

**The History of Carlton in Coverdale  
1086-1910**

by  
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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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## **Abstract**

This thesis brings together a wealth of evidence, from very scattered sources, to examine the history of a village and township in the Yorkshire Dales. At first sight Carlton in Coverdale appeared to be poorly documented, and in the past it has been written off as uninteresting; but a rich and varied history is here brought to light. The study takes a long view, from the first documentary record in Domesday Book to the 'New Domesday', the valuation which resulted from the Budget of 1909-10. Main themes considered are land ownership, land use, prosperity and poverty, and religion. Findings from fieldwork are combined with documentary evidence to demonstrate the development of the village and the landscape.

Topics studied in detail include the consequences for Carlton of the dissolution of Coverham Abbey; the fight by the tenants of the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond to preserve their tenure by 'tenant right'; the transfer of the Lordship by the Crown to the City of London, and its eventual sale to the tenants.

From monastic times, the parish church at Coverham was an impropriated living. The thesis considers the harmful consequences for the parish of its status as a perpetual curacy, and traces these through to a low point at the end of the eighteenth century. It goes on to examine the eventual recovery, and new energy, in the nineteenth century. Other religious groups, Roman Catholic, Quaker, and Methodist, each played a distinctive part in village history. The thesis charts the ways in which they contributed to a varied pattern of religious belief.

The parliamentary enclosure of the West Pasture and the Moor is a major topic, and particular attention is paid to the fortunes of small landowners. The predictions of agricultural reformers were not fulfilled; the thesis demonstrates that there was very little increase in the amount of arable land being cultivated in the township after the enclosure. Arable later disappeared entirely. Other aspects of landownership are investigated: the balance between large and small owners, and resident and non-resident owners, and the numbers of owner-occupiers.

For the second half of the nineteenth century census material is used to analyse the agricultural workforce, with due emphasis given to the role of farmers' wives in

the survival of family farms. Census material is also presented for the craftsmen and tradesmen, who served the surrounding area, as well as Carlton itself. In the later nineteenth century there was large-scale outward migration, and some old yeoman families were lost. The study puts this in context as part of the general rural exodus, and demonstrates that enclosure cannot be put forward as the cause. The thesis examines the numbers who left the village, with evidence about their destinations, and about some who returned. The population which remained in Carlton was depleted, but was not out of balance in terms of age or gender. The thesis presents a community at the end of the period of study that was socially cohesive, with mixed housing, strong inter-personal links, and a well-developed sense of village identity.



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## List of Abbreviations

City of London RO	City of London Record Office
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls
CRO	Cheshire Record Office
CSPD	Calendar of State Papers Domestic
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
LP	Letters and Papers of Henry VIII
NA:PRO	National Archives: Public Record Office
NH	Northern History
Northumberland RO	Northumberland Record Office
NYCRO	North Yorkshire County Record Office
OS	Ordnance Survey
PP	Parliamentary Papers
VCH	Victoria County History
WYAS	West Yorkshire Archive Service
YAJ	Yorkshire Archaeological Journal
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society
YASRS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series



## Introduction and Topography

### Introduction

This study takes a long view of the history of one village and township in the Yorkshire Dales, from its first documentary record in Domesday Book to the 'New Domesday' which resulted from the 'People's Budget' of 1909-10. The village, four miles south-west of Middleham, is the largest settlement in its dale; but the whole dale is now a quiet backwater. There is no lowland entry route, and all roads into Coverdale cross moor or mountain country. In medieval and early modern times, however, the road which traverses the dale on its way from Kettlewell to Middleham was an important highway. Carlton and Coverdale have a rich and varied history, yet little has been written about it.

The main themes of the study are land ownership, land use, prosperity and poverty; and to a lesser extent religious conformity and non-conformity, using that term in its widest sense to refer to Roman Catholics and Quakers, as well as Sandemanians and Methodists. The first aim of research was to bring together the source material, which is plentiful but very scattered, and to evaluate the sources; then to place the findings in a wider context, within Coverdale and Richmondshire, making county-wide and national comparisons where it seemed appropriate. The long time-span is contrary to the specialised nature of much historical research. However, it was hoped the material gathered would be sufficiently comprehensive to show the development of this village and landscape, and enable worthwhile comparisons with other communities.

Local history has been defined as 'the study of the past of some significant local unit, developing as a community, in its context and compared with other such units'.<sup>1</sup> This describes, in a nutshell, the approach taken in this study. There are two useful comparisons close at hand with the neighbouring settlements of Melmerby and West Scafton, each of which developed in its own distinctive way, differing from Carlton in significant respects. Other comparative material will be found in the Tables in Appendix 1, as well as in the text.

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<sup>1</sup> A.Rogers, Approaches to Local History (2nd edition, 1977), p.4.



The name Carlton in Coverdale distinguishes this village from numerous other Carltons. There were eleven Carltons in the Yorkshire Domesday; even more if variants of the name are also counted. For my purposes the use of the full name also conveys the reality that the study centres on Carlton, but it is necessary to refer constantly to the larger unit of Coverdale. Carlton is central in the dale, and the largest settlement. However, from pre-Conquest times the ecclesiastical parish covered the whole dale. Carlton also had a special relationship with the higher dale, which in the seventeenth century, in the Hearth Tax records, was called 'Carletondale', and is now the civil parish of Carlton Highdale. In the medieval period the higher dale was a hunting forest for the lords of Middleham, and was administered from Carlton. An alternative name for the village and township, Carlton Town, is retained in the present name of the civil parish. The number of other Carltons means that it has frequently been necessary to look carefully at source material to determine whether the reference is to Carlton in Coverdale or another Carlton. When the name Carlton is used without a geographical location, knowledge of local names and topography has to be called upon in order to decide whether the source is relevant.

In this study 'Carlton' refers to the village and township of Carlton in Coverdale, unless otherwise stated. Two other definitions are necessary. 'The Lordship' refers to the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond. 'The Dales' refers to the Yorkshire Dales, defined as the area comprising the Yorkshire Dales National Park and the Nidderdale Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. Spellings and punctuation in the original manuscripts have been modernised as necessary, except in the seventeenth-century inventories in Appendix 2, where the original text has been retained in order to give a flavour of the variations encountered.

## **Topography**

### **The Village and the Dale**

Coverdale is a side valley of Wensleydale, and runs for twelve miles in a south-westerly direction from the confluence of the rivers Cover and Ure near Cover Bridge below Middleham. The castle at Middleham was strategically placed to dominate both Coverdale and Wensleydale. The town which grew up below it became Coverdale's market town. Below Middleham, the Cover runs in a deep gorge, and this, together with the high ground of Middleham Moor, separates Coverdale from Middleham and from Wensleydale. The Yoredale Series, a 'layer

cake' of rocks in repeated strata of limestone, shale and sandstone, has produced the shelving sides of the dale. The topping of Millstone Grit has produced the moorlands, which reach to the skyline on both sides of the dale. Numerous springs gush out at the foot of the limestone, making this a well-watered area.

The parish church at Coverham and the ruins of Coverham Abbey are situated at the foot of Middleham Moor. The parish runs from there to the dalehead, where the Park Rash pass links Coverdale with Kettlewell and Wharfedale. Coverham parish contains seven townships (now civil parishes): Coverham-cum-Agglethorpe, Caldbergh, Melmerby, Carlton Town, West Scafton and Carlton Highdale. Carlton, three miles from the parish church, is a street-village, with its mile-long street sloping gently downhill from Townhead at 280 metres above sea-level to Townfoot at 240 metres. With very few exceptions the houses are grouped, though not continuously, along both sides of the village street. It would seem that the site has long been recognised as suitable for settlement, if two 'supposed tumuli', as the first edition of the six-inch Ordnance Survey map describes them, are indeed a legacy of the prehistoric past. Both these features appear to be definitely man-made, and still await archaeological investigation.

The village is sheltered on the north-west by the hillside above, and has excellent natural water supplies. The largest stream is Mel Beck (sometimes written as a single word), which still provides the water supply today from the spring which gushes from the limestone at Waterforth. Lower down the village there are three other streams, that combine below Townfoot in the lower reaches of Cat Gill. On the boundary with Melmerby township are the ruins of Griff Mill, a water corn-mill first recorded in 1257<sup>2</sup> and still working in the early years of the twentieth century.

Carlton's medieval common fields were enclosed in a piecemeal process over several centuries. A survey made in the early seventeenth century shows a mixture of common fields and private enclosures. Parliamentary enclosure of the West Pasture and the Moor completed the process. The long straight lines of walls running to the skyline, characteristic of Parliamentary enclosure, are a legacy of Carlton's Enclosure Act of 1808 and Enclosure Award of 1815. Doland Well, in the fields to

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<sup>2</sup> The historic features mentioned in this section are all fully referenced in the relevant chapters below. Here the intention is simply to highlight some ways in which the history is visible in the landscape.



the west of Townhead, is now little-known, but access to it was carefully safeguarded in the Enclosure Award. It stands in a corner of one of the new fields created from the West Pasture, but close to the adjoining older enclosures. Its name suggests that it provided a valuable water supply for one of the former common fields.

The 'Great Rebuilding' began late in Carlton, and there are no fine seventeenth-century long-houses to compare with those in nearby Bishopdale. However, the village has a few seventeenth-century houses, and a goodly array of houses dating from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There are twenty 'listed buildings', identified as having 'special architectural or historic interest'. The majority of the houses are built from local stone, and the village street makes a harmonious picture. The oldest building in Carlton is probably a farm building at the Old Hall, which stands back on the south side of the road at the top end of the village. The building has a lintel close by, dated 1659. The 'Foresters' Arms', the survivor of Carlton's former three inns, is a seventeenth-century building, with later alterations. It originally had a hearth-passage plan, and the fire-window can still be seen. The members of the village Friendly Society, a breakaway branch from the Ancient Order of Foresters, still hold a march in June in alternate years, carrying the emblems of forest animals. The 'Foresters' Walk' and the symbols seem very appropriate here, calling to mind the medieval past. Behind the Old Hall and the neighbouring houses on either side a group of long, narrow fields backs onto Flats Hill. The pattern of fields and house-sites strongly suggests a medieval toft-and-croft arrangement, and it seems likely that this area was the 'close called "Halleflatte" in Carleton with the houses in it', given to Coverham Abbey in 1405 by Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, as part of a land exchange.

Carlton's public buildings are few and unpretentious. The oldest is the Methodist Chapel, built by the Wesleyans in 1835 and rebuilt in 1873. The building is so small and plain, one wonders what its predecessor was like. The Anglican Church of the Good Shepherd was built as a school in 1835, and was extended and refurbished in 1875-76, when a separate schoolroom was added. When it was no longer required as a school, it continued to be used as a place of worship. A third public building is the Village Hall, the 'Coverdale Memorial Hall', which contains the War Memorial. In 1910 the village had a Reading Room, in a tiny cottage at Townhead, but this has disappeared.

### **A Circuit of the Township Boundaries**

The Civil Parish of Carlton Town comprises 2,739 acres and consists of the village and the lands around it, together with a great sweep out across the Moor above the Highdale settlements of Gammersgill, Horsehouse and Braidley.<sup>3</sup> The unusual shape suggests that possibly in the distant past the lower land as far as Braidley was also part of Carlton township. Starting from the eastern end of the township, at the road bridge above the mill, the boundary follows the south side of the road as far as Cat Gill, which it then follows up to the Moor before swinging across to Rams Gill. The stretch between the two gills is marked by boundary stones. From Ramsgill Head the boundary climbs to its highest point at Height of Hazeley. At 553 metres above sea-level this is the highest point on the ridge of Penhill, higher than either Penhill Beacon or the triangulation point, both of which look out over Wensleydale at the north-east corner of the hill. Between Ramsgill Head and Height of Hazeley the meeting-point of the three townships of Carlton, Melmerby and West Witton is marked by a boundary stone, described in the Enclosure Award as 'Lord Litchfield's Stone'. Lord Lichfield was an eighteenth-century owner of Melmerby. Just below Height of Hazeley is the Carlton Peat Moor, reserved 'for the Public Uses' in the Enclosure Award. It still belongs to the Parish Council today, as does the Bull Park below the Fleensop road which once contained the township's 'common bull'.

At Height of Hazeley, Carlton township meets with West Burton, and the boundary turns south-west along the ridge to Harland Hill (535 metres above sea-level) and North Tarn Hills (446 metres above sea-level). It is accompanied by a boundary wall for most of the distance, until in the far south-west corner of the township it meets the bridle-road from Braidley to Walden. After following the track for a short distance towards Braidley, the boundary swings back down Elm Gill towards Carlton village ( three miles distant at this point) skirting the large farm at Fleensop, which appears in 1270 as 'Flemmeshope', a vaccary in the Forest of Coverdale. Fleensop lands include the site of a colliery which was working until early in the present century. It was no doubt the presence of the coal seam, and the lead workings in Waldendale, which caused boundaries hereabouts to be carefully marked. In remote Elm Gill, the 'stone laying in the centre of the same Gill marked with a Cross' lies hidden in a patch of reeds (Figure 2. Appendix 5). It appears in the Enclosure Award, and is marked on the Tithe Award map. The first edition of the six-inch Ordnance Survey map shows a row of three boundary markers in Elm Gill,

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<sup>3</sup> The acreage figure (from the 1961 census) was kindly provided by North Yorkshire County Library, Northallerton.



the stone being the middle one. From a point north-east of Fleensop the Carlton boundary passes above Gammersgill and then turns towards the river, crossing the dale road at Turnbeck Bridge. On reaching the Cover it follows the river downstream to the mill, making only occasional diversions to take in small pieces of land from the West Scrafton side of the river, a reminder that the river has changed its course in past centuries, but the traditional boundaries of the township remained the same.

### **Roads and Trackways**

The road which forms Carlton's village street is part of a very ancient route-way from Wharfedale to Wensleydale and the north. At the head of the Park Rash pass the Tor Dyke, a prehistoric fortification, looks down over Wharfedale. It strengthened a natural feature to make a formidable defence line against potential invaders using this route from the south. The road through Coverdale was an important route in the medieval period, and on into early modern times. It appears in John Ogilby's road-book, 'Britannia', first published in 1675, as part of the route from Oakham to Richmond. A century later it was still considered sufficiently important to be included in Daniel Paterson's road-book, where it is included as part of a 'cross road' from Skipton to Richmond. Its importance diminished as improved roads elsewhere offered easier gradients.

The Railway Age brought hopes of an alternative means of transport for the dale to some optimistic minds – but in view of the terrain it is not surprising that plans came to nothing. Subsequently the advent of the motor-car did nothing to increase usage of the road over the Park Rash. The steep climbs and hair-pin bends on the Kettlewell side of the pass were a stiff test for early motor-cars. The road remained only partially surfaced until after the Second World War.

Side roads and tracks connect Carlton with other settlements, but the road across the valley to West Scrafton is the only one which has been surfaced throughout its length. The dale road is no longer important as a through route for long-distance travellers, but it remains the lifeline which brings goods and services into the valley, and is the link with the outside world. The road which brought the street-village into existence has not lost its importance for the inhabitants of Carlton.



## Chapter 1 Medieval Carlton

### 1.1 The Lords of the Manor of Carlton

Throughout the medieval period, from the first record of the township in Domesday Book, Carlton was part of a larger block of lands. Its importance to its lord progressively diminished as the lordship increased in size. This section charts that process; it provides the context for medieval Carlton and explanations for some features of its later history.

The earliest recorded landholder in Carlton is known to us only as a single name, 'Bernulf'. He appears in Domesday Book as the pre-1066 holder of the manor, and was still in possession of Carlton in 1086, but now held his land from Count Alan as a small part of the Honour of Richmond.<sup>4</sup> The abbreviation 'Bernulf' could represent either Old Norse 'Bjornulfr' or Old English 'Beornwulf'. The Norse form seems preferable; the name Carlton itself is a Scandinavianised version of an Anglo-Saxon name, as is the name of its 'twin' settlement Scrafton across the dale.<sup>5</sup>

The Domesday account contains limited information and raises many questions. Nevertheless it provides the material for some first comparisons between Carlton and its neighbours which will be continued and developed throughout this study. Domesday records nine manors in eight settlements in Coverdale before the Norman Conquest, with eight different owners (Table 1). In 1086 all the land was held from Count Alan, who retained East Witton and the two manors at Coverham in his own hand. His brother Ribald held Middleham and Scrafton, and in the remaining four manors the previous owners remained as tenants. Eight of the nine manors are described as 'waste' in 1086, and people are mentioned only at East Witton. The Domesday account of the Coverdale manors will be discussed more fully in the next section, 'Land and People'.

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<sup>4</sup> Domesday Book: Yorkshire, ed. M.L.Faull and M.Stinson (Chichester 1986), part one, 6N 93.

<sup>5</sup> G.Fellows Jensen, Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire (Copenhagen.1972), pp.113,117. Faull and Stinson elect to use the Old Norse forms of personal names in all cases where there is a doubt, 'in view of the Anglo-Scandinavian complexion of eleventh-century Yorkshire society'. Domesday Book: Yorkshire, note to C10.

Carlton was Bjornulfr's only manor in Coverdale, but it is very likely that he owned a group of estates in the district, and it is possible that he owned other lands elsewhere. The other settlements listed among Count Alan's lands with 'Bernulf' as the pre-Conquest owner are Ainderby Mires (north of Bedale), Crooksby and Thoraby (both in Bishopdale) and Thirn (in mid-Wensleydale). By 1086 he had lost Ainderby Mires, but had gained the more valuable manor of Well. All these lands became part of Ribald's fee at a later date.<sup>6</sup> Other estates connected with a 'Bernulf' are listed among the lands of William de Percy in all three Ridings of Yorkshire, and the name appears again in connection with houses in the city of York. It is impossible to say whether this was the Carlton Bjornulfr or one or more other men.

The Breton Count Alan 'the Red' was entrusted by William I with a very large and unusually compact block of estates in north Yorkshire, together with extensive lands elsewhere. The Honour of Richmond, with 440 dependent manors in many parts of England, was one of the three largest feudal holdings that William created. In Yorkshire Count Alan had 242 manors, most of them in north Yorkshire, and he was the second largest landowner after the King.<sup>7</sup> His headquarters was his new castle on its superb site above the river Swale at Richmond. The purpose of this assemblage of lands was clearly to deter local unrest in the surrounding area, and also to deter incursions from Scotland by its dominance over the main routes from the north into the Vale of York. The Norman conquest had thus made Carlton, as part of the Count's vast collection of lands, a very small cog in the Norman defence machine.

Count Alan in turn gave a group of ten estates to Ribald, one of his brothers. Most of these properties were in Wensleydale; among them were Castle Bolton, Redmire, Spennithorne and Thornton Watlass, as well as Middleham and Scrafton as previously noted. Most of Ribald's lands were classified as waste in 1086, including Middleham, but from this beginning in the post-conquest years a great lordship subsequently developed, with Middleham at its centre. Carlton was an early addition to the lordship, and the Middleham connection was the single most important factor in the history of medieval Carlton.

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<sup>6</sup> Domesday Book: Yorkshire, ed. Faull and Stinson, note to 6N 53.

<sup>7</sup> D.Hey, Yorkshire from AD 1000 (1986), pp.31-32; D.M.Palliser, 'An Introduction to the Yorkshire Domesday', in Domesday Book: Yorkshire (1992), p.31.



It was almost certainly Ribald who constructed the early Norman fortification known as William's Hill, which was the first site of Middleham Castle and was strategically sited to control both Wensleydale and Coverdale. Few of the numerous visitors who tour Middleham Castle today go on to climb William's Hill, but the view from the top at once explains the choice of site. If Round Hill behind the 'Foresters' Arms' in Carlton is a Norman motte (as shown on the Ordnance Survey 1:25 000 map) it would be an outlier intended to support the fortification on William's Hill, providing a further means of controlling the track to the head of Coverdale and over the watershed to Wharfedale. However Round Hill seems small for a motte, and its top is not flat but rounded. It seems more likely to be a prehistoric burial mound, but there has not been any archaeological excavation to determine its origins.

It was probably not long after the compilation of Domesday Book that the manor of Carlton came into the hands of the lord of Middleham Castle. The evidence comes from the records of the small Priory of St Martin, across the Swale from Richmond Castle, which tell us that 'Ribaldus' gave St Martin's two sheaves of tithes from all his lordships 'in Snape, in Well, in Crakall, in Carletona, in Spenithorne, in Thornton Watlous, in Cliftona'; and that 'Robertus filius Radulphi' gave St Martin's all the tithes 'de Well, de Snape, de Crakehall, de Spenithorne, et de Karletonn de terris suis provenientes'.<sup>8</sup> Robert son of Ralph was Ribald's grandson and a successor lord of Middleham.

This is late evidence (the St Martin's document is dated 1503), and it is always necessary to consider carefully whether any reference to Carlton indicates Carlton in Coverdale or one of its namesakes. However there is supporting evidence in the 'Taxatio' of Pope Nicholas IV (1291-2), where the entry for St Martin's includes: 'Portio decimarum in ecclesia de Coverham. £1. 0s.0d.'<sup>9</sup> Coverham was Carlton's parish church, to which its tithes would normally have been paid. In the 1535 'Valor' of St Martin's a payment from Carlton was still included, but it was now valued at 6s.8d. The information from St Martin's therefore seems credible, and if so Carlton must have become a part of Ribald's lands during his tenure of the Middleham fee.

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<sup>8</sup> W.Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J.Caley, H.Ellis, and B.Bandinel, III (1849), 603, Charter no.VII.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 602-3, Charter no.VI.



Ribald's grandson Robert is thought to have been the builder of the great keep at Middleham Castle, where architectural detail suggests a date of 1170-1180.<sup>10</sup> The site, to the north of William's Hill, does not have quite such wide-ranging views as the earlier one. Presumably Robert felt secure because of the strength of his new fortress. He also succeeded in obtaining a notable extension to his power and income when Conan, Earl of Brittany and Richmond granted him the office of Forester of Wensleydale, with common of pasture there, for himself and his heirs.<sup>11</sup>

Robert's grandson Ralph died without a male heir in 1270, when his lands were divided between his three daughters as co-heiresses.<sup>12</sup> The eldest daughter Mary was the wife of Robert Neville, whose family were lords of Raby and Brancepeth in County Durham and Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire. Mary inherited Middleham Castle and its lands, described as 'The part of Robert de Nevill' in the writ of extent and partition of the FitzRanulph lands. Specifically mentioned are 'Carleton with Coverdale forest ... and with the vaccaries of Bradeleie, Wlvedale, Hyndele-theyt and Arkelsit'. Two small subsidiary fees were held in Carlton: half a carucate by the heir of Ralph Brekedore, and half a carucate by William son of Richard and Alan son of Walter.

