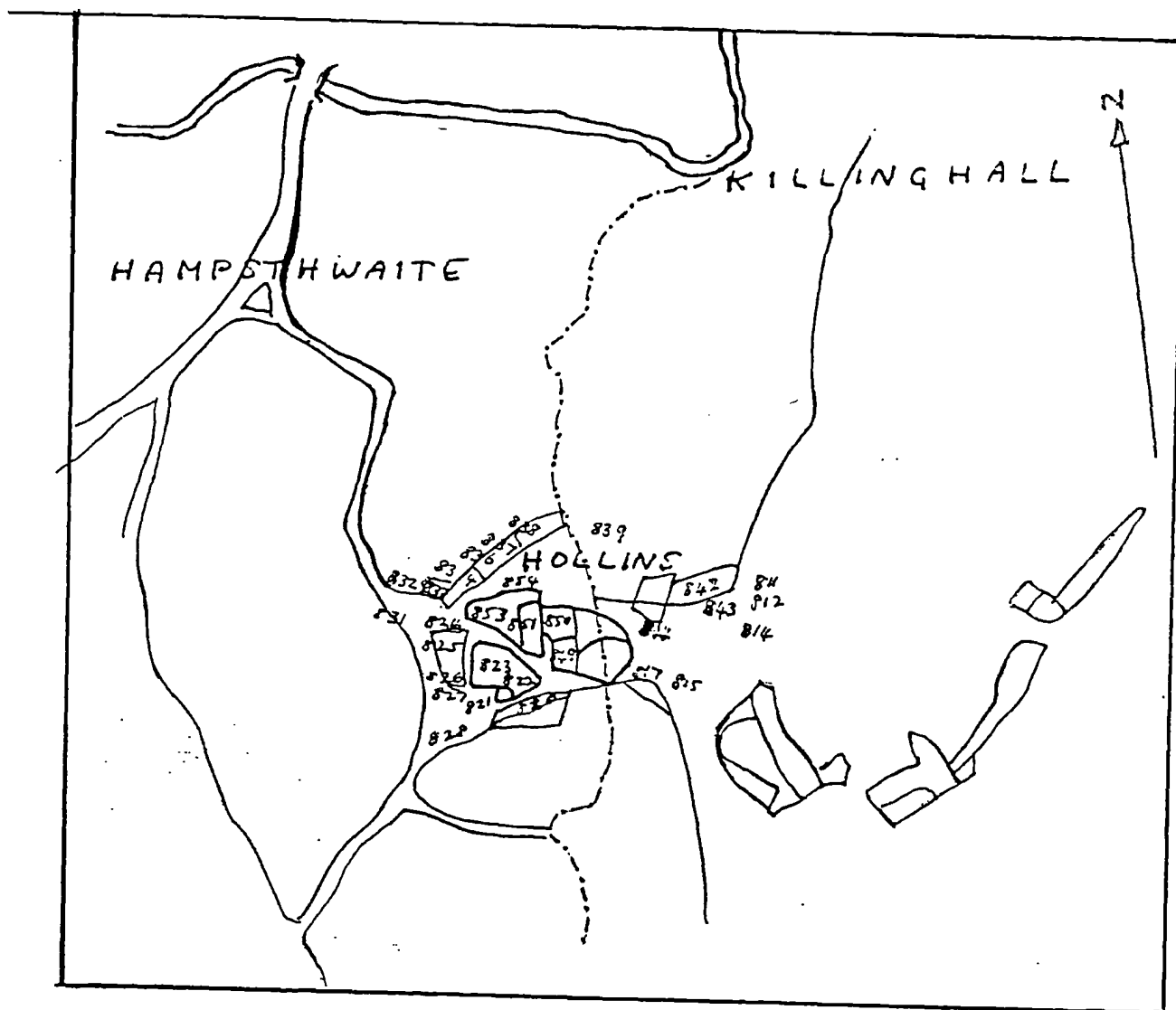
	Hollins hamlet/Lunds Lane	Bramley Head/Redshaw
0 - 1.9 acres	17	15
2 - 3.9	9	7
4 - 5.9	1	2
6 - 7.9	0	2
8 - 9.9	0	0
10 - 11.9	0	1
over 12	0	1
	27	28

Evidently 4 acres was the effective upper limit in the squatter hamlet - which means that it did include some unlicensed intaking - but in Thruscross west of the Washburn more than 20% of the encroachments were more than 4 acres. Some of this was very large scale too, the single encroachment over 12 acres being more than 22 acres in fact. Map 10 demonstrates this intaking by copyholders at Bramley Head and Redshaw, and should be compared with the cottage encroachments of Hollins shown on Map 11 at the same scale. Bramley Head itself - the western half of Map 10 - shows exactly the same pattern of intaking as at Hardisty Hill, though the ancient enclosed lands lie in two compact blocks rather than one. This similarity does not extend to the origin of the settlements, however, for at Bramley the ancient enclosed lands rise to 1000 feet above sea level on poor soils; there is no evidence of prolonged arable cultivation; and the documentary evidence is 14th century or later. It must be concluded that at the western end of Bramley the continuous block of some 180 acres of ancient enclosures is not indicative of ancient cultivation, but may possibly be attributed to communal assarting. This was not generally practised in the Forest of Knaresborough within the period covered by the Court Rolls, but could conceivably have occurred earlier. There were 10 messuages and 60 Forest acres in 1349, the 'standard' size of six acres per holding (on the evidence of the 1558-9 'Customs of the Forest') perhaps suggesting relatively recent colonisation, insufficient time having elapsed to permit appreciable assarting. (25)

However that may be, there were still only nine copyholders at Bramley Head in the 18th century, every holding having been increased by unlicensed intaking before 1730, but not a single cottage encroachment having taken place. In the whole township of Thruscross there were only 6 landless cottages in 1700, sited mainly in Redshaw where there was a more mixed pattern of encroachment, as is evident in the eastern part of Map 10. For a complete contrast, however, it is necessary to compare Map 11, where at Hollins 27 encroachments, all but one under 4 acres and half of those under 1 acre, were packed into an area half a mile in length and a quarter wide. Since the Award of 1778, from which these figures are derived, is concerned with those eligible in the 18th century, it gives no help with the assessment of the 17th century population. But on referring to Hampsthwaite parish register 'it is found that no less than 12 heads of families are described as being 'of Hollins' in a single decade from 1669 to 1678. Bearing in mind that many must have gone through this period without a baptism, burial, or marriage in the family, and that some baptisms may have taken place outside the parish church or were dispensed with altogether

Map 10. ENCROACHMENTS AT BRAMLEY HEAD AND REDSHAW IN THIRUSCROSS.





Map II. ENCROACHMENTS (NUMBERED)

AT HAMPSTHWAITE HOLLINS

it seems likely that there were at least 25 families at Hollins. This figure is in broad agreement with the numbers fined for encroachment in 1670, which were 23 in Hampsthwaite and 12 in Killinghall, not all of whom were at Hollins.⁽²⁶⁾

Further evidence comes from the encroachment list of 1708 for Hampsthwaite township, which listed 7 landless cottagers, together with 18 holding land estimated at 1 perch, 4 with 2 perches, and 1 with 1 rood. None of these were realistic measures - in spite of the fact that they appear to have been reassessed following the commission of 1698 - for in the Enclosure Act Schedule only two of these pre-1730 encroachments were of less than 1 rood, and at 15 and 21 perches respectively they were exceptionally small. Moreover, William Smith, who held an alleged 1 rood in 1708, had paid the very large sum of 6s 8d for it in 1698.⁽²⁷⁾

Nearly all the Hampsthwaite encroachers in 1708 had held the same land in 1698, and nearly all were at Hollins, but apart from their presentments for encroachment they tend to be rather shadowy figures. Of the thirty, only a handful of the most prosperous appear regularly in the records, being copyholders who left wills and for whom probate inventories were compiled, which often reveal their occupations. William Harrison of Yearwith Hollins (an alternative name for the same settlement) who died in 1679 was the father of at least two encroachers who were living there in 1698 and 1708. His inventory shows him to have been a weaver with two looms and some livestock, his total possessions being valued at £78 14s. To his son Richard, who was then 23 years of age, he left "the loom he worketh on in the shop", while his other loom, similarly described, went to his son Marmaduke.⁽²⁸⁾ It is interesting to note that both these sons lived on encroachments, for which Marmaduke was fined in both 1698 and 1708, while Richard was fined in 1698 and his widow in 1708. Two other sons, William and Thomas, received sums of money in 1679, but William was an independent copyholder who was taxed on one hearth in 1672 when his father was taxed on two, and Thomas may have died young since he is heard of no more. William Spence of Hollins was another copyholder-weaver with "2 looms and all other things in the workhouse" valued at 13s 4d, but the total value of his goods at £22 11s was far less than William Harrison's. On the other hand, it does not appear that he had any family to provide for.⁽²⁹⁾

Such copyholders were very much in the minority at Hollins, though we should note the absence of one or two from the Hearth Tax return of 1672 (not even being listed as 'poor') apparently through the remarkable leniency of both

collector and constable. This comes to light in the case of Francis Hopperton, who was taxed on two hearths in 1664 yet not at all in 1672, (30) though both he and his wife Agnes were fined repeatedly (31) as Roman Catholic Recusants in 1667, 1674, 1682 and 1687. Hopperton was, moreover, fined as an intaker in 1670 and 1671, and someone of the same name, perhaps a son, was still paying encroachment fines in 1698 and 1708.

Most cottagers at Hollins do not appear to have paid Hearth Tax at any time, but they can be divided into two groups on the basis of their length of stay in the township. The first group of cottages had been in the possession of the same individual, perhaps succeeded by a son of the same name or by a widow or spinster of the same family, for at least forty years. They included Anthony and John Halliday, both weavers, William Hardisty, labourer, and a group comprising Robert and Thomas Hardesty, John Harper, Thomas Lambert, Humphrey Powell, Arthur Shutt and William Simpson whose occupations are unknown. The second, more transient, group comprised the twelve encroachers in Hampsthwaite township in 1708 who were relative newcomers, some since 1698, others before that date, but none of whom can be traced back to 1670 (32) in this parish. Not one of them appeared in the parish register with an occupation between 1718 and 1722, and as newcomers they must have been restricted to very small encroachments, since two perches was the largest, though we have seen that this was a purely notional figure.

The overall picture is of Hollins as a large squatter settlement which contained a few very old-established holdings, now copyhold and paying Hearth Tax; rather more cottages which were there before 1670 but paid no tax, and were still occupied by the same individuals or their direct descendants in 1708; and finally a sizeable proportion, approaching half, who were relative newcomers in terms of their encroachments though usually from local families. The occupations of this latter group were never stated, which presumably means that they were never self-employed; they rarely had their children, if any, baptised, and they appear with certainty only in the burial register. (33) Though it is impossible to be sure, it is likely that many were elderly, including as they did widows and spinsters, while others may have been in transit staying only for one generation at most.

Hollins was by far the largest squatter community in the townships of Hampsthwaite and Killinghall, and if we suppose its families to number, say,

25 in the latter half of the 17th century, this can be compared to the number of tenants listed in the 1651 Rental.⁽³⁴⁾ There we find 35 copyholders and 30 freeholders in Hampsthwaite township, and a further 46 copyholders in Killinghall. Since it appears that comparatively few of them paid fines for encroachment (in contrast to the copyholders of Birstwith, Menwith and Darley), there is little overlap between the two groups and the squatters of Hollins formed nearly a fifth of the total population of the two townships. Such a large community must have made a considerable impact on local affairs, but we have seen that the surnames of the cottagers at Hollins show them to have been mainly local people - the poorer members of local copyholder families - and in fact one particular surname predominates. Whether it was an unusually prolific family is difficult to say, but between 1669 and 1678 no less than five different branches of the Hardisty family were at Hollins, i.e., Thomas, Henry, William, Robert senior and Robert junior. They were complemented by members of the well-known local families of Spence, Simpson, Harper, Shutt, and Umpleby, and by slightly less common names like Powell and Lambert. (35)

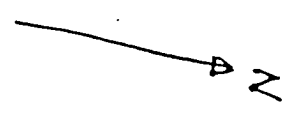
By contrast with Hampsthwaite and Killinghall, which shared one squatter settlement, it turns out that the single township of Menwith with Darley had two - though usually known by the single name of Menwith Hill. This is confusing but understandable, because when the individual encroachments are plotted on a map (based on the pre-1730 situation revealed by the Enclosure Award⁽³⁶⁾) it can be seen that they are sited along the slope of Menwith Hill. However, they cluster towards the Darley end (which we have already looked at under that name), and at the Thornthwaite end which is often referred to as Hookstones. To confuse matters still further there was a linear copyhold hamlet, also called Menwith Hill, which occupied the middle ground between the two squatter settlements. To avoid any further confusion it is proposed to forgo the name 'Menwith Hill' altogether, using instead 'Menwith' for the copyholder's hamlet (seen on the skyline in Plate 6), and retaining 'Darley' and 'Hookstones' for the two squatter hamlets, the last of which is now represented by scattered cottages. Some are visible in the middle distance of Plate 6, but Plate 7a gives a better impression of the hamlet as it extends into Thornthwaite township. There was also a copyholder's hamlet near Darley, but this is better known as 'Holme', perpetuating an old division of the township which was originally called Menwith, Holme, and Darley. Plate 7b shows what was known in the 17th century as 'Mawekilne' at Holme, though now mistakenly called 'Moke Hill'.

Encroachment in this extensive and complex township was on a large scale, there being 15 cottagers and 48 encroachers or intakers in 1698. Many of the latter were copyholders who paid Hearth Tax in 1672, and in the next generation this group included 4 yeomen, 3 weavers, 2 whitesmiths, 2 dish-makers, and a tanner, in the years 1718-22. The 12 individuals with these occupations appear among 30 known intakers, but by contrast the 15 known landless cottagers yield only 2 named occupations, a weaver and a cooper. Evidently, as at Hollins, cottagers either do not appear in the parish register or, if they do, it is without any trade being specified. At Hookstones and its extension into Thornthwaite township at Leeming Stile, there were a few copyholders and an undefined number of squatters. Among the copyholders here were both the two known whitesmiths in the township, John Spencer and Robert Clarke, also John Metcalfe, linen-weaver. Someone of the latter name was a whitesmith (more specifically a bit-maker) here 50 years later, and it appears that Hookstones was one of only two places in Hampsthwaite parish (the other being Kettlesing) where whitesmiths were concentrated. There is, incidentally, a marked difference in stability between the two types of community in Menwith and Darley. Among the copyholder intakers, 42 out of 48 held the same encroachments in 1708 as in 1698, whereas among the landless cottagers 7 out of 15 gave up their encroachments in the same period, either abandoning them completely or transferring them to someone of another surname. (37)

The squatter hamlets just described, though unusually large, are in other respects characteristic of the rural cottage communities of the Forest of Knaresborough. In nearby townships, however, similar encroachments were being made towards a very different end - the creation of the spa town of Harrogate. This grew, in fact, from independent hamlets in different townships, High Harrogate in Bilton with Harrogate, and Low Harrogate in Beckwith and Rosset. The first is said to have developed by infilling between scattered medieval copyholds at the edge of the common, and therefore took a linear form. (38) The latter was more nucleated, having as its focus the Sulphur Well at Low Harrogate. This difference in form has frequently been used as evidence of their origins (39), but some surprising facts emerge if encroachment sizes are tabulated for, although Low Harrogate might be expected to have grown from tiny cottage encroachments (a squatter hamlet, in fact), and High Harrogate from unlicensed encroachments by copyholders, this is by no means the case.

It turns out that neither hamlet had any encroachments over 4 acres (if we exclude the two 12 acre plots at Low Harrogate granted to Pannal church,

K
 R
 A
 P



which was obviously a special provision), and if we add together the pre-1730 and post 1730 encroachments so as to obtain similar numbers for Low and High Harrogate we find:

Table 6.8	ANALYSIS OF ENCROACHMENT SIZES FOR HARROGATE					
	Low Harrogate			High Harrogate		
	pre-1730	post-1730	Total	pre-1730	post-1730	Total
0 - 0.9 acres	6	6	12	17	2	19
1 - 1.9	4	2	6	5	0	5
2 - 2.9	4	1	5	0	0	0
3 - 3.9	3	0	3	1	0	1
4 - 4.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<u>17</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>25</u>

Evidently, encroachment at High Harrogate was almost exclusively pre-1730 and, very surprisingly, comprised the tiny plots characteristic of squatter settlement, whereas even the early encroachments at Low Harrogate were bigger and encroachment continued much longer. Map 12 confirms that Bilton with Harrogate contradicts the usual tendency of squatter settlements to take a nucleated form. The tiny squatter encroachments were situated at High Harrogate and were strung out at intervals along the edge of the common where one would normally expect to find ancient copyholds. Conversely, the nucleated settlement seen at Low Harrogate on the 1778 map contains a larger, rather than a smaller, proportion of encroachments of more than 1 acre. This can only be explained in terms of the cottagers, who provided necessary services for the High Harrogate spa prior to 1730, finding their position usurped by the later settlement of Low Harrogate. The exceptional linear form of the squatter settlement might have been dictated by the demands of those taking the waters for the open common to be kept clear of hovels, but the earlier existence of this hamlet, whatever its form, is consistent with the fact that the earliest hotels, which utilised the available labour there, were all at High Harrogate. Moreover, these hotels can be seen as the immediate successors to the bath houses now it has been shown that the Queen's Head (c.1687) had cellars with wells or springs suitable for bathing.(40) We may conclude that Thomas Baskerville's description in the 1670s of Harrogate as a "village made good by reason of the resort of people to the wells"(41) referred to High rather than Low Harrogate, and that the encroachers were those noted by Michael Stanhope as "an indigenous poore people, not able to step out of the roade of their laborious calling, being plain husbandmen and cottagers".(42)

Notes and References

1. Hill C. The world turned upside down, 1975, pp.50-1
2. Nidderdale, pp.134-5
- 3, Depositions of witnesses, Knaresborough, 5/12/1698.
P.R.O. DL 42/129
4. Harrogate, pp.130-1
5. Knaresborough Court Rolls, P.R.O. DL 30/491,15
6. See, for example, P.R.O. DL 30/500/4
7. Y.A.S., Slingsby Mss. A7, 11/11/1680
8. See Ref.3
9. Y.A.S., Slingsby Mss. 4/15, 18/2/1669
10. Knaresborough Court Rolls, P.R.O. DL 30/502/12
11. Several examples are to be found in Ref. 10
12. Parkinson T.(Ed.) Fewston Parish Register, Privately published, 1899, Vol.1
13. Collins F.(Ed.) Hampsthwaite Parish Register, Y.P.R.S., Vol. 13, 1902
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15. Knaresborough, (Individuals too numerous to list)
16. Yates E.M. 'Dark Age and Medieval settlement on the edge of wastes
and forests', Field Studies, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1965, p.140
17. See Ref. 3
18. In 1708, for example. See Knaresborough Court Book,
P.R.O. DL 42/129
19. Harrogate, p.224
20. Survey of encroachments in Knaresborough Forest, 6/9/1708,
P.R.O. DL 42/129
21. Knaresborough Forest Enclosure Award, 1778, Copy of West
Yorkshire County Record Office, Wakefield
22. Nidderdale, p.224
23. V.C.H. Yorkshire, Vol. 11, pp.133-327
24. See Ref. 21
25. Nidderdale, Appendix A, Table I, p.483
26. See Ref. 10
27. Knaresborough Court Book, P.R.O. DL 42/129
28. Knaresborough, William Harrison of Yearwith Hollins,
Inventory, 11/9.1679
29. Knaresborough, William Spence of Hollins, Inventory not dated.
but buried 24/2/1672/3
30. Hearth Tax returns for West Riding of Yorkshire,
P.R.O. E179/210/393 for 1664 and E179/210/400 for 1672
31. Aveling Fr.H. 'The Catholic Recusants of the West Riding of Yorkshire'
Proc.Leeds Phil. ' Lit. Society, Vol. X, Part VI(A), 1963

32. Knaresborough Court Book P.R.O. DL 42/129, and Knaresborough Court Rolls, P.R.O. DL 30/502/12
33. See Ref. 13
34. Parliamentary Survey of the Forest of Knaresborough, P.R.O. E317 Yorks. 32
35. See Ref. 13
36. See Ref. 21
37. Knaresborough Court Book P.R.O. DL 42/129
38. Harrogate, pp.21-2
39. Patmore J.A. 'The Spa Towns of Britain' in Beckinsale R.P. & Houston A.P.(Eds.) Urbanisation and its problems, 1960, p.63
40. Kirk Mrs. A. Private communication 1983
41. Harrogate, p.228
42. Ibid. p.222

New settlement on old agistments in Pickering Forest

Knaresborough Forest has provided a number of case-studies showing exactly how encroachment by individuals proceeded. The same sources are not available for Pickering Forest and the absence of encroachment lists, for example, is certainly not fortuitous, for all the evidence points to licensed enclosure at the instigation of major landlords - many of whom held manors subject to crown rights over the wastes. We have seen at Goathland how intaking proceeded in the case of a fee farm, but we must now examine the actions of landlords elsewhere in the Forest of Pickering.

A remarkable letter dated 30th January 1580 and addressed to the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster may have been intended to forestall actions for encroachment against a number of Pickering gentry.(1) It begins, "Whereof emongest others it being an auncient law and ordinaunce of the saide Forest, that no man shall make any purpresture or inclosure of any waste grounde or covert within the said Forest, nor erect and build any new houses where never any was, especiallie upon the wast ... without the special warrant and licens of her Majestie ... so it is it may please your Honor, That Sir Richard Chomley Knight, William Metham Esquier, Thomas Brockett gent., the heires of George Dakins, Thomas Clarkson, Thomas Conyers gent., Roger Conyers gent., Charles Isons gent., William Swale, William Horseley gent., and Robert Trotter gent., emongst others, the said lawes and ordinaunces of the saide Forestes not regarding, but in contempt of the same have inclosed divers and sundry parcells of wast grounde and builded sundry houses ... upon the groundes and wast of the said Forest of Pickering." The nature of the encroachment was as follows:

Table 7.1 ADMITTED ENCROACHMENTS IN PICKERING FOREST, 1580

<u>Encroacher</u>	<u>Nature and place of encroachment</u>	<u>Area encroached</u>
Sir Richard Cholmely	1 intake at Stanegate Bank	10 acres
Sir Richard Cholmely	1 intake at Crossdale Sike	
Sir Richard Cholmely	1 house at Haugh Rigg	
William Metham Esq.	3 intakes & 2 houses at Staindale and Haulesike End	66 acres
Thomas Brockett gent.	4 intakes at Dalby	4 acres
Geo. Dakyns Esq.(dec.)	3 intakes at Troutsdale	8 acres
Thomas Clarkson	1 intake & 1 house at Haddouke	10 acres
Thomas Conyers gent.	1 intake at Cockewray	10 acres
Roger Conyers gent.	1 intake & 1 house at Cowme Hills	(missing)
Charles Isons gent.	1 intake at Troutsdale	(missing)
William Swale	1 intake at Newtondale	4 acres
William Horseley gent.	4 intakes in Cropton lordship	30 acres
Robert Trotter gent.	1 house at Keldale	

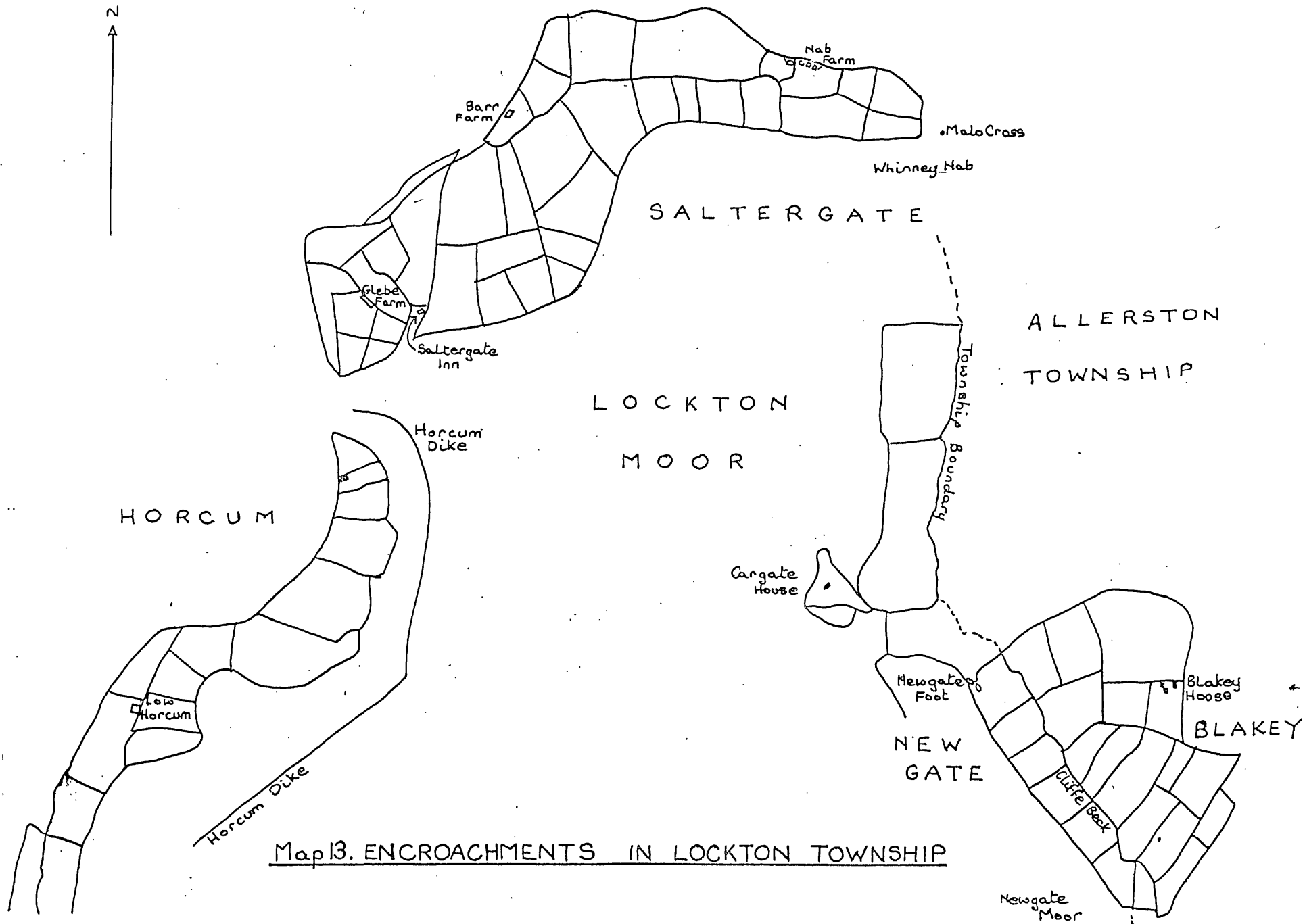
It is not to be supposed that any of these intakes were intended for the occupation of the gentry concerned. They were encroached for the rents they would bring in and the motive for revealing them may have been the knowledge that a survey of encroachments in the northern parts of the Duchy of Lancaster was about to begin,⁽²⁾ and that those who revealed them gained an option to purchase. It must be significant that Sir Richard Cholmely, the first encroacher listed, was Forester in Fee for the manor of Kingthorpe in the Forest of Pickering, while all the remaining encroachers who can be identified were lords of their respective manors within the Forest. It is evident, moreover, that the truly offended parties - the customary tenants who had lost their common rights over this land - were not consulted in the matter and were not even mentioned in the letter.