Mary Neville, the 'Lady of Middleham', eventually inherited the shares of both her sisters. She held the Middleham lands for fifty years, from 1270 until she died in 1320. Her husband's early death left her in sole control of the estates. The great Edwardian inquisitions and taxation records of this period give us the first detail about Carlton since Domesday Book, and will be discussed later.

Lady Mary's son Ralph, besides inheriting Middleham, also inherited the great Neville estates from his grandfather. He was not noted for military or administrative ability, and it was said of him that 'he had rather to be conversant amongst the Canons of Marton and Coverham than in castles and manors'.<sup>13</sup> At a time when the Scots after Bannockburn were making daring raids deep into Yorkshire, plundering

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<sup>10</sup> J.Weaver, Middleham Castle (1993), p.26.

<sup>11</sup> R.H.C.FitzHerbert, 'Original Pedigree of Tailbois and Neville', The Genealogist, New Series, III (1886), 32, note 3.

<sup>12</sup> Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, I, no. 743.

<sup>13</sup> G.M.Coles, 'The Lordship of Middleham, especially in Yorkist and early Tudor times' (University of Liverpool unpublished MA thesis, 1961), p.17.



and burning unless they were bought off, Ralph Neville's lack of military leadership was a very serious matter for those who relied on the lord of Middleham for protection. The Scots certainly entered Coverdale, for it is known that Coverham Abbey suffered severe damage in one of the raids. The date is not completely certain, but it may have been 1316 or more probably 1318. The Scots developed a strategy of rapid raiding following a U-shaped itinerary. They came down the plains east of the Pennines, crossed to the west usually by one or other of the river valleys, and returned through the western march. The reductions in parish valuations for ecclesiastical taxation in 1317 and 1318 correspond well with what is known from the chroniclers about the routes the raiders took in 1316 and 1318. West Witton appears on each occasion in lists of parishes which received reductions of 50% or more. In the second list West Witton is joined by a whole group of parishes in mid-Wensleydale: Thornton Watlass, Thornton Steward, Finghall, Hauxwell and Spennithorne. Coverham parish does not appear in either list. This suggests that the abbey was an easy target for a lightning raid before the invaders moved on, leaving the settlements in Coverdale relatively unscathed. To reach the abbey the raiders must have passed very close to Middleham Castle, an indication of their audacity and Ralph Neville's inability to give the protection which was due on behalf of his mother Lady Mary.<sup>14</sup>

Ralph's successors were men of a different stamp, distinguished soldiers and administrators, and his great-grandson Ralph, sixth Baron of Raby (c.1364-1425) extended the influence and lands of the Neville family dramatically. When Ralph succeeded his father in 1388 his inheritance made him one of the leading magnates in the north of England; but his second marriage in 1396, to Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, brought him more estates and still greater prestige. In 1397 Richard II made him Earl of Westmorland and granted him the honour of Penrith. However in 1399 Ralph gave early support to his brother-in-law, Henry of Lancaster, in his bid for the throne. He remained a strong supporter of Henry IV, who made him Marshal of England and granted him the honour of Richmond for his life.

One of Ralph's earliest achievements as lord of Middleham was to obtain a grant for the town in 1389 of a market every Monday and an annual fair on the feast of St Alkelda.<sup>15</sup> It was unusual for a market charter to be granted when there was an

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<sup>14</sup> C. McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces* (East Linton, 1997), pp.77, 82-87.

<sup>15</sup> Coles, thesis, p.21.



existing market in close proximity, and the monks of Jervaulx already had a market at East Witton, but Ralph's power and influence enabled him to override this obstacle. The progress of Middleham as a market town was a very significant development for its hinterland in Coverdale.

It was part of Ralph's policy to consolidate his estates by land exchanges. One of these was with Coverham Abbey in 1405, when the earl gave the abbey certain properties in Coverdale in exchange for half the manor of Kettlewell. One of the monastic acquisitions was 'a close called "Halleflatte" in Carleton with the houses in it and common of pasture yearly for 60 oxen, cows, heifers and bullocks'.<sup>16</sup> The other four new monastic granges were Scrafton, Swineside, Hindlethwaite and Arkleside. The exchange had benefits for both parties: the abbey gained properties which were closer to home and therefore easier to manage, while the earl was able to carry out a scheme to acquire both halves of the manor of Kettlewell and enclose 300 acres as a deer park. The new park (Scale Park) straddled the road as it descended into Kettlewell from Coverdale. The changed status of 'Carlton Flatts' as a monastic property had legal consequences in later centuries when disputes arose about its tithes.

After his elevation to the earldom Ralph steadily built up an inheritance suitable for his new rank and his large family, acquiring new properties and additional rights in the ones he already held. Among his other additions to the Lordship was West Witton, with its lands spreading from the river Ure up the slopes of Penhill to a boundary with Carlton and Melmerby. This was acquired from Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and like Kettlewell it offered the opportunity to make new deer parks - in this case Capplebank and Penhill parks, both created by the mid-fifteenth century, most probably by the Earl of Westmorland himself.<sup>17</sup>

Ralph created a prolonged feud in his family when he used legal devices in order to ensure that the bulk of the inheritance went to his second wife, Countess Joan, and the eldest son of his second family, Richard, Earl of Salisbury. When Ralph died in 1425 the elder branch retained the earldom of Westmorland and the old Neville lands in County Durham, but Richard, Earl of Salisbury took the lion's share of the inheritance. Later in the century the two branches of the family were on

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<sup>16</sup> Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1401-5, p.501.

<sup>17</sup> Coles, thesis, pp. 24-25.



opposing sides throughout most of the Wars of the Roses.<sup>18</sup>

Marriages into other noble families greatly extended the estates of both Richard, Earl of Salisbury and his son and successor Richard, Earl of Warwick, 'The Kingmaker'. They were great national figures, deeply embroiled in the politics and later the civil wars of the time, supported by an 'affinity' of lesser lords and gentry which was maintained by fees and annuities from their estates. The Richmondshire gentry formed the core of the Neville affinity, and the Lordship of Middleham provided their fees.<sup>19</sup> The surviving Middleham accounts demonstrate strikingly how revenues from Carlton and the other manors in the Lordship were used to maintain the affinity on which the political power of the Nevilles was based. In 1465/6 Warwick paid fees to around twenty-four retainers from the Lordship of Middleham, and the cost of fees and annuities (household included) paid from Middleham was over £250 to forty-seven people from an expected income from the Lordship of approximately £1000 p.a.<sup>20</sup>

Salisbury and Warwick both served as Wardens of the West March for long periods. As they had no lands in the Border areas, unlike their rivals the Percies, they relied on their estates further south to provide the fighting men they needed on the Border. The tenants of the Lordship of Middleham held their lands by 'Border Service', a tenure which brought privileges as well as demands, and was the cause of tenant right disputes in later centuries.

The power and national influence of Salisbury and Warwick must have impacted on their tenants in the Lordship mainly in the requirement to provide fighting men to serve on the Border, and to fight their fellow-countrymen in the civil wars in which Salisbury and Warwick both perished (Salisbury in 1460 after the Battle of Wakefield, Warwick in 1471 in flight after the Battle of Barnet).

Sudden swings of fortune were characteristic of the Wars of the Roses, and one of these had a direct effect on the tenants of the Lordship of Middleham. In

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, pp.30-40.

<sup>19</sup> A.J.Pollard, 'The Northern Retainers of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury', Northern History 11 (1976), 52-69, and 'The Richmondshire Community of Gentry', in C.Ross (ed.), Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England (Gloucester, 1979), pp.37-59.

<sup>20</sup> A.J.Pollard, North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses (Oxford, 1990), p.126.



1459 Salisbury fled the country for a time and was attainted. The Earl of Northumberland was granted a lease of Salisbury's Yorkshire estates. In the next year Salisbury was back in power for a time, and an order was sent 'to the tenants and inhabitants of the town, lordship or manor of Medelham and all members and appurtenances thereof' informing them that Salisbury was 'no traitor' and requiring them to pay to him 'all farms, rents, services and sums of money which they were held to do and pay to the king or other person by reason of an act in the last parliament... and to resist any save the earl's ministers'.<sup>21</sup> The rapid reversals must have been very alarming for the tenants, faced with the possibility of double demands for their rents.

After Warwick's death Edward IV chose to divide the Neville inheritance between his two brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. Richard of Gloucester was given the Neville of Middleham estates and the northern offices previously enjoyed by Warwick.<sup>22</sup> It is well-known that Middleham Castle was Richard's favourite residence. In 1472 he was allowed to marry Warwick's younger daughter Anne, a marriage which bolstered his position as Warwick's successor. By 1475 his supremacy in the north was unquestioned, and he worked steadily to make himself popular by generosity and good lordship.

The Lordship continued to be run much as it had been under Warwick, and the same families were in charge. In 1473 there were seven members of the Conyers family holding offices in the Lordship (several of them with more than one office) and there were fifteen Metcalfes with seventeen offices between them.<sup>23</sup> In 1473-74 the total of fees and annuities paid from Middleham had risen to £308 paid to sixty or more people.<sup>24</sup>

Richard of Gloucester followed the pattern of the first Earl of Westmorland in obtaining new rights for the town of Middleham, and in extending the boundaries of the Lordship. In 1479 Edward IV gave him a grant entitling him to hold a court of pie powder at Middleham, and two fairs, one on the Thursday of Whitsun week and the three days following, and the other on the feast of St.Simon and St.Jude and the

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<sup>21</sup> Coles, thesis, p.41.

<sup>22</sup> CPR, 1467-77, p.266.

<sup>23</sup> Coles, thesis, chapter 3, studies in detail the offices held by these two families from 1437 to 1550.

<sup>24</sup> Pollard, North-Eastern England, p.126.



three subsequent days.<sup>25</sup> The fairs must have been high points of the year for the people in the surrounding district.

In 1480 the Lordship of Middleham was extended by the acquisition of the 'Mountford lands' in Burton, Walden and Aysgarth, consolidating the central block of lands and providing a very desirable addition to the Lordship.<sup>26</sup> This change meant that Carlton now shared most of its boundary with other lands within the Lordship.

However, the whole edifice of Richard of Gloucester's power rested on shaky foundations, because his title to the Neville lands was insecure. Fear of losing the Warwick inheritance must have been one of the major factors in his decision to seize the throne.<sup>27</sup> His short and unhappy reign, during which his only son died at Middleham in 1484, brought the Lordship of Middleham to the Crown. After his death in 1485 on Bosworth Field, Carlton with the rest of the Lordship was recognised as Crown land, and remained so until the third decade of the seventeenth century.

The Battle of Bosworth Field thus brought the end of the line of lords of Middleham, who had progressed since the days of the Norman lords from being local lords to national leaders. From the Carlton viewpoint, Richard of Gloucester, whose title depended on royal favour, can be seen as a transitional figure between the hereditary lords of Middleham and the new status of the Lordship as Crown land. But the next chapter will show that the new status was not such a dramatic change as might at first appear.

## **1.2 Medieval Carlton: Land and People**

When the focus shifts from the medieval lords of the manor to Carlton's land and people, the documentary sources become much less helpful. The information they give is scanty and sometimes frustratingly obscure. Fortunately it is possible to supplement and interpret the documentary sources by fieldwork, looking for ways in which the landscape gives clues to its past; together with evidence from the place-

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<sup>25</sup> Coles, thesis, p.48.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p.50.

<sup>27</sup> Pollard, North-Eastern England, pp.322, 340-1.



names, especially field-names, which appear on later maps.

### 1.2.1 Carlton in Domesday Book

Of all the documentary sources, none is more difficult to interpret than the earliest, the Domesday description of Carlton. Superficially it appears straightforward, but the meaning of every phrase is disputable.

In CARLTON, six carucates taxable; four ploughs possible...Waste. Underwood with open land, four leagues long and half wide. Value before 1066, 16s.<sup>28</sup>

It is generally agreed that a carucate was a unit of taxation, which was originally linked to the amount of land eight oxen could plough each year. This would naturally vary according to the quality of the land. A figure of around 100 acres has usually been adopted by historians of villages in the Yorkshire dales: for example David Joy in his recent volume on Hebden says it is generally accepted that in upper Wharfedale a carucate represented between 80 and 100 acres.<sup>29</sup> However, even this figure seems on the high side for Carlton, where a survey made in 1605 gives a figure for the township of 459 acres, 3 roods for arable, meadow and pasture combined.

The linear measurements in the Domesday Book entry provide a few clues, though again there is a large element of uncertainty. It is recognised that the league was not a standard measurement, but varied from one part of the country to another. All that can be said with any certainty is that a league was a measure longer than a mile.<sup>30</sup> The pre-Conquest 'mile measured in each direction' around Ripon, which appears in Domesday Book as the 'league of St. Wilfrid', has a modern statute equivalent of about one and a third miles.<sup>31</sup>

Looking at the topography, the most obvious way of measuring the breadth of Carlton township would be the distance from Waterforth, where the stream which waters most of the village gushes out from the foot of the limestone, to the River Cover. The distance as the crow flies is four-fifths of a mile, which would indicate a league of just over one and a half miles. By this reckoning Carlton's four leagues

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<sup>28</sup> Domesday Book: Yorkshire, ed. M.L.Faull and M.Stinson, part one, 6N 93 (f.311c).

<sup>29</sup> D.Joy, Hebden: The History of a Dales Township (Hebden, 2002) pp.18-19.

<sup>30</sup> D.Hey, The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History (Oxford, 1996), p.276.

<sup>31</sup> D.M.Palliser, in Domesday Book: Yorkshire (1992), p.17.



would stretch for six miles from the township's eastern boundary with Melmerby. This distance goes far beyond the western boundary, deep into the territory later known as 'Carlton Highdale', which was all part of the medieval manor of Carlton, as far as Coverhead, the highest farmstead today. A league of one and a third miles would also indicate a distance well into the Highdale, as far as Woodale. This may help to explain the number of Domesday carucates, which may include a small amount of ploughland and some pasture in the dale above Carlton.

It seems likely that the number of carucates represents a pre-Conquest tax assessment, and the number of ploughs possible represents the 1086 assessment. The four ploughs possible can only be an assessment of potential, as Carlton is stated to be 'waste'. This description is shared with almost 800 vills in the Yorkshire Domesday which were wholly or partly waste.<sup>32</sup> All the townships in Coverham parish were waste, together with Middleham (Table 2). The only township in the immediate neighbourhood with inhabitants listed and with a 1086 value was East Witton, the centre of a multiple estate.<sup>33</sup> In the past, historians routinely ascribed the large amounts of Domesday 'waste' in Yorkshire to William the Conqueror's 'harrying of the north' in 1069-70. However there is now general agreement that although the Conqueror's army undoubtedly caused much devastation, it cannot be held responsible for 'waste' in 45 per cent of all the vills recorded in Yorkshire, and there must be some other explanation. Attention has turned to the Domesday procedure, which took place in the shire court, not in the localities, and to the hasty compilation of the survey, and the variations between different sections of the text. The most acceptable answer to the conundrum is that 'waste' was a term employed by the Domesday clerks to cover a variety of situations where no tax was forthcoming, for whatever reason.<sup>34</sup>

The mention of 'silva minuta' in the Carlton entry is notable, as it is one of only fifty such references in the Yorkshire Domesday.<sup>35</sup> Often translated as 'underwood', the term suggests managed woodland, where coppicing was practised. 'Silva minuta' was also recorded at Scrafton and East Witton, and the three entries together point to woodland management as a significant part of the economy of

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<sup>32</sup> D.M.Palliser, 'Domesday Book and the "Harrying of the North"', *NH*, XXIX (1993). 9.

<sup>33</sup> In addition to the outliers listed in Table 2, East Witton had one carucate in Ascarn and five carucates in Burrill. *Domesday Book: Yorkshire*, ed. Faull and Stinson, part one, 6N 111 and 124.

<sup>34</sup> Palliser, in *Domesday Book: Yorkshire*, pp.8-17; and *NH*, XXIX, 11-12.

<sup>35</sup> Palliser, *Domesday Book: Yorkshire*, p.20.



eleventh-century Coverdale.

Table 2 compares Carlton in 1086 with the other Coverdale townships, and with a small group of other settlements which had a similar location close to wilder territory. Table 2 shows very clearly the importance of East Witton at this time, while Middleham is described in terms very similar to the surrounding settlements, with no hint of its future glories. The comparisons will be repeated at intervals in the course of this study.

### **1.2.2 The Lay-out of Medieval Carlton and its Lands**

Many medieval Dales villages had a characteristic arrangement of their lands: the settlement itself sited well above the river, with the arable land (the ‘open land’ of Domesday Book) near to the village, pasture land above, common land used for rough grazing above the pasture, and meadow land down by the river. The position of the arable land is often revealed by ploughing terraces (‘lynchets’), still visible in some places which have not seen a plough for many centuries. It is also distinguishable by field names such as ‘Longlands’, which survived long after the arable had in most cases been turned to other uses. Reeth in Swaledale is an excellent example of this ‘classic’ arrangement.<sup>36</sup>

Carlton, perched on its sloping shelf well above the river, conformed to the characteristic pattern in most respects, with one important exception, the position of its meadow-land. While a township such as Reeth had plenty of flat land for meadow in the valley bottom (in Reeth’s case beside two rivers, the Swale and Arkle Beck) the V-shaped valley of the Cover with its steeply sloping banks made a different arrangement necessary.

There is no indication that the village has ever occupied a different site, or that its plan has ever been anything other than linear. The site was very well-chosen by the earliest settlers, a well-drained terrace with a plentiful water supply. Today the village houses extend along both sides of a mile of road between Town Head and Town Foot, but with no appearance of regularity. No single building or group of

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<sup>36</sup> A.Fleming, Swaledale, valley of the wild river (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.72-73. Fleming’s map of medieval land-use zones at Reeth is deduced from the names and boundaries on the 1830 Tithe Map.



buildings dominates the street. There are no back lanes and few side turnings, and even today the vast majority of the houses are placed at various angles to the single street. There are no surviving medieval buildings, but in the lay-out of the later properties there are indicators to the nucleus of the medieval village.

At the top of the village, where the road turns at Town Head to begin the descent of the village street, there is a group of houses backed by long narrow fields adjoining Carlton Flatts. The lay-out has the appearance of medieval toft-and-croft. One of these properties is the Old Hall, where part of a seventeenth-century house is now an outbuilding and is the oldest dated building in the village. Tradition speaks of at least one predecessor building on the site, and it seems highly likely that it was the headquarters of the lord's officers for the administration of Carlton and Coverdale Chase.

Further down the street there may well have been other small groups of houses, almost separate hamlets. The houses at Little side, facing a miniature green, and the group of houses facing the end of Quaker Lane, an old track to Scrafton, suggest themselves as possibly the successors of medieval groupings, but documentary evidence is lacking. B.K.Roberts has a plan of Carlton in 1896 in The Making of the English Village, under the heading 'Row plans: Mature types'. He comments on the irregular street plan, but says that 'careful study hints at the presence of structural cells, perhaps indicating growth phases'.<sup>37</sup>

There is plenty of evidence enabling the main zones of land-use to be established. There was a substantial belt of arable land on the gentle slopes below the village and stretching round to the west and north-west. The two main fields had simple directional names, East Field and West Field, while a third field was known as High Field, a name which is still in use for this area today. The West Field, the High Field and the West Pasture can be located quite precisely. The West Pasture was mapped in the early nineteenth century for the purposes of the Enclosure Award, and there are two estate maps from the Chaytor and Topham archives which cover this part of the township in detail.<sup>38</sup> Plough-terraces can be seen above the road approaching Carlton from the Highdale, and the path from Cover Lane to

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<sup>37</sup> B.K.Roberts, The Making of the English Village (Harlow, 1987), pp.34-35.

<sup>38</sup> North Yorkshire County Record Office, PC/CTT, map of the Carlton enclosure award; NYCRO ZQH 6/9, A Plan of Edward Lister Esqr's Estate at Carleton in Coverdale 1779; NYCRO ZIF 1559, Plan of the Township of Carlton 1805.



Gammersgill traverses more terracing. The field-names 'Longlands' and 'Slacklands' indicate former common field, and indeed 'Longland' still had six tenants in 1605. Above Slacklands the 'West Riddings', near the township boundary, indicate assarts as the medieval farmers pushed towards the limits in the period before climate change, Scottish raids and plague brought expansion to a stop in the fourteenth century.

At the other end of the township the land called 'the Stubbe Inge' in 1605 ('East and West Stubbing' in 1847) marks a similar push toward the boundary with the clearance of woodland near the confluence of Cat Gill and Griff. The eastern part of the township is not covered by the 1779 and 1805 estate maps, and there is not enough evidence to work out the boundaries of the East Field. However we know from a seventeenth-century note that it adjoined Carlton Flatts, which as 'Hall Flatt' must have been taken from the lord's demesne land in the East Field. The name 'flatt' is of Norse origin meaning furlong, and this is one of a number of examples of Norse influence in the Carlton field names.<sup>39</sup>

Although there were three fields it seems unlikely that they were used for a three-way rotation of crops. High Field is close to the 1000-foot contour and less sheltered than the lower slopes. It seems most likely that the method used in Carlton was some variation of the infield/outfield system, with the High Field being cropped only intermittently and in the intervening years being allowed to return to pasture.<sup>40</sup> There is no record of the crops produced on the arable land other than 'corn', which in this area usually means oats, because of their ability to withstand the climate. They were less productive than other cereals, and rye, barley and even wheat may have been additional crops, together with peas and beans.<sup>41</sup> The Tithe Award records a field called 'Wheat Ridding' just above the river near the foot of Micklethwaite Gill, and the name 'Ridding' suggests this may be a medieval name.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Fleming, *Swaledale*, chapter 5, *passim*, lists the field-names to look out for in order to reconstruct medieval landscapes from later maps.