The list of encroachers also reveals much by the names it omits. Sir Richard Egerton, lord of the manor of Allerston, does not appear in spite of his extensive encroachments for he secured in 1584 a renewal of his lease from William Tusser. This permitted him to enclose an unspecified part of the waste of his manor with a low hedge and a little ditch, following ancient authority and custom, and also granted a licence for seven houses.⁽³⁾ The rent paid by Egerton was 66s 8d a year, perhaps at the rate of 1s an acre, for although lower rates were paid at Goathland this was specified in a contemporary proposal for the enclosure of the moors and commons of the Forest of Pickering.⁽⁴⁾ "For the high Commons there are severall partes of it which her Majestie may take in and inclose and yet leave sufficient common for the tenants and this will be worth twelve pence an acre, so as her Majestie will please to allow wood and Tymber for erecting houses upon such partes as shall be thought meet for the better manageing of it and this may be done without prejudice, for there is much wood which is decayed and may serve well for that use, which otherwise in short Tyme will be nothing worth."

Since Egerton's lease does not reveal the site of the encroachments, it might be objected that they may not have been on the high commons at all but on the low commons, where the proposed rent was even higher at 5s an acre, but the evidence is otherwise. For in 1651 a Richard Egerton (presumably a successor) held lands in Allerston known as 'Crostcliffe inclosure', and Crosscliffe is an area of obvious intaking from Allerston High Moor sited towards the northern end of this long strip parish.⁽⁵⁾ Though the valley of Crosscliffe Beck is comparatively sheltered, lying beyond the limestone Tabular Hills, its soils are of Oxford Clay which is comparatively infertile and the area is remote (6 miles) from the village and parochial centre of Allerston. Yet even Crosscliffe was not at the limit of colonisation in the early 17th century.

The Egertons must have been determined to push the new settlements to the limit at the Allerston boundary, and to have the boundary defined for the first time. For the jurors of 1619 complained that "above 3 or 4 years before the date of this survey Sir Richard Egerton Kt. hath made divers inclosures about Blackhow [now Blakey Topping] being in the heart of the Forest but by what warrant they know not. And hath set ... up on Whynnyneb one new bounderstone with a crosse [Malo Cross, which carries the initials R.E.] and directeth to Ellerbeck heade over wormesike to Lilhowcrosse [the ancient and now disused route to Robin Hoods Bay], and there have bene holes latelie cutt out and hills for bounders raysed, where never anie were before".(6) The erection of boundary stones evidently constituted a new departure on this open moorland - though the use of wayside crosses as direction markers certainly was not - and they fixed the township limits for ever. Map 13 includes the boundary line and shows Egerton's enclosures at Blakey extending right up to it. Yet it may be that his actions prior to 1619 were forced upon him by competitive encroachments at Blakey from the Lockton side of the boundary, where the farms of Newgate Foot and Cargate were established as shown on the map (based on the first edition of the 6" to the mile Ordnance Survey).

Successive surveys give rather more information about the Lockton intakes and are worthy of study with the aid of the map, which shows three well-separated areas of enclosure at Blakey, Horcum, and Saltergate. Like Crosscliffe in Allerston township these seem to have been created in the 16th century, but had hitherto formed part of the Horcum agistment of 500 acres. A commission of 1496 claimed that "Lyon Percy, squier, without sufficient authorite occupieth a parcell of ground, Horcum, parcell of our seid Lordship [of Pickering] by a lesse rent than the value thereof to our hurt and losse".(7) Two years previously the 500 acres of 'lez Horcomes' was rented at one mark though valued at six. (8) At an unknown date in the following century "tenn score acres of moore grounde in Horcum alias Holcom, parcell of the wastes in Pickeringe Lieth" was granted copyhold by William Tusser to Sir Richard Cholmely, and a further 100 acres transferred to William Metham Esq., who enclosed it. This angered the tenants of Lockton, who saw their grazing rights being eroded, and 200 roods of the hedges were burned "maliciously in the night" giving rise to a Bill of Complaint in 1583.(9) Some agreement must have been reached because in 1619 there were 19 tenants at Horcum, holding plots the largest of which was 20½ acres at rents of about 5d an acre, and a further 8 tenants at Saltergate.(10) Compensation may have taken the form of allocations in severalty, because in 1651 "The severall tenants living in Locton hold by copy of Court Roll 100 acres



Map 13. ENCROACHMENTS IN LOCKTON TOWNSHIP

of land, part of the Agestment of Hircum aforesaid, for which they pay per annum £1 13s 4d". But in addition "The tenants of Hircum [which certainly included Saltergate] hold by Copy of Court Roll 200 acres of land there for which they pay £3 6s 8d" (11). These figures display a neatness in the accounting which is illusory, for although no further details were given in 1651 considerably more information had been revealed by the survey of 1619-21 and the reality is much more complex. The total area of copyhold land granted from the former agistment was not 300 acres but $287\frac{1}{2}$ acres, not all of which was enclosed; in fact, 139 acres were enclosed, 96 acres open, and $52\frac{1}{2}$ acres unspecified. The total rent may well have been intended to be £5, but in 1619-21 the sum of the 19 rents paid for copyholds at Horcum was 49s 6d and that of the 8 rents at Saltergate was 51s, making £5 0s 6d in all. (12) Moreover, these figures may already have been out of date.

Norden's survey includes both this undated rental for Horcum and a list of the copyholds at the same place in 1619-21, but when the originals are compared (13) it becomes clear that only rarely do the entries correspond. It appears from internal evidence that the rental was Elizabethan, and was presented to the survey to confirm the rents formerly paid. For not only do the names of some former copyholders - who had surrendered their lands as early as 1583 - feature in the rental, but in many cases the size of the holdings had substantially increased. Surprisingly, in 1619-21 no distinction was made in either list between "The severall tenants living in Locton" and "The tenants of Hircum", as they were described in 1651. Evidently this was a matter of no importance to the surveyors, though it concerns us as evidence of where people lived.

Map 13, which is based on the first 6" Ordnance Survey of c.1850, shows that there were about 180 statute acres at Saltergate, some 120 acres at Horcum, and perhaps 60 acres at Blakey but this, of course, represents both the original allocations and any subsequent accretions. On the other hand, there were only seven farms and an inn in 1850 compared to a total of 27 tenants in 1619. It is probable that some were forced out when rents were subsequently raised, for the copyholders were unable to substantiate in 1651 their claim to a fixed rent paid to the lord and were subject to substantial increases. (14)

The original allocations which totalled $287\frac{1}{2}$ acres may have been measured in customary rather than statute acres, for although this was never specified elsewhere in the Pickering records an addendum to the list of copyholders at Horcum in 1619 reads as follows. "Thomas Wardall by copie dated 1st April 9

Jac. first graunted by Tusser a mesuage and 50 acres of land forest measure, and 2 acres of meadow and pasture in Horcombe with libertie to inclose the same. To hold accordinge to the custom of the manor where there was none, containing by statute measure about 100 acres".(15) We have already found a hint that customary acres were about twice as large as statute acres but, however they were measured, the size of the copyhold plots at Horcum ranged from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $20\frac{1}{2}$ acres with a mean of about 7 acres. Since several instances of intakes around 8 forest acres in size have been noted for Goathland, this may have been the area considered sufficient to support a family. The smallest of the copyholds can hardly have been viable in the virtual absence of the dual economy (one weaver only is known at Horcum⁽¹⁶⁾, and only one dwelling survives today in the great basin known popularly as the Hole of Horcum, where these holdings were sited (Plate 8).

A figure of 10 (? forest) acres per holding was nevertheless specified as a minimum in a lease - first noted in 1619 - of the herbage and pannage of 266 acres in Langdale with liberty to build houses.(17) Langdale lies well to the east of the encroachment sites considered so far, in Wykeham township in the east ward of Pickering Forest. Like Horcum it had been a medieval agistment, but unlike the latter it had been retained - along with Dalby - for the sustenance of the king's deer, and later to provide fodder for the manorial sheep flock. The Commonwealth survey of 1651 gives more details of the lease granted for the purpose of colonisation. Leonard Bower of Cloughton "had granted to him by indenture dated 30 May 12 Jac. by King James full Liberty and Power to inclose all that Parcell of Grounde called Langdale during the terme afforesaid to convert the same to Tillage or other uses also to erect houses to dwell in or other houses on the premisses so as ther weere ten acres of ground Laid to every house".(18) The survey went on to quote the area enclosed as 240 acres, which was then divided into 9 holdings ranging from 15 to 60 acres in size but, just as at Horcum, this appears to be a simplification or rationalisation of the original lease which, as quoted in 1619, comprised 266 acres 1 rood divided into 19 holdings of between $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres and 60 acres. It may be that in this case there was a genuine reorganisation between 1619 and 1651 into a smaller number of larger holdings, perhaps to comply with the condition of a 10 acre minimum which was not mentioned in 1619. It is in fact possible that experience elsewhere in the Forest (? Horcum) had shown that anything less than 10 acres was insufficient to support a family.

This brings us back to the question of customary measure, and it is an important fact that when the 1651 surveyors measured the west side of Langdale, which they considered to be about half of the whole, they found it to be 448 acres compared to the 240 acres specified in the lease for the east side. ⁽¹⁹⁾ Since the boundary of Langdale is known, and it can be shown that the east and west sides together totalled about 1000 statute acres, the 240 acres must have been customary measure. The shares of Langdale, as finally formulated in 1651, are reproduced in Table 7.2. The rents appear to have been initially set at 4d an acre - the same as the average for the enclosed lands of the Horcum agistment at the same time - but the surveyors assessed the improved value at more than thirteen times as much. ⁽²⁰⁾

THE SHARES OF LANGDALE IN 1651					
Table 7.2	Tenant	Share of lease	Holding in acres	Old Rent	Improved Rent
	Ingram Ashtill	1/12	20	6s 8d	£ 4 6s 3d
	Henry Cockerell	1/12	20	6s 8d	£ 4 12s 6d
	Ingram Cockerell	1/12	20	6s 8d	£ 4 4s 4d
	John Dickinson)	1/8	30	10s	£ 6 11s 6½d
	Thomas Warde)				
	Wm. Pickering)				
	Edward Watson	1/16	15	5s	£ 3 5s 9¼d
	William Keld	1/16	15	5s	£ 3 5s 9¼d
	Thomas Warde	1/8	30	10s	£ 6 11s 6½d
	Matthew Keld	1/4	60	20s	£13 3s 1d
	John Beryman	1/8	30	10s	£ 6 11s 6½d
	Totals	1/1	240	£4 00s 00d	£52 12s 4d

Although the old rents were strictly on the basis of acreage, this was not so for all the improved rents. The first three holdings, whose combined total of £13 3s 1d for 60 acres was precisely on this basis, were finely adjusted - presumably according to the quality of the land - to £4 6s 3d; £4 12s 6d; and £4 4s 4d for 20 acres.

This suggests the possibility that only the first three holdings had been cleared and improved to the point where a true value could be assigned, and so it is interesting to recollect, as noted in Chapter II, that three assarts of 20 acres each were created in Langdale in 1334. It is probable that these were all abandoned at the time of the Black Death, and only restored to tillage in the early part of the 17th century. For it is certain that nearly all the initial tenants named above lived elsewhere and had only taken leases as part of a long-term clearance project for the benefit of their children, who did not

settle there until the land was capable of supporting a family. Instances will be quoted later, but it appears that even after allowing for a considerable time lapse the number of actual settlers in Langdale was always less than the number of holdings there. Even in 1850, the first edition of the Ordnance Survey 6" map showed only four farm sites, and although there might, of course, have been more tenants at an earlier date, the 17th century parish register evidence suggests the number was always small.⁽²¹⁾ Langdale was part of the parish of Wykeham, but the parish church was over five miles away and necessitated a steep climb up the moor road out of Troutsdale. Hackness parish church, on the other hand, was only two miles away on an easy route and, not surprisingly, seems to have been much used by the Langdale tenants. Because Hackness parish comprised a number of hamlets, a residence was nearly always specified in the register after 1600 and the following sites were noted within Langdale:

Langdale (or Langdon) bridge - from 1606 onwards

Langdale (or Langdon) end - from 1649 onwards

Langdale (or Langdon) side - from 1659 onwards

Howden (alias Howlden, an alternative name for Langdale) - from 1656 onwards

The first-mentioned dates for these sites are very significant. There appears to have been only a single dwelling in Langdale before the Civil War, and this was certainly based on the 40 acres of medieval demesne meadow (used initially for hay for the deer and subsequently for sheep) which was associated with a freehold at Langdon bridge, in the hands of William Dickinson according to the Parliamentary survey.⁽²²⁾ The remaining sites are mentioned only from 1649 onwards and must have been established under the terms of Leonard Bower's lease, since it would have taken some years (particularly with the Civil War intervening) for the ground to be cleared and farms created capable of supporting families.

Table 7.3 shows the heads of families mentioned at each location in Langdale between 1600 and 1720. It will be noted that, with the possible exception of Langdaleside, there were never more than two families at the same site at the same time, moreover, only two of the heads of families mentioned in the parish register as being at Langdale during the 1650s held a lease there according to the 1651 survey. By comparing Table 7.2 with Table 7.3 it can be seen that the two men concerned were Ingram Ashtill (more commonly spelt Esthill) and Matthew Keld. The latter had a very large holding of 60 acres at Langdaleside which passed in turn to his son Thomas and his grandson William. It is unlikely that the whole 60 acres was cleared by one generation, but Matthew certainly

Table 7.3Heads of families in Langdale 1600 - 1720, from Hackness Parish Register

	1600	1625	1650	1675	1700	1725
<u>Langdale Bridge</u>						
Thomas Keld						
Robert Ward						
Wm. Dickinson						
Henry Dickinson						
Thomas Tindle						
John Fuster						
<u>Langdale End</u>						
Thomas Esthill						
Richd. Berriman						
Francis Hutton						
Thomas Berriman						
<u>Langdale Side</u>						
Matthew Keld						
Thomas Keld						
William Keld						
William Cowper						
Henry Esthill						
Robert Miller						
William Atkinson						
<u>Howden</u>						
Thomas Petch						
Ingram Esthill						
John Ward						
William Esthill						
John Cross						

was settled there when Thomas married and joined him at Langdaleside in 1659, and the size of the holding may reflect the intention of catering for more than one generation. (23)

There can be no doubt that the needs of future generations were foremost in the minds of many of the leaseholders in 1651. Ingram Esthill made no attempt to settle on his 20 acre holding in Langdale (though he may have started clearing it), for he was consistently described as 'of Broxa' (a nearby hamlet, outside Langdale territory) throughout his life. Only at his burial was he said to have resided at Howden - which is explicable if Thomas Petch who was similarly described was a son-in-law with whom Esthill was living at the time of his death. (24)

This is supposition, but there is firm evidence that Langdale leases were taken by other outsiders for the benefit of descendants - either for them to farm, or to furnish an income. Edward Watson, for example, held a lease of 15 acres in 1651 but was never in his life described as 'of Langdale'. His will of 1667 makes it clear (25) that he lived nearly two miles outside Langdale at Comehills in Hutton Bushell township (which we have seen was listed as an illegal encroachment in 1580), but he had previously held in 1651 a small copyhold at Hella Green nearby. (26) In his will he left to his daughter Elizabeth "all the Rents and profitts of my lease in Langdon for three yeares", which suggests it was then sub-tenanted, but after three years it was to pass to his two younger sons Edward and Thomas Watson, though neither appears to have settled there. The subtenant is unknown but was no doubt one of the men noted in Hackness parish register and listed in Table 7.3. At least one of the subtenants, William Cowper, who was described as 'of Langdonside' in 1659 and 1671, was a descendant of one of the original leaseholders of 1619 though no-one with this surname held a lease in 1651. (27)

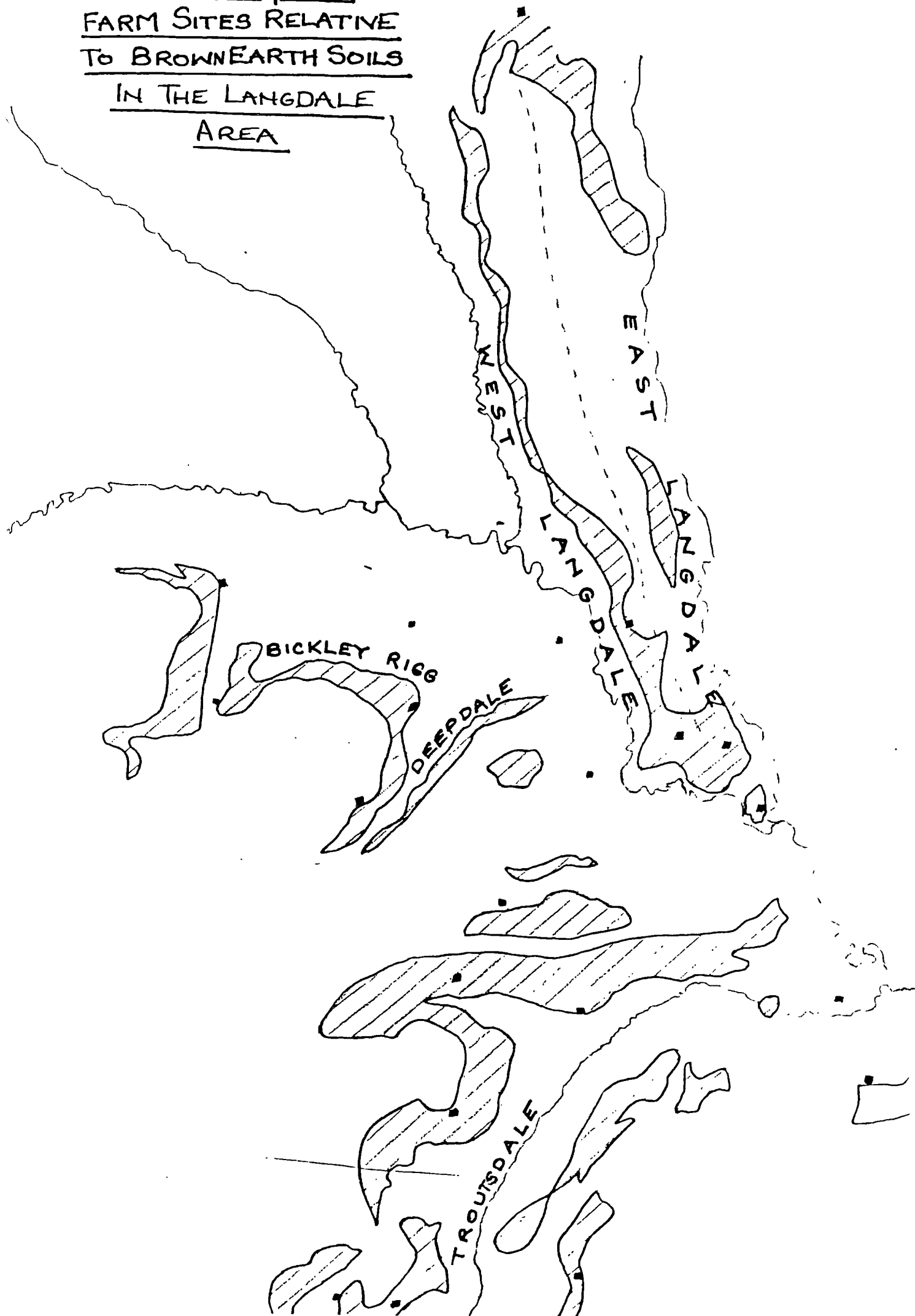
In the absence of any further evidence it would be mere speculation to suggest motives for the behaviour of either the Watsons or the Cowpers, but it is now possible to explain why parish register entries point to a maximum of six family holdings in mid-17th century Langdale (apart from the ancient site at Langdale Bridge), when the 1651 survey recorded 240 acres divided into 9 shares with 11 tenants. The fact is that clearing this land was a long-term project which was only feasible for certain families with adequate manpower. Those without such resources saw it as an inheritance for their successors, but an absence of progeny is an alternative explanation for the fall in the number of holdings

from 19 in 1619 to 9 in 1651 - and deaths in the Civil War may be a factor here too. There can be no doubt about the difficulty of the task facing new settlers; the same Elizabethan survey that recorded the woods at Goathland noted that at Langdale there were "300 acres of wood set with oak, hazel, Ash, Thorn and Alder ... and 100 oaks and 100 ashes", which could only be tackled in any time left over after normal farming activities elsewhere.⁽²⁸⁾ That part which was not woodland was heather moor, for the sale of heather was mentioned in the Minister's Accounts for Langdale in 1313-4, so that in view of these difficulties it is a tribute to their persistence that even six families were established here in the late 17th century.

The effort required to clear the land was not the only problem facing the lease-holders or their subtenants; much depended on the fertility of the soil and on any restrictions placed on tenants. Map 14 depicts Langdale, bounded by its twin rivers and divided by its north-south ridge (which still retains part of its massive boundary bank), with a shaded area corresponding to the fertile soils as marked on the Soil Survey of the district. ⁽²⁹⁾ It can be seen that all the present farm sites of Langdale are located on this band, as might be expected; moreover, the farm sites of Troutsdale and Bickley nearby fall very largely on the same soils which are Brown Earths of the Firby type - a coarse loam over Jurassic sandstone - set on a gentle slope. Brown Earths have been built up in deciduous forest areas by the decay of vegetation, and where they lie on Oolitic limestone the soil is both well-drained and fertile. This is a characteristic of the vale-edge settlements of Pickering, but in Langdale these loamy soils lie on sandstone which makes them rather less desirable - though still the best available locally. ⁽³⁰⁾

The map makes it clear that west Langdale would have provided more farm sites than east Langdale, but the survey of 1651 noted that the west side was as yet unenclosed "because one Mr Hutchinson doth claim a windrake" there. ⁽³¹⁾ The editor of the North Riding Record Series explains a windrake as originally a right of passage over intervening lands to allow stock to reach the common, but which had become over the course of time a right of pasture. There were certainly no pasture rights associated with an ancient road (presumably this one) through Langdale in the 14th century, when the Prior of Bridlington was fined for the unlicensed agistment of four oxen and a waggon and the tenants of the lands of Richard de Skelton were fined twice for six oxen and a waggon there, all at the same court. ⁽³²⁾ The west side road still exists and it is evident that any grazing rights which became associated with it before the 17th century would certainly have inhibited the enclosure of the west side.

Map 14
FARM SITES RELATIVE
TO BROWNEARTH SOILS
IN THE LANGDALE
AREA



We might therefore conjecture that Langdale never achieved in the 17th century - and probably not thereafter - a level of settlement consistent with the original lease to 19 tenants for three independent reasons. The first was that much of the soil was too poor or the land too steep for cultivation, and this seems to be confirmed by the present use of upper Langdale by the Forestry Commission. The second was that the Brown Earths of the west side, which would have provided good farm sites, were unavailable through legal difficulties. The most important by far, however, was that the Brown Earths of the east side were very largely leased to outsiders who had an eye to the future, but a shortage of manpower in the short term - or of descendants in the long term - sometimes frustrated this desire. This left only the southern tip of Langdale, where all the existing farms are in fact sited, and which had become by the 19th century a hamlet known as Langdale End catering for the needs of a widely scattered community, much of it outside Langdale proper. It is for this reason that the hamlet shown on the earliest Ordnance Survey maps boasted a church, a smithy, an inn ('The Moor Bird') and a Wesleyan Methodist chapel, though the school was $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles away at Bickley Moor.

The cases of encroachment from the waste examined in this section have shown no evidence at all of initiation by individual tenants. The major medieval landowners organised clearance for arable use and subsequently sold or leased plots for enclosure and conversion to meadow or pasture. In later centuries 'contractors' took leases of the commons and were able to sub-let plots to intakers who were, presumably, responsible for clearing and sowing the land. But although there can be no doubt that encroachment on the commons of the Forest of Pickering was always controlled by the individual lords of the manor, there does appear to have been a change in attitude over the centuries - relative to the needs of the new settlers and to the loss of common rights by established tenants. The first was perhaps forced upon manorial landowners by the crown; there had long been a statute specifying a minimum of 4 acres of land attached to each cottage, and we have seen that the crown lease of Langdale in the 17th century set the minimum at 10 acres, which may reflect the poor quality of the land but was in any event an afterthought. The second certainly was the result of pressure, this time exerted by the aggrieved tenants, for in addition to the burning of hedges at Horcum already noted, we find that in the 17th century William Storey's lease of 60 acres in Newtondale was contested by the tenants of Newton, who would not allow him to make any use of it.(33)

Such incidents became more frequent as the loss of grazing became more serious but, presumably in response to the outcry, we have seen that the tenants of Lockton were compensated at Horcum, apparently by the granting of copies for parcels of the common to be used in severalty.⁽³⁴⁾ Such private arrangements must have paved the way for the enclosures of the commons by Act of Parliament in the following century, when allocations were made according to the value of existing holdings, but the basis of the early Lockton agreement is unknown. What emerges clearly is that 'squatting' on the Pickering Forest wastes was never tolerated, and perhaps not even attempted. There were no orders made here for pulling down illegal cottages, as was the case (ineffectually) at Knaresborough. The only such cottages noted in either the manorial encroachment lists of 1586, Norden's survey, or the Parliamentary surveys, were some urban cottages in Pickering town, comprising in 1651 twelve dwellings, nine shops, and a few tiny plots of land. In contrast to the situation in Knaresborough Forest, the climate of opinion in Pickering was wholly opposed to growth of squatter hamlets or large-scale involvement in rural industries. There is, nevertheless, evidence of a small-scale textile trade which will be considered separately, but perhaps because Pickering was so concerned with arable farming the industry was never developed, the wastes were never seen as capable of supporting communities wholly dependent upon them, and by comparison with some other areas the commons were under-utilised.

Encroachment based on old nucleated centres in Bowland Forest

For the Forest of Knaresborough it has been established that unlicensed encroachment on the common wastes was an everyday occurrence which seems to have reached a peak in the late 17th century. It was practised by young and old, married and single, rich and poor alike, each encroaching a plot commensurate with his needs and resources, and the only distinction that can be made is between copyholders who extended their lands by intaking and squatters who created new holdings. In the Forest of Pickering, on the other hand, indiscriminate squatting was never tolerated and intaking was strictly controlled by the manorial lords.

Turning to the Forest of Bowland, we have now to establish what the situation was early in the 16th century when, as we have seen, the vaccaries were already much subdivided to cater for an increased population. Farrer was quoted in Chapter II in this context, to the effect that about 1507 the leases granted to the fee farmers were cancelled in favour of copyhold grants made directly to the

tenants of the 'newhold', but he has more to say on this topic. "It then became necessary to make a partition of these [newhold] lands, according to the size of holding which the new tenants were able to take. All encroachments were therefore measured in with the undivided forest lands and the whole allotted in the same proportion as the copyhold rent payable by the various tenants under the old 'farmers' when the land lay undivided or, as the Roll describes it, in 'meane gronde'." (35) Farrer goes on to claim that the allocations were made by the Steward with the help of a rod "cut to a length exactly proportionate to the amount of copyhold rent payable for the holding, each particular tenant having his own .. measure, wherewith his allotment of ground in the various fields, meadows and common pastures could be accurately measured, set out and awarded." In all respects these are remarkable claims, and would be extremely important if generally applicable, but two points need to be stressed.

The first and most important is that "undivided forest lands" refers not to the common waste but to the common arable, meadow and pasture. This is an essential distinction which Farrer does not make clear, for whereas the extensive, unstinted, common waste could, in principle, be used to accommodate an increase in population without detriment to existing tenants, the same was not true of the common field lands. We should note for Bowland Forest, moreover, that although the rents of 1527 were specifically described as 'old' copyhold (36) while those of 1539 were not (37), any reassessment between these dates did not increase the number of tenants appreciably. The second point is that Tupling (38), who used the same sources as Farrer, saw nothing significant in the length of the rod. His interpretation of the customs of the Honour of Clitheroe, drawn up in 1402, was that "The act of surrender was effected symbolically by the use of a rod. The surrenderor took hold of the rod at one end while the lord's Steward, the Greave or other copyholder held the other and the repetition of a prescribed form of words signified the passing of the surrenderor's interest". No mention here of the length of the rod, nor indeed of any allocation of "undivided forest lands". Tupling nevertheless agrees that, however it was carried out, subdivision was an important factor in the colonisation of Rossendale, but although the same forces were at work in Bowland the population growth was much less rapid. It was shown in Table 5.5 of Chapter V that there was a total of around 70 tenants in the Forest in 1527 and 1539, sharing 18 former vaccaries and 2 deer parks. We do not know if the 1507 reorganisation applied to Bowland, but the approximate quarter shares, similar to those of Blackburnshire (39) certainly

suggest the result was much the same. We cannot exclude the possibility of subtenants increasing this total somewhat, and it is certain that there were also crown leasehold properties later in the century, some of which had probably originated as non-manorial vaccaries long before. In all, these might have added perhaps 20 more tenants, but there would still have been no more than 90 when we start getting evidence of encroachment on a moderate scale, presumably due to population pressure, after 1560.

The evidence takes the form of entries in the Rolls of the Forest Court, held at Whitewell, which sometimes record communal clearances as when the tenants of Greystoneley "stubbed hazels, thorns, trees and alders on $\frac{1}{2}$ acre" in 1562, but more often take the form of those in 1566-7, when Robert Turner, Allan Bradley, John Blesedale and Robert Swynlehurst all felled trees and saplings for the express purpose of building houses. Their locations are unfortunately not stated, but the intakes made and enclosed before 1600 were exclusively on lowland sites, particularly at New Laund, Burholme and Hareden. In contrast to similarly-sized assarts at Hartoft in Pickering Forest three centuries earlier, only a part of each enclosure (usually a quarter) was sown with corn, on account of the higher rainfall or the greater availability of market grain or perhaps the practice of convertible husbandry. After about 1620 the character of the encroachments changes somewhat, suggesting consolidation rather than colonisation, since new barns are now mentioned in addition to occasional new houses, while enclosing or making fences or hedges is mentioned more often than clearing or stubbing. Again, a policy of extending cultivation by degrees is suggested by Leonard Bleasdale who in 1625 "fenced a portion of land 40 roods long and 1 yard wide in Long Knott and added it to his close called the Parke". (40)

The growth of population corresponding to this activity has been shown to be slow except in the late 16th and mid-17th centuries,⁽⁴¹⁾ but for the later period it is important to note the evidence for a considerable degree of sub-letting. This comes from the parish registers which reveal for the period 1661-80 many heads of families who paid no Hearth Tax in either 1664 or 1672.⁽⁴²⁾ It can be shown, in fact, that they were associated with certain former vaccaries, particularly those at Hareden, Sikes, and Battris in High Bowland Forest, and at Leagram Park in Bowland with Leagram. After about 1680, however, other evidence suggests that the population of Bowland Forest began to decline, for the parish registers of both Slaidburn and Chipping then show consistently more burials than baptisms. Since any study of the growth of new settlements on the

common wastes must necessarily be aimed at periods of expansion, it is clear that the question of how the new tenants established themselves, and where, must be confined to the period from 1500 to about 1680.

Going back to the beginning of this period, we have seen that the vaccaries disappeared as manorial farms in the 15th century, although they continued to function as named communities - on a par with hamlets that had been created under quite different circumstances in forest townships elsewhere. Each settlement site contained a number of families who were seen as a single community in the 16th and 17th centuries, when the encroachment lists sometimes refer to communal activities. In addition to those mentioned already the 'Tenants of Hareden', for example, in 1607 "Made a corn hedge of 12 acres in Old Hey at Hareden and sowed 3 acres"⁽⁴⁵⁾. And whether they were farming in severalty or in common, each former vaccary continued to be regarded as a sub-division of the Forest by the Hearth Tax collectors after the Restoration. It is clear, moreover, that each vaccary had a clearly defined territory, the bounds of which were sometimes stipulated in the 17th century, while precise acreages were quoted for former vaccaries even when they included unenclosed moorland.⁽⁴⁶⁾ These characteristics were common to all such communities in Bowland, but they can nevertheless be shown to have been divided into two distinct geographical types. On the one hand, those that were fee-farmed in the 15th century and divided into fractional shares which^{perhaps} became copyhold in the early 16th century seem to have remained nucleated - at least in the early stages of population growth. On the other hand, those vaccaries which had part of their lands split off as crown leaseholds seem to have developed the latter through the creation of large independent farms on new sites. Examples of both types will be given shortly.

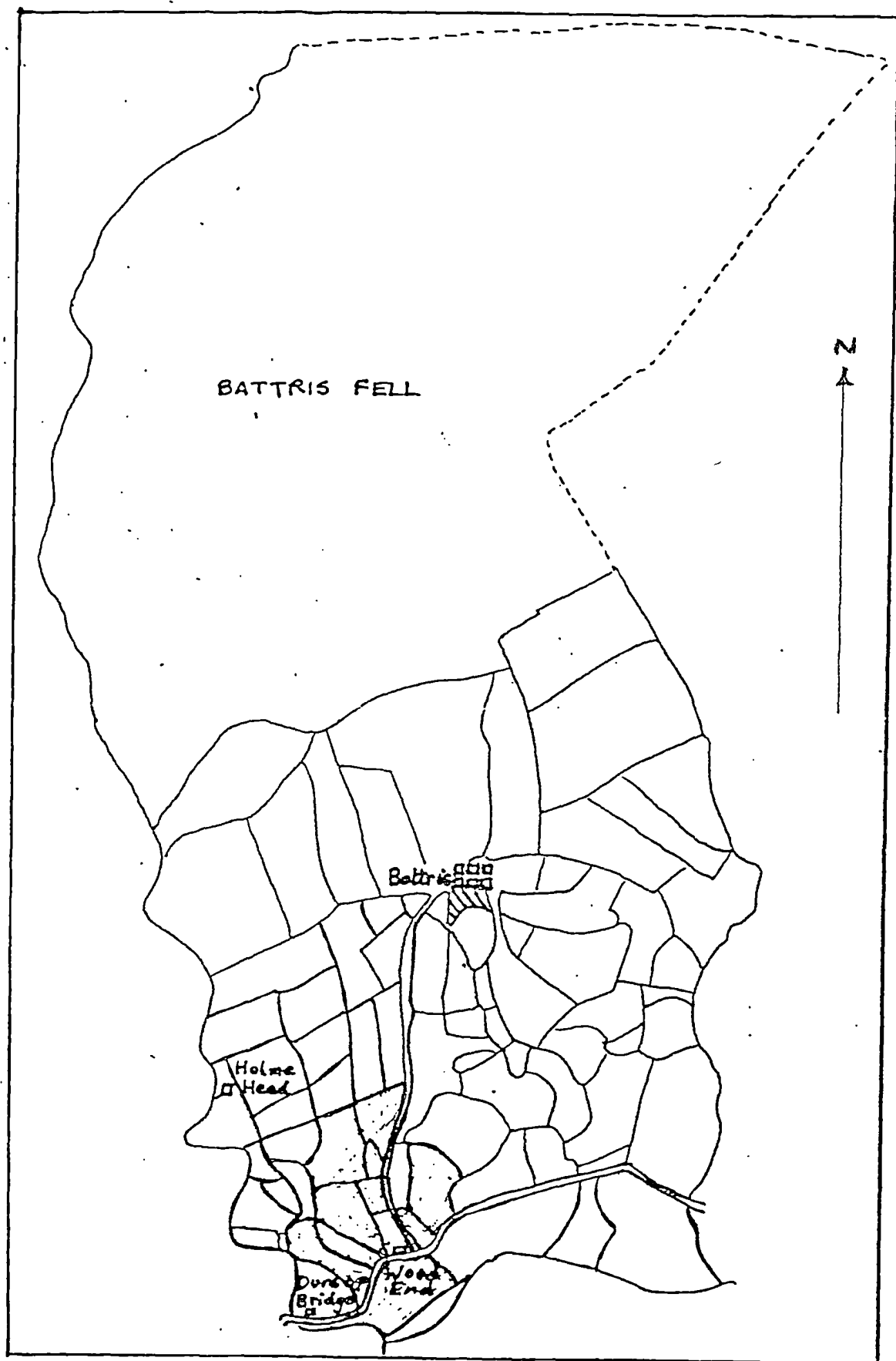
The question at the moment is to decide why some former vaccaries acquired much larger populations than others. For although we might expect that the vaccaries with large territories (by virtue of the extensive moorland attached to them) would have been able to accommodate more tenants, this was not the factor responsible for differing populations.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The single occupant of the former Whitendale vaccary held nearly 4000 acres of admittedly poor land, but this leased farm attracted neither illegal encroachers nor subtenants, and this is true of all the large leased properties. The former vaccaries which did increase their populations greatly during the 17th century were those acquired by fee farmers and subsequently divided into many small shares, and it was these which, as we have seen, contained a number of non-taxpayers in 1664 and 1672.

Outstanding in this respect were the former vaccaries of Over Browsholme, where the six taxpayers were outnumbered by seven or more heads of families who paid no tax, and Battris, where there were eleven taxpayers and more than nine who avoided payment.

The contrast between leased and fee-farmed (later copyhold) vaccaries is made clearer still by consideration of the individual dwellings comprising each. At Battris, nine of the eleven taxpayers paid for a single hearth only, and the nine non-taxpayers would certainly have had no more. But at Lees the former vaccary comprised in 1664 the original site with a house of four hearths; a newly-constructed gentleman's house at Staikes (at one extremity of the estate) with ten hearths; two tenements with houses of two hearths each; and apparently three single-hearth houses - though other evidence suggests one large house divided between three tenants. The suggestion is based on the Commonwealth Survey of 1652, which describes these houses in detail. It shows that Mr Clement Toulinson's house at Staikes had six rooms below stairs and no less than seven above - which readily explains the ten hearths - while of Robert Rathmell's and Robert Parker's two-hearth tenements, the first had four rooms below stairs and one above; the second three rooms both above and below. (48)

These were certainly yeoman houses, as was Thomas Turner's Leeshouse with six rooms below stairs and four above, though this was the house which (we have suggested) was subdivided. If so, then Thomas Turner, Richard Cadger, and Widow Newsome each paid for one hearth in a different part of the same house, both in 1664 and 1672. In any event, the house changed hands and was probably rebuilt very soon afterwards, since the present very substantial farmhouse has an initialled and dated door-lintel reading R.B. 1678. (49)

Although the surviving houses reveal where the wealth was located in the 17th century Forest (and it is significant that the single-hearth houses and untaxed hovels at both Battris and Over Browsholme have all disappeared without trace) the factor which determined the standard of housing was undoubtedly the size of the landholdings acquired by the tenants. At Lees, each of the widely-dispersed farms was large, between 100 and 200 acres in 1652, whereas an estate map (50) of admittedly much later date (1765, see Map 15) shows that Battris then comprised nine tenements, six at the original vaccary site and three others sited at the limits of the former estate at Wood End, Holme Head, and Dunsop Bridge. Each of the latter farmed a consolidated block of land - almost certainly



Shaded area: Common Field Land

Map 15

THE FORMER VACCARY OF BATTRIS IN 1765

laid out in the 18th century - whereas the former tended to have scattered fields. There is even a tiny area of 'Meanfield', presumably still held in common, adjoining the nucleated settlement, so it would appear that when the number of tenants reached its peak of twenty or so in the 1670s the most rational way of utilising the tiny shares was to farm them in common. Such a progression from relatively prosperous holdings in severalty in the 16th century to a multiplicity of tiny uneconomic shares farmed in common in the 17th century, with a reversion to the former system after population pressure eased in the 18th century, has been established in what was known as the Forest of Nidderdale. There, on former monastic lands, the grange of Thwaitehouse comprising probably 96 acres of very high, exposed, and unproductive land, was shared between six tenants who cultivated common arable and meadow with stinted pastures in the 17th century, only for it to be recombined into two farms held in severalty in the 18th century.(51)

The number of parcels into which each former vaccary was subdivided in the 17th century would therefore appear to be the key to their prosperity - or otherwise - at that time. For there is ample evidence that estates leased from the crown were divided into relatively few units, each quite prosperous, whereas those acquired by fee farmers and quite possibly converted to copyhold were either split down or subtenanted to the point where few of the tenements can have been viable - as is evident from the high proportion of non-taxpayers. In these circumstances encroachment was no answer, since all the useful land within each vaccary boundary was already utilised and the remaining forest land was leased and unavailable.

Notes and References

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5. Ibid. p.77
6. Ibid. p.32
7. Ibid. p.129
8. Ibid. p.144
9. Ibid. p.235
10. Norden's Survey, P.R.O. DL 42/124, Folios 28-9
11. Parliamentary Survey of Pickering Forest, P.R.O. E317 Yorks. 42, Folio 23
12. See Ref. 10
13. Norden's Survey, P.R.O. DL 42/124, Folios 28-9 cf. Folios 82-3
14. See Ref. 11
15. Norden's Survey, P.R.O. DL 42/124, Folio 83
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28. Pickering I, pp.210-1
29. Soil Survey Map of England & Wales, 1:25,000, Sheet 99
30. Tithe Files for Pickering, 1838, P.R.O. IR 18/12165
31. Pickering I, p.80
32. Pickering IV, p.48
33. Pickering I, p.48
34. See Ref. 11
35. Clitheroe I, pp.294-5
36. Ibid. p.382

37. Clitheroe III, pp.415-6
38. Rossendale, p.74
39. Compare, for example, the Forests of Bowland & Pendle, in Table 3.2, Chapter III
40. Porter J. The Reclamation and Settlement of Bowland , Ph.D. Thesis, London 1973, Appendix pp.242-5
41. See Table 5.5 of Chapter V
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CHAPTER VIII I ORIGINS AND SOCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF COLONISTS ON THE
WASTES

The social structure of Knaresborough Forest townships

Elucidation of social structure depends upon the coincidence at the same point in time of a number of different sources of information. Since we are concerned with the role of encroachers, the first requirement is a comprehensive list of those fined for such offences, and although these exist in Forest Court Rolls throughout the 17th century they give the offender's township only after 1670. The courts of 20th October 1670 and 29th April 1671 are the earliest complete sources,⁽¹⁾ listing independently landless cottagers, cottage-encroachers, and large-scale intakers, the last two groups of which coincide very largely with the tenants noted in Hearth Tax returns between 1664 and 1672.⁽²⁾ The existence of sub-letting on an unknown scale means that, even when combined, the lists noted give an incomplete count of Forest inhabitants, and it is essential to use them in conjunction with the parish registers. It has been shown that burials of both Dissenters and Catholics were often recorded by the parish, and sometimes baptisms too, so we can be reasonably certain that by counting the heads of families who had children baptised or buried in a certain period - and adding any further names from Quaker records - we are taking account of virtually all households, and not merely those mentioned in official records. The parish register will, of course, note the burials of all adults, single, married, or widowed, in addition to those who happened to be heads of families.

It is obvious that the Forest of Knaresborough, with its population of many thousands, is a very large unit to try to cover comprehensively, and it is equally evident that there must be a limit to the number of years for which information can be gleaned from the parish registers. But to cover only a few years would certainly mean that many individuals would be missed, if they happened to have no entry in the parish records during that time. A reasonable compromise has been attempted by compiling an index for the 12 years from 1664 to 1675 inclusive, listing every individual in the parishes of Fewston, Hampsthwaite, and Pannal who featured in the civil records, though for parish records the coverage is rather less, from 1668 to 1675 only. The geographical coverage is, however, very complete, since the ten townships included in these parishes form a very high proportion of the whole - only Killinghall, Clint, and Bilton with Harrogate being excluded, on the grounds that they fell within parishes which overlapped the Forest boundaries.

The index forms a record of the activities of over a thousand adult individuals in the first two decades after the Restoration, and its analysis allows the social structure to be established with respect to squatters versus copyholders, families versus single people, and even the relative numbers of elderly versus young adults. There was in 1670 a total of 71 landless cottagers in the three parishes considered,⁽³⁾ and they fall readily into two main categories. Most numerous were the elderly, for 59 cottagers had no children baptised or buried between 1668 and 1675 and their numbers included 21 known widows, 10 single women (including some possible widows), and 4 men who became widowers during this time. Eleven of the elderly died during this period, but the elderly as a whole need to be divided into two groups. The great majority were poor, and in some cases are known to have been in receipt of parish relief,⁽⁴⁾ but there were no less than 12 copyholders who must either have given up their farms (perhaps to a son) or built cottages for farm workers on which they themselves paid the fine. James Lambert of Timble provides an instance of both, for he had been fined as long ago as 1654 for building a cottage on his own land - evidently not the same one as that on the waste for which he was fined in 1670 and 1671. He paid Hearth Tax in 1666, but must have relinquished his copyhold before 1672, when the tax was paid by his son John, and this fits very well his occupation of a cottage in 1670-1. James was certainly elderly, since he married for the first time in 1633 and outlived two wives before his own death in 1683.⁽⁵⁾

The second category comprised young heads of families, who appear in the parish register on marriage, and subsequently when their children were baptised or buried. There were only twelve of them altogether, and they included three copyholders no doubt providing cottages for labourers, so that only nine independent cottagers were actually bringing up families, and their families were small. In no instance were there more than three children born in the eight years examined, in contrast to the most prosperous of the copyholders who were likely to have six or more children in the same period. Unless we assume that some individual cottagers neglected to have some of their children baptised, which seems most unlikely, the implication must be that family size was severely limited on account of economic factors. This is hardly a surprising conclusion, but it does appear to contradict the published views of contemporaries that the forests were the breeding ground of an 'infinite idle frye'.⁽⁶⁾

It may be worth asking, however, whether it was the landless cottagers who were the subject of these diatribes. They were, as we have seen, either elderly

or wage-earning, while the wrath of 17th and 18th century commentators seems to have been aimed rather at encroachers with young families, who over-grazed the commons with their stock and lived without any other visible means of support. We should therefore examine the category of cottage-encroachers, who were in any event more numerous than landless cottagers in Knaresborough Forest before 1700. Cottage-encroachers appear at first sight to be a different social group to the others, since it turns out that they nearly all paid Hearth Tax - though usually on a single hearth only. It does not appear that such cottages with land were built by copyholders for their farm workers, but if built by squatters for their own occupation it is surprising that they were required to pay Hearth Tax, since the owners of legal cottages were supposed to be exempt.⁽⁷⁾ It may be that the practice varied from township to township, or from time to time. The number of tax-payers was smaller in 1664 than in 1672, and in those townships for which the 1666 return has survived - where those too poor to pay were listed separately - the total number was no greater. In most townships the cottage encroachers - like the landless cottagers - often seem to have been elderly or widowed, and the parish registers reveal very few children. In Beckwith and Rosset at least five of the seventeen cottage-encroachers received poor relief at some time,⁽⁸⁾ though only Widow Harrison received assistance continuously, and other townships had many more who were widowed or who died soon after 1670.

The situation was quite different, however, in certain townships where it can be shown that there were squatter hamlets whose inhabitants were actively engaged in industry. It is particularly evident in Hampsthwaite township, where half the cottage-encroachers had families recorded between 1668 and 1675, many of whom were at Hollins and engaged in spinning and weaving.⁽⁹⁾ A similar involvement in textiles appears among those encroachers with families who lived at Swarcliffe, in Birstwith township. Kettlesing, in Felliscliffe township, also had many families living on cottage-encroachments, though here the occupations were more varied as we shall see, and the same is true of the squatter-hamlets in Menwith and Darley.