<sup>40</sup> E. Miller, 'Farming in Northern England during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *NH*, XI (1976), 10.

<sup>41</sup> R. White, *The Yorkshire Dales: Landscapes through time* (1997), p. 71.

<sup>42</sup> NYCRO, Carlton in Coverdale T. (Carlton Tithe Award).



In a side gill not far from the Cover, right on the boundary with Melmerby, stood Griff Mill, the manorial corn mill, the one medieval building in Carlton whose site can be stated with certainty. The mill is first mentioned in a charter of 1257, and successive mills in this small valley continued until the last one, now in ruins, became redundant in the twentieth century. The name 'griff' comes from the Norse, and is defined in Joseph Wright's English Dialect Dictionary as 'a deep, narrow glen, a small ravine' – which describes this location exactly.<sup>43</sup> The mill was probably shared between the two townships, but it was owned by the lord of Middleham. It appears in the Carlton manorial accounts, in the Middle Ages and later, and the Lordship was responsible for repairs.

Andrew Fleming used the field names from the Swaledale Tithe Awards to help in locating areas of medieval wood pasture.<sup>44</sup> There is only one instance of 'Wood Pasture' or its variations in the Carlton Tithe Award, an area of over twelve acres at Cat Gill which is described as 'Gill. Pasture & Wood'. Several of the side gills running down to the Cover are described as 'Woody'. This is still the case today, and small herds of cattle can be met grazing in the gills. The evidence suggests that the medieval woodland in the township would be used as pasture, but that it was not a major factor in the farming economy for the villagers. In the Highdale, however, some of the hillsides between Gammersgill and Horsehouse look much more like the old 'wood pasture' landscapes described by Fleming, and 'Spring Wood' above Gammersgill on the present-day Ordnance Survey map suggests managed woodland.

In 1605, in addition to Carlton's West Pasture there was a much smaller pasture called Micklethwaite Pasture, to the west of Micklethwaite Gill. It contained only twelve 'beastgates' out of a total of 115.<sup>45</sup> In earlier centuries this may have been larger, and there would also have been pasture in the common fields on land which was fallow, and after harvest. The name 'Hollin Banks' suggests an area where holly was encouraged to grow as an addition to winter feed; and, as we shall see, tenants paid fines to the lord in order to enjoy the right of cutting greenwood for leaf fodder.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> J.Wright, English Dialect Dictionary, II (1900); A.H.Smith, The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire (Cambridge, 1928), p.73, referring to Griff Farm near Helmsley.

<sup>44</sup> Fleming, Swaledale, chapter 6, passim.

<sup>45</sup> National Archives:Public Record Office, LR2/195.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Fleming, Swaledale, pp. 85-87. In Swaledale it was called the right of 'greenhew'.



The great expanse of Carlton Moor offered summer grazing, though some of it was uninviting. The name 'Redcarr Bogs' (to the right of the track over the moor to West Burton) speaks for itself. Elm Gill, beyond Fleensop, marked the north-west limit of Carlton Moor, three miles from Carlton Town Head. The alternative name 'Aumgill' contains the dialect word for an elm tree, a species often planted to mark a boundary. The name may seem incongruous at this altitude (about 1250 feet above sea level), but Fleming notes elms in the crags above the Swale to the east of Kisdon Hill at about 1300 feet above sea level.<sup>47</sup>

In medieval times as now the most important supply of winter foodstuff for the animals came from the hay meadows, or 'ings' to use the dialect word which came from the Norse. The position of the meadowland in Carlton differed from the usual pattern because of the steepness of the river valley, though there were a few 'holmes' or water meadows on small pieces of flat land on the banks of the Cover. The Tithe Award map shows a block of fields above the village, below the track leading to West Witton, all with names which are variations on 'Hall Ings', suggesting this land was originally the lord's demesne meadow. There is a similar arrangement at West Scafton, where fields above the road to East Scafton are named from the unpromising 'Sour Ing'.<sup>48</sup> In June Sheppard's study of Yorkshire field systems she says: 'Ings invariably occupied low-lying ground where a high water-table was experienced for much of the year'.<sup>49</sup> However it is clear that Carlton and West Scafton had 'ings', even though suitable low-lying land was not available.

The arrangement of the village lands described above was appropriate for both the pastoral and the arable components of a mixed farming economy. It was flexible enough to allow adaptation when changes were required in the balance between pastoral and arable farming. In later centuries the village developed within this still recognisable framework.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid, p.29.

<sup>48</sup> The Villagers of West Scafton, West Scaeftun (West Scafton, 2001), p.41.

<sup>49</sup> J.A.Sheppard, 'Field Systems of Yorkshire', in Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles, ed. A.R.H.Baker and R.A.Butlin (Cambridge, 1973), p.156.

<sup>50</sup> See Appendix 2, Map 2. for a sketch-map of the main features of land use in medieval Carlton, deduced from the Tithe Award map.



### 1.2.3 The Manor of Carlton

It is important always to bear in mind that the medieval manor contained both Carlton township and the scattered settlements in the Highdale. The present-day settlements in the Highdale were all first recorded in the thirteenth century, except Horsehouse which has no documentary recognition of its existence until the fifteenth century.<sup>51</sup> However, the mixture of Anglian and Norse names indicates that the Highdale hamlets were almost certainly in existence before the Norman Conquest. Bradley is pure early English - 'broad clearing'; Arkleside is Norse - 'Arkel's pasture (saetr)'; Hindlethwaite - 'forest clearing for hinds' - is an English name with a Norse suffix repeating the meaning of the English second element.<sup>52</sup> The Norman lords used the Highdale hamlets as vaccaries or cattle-rearing stations, and as we have already seen four of them were listed when the Lordship of Middleham was divided in 1270: Bradley, Woodale, Hindlethwaite and Arkleside. The early spelling 'Wlvedale' indicates something of the wildness of the country in the higher reaches of Coverdale. Nevertheless there must have been at least a small amount of arable farming in the Highdale, shown by the survival of Flatts Field at Horsehouse.<sup>53</sup>

In response to Edward I's 'Quo Warranto' enquiry in 1293-94 Mary Neville claimed 'free warren in all her demesne lands in her manor of Carlton in Coverdale, amends of breach of the assize of ale in the same manor and infangthief'.<sup>54</sup> 'Free warren' was the right to take all lesser game within the bounds of the manor, and this included wolves, wild cats, badgers and foxes, as well as hares, rabbits, pigeons, pheasants and partridges. Rabbits are thought to have been introduced into England in early Norman times, and at first were delicate animals, unused to the climate. It was only later that 'warren' implied rabbits first and foremost, when they had adapted and proved impossible to confine.<sup>55</sup> When Ralph Neville succeeded his father in 1331 he obtained a royal charter confirming the right of free warren in his lands, including Carlton.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Victoria County History: Yorkshire North Riding, ed. W. Page, I (1914), 222.

<sup>52</sup> Smith, NR Place-Names, pp.253-54. The modern 'Braidley' was more usually 'Bradley' until recent times.

<sup>53</sup> NYCRO, ZQH 619, List of Edward Lister's fields at Horsehouse, 1779.

<sup>54</sup> Yorkshire Hundred and Quo Warranto Rolls, 1274-94, ed. B. English, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, CLI (1996), 272. 'Infangthief' was the right of a manorial court to try and punish a thief arrested within its jurisdiction.

<sup>55</sup> P. Stamper, 'Woods and Parks', in The Countryside of Medieval England, ed. G. Astill and A. Grant (Oxford, 1988), p.144; O. Rackham, The History of the Countryside (1986), p.47.

<sup>56</sup> Calendar of Charter Rolls, IV, 1327-41, 229.



Later lords reduced the territory within the manor of Carlton very substantially by their land deals with Coverham Abbey. The exchange carried out by Ralph, Earl of Westmorland in 1405 gave the monks some of Carlton's best and most accessible land at Carlton Flatts, and also a large slice of the Highdale on the Scrafton side of the Cover as far 'Haucreygill' (Harkera Gill, which runs down to the Cover from the top of the track from Arkleside to Nidderdale). The grant in Carlton consisted of 'Halleflatte' and 'the houses in it and common of pasture yearly for sixty oxen, cows, heifers, and bullocks from the Invention of the Holy Cross until Martinmas and for sixty from Martinmas until the Invention of the Cross'. It is not clear whether the 'houses' were dwelling-houses or barns. The Earl received in exchange four messuages and common of pasture yearly for twenty-four cows and one bull in Coverham, as well as the moiety of the manor of Kettlewell which seems to have been his main objective, in order to establish his deer park at Scale Park.<sup>57</sup>

Another deer park featured in a further exchange of lands, which again reduced the area of the manor of Carlton, in the reign of Richard III. The King's feoffees for the Lordship of Middleham concluded an exchange with Coverham Abbey 'by precept of the king' whereby the abbey received the vaccary of Coverhead and all the land as far as the Tor Dyke and Scale Park 'in exchange for 63 acres of arable land and a waste containing about 8 acres now enclosed in the king's park called Cotiscugh by Middelham'.<sup>58</sup> In the reign of James I, when a dispute about pasture rights at 'Huntersleights' in the wild land above Coverhead went to the Equity Court of the Exchequer, it was said that the Abbot of Coverham had formerly protected the rights of his tenants against intruders from Kettlewell by presentments in his court held at Scrafton.<sup>59</sup>

Rights of common in the manor of Carlton were reduced in a different way by enclosures, which began early. The first evidence comes from a charter of 1257, given by Geoffrey Pigot, Lord of Melmerby, to his overlord Ralph, Lord of Middleham.<sup>60</sup> The Pigots held some land in Carlton as free tenants, and consequently had rights of common. Geoffrey's charter granted to his overlord a very useful privilege, the right to take millstones from a quarry at Melmerby for all

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<sup>57</sup> CPR, 1401-5, pp.495, 501-02. The second entry was necessary because in the first one the clerk had mistakenly written 600 cattle instead of sixty. This would certainly have been disastrous for Carlton's resources of pasture!

<sup>58</sup> CPR, 1476-1485, pp.505-06.

<sup>59</sup> NA:PRO, E134/9Jas.1 East 2.

<sup>60</sup> Registrum Honoris de Richmond, ed. Roger Gale (1722), pp.274-75.



his mills in Richmondshire, paying 4d. per pair, as well as stones for his mills 'de Gryff'. Clearly at this time there must have been more than one mill in the little ravine at Griff. Geoffrey also promised not to disturb the lord of Middleham in the possession of certain closes on Carlton Common, whether these had been made in Ralph's time or his father's. Furthermore he agreed that Ralph could take a new enclosure from Carlton Common. The boundaries are stated, but not all the names are identifiable. 'Langhweyt' and 'Flemisbek' can be identified, and locate the new enclosure in the Fleensop/Gammersgill area. At some time in the Middle Ages Fleensop was made into a separate unit, presumably with a view to exploiting the resources of coal and lead in the area, which may have been Ralph's intention at this time.

'Hallflatts' was described as a close in the land exchange of 1405. Later in the century 'Westridyng' was described in the manorial accounts as a 'close of pasture'. Other closes were listed in the accounts, though not by field-name, and tenants were given licence to enclose, with increases in rent which they evidently felt were worth paying. For example, one toft in the holding of Adam Lobley was enclosed and the rent was increased by 4d., and 2d. was added to the rent of a rood of land enclosed from the holding of Robert Parke.<sup>61</sup>

Manorial records are scarce for the manor of Carlton, but from the time of Richard, Earl of Salisbury and his two successors there are a few surviving documents, and some information was copied from earlier records in the seventeenth century. They throw a little light on the workings of the manor and changes taking place, and give tantalising glimpses of the life of the tenants.

When the Lordship of Middleham was sold to the City of London in 1628, the lawyers delved in the old records, and the grant is informative about events in the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>62</sup> Richard, Earl of Salisbury is shown to have bought back property in Carlton for his demesne: lands and tenements from Simon Johnson; two parts of a messuage and seven and a half acres of land and meadow from John Slater and his wife; and a cottage with a garden and one acre of land from John Topham. The first two purchases are clearly stated to have been made by

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<sup>61</sup> NA:PRO, SC6/1085/20.

<sup>62</sup> YAS, MS 666, a nineteenth-century copy from the Patent Roll made for a Middleham solicitor.



Richard, Earl of Salisbury; the wording of the last one is more ambiguous, but in the context it seems likely that the Earl was the purchaser. The vendors do not appear in the Carlton court roll of 1450, so the purchases must have taken place in the 1440s. Earl Richard succeeded his mother, Countess Joan, in 1440, a time of agrarian crisis caused by a combination of failed harvests and sharply rising animal mortality. North-eastern England was very badly affected. Landlords were faced with increasing problems of unpaid rents and empty holdings, and this is probably the explanation of the Earl's purchases in Carlton.<sup>63</sup>

Only one medieval court roll has survived for the manor of Carlton, a roll which also contains copies of court records from Crakehall, Middleham, Kettlewell, Bainbridge, Deighton, Catterick and Aldbrough, all from 1449-50.<sup>64</sup> Carlton's court was held on 7 May 1450 - 'Thursday following the Feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross'. Cuthbert Toppan was the only one of three freeholders to attend the court. The proceedings began with a long list of fines for forest offences. Eighteen men from Carlton and eleven from 'Coverdale', i.e. the Highdale, paid 2d. each, while a further list of fifteen from Carlton paid another 1d. Fourteen names reappear from the first list, and there is one new one. The style of the entry, together with the large number of those fined, suggests this was a well-established routine and the 'fines' were payments regularly made and were more like licences. In the Coverham manorial court in the fifteenth century tenants similarly paid 1d. or 2d. 'for cutting green wood'.<sup>65</sup>

Other offences dealt with by the Carlton court were small in number but varied: making 'garths' within the lord's common; 'depasturing' by grazing animals outside the permitted time; failing to repair buildings. Only two of these offenders do not appear on the lists of those paying forest fines, namely two members of the Toppan family who had pastured stock without having rights of common (in one case two horses and seven stirks, in the other one horse). It looks as if all those paying forest fines were tenants, and these two were not. The court roll therefore suggests a total of nineteen tenants in Carlton in 1450, plus eleven in the Highdale. It provides the longest list of names of any of the medieval records of Carlton.

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<sup>63</sup> Pollard, North-Eastern England, pp.50-52; J.Hatcher, 'The great slump of the mid-fifteenth century', in Progress and problems in medieval England, ed. R.Britnell and J.Hatcher (Cambridge, 1996), p.246.

<sup>64</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service Leeds, DW 568.

<sup>65</sup> A.J.Pollard and M.Y.Ashcroft, 'Coverham: Some Fifteenth-Century Documents', NYCRO Journal 10 (1982), 33-42.



One tenancy changed hands, when Thomas Marley did homage for the holding which had formerly been Alice Lobley's, but only on a short-term lease for two years. Two tenants leased small amounts of land to others, two acres and one and a half acres respectively.

The court cases dealing with 'depasturing' imply the existence of byelaws controlling the use of pasture and common. They certainly bring out the importance of pasture, and the determination of both lord and tenants to prevent unauthorised use. The most serious case, recorded in considerable detail, concerned a dispute with the Abbot of Coverham and five of his tenants in Scrafton about their use of land on the Scrafton side of the Cover, between 'Cagill' (Caygill) and 'Browe' (Browes on the 1847 map for the Tithe Award is on the Scrafton side and occupies most of a bend in the river). The land in question was claimed to belong to the Lordship of Middleham. It is interesting to note that the Carlton boundary today crosses the river twice to include pieces of land on the Scrafton side between the two points mentioned.

Two sets of accounts for the Lordship of Middleham, for 1465/6 and 1473/4<sup>66</sup> have been studied in detail by Gladys Coles in her study of the Lordship, and also by later historians interested in the lists of fees paid by Richard, Earl of Warwick and Richard, Duke of Gloucester to the gentry retained in their service. The accounts also include returns from the manor of Carlton, and offer more glimpses of village life.

In the later fifteenth century the Lordship of Middleham had a well-developed administrative system, with an annual audit held at Middleham Castle. The Carlton account was presented by the reeve: Edward Maisterman in 1465/6 and Thomas Masterman in 1473/4. (The two different spellings are typical of the variations which occur frequently in both personal names and place-names). In 1465/6 there were no arrears from the previous year, but in 1473/4 the 'compotus' began with arrears of 31s.7d.

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<sup>66</sup> NA:PRO, SC6/1085/20 and DL29/648/10485.

The wording of the account for 1473/4 follows that of 1465/6 very closely, and the total amount for 'rents and farms' is almost identical, £21 12s.2d. in 1473/4 and a ha'penny more in 1465/6. Some rents are listed separately, but most of the lord's lands and tenements were farmed out as a block, bringing in only 15s.8d. Presumably these were the holdings of the customary tenants.

The accounts do not include the forest vaccaries, which were managed by a separate administration under the master forester of the Lordship.<sup>67</sup> The sum of 13s.4d. rent for 'Westridyng' is credited in the Carlton account, but then debited with the explanation that it was accounted for with the vaccary of Gammersgill, 'as agreed by Ralph, former Earl of Westmorland'.

In both years expenses were paid to the steward of the Lordship for attending the court, but in 1465/6 all cases must have been 'forest fines', as a separate court account for 11s.4d. was presented by John Holdesworth, the warrener, and the reeve's account noted there were no other profits of the court. By contrast in 1473/4 there were court profits of £23 3s.9d.

Very interesting references among the rents are the 'common oven' at 1s.6d., brewhouse at 5s. and mill at 33s.4d. In 1465/6 major repairs were required at the mill, by William Gudeale for carpentry and James Croft for stonework.<sup>68</sup> The oven, brewhouse and mill can be viewed as useful communal facilities, or as impositions restricting freedom of individual choice. However, one characteristic feudal custom was no more: the 'boonworks' performed by tenants on the lord's land had been commuted for cash, and farmed out for 20s. as a block of eighty works ('opera'), of which seventy-six were owed by tenants at will and four were owed by free tenants (presumably for non-freehold land they were renting).

The Middleham Castle accounts therefore depict Carlton at the end of the Middle Ages as a community of small tenants, with the common oven, brewhouse and mill surviving as components of a village life still under the lord's control, but with the control less rigid than it had once been.

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<sup>67</sup> Coles, thesis, pp.103-07.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, pp.111-12, where Coles notes William Godeale as a master carpenter employed full-time by the Lordship, who repaired many mills.



### 1.2.4 Carlton Taxpayers

National taxation records are a valuable source of information for the historian, but need to be treated with some caution. They are not comparable with each other, as they were levied in different ways and targeted different groups of people. Tax evasion and under-assessment always have to be taken into account, and there is no way of knowing for certain how extensive they were. Medieval taxation records make no note of those exempted because they were too poor to pay, and they do not record children or usually wives. However, the records are a good source for names, and for comparisons between townships. The analysis which follows examines three fourteenth-century taxes, using for purposes of comparison the same group of townships as the comparisons from Domesday Book, with the addition of Bainbridge, which was founded in the twelfth century as a centre for the forest administration in upper Wensleydale.

The Lay Subsidy of 1301/1302 was a tax of one-fifteenth of personal goods.<sup>69</sup> All temporal goods, whether belonging to clerics or laymen, were included. The first of three instalments was required to be paid on 12 November 1301, and the last on 8 July 1302. However the rolls for the North Riding were not finally delivered into the Exchequer until 4 August 1302. The record for the Riding survives and is almost perfect. Table 3 gives the return for Carlton, and some comparisons with other townships. No formal exemption was given for the poor, but it seems as if the strictness applied by the collectors varied from place to place. The editor of the Yorkshire returns concluded that the tax was not generally levied on the very poor.<sup>70</sup> The returns provide interesting lists of names, but the Yorkshire returns only give the sums levied and do not specify the goods. Landowners can appear on several lists, but as the tax was on goods and not on real estate the appearance of a person's name on a list means that he or she had some kind of establishment at that place, if not actually resident there. Geoffrey Pigot is an example, paying 4s.8d. in Carlton as well as 11s.2d. in his own manor of Melmerby.

Not surprisingly Mary of Middleham paid the highest amount in the Carlton return. The lowest amount, 9d. paid by William Clericus, is well above the lowest

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<sup>69</sup> Yorkshire Lay Subsidy being a fifteenth, collected 30 Edward I (1301), ed. W.Brown, YASRS XXI (1897), 88-104: the record for Hang wapentake. The Carlton return is on p.102.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, p.xv.



amount paid in some of the other townships in Table 3. At Wensley Thomas son of Gregory paid 4d. and at Coverham William Schapman had to pay even though the amount was only 2½d.

The most remarkable feature of the comparisons is the pre-eminence of Bainbridge, by far the most wealthy of the townships listed. The manor included the Forest of Wensleydale and the vaccaries there, as well as the rich pastures around Bainbridge itself. Middleham had overtaken East Witton, with the help of Lady Mary's payment of £2 1s.9d., but East Witton had a Jervaulx grange to add to its total. Carlton stands out among the Coverdale townships with its fifteen taxpayers and total payment of £2 16s.7d.; but Coverdale payments were modest indeed when compared with Bainbridge and upper Wensleydale, or even with Bishopdale, where Thoraby with £7 0s.3¼d. has the second highest payment in the list.

By the time of the Lay Subsidy of 1334 (Table 4) the picture had changed.<sup>71</sup> The Dales had suffered from harvest failures, sickness of animals and humans, and the devastation caused by Scots raids. The level of payments for a tax which was again a fifteenth for rural areas reflects the consequences of these disasters. The balance between the different townships had not greatly changed, though the low payment from Middleham is a surprise, but the general level of payments had sunk throughout the area.

The Lay Subsidy of 1334 differed from previous taxes in the method of assessment. A system of direct taxation on the wealth of individuals was replaced by one whereby every community agreed the sum it was to pay, which was to be not less than the collective sum paid by individuals to the fifteenth and tenth of 1332. The quotas agreed in 1334 were used as the basis for all subsequent grants of the fifteenth and tenth. Once again there was no explicit exemption for the poor, but as the quota was based on the tax of 1332 it is to be expected that the same people would escape payment, which in rural areas meant those whose goods were valued at less than 10s. The Exchequer records do not include personal names, but only place-names and the agreed sums due from each community. The main interest for the historian is therefore in the comparisons, and Table 4 shows that Carlton continued to be the leading township in Coverdale. The Coverdale townships added together now produced a sum not greatly different from Bishopdale and Bainbridge.