The overall situation regarding cottage-encroachments is therefore by no means as clear as it was for landless cottages, and differs from place to place. What is clear is that where cottagers were bringing up families they were doing so on the proceeds of industry, and although they often kept a cow on the common, or a horse for transport, they were not depriving copyholders of an appreciable amount of the common grazing, nor were they living without visible means of support, as contemporaries so often assumed.

This does, admittedly, leave open the question of sub-tenants, who were undoubtedly free to use the commons and were very often poor. But what can be said with certainty is that those heads of families who appear in the parish register - but in neither the encroachment lists nor the Hearth Tax returns - and who must be assumed to be sub-tenants, did not have large families. On the contrary, they seem very often to be childless. In this case, as with the encroachers, it does not appear that poor people, though utilising the commons for grazing and the collection of fuel, were in any position to raise large families.

The social composition of the hamlet of Kettlesing

The general conclusions drawn in the last section can be given tangible form by considering the hamlet of Kettlesing in Felliscliffe township. This township had no clearly-defined focus - in the 17th century there was not even a hamlet of this name - but there were a number of other hamlets, the largest of which was Kettlesing. No less than twentyone of the seventy Hearth tax-payers in 1672 came from there - on the evidence of domicile abstracted from the Hampsthwaite parish register - and, of course, this number was an underestimate of population since many cottagers paid no tax. There were, however, two hamlets called Kettlesing, as there still are, Kettlesing Head and Kettlesing Bottom being separated by nearly half a mile.

Copyholders were usually described as living at Kettlesing Head, so it is no surprise to find a number of surviving 17th century yeoman houses there today. They occupy a narrow corridor of former common land between old arable fields, just below the line where the Roman road from Ilkley to Aldborough (now represented only by a bridleway) crossed the upper valley of Tang Beck. (10) Kettlesing Bottom is lower and more nucleated; until the enclosure of the Forest in 1778 it lay at the head of an extensive area of waste occupying the valley bottom, straddling Tang Beck which formed the boundary between Felliscliffe and Birstwith. Most of the hamlet lies on the Felliscliffe side, and apparently always has done, but the few dwellings on the Birstwith side were sometimes reckoned to be in Felliscliffe. (11)

The name Kettlesing Bottom did not, however, come into use until the 18th century, and it may be that it was not considered to be a separate community until after it had experienced its period of rapid growth in the late 17th century. For some unknown reason, illegal landless cottages are rarely found

in Felliscliffe township before the encroachment list of 1698, though there were a number of cottages which had been converted to copyhold. The rental of 1651 shows that 88% of customary tenants paid between 1s and 11s (only Samuel Midgley paid more), but Michael Skaife paid $\frac{1}{2}$ d, Widow Dickinson 2d, John Kidd 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d, Francis Kidd 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d, Widow Leyland 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d, and (missing) Bateson 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d, and there is little doubt that none of these were ancient copyholds. (12) But there is every chance that they were legalised encroachments, and this may account to some extent for the astonishingly small total of only two illegal landless cottages in the whole of Felliscliffe township in 1671, along with 23 cottage-encroachments or intakes, whereas by 1698 these totals had increased to 8 and 45 respectively. (13)

It turns out that a high proportion of the cottage-encroachers of Kettlesing were relatives (usually sons) of the copyholders of Kettlesing Head, and only Thomas Dobby, John Harrebourne, and Joshua Ayres introduced surnames new to the district. Instances of copyholder's sons abound, for Robert More, Thomas Hutchinson, and John Halliday were all moderately prosperous copyholders at Kettlesing in 1651, and none of them were fined for illegal cottages or encroachments in that year, yet by 1670 Robert More junior and Miles and Thomas Hutchinson, sons of the first two, had all been fined for cottage-encroachments. (14) It is important to note, also, that the cottages had been built (presumably) and certainly occupied without waiting to inherit the family holding, for neither Robert More nor Thomas Hutchinson died until 1675. It might have been expected that the intention of making encroachments was to provide some security for marriage, but only Miles Hutchinson is recorded in Hampsthwaite parish register as having followed this course. Yet appearances may be deceptive if there were dissenters in the community.

Fortunately, in the case of Quakers at least it is possible to trace (15) the families concerned, and we find that they were indeed represented at Kettlesing. John Halliday was a Quaker copyholder in the hamlet in 1651, and Thomas his brother, also a Quaker, lived not far away at the township boundary, "near Haverah Park". Both were extremely long-lived, John dying in 1692 and Thomas in 1703, and more fortunate than their Quaker neighbour, William Atkinson of Haverah Park End, who died during imprisonment in York Castle in 1684. Only Thomas had a surviving son, who bore the same name, yet we find that his son in turn, named after his uncle, was baptised and buried in the Church of England. Thomas Halliday junior was a copyholder at Kettlesing Head by 1672 but held in addition an illegal encroachment by 1698, since he himself did not die until 1718 - when he was described as a tailor. (16)

None of these men left wills, and unfortunately none of their probate inventories have survived, but in the case of George Shutt of Kettlesing, whose inventory of 1669 shows him to have been a blacksmith and a copyholder,⁽¹⁷⁾ we again find a son, John, in possession of a cottage-encroachment in 1670 in spite of his inheritance. It is possible that he sublet the cottage to a workman, however, for his father's inventory showed a smithy equipped for the use of two men, but there are other instances where both encroachment records and tax returns are definitely misleading. This seems to happen in the case of the elderly, where there was - at least in the 1660s and '70s - obviously some leniency in the imposition of fines and taxes.

Birtrice Cromack, for example, a widow and a copyholder at Kettlesing in 1651, was taxed on 1 hearth in 1664 yet was 'not lyable to paye' in 1666.⁽¹⁸⁾ She died in February 1669/70 and was succeeded by her son William, who was promptly fined in October of the same year for a cottage-encroachment in which his mother had lived without any penalty. William was fined again in 1671, and taxed on 1 hearth in 1672.⁽¹⁹⁾ A similar and contemporary case is that of Miles Umpleby of Kettlesing, who was fined as a cottage-encroacher in 1670 and 1671 and taxed in 1672, yet his father of the same name who died in 1669 had never paid either. Jennit Kidd of Kettlesing, too, the widow of a prosperous copyholder, paid no Hearth Tax in 1664 or 1666 prior to her death in 1668. (20)

It appears, therefore, that it is possible to be misled in certain cases by either the encroachment lists or the Hearth Tax returns, and although that of 1666 is more helpful, listing as it does those not liable for tax, it has survived for only a handful of Knaresborough Forest townships. Nevertheless, we can say in the case of Kettlesing that the vast majority of cottage-encroachments were made for the benefit of sons not inheriting the family property, or for elderly relatives, and were made after 1650. The timing is important because extra holdings may then have become necessary to accommodate adults born, as we have seen, during the exceptional population increase prior to the Civil War. It is also important to stress that these encroachments were almost invariably cottages with a certain amount of land, situated on the common at what became known as Kettlesing Bottom. and that landless cottages became established there in any numbers only at the very end of the 17th century, appearing in the encroachment lists of 1698 and 1708. It will be shown later that there was a wide range of occupations available in this Forest, particularly in the valley of Tang Beck, which must have been a factor encouraging the settlement of labourers in landless cottages, and it is noteworthy that it is only at this time that new surnames appear in Kettlesing in any numbers.⁽²¹⁾

Social groups and religious beliefs among inhabitants of the forest wastes

During the early decades of the 17th century there was no shortage of social commentators eager to give their views on the issues of the day. Topics of interest included the increase in the number of itinerants (often separated into the deserving and the undeserving poor); the inclination of former itinerants to squatting on the commons and wastes; and the reputed association of such people with radical points of view. Such social comment has provided a basis for many studies of the 17th century; Everitt(22) has suggested that wayfarers, linking heath and forest areas, may have helped to spread radical religious ideas and has speculated, moreover, that the heath and forest lands may have supplied most of the troops of the Parliamentary armies in the Civil War. Holderness (23) has pointed out that a large body of labourers spent most of the winter in idleness; while Hill has stressed (24) that the heath and woodland areas were often outside the parochial system - or were served by a curate only - so that there was freedom from parson as well as from squire. "These were also the areas in which there was most peasant revolt in the early 17th century".

There can be no doubt that these features were all present at the time, but the mere fact that they were the subject of comment may be an indication that they were untypical; the important question at present is whether they were taking place in the forests we are examining, and if so to what extent. Evidence of the opinions of squatters is not easy to come by, except for the two Knaresborough Forest Quakers who died for their beliefs under imprisonment in York Castle. But with regard to their background we have seen that they were most likely to have come from local families and there is little evidence of immigration. Individuals described as 'peregrinus' feature occasionally in the burial register of Pateley Bridge in Nidderdale, whose parochial chapelry bordered on the Forest of Knaresborough. Of the 225 burials of adults which took place between 1688 and 1695 inclusive, only about 2% were so designated, and although we might not expect itinerants to have children either baptised or buried at the parochial chapel, about the same proportion of 'peregrini' in the total population appear to have done so. This strongly suggests that the description was used not of true itinerants but of strangers who had settled in the district. (25)

In other parishes, of course, the term may have been used in a different way,

as it certainly was in Allerton Mauleverer, which straddled the Great North Road about 15 miles east of Pateley Bridge. There the term 'peregrinus' alternates with 'traveller' in the burial register, where the proportion so described is found to be much higher - about 6% - of all adult burials between 1671 and 1700. This no doubt reflects the level of traffic on the principal road to London and, to judge by the comments of contemporaries, we might expect the proportion to have been even higher a century earlier when the highways were said to be thronged with rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars. (26) Yet if this was true, then those that died were certainly not buried in the churchyards, for Allerton register from 1571-1600 recorded travellers as comprising only about 2% of adult burials.(27) If the number in transit has been exaggerated, it makes it rather easier to examine the religious views of colonists on the wastes, since they are likely to have been moulded more by local traditions than by new ideas spread by itinerants. Much depended on the quality of the local clergy. And although there were no doubt many local instances of exemplary pastors like George Herbert, who believed that "the vertuous life of a Clergyman is the most powerful eloquence to perswade all that see it to reverence and love"(28) there were certainly others whose behaviour left much to be desired. The hold of the Church of England in Nidderdale was undoubtedly weak; there is no doubt that Roman Catholicism was a live force in the 17th century, nor that Quakerism took hold there at an early date (29) and taken together they seem to suggest an impatience with the established church which is in keeping with its inadequate provision for a growing population. One theory to account for a readiness to embrace Quakerism is that there may have been a sympathetic group of "spiritual Puritans of less orthodox type, the Familists or Seekers" already in existence, but only limited evidence exists for this. An alternative proposal which "sees the Quakers as the logical development of certain aspects of Puritanism" (30) fits the facts rather better.

Marchant's list of Puritan parishes in the Diocese of York (31) includes some outstanding examples in the Bowland and Pickering areas, notably Grindleton in Ribblesdale which, under the influence of its curate from 1615-22, Roger Brearley, became the home of the 'Grindletonian' sect. This sect embraced a mystical type of religion and attracted followers from far and wide. Churchwardens as far away as Giggleswick complained that "many go to Grindleton, and neglect their own parish church",⁽³²⁾ though this entailed a return journey of 24 miles across the Bowland Fells. In view of this widespread influence it is almost certain that some inhabitants of Bowland Forest would have formed

part of the congregation, being within easy travelling distance. Harrop hamlet, which was administered as a detached part of Bowland Forest, actually lay within Grindleton township, though some inhabitants seem to have attended Slaidburn parish church which was much nearer. Grindleton, however, lay within the parochial chapelry of Waddington whose parish register, as we have seen, made no distinction between its own parishioners and those of the adjoining Forest, so there is no help from that source, but the preamble to certain local wills does strongly suggest Calvinist views. Oliver Marton of Staple Oak in the Trough of Bowland, Leonard Leigh of Birkett, yeoman, and Nicholas Standen of Slaidburn Woodhouse, yeoman, all made wills between 1636 and 1639 in the same form, "trusting in God to be one of his elect"⁽³³⁾. Although Roger Brearley had long since left, another Grindletonian, John Webster, was schoolmaster at nearby Clitheroe and preached occasionally at Grindleton up to the 1650s. In view of the fact that one of the charges made against Roger Brearley (34) in 1617 was that he taught that "the Christian assured can never commit a gross sin", it is interesting to find Oliver Marton making provision for "the child which I had with Jennet Crosdall". The will must have been made on his death bed since it finishes in mid-sentence, yet was accepted for probate a few months later, and it could possibly be indicative of radical views that, although Marton was of yeoman status, his only son - as far as is known - was to be apprenticed to a shearman at Leeds. In any event, Newton in Slaidburn parish became the focus soon after for Quakers from an extensive area, and it is likely that many of their members were former Grindletonians since they are known to have had much in common with the newer movement.⁽³⁵⁾

In the Forest of Pickering, too, the strongly-Puritan William Boyes, curate of Goathland from about 1626, welcomed George Fox in 1651. Fox's journal recorded the conversion of "Mr Boys, the old priest ... (who) many times before he was convinced ... would have gone into their steeple houses to have preached, for he has been a zealous man in his way".⁽³⁶⁾ Levisham nearby is also recorded as a Puritan parish from 1621 to at least 1641, and just outside Pickering Forest the parish of Hackness was strongly Puritan under the influence of its lord of the manor, Sir Thomas Hoby. It has been noted that "the Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby (1599-1605) shows how Puritanism had spread among the landed gentry"⁽³⁷⁾ and we have already had cause to remark on the high standard of recording in the parish register during the incumbency of Francis Proude, from 1636-80.

The Forest of Knaresborough lay in the diocese of Chester, so that different sources relating to the influence of Puritanism are available. An analysis of two visitations made in 1595 and 1633 concluded that "The Yorkshire part of that diocese seems to have been very much like the remainder of the county, with pockets of recusancy and Puritanism but no particular problems of church discipline".⁽³⁸⁾ This is borne out by tables showing the Deanery of Boroughbridge - which included the Forest of Knaresborough - as much more amenable to discipline exerted by the church courts than the Lancashire Deaneries of the diocese, where very large numbers of recusants were presented. Marchant goes on, "The principal means whereby some parts of Lancashire became Anglican was Puritan preaching, so the county became split between the recusant-Puritan extremes to a much greater extent than the remainder of the diocese, or even Yorkshire. The result of these influences was that Anglican discipline in Lancashire was extremely weak". This is undoubtedly correct, but it is worth pointing out that what was true of Boroughbridge Deanery as a whole was not necessarily true of the Forest of Knaresborough in particular, nor of Nidderdale (split as it was between the sees of York and Chester), which may have been much closer to the situation in Lancashire than Marchant believed. The upper dale was still strongly Roman Catholic in the 17th century, as was Bishop Thornton, on the evidence of Aveling's lists of recusants,⁽³⁹⁾ while Table 4.3 of Chapter IV displayed the number of Quaker burials in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. But opposition to the orthodox Anglican church was not confined to these two groups.

Evidence of Puritan feeling first comes to light in Nidderdale in the time of Archbishop Laud, for while he was suppressing the 'Feoffees for Impropriation', a Puritan body aimed at buying up impropriations and using the income to improve the stipend of 'godly' ministers or lecturers, the members of Thornthwaite chapel in the Forest of Knaresborough were establishing a trust for the support of just such a 'godly' curate.⁽⁴⁰⁾ A century later his successor still received no income from the Vicar of the mother church of Hampsthwaite.⁽⁴¹⁾ This appears, in fact, to be a prime example of the tendency in the north of England for "Puritanism ... (to) increasingly involve the laity, who often proved much more radical than their ministers". Moreover, "in the many large parishes, the curates of the outlying chapelries became financially dependent on their congregations".⁽⁴²⁾ It may be for this reason that a Cambridge graduate, Anthony Young, stayed for sixty years in the remote chapelry of Thornthwaite. It also appears that Thomas Furnis, curate of Pateley Bridge,

had Sectarian leanings, for a sympathy - to say the least - with the Presbyterian congregation on Greenhow Hill is suggested by his witnessing the will of Richard Freeman, their minister, who had been an officer in the Parliamentary army. (43)

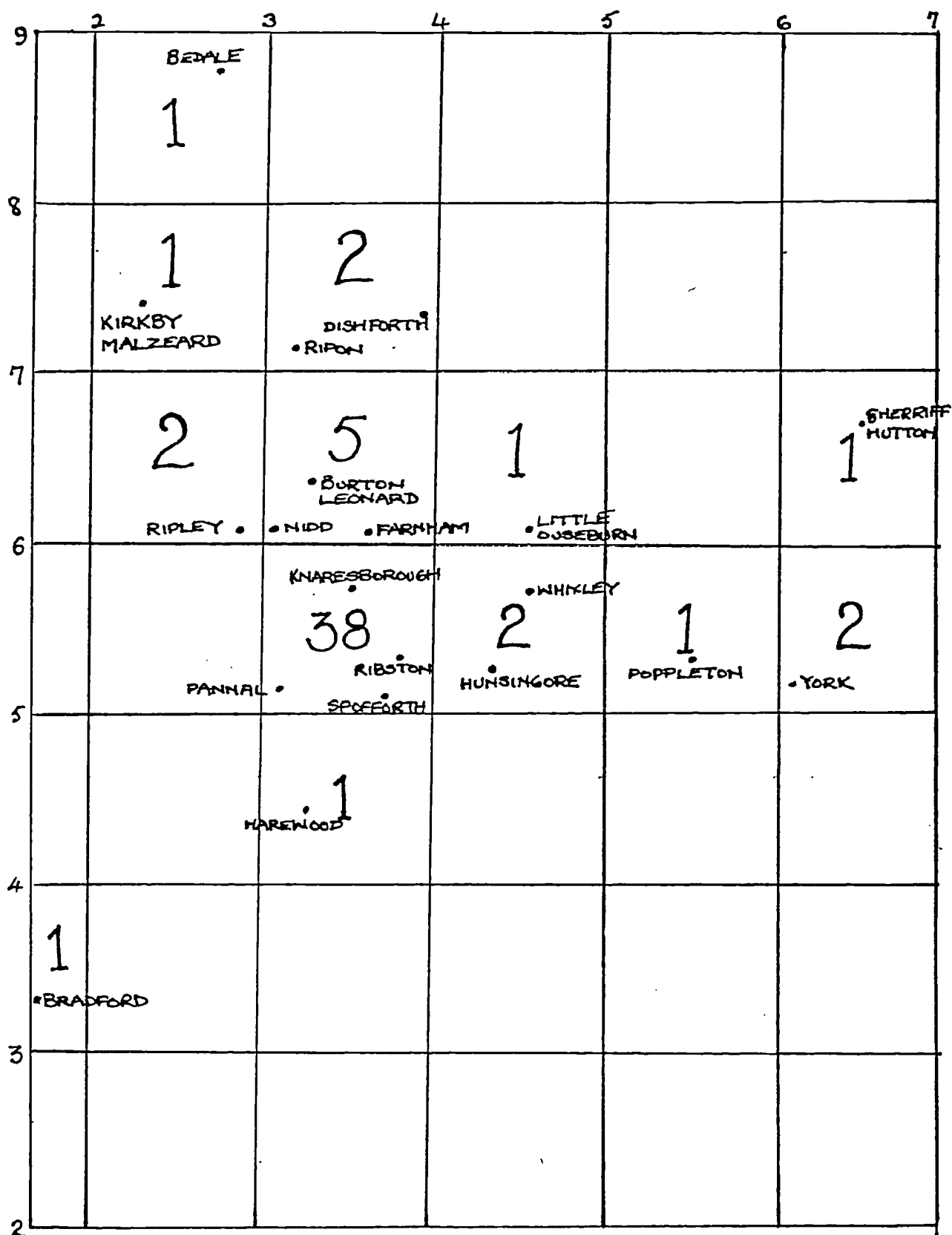
It appears, therefore, that Knaresborough, Bowland, and Pickering Forests all nurtured strongly independent religious views within the established church. And whereas in the mid-18th century there was strong opposition in some places to Methodist preachers (44), the same antipathy to unorthodox beliefs was not so evident a century earlier if we exclude the initial militant phase of Quakerism. Independence of outlook, both social and religious, seems to have been particularly evident in the most remote places, and it is now time to examine the question of social contacts between different communities, which are most readily revealed by the origins of marriage partners.

Evidence of insularity versus accessibility from marriage records

Parishes can be divided into those having a high proportion of marriages where both partners lived in the parish, and those where the proportion was much lower. The distinction can be made only during the Commonwealth period, when the home parish of both bride and groom was invariably given, and at that time it appears that the parish of Hampsthwaite was quite exceptional locally in having three-quarters of its marriages between partners both of whom came from the parish. It might be thought that this was simply a reflection of the fact that Hampsthwaite was a large parish, giving more choice of partners, but Knaresborough parish was twice as big and there less than half the partners came from the same parish. However, for the latter parish there is sufficient information to provide an answer to the question of how marriage partners met.

Surprisingly, the partner from outside the parish was rather more likely to be the bride than the groom, which may suggest that a number of single women from outside Knaresborough were working there, perhaps as house servants. Map 16 shows the parish of origin of either brides or grooms marrying a partner from Knaresborough, and it is apparent that although there were a few outsiders who came from more than 20 miles away (Bedale, Bradford, Sheriff Hutton) nearly 90% of non-parishioners came from within a ten-mile radius of the town. It is likely that they were attracted there by the job opportunities, which in Knaresborough were provided principally by the textile trade. There were similar

Map 16



NUMBER OF BRIDES OR GROOMS FROM EACH 10KM SQUARE
OF THE NATIONAL GRID MARRYING AT KNARESBOROUGH A
PARTNER FROM THAT PARISH, BETWEEN 1853 AND 1857 INCL.

opportunities for employment in the mixed farming and industrial area to the west (from which, significantly, no marriage partners came) but none in the agricultural villages to the north and east. In fact, 17th century probate inventories for Goldsborough, only three miles to the east of Knaresborough, reveal virtually no involvement in any trade, even domestic spinning.⁽⁴⁵⁾ As might be expected, young people from the wholly agricultural villages moved (by implication, since they married in Knaresborough) to the town, which offered employment in crafts or trades though few apprenticeship records survive. This movement is well documented in the late 17th century through surviving indemnities which were required of incomers to the township of Scriven with Tentergate, and its implications have already been explored in Chapter IV

Although Knaresborough might be expected to have been a very open town, it comes as rather a surprise to find that places like Farnham, Pannal, and Ripley⁽⁴⁶⁾⁽⁴⁷⁾⁽⁴⁸⁾ were equally accessible to outsiders in that they all had less than half their marriages contracted between partners from within their parishes.

But the real oddity is Hampsthwaite parish, from which no marriage partners came to Knaresborough, and which attracted few bridegrooms from elsewhere whether or not they were proposing to settle in the parish. It can only be surmised that there was little need for its inhabitants to move out, but the absence of incentives to outsiders is puzzling. As it happens, Hampsthwaite parish register was the only local one which continued to record the origins of brides and grooms to the end of the 17th century. Table 8.1 shows that the proportion of marriages between local partners never dropped below 55% in any five-year period, and reached a maximum of 83% with a mean value over nearly half a century of 68%.