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<sup>71</sup> The Lay Subsidy of 1334, ed. R.E.Glasscock (1975): *Hang wapentake* pp.371-73.



but this was because Bishopdale and upper Wensleydale had reduced more drastically. The fall at Bainbridge is particularly striking.

The system of fixed quotas introduced in 1334 soon ceased to bear any direct relationship to wealth and taxable capacity, and a royal government which was always in financial difficulty had to resort to other methods. The Poll Tax of 1377 (Table 5) was an innovation,<sup>72</sup> each taxpayer contributing the same amount, 4d. The tax applied to every lay man and woman, married or single, aged fourteen years and over, except genuine mendicants. Carolyn Fenwick, editor of the definitive edition of the Poll Tax returns, has suggested that the frequent use of the phrase 'quia pauper' to explain erasures in returns which include the names of taxpayers indicates that the collectors probably used the traditional criteria and excluded the very poor.<sup>73</sup>

The Carlton constable accounted for 17s. 'for fifty-one heads' in his return, dated at Carlton on 8 May 1377. The North Riding returns do not include the names of the tax-payers. Disappointingly the returns for the two succeeding Poll Taxes have not survived.

The Poll Tax is the only one of the three taxes analysed in Tables 3 to 5 which gives any clue to the size of the population, but even this can only point to a very rough estimate. It is necessary to allow for evasion, poverty and children under the age of fourteen, and historians have suggested a number of different multipliers. It is now generally accepted that a multiplier of 1.9 provides an approximate figure for the population.<sup>74</sup> Applying this method to Carlton would indicate a population of around ninety-seven. The figure seems small for Carlton and the Highdale together, but we have to take into account the preceding disasters of the fourteenth century, and in particular the ravages of the Black Death.

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<sup>72</sup> The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381, Part 1, ed. C.C.Fenwick (1998), pp. xii to xlvi, for introduction and notes on the documents. The figures for Hang wapentake are listed in C.C.Fenwick, 'The English Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381'. (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1983), BL microfiche 2499, p.748, and B.J.D.Harrison, 'The Poll Tax Return for the North Riding', Cleveland and Teesside Local History Society Bulletin, 10 (1970), pp.1-8. The Carlton return is NA:PRO E179/211/34, no.2.

<sup>73</sup> Fenwick, Poll Taxes, pp.xxiii-xxiv.

<sup>74</sup> A.Dyer, Decline and Growth in English Towns, 1400-1640 (Basingstoke,1991). p.39. The multiplier is a general one, applicable to rural as well as urban communities.



With comparisons between townships we are on safer ground. Carlton was still the leading township in Coverdale, but the difference between Carlton and Coverham and Caldbergh was not as great as before. The Coverham figure probably includes Agglethorpe, which had disappeared as a separate township in 1334. In terms of numbers East Witton with its 220 taxpayers was more than four times as large as Carlton, and well ahead of both Middleham and Bainbridge. Middleham had not yet received its market charter. Bishopdale was still ahead of Coverdale, but Bainbridge with upper Wensleydale had fallen behind both.

### **1.3 Coverham Parish and Coverham Abbey**

A Coverdale perspective, rather than a view restricted to Carlton, is essential when we turn to a closer study of the parish, which covers the whole of the dale. The parish church at Coverham stands at the foot of Middleham Moor, and the parish runs from there to the dalehead and the Park Rash pass. The church is just under three miles as the crow flies from Carlton Town Head, and eight miles from Coverhead, the highest settlement in the dale. This is one of the large Pennine parishes dating back to pre-Conquest times. The church is not mentioned in Domesday Book, but there is an Anglo-Saxon relic in the cross shaft which has been re-used as the lintel of the inner door in the south porch.<sup>75</sup>

The church stands at the top of a steep slope, and below it close to the river are the ruins of Coverham Abbey. In the early nineteenth century the historian Whitaker had mixed feelings about the site of the abbey. He noted the lack of sunshine and the dampness, but he appreciated the view: ‘the outline of Whernside and Penhal [Great Whernside and Penhill], as seen from the south windows, is the most majestic in Richmondshire’.<sup>76</sup> The surviving remains of the buildings are few. Small sections of the monks’ church remain, with thirteenth-century and fourteenth-century work, plus the gate-house arch, and the sixteenth-century guest house and domestic ranges, which have been incorporated into the later Coverham Abbey House and adjoining cottages.<sup>77</sup>

The Abbey did not start its life at Coverham; its first site was about eighteen miles away at Swainby in Pickhill parish, close to the lower course of the River

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<sup>75</sup> J.Hatcher, *Richmondshire Architecture* (Richmond, 1990), p.60.

<sup>76</sup> T.D.Whitaker, *An History of Richmondshire* (1823), p.357.

<sup>77</sup> Hatcher, *Richmondshire Architecture*, pp.58-60.



Swale. Helewise, widow of Robert FitzRalph, Lord of Middleham, founded the house of St. Mary of Charity at Swainby for canons of the Premonstratensian order about the year 1187.<sup>78</sup> The move from Swainby to Coverham had taken place by November 1202, when Abbot Philip appears in a legal document as ‘abbot of Coverham’.

The Premonstratensians, often known as the White Canons, founded by St. Norbert of Xanten, spread rapidly across Europe after their establishment at Prémontré in 1121. The aspirations and lifestyle of the order were similar in many ways to those of the Cistercians, but in spite of the strong Cistercian influence the order was essentially a reform of the Augustinian canons. In time permission was given for pastoral ministry and the supervision of parishes.<sup>79</sup> This parish work was an important part of the history of Coverham Abbey. There were thirty Premonstratensian abbeys in England, founded between 1143 and about 1267. None of them were large or particularly wealthy. It was very unusual for the numbers in an English Premonstratensian house to be more than thirty at any time in their history. The available figures for Coverham are never above twenty-one.<sup>80</sup>

Henry II’s charter of confirmation in 1188/9 lists the properties with which the new abbey at Swainby was endowed. These included Coverham church with its appurtenances, land at Swainby, 16 acres in Kettlewell and pasture there for 1000 sheep and forty beasts, and certain other lands and tithes.<sup>81</sup> Coverham parish church was therefore part of the foundation endowment for Coverham Abbey. In time four other churches were added: Downholme, Kettlewell, Sedbergh and Seaham. The last was a late addition, the gift of Richard of Gloucester.

The relationship with the family of the founder was of great importance to a religious house, and Coverham Abbey received many benefits while Mary of Middleham, a generous patron, ruled the Lordship. Her example was followed by lesser lords, so that Coverham’s estates continued to grow in the first half of the

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<sup>78</sup> H.M.Colvin, The White Canons in England (Oxford, 1951), pp.126-27.

<sup>79</sup> J.A.Gribbin, The Premonstratensian Order in Late Medieval England (Woodbridge, 2001), pp.1-2.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, p.3-6 and 51.

<sup>81</sup> Colvin, White Canons, pp.127-8.



fourteenth century, after most other monastic estates had ceased to expand.<sup>82</sup> This was partly in response to its misfortunes in the years after Bannockburn, when it was severely damaged in one or more raids by the Scots, who often sent out subsidiary raiding parties to attack soft targets such as monasteries. The abbey lands in the Vale of Mowbray were right in the path of the main invasions and must also have suffered severely. A royal licence for a gift to the Abbey in March 1321 stated that it was granted 'on account of the poverty of their abbey and its destruction by the Scots'.<sup>83</sup> In 1333 Archbishop Melton gave permission for the Abbey to appropriate the church of Sedbergh, in consideration of the losses which their house, 'situated in a barren and desert land', had suffered at the hands of the Scots.<sup>84</sup> At Sedbergh the agreement provided for a vicarage to be set up, in contrast to the arrangement at Coverham church, which had no vicar.

In February 1348 Coverham Abbey obtained a royal 'Inspeximus' and confirmation of its foundation charter and the numerous other gifts it had received, many of them quite small pieces of land.<sup>85</sup> The list contains a number of donations in Scrafton, including 'the gift of Ralph son of Ranulf of all his land in Westscrafton in Coverdale in demesne, in service, in wards, escheats, meadows, pastures, moors, marshes and woods, and of one forester or hayward ('messore') with a hatchet to keep their wood and field and corn, and of all attachments and amends of foreign beasts taken in the said pasture and of all the suit due from the tenants of the said canons to the said Ranulf's mill of Carleton, with grant that the canons shall be quit of relief, suit of court and of all foreign service'. There is no mention in the list of the small land-holdings in Carlton on which the Abbot of Coverham paid 2s. for the Lay Subsidy of 1301/1302. Probably they are included in the composite 'all other gifts made of the fee of Ranulf son of Robert'. Guy Halsall studied the origin of Coverham's benefactors, using the toponymic elements of their surnames, and concluded that most of them were local gentry or lesser nobility.<sup>86</sup>

The Abbey followed a policy of consolidating a territorial core of lands in

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<sup>82</sup> G.Halsall, 'Coverham Abbey: its Context in the Landscape of Late Medieval North Yorkshire', in The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries, ed. R.Gilchrist and H.Mytum (Oxford, 1989), p.118.

<sup>83</sup> CPR, 1317-1321, p.568.

<sup>84</sup> R.M.T.Hill, The Labourer in the Vineyard: the Visitations of Archbishop Melton in the Archdeaconry of Richmond, Borthwick Papers no.35 (York, 1968), p.19.

<sup>85</sup> Calendar of Charter Rolls, V, 1341-1417, pp.73-77.

<sup>86</sup> Halsall, 'Coverham Abbey', in Rural Monasteries, ed. Gilchrist and Mytum, pp.124-27.



Coverdale and relinquishing some of its more outlying estates in land exchanges. The exchange with Ralph, Earl of Westmorland in 1405 which included Carlton Flatts is only one example of the land dealings which made the Abbey a major land-owner in Coverdale.<sup>87</sup>

From the viewpoint of the local inhabitants of Coverdale there is another perspective. Because it had appropriated the parish church the Abbey was responsible for pastoral care in the dale, and the evidence is that right up to the Dissolution those responsibilities were being taken seriously.

There is a great deal of information about the English Premonstratensian houses in the later fifteenth century from the visitation records of Richard Redman, who from 1459 until his death in 1505 was commissary-general for the abbot of Prémontré in England and visitor of the English province. He was a man of great administrative ability, who carried out his duties as visitor systematically at intervals of either three or four years, and left a copious register of his visitations and other documents. The register has recently been analysed in detail by J.A.Gribbin.<sup>88</sup> Redman's inspections of Coverham were generally very satisfactory, with only minor lapses found. This was by no means always the case at other houses; he did not hesitate to pass severe criticism when necessary. He gave warm praise to Abbot John Askew of Coverham at four successive visitations from 1491 to 1500. The building work which won special praise had probably been made possible by the benefactions of Richard of Gloucester, but this was best not mentioned in the 1490s.<sup>89</sup>

Redman's visitation records include name-lists, and Guy Halsall has analysed the Coverham lists, again using the toponymic elements of surnames.<sup>90</sup> He concludes that 'the Coverham canons came from a vast swathe of Northern England with nothing like the clustering around Coverdale which is shown for land donors'. Halsall adds the caveat that the later date of the documents may mean the

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., pp.121,124.

<sup>88</sup> Gribbin, Premonstratensians, especially chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>89</sup> A.J.Pollard, North-Eastern England, p.181.

<sup>90</sup> Halsall, 'Coverham Abbey', in Rural Monasteries, ed. Gilchrist and Mytum, p.131. Redman's visitations of Coverham are printed in Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia, vol.2, ed. F.A.Gasquet, Camden Society third series 10 (1906), pp.128-47. There are eight name-lists for years between 1475 and 1500.



methodology is less reliable for the canons than for the donors, but he suggests it still provides a fairly accurate indicator of origins. The name-lists do not contain any of the characteristic Coverdale surnames which occur in the fifteenth-century court rolls for Carlton and Coverham (names such as Geldart, Topham, Buckle and Messenger). There are only a few from Wensleydale (Wensley, Middleham and Thornton are found among the surnames), so knowledge of local names tends to back up Halsall's findings that most of the canons were not local in the late fifteenth century.

In addition to providing pastoral care for its parish churches, the Abbey was responsible for their chapels of ease. An indenture of 1530 between the Abbot and convent of Coverham and fifty-two residents of the parish, about the arrangements for pastoral care at the chapel of St. Botolph at Horsehouse, in the Highdale, indicates that at that time the Abbey was still taking seriously its responsibilities for pastoral work.<sup>91</sup> This is the first record of Horsehouse Chapel, though it seems probable that it existed earlier. The indenture says it is fully agreed that a brother from Coverham shall remain and minister at Horsehouse, which seems to imply the chapel was already in existence. The unusual dedication to St. Botolph is one of only five in Yorkshire.<sup>92</sup> A dedication to a seventh-century Saxon abbot seems an unlikely choice as late as 1530. Richard Morris discusses Botolph dedications, and comments on the number which occur beside gates, bridges and at the edges of towns. He says, 'by the end of the eleventh century Botolph seems to have been regarded as a patron saint of boundaries and, by extension, of travel and trade'.<sup>93</sup> Horsehouse Chapel was on the road through Coverdale leading up to the historic boundary between the North and West Ridings, but there may of course have been another reason for the choice of dedication which is now lost to us.

A commonplace book in the British Library illustrates a range of items of interest to a canon of Coverham who had pastoral responsibilities. It probably dates from the early sixteenth century, but passes on the Premonstratensian tradition. It was compiled, most probably for his own use, by John Gisborn, a canon of Coverham who was a priest at the church of Allington in Lincolnshire. The church

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<sup>91</sup> T.M.Fallow, 'The Abbey of Coverham', in *VCH:Yorkshire*, ed. W.Page, III (1913), p.244.

<sup>92</sup> F.Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications* (1899), II, 52-56 and III, 343-44. The other four Botolph dedications are at Allerthorpe (East Riding), Bossall (North Riding), Carlton in Cleveland (North Riding) and Knottingley (West Riding).

<sup>93</sup> R.Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (1989), pp.217, 219 and 221.



belonged to Newbo Abbey, another Premonstratensian house. The contents of the book are very varied: an English translation of instructions regarding church ceremonies; pastoral material about hearing confessions; recipes connected with scribal activities such as making red wax and glueing parchment and vellum; medical recipes; devotional items; and an English version of a fourteenth-century treatise on the life of a hermit.<sup>94</sup> This last reflects a widespread interest in the reclusive life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which was particularly strong in Yorkshire.<sup>95</sup>

Oliver Rackham wrote that 'no Forest was complete without a resident hermit', and Coverdale was no exception.<sup>96</sup> The ruins of the small chapel of St. Simon still stand by the Cover below East Scafton and Melmerby, a short distance downstream from Carlton's manorial mill. The nearby well is known as St. Simon's well. In 1328 Ranulph Pigot had licence to give lands in Melmerby to Coverham Abbey in return for providing a canon as chaplain. A hermit lived in the chapel, and received offerings made to St. Simon, a popular saint among the local people.<sup>97</sup>

In the Middle Ages, while the Abbey was fulfilling pastoral responsibilities in these various ways, the appropriation of the parish church brought some benefits to the people of Coverdale, even though the primary purpose of appropriation was the financial benefit of the religious house. In the longer term, however, the arrangement had very damaging consequences, when after the Dissolution this large and ancient parish was reduced to the status of a perpetual curacy, while the revenues of the church went to lay successors of the canons, for whom they were a form of property. The consequences were felt well into the nineteenth century.

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<sup>94</sup> Gribbin, Premonstratensians, pp.117-19.

<sup>95</sup> J.Hughes, Pastors and Visionaries (1988), p.65.

<sup>96</sup> O.Rackham, The History of the Countryside (1986), p.147.

<sup>97</sup> VCH:NR, ed.W.Page, I (1914), 225.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Carlton in the Early Modern Period**

There has been much debate about the most appropriate dividing line marking the end of the Middle Ages, and persuasive arguments have been put forward for much later dates than 1485. For Carlton, however, the decision is straight-forward: the victory of Henry Tudor at Bosworth Field marked a clear break with the past. It brought to an end the glory days of Middleham as a centre of power and influence, the favourite home of great magnates and ultimately of a king, the centre of the affinity on which the Nevilles and Richard of Gloucester had relied in building their power. Middleham, with its dependent territories, now became merely one small part of the Crown lands.

This chapter will consider changes and also continuities in Carlton from 1485 to the end of the seventeenth century, with sections on the changing ownership of the land; the legal battles in which tenants defended their rights against landowners and title impropiators; land use, population and standard of life; and the far-reaching religious changes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The political context will be described where it is needed in order to understand the changes as they affected Carlton, especially in the first and last sections.

## **2.1 The Landowners**

### **2.1.1 The Crown**

Henry VII first took possession of the Middleham lands by a legal device, claiming they were in his hands because of the minority of Edward, Earl of Warwick, grandson of Warwick the Kingmaker. Later an Act of Parliament asserted Henry's legal title to all the lands of Richard III which he had held as Duke of Gloucester.<sup>1</sup> It was convenient to administer the Middleham lands together with the Honour of Richmond, and over time the combined unit became known as the Lordship of

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<sup>1</sup> A.J.Pollard, North-Eastern England, p.384; Coles, thesis. p.51; B.P.Wolffe, The Crown Lands 1461 to 1536 (1970), p.68.



Middleham and Richmond.<sup>2</sup> It consisted of an extensive block of lands to the north-west of Richmond (around Bowes, the New Forest and Arkengarthdale); scattered properties in Swaledale; Middleham with most of Coverdale, Bishopdale and upper Wensleydale south of the river Ure; and Kettlewell in Wharfedale. There were outliers at Crakehall in middle Wensleydale and Coniston Cold in Airedale. The Manor of Carlton remained part of this Lordship until the mid-seventeenth century.

The Crown lands comprised a very large but ever-changing collection of estates, expanding as new estates were added, for example by the death of their lord without heir, or the attainder of their lord for treason, and simultaneously contracting when estates were bestowed by the monarch as rewards or favours, or in the hope (often misplaced) of securing loyalty. The chief offices in the management of the estates were given out in similar fashion. Crown lands were therefore managed, not just to provide income, but also for political and personal motives. The income might be assigned for a specific purpose. This happened in the Lordship of Middleham, whose revenues from 1488 on were used for the maintenance of the garrison at Berwick-on-Tweed.<sup>3</sup>

In the early years of Henry VII's reign he had problems in filling the chief posts in the Lordship with officers who would be both efficient and loyal. Richard III's hold on the northern nobility and gentry had been so complete, there was almost no-one available who had not been part of the Neville/Gloucester affinity. The whole area was regarded as a potential source of rebellion, both by the Tudor regime and by its opponents. Polydore Vergil, a contemporary historian of the reign, wrote of Middleham that in 1486 Henry 'did not know where he could gather a reliable force in a town so little devoted to his interests, which had hitherto cherished the name of Richard'.<sup>4</sup> The only staunch Lancastrian lord in the Dales area was Henry, Lord Clifford, 'the Shepherd Lord', who was restored to his inheritance in Craven and Westmorland in 1485. In May 1486 he was made chief steward of the Lordship of Middleham and master of the game, in combination with a number of other leading offices in the north. Clifford's years in obscurity had not prepared him for the role he was now expected to play, while at the same time he

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<sup>2</sup> The title of the Lordship appears in a number of different variations, but over time the version which placed Middleham first became generally accepted.

<sup>3</sup> Coles, thesis, p.51.

<sup>4</sup> The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil, ed.D.Hay, Camden, 3rd. series, lxxiv (1950). 11. quoted by Pollard, North-Eastern England, p.368.



needed to re-establish control over his own ancestral lands.<sup>5</sup> It was therefore necessary for Henry to appoint other officers who had local knowledge and respect, however little he trusted them.

In three rebellions against Tudor rule between 1486 and 1489 the rebel leaders hoped Richmondshire would rise in support, but most of the local lords and gentry remained inactive, waiting to see how things would turn out. After 1489 Henry could feel more confident that his rule had been accepted, however reluctantly, in this Neville/Gloucester heartland. The acceptance was facilitated by the system he had devised combining clemency for past offences with heavy financial threats in case of future misconduct. Bonds and sureties were required, so that disloyalty would bring harsh financial penalties for whole groups of nobles and gentry. Large sums were involved, several thousand pounds in some cases. Henry used this system very effectively, and the Richmondshire nobility and gentry felt the full weight of it.<sup>6</sup> By 1493 Henry felt sufficiently secure to appoint William Conyers as chief steward of Middleham and Richmond, the office which his grandfather Sir John had held for many years under Warwick and Gloucester.<sup>7</sup>

Thomas Metcalfe of Nappa, who had been a valued servant of Richard III and furthermore had been implicated in the Lambert Simnel conspiracy, was allowed to continue his career under Henry Tudor as supervisor of the Lordship. Other members of the large Metcalfe clan served in the lesser offices of the Lordship, and in the early sixteenth century they had almost a monopoly of the forest offices. Thus, in spite of the change to Crown ownership, the leadership of the Lordship returned to the Conyers and Metcalfe families.<sup>8</sup>

Richard III as Duke of Gloucester had developed clear ideas on how to bring improved income from landed property, stressing the importance of auditing, and in his time the officials of the Lordship made efforts to recover arrears, even small

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<sup>5</sup> R.T.Spence, The Shepherd Lord of Skipton Castle (Skipton, 1994), passim, especially pp.1-31.

<sup>6</sup> S.Cunningham, 'Henry VII and Rebellion in North-Eastern England, 1485-1492: Bonds of Allegiance and the Establishment of Tudor Authority', NH XXXII (1996), 42-74.

<sup>7</sup> CPR, 1485-94, p.427.

<sup>8</sup> Pollard, North-Eastern England, p.383. Coles, thesis, in Tables I and II, shows the dominance of the Conyers and Metcalfe families in the offices of the Lordship from 1450 to 1550.



ones, from liable manorial officers. For example, at the auditors' council at Middleham in 1484, John Geldhird, the reeve of Carlton, paid £3 16s.3½d., but two former reeves also made payments, John Holdsworth paying 2s.0½d. for arrears owing from 1475, and Thomas Messenger 15s.6½d. owing from 1478. However, it is worth noting the length of time the arrears had been allowed to remain unpaid. Under Henry VII the financial regime seems to have become more onerous. For example, the Lordship's stock-keepers, who looked after the lord's herds and flocks, were made responsible for distraining cattle and sheep from tenants who could not pay their rents, and special 'folds' were made to keep these animals secure.<sup>9</sup>

When the revenues of the Lordship were assigned to Berwick Henry VII made changes to the duties of the chief steward, who was now expected to take on some of the responsibilities which had formerly belonged to the receiver and to become more concerned with the details of estate management. Sir William (later Lord) Conyers and his son Christopher, Lord Conyers did not perform these duties in person. Their deputies would be the officials the tenants actually dealt with.<sup>10</sup> This arrangement continued throughout the sixteenth century, with a regional magnate holding the office of chief or high steward, and one of the local gentry appointed as deputy steward, supervising the work of administration. The Carlton court roll of 1554 has the deputy, Sir Christopher Metcalfe of Nappa, acting as supervisor.<sup>11</sup>

Twice during the century the authority of the office of chief steward was used to challenge the Crown. In 1536, when the Richmondshire rising occurred in the Pilgrimage of Grace, Christopher, Lord Conyers was in London. He was already under suspicion, restrained by an injunction not to go beyond seven miles of the city. When the restraint was lifted Conyers returned to Richmondshire and joined the rebellion.<sup>12</sup> In 1569 Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, one of the leaders of the Rising of the Northern Earls, used his authority as chief steward of the Lordship to call up the local musters in the Queen's name.<sup>13</sup>

After the Rising of the Northern Earls the chief stewardship went to the

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<sup>9</sup> Coles, thesis, pp.81-82, 90, 110-11.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp.77-78, 135-36.

<sup>11</sup> York Minster Library, Hailstone collection, Box 4.16.

<sup>12</sup> M.Bush, *The Pilgrimage of Grace* (Manchester, 1996), p.140, note 9, and pp.174-75.

<sup>13</sup> H.Aveling, *Northern Catholics* (1966), p.69.



Scropes of Bolton. In 1596, when Thomas, Lord Scrope held the post, Adam Midleham was his deputy.<sup>14</sup> Midleham's energy and numerous activities in the administration of the North Riding as well as the Lordship in the next twenty-five years are well documented in a whole range of records. As a Justice of the Peace he sat regularly at Quarter Sessions at Richmond and occasionally at Northallerton and elsewhere. He held offices in the Richmondshire division, and carried out special tasks such as a survey of decayed bridges. He was a Commissioner hearing local evidence for the Court of Exchequer. He was also a Commissioner for an inquisition into the boundaries of the Lordship and illegal encroachments. His name appears on the elaborate frontispiece of the survey of the Lordship taken in 1605, and his firm clear signature appears on the scattering of surviving court rolls from the Carlton manor court.

At intervals in the period of Crown ownership of the Lordship spasmodic attempts were made to improve the revenues from the lands for a monarchy that was always under financial pressure. These will be described in more detail in the next section, which deals with pressures on the tenants and their reactions. By the end of the reign of James I Crown debts were overwhelming, and early in the next reign drastic action was taken. The monarchy's financial difficulties, and its debts to the City of London in particular, led to the Great Contract by which in 1628 Charles I sold a large number of his estates to the City, including the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond.

At the end of 1626 the Crown had outstanding loans from the City of £96,500 and £60,000 dating from 1617 and 1625 respectively. It was quite clear that repayment of these sums in cash was beyond the government's means, and from late 1626 proposals were made to clear the debt by transferring land to trustees for the City. In December 1627 an agreement was reached for the City to receive lands in fee-farm to the value of £12,496. At twenty-eight years' purchase the lands would be worth a little under £350,000. At this stage the total debt with interest stood at £229,897. The City agreed to pay a further £120,000 to complete the transaction, and volunteered an additional £5,000 to have the lands transferred in socage.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Deputy Keeper's Report, XXXVIII (1877), 360. Scrope and Midleham are here named in connection with an Exchequer case about land in the Lordship at Gayle. Midleham's name is spelt in various ways in the records, but I have used the spelling in his signature.

<sup>15</sup> The Estates of the English Crown, ed. R.W.Hoyle (Cambridge, 1992), pp.26-27.



The Patent Roll records the grant of the Lordships of Middleham and Richmond to the City in an entry of 25 September 1628.<sup>16</sup> All the component parts of the two Lordships are listed, with their yearly values. The lawyers had evidently been delving in the old records, and as we saw in the last chapter there are informative details about events in the mid fifteenth century. A number of rights and privileges were excluded from the grant, among them ‘all liberties and privileges of Forests and Chases’. The Forest of Wensleydale, Bishopdale Chase and Coverdale Chase are among those specifically mentioned.<sup>17</sup> The Crown agreed to continue to pay the fees of the forest officers for life, including ten shillings yearly to Richard Besson who held the office of Keeper of Coverdale Chase together with a number of other similar appointments.<sup>18</sup> The exclusion of the forest rights from the grant to the City may explain why an estreat roll from the Carlton manor court dated 1637 is to be found in the National Archives, together with similar rolls from the years 1610-1616.<sup>19</sup>

The transfer of the Royal Contract estates in fee-farm enabled the Crown to maintain its rental income. The City bought the lands, but the rents were ‘reserved’ to the Crown. This system meant that the Crown would be unable to levy fines on future tenancies, but it would receive the rents without the responsibility for repairs.<sup>20</sup> This explains why the will of John Smith of Fleensop, made in 1639, refers to ‘the yearly rent due unto his Majesty’, even though his farm was no longer Crown land.<sup>21</sup>

### **2.1.2 The City of London**

The Royal Contract estates consisted of a very mixed portfolio of lands, spread throughout the country. The City agreed to the deal in the hope that it would be able to sell the estates at a profit at an early date. The more desirable lands were indeed sold early, but others like the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond proved hard to dispose of. Richard Hoyle sums up the problems involved in the City’s purchase: ‘In retrospect, it may be suggested that the City secured a most disadvantageous

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<sup>16</sup> YAS, MS 666, pp.1 and 32.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p.25.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.31-32. See also Three Seventeenth-Century Yorkshire Surveys, ed.T.S.Willan and E.W.Crossley, YASRS CIV (1941), 10.

<sup>19</sup> NA:PRO, SC2/211/22.

<sup>20</sup> Crown Estates, ed. Hoyle, pp.28 and 30.

<sup>21</sup> WYAS, Leeds, AD/AP1/85/102.



bargain... From the point of view of a Crown forced by circumstance to liquidate most of its remaining lands, the Royal Contract transferred not only the lands themselves but also the considerable difficulty of achieving a sale'.<sup>22</sup>

The City's prospects of finding a buyer for the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond were not improved by the previous history of legal battles between the Crown and the tenants. The City inherited these problems, and there are numerous papers about legal disputes with tenants from the Lordship in the City archives. From the many lists, mostly undated, of properties sold and unsold, it is quite clear that sale continued to be the City's main aim. It had no wish to become an improving landlord, simply to get some return on the money which had been provided for the Crown.

The City followed the Crown's previous policy of attempting to convert customary tenures to short-term leases when the opportunity arose, but in general it seems to have taken less interest in its Coverdale properties than the Crown had done in the earlier years of the century, when active efforts were being made to search for ways of increasing income from the lands. The Lordship of Middleham and Richmond remained unsold when the outbreak of the Civil War temporarily cut the communication between the City and its North Yorkshire properties.

After the Civil War the issues between the City and the tenants came to the boil again, with the City still trying to make good its losses. In 1651 the Court of Exchequer began hearings into a test case which dragged on until 1653. This case will be considered in more detail in the next section; its outcome was a resounding victory for the tenants. It had repercussions for the Lordship which went far beyond the specific points at issue in the court case. It encouraged the City of London to make renewed efforts to dispose of these lands and their stubborn tenants, by selling to the tenants themselves. The process was facilitated by Francis Smithson, a Quaker merchant from Richmond, who had bought the fee-farm rents (including Carlton's), and was therefore in regular touch with the tenants. He acted as an intermediary between the City and the tenants in the Lordship.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Crown Estates, ed. Hoyle, p.27.

<sup>23</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2860, the Fee Farm Rents of Francis Smithson; City of London Record Office, RCE Papers, No.29b.



In some of the dales communities the manor was bought by a small group, who sold on the individual properties to the tenants but held some rights in trust on behalf of the whole body of freeholders. This method was followed at Kettlewell, where by an indenture of 20 November 1656 the representatives of the City of London sold the lordship of Kettlewell to Matthew Hewitt of Linton, Clerk, and a group of seven Kettlewell yeomen. This group then sold on the tenements, houses and cottages with a proportion of land according to their ancient rent, but reserved the royalties and liberties such as fishing, fowling, mines of coal and lead, and other rights, to be held by them in trust for the freeholders of the manor. This trust continued to operate, and successors to the original group were appointed, and were known as the Trust Lords of Kettlewell.<sup>24</sup> There was a similar arrangement at Bainbridge, where the Quaker Richard Robinson took a leading part in collecting the money, and made journeys to London on behalf of the community.<sup>25</sup>

At Carlton there was no communal arrangement of this kind, and the holdings were sold off piecemeal as the City of London found buyers. The first Carlton property to go was Griff Mill, which was sold to Stephen Rider on 23 May 1656. This was almost certainly the man of the same name who on the same day purchased a group of ten tenements at Horsehouse.<sup>26</sup> Also on the same day Thomas Foster purchased messuages and tenements in Gammersgill, Carlton and Middleham. The City's list of counterparts of indentures contains other Carlton transactions in the following years, when messuages and tenements were bought by Anthony Buckle and Henry Beck (jointly, 28 March 1657), Nicholas Smith (7 September 1657) and Thomas Geldart (14 July 1658).

It is unfortunate that the relevant lists of properties sold and unsold in the City archives are not dated, but one such list indicates that the City's holdings in Carlton were disposed of successfully at an earlier date than its properties in some similar townships. One such list has only one entry for Carlton: John Geldart and Matthew Dawson were still tenants of several closes and parcels of land amounting to five acres and two roods, with a reserved rent of 7s. 8d. In the same list there are nine entries for Burton (West Burton) and twenty in Thoraby, twelve of which are

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<sup>24</sup> A.Raistrick, Old Yorkshire Dales (Newton Abbot, 1967), pp.41-42.

<sup>25</sup> D.S.Hall, Richard Robinson of Countersett 1628-1693 and the Quakers of Wensleydale (York, 1989), pp.4-5.

<sup>26</sup> City of London RO, RCE Papers no.59, a schedule of counter-parts of bargain and sale. Unfortunately the sale prices are not given. It is worth noting that the rent of Griff Mill is given as £1 6s.8d. and not the £1 13s.4d. listed in the 1628 grant to the City.



marked 'sold'.<sup>27</sup>

With the sale of the lands to the tenants the manor was broken up. The first record of a sale of a portion of the manor comes in 1674/5, when William Foxgill and Sarah his wife conveyed a sixth of the manor to George Wray, who in this year purchased Coverham Abbey.<sup>28</sup> A new era had arrived; land ownership in Carlton had been transformed and small owner-occupiers had emerged as the main group of landowners, but the way was also open for larger landowners from outside Carlton to add holdings in the township to their estates.

### **2.1.3 Carlton Lands held by the Lords of the Manor of Melmerby**

We saw in the last chapter that the Pigot lords of Melmerby held some land in Carlton as free tenants. This association of certain Carlton lands with Melmerby seems to have continued. There were a number of changes in ownership of the manor of Melmerby in the course of the sixteenth century, but in 1583/4 Edward Topham combined Melmerby with Agglethorpe and Little (i.e. East) Scafton. By this time his family, which was of local origin, had risen to gentry status.<sup>29</sup> There are similarities between the Tophams in Coverdale and the Metcalfes in upper Wensleydale – each a prolific family, including a gentry household with poorer relatives scattered throughout the dale.

A survey of the boundaries of the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond commissioned in February 1611/12 did not include within the Lordship the land between Cat Gill and Micklethwaite Gill above the road through Carlton (here called 'the Church way'), which suggests this may have been the land which had become attached to the manor of Melmerby. Below the road the land was within the Lordship, thus retaining control of Griff Mill.<sup>30</sup>

### **2.1.4 Coverham Abbey and its Successors**

In 1536 the dissolution of Coverham Abbey removed the second of the two powers in medieval Coverdale, and brought much more disruption to the old order than the

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<sup>27</sup> City of London RO, RCE Papers no.76.

<sup>28</sup> VCH:NR, ed.W.Page, I (1914), 221-22.

<sup>29</sup> Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period, ed.F.Collins, Part III. YASRS VII (1889), 17.

<sup>30</sup> NA:PRO E178/4831.



change to Crown ownership of the Lordship. Here the Dissolution will be considered in relation to land ownership; other aspects will be examined later.

The first stage in the process of the Dissolution at Coverham was the arrival of the commissioners responsible for compiling the valuation of Church property, the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus', in 1535. The 'Valor' lists property of Coverham Abbey in thirty-five different places, eleven of them in Coverdale. It begins with the site of the abbey itself and the fields and mill at Coverham (together valued at £12). Then comes a list of those estates which the abbey was farming as demesne lands – 'in hand'. All of these were in Coverdale – Arundel House, Caldbergh, Scrafton, Slapegill, and one of the two estates the abbey owned at Carlton. The abbey's most valuable single estate was the rectory of Sedbergh, valued at £41 10s., followed by the rectory of Coverham at £20. The demesne land in Carlton, which was Carlton Flatts, was valued at 60s., and the other land there, which was leased out, was valued at 20s. The total valuation of Coverham's possessions was £160 18s.3d.<sup>31</sup>

The Act for the Suppression of the Lesser Houses was passed by Parliament early in 1536. The houses to be suppressed were those whose income had been assessed by the 'Valor' commissioners at less than £200 p.a. and Coverham therefore fell well below the limit. Some houses succeeded in obtaining exemption for various reasons, but Coverham was not among them.

The same session of Parliament also established the Court of Augmentations, to supervise the transfer to the Crown of the possessions of the dissolved religious houses, and to administer them in the future. For the purposes of the Court the Archdeaconry of Richmond was joined with the Bishopric of Durham. The Receiver or local agent for the district was William Blitheman, who became a 'hate figure' for the Richmondshire rebels in the Pilgrimage of Grace, because of his dealings with Coverham and Easby Abbeys.

Because the King was regarded as the successor of the lords of Middleham and therefore founder of Coverham, there was no aristocratic patron to give the abbey any protection. Christopher, Lord Conyers held the office of Seneschal of Coverham's lands as well as the Stewardship of Middleham and Richmond, but he

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<sup>31</sup> Valor Ecclesiasticus, ed.J.Caley and J.Hunter (1810-34), V, 243.



made no attempt to intervene on Coverham's behalf. In view of the suspicion in which he was held it is very unlikely that he could have brought any influence to bear on Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell.

The Receiver's Account makes clear that Coverham was visited on 16 June 1536, the necessary survey was carried out, and the valuables were taken into custody. The suppression took place on 14 August 1536.<sup>32</sup>

### **Sir Arthur Darcy**

The Dissolution at Coverham was complicated by the fact that some of the abbey's lands had been involved in a transaction between the King and Sir Arthur Darcy, second son of Lord Darcy of Temple Newsam. It was an unusual transaction to say the least, and led to certain irregularities. The deal involved an exchange of lands, whereby Darcy gave the King an estate in Northamptonshire ('Grenesnorton..the forest of Whytleswod... and other possessions') and received in exchange lands (unnamed) 'to a great yerely value'. These turned out to be the site, estate, advowsons, and goods of Sawley Abbey in Ribblesdale, the Coverdale demesne lands of Coverham Abbey (for an annual rent of £25) and some lands of the Priory of Holy Trinity in York. The transaction was confirmed by two Acts of Parliament (27 Henry VIII, cap.28 and 29), which in turn confirmed indentures of 1 January 1536 and 28 March 1536.

All this took place before the religious houses concerned had been suppressed. Subsequently Sawley was suppressed in one stage, on 13 May 1536. No survey was made, and the commissioners simply assessed the value of the goods awarded to Darcy and removed the monks. Sawley had no opportunity to challenge its suppression, though it had been grossly undervalued in the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' and in reality its annual income was well over the £200 limit.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> NA:PRO SC/Hen.VIII/7464, the Receiver's Account, is summarised in Yorkshire Monasteries: Suppression Papers, ed. J.W.Clay, YASRS XLVIII (1912), 95-96. See also two articles by S.Jack, 'The Last Days of the Smaller Monasteries in England', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXI, No.2 (1970), 97-124, and 'Dissolution Dates for the Monasteries Dissolved under the Act of 1536', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 43 (1970), 161-81.

<sup>33</sup> M.Bush, Pilgrimage of Grace, pp.220-22.



The treatment of Sawley was a major source of discontent in Craven, where the rebels in the Pilgrimage of Grace began by restoring the monks to the abbey. The fate of Coverham was similarly resented in Richmondshire, and early in the rebellion there the canons were restored to the abbey. The collapse of the Pilgrimage brought a second suppression for the abbey, and this time the authorities clearly determined to make any reoccupation of the site impossible. The Receiver's Account records £403 6s.8d. for lead obtained in pulling down the monastery, and further income for 'timber and other stuff obtained in pulling down the buildings'. This explains why comparatively little of the abbey buildings remains at Coverham today.

Sir Arthur Darcy's father, Lord Darcy, was heavily implicated in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and was one of those executed when the rising was over. The family lands at Temple Newsam and elsewhere went by attainder to the Crown. Sir Arthur on the other hand had remained on the government side. However, a letter he wrote to Cromwell in June 1537 shows that his bargain lands had brought him some problems. He wrote that he had recovered much of his goods of Coverham, but he begged Cromwell's favour:

It is showed me that the King would again survey my lands and Mr Chancellor sent to me that it was thought I had deceived the King. You know I might have had St.Leonardes which is 300 mks. better than my lands in the first survey. I refused that and never knew what Salley was till it was granted. Mr Fermer and Mr Montague would have given 600 mks. yearly for Grenesnorton, and in consideration thereof, and with my wife in marriage, the King gave me my lands unsurveyed. If the King will have my rentals I will bring them myself.<sup>34</sup>

The King authorised a special survey, but fortunately for Darcy it was cursorily conducted by Robert Southwell, who found, in spite of the evidence to the contrary, that the transaction of 1536 had been fair. He reported to Cromwell that he had spoken with Sir Arthur and thought he was 'credible enough'.<sup>35</sup> A confirmatory grant was made in May 1538, whereby Sir Arthur retained his lands from Sawley, Coverham and Holy Trinity, York. The Coverham lands are listed as 'The grange called Scraston graunge; a messuage in Slapkyll; a messuage in Carlton; a messuage called Arundelhouse; a messuage in Caudbergh, Yorks.; and all lands &c., in

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<sup>34</sup> Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, XII (ii), 59.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 205.

Scraston, Slapkyll, Carlton, Arundel-house, and Caudbergh, which belonged to the late abbey of Coverham, dissolved'. To hold by the annual rent of £25 8s.10d.'.<sup>36</sup>

The Receiver's Account lists the farm stock from Coverham Abbey which Sir Arthur had purchased at a total cost of £178 8s.3d. The list includes twenty-seven oxen, seventy-eight cows, 519 sheep, forty-nine lambs, twenty-eight horses and colts, and quantities of rye, barley, oats and 'old hay'.<sup>37</sup> Yet despite this outlay, and his confirmatory grant, in May 1539 Sir Arthur returned the Coverdale lands to the King. It emerges from the Close Roll entry recording this transaction that in September 1536 Sir Arthur had sub-let the lands to one James Thomson of Leeds for twenty years at a yearly rent of £56 13s.4d. – more than twice the amount Sir Arthur was paying the King.<sup>38</sup> The Close Roll describes the five properties as the 'manour of Scrafton graunge Carleton graunge Arundell House Slapegill House with one tenement in Caldbergh'. In the lease to James Thomson Sir Arthur had retained the royalties, liberties and profits of court. The new indenture with the Crown specifically listed the feudal rights, and stated that Sir Arthur must hand over all documents relating to the properties; Thomson's lease would continue, the Crown thus benefiting from the increased rent.

Sir Arthur valued the granges at £66 13s.4d. clear yearly value over and above all charges, and the King paid him 2000 marks sterling (£1333 6s.8d.) which is twenty times the yearly value. As the King also agreed to pay all the legal costs, Sir Arthur did not get a bad deal. He retained Sawley, and he certainly did not lose his taste for land-dealing. His name occurs repeatedly in further land transactions in Yorkshire and elsewhere.

### **The Earl and Countess of Lennox**

In 1544 the same Coverdale lands were granted as a royal favour in a very different situation – to 'Matthew, Earl of Lynox and Dame Margaret his wife'. Here we enter the realm of high politics. The Earl was a Scottish nobleman, who at a time of great tension between the two kingdoms had been brought over to Henry VIII's side, with the inducements of 'a convenient living' and a royal bride. The 'convenient living' consisted of an assortment of lands. Ironically, Temple Newsam was one of them,

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., XIII (i), 13.

<sup>37</sup> NA:PRO SC/Hen.VIII/7464.

<sup>38</sup> NA:PRO Close Roll, 31 Henry VIII, part iii, no.45, C54/420.



and became one of the principal residences of the Earl and Countess. The Coverdale lands, 'which belonged to Sir Arthur Darcy', appear in the middle of a long list which also includes the site of Jervaulx Abbey and many estates which had belonged to Jervaulx.<sup>39</sup>

The Countess of Lennox was Henry VIII's niece, and because of her high birth and their own ambitions, the couple were distrusted in both England and Scotland. In the 1560s they both spent time in the Tower of London. In 1565 Mary Queen of Scots proposed to Elizabeth that when the Earl was in Scotland the Countess and their youngest son should remain in England, and vice versa.<sup>40</sup> Their eldest son to survive infancy was Lord Darnley, and their grandson became James VI and I. The Earl himself was murdered in Scotland in 1571. The Lennox lands were confiscated by Elizabeth more than once. She softened towards the Countess for a time after the Earl's death, but her anger was aroused once again in 1574 when the youngest son married without royal permission. The Countess spent more time in the Tower, and once again lost control of her lands.<sup>41</sup> When she died in March 1578, not one of her eight children survived to inherit. The lineal heir was the young King of Scots, but from this time the Lennox lands were regarded as part of the English Crown lands, and were treated as such.<sup>42</sup>

The tenants on the Lennox lands were shielded to some extent by the semi-royal position of the couple, with its attendant ambitions and insecurity. The Lennoxes were looking for an income from their estates, 'a comfortable living', but they were in no position to take on legal battles with tenants or to indulge in land speculation.