Table 8.1 Hampsthwaite marriages by five-year periods

<u>Years</u>	<u>Number of marriages</u>	<u>Both partners from parish</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1656-60	18	15	83
61-65	27	19	70
66-70	22	15	68
71-75	26	21	81
76-80	38	21	55
81-85	34	28	82
86-90	38	22	58
91-95	43	27	63
96-00	27	16	59

It would be interesting to know whether such insularity had been a feature of Hampsthwaite parish earlier in the century, when population pressure was

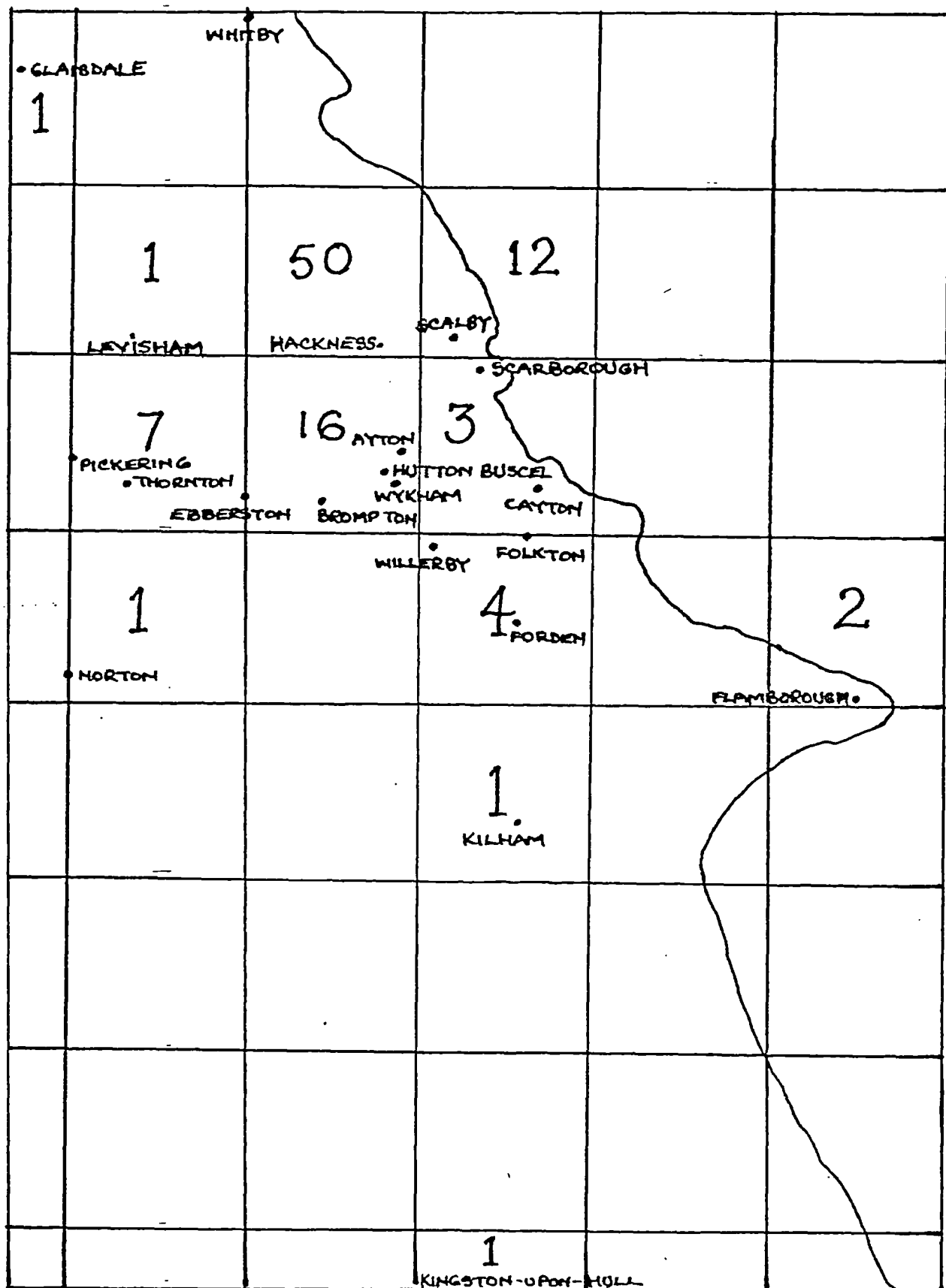
widespread. Although there is for that period no information available regarding the origins of marriage partners, it is possible to examine the surnames recorded in the parish register for evidence of possible immigration. On listing the surnames appearing in successive five-year periods beginning in 1611-15 it turns out that between one quarter and one third were new in each period - but this is a surprisingly low proportion for two reasons. First, in the case of elderly people, particularly, there were likely to be several decades without any mention of them prior to their eventual burial, so that many 'new' surnames were nothing of the kind. Second, although this was the time when immigration was most likely, and although the forests were supposed to be the most favoured areas for immigrants, the level of 'new' surnames revealed here is actually less than that found by the same method a century later for the wholly-agricultural, non-forest, parish of Goldsborough nearby.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Since Goldsborough was closely regulated by a resident lord of the manor, there can be no grounds for claiming that Hampsthwaite parish was even moderately open to immigrants at this most likely period.

The marriage registers of the wholly rural and non-industrial parish of Slaidburn, incidentally, which included part of Bowland Forest, reveal an equally insular attitude. In all 55 marriages were recorded during the period 1654-60, for which the home parish of the partners was given, and in that time only 6 brides and 4 grooms from outside the parish were noted. Some 82% of Slaidburn marriages were therefore of partners from the parish, making it very insular, and worthy of attention in the next section.

Turning our attention to north-eastern Yorkshire, we find at Hackness a situation comparable to that in the parishes near Knaresborough, where the close proximity of a commercial centre was responsible for encouraging movement in its hinterland. The magnet in this case was Scarborough, a large town whose port and spa were both growing in importance in the 17th century,⁽⁵⁰⁾ though there is no clear evidence of the spread of industry into Hackness parish or that part of Pickering Forest which it served.

Because the meticulous recording of marriages persisted at Hackness for longer than most of the parishes considered, it is possible to examine a total of 105 marriages over the twenty years from 1653 to 1672 inclusive and to conclude that only 50 were of couples both of whom resided in the parish. Of the 55 involving outsiders the vast majority were bridegrooms,

Map 17



NUMBER OF BRIDES OR GROOMS FROM EACH 10 KM. SQUARE
 OF THE NATIONAL GRID MARRYING AT HACKNESS A PARTNER
 FROM THAT PARISH, IN THE 20 YEARS FROM 1653 TO 1672 INCL.

and a distribution map of their origins (Map 17), based on the same system of 10 km. squares as that for Knaresborough, shows that they came from an equally extensive area. The coastline has been included because it obviously had a bearing on the distribution to the east of Hackness, and it is in fact likely that the most distant suitors were immigrants who had arrived at Scarborough by sea. This must be true of bridegrooms from North Sea ports like Whitby, Robin Hood's Bay (in Fyling parish), and Flamborough, as well as more remote places like Kingston upon Hull (80 miles by sea). But the surname Dutchman, which occurred frequently in Hackness parish during the period considered, is derived either from an immigrant who had married and settled there earlier in the century, or perhaps from a more recent arrival who brought his family with him, for he had a daughter who married at Hackness. Since she married a poor husbandman, it is likely that the immigrant was an artisan rather than a merchant - who would in all likelihood have been known by his personal name - and it may be relevant that "the idea of importing Dutch artisans was in the air during the Commonwealth and immediately after the Restoration". (51)

Map 17 makes it clear that most marriage partners came from adjoining parishes, between which there was considerable movement. It is surprising that Scarborough was not more prominent, though mariners from there sometimes married the daughters of Hackness farmers, but it may be that children from Hackness families were often employed in the town, and married and settled there. This is impossible to check, for Scarborough registers have survived only from 1687 onwards, but the opposite situation certainly did not apply, for grooms from outside Hackness rarely married and settled there; nor did brides from elsewhere marry Hackness men, presumably because there was little employment for single women and so no opportunity to meet them.

Hackness was, therefore, an outgoing parish in both senses, since it was anything but insular yet, on the other hand, nearly all migration was in an outward direction. If better marriage records had been kept elsewhere, particularly after the Restoration, they might show that Hackness was in fact typical of rural parishes with limited opportunities for settlement but with alternative employment in the vicinity. Certainly that was true of parishes near Knaresborough, which stood in direct contrast to Hampsthwaite where there were abundant opportunities for both employment and settlement, but also in contrast to Slaidburn where alternative employment was almost totally lacking.

Household and family relationships in Bowland

A final facet of social life, as yet unexamined, is the size of households. We have seen that the number of children per family was substantially less among the cottage-encroachers than among the more prosperous copyholders, but we have yet to establish whether these were nucleated or extended families. It is possible to answer the question only through family reconstitution, (52) and this has been attempted only for the parish of Slaidburn, but in view of the insular nature of the parish it is a particularly relevant area for study.

(53)

Even a cursory glance at the Slaidburn register reveals that there were many individually-named farms - of the kind distinguished from hamlets in the Forest of Knaresborough (see Table 6.3 of Chapter VI). In the latter case a distinction was drawn on the basis - not altogether satisfactory - of one surname or several, but at Slaidburn a more precise distinction is possible by counting the number of family heads at each site. We have seen that former Bowland Forest vaccaries which were fee-farmed were later subdivided into a large number of small shares, while ancient leaseholds usually stayed in the hands of a single family. Farms of the latter kind were always named in the parish register, which makes family allocation simple, and in the following analysis every named farm is examined whether it lay in the Forest of Bowland or (much more commonly) in the manor of Slaidburn. It turns out that the majority were former granges of Kirkstall Abbey, on land granted out from the Forest of Bowland in the 12th and 13th centuries.

Table 8.2 lists the tenants in alphabetical order, with the number of children born in the decade from 1631-40 and all available information regarding adult dependents. These houses were large, judging by the number of hearths taxed later, and it is found that each family head and his residence occur repeatedly in the register since so many baptisms and burials were recorded, in contrast to most of the parish where births were infrequent. The number of such outstanding holdings was small; there were twentyfive individually-named houses in the parish register during the decade with enough entries to be useful, excluding the former vaccaries which, as we have seen, were subdivided, had many tenants, and few children. Yet these twentyfive family heads were recorded as having 90 children baptised between 1631 and 1640 and only 34 burials, which at first sight suggests a rapidly growing population. The Table certainly shows that some individuals - particularly Ralph Fawber of Heaning, James More of Harrop, and Alexander

TABLE 8.2

ANCIENT LEASEHOLDS IN THE PARISH OF SLAIDBURN 1631-40

<u>Name of tenant</u>	<u>Name of holding</u>	<u>Years in which children were born</u>	<u>Adult dependents</u>	<u>Status of dependents</u>	<u>Children born of dependents</u>
Robert Banister	Newhouse	1631;1633/4;1635/6;1638	None	--	--
Francis Beckett	Skelslaw	1633/4;1636;1636/7;1640	None	--	--
Thomas Bilsborow	Smaithwaite	1635;1639	None	--	--
Francis Brenand	Chapelcroft	1631/2	None	--	--
Laurence Breres	Hammerton	1632/3;1636;1637/8;1639;1640	None	--	--
Christopher Brigg	Stephen Park	1632/3;1635;1636;1638	None	--	--
Richard Brigg	Blackhouse	1632;1635	None	--	--
William Bruer	Gaughey	1634;1637;1640	Nicholas Leeming	?Elderly D.1637	None
Ralph Fawber	Heaning	1631;1632;1633/4;1634/5;1636 1637;1639,1640	Dennis Smythson	?Elderly D.1636/7	None
Cuthbert Guy	Fairhill	1633;1633;1636	None	--	--
William Guy	Halstead	1631;1632/3;1635;1638;1640/1	None	--	--
William Guy	Inge	1632;1635/6;1639	None	--	--
Adam Hatkill	Hollins	1640/1 (Not married until 1639/40)	Susanna Hatkill	?Spinster D.1633	None
Ultridge Hodgkinson	Boarsden	1632;1633;1636	None	--	--

ANCIENT LEASEHOLDS IN THE PARISH OF SLAIDBURN (continued)

<u>Name of tenant</u>	<u>Name of holding</u>	<u>Years in which children were born</u>	<u>Adult dependents</u>	<u>Status of dependents</u>	<u>Children born of dependents</u>
Alexander Johnson	Grange	1631/2;1633;1634;1636;1638/9;1640	None	--	--
William King	Whitholme	1634;1636;1638/9;1640	None	--	--
Richard Leigh	Birkett	1635/6;1638;1640	Leonard Leigh John Page	?Elderly D.1638/9 ?	None 1631/2
James More	Harrop	1634;1634;1635;1636;1637/8 1639;1640	Brian Taylor	?Elderly D.1638/9	None
George Parker	Storth	1634;1636/7;1640	None	--	--
Robert Parker	Oxenhursthouse	1634;1634;1635	None	--	--
Edward Rudd	Knowlmere	1637	John Rudd	?Elderly D.1637/8	None
James Rudd	Meanley	1631;1634/5;1635/6	John Stackhouse	?	1634
Robert Sigswicke	Lambhill	1635;1637;1638;1639	None	--	--
Tempest Slinger	Catley	1632;1635/6;1638	Robert Fothergill	?Brother- in-law	1639
Robert Standen	Farrowfieldhouse	1633/4;1636;1636;1638/9	Nicholas Standen Ralph Toples	?Elderly D.1637 ?	None 1635

Johnson of Grange (the primary Kirkstall grange at Rushton) - were unusually prolific in the number of their offspring. Yet the average number of live births among these families was only between three and four, and after allowing for those who died during the decade, it turns out that the typical yeoman family had only two children who survived the decade, and they would not necessarily reach maturity. If this was the situation among the most prosperous and most prolific section of the community it is clear that the poorer families had no hope of maintaining their numbers.

Another outstanding feature of these twentyfive farms is the fact that they were run, by and large, without any living-in servants and depended entirely on their families for labour - which suggests a primary reason for wanting a number of children. They must have been in most cases extended families, for adults with the same surname at the same site seem to have been parents, and when a different surname does occasionally appear it is usually possible to show them to have been relatives by marriage. We know, for example, that at the former monastic grange of Catley, where the family head was Tempest Slinger, Robert Fothergill from somewhere outside Slaidburn parish married Margaret Slinger in 1638/9 and a daughter was born later the same year. The marriage either entitled Fothergill to a share of the property or, much more likely in view of the reluctance to subdivide, made him through his wife a possible successor to Tempest Slinger in the event of him leaving no male heir. Slinger had three children born during the decade, but the only son died, leaving the possibility of another male heir born outside this period of which we have no knowledge. We have seen that this was a fairly typical family among the tenants of the ancient leaseholds, and it must be compared to the families living on the subdivided vaccaries - at Battris for example - where only 26 baptisms were recorded from 14 families during the decade. It may be noted, incidentally, that the few adult dependents who were not close relatives of the family head never had more than one child baptised during the decade, and therefore fell into the same social category as the poorer tenants of the subdivided vaccaries.

The marriages made by the children of these families are also of great interest, and are again traceable by family reconstitution. It might be as well to examine first, however, those who encroached on the commons - though they were few and far between and not usually associated with the ancient leaseholds.

Such as there were are found to be early in date, many presentments being made in 1606 when Thomas Clarke of Newton, for example, was said to have encroached "two houses or litle barnes upon the waste in Newton" worth 8d.⁽⁵⁴⁾ His property seems to have descended to Ralph Clarke of Newton and then to another Thomas Clarke of Newton who had children baptised at Slaidburn in the 1660s and who was taxed on two hearths at Newton in 1664 and 1672.⁽⁵⁵⁾ There were no other Clarks in Newton township at that time but Richard Clarke, who may have been a brother, was living nearby in Bowland Forest at a farm called Crabtreeroot, more often known - as it is today - as Root. It had been carved out of the former vaccary of Stableoak, which had for centuries been in the hands of the Martons, and it was only after Richard Clarke married Alice Marton of Root,⁽⁵⁶⁾ whose father was the former tenant, that Richard came into possession of it. He may have held it initially on a short lease, but by 1672 he was the long-term leaseholder of a house of four hearths there - the largest on this particular vaccary. Although it might appear that this descendant of an encroacher had risen to yeoman or even minor gentry status in a very short time, it is likely that his origins were not particularly humble, Thomas Clarke of Newton being in 1606 a yeoman-intaker rather than a cottager.

The same cannot be said, however, of the Hurlington family of Newton township. Like Thomas Clarke, Hugh Hurlington of Brungillmoor was presented in 1606, in this case for encroaching "one litle house or barne and six faulls in Newton", worth 4d.⁽⁵⁷⁾ He died in 1634; his widow in 1636/7; and William Hurlington also of Brungillmoor, who was either a son or a brother, died in 1638. But there was a descendant, Humphrey Hurlington of Brungillmoor, who buried a son, George, in 1662 but who was either a cottager or a subtenant since he paid no Hearth Tax in 1664 or 1672. The Hurlingtons seem to have been 17th century incomers who did not survive the century, and in view of the location of their encroachments on Brungillmoor it may be worth digressing to enquire whether they were working the lead mines there.

The history of the Brungillmoor mines is well-detailed, since they were described by a contemporary, John Webster. He was the Grindletonian Master of Clitheroe school in 1643 and Vicar of Mitton in 1648, and published in 1671 his 'Metallographia: or an History of Metals'. In it he states "And I myself know two places in Craven, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where formerly good Silver Ore (in conjunction with Lead) hath been gotten; the one is a place called Brunghill Moor in the parish of Slaidburn, where betwixt 50 and 70 years since Sir Bevis Bulmer gott good store of Silver Ore, that held about

67 pound per Tun, as Walter Basby an expert Essay or Test-Master informed me". However, "Sir Bevis Bulmer having brought the mine at Brunghill Moor to great perfection, by getting great store of Silver Ore (as many men yet living can testify) a controversy arose about the said mine with Sir Gilbert Houghton or his father about the title, that grew to the height that Sir Bevis Bulmer was forced to give over pursuing the labour, and so cause the Workmen to throw in the Works; which have been often since attempted and wrought in but the same rich vein could never be found".(58)

Dr Raistrick has argued that Sir Gilbert Houghton's challenge was based on a grant to Sir Henry Houghton in 1414 of Letters Patent to the vaccaries of Brennand and Whitendale in Bowland (59), and from this infers that the Brunghill Moor mines were synonomous with the 18th century lead mines in Brennand, but this view is mistaken. There can be no doubt that Brunghill Moor was not in the Forest but in Newton township, where it is shown on a map of 1592 as well as on modern maps (60), and where Slaidburn parish register consistently placed it in the 17th century. The reason for the dispute over the mining rights is therefore unknown, but the fact remains that the Brunghill mine was working from c.1600 to around 1615 (when Sir Bevis Bulmer died), was re-opened unsuccessfully (61) in 1655 and on other occasions, but was abandoned before 1671. The chronological coincidence with the Hurlington encroachment on Brunghill Moor is remarkable, since it is only recorded between 1606 and 1662, though it appears that other children of the original family settled at Stripehouse in Newton and at Slaidburn by the end of the period. They are recorded in Slaidburn parish register - in spite of the Grindletonian connection with mining - and Dorothy Hurlington at least was married at Slaidburn in 1664, to a George Parker - one of three local men of that name.

He was certainly not one of the yeoman members of the Parker family for, like all the Bowland yeomen, they tended to intermarry with those of similar status, and a great deal of inbreeding is suggested by the numerous very local marriages. Leonard Leigh of Birkett in Newton township, a yeoman with five children and two servants, made bequests to them all in his will of 2nd March 1638/9⁽⁶²⁾. Of his children, Richard, William, James, Isabell and Anne, the eldest, Richard, had married in 1632 Anne Parkinson, daughter of a local yeoman, and in 1636 the second son, William, had married Mary Parker of the same social group. Richard and Anne's descendants can be traced in some detail (Table 8.2), and although the eldest, Leonard, who was born in 1635/6, married Elizabeth Brigg,

a yeoman's daughter from the other side of the parish, both Isabell, born 1638, and William, born 1640, found partners within a mile or two of home - even in this sparsely populated district. A month before her eighteenth birthday Isabell married Timothy Hodgkinson, son of the prosperous Ultred Hodgkinson of Boarsden, but Timothy was not the heir to his father's estate and the couple seem to have moved out of the parish. William, on the other hand, at the very early age (for a bridegroom) of nineteen, married Margaret Brockden (or Brogden) of Slemmerow, who was almost certainly a widow, and so acquired the tenancy of the property for his wife's lifetime. Their first son, Robert, was born two years later but when William died in 1681/2 he was described as 'husbandman', never having been the true owner of the property, the Hearth Tax on which was paid by his ?stepson Mark Brogden. Nevertheless, the marriages of both the younger Leigh children had brought them security, and in view of the early age at which they married close neighbours, it may be suspected that both were arranged by the parents. (63)

Even when Slaidburn parishioners married partners from apparently distant places like Long Preston, Settle, or Clapham, the great extent of each parish means that there is a strong possibility that they were almost neighbours. Halstead Fell in Slaidburn parish adjoined Keasden Common in Clapham along the high ridge of Bowland Knotts, so that when John Guy of Halstead (son of William Guy in Table 8.2) married in 1655 Janet Ratcliffe of Clapham appearances may be deceptive. The highest and most remote farms in that parish were no more than 3 miles from Halstead, even though their respective parish churches were separated by 11 miles - even measured as the crow flies. The home hamlets of marriage partners from distant parishes are rarely given in the register, but when Elizabeth Battersbie of Boostagill in Long Preston parish married James Parkinson of Lamb Hill in Slaidburn parish, it is certain that they lived only 5 miles apart.

The Guy family, incidentally, which occupied the ancient Kirkstall grange of Halstead, was exceptionally localised within Slaidburn parish. The surname occurred only at Halstead and the neighbouring farms of Fairhill and Inge, which were formerly part of the parent grange. Halstead, though nearly 1000 feet above sea level, is sited on relatively level limestone pastures and must have been capable of considerable expansion, even in the 17th century. We find that William Guy's household there was independent of that of John and Oliver, his sons, who shared another holding on the same site. Both John and Oliver were

married, with families of their own, and extended families of this particular kind are thought to have been unusual (64), but they were not uncommon in Bowland. The other members of the Guy family, at Fairhill and Inge (now Old Ing), appear to have been more distant relatives, perhaps cousins.

The odd instances of marriage outside the immediate locality seem to have been connected with trade. Both Thomas son of Edward Banke of Slaiburn Woodhouse and Thomas Banke of Slaiburn married girls from Melling parish - and it is even possible that both references are to the same man, if his first wife died between the first marriage in 1656 and the second 12 months later. In any event, although Melling was 14 miles from Slaiburn the parish included Roeburndale, whose farms were only 10 miles from Slaiburn Woodhouse, and both places lay on the much-used Salter's road over the fells. (65) The most remote of the Melling farms were at Lower, Middle, and High Salter, and at Mallowdale, and it may be that both Mary, daughter of John Baitson of Melling parish, and Anne Rimington of Melling parish, who were married at Slaiburn church in 1656 and 1657 respectively, came from there. Whether they did or not, it is clear that the Salter's way was the means of contact, while trade of some kind probably provided the opportunity, particularly as two other marriages were made in the opposite direction, between Melling men and Slaiburn girls, within the decade examined. The textile trade in Leeds, moreover, was probably the stimulus which led to the only really distant marriage link, between Margaret, daughter of Stephen Briggs of Stephen Park near Dalehead, and William, son of James Walker of Leeds, in 1655.

It appears that in general Slaiburn was an insular parish, with over 80% of marriages having both partners belonging to it - and a high proportion of those from neighbouring farms. There was a marked tendency for spouses to come from the same social group which, taken together with the fact of the youth of some of the partners, suggests arranged marriages among the yeoman farmers at least. Youthful brides would certainly tend to increase the size of families within this group; the only one in Bowland, incidentally, which increased its numbers during the decade 1631-40, but, even so, the intervals between births were likely to be two to three years. Only in the families of Ralph Fawber and James More (see Table 8.2) was there a child born every year, and in both cases this seems to have been a desperate effort to provide a male heir. For of James More's eight children and Ralph Fawber's nine, only one son survived in each instance, and there is no guarantee that they achieved manhood.

Notes and References

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The role of Knaresborough town in financing and organising Forest industry

Eighteenth century commentators frequently referred to the importance of the linen industry in Knaresborough (1) & (2), and there is no doubt that much of its productive capacity was sited in the Forest. We now need to examine the creation of the industry and to explore some of the questions relating to the organisation of the many different 17th century trades locally - focussing particularly on the inter-dependence of Forest and town. It is clearly necessary to know if Knaresborough merely provided cloth finishing and marketing services for an expanding rural industry, or if the full range of textile processes was carried out in the town; whether specialisation was evident from the first and, if so, whether it was always linen. It is also important to know if industrial expansion was self-generated and locally financed - through Knaresborough people seeing an increasing market for their goods (perhaps with some product adaptation) - or if low manufacturing costs and surplus labour attracted individuals with experience of trade from elsewhere. Finally, all these considerations need to be extended to the many industries other than textiles that existed in the 17th century.

There can be no doubt that external influences played some part in the rise of the linen industry. The collapse of the extensive woollen cloth trade centred on Ripon, recorded by Leland, was part of a nationwide trend as markets for traditional fabrics declined - but it left a niche to be filled locally. Its cloth marketing function was probably taken by Leeds (3), but production of coarse materials for purely local consumption continued nearby in the Forest of Knaresborough. The Forest trade was unspecialised, woollen and harden cloths (the latter a coarse form of linen made from hemp rather than flax) being equally represented, but the growth of a cottager class, dependent very often on production for the market, began to change the situation. It has been pointed out (4) that difficulties in the woollen cloth trade made it preferable to manufacture a higher quality product locally, and ideally one with a nearer market than Leeds, and this became a real possibility after 1560 with the introduction of supplies of Baltic flax, imported through Hull and brought by water to York or Boroughbridge. The demand for linen, moreover, was expanding nationally and its manufacture is recorded as gaining importance by 1600 in the villages of the Norfolk-Suffolk border, while wills

proved in the Norwich Consistory Court between 1664 and 1686 "indicate that linen weaving played at least as important a part in the local economy as did the worsted industry".(5)

This may have been due in part to changing standards in clothing and household ware, and in part to national population growth. We have examined for Yorkshire the evidence of population growth between 1560 and about 1640, but growth elsewhere may have provided an additional stimulus for the initiation of local industrial expansion during this period. For the evidence from wills and inventories is that Knaresborough had no textile industry in the mid-16th century, not even cloth-finishing (a fulling mill was recorded in 1284 and a further one was added in 1525, but both were in decay in 1564).(6) Examination of the 15 existing inventories for the Borough and Tentergate between 1541 and 1560 show none with any involvement in textiles, and the 28 Forest inventories for the same period reveal only two weavers.⁽⁷⁾ Yet a century later the same sources show the industry well-established by 1640, and increasing substantially in importance following the Restoration. In fact, the number of looms working in Nidderdale doubled between the late 16th and late 17th centuries, but even more significant is the fact that the Knaresborough looms of the urban weavers out-numbered those from the whole of Nidderdale between 1661 and 1700.(8) It is no accident that the earliest surviving indenture of apprenticeship for this Honour into "the science, art or mystery of dressing flax or hemp" was for urban Knaresborough and dates from 1630.(9)

What had happened in Knaresborough, it appears, was not so much the establishment of a new industry as the urban centralisation of an old one - together with division of labour along specialised lines. No new crafts or skills were required; the inventories of Forest tenants for the 16th century show that all the stages of processing both wool and flax (or hemp) had been practised locally for generations. But the business had been in the hands of farmer-weavers, like John Hill of Harrogate, who processed any textiles that came their way and, moreover, practised other crafts too, quite apart from their farming interests. John Hill was combing, carding, and spinning wool, so dealing in both worsted and woollen yarn, the latter being woven and cropped on the premises. He was also preparing flax or hemp, and weaving both harden (made from hemp) and samoran (made from a mixture of flax and hemp). Robert Waide was combing and spinning worsted, as well as spinning hemp. William Ward, too, had dyed and undyed wool, as well as heckled flax and woven harden cloth. Like Hill and Waide, Ward was also farming but was in addition tanning leather, just as

Leonard Pott was spinning hemp in conjunction with farming, while following the cooper's trade. All these men lived in the Forest within easy reach of Knaresborough market, but none had more than a few percent of the total value of their goods in textiles (10), and all were principally farmers.