### **Small local owners**

Coverham Abbey's other holding of land in Carlton came into very different ownership. This land, which was leased out by the abbey at the time of the 'Valor', was granted by the Crown in 1557 to Thomas Lofthouse of Swineside and John

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<sup>39</sup> LP, XIX (i), 96.

<sup>40</sup> Complete Peerage by G.E.C., VII, ed.H.A.Doubleday and H.de Walden (1929), 597-99.

<sup>41</sup> Dictionary of National Biography, XV (1888), entry under Douglas, Lady Margaret.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. in 1599 orders were given by the Crown to the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer and others to lease the Yorkshire manors of the late Margaret, Countess of Lennox. A Survey of the Manor of Settrington, ed.H.King and A.Harris, YASRS CXXVI (1962), x and note 2. with ref. to CSPD 1598-1601, p.196.

Beck of Melmerby, yeomen.<sup>43</sup> The grant covered land in Swineside and Melmerby as well as the Carlton holding, which is described as ‘a messuage and lands in the tenure of John Yoman’ (who is listed as a tenant of former abbey land in Carlton in the court roll of 1554).

### **Coverham rectory**

A large-scale dealer in land acquired the first lease of Coverham rectory from the Court of Augmentations – none other than Leonard Beckwith, who was the Receiver for the Augmentations in Yorkshire. Here in the Archdeaconry of Richmond he was operating outside his own area, where he also acquired monastic property. Beckwith was granted the lease of Coverham rectory for twenty-one years at the rent of £20 on 10 June, 1537.<sup>44</sup> In 1562 the reversion of the rectory, then in the tenure of John Ward, was granted to Thomas Allen and Thomas Freman, along with the Rectory of Iford, Sussex.<sup>45</sup> The tithes of the ancient parish church thus passed to a succession of lay impropiators, who bought and sold their shares of the rectory like any other piece of property, while the pastoral needs of the parish were served by a perpetual curate.

### **John Lambert**

The five former monastic granges, West Scafton, Carlton Flatts, Caldbergh, Arundel House and Coverhead, were disposed of by the Crown in the 1630s, and came into the hands of the Freeman family of Hertfordshire, who had connections with the City of London. In June 1658 Ralph Freeman sold them for £2,000 to John Rushworth and William Claxton in trust for John Lambert, the former Parliamentary general.<sup>46</sup>

At this time Lambert’s public career as soldier and political leader had come to an end. The previous year he had withdrawn into private life after breaking with Oliver Cromwell, and in 1658 he was living in retirement at his house in Wimbledon, which he had purchased when the Queen’s lands were sold. He

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<sup>43</sup> CPR, 1557-8, pp.217-18.

<sup>44</sup> Clay, *Suppression Papers*, p.96.

<sup>45</sup> CPR, 1560-63, p.354.

<sup>46</sup> The transaction was enrolled in Chancery on 26 June 1658. NA:PRO, C54/4005, f.20. See also Grant by Letters Patent of the Forfeited Estates of John Lambert, Esq., Attainted of High Treason, to John, Lord Bellasyse, p.2. There is a printed copy of this document in the YAS collection. It is dated 2 April 1663. A later document, Northumberland Record Office, Belsay MSS. ZMI B7/1/14, rehearses the history of the lands.



remained a wealthy man, as Cromwell allowed him a pension of £2,000 a year. It is not known what prompted the purchase of the Coverdale granges. They were a very minor group of properties in comparison with Lambert's grand purchases in earlier years, when he had acquired Nonsuch, a famous ex-royal residence, as well as Wimbledon and many other estates. It may be that he intended the Coverdale granges to provide for one of his younger children, or alternatively saw them as some form of insurance policy. It is possibly significant that the Coverdale lands were the only ones the Lambert family managed to retain after the Restoration, apart from their ancestral lands in Airedale and Malhamdale. In a Chancery case after Lambert's death it was stated that he had borrowed £2,000 to finance the Coverdale purchase.<sup>47</sup>

What is certain is that both Freeman and Lambert were very unpopular with the Coverdale tenants, and had been pursuing legal disputes with them. This is made very clear by a petition sent by the tenants to Charles II. It is undated, but from its position on the roll it seems to date from September 1660.<sup>48</sup> By this time Lambert was in prison in the Tower, and he was destined to spend the rest of his life in captivity.

The petition was sent by Anthony Buckle, John Ripley and Thomas Walker 'for and on the behalf of themselves and one and fifty more of your Majesty's tenants'. The Hearth Tax list of 1662 has Anthony Buckle at Carlton with two hearths, John Ripley and Thomas Walker both at West Scrafton, each with one hearth, suggesting they were householders of modest means. Their petition explained that they and their ancestors 'for several ages have been ancient tenants by lease', but 'in these sad times within these twenty years they have been much sued and troubled by one Mr Ralph Freeman and since by Colonel John Lambert and one Captain Coats his agent claiming under Freeman. They threatening to out and ruin your Majesty's petitioners, who have defended themselves in their possessions to their great charge and impoverishment. Resolving rather to die than leave their possession to Lambert'. The petitioners humbly requested that the King would continue their status as tenants by lease: 'And they will pay their rents and perform their services and continue your Majesty's loyal subjects so long as they live. And shall daily pray for your Majesty's long reign and happiness'.

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<sup>47</sup> D.Farr, 'The Military and Political Career of John Lambert, 1619-57', (Cambridge University unpublished D.Phil.thesis, 1996), pp.111, 147-48.

<sup>48</sup> NA:PRO, Microfilm SP29-17, frame 24.

The tenants' hopes of returning to their past status as tenants of the Crown were not fulfilled. Although John Lambert was convicted of high treason in June 1662 and his lands were thereby forfeited, his wife Frances made constant appeals to the King for help. Her family's relationship with the Belasyse family helped her cause. Most of the estates which John Lambert had acquired during the Interregnum were lost, but his ancestral estates together with the five Coverdale granges were granted by the King on 3 September 1662 to John, Lord Belasyse, a former Royalist commander, whose aim was to preserve them for the Lambert family. The grant was made to Lord Belasyse 'in trust for Dame Frances Lambert and her children'.<sup>49</sup> John Belasyse, a relative of Frances Lambert by marriage, was repaying help previously given to him by John Lambert, now that their positions were reversed.

Recent studies of the fortunes of Royalist families in the Interregnum have shown their resilience and their use of family connections to avoid total ruin.<sup>50</sup> The story of the Lamberts and the Coverdale granges shows a similar use of family connections by a leading Parliamentarian family at the Restoration. David Farr's study of John Lambert's military and political career examines Lambert's kinship network in detail, and includes case studies of a number of Lambert's land deals in the Interregnum in which he acted to help Royalist and Catholic relatives and friends.<sup>51</sup> John Rushworth, who was involved in Lambert's Coverdale purchase, was also well-known as an agent for Catholic and Royalist families seeking to retain or regain their estates. He acted for Lambert in a number of transactions designed to assist members of the Lambert/Lister kinship network.

Lambert and John Belasyse had faced each other many times on the battlefield, but the ties imposed by kinship held firm for both men in the years after the Civil War. In the 1650s Lambert helped John Belasyse on a number of occasions, even when Belasyse was known to be still plotting in the Royalist cause. For example, in 1656 Lambert secured a pass for Belasyse and two of his servants to go to France. In 1659 Belasyse was committed to the Tower for trial for high treason, but this was not followed by any trial, and Lambert actually secured his release.<sup>52</sup> His support

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<sup>49</sup> CSPD 1661/2, p.478.

<sup>50</sup> Examples are given in P.G.Holiday, 'Land Sales and Repurchases in Yorkshire after the Civil Wars, 1650-70', in The English Civil Wars, Local Aspects, ed.R.C.Richardson (Stroud, 1997), pp.287-308.

<sup>51</sup> Farr, thesis, chapter 3.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p.142.



for Belasyse was viewed with hostility among some of Lambert's closest associates and was far from helpful to his own position.

After the Restoration, when the positions were reversed, Belasyse was able and willing to repay Lambert's help. When he made his grant to Belasyse the King was well aware that the lands would return to the Lambert family. An interesting sidelight is that a fine was demanded by the Crown, as compensation for breaking the entail which was part of the Henrician settlement on the Earl and Countess of Lennox. The entail had been completely ignored by Elizabeth I after the Countess's death, presumably because the lands had already been confiscated, but this piece of history provided a convenient excuse for Charles II to require a payment to remove it.<sup>53</sup>

Belasyse left no stone unturned, and obtained a series of confirmatory grants.<sup>54</sup> The King had actually granted the Coverdale lands elsewhere, on a twenty-one year lease to William Stanley (one of the family of the Earl of Derby), Sir John Munson and Dr. Henry Wilkinson. Their interest was bought out and John Belasyse received the properties 'in full and free possession without any Incumbrance or preceding Title'.<sup>55</sup> The Coverdale tenants who had been hoping to be Crown tenants thus escaped being assigned to a group of outside landlords.

In later years there was litigation in Chancery about the Lambert estates, between John Lambert's eldest son of the same name and four men who had married Lambert daughters.<sup>56</sup> However this dispute is of no relevance to the occupiers of Carlton Flatts, who were no longer Lambert tenants.

On 25 February 1669/70 John, Lord Belasyse signed an indenture with Thomas Talbut and Dr. William Parkin, both of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, transferring the Lambert lands to them. This seems to be another of the transactions involving intermediaries which are characteristic of many of John Lambert's financial dealings. Belasyse stated in this indenture that the lands were not encumbered 'in Estate Title Charge or otherwise', except that he had executed six separate deeds

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<sup>53</sup> CSPD 1663/4, p.166; Northumberland RO, Belsay MSS. ZMI B7/1/14.

<sup>54</sup> CSPD 1663/4, pp.30, 41, 166.

<sup>55</sup> Northumberland RO, Belsay MSS. ZMI B7/1/14.

<sup>56</sup> Farr, thesis, pp.147-48.

granting lands and tenements to a total of seventeen people. These deeds were all dated 23 December 1664. The first was between John, Lord Belasyse and Anthony Dawson, Anthony Buckle and Thomas Buckle of Carlton Flatts. The other purchasers were nine people from the Highdale, two from West Scafton, and two from Caldbergh partnered by one man from Cleveland.<sup>57</sup>

In this way some of the tenants of the Coverdale granges were able to purchase their holdings, at much the same time as the tenants of the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond were purchasing theirs from the City of London. It is worth noting that there were fifty-four signatories to the petition to the Crown in 1660 and only seventeen purchasers in 1664. Only one of the three named signatories, Anthony Buckle, purchased his land. However, the tenants of Carlton Flatts, Anthony Dawson and Anthony and Thomas Buckle, were among the purchasers. All three appear on the Hearth Tax returns for Carlton for 1662, 1670 and 1673. Anthony Dawson seems to have been in a slightly better position than the other two, as he was the only householder in Carlton village with three hearths; Anthony Buckle had two hearths and Thomas Buckle had only one hearth.

Thus by the 1670s there had been a comprehensive and fundamental change in the character of land ownership in the township. The dominant landowners in Carlton were now local yeomen, small farmers, for the first time in control of their own properties and without any great landowner either attempting to exploit them or sheltering them from the full rigours of economic forces.

## **2.2 Tenants in Defence of their Custom**

### **2.2.1 Tenant Right**

Disputes between landowners and tenants occurred in many different areas when landlords tried to alter the terms on which tenants held their lands, hoping to increase their own incomes and also to improve agricultural production, which might justify further increases in rents or fines. Such disputes were not new, but in the sixteenth century, in a time of rapid inflation, both sides found their circumstances changing, creating sharply conflicting interests. Any landlord who could not increase his rents or fines would see his own income decline in real terms:

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<sup>57</sup> Northumberland RO, Belsay MSS. ZMI B7/1/14.



while a tenant who managed to resist would see his standard of living increase as prices for his produce rose.

Many landlords therefore tried to put pressure on their tenants in various ways. The most usual method was an attempt to replace customary tenure by short leases, so that the rent could be raised when the lease fell in. Conditions could also be inserted into the new leases encouraging the tenants to improve the land and increase their production.

In addition to the fixed annual rents, most customary tenancies were also subject to 'gressoms' or occasional fines, which were normally paid when there was a change of landlord or tenant. Like the rents these were fixed by manorial custom; traditionally 'God's penny' was paid to mark a new lord/tenant relationship. Some landlords attempted to improve their incomes by increasing the gressoms rather than the rents, probably thinking this would arouse less opposition. The gressom also provided cash in hand for the landlord, whereas the real value of rent payments was being eroded over time by inflation.

Richard Hoyle has made an extensive study of tenant right, which he defines as a distinctive form of customary tenure found in northern England, roughly north of a line from Lancaster to Scarborough, and has stressed that it was 'a flexible relationship between lords and tenants actively being moulded by the forces applied to it'.<sup>58</sup> This was the tenure by which the tenants of the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond held their lands, and it was one they greatly valued and took care to mention in their wills. From the tenants' point of view, fixed rents and small fines were not the only features of the tenure which they wished to preserve. They wanted to maintain a secure tenure, with inheritance rights, and also the liberty to sell the holding if they wished to do so.

The tenants often justified their tenant right as a tenure which gave special privileges in return for providing a fighting force against the Scots. Each tenant was obliged to provide one man furnished with armour and weapons. The tenants of the Lordship had fulfilled this duty for the Neville lords in their defence of the Border,

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<sup>58</sup> R.Hoyle, 'An Ancient and Laudable Custom: the Definition and Development of Tenant Right in North-Western England in the Sixteenth Century', Past and Present, 116, (August 1987), p.24.

and it was still far from irrelevant in the sixteenth century. The dalesmen played their part at Flodden Field in 1513, when William, now Lord Conyers, led the contingent from Middleham and Richmond.<sup>59</sup> In 1522 Conyers took a force of over 2600 men to defend Carlisle against the Scots. His troops included 200 men from Middleham, Coverdale, West Witton and Worton; 100 men from Coverham, Kettlewell and Pickhill; and 100 from Hackforth, Jervaulx and East Witton.<sup>60</sup> The muster roll for Hang West wapentake for a muster held on Middleham Moor in January 1534/5 shows Carlton providing thirty-one archers and twenty-nine bills. From the names listed it is clear the men came from the whole manor of Carlton, including the Highdale as well as Carlton village.<sup>61</sup> Military service was therefore an important component of tenant right in the Lordship. However, as we shall see, tenant right outlasted the union of the Crowns in 1603, and withstood the argument that Border service had become redundant.

Tenant right formed one strand in the demands made in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and gressoms were a particular issue. In the proclamation of the Commons issued at Richmond in January 1537, tenants were advised to 'claim ye old customs and tenant right to take your farms by a God's penny, all gressoms and heightening to be laid down'.<sup>62</sup> This was aimed at other manorial lords, not at the Crown, as in the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond the old tradition of the 'God's penny' still held good.<sup>63</sup>

The Crown as landlord had divided interests: on the one hand there was the need for a fighting force to defend the Scottish border, but on the other there was the inevitable wish to improve Crown revenues. In the 1560s the Elizabethan government commissioned a survey of the Lordships of Middleham and Richmond with the aim of increasing the revenues, and Lord Treasurer Winchester claimed there was no record of tenant right. The Earl of Northumberland, as steward, spoke out strongly on the tenants' behalf. In October 1564 Northumberland wrote to Winchester: 'Considering ... how importunate I have been on the tenants' behalf, for the establishment of their custom, I beg you to have it in remembrance; what good

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<sup>59</sup> Coles, thesis, p.141.

<sup>60</sup> LP, III (ii), 2524.

<sup>61</sup> NA:PRO, E36/44.

<sup>62</sup> R.Fieldhouse and B.Jennings, A History of Richmond and Swaledale (Chichester, 1978), p.117.

<sup>63</sup> Willan and Crossley, Surveys, 147.



liking it had been to them, and commodity to Her Majesty, to have such custom established, you well know by my report, and how much the former Councils respected its antiquity'. He pointed out that he had thought to do good service 'by staying the suits of a multitude of the tenants to Her Majesty'.<sup>64</sup>

In the following year a compromise was reached which avoided giving formal recognition of the tenants' customary tenure:

In Barnard castle, Middleham, and Richmond, on account of the pretended title of tenants' rights, the lands may be let for 40 years, after survey. In Barnard castle one year's rent to be paid as a gressom; in Middleham and Richmond two; and in all, repairs to be done, and horse and armour found by the tenant. All lands yearly value 40s. and under may be let by copy of Court rolls, by the stewards and others in commission, and in open court, with certain provisoes; widows to have their estate in the lands, eldest sons the preference in leases, &c.<sup>65</sup>

The Crown had made progress by the introduction of gressoms, but the tenants had obtained some concessions about inheritance, which were soon pushed further by court cases.

The compromise reached in the 1560s did not prevent a stream of lawsuits, as Northumberland had foreseen. The fast-developing jurisdiction of the equity side of the Exchequer was available for the tenants. Until 1649 the jurisdiction was restricted to cases in which the Crown had some financial interest, but tenants on the royal estates had no difficulty in proving their right of access to the court.<sup>66</sup> The jurisdiction was popular because the proceedings were in English, and evidence could be taken locally. In cases outside the London area commissioners were appointed from the district where the dispute arose to take depositions at a convenient place nearby.

A steady stream of cases from all parts of the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond reached the Exchequer, among them some from Coverdale, and in one case the depositions were taken at Carlton in a dispute about rights of pasture and turbary at Huntersleets, near the head of the dale. None of the Coverdale Exchequer

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<sup>64</sup> Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1601-3, with Addenda 1547-65, p.551.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p.568.

<sup>66</sup> W.H.Bryson, The Equity Side of the Exchequer (Cambridge. 1975), pp.12, 25.

cases seems to have arisen from tenant right disputes as such. However, cases from elsewhere in the Lordship citing the ‘custom of the manor’ dealt with issues such as the right of an eldest daughter to succeed to the tenancy, if there was no son, on the existing rent and conditions of tenancy; likewise the right of the nearest relative to succeed if a deceased tenant had no children; and very significantly the right of a tenant to alienate his land.<sup>67</sup> Decisions reached in these cases were important for tenants throughout the Lordship.

The 1605 survey of the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond, which provides the most important single source for Carlton in this period, was undoubtedly connected with the ending of the forty-year leases granted in the 1560s. It has survived in three versions: the original Latin version in the National Archives, which includes field names;<sup>68</sup> a summary in the archives of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society;<sup>69</sup> and an English translation of the original Latin version in the archives of the City of London.<sup>70</sup> This third version was clearly used as a working document after the Lordship was sold to the City in 1628. It has numerous additional figures in various hands written in, working out the value of the lands, and other helpful details are added.

The survey lists twenty-five tenants in Carlton, who between them had twenty-eight houses and thirty-four holdings (Table 11).<sup>71</sup> The rents and estimated yearly values are the same in the original version and in the YAS version, which appears to date from the period of City ownership. The YAS version distinguishes four tenancies for three lives and one for seven years from the others, which are clearly customary tenancies. The highest rent was £1 11s.4d. for one of the properties held for three lives, Vincent Metcalfe’s holding, which consisted of 19 acres and 3 roods

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<sup>67</sup> Deputy Keeper’s Report, XXXVIII (1877), Appendix 2, passim. There is a list of the more important Exchequer cases in VCH:NR, ed.W.Page (1914), I, 12, note 37.

<sup>68</sup> NA:PRO, LR2/195. Roger Fieldhouse drew attention to this document in his article ‘Some evidence of surviving open fields in the seventeenth-century Pennine dales and the gradual elimination of communal agriculture’, Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 54 (1982), 111.

<sup>69</sup> YAS, MS.509. This document is printed in Willan and Crossley, Surveys, 82-150.

<sup>70</sup> City of London RO, RCE Rentals, Box 7.3.

<sup>71</sup> My figure of twenty-five tenants assumes that the references to Vincent Metcalfe, Richard Geldart and John Horner are to one person in each case (this is confirmed for John Horner by his will). The two Anthony Dawsons are distinguished as ‘junior’ and ‘senior’ in the document. The single or double identity of Richard Geldart is more doubtful – there were certainly at least two Richard Geldarts in Carlton at this time, but the aged man who gave evidence in a tithe case in 1613 was not necessarily a tenant of the Lordship.



of meadow, 7 acres of arable, and twelve beastgates on the common pasture. The annual value is given as £10 19s.9d. i.e. just under seven times the annual rent. The difference between the rent and the value for this holding is greater than for other properties in Carlton held by customary tenure, in some cases much greater, so this particular tenure has not yet enabled the landlord to unlock more value. The tenant with a lease for seven years was Thomas Buckle, whose holding consisted of one house, one outhouse (barn), 5 acres of meadow, no arable, and one and a half beastgates. His yearly rent was 5s., and the value is given as £1 3s.8d., i.e. over four and a half times his rent. By contrast there were smaller differences between rent and value for some of the customary tenancies. For example, John Pickering had two holdings, one with a rent of 11s. and a yearly value of £1 13s.4d. and the other with a rent of 1s.8d. and a yearly value of 4s. (differences of just over three times and less than three times respectively).

Some figures from the YAS version's summary of the position at Carlton are instructive:

Tenements 34.

Yearly rent £19 19s.11½d.

Yearly value £111 16s.2½d.

The clear improvement £91 16s.3d.

These figures must have been extremely frustrating for a landlord in desperate need of improved revenues.

Another method of increasing revenues was used by the Crown when in February 1611/12 a commission was established to enquire into the exact boundaries of the Lordship, and to find out among other things whether the tenants had been making illegal encroachments on the common land. Fifteen encroachments are listed for Carlton, most of them made by tenants who appear in the 1605 Survey, and all of them small – the largest is 1 acre and 31 perches. It looks as if the tenants had been adding small closes and possibly gardens to their properties. No other township in the Lordship has a list of encroachments like the one for Carlton.<sup>72</sup>

At the end of the YAS version of the 1605 survey are some 'Observacons

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<sup>72</sup> NA:PRO, E178/4831.

concerning these two Lordships'.<sup>73</sup> The writer says that some tenants had leases for another forty years, taken about 1610, and promising a further term forty years on, with a fine to the Crown of two years' old rent. Furthermore he says the tenants had paid an extra four years' rent 'for confirmacon', plus a 'gratuity' of two more years' rent to Sir Thomas Metcalfe, 'then High Steward of the said Mannors', for his assistance in gaining the renewal of their leases. He argues this constituted 'an absolute breach ... of that custome, wch. they pretend to be so strong', and adds further arguments against the tenants, presumably intended to reassure the City authorities that they would have a good case in future legal battles. He contends that the need for Border service had ended with the accession of King James to the English throne, therefore 'theyre customes then fayled'; and that the covenant for renewing the leases was made void by the grant of the Lordships to the City, which as a corporate body could never claim the fines due at a landlord's death.

The general trend of the 'Observacons' leaves no doubt that there was plenty of material for legal disputes, while the City had strong motivation to take every opportunity that offered itself to impose higher rents and make the lands more saleable. There are numerous papers in the City archives about law cases involving tenants from the Lordship. After the Civil War the approach of the expiry date for the forty-year leases caused general fear among the tenants. In 1651 the Court of Exchequer began hearings into what was clearly a major test case: William Markinfield and his wife Elizabeth and three other complainants from the Lordship of Middleham, with two other complainants 'and all other tenants of the honour and lordship of Richmond' versus 'the mayor, cominaltie, and citizens of the city of London' for refusing to accept surrenders of leases or to grant new leases. The Markinfields were claiming lands at Heaning in the township of Thoraby, to which Elizabeth Markinfield claimed succession by tenant right from her father and grandfather. The tenants argued that before the Elizabethan leases tenancies had been held by tenant right, but were then altered to leases for forty years, to be automatically renewed 'from forty years to forty years'. Specific points at issue were the right of a female to succeed to a tenancy, and the right to alienate land, to be held subsequently on the same conditions as before.<sup>74</sup> The City archives contain many bulky bundles of papers detailing the slow progress of the case through the legal procedures, the arguments used, and the 'state of the case'. The final decree was not

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<sup>73</sup> Willan and Crossley, *Surveys*, 146-50.

<sup>74</sup> City of London RO, RCE Suits, Box 3.2.



made until June 1653, but it was a resounding victory for the tenants.<sup>75</sup> The defendants were instructed to continue to ‘renew Leases for forty years to such of the Tenants as by the said Covenant and Agreement aforesaid have right to renew the same’.

After this defeat the City changed its approach, with a renewed effort to sell the lands, giving tenants the opportunity to buy. The wills and inventories of Carlton yeomen in the 1660s and 1670s often reveal substantial debts, which are possibly an indication of the difficulty they had in finding the money to purchase their holdings. For example, the inventory of Thomas Geldart in 1677 shows debts of £50, £40 and £40, which were owed to three separate individuals, none of them resident in Coverdale.<sup>76</sup> The amount of Thomas’s debts almost entirely wiped out his assets in ‘goods moveable and unmoveable’, though not the value of his land or his house. In the longer term the decision the tenants made to purchase their holdings was a wise one, and those who had valued their tenant right so strongly must have valued even more their new security as the owners of their land.

### **2.2.2 Tithe Disputes**

At first sight it might seem that tithe disputes belong with a discussion of religion and the role of the Established Church. However, at this time tithes were generally viewed purely as property, a point which is underlined when in one case we find the curate of Coverham acting as book-keeper for the lay impropiators, and giving evidence in court on their behalf. Tithe disputes are best seen as another manifestation of resistance to attempts to interfere with custom. Like tenant right cases, they were often long-lasting and were liable to reappear years later, even decades later.

Whereas the tenant right disputes we have been considering concerned tenants of the Crown lands, the tithe disputes in Coverdale principally concerned the former monastic lands. The Premonstratensians, like the Cistercians, had exemption from tithe by Papal decree, and the Henrician legislation carefully preserved the rights of exemption for the benefit of future owners. In spite of the law, lay impropiators tried hard to impose tithes on the tenants of the former monastic granges. Once

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., RCE Suits, Box 3.5.

<sup>76</sup> WYAS, Leeds, Richmondshire Wills, inventory of Thomas Geldart, 17 January, 1676/7. See the transcript in Appendix 2 below.

again these cases show the determination of the tenants to stand firm, and their willingness to fight legal battles if necessary to protect their interests.

In 1583 George Ripley bought a half share in the rectory of Coverham and the tithes,<sup>77</sup> and he was soon engaged in a dispute which he took to the Court of Exchequer in 1585.<sup>78</sup> Previously George Ripley had himself been a defendant in a tithe case in the Archdeaconry court, which was about tithe wool. The interrogatories survive for this case, and indicate that Ripley was claiming that his sheep were not pastured in Coverham parish and no tithes were therefore payable on his wool.<sup>79</sup>

In 1585 the former tithe avoider was a tithe enforcer. The case concerned the five former granges, which included Carlton Flatts. It is repeatedly mentioned by witnesses in a later case of 1613, who were mostly elderly and were giving evidence about tithe practices from at least thirty years before.<sup>80</sup> All the witnesses agreed that when the granges belonged to Coverham Abbey they were farmed in demesne. One would think this should have been the end of the matter, as proof that the lands were exempt from tithe. However, Thomas Stevenson, the curate of Coverham, giving evidence for the impropiators in 1613, told the commissioners that until the former suit (i.e. the case of 1585) the tenants and occupiers of Coverhead, Arundel House, West Scrafton and Caldbergh all paid some tithes in kind, but the West Scrafton and Caldbergh farmers or occupiers paid a money composition for corn and hay. He knew this to be true because he kept the books. Stevenson added that the farmers of the rectory threatened to sue the occupiers of Carlton Flatts, who thereupon compounded for the tithes of Carlton Flatts.

The witnesses in 1613 gave differing evidence about the tithes paid by the other four granges, but they all distinguished between Carlton Flatts and the other four. The phrase 'except Carlton Flatts' occurs repeatedly. An explanation was given for this difference by Richard Geldart of Carlton, who claimed to be aged ninety or thereabouts. He stated that John Ward, who was an impropiator of the rectory, also obtained a lease of the five granges for twenty-one years from the Earl

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<sup>77</sup> Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period, ed.F.Collins, Part III, YASRS VII (1889), 5.

<sup>78</sup> Deputy Keeper's Report, XXXVIII, 217.

<sup>79</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AC/3/15.

<sup>80</sup> NA:PRO, E134/11Jas.1/Mich.1.



and Countess of Lennox. He sub-let the other granges, but farmed Carlton Flatts himself. This evidence was partly contradicted by one of the Dawson family who said that about fifty years before (i.e. about 1563) his father Roger Dawson was an under-tenant of John Ward leasing half of Carlton Flatts for seven or eight years, and never paid any tithes to John Ward or any other farmers of the rectory. However, it seems clear that the difference between Carlton Flatts and the other four granges came about in the time of John Ward. In 1585 George Ripley and his partner Richard Freeman were claiming tithes from all five granges. John Dawson of Carlton, yeoman, aged about eighty-five in 1613, said that the 1585 case began when there was 'denial of the payment of a tithe goose by one of the tenants of West Scrafton grange, whereupon suit was commenced'. If so, the insistence on payment of the tithe goose proved expensive for Ripley and Freeman. It is very clear from the evidence in 1613 that they lost the case of 1585, and that no tithes were paid from the granges after that date.

In the early seventeenth century a triumvirate of impropiators, John Horner, Gavin Spence and Thomas Hardcastle embarked on a series of tithe cases in the archdeaconry court.<sup>81</sup> One of these cases was taken to the Court of Exchequer by the defendant, Leonard Spence of Coverhead. The three lay impropiators, complainants in the archdeaconry court, now found themselves defendants.<sup>82</sup>

The case was a re-run of the Exchequer case of 1585 concerning tithes from the five former granges, including Carlton Flatts. The depositions were taken at Middleham in October 1613. Three of the elderly witnesses were called to give evidence for both sides, including the oldest, William Geldart of West Scrafton, who claimed to be aged ninety-four or thereabouts. Two members of the Horner family gave evidence, Thomas who was aged about twenty-eight and was probably the son of John Horner the impropiator, and Henry who came from Middlesmoor and was aged about seventy-two. He was almost certainly John Horner's brother who had sold John his share of the rectory. Henry's father-in-law was George Ripley, the former impropiator.

The case must have gone on for some time and aroused strong feelings. In

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<sup>81</sup> Thomas Hardcastle, of Laverton near Kirkby Malzeard, was the first of a long line of Hardcastles who had an interest in Coverham church for two centuries.

<sup>82</sup> NA:PRO, E134/11Jas.1/Mich.1.

October 1612, twelve months before the hearing at Middleham, a warrant was issued for Francis Horner of Carlton to appear at Quarter Sessions 'on the sworn information of Valentyne Metcalf of Eslington in the county of Middlesex', who complained that while he was on the King's service, as assistant for executing the commission from the Court of Exchequer, Francis Horner said to him that the commission he had was counterfeit 'and that the Commissioners that were in it were slaves, and false, like unto himself'. Francis then followed him with a staff and a dagger and said he would kill him. This particular Sessions was not a good one for the Horner family, as John Horner of Carlton was also presented for keeping a greyhound and keeping a gun, and George Horner of Carlton was presented for killing a hare in the snow and for shooting at game several times.<sup>83</sup> It looks as if something of a vendetta was going on, but the Horners came through successfully. Three months later John Horner was back on the jury panel at the next Quarter Sessions, and there is no record that Francis ever appeared to answer the accusations against him.

When the Carlton Tithe Award was made in 1849, Henry Constantine, the owner of Carlton Flatts, was also the impropiator of the majority of the Carlton tithes. His lands are specifically listed as free from tithes. It seems therefore that the seventeenth-century impropiators failed in their attempt to impose tithes on Carlton Flatts – another success for the defenders of custom against those property owners who were seeking to extract extra value at the expense of the tenants.

### **2.3 Freeholders, Tenants and the Farming Economy**

This section will examine how the agricultural economy developed in Carlton in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; how far the framework inherited from medieval Carlton remained in place; and how far the changes in Carlton were paralleled in other Dales townships.

Both arable and pastoral farming were controlled by the manorial courts, which freeholders as well as leaseholders and customary tenants were summoned to attend. The Carlton court continued to function throughout the period under discussion, covering both Carlton Town and the Highdale. From a scattering of court rolls, and the comprehensive survey of the manor made in 1605, together with

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<sup>83</sup> Quarter Sessions Records, ed. J.C. Atkinson, North Riding Record Series, II, 6.



information from wills and inventories, it is possible to build up a more detailed picture of farming practice in Carlton in the early modern period than was achievable for the medieval centuries.

An increase in the number of tenants in Carlton township and a much larger increase in the Highdale are suggested by the one surviving record from the Carlton manorial court in the sixteenth century, dating from 18 April 1554, the first year of Queen Mary.<sup>84</sup> The court followed much the same pattern as its predecessor a century earlier, but now the tenants from Carlton and the Highdale were joined by others from lands throughout Coverdale which had formerly belonged to Coverham Abbey. Those former monastic lands which had not been granted elsewhere had been assigned to the manor of Carlton by the Queen's commission. The tenants are listed by settlement.<sup>85</sup>

Four freeholders are listed: Thomas Layton, gentleman, John, Lord Conyers and William Foster, all for lands in Melmerby formerly belonging to Coverham Abbey, and Richard Geldart, the only one for lands in Carlton.

In the lists of tenants which follow, most of the names have written over them the amount they had to pay as a fine for trespass and felling the vert (the greenwood) – 'in Succidend[um] veridum'. As in the 1450 court roll, the number of fines and the standard amounts paid imply this was a regular event, and the fines were more in the nature of a licence:

Tenants and fines in Carlton and the Highdale, 1554.

	<u>Tenants</u>	<u>Fines</u>
Carlton.	30	All paid 1 <u>d.</u> except Anthony Metcalf, who paid 2 <u>d.</u>
Woodale.	6	All paid 1 <u>d.</u>
Braidley.	9	All paid 1 <u>d.</u>
Horsehouse.	5	All paid 1 <u>d.</u>

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<sup>84</sup> York Minster Library, Hailstone collection, Box 4.16. This document is not the original, but a nineteenth-century copy. A note on the back of an accompanying document says it was copied from the original (in the possession of the Chaytors of Croft Hall) in 1821.

<sup>85</sup> In these lists the name Carlton refers to Carlton township, and all other settlements are listed separately by name, thus coinciding with modern usage.

	<u>Tenants</u>	<u>Fines</u>
Gammersgill.	9	All paid 1 <u>d</u> .
Fleensop.	4	All paid 1 <u>d</u> .

Thus the number of tenants named in the court roll had increased from nineteen in Carlton in 1450 to thirty in 1554, while in the Highdale there was a dramatic increase from eleven to thirty-three.

In the former monastic lands almost half the tenants paid fines of 2d. in 1554:

Tenants and fines in the former monastic lands, 1554.

	<u>Tenants</u>	<u>Fines</u>
Caldbergh.	8	All paid 1 <u>d</u> .
Swineside.	5	All paid 2 <u>d</u> .
Hindlethwaite.	4	All paid 2 <u>d</u> .
Arkleside.	9	All paid 2 <u>d</u> .
Carlton.	3	Only one has 1 <u>d</u> . fine written over his name, but the total is given as 3 <u>d</u> .
Melmerby.	5	All paid 1 <u>d</u> .
Agglethorpe.	3	All paid 1 <u>d</u> .

The court went on to enquire into the amount of common pasture in the manor, using three separate juries, one for Carlton, one for the Highdale and one for the former monastic lands. They answered an enquiry – ‘inquisitio’ – into the amount of common pasture ‘by estimation’, and each replied with a standard phrase estimating the amount of ‘moor, heath and stony ground’ – ‘more, brewere et Terre lapedic’.

The Carlton jury responded with the figure of 150 acres, but pointed out this pasture was shared with tenants of the Earl of Lennox and Thomas Sawkeld with all their animals at all times of the year.<sup>86</sup> This seems a remarkably small amount –

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<sup>86</sup> The court roll leaves a blank space for the Christian name of Sawkeld, but Thomas Sawkeld or Salkeld held lands in Agglethorpe, Caldbergh and Melmerby at this time. Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period, Part I, ed.F.Collins, YASRS, II (1887), pp.71, 349.



when enclosure of the West Pasture and the Moor took place in the early nineteenth century the West Pasture contained by estimation 300 acres or thereabouts, and Carlton Moor and other common and waste land in the township was estimated at 2000 acres or thereabouts. Possibly the estimate in 1554 was in customary rather than statutory acres, but it must have referred to the common pasture, not to the vast stretch of moorland above.

The Highdale jury estimated their pasture at 200 acres: 50 acres on Carlton Moor and Fleensop Moor, with pasture for thirty cattle and 180 sheep; 40 acres at Horsehouse, 40 acres at Braidley, 30 acres at Woodale, and 40 acres at Fleensop. The jury for the former monastic lands stated that 100 acres of common pasture were available for them.

The responses make clear that the enquiry was into stinted pasture, which provided grazing for a fixed number of animals (the 'stint'). The numbers given in the response of the Highdale jury (the only one to do so) may possibly indicate a stint where one cow equalled six sheep, or alternatively there may have been separate enclosed pastures for cattle and sheep. This seems more likely, as at Braidley in 1605 tenants had both 'beastgates' and 'sheepgates'.<sup>87</sup> The response of the Carlton jury implies that the Lordship's tenants at Carlton either employed a stint already or wanted to do so, but were hampered by the Lennox and Salkeld tenants exercising traditional unlimited rights. The description of the pastures as 'moor, heath and stony ground' suggests that none of them had as yet been improved to offer good quality grazing.

The concern about rights of pasture is a recurring theme in the history of Coverdale in this period. In April 1611 depositions were taken at Carlton in an Exchequer case which concerned rights of pasture on Huntersleets and Kettlewell moors, in the wild remote country at the head of Coverdale. The plaintiffs were nineteen men from Carlton Highdale, with members of the Ryder, Hammond and Ripley families prominent among them, and the defendants were four men from Kettlewell. Some men from Carlton gave evidence in support of their neighbours

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<sup>87</sup> R.T.Fieldhouse, 'Agriculture in Wensleydale from 1600 to the present day', NH, XVI (1980), 173. The 'gate' was the unit whereby rights of pasture were measured.

from the Highdale.<sup>88</sup> The fact that such a dispute could be taken to the Court of Exchequer illustrates the great importance of summer pasture on the moorland.

The same determination to preserve rights and keep out intruders can be seen in the records of the Carlton manor court from the early seventeenth century. The following examples are from the estreat roll for 1610:<sup>89</sup>

Henry Hodgson (of Fleensop), presented 'for his cattle going on their common', fined 6d.

Christopher Ripley the younger, 'for his fence lying down between Colt Park and their pasture', fined 4d.

Thomas Lambert, 'for a gap in his fence', fined 4d.

John Dawson and Henry Dawson, 'for not driving their common according to order', fined 12d.

The 'fences' in question were most probably stone walls; the word need not imply a wooden structure. The two Dawsons had evidently left their animals on the common for a longer time than the township rules permitted. Henry Hodgson and Christopher Ripley were fined again in 1614 for the same offences, but this time the fines were slightly lower, 4d. and 3d. respectively. The court records show a group of tenants working to rules which were clearly laid down and which were enforced against their neighbours from other townships as well as transgressors within their own community.

The three versions of the 1605 survey of the Lordship, described above, provide between them a clear picture of the farming economy in Carlton in the early seventeenth century, and an excellent basis for assessing later changes in farming in the township. The survey records an agriculture at a half-way stage in the enclosure process. Twelve tenants held land in the West Field, six in the East Field, and three in the High Field. The area known as Short Shaws had nine tenants, Nathwaite down by the river had seven and Longlands six. In addition many closes were shared by two or three tenants, and the survey seems to recognise some closes as semi-part of the common field from which they had been taken. Most people had small enclosures as well as their holdings in the common fields.

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<sup>88</sup> NA:PRO, E134/9 Jas.1 East 2.

<sup>89</sup> NA:PRO, SC2/211/22. This is a set of five sheets, four dating from the period 1610-1616, the fifth dated 1637.



The holdings of the Carlton tenants listed in the survey amounted in total to 454 acres, 2 roods, comprising 396 acres and 2 roods of meadow, and 58 acres of arable. The details are set out in Table 11.<sup>90</sup> Most of the tenants were practising mixed farming, with both arable and meadow, but five tenants had only meadow, with no arable land. The predominance of meadow over arable is a striking feature of the survey. The largest holding of meadow was John Foxgill's 37 acres, with no arable. The largest holding of arable was Anthony Dawson Senior's 10 acres, with 24 acres and 3 roods of meadow. However, most holdings were much smaller than these. There was no uniformity, indeed no two holdings were exactly alike in either size or value.

The holdings were scattered, as for example Thomas Buckle's 5 acres of meadow, which were in four different places. Thomas Geldart's holdings included an 'island in the water', which no longer exists today, another example of change in the course of the river Cover. The manorial mill and brewery continued to operate (the mill at a lesser rent than in the fifteenth century) but the 1605 survey makes no mention of a common oven.

All the tenants, except Richard Dawson the miller, who had no land, had beastgates on the common pasture and rights of common on the moor. There were 111 beastgates in total, and the number held by an individual tenant varied from twelve to one. Table 11 seems to show no relationship between the size of a holding and the number of beastgates, indicating that beastgates were treated separately from the land-holdings to which they had originally been attached. Twelve of the beastgates were in Micklethwaite Pasture, by Micklethwaite Gill, and ten of them were in the hands of one person, Vincent Metcalfe. The West Pasture, often referred to simply as 'the Pasture', was where most of the tenants had their beastgates. The wall protecting it from the intrusion of unauthorized stock was a vital part of the Carlton landscape at this period. Today the top wall separating the West Pasture from Carlton Moor has disappeared entirely in some places, for example where it crossed the lane leading up towards Walden. Its significance as a boundary was lost with the Enclosure Award in the early nineteenth century, when the Commissioner's policy was to allot adjacent pieces of land on the Pasture and the Moor to the same owner as far as possible.

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<sup>90</sup> The totals given in this paragraph are correct additions of the figures in Table 11. The totals in YAS MS.509 are incorrect additions.

There is a contrast once again between Carlton and the Highdale, where the tenants had more pasture available to them and the holdings, described as 'pasturegates' in the survey's account of the Highdale, were more regular, especially at Braidley and Woodale. At Braidley four tenants had twenty-two 'gates' each, three had eleven each, and the other two each had five and a half. At Woodale four tenants had twenty-six 'gates' each, two had thirteen each, and the remaining two had nineteen and a half and eight respectively.

In the City of London's version of the survey most of the Carlton entries denoting land held 'In the Town Fields' or 'In the Common Fields' have the name of the field written in, usually 'East' or 'West', but 'High Field', 'Langlands', 'Dikes' and 'Castell low bank' are also noted. One annotation locates the East Field as adjoining Carlton Flatts. Some holdings in the common fields were used for arable farming, but others were being used as meadow, again emphasizing the predominance of pastoral farming. Many of the field names in the 1605 survey appear again in the nineteenth-century Tithe Award, and a comparison of the two lists together with the Tithe Award map shows that in the early seventeenth century apart from Carlton Moor all available land right up to the township boundaries was being used.

The 1605 survey lists twenty-seven houses in Carlton belonging to the Lordship (the Latin version 'domus' makes clear these were dwelling-houses), plus the mill, and fifty-four 'outhouses' (barns). Twelve tenants had only one barn, others had between two and nine. The barns would be scattered through the fields in the characteristic Dales fashion. None of the houses survives today in a recognisable form, though parts of some of them may be hidden within or below succeeding buildings on the same sites.