Such men were still active in the Forest of Knaresborough in the mid-17th century, as the inventories of Edward Hills, Francis Grime, and others reveal, but their products were increasingly directed at the more specialised urban market. No less than 30% of the urban population leaving wills were then engaged full time in the textile trade, although this is a broad category embracing dyeing as well as weaving, and the drapery trade as well as manufacturing. In the Forest, by contrast, the proportion was much less and represented a smaller change over the century.⁽¹¹⁾ Nevertheless, woollen and linen weavers were now distinguished from each other in both urban and rural areas, and frequent references to loom shops suggest the organisation of individual weavers into small manufacturing businesses, with an eye to uniformity of product as well as regularity of working hours. The few inventories which list the number of looms in the shop suggest that only two or three were installed, and there can be no doubt that to have more than four was very exceptional.

At this early stage in the town's involvement the concentration on linen-ware had not proceeded very far, but specialisation in either the wool or linen trades is evident in nearly all inventories listing textile equipment. In the thirty years from 1675 to 1704 five woollen, eight linen and three unspecified weavers are known although, since only a quarter of the local population on average left wills,⁽¹²⁾ there must have been many more weavers who died in this period without an inventory being made and whose occupations cannot, therefore, be determined. In fact, the proportion of weavers leaving wills is likely to be much less than a quarter, since weavers and spinners were among the poorest members of the community. In an Exchequer suit in the reign of Charles II it was stated that "a very good webster can scarcely earn fower pence a day with weavinge, and a very good spinner but two pence a day, they findinge themselves meate".⁽¹³⁾ An income of, at most £5 a year hardly compares with Gregory King's 1688 estimate of £38 a year on average for artisans and handicraft men.

Naturally enough, many inventories reveal an involvement in the more lucrative aspects of the urban textile trade. There were, for example, six

chapmen in Knaresborough between 1675 and 1704 whose inventories are known⁽¹⁴⁾ and five of them held large stocks of textile raw materials. Chapmen had traditionally been the middlemen of the woollen trade - intermediaries between the small clothiers and the woollen mercers and drapers.⁽¹⁵⁾ In Knaresborough they were concerned not with wool but with the provision of dressed flax and hemp, buying the imported flax in York and getting it heckled in Knaresborough. But in addition to the five chapmen there were three grocers in the town who held similar stocks, for a 'grocer' was originally someone who dealt with wholesale goods, in 'gross'. Of York it is said that "the terms mercer, merchant, grocer and chapman seem to have overlapped considerably, if indeed they were not synonomous".⁽¹⁶⁾ This is confirmed in the case of Robert Hill, whose occupation was given as grocer and who issued a trader's token marked on the obverse 'The Grocer's Arms' ⁽¹⁷⁾, but whose principal stock-in-trade was £50 worth of rough hemp awaiting dressing. Henry Bullock, who was described as a chapman, held raw flax and hemp of a similar value. ⁽¹⁸⁾

Not all chapmen traded on this scale or were equally successful, of course. Henry Latham, who occupied a substantial house and paid tax on three hearths within it somewhere off the market square in 1664 and 1672, seems to have been insolvent when he died in 1674.⁽¹⁹⁾ At that time he had a small flax-dressing shop equipped with two heckles and a pair of weighscales worth only 4s 6d and his stock was unvalued - perhaps because it was non-existent. His trading debts were considerable in total and widespread in location; he owed £12 at Halifax and £6 at Leeds, in each case "to severall persons", as well as £6 at Pontefract and £4 at York. In view of the known specialisation at these places it seems likely that he was dealing in wool as well as flax or hemp, and he owed 4s for carriage to "2 men that went to Leeds and Pontifract". His insolvency is suggested not only by the fact that his inventory shows an absence of stock, but also by an absence of debtors, while the value of his household goods was quite inadequate to meet his commitments. He also owed a large number of small sums to named tradesmen - or women - in Knaresborough, including Thomas Vittie (tallowchandler), Bossall Middleton (cordwainer), Thomas Jefferson (barber-surgeon), Widow Shann (innkeeper), and Robert Hill (grocer), as well as many others whose occupations are unknown.

We have seen that Robert Hill was in the same line of business, though not exclusively, for he had a 'Pipehouse or Workhouse' containing 3 tons of clay and 80 gross of clay pipes - enough to supply the whole district rather than the town alone. Moreover, Hill was concerned with the provision of Rapeseed

oil (much used in the woollen industry), for he had 6 acres of Rape sown and was owed £24 by Thomas Mason of Wetherby for Rape supplied. Robert Hill was a highly successful businessman, keeping the huge sum of £454 in ready money and having a further £750 invested in bonds and other securities, yet by far the most valuable single item in his stock was the £50 worth of rough hemp. This must have been sent out on credit for dressing, for he had no heckling shop of his own and there was £53 owing to him in small amounts in his debt book which was kept quite separate from what he was owed in his 'pipe book'. However, he must also have been buying the heckled flax back again since he had 148 lbs of dressed hemp and 79 lbs of dressed 'linen' (i.e. flax) in hand, and this may have been the reason for the large amount of ready money he kept. (20)

Hill's debtors were not named in 1681, but may have included Forest dwellers as well as townspeople since heckles appear so regularly in 17th century Forest inventories, but by the early 18th century, when occupations are sometimes revealed by parish register entries, there can be no doubt that flaxdressing was predominantly an urban craft.⁽²¹⁾ The same is not true of spinning, for there was no equivalent at this date of the centralised heckling shop in the production of spun yarn. Moreover, there is a record well into the 18th century of individual spinners buying dressed fibre on credit from the urban flaxdressers. In the wool trade, by contrast, it appears that fibre was only rarely 'put out' but was frequently spun in the homes of the woollen clothiers, of whom only two are known in the town in the late 17th century though there were many more in the Forest.⁽²²⁾ Woollen cloths were almost invariably dyed, whereas linen was usually sold bleached (or unbleached at a lower price), so that the fortunes of the town's dyers took a downward turn as linen replaced wool as the most important local textile product. This may account for the fact that after John Warner died in 1657 (having been described as the only skilled dyer in the district ten years earlier) his very prosperous dye works was run down by his son Simon in favour of the much more lucrative business of dealing in malt.⁽²³⁾ Nevertheless, any losses in the wool trade were more than compensated by the growth in the linen industry, and at the end of the 17th century very large quantities of textiles appear in the inventories of Knaresborough drapers and linen weavers, whose businesses now require examination.

It is an important fact that those urban linen weavers whose trade was sufficiently prosperous for them to have several looms - and to employ several

weavers - often seem to have sold direct to the public, and not only in Knaresborough. John Mush, linen weaver,⁽²⁴⁾ had in 1677 shops in both Knaresborough and Wetherby, and although 'shop' was just as likely to mean a loomshop as a retail shop, it is possible to be much more definite in the case of Richard Sheppard. His shops in Knaresborough market place and Ripon were certainly retail outlets, and quite separate from the loomshop at his home.⁽²⁵⁾ The Knaresborough drapers, too, were selling most of their stock retail, but they seem to have dealt very largely in woollen cloth and John Skaife's business may be taken as an example of the financial arrangements.⁽²⁶⁾

When he died in 1679 an extremely detailed inventory was prepared of his stock of drapery. His shop contained thousands of yards of fabrics and other goods, but more valuable for assessing his trading contacts are the lists of debts and debtors. Most of the credit he had granted was for small sums only - 95 debtors owed him in all just over £100 - but they were widely dispersed, from Hartwith some 10 miles west of Knaresborough to Hammerton which was 10 miles to the east. As it happens, this defines fairly accurately the area served by Knaresborough market, so it is not necessary to postulate a distributive network. His own debts, as might be expected, were to far fewer people - 20 in all - but totalled £379, and it is instructive to see who they were. We might suppose that their names would include linen manufacturers and either chapmen or wool clothiers who supplied him with textiles, but in fact not a single person on the list can be shown to have been engaged in any of these businesses. Instead, we find that no less than 11 names were prefixed by 'Mr', indicating a member of the gentry or professional classes (as were also Sir Thomas Slingsby and Mrs Frances Levitt), and the remaining 7 names include none who were in business locally. The conclusions seem very clear; the local gentry were providing the capital for trade without engaging in it themselves; and John Skaife was using this capital to buy his stock, not from manufacturers, but from wholesalers - probably in Leeds.

The absence of local suppliers among his creditors may be accounted for by the fact that his stock included virtually no local linen. There were some imported cloths - calicoes shipped in by the East India Company⁽²⁷⁾, silks and satins - but much more worsted of all kinds, shalloons, stuffs, serges, prunelles and bombazines, no doubt manufactured in the West Riding but not in the immediate locality. Such a degree of specialisation is surprising at

this date, but it is confirmed by the description 'woollen draper' used of both Thomas Cass and Martin Hawkridge, and we shall see that it was balanced by the equally specialised sale of linenware by Richard Sheppard at Knaresborough and Ripon. (28)

Lesser tradesmen than John Skaife would have been able to raise their capital from a few sources only, and we find that George Walker of Knaresborough, Cordwainer, when he died in 1678 owed a total of £45 to three principal creditors, together with other debts for materials and services. George Walker was not quite what he seems, however, for the leatherworking tools and materials of his trade amounted to only £8, yet he had malt worth £86 in stock (29). Dealing in malt seems to have been an important occupation in Knaresborough at this time; John Skaife's debtors had included a number who owed him money for malt, these debts being recorded in a different book to those for cloth. But whereas Skaife's malt-dealing was only a sideline, George Walker had most of his capital tied up in it.

Walker was in fact an entrepreneur, buying in barley, providing premises and employment for John Bake (or Baocke), who was the working maltster, and finally selling the product. Nevertheless, Walker's heavy involvement in malting is only fortuitously revealed, because malting could be carried out only in winter and spring, when the temperature was low, and his death in May shows the full extent of his activity. No doubt he was free to resume his shoemaking in summer, and an autumn inventory might well have shown him in a different light. His malting operations are revealed by his debts, which included £23 16s "To severall men for Barley"; £21 "To William Hardwick for monys and barly"; £19 "To Elizabeth Thorpe" (unspecified but probably a loan); £4 14s "To Mr Conyers & others" (ditto); and finally a total of £14 4s "To John Baocke for maltmaking". Walker's inventory further includes "Mault in the chamber £50"; "In John Baocke's chamber 40 quarters of malt and barley £36"; "Debts owing to Testator by John Baocke £25"; "More in his book by his account £4 10s"; "Debts owing to the Testator for Mault £14; and Debts owing in the shopp booke £20". In all, George Walker appears as a man of substance, the total value of his household goods being £75 and his net estate with all debts settled £127. But he was a typical urban tradesman, exploiting a geographical advantage, for he was able to buy his barley in the lowland villages east of Knaresborough and sell his malt to the large Forest population in the pastoral area to the west.

Other inventories of this period testify to large-scale dealings in malt. George Walker's combination of malting and shoemaking as compatible seasonal ventures was paralleled by Simon Warner's malt dealing already mentioned. Warner was owed £424 for malt supplied but only £21 for dyeing work, yet dyeing may also have been seasonal as were many of the textile processes. The hardness of the water from the Nidd, whose sources included both limestone and gritstone areas, may well have changed with the season and "the harder the water the more difficult it is to produce an even colour when dyeing in the piece".(30) The only dye-works in the area was in the town of Knaresborough, but bleaching of linen was practised everywhere and is the prime example of a process that could only be carried out effectively in the summer. The bleaching grounds must nevertheless have been available in fine winter weather for tentering woollen cloth after fulling, and necessarily so, for the Forest fulling mills could only operate when there was a sufficient head of water after the corn mills had taken their share.

The debts incurred by a tradesman and his customers give a useful indication of the scale of the business, and Table 9.1 lists the urban tradesmen whose debts can be quantified at their deaths between 1660 and 1689. They include two inventories for men who called themselves maltsters, William Field who died in 1660 and John Harrison who died in 1679. The latter, like John Baocke, seems to have actually carried on the trade - but in this case on his own account, for he owed a total of £47 while debts due to him came to only £16. His household goods were worth £40, but William Field was in a much bigger way of business with goods (including stock) valued at £117, debts of £62, and a total of £80 owing to him.

During the period 1660 - 1689 malt dealers and drapers seem to have dominated the trade of the town - at least in terms of the value of their stock and their trading debts. The four maltsters or malt dealers mentioned were owed a total of nearly £600 for malt supplied, apart from what they had in stock, yet the eight weavers listed in Table 9.1 were owed only £60 in all and £30 of that was to George Cass. They may, of course, be unrepresentative but George Cass and John Mush both had sizeable businesses in spite of the relatively small value of their stock. In the absence of other information the suspicion must be that most weavers lived from hand to mouth, and this is in accordance with what is known about the practice of weaving. They wove each week a piece of cloth which was sold on completion to furnish the basic necessities of food and yarn from which to weave the next week's piece,

and the mere fact that it was possible to live like this meant that it was practicable for anyone with the requisite skill to set up as a weaver, for the capital required was minimal. Those weavers who left wills were one step up the social scale from this, but few had more than two looms which suggests that a weaver usually ran his business with the help of either a son or a journeyman, with the remaining members of the family assisting with other tasks.

TABLE 9.1 KNARESBOROUGH TRADING DEBTS (INCLUDING RENTS & LOANS) 1660-1689

<u>Name</u>	<u>Trade</u>	<u>Inventory date</u>	<u>Goods (house+stock)</u>	<u>Owing to deceased</u>	<u>Owing by deceased</u>
Thomas Akham, Woollenweaver		20/06/1681	£23	£14	Nil
Thomas Askriggs, Sadler		09/06/1676	£40	£40	Nil
John Atkinson		25/10/1670	£2	£10	Nil
Peter Barras, Weaver		25/03/1662	£28	£15	£19
William Benson, Weaver		13/03/1675/6	£17	Nil	£3
William Brodbelt, Tanner		15/03/1686/7	£17	Nil	Nil
Henry Bullock, Chapman		06/04/1675	£74	£45	Nil
Francis Cass, Glazier		29/01/1688/9	£12	Nil	Nil
George Cass, Linen-weaver		10/10/1689	£108	£30	£7
William Field, Maltster		29/02/1660/1	£117	£80	£62
Thomas Fields, Blacksmith		09/04/1675	£56	£6	£11
Matthias Grayson, Whitesmith		27/10/1684	£13	Nil	£10
John Harrison, Maltster		07/01/1678/9	£40	£16	£47
Will. Holden, Woollenweaver		07/03/1679/80	£14	Nil	£7
John Hunter, Linenweaver		25/11/1676	£14	Nil	Nil
Robert Hill, Grocer		29/12/1681	£188 +	£144 +	Nil
			£454 cash	£750 bonds	
Henry Latham, Chapman		n.d. (1674)	£6	Nil	£53
Robert Lee, Chapman		31/07/1688	£23	£1	£1
Richd. Lister, Woollenweaver		26/12/1678	£18	Nil	£2
Robert Matthew, Draper		07/04/1679	£131	£45	Nil
Bossall Middleton, Cordwnr.		01/04/1689	£65	£60	Nil
John Mush, Linenweaver		31/03/1677	£20	£1	£19
Mary Roundell, Draper		03/10/1672	£243	£1777	Nil
Francis Sheppard, Chapman		11/01/1686/7	£194	£31	£102
Thomas Simpson, Housewright		11/06/1679	£25	£12	£7
John Skaife, Draper		29/03/1679	£152	£100 +	£379
John Tasker of Tentergate		11/04/1676	£9	£30	£5
Thomas Turner, Grocer		18/03/1677/8	£105	£10	Nil
Thos. Vitte, Tallowchandler		25/02/1686/7	£154	£32	£40
George Walker, Cordwainer		23/05/1678	£160	£63	£96
Simon Warner, Maltdealer		22/09/1683	£548 +	£462 +	Nil
			£315 cash	£300 in	
				bills & bonds	

Source Probate inventories at West Yorkshire Archives, Sheepscar, Leeds. Index numbers can be obtained from Knaresborough Wills, Surtees Society, Vol. 110, using names and dates given above.

A weaver with 3 or 4 looms was rather more fortunately placed. No-one of this status in the borough of Knaresborough appears in Table 9.1 - even George Cass had only 2 looms - but the business of Richard Sheppard, a linen-weaver who died in 1702, is worthy of study despite its rather later date.⁽³¹⁾ Richard was almost certainly the son of Francis Sheppard of Knaresborough, Chapman, who died in 1687 leaving a weaving shop with two looms and stock valued at £124 and the grandson of Francis, linenweaver, who left 1 loom only in 1669.⁽³²⁾ The business must have expanded considerably under Richard's direction, for in 1702 it comprised a well-stocked workshop with 3 looms, a shop in Knaresborough Market Place, and another in Ripon. The workshop, as might be expected, contained in addition to the looms and loom-gear a large stock of linen yarn ready for weaving, some linen webs and some finished cloth. The Ripon shop, too, contained webs as well as cloth, so it was probably a loom shop as well as a retail shop, and there is a suggestion of 'putting-out' revealed by the item "yarn and cloth at John Carlom's and Thomas Danson". The shop in Knaresborough Market Place, on the other hand, contained only cloth of various kinds, but nearly all based on flax or hemp. Prices ranged from 5d a yard for the coarsest dyed hardens made from local hemp to about 18d for the finest bleached linens manufactured from imported flax but, once again, such specialisation in a single type of material is rather surprising. It would be quite understandable if Sheppard had been selling to the wholesale trade, but with stock valued at only £24 at Ripon and £94 in Knaresborough Market Place this could hardly have been the case, particularly as even retail drapers had stock worth about £300 each.

The total length of fabric that Sheppard had in stock was well over 2000 yards and, with the lengths varving from 10 to 24 yards, represented more than 100 pieces. But such a large quantity of cloth would take a considerable time to weave on 3 looms and it seems highly likely that some of it was provided by other weavers in Knaresborough or the Forest. There are grounds for thinking that this provision was made by buying from Forest weavers, rather than by 'putting-out' work, and it may well have been from families like the Randalls of Greystone Plain in Felliscliffe. Thomas Randall's bequest of 1702 stated "I give to William Randall, Robert and Thomas Randall, my sons, to everyone their severall looms which they work on; also wheels and other things belonging their trade, equally amongst them".⁽³³⁾ Another son, Benjamin, was only 12 and too young to share in this bequest, but he too became a weaver and all four brothers seem to have had enough work to make them reasonably well-off, for none of them ever needed the support of an illegal

encroachment on the common.

In the absence of Richard Sheppard's shop book it is impossible to discover where the remainder of his cloth was made, though it is worth noting that while Richard was described as a linen weaver his father Francis Sheppard, doing a similar job and probably in the same loomshop, had earlier been referred to as a chapman with yarn in the house and at bleaching as well as cloth in the looms.⁽³⁴⁾ Evidently his business had embraced the products of a whole range of processes, and this was typical of the chapmen who were traditionally the middlemen of wool manufacture and were now performing the same function for linen. The essential distinction may be that a chapman expected to travel in the course of acquiring materials and disposing of them, whereas a weaver-shopkeeper stayed at home and purchased any necessary additional cloth direct from the weavers at Knaresborough market (the Regulations of 1698 specifically mention a 'Linn cloth Markett').⁽³⁵⁾

Even this distinction is not a sufficient one, however, for it has been noted ⁽³⁶⁾ that "the term chapman was applied loosely to traders ranging from substantial wholesalers ... down to petty traders and hawkers". Fear of being confused with the latter group may be one reason why, after about 1700, we find the term 'chapman' being supplanted by 'weaver' on the one hand and 'flaxdresser' on the other, but it is more probable that this reflected both increasing specialisation and the employment of artisans in centralised workplaces. The evidence comes from inventories, which indicate both more looms and special flaxdressing areas.

Aaron Lowcocke in 1699 had a cellar containing "Eight heckles with frames", worth £3 5s, while raw materials (flax and hemp) and flax prepared for spinning ('heckled goods') were together valued at £65.⁽³⁷⁾ He was evidently letting spinners have the heckled flax on credit, for 'money oweing in the debt book upon trade' amounted to £368, plus another £30 'desparate' which he never expected to collect. A secondary meaning of 'flaxdresser' or 'chapman' nevertheless existed alongside the principal one, as already suggested, for Francis Bradley of Knaresborough, flaxdresser in 1705, had a haberdasher's stock including calico, linen, cotton and muslin fabrics, as well as smaller items,⁽³⁸⁾ the whole being valued at only £6. This is very similar to the stock of Robert Lee, chapman of Knaresborough, who died in 1688 leaving haberdashery worth £4, ranging from buttons, spectacles and ribbons, to combs, thimbles and pins.⁽³⁹⁾ Bradley and Lee might have been better described as pedlars, for these

were the goods which, as Henry Best of Emswell noted, were brought from linen draper's shops by country pedlars for re-sale. (40)

The principal local meaning of 'chapman', though, seems always to have been to describe someone who travelled to organise linen manufacture, and as specialisation progressed we find the term giving way to 'flaxdresser', and later to 'manufacturer', while the skilled craft of dressing the flax was done by 'hecklers' and that of whitening the yarn by 'bleachers'. All these crafts were practised in an urban setting, but it is worth noting that, while the preparatory stages of linen manufacture had earlier been organised for the Forest from the urban centre of Knaresborough, and were later centralised in the town, the less important (but still sizeable) woollen manufacturing industry seems always to have been organised from within the Forest. It is usually in the Washburn valley, remote from Knaresborough but within reasonably easy reach of the woollen town of Leeds, that we find the woollen clothiers (though the evidence is late) and Joseph Hillas of Norwood (with 3 ends of broadcloth at Leeds, worth £8⁽⁴¹⁾) and Richard Gill of Cockburn (now Cockber) (42) in Fewston parish were both described in this way. They seem to have organised their manufacture not by 'putting-out' but by dealing with all the processes (except fulling) in their own homes with the help of journey-men, and they conformed in all respects to the image created by Daniel Defoe of the industry in the Halifax area. (43) Earlier in the 17th century such establishments had existed also in urban Knaresborough, and Peter Barras left a horse-pack of woollen cloth, containing 5-10 pieces for Wakefield market, as late as 1661, (44) but with the progressive dominance of linen they were gradually squeezed out. When Richard Winterburn died in 1686, leaving all the paraphernalia of woollen cloth manufacture and with the large sum of £75 owing to him, he may have proved to be the last of the urban clothiers. (45)

One of the distinctive processes of the woollen - as distinct from the worsted - trade was the fulling or thickening of the cloth. Fulling mills used large quantities of soap, the potash necessary for its manufacture being produced by burning backen in ealing hearths. (46) Although the craft of soapmaking must have declined in importance during the century it was still needed for fulling in the Forest and generally for washing. Leonard Atkinson of Nabs in Birstwith, John Brunskill and William Murras, were fined 3s 4d each (47) in 1698 for some offence in connection with the operation of an ealing hearth - probably at Swarcliffe - but the product was quite valuable for Thomas Vitty of Knaresborough, a tallowchandler and soapmaker, had £6 worth of bracken ashes

in his possession when he died in 1687, whereas his stock of soap was valued at only £2.(48)

Another group of trades which seems to have been very widely practised in both urban and Forest settings was associated with leather. There were at least three tannery sites in the town - or more precisely, just outside it - for the smell connected with the curing of leather was something to be avoided in the town centre. Tanneries are known at Spitalcroft very early in the 17th century, at Millbank rather later (Thomas Lowson had such an establishment there when he died in 1637) and at Bondend throughout the century - the latter associated successively with the names Roundell,⁽⁴⁹⁾ Yeadon, and Broadbelt. The related trades of skinner and fellmonger were represented by William Lister of Marchbridge End⁽⁵⁰⁾ and William Exelby⁽⁵¹⁾ respectively, but the barkers who were concerned with obtaining and preparing the oak bark necessary for tanning were settled - not surprisingly - in the Forest. The only one known to have left a will was John Gill of Rattan Row in Thruscross township, whose inventory of 1681 included "bark for tanning" worth £6.(52)

Of the leatherworking - as distinct from leathermaking - crafts, there was always at least one sadler at work in the town and the deaths of no less than seven shoemakers are recorded in the borough between 1675 and 1704 (though we have seen that George Walker was practising his trade only seasonally). Increasing specialisation within the leather crafts is indicated by the existence of a glover in Knaresborough in 1720, and a tangible link with the past was forged with the discovery in 1959 of a disused medieval well behind a Market Place house (53), which had been used subsequently as a tip for rubbish including leather offcuts. It is of interest to note that it has now been shown that a burgage house on this site in 1711 was described as having "a yard with a well therein", and was leased to Leonard Pickersgill, fellmonger.(54)

We have seen that the linen industry was dominant in Knaresborough in the 17th century, but that malting and leatherworking were also important. Although a variety of minor trades was also practised - at least two branches of the Cass family worked as glaziers, for example - it appears that it was only in the field of textiles that Knaresborough exerted a controlling interest over the Forest, through the centralisation of yarn supplies and cloth marketing. It is an open question, therefore, how other Forest trades were organised - particularly metalworking - for it is a surprising fact that between 1718 and

1722, when occupations were noted for the first time in Hampsthwaite parish register, there were as many whitesmiths as weavers. Yet this trade was certainly not organised from Knaresborough, where whitesmiths were almost unknown, and is more likely to have been centred on Ripon.

The question of metalworking trades deserves a section to itself, but with regard to the interaction of Knaresborough town and Forest it is worth noting that urban apprenticeships - though available - were not necessary to practise a trade. Indeed, it was open to anyone with the necessary skill and resources to set up as a manufacturer in any field, for the producers seem to have been independent craftsmen and even the 'putting-out' system, which played such a crucial part in the infant industrial revolution, was unknown here at an earlier date. In the textile field, the flax spinners bought heckled material on credit from the urban workshops of the flaxdressers - as is proved by the total absence of this trade from the occupations noted for Forest dwellers (56) - and perhaps sold the spun yarn direct to the weavers. After about 1750, it is true, easier transport using the new Turnpike roads and an expanding market for linen goods encouraged manufacturers like Richard Tiplady of Felliscliffe to set up in the Forest, while Pateley Bridge became an independent manufacturing centre in the upper dale. (57) But during the 17th century, with which we are now concerned, Knaresborough chapmen remained in control both of flax supplies and flax preparation, just as Knaresborough market remained the local centre for linen-cloth sales.

If we now attempt to summarise the economic relationship between the Forest and the local towns, we can say with confidence that each was dependent to some extent on the other. The specialised organising, servicing, and marketing functions of the towns were complemented by the extra productive capacity of the Forest, certainly as far as Knaresborough and Ripon were concerned though less so in Otley, where there was no dominant urban industry. (58) We can also say that the growth of the domestic textile trade in Knaresborough was self-induced, for there are no known examples of capitalists from elsewhere investing in, or organising, local industry. On the contrary, all the participants in the late 17th century were local men and the capital was provided by local gentry, many of whom now lived in the town. Whereas earlier in the century land, as an investment, had offered the attraction of relative safety combined with the prospect of a rising income (59), there appears by 1700 to have been an appreciable movement of funds into the promotion of small-scale industry.

By that date the gentry families were well established in the town, for in the 1670s, 80s & 90s the inventories of John Scott, David Rhodes, John Watters, John Whincupp, Simon Warner, Francis Iles and Thomas Bateson show them all to have been classed as gentleman. Yet in 1611 a petition by Sir Henry Slingsby, Thomas Coghill and others, on behalf of the burgesses of Knaresborough, had claimed that the greater part of the 200 householders were 'handicraft men' and that "about 30 persons impotent, aged, lame, blind, or younger children under seven [were] daily maintained out of their poor estates, over and above a great number of other poor there daily relieved by the said inhabitants, having not within the said town any gentleman or man of worth keeping house" (60).

There is, therefore, no doubt that a change had taken place during the century, but although prosperity in the linen trade, together with a demand for services in connection with the fashionable spa of Harrogate, had brought new people into the area, they were members of the gentry or professional classes rather than entrepreneurs. We hear of Ralph Metcalfe, apothecary, who moved from Leeds to Knaresborough in the 1680s, together with Thomas Jefferson, barber-surgeon, who had arrived by 1664, and Doctor Samuel Bonell and Richard Beverly druggist, both of whom were also around before 1689.⁽⁶¹⁾ The new emphasis on commerce and services is confirmed, moreover, by the descriptions townsfolk used of themselves. For although Knaresborough tradesmen before the Civil War still used the term 'yeoman' (implying a connection with the land) as an indication of their status, its use diminished with time to the point where, in the years 1719-20, of 64 individuals whose occupation was given in the parish register,⁽⁶²⁾ only 1 yeoman was noted. The others comprised 9 weavers, 5 tailors, 4 innkeepers, 4 masons, 3 hecklers, 2 dyers, 2 shopkeepers, and 2 woodworkers, as well as a host of other occupations each with a single representative. This stands in marked contrast to the position two centuries earlier, when tradesmen had been quite elusive and many townspeople made their living from the land. Evidently by 1720 the manufacture of goods and the provision of services had become the principal function of the town, and distinguished it clearly from the surrounding rural districts where crafts were invariably practised in association with a farm or smallholding.

Forest trades and occupations

In order to establish which trades or occupations were practised in the Forest we have to turn to the Hampsthwaite parish registers which, from 1718 onwards,

noted occupations as a matter of course.⁽⁶³⁾ From 1718 to 1722 inclusive, a total of 202 individuals can be listed whose occupations are known, and a comparison of these names against the index to 'Knaresborough Wills' ⁽⁶⁴⁾, from 1718 to the end of the century allows the identification of all those leaving wills - a quite surprising proportion of whom lived for at least another forty years after the baptism of their first child.

The occupations noted are a great help in the positive identification of individuals who might otherwise have been confused with others of the same name. Even so, there is still some uncertainty, the 39 who definitely left wills being supplemented by 8 who possibly did so. More precision is possible in the case of those who did not leave wills that have survived, there being 152 in this group plus 3 more who probably left no will. The proportion of those leaving a will (including 'possibles') is therefore 47 in 202, i.e. 23%, among whom the predominant group were, as expected, the yeomen, followed (a long way behind) by the weavers. It should be noted, incidentally, that although in Slaidburn parish during the previous century the proportion leaving wills had been very similar, at 20%, all but one (a miller) were either yeomen or husbandmen. (65)

Table 9.2

The analysis of occupations in Hampsthwaite parish 1718 - 1722

<u>Among those leaving wills (39+8)</u>		<u>Among those not leaving wills (152+3)</u>	
Yeoman	20 (42.5%)	Yeoman	34 (22%)
Weaver	9 (19%)	Weaver	31 (20%)
Whitesmith	6 (13%)	Whitesmith	31 (20%)
Tanner	3 (6.5%)	Labourer	24 (15.5%)
Miller	2 (4%)	Mason	6 (4%)
Tailor	2 (4%)	Tailor	5 (3%)
Others	5 (10%)	Butcher	4 (2.5%)
		Dishmaker	3 (2%)
		Carpenter/Joiner	3 (2%)
		Others	14 (9%)

It appears that, even after making allowance for the larger sample, there is a wider range of occupations among those not leaving wills. This group comprised very nearly equal numbers of yeomen, weavers, and whitesmiths, though labourers formed another large sector (totally absent among the will-makers). But the diversity of occupations conceals some important absentees. Where, for example, are all the other textile trades? Spinning, it appears, was an entirely part-time activity, almost exclusively practised by women, and so does not feature here. Heckling, on the other hand, was a masculine preserve, and its absence can only be accounted for by its concentration in

urban Knaresborough, where it turns out that 6% of those who died in 1719-20⁽⁶⁶⁾ without leaving a will called themselves hecklers. Dyeing also appears to have been confined to the local towns - possibly on account of the influence of the Warner family in Knaresborough, Ripon, and perhaps Otley in the previous century (67) - while marketing and finishing were wholly urban pursuits.

Surprisingly, the marketing role of Knaresborough, which is so evident for the textile trade, seems to be absent from some others. An outstanding example is that of the rural whitesmiths, who formed 20% of the poorer tradesmen and 13% of those who left wills in the parish of Hampsthwaite. Yet not a single whitesmith is mentioned in Knaresborough at this time. Admittedly, occupations are given for this parish only in 1719 and part of 1720, so that the coverage in time is small, but the huge parish included part of the Forest as well as urban Knaresborough and there must be a strong suspicion that the trade was centred not on this town but on Ripon. This idea receives some confirmation from the finding that the registers of Fewston parish - further from Ripon and nearer to Otley - feature no whitesmiths or lorimers at all, when occupations start to appear in 1741.(68)

A little light is cast on the nature of the whitesmith's craft by the fact that, although 'whitesmith' was the occupation given by 30 out of 31 white-metal workers in Hampsthwaite parish between 1718 and 1722, a comparable survey for the period 1738 - 42 shows 24 out of 24 now calling themselves 'lorimers' - although in many cases the same men were involved. Either the work carried out had changed, in the direction of greater specialisation, so that only spurs, stirrups, and harness gear such as bridle-bits were now made, or alternatively, not the work but the occupational title had changed.

In the early 19th century, trade directories in Ripon and Knaresborough list whitesmiths in the same category as bellfounders, perhaps implying a connection with a casting process. This is in any event suggested by the term 'white-metal', and by the fact that William Pawson, who was a whitesmith in Hampsthwaite earlier, called himself a 'pattern-maker' in 1726. Although we should be wary of changing styles in occupational descriptions, we can note a modern definition of a whitesmith as "A smith who worked in metals other than iron, usually tin, as distinct from a blacksmith who worked in iron; a tinsmith".(69) This suggests either the tinning of ironware or the manufacture of tinware and since sheet-metalwork - making or repairing pots or pans -

requires little in the way of equipment, it seemed likely that any whitesmiths employed in this particular line of business would be itinerant.

To check this possibility, the number of successive children baptised in the same church was compared, for a group of whitesmiths as against a group of weavers (who might reasonably be expected to stay in the same place). It was found, however, that there was less evidence of movement among the former group and, taken together with the fact that 17th century whitesmiths used equipment similar to that found in a blacksmith's shop, it is reasonable to conclude that they were not tinsmiths.(70) To find out exactly what they were doing, however, requires close examination of the few inventories which exist for whitesmiths, all of which relate to Hampsthwaite parish, while noting that the occupation has been inferred from the contents and was never stated.

The first, and the only one which notes a product, is that of Miles Waite of Felliscliffe dated March 12th 1656/7. It included "one stedie, one vice, one tinpan (the item which always distinguished a whitesmith from a blacksmith), three hammers, files and bellows with other working tooles £2", together with "seventeen dosen of bridle bits £2 10s". His son of the same name was in 1672 operating a forge at the same site (71), though the use of forgings for bridle bits seems questionable. William Pott of Hampsthwaite seems to have been conducting business on a larger scale, and his inventory included "In the shop 1 payre of bellows, 1 'durill' (?drill), 2 vices, 2 little 'styeds' (?styddies), 6 hammers, 3 'dosesens' (?dozens) of files, 3 swages, 1 tinpan and 11 pounds of tin besides, 6 paire of tongs with other working tooles", (72) valued in all at £3 5s in 1689. The swages were formers on which hot wrought iron was hammered into shape, and the stiddes (various spellings) were anvils. The large number of files is puzzling, but they would have to be bought in from specialist makers, perhaps in Sheffield, and William Pott may have been retailing them. He appears to have been a man of substance, for his equipment was sufficient to employ two men and he was taxed on three hearths, including a smithy and an oven, in 1672. Moreover, although his goods totalled only £30 he left to his three daughters two properties, each with an appreciable amount of land, one in Birstwith leased to William Theakston and another in Hampsthwaite in which he presumably lived.

The inventory of John Falkiners (1663) is better in some respects, though his equipment was simple: "Some fillles (files) and other tools and tinpan" valued at 7s; "One smithie" (i.e. a hearth) £3; "A parcell of Iron" 12s; and "One

broken stidde, one pare of ould bellous, 2 devises and swages and tongs and other tooles, some bricks and coles" worth altogether £2. But equal in importance to his tools as historical evidence is the list of Falkiner's creditors (he was owed nothing at all). There were eighteen such to whom he owed £15 14s 8d, yet the sum total of his possessions was only £13 3s 8d. Business had evidently been slack (he may possibly have been ill) but most of his debts were for a few shillings each borrowed from his neighbours. No less than ten of his creditors can be shown to have been like himself small copyholders or illegal encroachers, living very locally either in Swincliffe hamlet or in the nearby hamlets of Graystone Plain, Hirst, or Hampsthwaite. Moreover, William Pott, to whom he owed 12s, and William Smith, who appraised his inventory, both had smithies, though whether the latter was a blacksmith or a whitesmith is unknown. It is quite clear that his friends and neighbours had supported him financially - for whatever reason - with no chance of seeing their money again. His largest debt was one of £5 to Richard Beckwith, who was not local and has not yet been traced but who may have supplied the 'parcell of Iron'. But he also owed money to Aaron Lowcocke, a chapman of Knaresborough, from whom he had probably bought heckled yarn for spinning. (73)

The question of the source of the iron will be tackled in the next section, but it is important to note that, because John Falkiner's stock of iron was included among his assets, he must have been an independent producer rather than a mere operative in a 'putting-out' system. This is akin to the way nailsmiths had traditionally worked in the rural areas near Sheffield. (74) There the smiths were supplied with rod iron in the late 17th and early 18th centuries by local chapmen, who also collected and sold the nails. In the Forest of Knaresborough blacksmiths may have supplied the small local demand for nails, since 'nailing tools' sometimes featured among their effects, but it appears that blacksmiths here made a better living than those of Sheffield, and were better off than the Hampsthwaite whitesmiths, since unlike the latter they almost invariably left a will.

One of the most prosperous was Stephen Smith, a blacksmith of Felliscliffe hamlet, who left in 1676 a total of £126 5s 4d and a large house with eight rooms excluding service areas. (75) He was both literate and influential for he bequeathed "a Bible with some other books" and was the receipt of part of the tithe income of the parish. His smithy had sufficient equipment to employ three men (unlike that of John Birkhead of Hampsthwaite, for example, which was

(76)
strictly a one-man business), and it is possible that he was associated with his neighbour Miles Waite (son of the whitesmith of that name mentioned earlier) in the operation of one of the two forges on Tang Beck in 1672.

Reverting to the whitesmiths, however, we have still to establish what they were making, and to what extent (if any) there was division of labour involved. Bridle bits are the only known product, but there is no clear evidence of tinning, or whether these were cast or wrought, and the same doubt applies to the manufacture of spurs, stirrups, buckles and other items of horse harness. Spur-making was a specialised field for which the town of Ripon had an outstanding reputation throughout the 16th and 17th centuries (77), and there were a few spurriers in Hampsthwaite parish though their probate inventories do not help to distinguish them from whitesmiths in general. The remaining products were made by men known everywhere as lorimers, and we have seen that this was the term adopted in the late 1730s by the Hampsthwaite whitesmiths, though specialisation in any one particular product seems unlikely.

In the West Midlands, which was already the major producer of such hardware, it is known that specialisation extended not only to each product, but even to stages in the production of each finished item. Dr Plot noted in 1686 that Walsall in Staffordshire was given over to the manufacture of spurs, bridle bits, stirrups and saddler's ironmongery. His comments, along with other evidence, have been utilised to show that "in the making of the spur four craftsmen collaborated; the head- or spur-maker, the hook- or button-maker, the spur-buckle maker and the rowell maker ... as well as spurs and stirrups the local men manufactured also bits, the plates and bars needed for the saddle, buckles for pack-horses and men. But the craftsmen rarely turned from one product to the other".(78)

The intense specialisation of the Staffordshire spurriers was certainly not reproduced in the Forest of Knareborough, and even in Ripon the individual lorimer's output included "not only spurs, but all metallic furniture such as bitts, curbs, and buckles for harness and saddlery".(79) There may, however, have existed "what seems to have been a general trend in metalworking districts: the more complex processes being located in the towns and the cheaper, simpler, lines being made in the countryside".(80) Even so, resistance to division of labour may have been a subsidiary reason - along with an absence of large local supplies of coal and iron - for the decline of the industry both in Ripon and the Forest during the 18th century, when it was finally eclipsed by that of Walsall.

We have yet to establish, however, why the trade ever became established locally and why, within the Forest, it was confined to Hampsthwaite parish and neighbouring Clint. The most likely explanation must surely relate to the availability of the necessary raw materials, and we shall see later the evidence for thinking that suitable iron was to be had locally. But another factor may have been the quality of the local coal. The whitesmiths were particular about their supplies, for Adam Sedgwick, writing in 1868, said that in the previous century coal from the pits on Crag Hill at Dent "was of good quality and was specially liked by the whitesmiths" (81) and it may be that coal from the many small pits in Hampsthwaite parish was of similar quality. Although it is not possible to say with certainty when the industry began in the Forest, it was probably linked to that of Ripon whose commencement has been dated (82) to between 1534 and 1604. The decline of the Forest industry can, however, be demonstrated by calculating the number of whitesmiths or lorimers as a percentage of all occupations in the baptism records of Hampsthwaite church (Thornthwaite chapel baptisms very rarely record the father's occupation). This has been done for the following five-year periods:

1717-21	1722-26	1727-31	1732-36	1737-41	1742-46	1747-51
23%	23.5%	16%	20%	15.5%	10%	12%

It is clear that there was a relative reduction in the number of whitesmiths and probably a reduction in absolute numbers too, since the population of the parish was quite constant at this time. The decline coincided, moreover, with that of spurmaking in Ripon, for it is known that Alderman John Terry, who died in 1798 at the age of 90, was the last of the Ripon spurriers.(83)

It has been necessary to concentrate exclusively on the Forest of Knaresborough in this discussion of trades and occupations, simply because it was a rural manufacturing area on a scale that neither Pickering nor Bowland Forests ever aspired to. Moreover, the metalworking trades have been dealt with to the exclusion of textiles since the latter were discussed in the context of the role of the town of Knaresborough. It must not be thought, however, that tradesmen were completely absent elsewhere. Even in Bowland, the least industrialised of the Forests considered, there were shoemakers, tailors, weavers, blacksmiths and millers, each supplying a strictly local demand.(84) But there were three townships in Pickering Forest which, in the early 18th century at least, seem to have had an industrial base not unlike Knaresborough Forest. The townships were Rosedale, where coal and iron were being extracted,

albeit on a small scale, . . . Goathland which has already been explored from the point of view of encroachment, and Thornton Dale.

It may be that some of the early Goathland intakes were established with an eye to the natural resources, for there was excellent freestone in the Whin Sill (a volcanic intrusion in otherwise sedimentary rocks), and much woodland, some at least of which was coppiced for charcoal burning. In addition there was coal and ironstone, and two ancient smelting sites - near New Wath and Goathland church respectively - have been reported ⁽⁸⁵⁾. When a new register for the Chapelry of Goathland was begun in 1733, it started to give the occupation of the family head ⁽⁸⁶⁾. In the three decades to 1762 about 40% of them were simply described as householder - which in this context probably meant husbandman. Surprisingly, only Mr Andrew Cook and Mr John Addison were described as yeomen, which tells us something about the rising status of this social group in the 18th century, but there were seven labourers and six weavers and a variety of less numerous tradesmen. They included two bouchers, one cooper, one fuller, one tailor, one miller, one joiner, one innkeeper, one housewright and one fish carrier. There was even one mariner - presumably sailing from Whitby or Robin Hoods Bay - one 'Scotchman', which term was often employed to describe pedlars - regardless of nationality, one servant, and five listed as 'poor'. Since the latter description only occurs in the burial register it is likely to refer to paupers who were buried by the parish, but these five male paupers were complemented by a number of widows also described as 'poor' at their burials. The fact that over half the mid-18th century population of Goathland did not make its living primarily from the land is surprising - as is the level of poverty - and suggests that if illegal encroachment was not a factor (and we know this to be true for the 17th century), then many of the poorer tradesmen must have been subtenants. It is likely, in fact, that the Goathland intakes, which we have seen ranged in size from 1 rood to 22 acres and were held exclusively by copyholders in 1651, were all rented out to cottagers. The puzzle is why new encroachments were not made, since the commons were then unenclosed as they have been ever since, but it may be that the population was static, or even in decline. The population was certainly not increasing under the Commonwealth, when the register was unusually informative, and the total of 40 families then mentioned between 1653 and 1658 inclusive - which cannot possibly be exhaustive - has to be compared with only 44 families at Archbishop Herring's visitation in 1743. ⁽⁸⁷⁾ Population growth may have begun immediately after this date, however, for before the end of the century Tuke

reported for this area the manufacture of coarse linens "many of the small farmers employing 2, 3, or 4 looms". (88)

This brings us back to Thornton Dale, for in fact the sporadic references to looms and cottage-weavers, found at rare intervals throughout Pickering Forest, seem to change in favour of something much more organised in the lower valley of Thornton Beck. The upper valley has already been considered for the earlier centuries under its usual name of Dalbydale, where a minor name 'Flaxdale' is the only hint of even a remote textile link. But in its lower course Thornton Beck flowed through the hamlet of Ellerburn and the considerable village of Thornton Dale, providing en route a number of potential mill sites. No doubt the earliest was Thornton corn mill, but by 1335 Ellerburn had a fulling mill processing locally made woollen cloth. It continued in use for many centuries and was still functioning c.1650, when considerable textile activity in other fields is indicated by the presence of five hemp yards.(89) Moreover, a new industry was imminent - if not already in existence - for in March 1680 the baptism was recorded of the son of William Warren of Ellerburn Paper Mill, and a White Paper Mill (not, apparently, the same one) was noted in 1696.(90) Rushton adds that "White paper making was particularly rare, and needed fine linen rags to make the best papers. Coarse rags and other flax and hemp material went to make the commoner papers".(91)

The implication that both coarse and fine linen waste was available locally, together with the reference to hemp yards in 1650 and to a rebuilt 'bleach mill' a century later (92), adds up to a considerable body of evidence for a local linen industry - but one using locally grown flax or hemp. This is very different to the Knaresborough-based Nidderdale industry, which seems to have used imported Baltic Flax for all but the coarsest products. It is also very different in character, for there is evidence that it was exclusively cottage based. A survey of all the available probate inventories from the years 1720 to 1722 inclusive for Ryedale Deanery (93) revealed no more than two looms - at a time when they were commonplace among farmer-weavers in Nidderdale.(94) But if textiles in Thornton Dale and Ellerburn were being woven by cottagers who left no wills, and for whom no probate inventories were compiled, then the absence of looms and cloth is explained. We should note, moreover, that further along Ryedale the town of Helmsley had a linen weaving industry which seems to have been wholly cottage-based, "using flax brought by pack-horse from Hull".(95) Although this last statement was made in the 19th century, the Helmsley linen manufacture "was certainly well established by about 1740." In this respect the evidence is akin to that of Goathland, and it may be that Thornton Dale and Ellerburn were unique in Pickering Forest in being involved in linen - and even paper - production by the mid-17th century.

Ironworkers throughout the Duchy Forests

We have, finally, to consider the primary production of iron as a raw material for the metalworking trades in Knaresborough Forest, and as an export elsewhere. There is no doubt that the extraction of iron ore and its conversion to usable bar iron was of some importance in both Knaresborough and Pickering Forests in the 13th and 14th centuries respectively. The medieval accounts for the former area reveal an active interest in ironworking using local ores, which went into decline in the 14th century on account of a shortage of underwood for charcoal (96), though this was a local rather than a national phenomenon.(97) The accounts refer to leases for mines and forges, most of which were mentioned once only, but the Haverah Park forge was in operation from 1296 to 1304 at least, and the name 'Irongate' was attached to a road (98), apparently leading from Haverah Park towards Knaresborough, which was mentioned repeatedly in the 1350s and 1360s after the industry appears to have passed its peak.

There were medieval references to ironworking in Rosedale too, in the Forest of Pickering, though it was negligible in scale compared to its 19th century re-introduction there. An indenture of 1339 between the Abbot of St.Mary's York, and John, son of Richard the chief Smithman, allowed John to occupy a plot of land within the Abbot's forest at Rosedale (west of the river and so just outside Pickering Forest). He was to extract iron ore, to calcine it using fuel from the Abbot's wood, and to keep seven horses within the Abbot's common pasture.(99) But an earlier confirmation made in 1327/8 of a grant of land to the nunnery of Rosedale mentioned a forge at Baggethwaite, a name now lost.(100) Earlier still there were smelting places and charcoal works in Wheeldale and Newtondale in 1313, and in Levisham Wood, near Newtondale, smelting had been carried on since 1207 (101). This last seems to have been exceptionally long lived, for a rent of 2s was paid for a forge there as late as 1661 (102), though it is unlikely that its production continued much longer. The iron industry in north-east Yorkshire seems in fact to have been dormant for several centuries. A survey of mines and quarries in Pickering Forest, made in 1705, failed to mention iron in Rosedale (103), and Tuke's survey of the North Riding in 1800 noted that "The only place on these moors where any iron is now forged is at Ayton near Hackness" (104) - the site still known as Forge Valley.

Both in Knaresborough and Pickering Forests the likelihood is that iron-working, though it declined in importance during the 14th century, continued at a low level until Elizabethan times when coppicing for charcoal burning was widely practised. Although coke smelting of iron was successfully introduced at Coalbrookdale in the early 18th century, charcoal continued to be used in Yorkshire for another century and coppiced woodland was of great importance, to judge by the large number of 'spring' woods in the eastern Pennine dales and 'hags' in north-east Yorkshire. 'Springs' were especially common in the townships of Dacre and Hartwith in Nidderdale, where monastic ironworks had been recorded in 1309, and there was a new 'hammer smithy' at Summerbridge in the 1580s and 90s (105) and no less than five (?bloom) smithies at Dacre Banks according to the 1672 Hearth Tax return. (106)

The blast furnace, too, took a long time to become established, even though an early furnace, probably the first in the north of England, had been installed at Rievaulx around 1577 in the ownership of the Earl of Rutland. (107) In 1598 Queen Elizabeth commissioned a survey to investigate the practicability of building a blast furnace on Crimble Beck in the Forest of Knaresborough, only to find that there was already "an ironwork new buylded by the Right Hon. the Earle of Cumberland, being her ma'sties Steward of the Honour of Knaresborough". (108) But these were exceptional and a great deal of bloomery iron went on being made. The ironworking account books which might be expected to back up other evidence seem to be absent, with the exception of certain Quaker records relating to North Lancashire. The account book of Sarah Fell for a forge and other premises make it certain, however, that her 'forge' was in fact "a bloomery where only wrought iron blooms could be made", and even in 1709 William Stout of Lancaster recorded that "... we sold a good quantity of our own country iron made at Cartmell and Furness. But at this time there was none made but in the Bloomery way". (109)

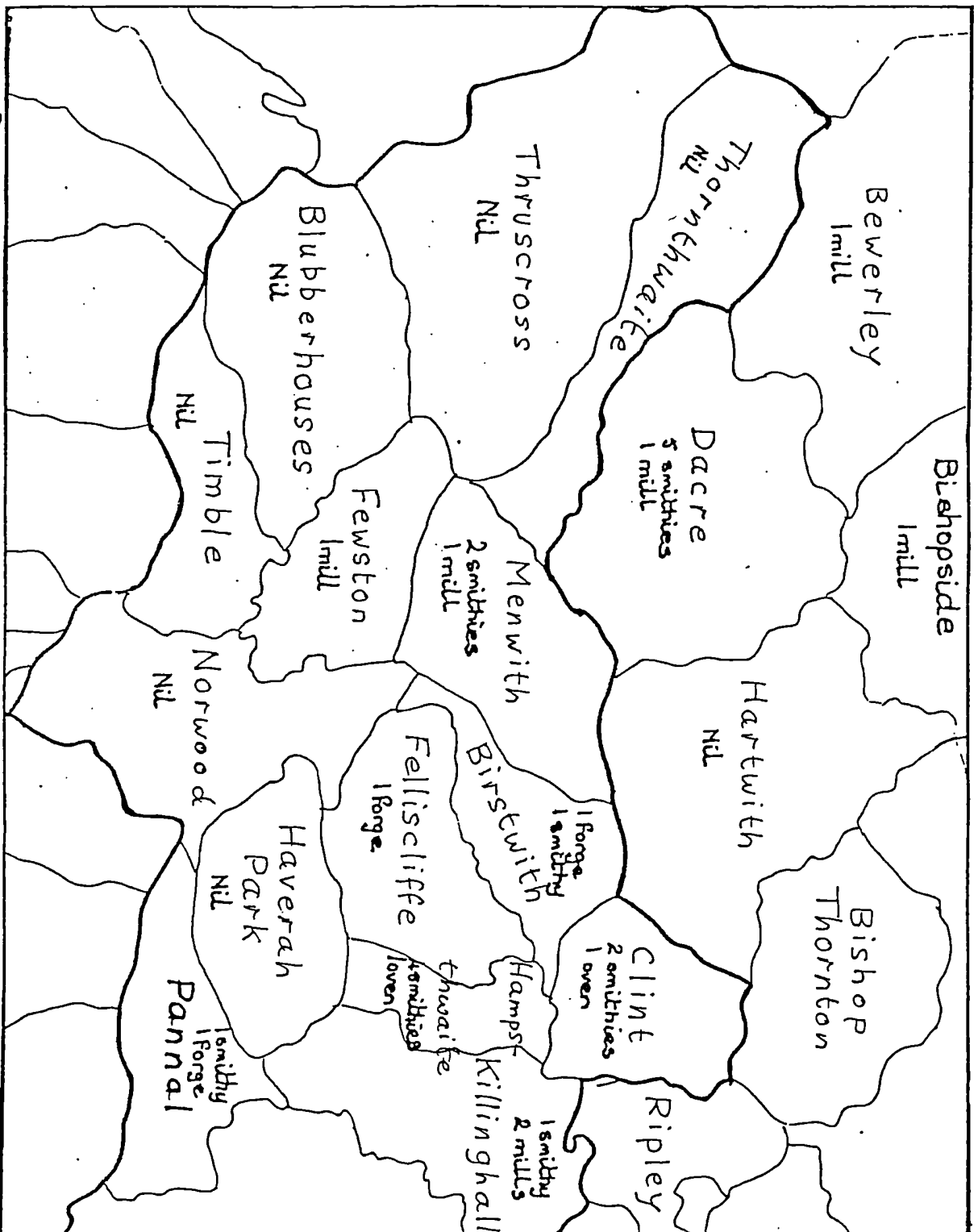
It is necessary to stress the difficulties of 16th and 17th century terminology, where 'smithy' and 'forge' could have a variety of meanings. Alexander Atkinson's smithy at Ripley contained in 1543 a stock of horse-shoes and ox-shoes as well as 'howe' (?hoe) irons and a nail tool, all made on his "best styddy which I bowte at Darlington", with a fire blown by a pair of 'Bellyces' (110). His bar iron came from York and his very comprehensive range of tools included several different kinds of hammer, tongs, pincers and punches, the former ranging in price from 1d to 7d each, though this was prior to the period of rapid inflation which set in between the 1540s and 80s. This was obviously what we might still

regard as a blacksmith's shop, but from 1580 on and particularly during the Civil War there seems to have been a resurgence of the iron manufacturing industry in certain areas.

We have already seen evidence of this activity in the Forest of Knaresborough and adjoining areas of Nidderdale between 1580 and 1600, and in the Forest of Bowland a survey of encroachments on the king's wastes in 1604 reported that the tenants and inhabitants of West Bradford (which was not strictly within the Forest) had "erected and buylded one howse for a Smithie upon his majesties waste", for which no rent had been paid.⁽¹¹¹⁾ This may well have been a bloom-smithy as distinct from a blacksmith's shop, but from this time on the word 'forge' seems to have denoted in Yorkshire an ironworks using a water-powered hammer. It has been said ⁽¹¹²⁾ that the Yorkshire dialect word for the latter was an 'Oliver', the earliest known use of this term being in 1296, but when Arthur Young described one in 1770 it was a treadle-operated machine he had in mind ⁽¹¹³⁾ and the water-powered helve or trip hammer was commonly called a forge hammer. An Inquisition post-mortem for Kirkstall in Airedale in 1631 noted "... an iron smithy called the Iron Forge, a parcel of land in which the smithy now stands containing about 10 acres of land and all the buildings, watercourses, floodgates, streams and things necessary for the same smithys"⁽¹¹⁴⁾.

In any case, 'Oliver' seems to have had a very local provenance, and in the Forests of Knaresborough and Pickering the term 'Forge' was always used instead. In Nidderdale, unfortunately, the latter term has not survived the disappearance of the hammers, and few of their sites are precisely known. But a possible clue lies in the fact that, because the stocks of fulling mills were so similar in construction to tilt hammers, they were sometimes converted, and conversion of a fulling mill into a tilt hammer was noted in a Sheffield reference of 1637 to a "walke mill forge wheele put in the Iron works" ⁽¹¹⁵⁾.

The best source of evidence for a 17th century ironmaking industry in Nidderdale is the West Riding Hearth Tax return of 1672, which lists smithies, ⁽¹¹⁶⁾ mills, forges and ovens as well as domestic hearths. The mills may be corn-grinding mills with associated drying kilns, and the ovens appear to be industrial kilns of some other kind, but the word 'kiln' is never used in the Tax return though it has given rise to a whole host of minor place names locally. If the number of industrial hearths of all kinds in 1672 is plotted on a map (Map 18), it becomes clear that there is a high concentration on the south side of the Nidd, in a group of townships centred on Birstwith, and these



Map 18.

INDUSTRIAL HEARTHS IN 1672

happen to be the very townships where the metal-using industries were located fifty years later. Moreover, a 19th century writer (117) was able to identify the sites of former ironstone mines now completely gone, which he described as 'galleries' at Hardgrove Hill in Darley and at Hell Hole on Cockhill Beck in Hampsthwaite, as well as former bloomery sites at Cinder Hills in Darley and Whitewalls in Felliscliffe. In the Tax return smithies greatly outnumbered forges, there being only three of the latter within the area shown on the map. The site of that at Pannal is known because its former site on Crimple Beck was marked on the first edition of the 6-inch Ordnance Survey map; while those in the townships of Birstwith and Felliscliffe would have been on Tang Beck since one belonged to Miles Waite who lived at Kettlesing, and the other to John Parker of Hurst, and both places included good mill sites on this stream.(118)

There is little doubt that John Parker's forge in 1672 was at the site on Tang Beck which is still called Hirst Bridge today, or that Miles Waite junior was supplying forgings though his own inventory has not survived. What is not certain is the source of their supplies of iron. Pig-iron was not generally available in the north of England, the few blast furnaces apparently having gone out of production, for in 1689 William Stout of Lancaster noted that there was none to be had locally and "what Swede iron we got, it was from Yorke or Leeds by land."(119) This would have been prohibitively expensive for the Forest lorimers, and it is much more likely that they were working bloomery iron from one of the nearby smithies. There were four smithies taxed in the small township of Hampsthwaite, and the fact that William Pott was the only known whitesmith to be taxed on an industrial hearth suggests that these were more usually ironworks of the bloomery type - a suggestion which is backed up by the name 'Blowmer Feild' in Hampsthwaite in 1613 (120) and by a reference to "certain cloggs or cliftes [tree stumps] in the Blome banke" in neighbouring Clint in 1591.(121)

In Dacre there were even more, and three of the five in that township were in close proximity at Dacre Banks, but it is distinctly odd that this ironworking community has never been recognised - particularly in view of the fact that the much better-known ironworks at Kirkstall in Airedale was noted by the same tax collector who dealt with Dacre as having only two forges - and one of those was still under construction.(122)

Although it is fair to say that, industrially speaking, the Forest of Knarborough was much more advanced in the 17th century than either of the other areas considered. and embraced a much wider range of occupations

there are indications that Pickering Forest began to cultivate a similar economy in the 18th century. With the exception of the area around Thornton Dale the commercial manufacture of textiles arrived late in north-east Yorkshire, and there is no sign that there were ever any metalworking craftsmen other than the ubiquitous blacksmith. But iron smelting was much more widely practised and certainly not confined to areas involved in medieval ironworking. We have seen that 'Ironmongers' (using the term in its 17th century sense of merchants trading in iron) like William Stout were prepared to import Swedish iron through York or Leeds, but north-east Yorkshire was much better placed to participate in this trade. The only 'Ironmonger' known in Pickering Forest in the 17th century was George Jackson of Pickering, whose will, made in 1681, gives no hint of trading in iron until we find that he was part-owner of a cargo vessel, the 'William & George' of Whitby, which makes it difficult to resist the conclusion that he, too, was importing Swedish iron ore.(123) The substantial iron smelting industry which grew up in the 19th century in Eskdale, on Teeside, and along the coastal plain connecting them, can perhaps be seen as the successor to the scattered furnaces and forges of north-east Yorkshire, nurtured in the 17th century by men like George Jackson. His business was, of course, duplicated by merchants all along the north-east coast, from Scarborough to Newcastle, and it has been claimed that from 1500 onwards the ironworkers of County Durham were totally dependent on imported Swedish iron.(124)

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CHAPTER X SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the first centuries after the Norman Conquest a large proportion of the poorest land - particularly in the north of England - was devoted to hunting. Subsequently its pasture was utilised in a variety of ways, and the present study is concerned with the communities which grew up, particularly in the post-medieval period, in three such former hunting forests. Although these all lay in the North or West Ridings of Yorkshire, they were so well-separated by largely non-forested land that the eastern and western extremities of the Forests considered were no less than ninety miles apart. Nevertheless, they were linked administratively, since all three eventually became part of the Duchy of Lancaster, but no evidence has emerged from this work to suggest that the imposed uniformity of administrative arrangements gave rise to any uniformity of experience. Indeed, given the topographical, botanical, and historical diversity of the three areas it would have been surprising if many common factors had emerged.

By the 16th century, when several different sources of evidence can be used in conjunction to illuminate clearly - and for the first time - conditions in the forests, we find markedly different characteristics in each of those examined. They seem to stem primarily from differences in tenure and levels of rent paid, Knaresborough Forest being quite outstanding as an area of low rents and exceptional security. Such favourable conditions may have helped to promote a class of entrepreneurs who instigated cottage industry and provided a market for the products of the dual economy, which is known to have flourished here from about 1550 onwards. Admittedly, this cannot explain why Calderdale, particularly, acquired a similar economy at a much earlier date, leading to its industrial pre-eminence and unusual prosperity in the first half of the 16th century. This question is, however, peripheral to the main topic of the thesis, for there is no doubt that Knaresborough Forest was far more advanced industrially than Pickering, where development seems to have occurred only in a few favoured spots before the 18th century, or Bowland where industry was almost totally neglected. As far as one can tell, the growth of the dual economy seems to have been independent of the presence of material resources - which were generally available - but closely related to economic opportunity. By whatever means it was induced, it had the effect of increasing prosperity and, perhaps as a side effect of better standards of living, of reducing susceptibility to epidemic diseases.

The earliest reliable indicators of population trends within the forests suggest that areas of maximum growth were those with industrial potential. Though the early population increase was nowhere exceptional - and there is no evidence at all to suggest that these forests were settled by large numbers of immigrants - it was much more apparent in Knaresborough Forest than in the Forests of either Bowland or Pickering in Elizabethan times. In accordance with this trend we find in the former area a number of new hamlets being created - or, at least, we find new hamlet names appearing - in the 16th and 17th centuries, which often disappear again by the 19th century. We should note, however, that although such growth has been attributed to the practice of partible inheritance (1), the mechanism seems to be just the reverse. For it has been shown that a custom of primogeniture could be circumvented in the forests by various means, on account of the scope offered by the huge unenclosed commons, and that population growth was a result of industrial opportunities rather than a precondition.

The question of the legality - or otherwise - of encroachment during this period, whether it related to the extension of existing hamlets or to wholly new creations, is central to this thesis. By utilising the Duchy records of illegal encroachment, it has been established that it took a different form - and differed in scale - in each of the Forests considered, ranging from that instigated by the lords of the sub-manors of Pickering Forest to the largely uncontrolled squatting which was tolerated in the Forest of Knaresborough. It appears, nevertheless, that the level of encroachment in every instance was determined by the same two considerations; population pressure and economic opportunity, while all three Forests were the subjects in the early 17th century of attempts to increase the crown revenue by raising rents and fines.

The intention of this study was not only to examine the scale and location of encroachments, however, but also to find out who the encroachers were; and since the court records are unhelpful in this respect it was necessary to relate the names given there to parish register entries and to wills and probate inventories where they exist. As a result of this work a secondary benefit emerged, since it proved possible to reconstruct completely certain communities with the help of the Hearth Tax returns, once it was found that both these returns and the list of illegal encroachers followed definite geographical sequences. This conclusion resulted from comparison of both types of listing at different dates, which revealed close groupings of neighbours even when the sequences were reversed - as they often were.

Once the inhabitants of these hamlet communities were known - and family reconstitution was a help in this respect - it became necessary to refute the accepted present-day view of the character of the encroachers, which gives undue prominence to the derogatory remarks of 17th century social commentators. Moreover, with particular regard to Yorkshire forests - for which detailed modern analyses have been lacking - it became possible to dispel illusions based on a supposed analogy with more distant forest areas. Thus, "a disproportionate number of poor lived in the Yorkshire forests. And by analogy with other forest districts where the documentary information is more abundant and has been more thoroughly studied, it is likely that the problem was aggravated by the immigration of outsiders".(2)

The reference here is to the Northamptonshire forests, "the region in which the problem of immigrants loomed largest and was most bitterly lamented".(3) There is evidence from Towcester Hundred in 1524-5 of some extremely mobile poor people (4), but there are no sound reasons for thinking that Yorkshire forests in general suffered from exceptional population growth, whether self-induced or due to immigration, in the 16th and 17th centuries, since there is no evidence of either in the three forests examined here. On the contrary, demographic growth in these forests was usually less than that of nearby non-forest areas and also less than the experience of England as a whole. And in fact, where immigration can be shown to have occurred, it took place from predominantly arable areas into the towns, rather than into the forests.

The incentive for movement into the towns seems to have arisen partly on account of a shortage of land to support a growing population in the villages nearby, and partly through what were seen as economic opportunities in urban areas. But although the Forest of Knaresborough - alone among those considered here - offered comparable opportunities, there is a puzzling absence of immigration before 1700. With regard to the occupations practised by forest tenants, it turns out that the picture usually portrayed of the dominance of the textile industry and the prevalence of the farmer-weaver - a picture based on the study of wills and probate inventories - is incomplete. For it has now been shown that only about one-third of Knaresborough Forest tenants made wills, and those who failed to do so were often engaged in quite different occupations. When parish registers in the early 18th century begin to note occupations for the first time it becomes clear that rural metalworking - specifically the manufacture of stirrups, spurs, and harness gear - was at least as important as textiles and was probably organised from an urban centre

in a comparable way. So that although there is ample confirmation of the importance of the dual economy, it was much more diverse than is usually assumed.

It has also been shown that the dual economy was not the sole province of the copyholder, though landless cottagers were probably employees rather than self-employed artisans. Moreover, the practice of cottage encroachment with or without land in the Forest of Knaresborough, which provided the initial incentive for this study, turns out to be the result not of settlement by outsiders who, according to contemporaries, raised large families in idleness by running stock on the vast commons, but of provision made by copyholders for their dependents. Often these were elderly or incapacitated, or wage labourers living in what were in effect tied cottages, and in such cases there was unlikely to be associated land. Cottage encroachments, on the other hand, were likely to be held by copyholders' sons, making a living from the dual economy. In none of these instances was the occupant truly without means of support, and the only examples of abject poverty to be found, in fact, were those few illegal encroachers who were classified as paupers and were usually receiving parish assistance during their lives and being buried at parish expense when they died. In addition, there may have been an even smaller number who were simply not recognised by the parish at all, such as the unfortunate women named as witches by Edward Fairfax in 1621, who failed to appear at any time in Fewston parish register though they undoubtedly lived there.(5) But their numbers, however we assess them, were few and do not merit the significance allotted to them by Everitt who speaks of woodland settlement by "an ever-expanding number of very poor squatters and wanderers, virtually landless, often lately evicted from elsewhere".(6)

It is possible to refute Everitt's claim on other grounds too, since those evicted from elsewhere were never allowed to settle in any of the forests studied. Settlement was, in fact, related to economic opportunity, for it cannot be a coincidence that the huge numbers of cottagers or other encroachers presented at the Forest Courts of Knaresborough (where the dual economy flourished in the fields of textiles, metalwork, and perhaps wood-working) are completely absent from the Forests of Bowland and Pickering in the 17th century. One must take issue, too, with the claim by Appleby (7) that the high level of mortality in the north of England in the famine year of 1623 was related to encroachment by individuals who had carved out highly marginal holdings. On the evidence of the present work the worst-affected

area in 1623 was Bowland, where squatting was almost non-existent, while Knaresborough Forest with its high incidence of encroachment was relatively little-affected. The high levels of mortality seem in fact, to have been geographically determined in 1623 - as Appleby himself points out (8) - and linked to the high rainfall levels west of the Pennines, which resulted in crop failures in all upland areas whether or not squatters were settled there.

Once it is accepted that economic opportunities provided the incentive for much of the encroachment, it is possible to explain the otherwise-puzzling insularity of the Forest of Knaresborough. For, on the one hand, there was employment for the children of existing copyholders, who were not compelled either to leave the area or to exist solely on a share of an already small landholding, and on the other hand there was a reluctance to allow incomers from elsewhere. Conversely, the least insular of parishes were those incorporating towns with an industrial base, or rural parishes nearby who were able to take advantage of the opportunities offered. And in this connection we should note that the Forest of Knaresborough was only able to exploit its economic resources and its manpower in the 17th century through the organisation of supplies of raw materials and marketing facilities by the chapmen of urban Knaresborough.

These men were therefore the local initiators of what has become known as proto-industry. They were entrepreneurs who did not feel bound by the restrictions of any particular trade, and would readily switch products if better marketing opportunities arose. Their own background and upbringing were rarely within the Forest or the dual economy, however, for like the cloth merchants of Leeds (9) they seem to have sprung in the early 17th century from yeoman families in the Vale of York, where the custom of primogeniture necessitated the departure of younger sons. Their whole approach was characterised by flexibility, and the intense specialisation of the Staffordshire lorimers, for example, would have been inimical to them - even though, as things turned out, this attitude cost later generations their share of the industry. This was no disaster, however, for both the skilful artisan and the local entrepreneur were prepared to turn their attention to whatever product was in demand. But this was only possible in such a community of independent producers; it would not have worked with hired hands engaged in factory production, or even if they were involved in the 'putting out' system. It represented an approach which, though perfectly rational, lost out to specialisation, division of labour, and eventually mass production, and it is now being argued that this was due to no technological imperative but to a commercial choice which could have been otherwise.(10) In any event, it was the absence of such a system which

ruled out widespread industrial development in the Forest of Pickering until the 18th century, and in the Forest of Bowland at any time. For the town and Forest of Knaresborough (and to a lesser extent the towns of Ripon and Leeds) were partners in co-operative ventures to their mutual advantage. The dual economy was the key to their economic fortunes, and where it did not exist we find that encroachment was limited to enlargement of existing holdings (in Bowland) or to the creation of new (but wholly agricultural) holdings in Pickering Forest.

The modern landscape still reflects this fact, with a pattern of former industrial hamlets and interconnecting routes in Knaresborough Forest which can readily be contrasted with the poor communications and widely dispersed farms of the other forests. We can contrast, too, the rapid growth of hamlets in the early 17th century Forest of Knaresborough with the leases of virgin land in Langdale, for example, in Pickering Forest, which were available before the Civil War but not taken up with any urgency until much later - by the sons of the original leaseholders. Even then, it appears that all the available land was not taken into cultivation, for the early 17th century speculators had counted on population growth which was not, in the event, sustained. First the Civil War then the epidemics of the 1680s and 90s seem to have conspired to ensure that a surplus of baptisms over burials did not occur again until the 18th century - and by that time Langdale had settled down to a farming pattern based on sheep and rabbits which left large areas uncultivated until the Forestry Commission planted them earlier this century. A similar sequence of events may apply to the Forest of Bowland, where so much land has been utilised by the Water Authorities, but the leases necessary to confirm it have not come to light. Knaresborough Forest, however, is still well-populated, though less so than in the 17th century for many of the squatter hamlets created them - built very largely, we must imagine, of inferior materials not intended to last - have now gone. Their population, it appears, migrated in the 1770s following Enclosure of the Forest commons to the industrial towns of the West Riding, where bigger mills were being built and employment opportunities were better, but the landscape retains if not the houses then at least the evidence of employment, in the shape of the ruins of many small mills and workshops, dams and watercourses.

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Plate 1a. Moorland intake at Allentofts (Goathland).



Plate 1b. Assarted area below Allentofts (Goathland).

Plate 2. Hawthorn Hill (Geathland).



Plate 2.

Plate 3. Ancient meadows at Langdale (or Langden) bridge.



Plate 3.

Plate 4. Farmhouse at site of Balthis vacancy, Bowland.



Plate 4

Plate 5. Assorted fields at Brenand vaccary, Bowland.



Plate 5.

Plate 6. Hamlet sites in Menwith and Darley township.



Plate 6.



Plate 7a. Hamlet site at Thornthwaite Brow.



Plate 7b. Farmhouse at Mawekiln (now Moke Hill), Menwith and Darley,

Plate 8. Former encroachment sites at Hole of Horcum, Pickering.



Plate 8.