The report of the commission of enquiry of February 1611/12 lists the freeholders, six in Carlton, compared with twenty-two in Kettlewell and nineteen in Burton-cum-Walden.<sup>91</sup> Only two of the six, Richard Geldart and Anthony Dawson, are definitely known to have been resident within the township. Both of them appear in the 1605 survey as tenants of houses and land in Carlton, and there is a reference to a beastgate which Richard Geldart had with his freehold land. Anthony Beck is listed in the survey as holding land in Carlton from the Lordship but without a

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<sup>91</sup> NA:PRO, E178/4831. See above, p.72.



house. He may of course have had a house on his freehold land, but it is more likely that he lived in Melmerby, where the Becks were a leading family. The other three freeholders listed, Henry Foster, Miles Geldart and Godfrey Loftus, probably lived elsewhere in Coverdale.<sup>92</sup>

Conversely there were at least two other men who held land in Carlton as tenants of the lordship, but had freehold land elsewhere. Both of them were regular members of the panel of jurymen at Quarter Sessions, which was composed of freeholders. John Horner is always described in the Quarter Sessions lists as 'of Carlton'. Gavin Spence is sometimes described as 'of Carlton', but on other occasions as 'of Walden' or 'of Coram' (Coverham). Both of them held portions of the rectory of Coverham church as lay impropiators, and as we have already seen in Section 2 they took court action in an attempt to enforce their claims concerning tithes. Here the important point to note is that there was no sharp division between freeholders and tenants, and it was quite usual for the same person to be both a freeholder and a tenant.

Further evidence about farming practice can be found in the wills and inventories of Carlton residents. In assessing this evidence it must be recognized that the survival of a will or inventory is a matter of chance, and this is particularly true of the archives of the Archdeaconry of Richmond. The Carlton numbers are small, and while the material is useful and interesting it should not be taken as representative of the township unless it is supported from other sources.<sup>93</sup>

The will and inventory of John Pickering the elder of Carlton, yeoman, made in June 1613, illustrate several aspects of the farming economy.<sup>94</sup> The will provides

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<sup>92</sup> The name of Henry Foster appears twice in a list of seat-holders in Horsehouse Chapel dated 1610 (published in Bridge, newsletter of the parishes of Middleham, Coverdale, East Witton and Thornton Steward, December 1999). Miles Geldart is listed in the 1605 survey as a tenant at Bradley, where he had a large holding of a house, five out-houses or barns, 30 acres of meadow and twenty-two beastgates. Willan and Crossley, Surveys, 93. Godfrey Loftus was probably a member of the well-known Swineside family.

<sup>93</sup> The archives of the Archdeaconry of Richmond have had a hazardous past. They were moved several times, and it is known that on one occasion they were transported across the Pennines in the depths of winter in open carts. One cart lost a wheel and its contents were thrown into a ditch. It is not surprising that the surviving documents do not form a regular series until the post-Restoration period, and that some of them are in very poor condition. Abstracts of Abbotside Wills 1552-1688, ed. H.Thwaite, YASRS CXXX (1968), vii.

<sup>94</sup> WYAS, Leeds, Richmondshire wills.

that his son John is to succeed to his two tenements in Carlton, 'according to the custom of the manor of Middleham', and the yearly rent is stated as 12s. 8d., exactly as recorded in the survey. John senior leaves one 'whie stirk' (a young cow) to each of his two daughters, for the use of their children, and they are to pay for the summer grazing. Each of his grand-children is to receive one lamb, and each child of Michael Atkinson, his cousin, is to receive one lamb. There are also bequests to the two children of Ralph Watson, Elizabeth Watson receiving one 'gimmer hogg' (a young sheep of about a year old) and Christopher Watson one lamb. It is not clear what the relationship was between the Watsons and the Pickerings. The will gives very detailed instructions about farming matters. John wishes his stirks, kine and calves to remain in the pastures till Michaelmas. The crop growing on his three roods of cornland is to be shared between his four sons and wife Elline. He hopes his sons and his wife will continue his lease of land from John Holdsworth for the coming year.

The inventory of John Pickering's goods, made on 5 June, only two days after his will, includes his animals and crops.

Animals:

9 kine and 6 'spayninge' calves (weaning calves), valued at £21.

2 'twinter stots' (two-year-old young bulls) and 1 heifer, valued at £5.

3 stirks (young cattle, male or female, 1-2 years old), and 1 calf, valued at £4.

4 mares and 1 'colt stage' (unbroken colt), valued at £13 6s. 8d.

1 'hogg', valued at 12s.

48 ewes, wethers (castrated rams) and hoggs, valued at £16.

Crops:

Barley meal and groats, valued at £2.

3 roods of barley and oats 'sown on the ground', valued at £1 10s.

2 stacks of hay, valued at £3 13s. 4d.

A cart and cart gear are not valued separately, but included in a collection of household goods.



John Pickering was practising mixed farming, but the inventory brings out clearly the prime importance of animal husbandry, and cattle rearing in particular. The two stacks of hay, in early June, must have been unused from the previous year. The summer grazing for the young cows left as legacies was to be paid for, and therefore not treated as part of John Pickering's cattlegates, an example of his close attention to detail, leaving no room for subsequent disagreement. It is interesting to note the additional lease of land from another tenant, one of the benefits of tenant right.

Throughout the seventeenth century cattle took pride of place in the inventories of Carlton farmers. Usually the farmer kept both sheep and cattle, but the cattle were always listed before the sheep and were appraised at greater monetary value.<sup>95</sup> There is one instance of a farmer with cattle but no sheep, Anthony Dawson, (inventory February, 1637/8), whose nine cattle were valued at £13 6s.4d. One would not expect to find a farming (or small-holding) household with sheep but no cattle. As Joan Thirsk put it: 'A cow was the most usual possession of the small man, whatever else he lacked, so that he could have milk, cheese, and butter even if he was too poor to buy meat'.<sup>96</sup> No example of sheep without cattle has come to light in the Carlton inventories. Horses were kept, but not in large numbers, and there is no indication that specialist horse-rearing was being carried on in Carlton. John Pickering (1613) owned the largest number, with his four mares and one colt. The size of herds of cattle in the series ranged from twenty-four to two; the size of flocks of sheep ranged from eighty-nine to nine. Only two of the inventories record over twenty cattle, and only two record over fifty sheep. Young animals, usually sheep, were popular legacies.

A few more examples will illustrate these points. From the earlier part of the century comes the will and inventory of Alice Buckle (March, 1632/3). She leaves legacies of one hogg each to one of her daughters and two grand-children, and one lamb each to the two supervisors of her will, Anthony Buckle and Christopher Geldart. The inventory lists cattle worth £21, forty sheep worth £12, and one mare

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<sup>95</sup> The prices in the inventories were determined by groups of local people whose skills varied, and there is no guarantee that the prices were accurate. However, the comparative values they assigned to cattle and sheep would be a reflection of local experience.

<sup>96</sup> J. Thirsk, 'Farming Techniques', in J. Thirsk (ed.), The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640, (Cambridge, 1967), 185.

worth 40s. Hay and 'corn' in store is worth £10, indicating a substantial amount for that time of year.<sup>97</sup>

The three inventories in Appendix 2, all from long-established Carlton families, show the continuing importance of cattle-rearing later in the century. Thomas Geldart had the largest flock of sheep recorded in any of the Carlton inventories under review, but even so his eighty-nine sheep, valued at £34 5s., were worth considerably less than his herd of twenty-four cattle, with a value of £59, also the largest in the series.<sup>98</sup> He had corn and plenty of hay in January, and stores of wool, cheeses and beef. His contemporary Anthony Buckle had forty sheep, valued at £13, against the value of £29 3s.4d. put on his cattle.<sup>99</sup> Thomas Dawson, whose inventory was made at the very end of the century, had nine sheep with the low value of £2, whereas his cattle were valued at £27.<sup>100</sup> He had in store cheese and beef, some 'corn' and a substantial amount of hay for his sixteen cattle.

Dales cattle were black longhorns, described by R.T.Fieldhouse as 'small, hardy, multi-purpose animals, reared for both milk and beef production and also used as draught animals'.<sup>101</sup> There are occasional references to dairy produce and dairy equipment in the Carlton inventories, as in the three inventories in Appendix 2, but it is usually not clear whether production was mainly for domestic use or for sale. Items were usually categorised in general terms as 'brass and pewter' or 'wooden vessels', with their uses unspecified. Thomas Geldart's inventory is an exception, with his 'milk-house', with bowls, churn, barrels and other implements, but the value assigned was only 4s. If the Carlton farmers had surplus dairy produce for sale, marketing would not be a problem with Middleham market near at hand and Richmond a few miles further away, or produce might be sold to a 'factor', a middle-man who collected from the farms.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> WYAS, Leeds, Richmondshire wills.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid. John Horner (1615/16) had cattle worth £60, but as we shall see he had lands in Bishopdale and Nidderdale as well as Carlton. His inventory is unfortunately partly illegible.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. Other aspects of the inventories will be considered below.

<sup>101</sup> Fieldhouse, NH, XVI, 187.

<sup>102</sup> M.Hartley and J.Ingilby, Life and Tradition in the Yorkshire Dales (new edition, Clapham, 1981), pp.31-35, mention one factor who was collecting butter and cheese in Wensleydale in the 1570s. They also provide sketches of the implements used in domestic cheese-making, and give the dialect names.



We have seen that in the Highdale the available pasture was more extensive, and sheep were specifically mentioned in response to the manorial court's enquiry in 1554, but even here the seventeenth-century inventories show cattle as the farmer's greatest asset. A typical example is George Forster of Gammersgill, who in 1633 possessed cattle valued at £12 8s. and sheep worth £3 14s. His inventory includes two hens at 10d. – probably many other people also had hens, but they are rarely mentioned. George Ryder the elder, of Horsehouse, in 1672 had cattle valued at £12 7s.8d. and sheep worth £3. Towards the end of the century, John Ryder of West Close, yeoman, had cattle valued at £21 and sheep at £11 in 1694. In the following year his relative, John Ryder of Deer Close, Horsehouse, a linen weaver as well as a farmer, had cattle valued at £23 and sheep at £4.<sup>103</sup>

How does the evidence from Carlton compare with what is known of other Dales townships? R.T.Fieldhouse and a Wensleydale local history class studied the 1605 survey of the Lordship, and noted that in several townships there were 'quite extensive residuals of common open fields', and where enclosure had occurred 'much of it was at an intermediate stage between communal and several occupancy'.<sup>104</sup> The townships were Carlton, West Witton, West Burton, Thoraby and Newbiggin. There were small remnants of open fields at Swinithwaite and Worton. These places were all in the Lordship of Middleham, but there is also evidence of surviving open fields outside the Lordship. Fieldhouse quotes an agreement from Wensley, where in 1685 the Marquess of Winchester created a new home park for Bolton Hall and enclosed within it part of the common West Field of Wensley. He allotted in compensation some arable strips in the remaining part of the West Field. In Swaledale in 1620 Lord Wharton leased to Matthew Levett of Healaugh for thirty years '33 acres of arable land lying in the town fields of Healaugh together with dales and land ends of meadow in the town fields'. It was Lord Wharton's intention in the future 'to divide and sever the town fields of Healaugh after the expiration of certain leases now in being'.<sup>105</sup> The half-way stage in enclosure found at Carlton has therefore been found also in other Dales townships, not all of them in Crown ownership.

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<sup>103</sup> WYAS, Leeds, Richmondshire wills. I am grateful to Mrs.Brenda Drayson of Deer Close, Horsehouse, for her help with information about the Ryder family, and also about Horsehouse church.

<sup>104</sup> Fieldhouse, NH, XVI, 171-72.

<sup>105</sup> R.Fieldhouse and B.Jennings, A History of Richmond and Swaledale (Chichester, 1978), pp.142-43.

Fieldhouse and his students found that pastoral farming in Wensleydale and its side valleys in the seventeenth century ‘was predominantly and increasingly cattle rather than sheep farming.’ From a study of inventories they concluded that three-quarters of the farmers in the dale at the beginning of the century and nine-tenths by the end of the century possessed cattle worth more than their sheep, and that the proportion of farmers who kept sheep fell from about three-quarters to less than half.<sup>106</sup> As we have seen, in the surviving Carlton inventories cattle were worth more than sheep throughout the period, but it was rare to find a farmer with no sheep.

A.J.L. Winchester studied the Dales as part of a wider study of pastoral farming in the north of England and the Scottish borders, focusing on the ways in which hill farming communities harvested their resources and regulated the use of common land. He analysed the Abbotside inventories for the period 1552–1638, from the longer series published for the YAS by H.Thwaite, and found that 97% of inventories in his sample had cattle, and 97% had sheep. The average cattle herd was around 20 beasts. Winchester says the scale of cattle rearing in the uplands appears to have increased in the later seventeenth century, as farmers responded to depressed wool prices in the middle decades of the century and took advantage of the growth of the cattle droving trade, and this increase was to some extent at the expense of sheep.<sup>107</sup>

The evidence from Carlton, particularly about the primary importance of cattle, therefore fits well with the findings of other historians about agriculture in the Dales. There were, however, important differences also developing, as in many parts of the Dales the extractive and textile industries advanced in ways which changed the character of agriculture by encouraging a dual economy in which farming was combined with another occupation.

In the seventeenth century prospecting for lead was taking place throughout the Dales area, and the industry was developing as new methods allowed workings to go deeper underground. Prospecting certainly took place in the Carlton area, as Carlton Moor and the neighbouring fells are peppered with the remains of small workings, but no worthwhile deposits were discovered. The only lead mine of any

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<sup>106</sup> Fieldhouse, *NH*, XVI, 182.

<sup>107</sup> A.J.L. Winchester, *The Harvest of the Hills* (Edinburgh, 2000), pp.1, 18-20.



size in Coverdale was between Braithwaite Hall and the river, opposite Coverham. This mine was working in 1670. There was no smelt mill in Coverdale, and the Braithwaite lead was smelted at the mill in Waldendale whose ruins can still be seen at Cote, at the bottom of the track from Carlton.<sup>108</sup> In nearby places, including West Burton and Kettlewell, the lead mining industry developed and provided very unhealthy employment. Elsewhere in the Dales there was much more extensive development, and in Swaledale in particular a dual economy came into being, with lead miners combining their hazardous occupation with small-scale farming. Even in the nineteenth century, when much more was known about the geology and mineralogy of the area, mining was a very speculative business, and far more so in the seventeenth century.<sup>109</sup> There must have been many disappointed hopes of a rich find for the prospectors in the abandoned small workings in Coverdale.

The domestic textile industry might have provided a basis for the dual economy, as it did in many other areas, but it did not develop in this way in Carlton. Some production of woollen cloth undoubtedly took place, as the name 'Tenter Close' in the 1605 survey indicates. The will and inventory of Adam Dawson of Gammersgill (1584) suggest that he was a wool merchant.<sup>110</sup> Both will and inventory list a large number of debts owed to him by people up and down Coverdale, Bishopdale and Walden, and further afield in Lancashire. Several of the debtors lived in Carlton. William Ryder, one of Adam Dawson's Gammersgill neighbours, was allowed 4s. off his debt of 10s. 'for the carriage of one pack of wool into Lancashire'. It looks as if the debtors were weavers, carrying on the domestic industry in a small way. A hundred years later Stephen Winn, a Quaker leader who lived in Melmerby and subsequently in Carlton, is often described in the Quaker records as 'a poor weaver'. He seems to have been a cottager who did not have any land. Quite possibly there were others in this category of whom we have no record. There was some weaving of linen and harden cloth in Coverdale (we have already noted that in the Highdale John Ryder of Deer Close was combining linen weaving with farming in 1695), but it never developed as a widespread domestic industry as in neighbouring Nidderdale.

Finally, there is no evidence that stocking-knitting, an industry based on the

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<sup>108</sup> A.Raistrick, The Lead Industry of Wensleydale and Swaledale, I, (Ashbourne, 1975), 94-95.

<sup>109</sup> Fieldhouse and Jennings, History of Richmond and Swaledale, p.199.

<sup>110</sup> WYAS, Leeds, Richmondshire wills.

two centres of Kendal and Richmond but spreading far out into the countryside, was ever a significant part of the Carlton economy. There is no mention in the surviving Carlton inventories of parcels of stockings, which sometimes appear in the Abbotside inventories.<sup>111</sup>

At the end of the seventeenth century, therefore, Carlton continued to depend on agriculture for employment. Tenant right had preserved small farms, while preventing the fragmentation that would have made them unviable. Enclosure of the common fields was progressing slowly as some farmers accumulated blocks of land by sale or exchange. The medieval framework was still clearly recognisable. Tenants who bought their lands from the City had gained freehold status and independence, but it remained to be seen how far these small farmers would be able to hold their own.

## **2.4 Population, Standard of Living and Inheritance Customs**

How much, if at all, did Carlton's population grow in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a time of population growth in England? This section will examine taxation records and other evidence giving some indication of population numbers and the financial standing of at least some local residents. It will draw some conclusions about the standard of living in Carlton, and will describe the inheritance customs whereby real estate and other assets were passed down the generations.

The lay subsidies levied by Henry VIII's government in the 1520s were the first returns since the fourteenth-century Poll Tax to provide information about individuals, and in many places local historians have found them very useful. Unfortunately the returns for the North Riding are of limited use. The local commissioners chose not to send the names and details of individual taxpayers to the Exchequer. J.Sheail in his edition of the 1524/5 lay subsidy returns described the lists for Hang East and Hang West wapentakes as 'rudimentary'. Comparing them with the returns of 1543/5 he concludes 'there was widespread underassessment and evasion of payment' in the North Riding in the 1520s. He thinks 'such an unrealistic assessment of wealth may have been tolerated only because the North Riding was

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<sup>111</sup> Abstracts of Abbotside Wills 1552–1688, ed.H.Thwaite, YASRS CXXX (1968 for 1967). See for example no.80, p.66, the inventory of John Blades of East Lunds, and no.98, p.86, the inventory of Christopher Routh of Hardraw.



inherently remote and poor'. However, he suggests the 1524/5 returns do have some limited use, as 'variations in taxation within the Riding may give some idea of the internal distribution of wealth'.<sup>112</sup>

In the Hang West returns there are two Coverdale entries<sup>113</sup>:

	first survey	second survey
Carlton	7s.0d.	absent
Coverham	7s.0d.	2s.0d.

Table 6 lists the figures (or their absence) for the same group of townships used for comparison in the medieval period. It is included for the sake of completeness, though its usefulness is obviously very limited. The surveys were a preliminary to the collection of the tax, the sums listed being the amounts to be collected, and in some instances the discrepancies between the two surveys are remarkable, as they were identical in format and the criteria were supposed to be the same. It is noteworthy that by the 1520s Middleham was well ahead of East Witton in the valuation, while Wensley and West Burton were less important than previously. The whole wapentake produced only £19 7s.4d. in the first survey, £10 12s.10d in the second survey.

R.W.Hoyle has published the comparable figures for the West Riding wapentake of Staincliffe, which included the townships in upper Wharfedale across the watershed and the Riding boundary from Coverdale. These make an interesting comparison.<sup>114</sup> In 1524 Kettlewell produced 4s.6d., four people paying 12d. on an assessment of 40s. and one person paying 6d. on an assessment of 20s. Buckden produced 5s., five people each paying 12d. on 40s. Arncliffe produced 5s., five people each paying 12d. on 40s. In 1525 Kettlewell again produced 4s.6d. Only one person paid, his assessment being raised from 40s. to £9. Buckden produced 5s., contributed by two taxpayers, and Arncliffe produced 4s., with three taxpayers. The payments from Carlton and Coverham are therefore not markedly out of line with the West Riding payments in upper Wharfedale. The wapentake of Staincliffe as a whole produced £47 0s.10d. in 1524 and £37 7s.10d. in 1525.

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<sup>112</sup> J.Sheail (ed.R.W.Hoyle), The regional distribution of wealth in England as indicated in the 1524/5 Lay Subsidy Returns. 1. List and Index Society Special Series, 28 (1998), 188.

<sup>113</sup> Sheail, Regional Distribution of Wealth, 2, 412.

<sup>114</sup> Early Tudor Craven: Subsidies and Assessments 1510–1547, ed.R.W.Hoyle, YASRS CXLV (1987 for 1985), 48-63.

The lay subsidy returns in the later years of Henry VIII's reign provide much more detailed information for Hang West wapentake, including Carlton, giving the names of individual taxpayers. The return for the subsidy of 1543 provides the most names, seventy-five for Carlton which includes the Highdale.<sup>115</sup> By comparing the return with the court roll of 1554 most of the taxpayers can be located in Carlton or one of the Highdale settlements, as follows:

'Definites'.

Carlton	16
Woodale	4
Braidley	5
Horsehouse	4
Gammersgill	6
Fleensop	2
Swineside	4
Hindlethwaite	3
Arkleside	6

In addition four other names can be assigned with a high degree of certainty, two each to Carlton and the Highdale. The rest can be assigned with varying degrees of certainty, having regard to their placing on the list and the whereabouts of other members of the family. This process produces a final score of twenty-seven taxpayers in Carlton in 1543 and forty-eight in the Highdale. The speculative nature of some of the decisions must be stressed. The court roll of 1554 lists eighty-four tenants in Carlton and the Highdale, which suggests that some tenants may have been too poor to be taxed at even the minimum level. There is of course no means of knowing how many people who were not tenants were too poor to be taxed.

The information from the lay subsidy returns gives some indications about the distribution of wealth within the manor of Carlton. Here it is useful to add the information from the subsidy of 1545, which was collected in Hang West in

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<sup>115</sup> NA:PRO, E179/212/167.



February 1545/6.<sup>116</sup> This one was levied only on the wealthier taxpayers, and the smallest amount paid was 3s.4d. Those with less than £5 in goods were exempt.

Tables 8 and 9 set out the taxpayers of Carlton and the Highdale in rank order by the amount they paid in 1543 and 1546. Unlike the Staincliffe returns, those for Hang West only show the amount of tax to be paid, and not the assessment of wealth. All the taxpayers from the Manor of Carlton paid the tax on goods rather than land. This can be explained by the convention that copyhold or leasehold lands were not included in an assessment. The statutory definition of goods included coin, corn and other crops which had been harvested (but not while it was still in the ground), 'household stuff and all other goods and chattels moveable'. The pastoral farmer would therefore have to pay on the value of his farm animals. However, no precise valuation of assets was made. Hoyle says that 'the values contained in the subsidy rolls are rounded estimates of wealth...The individual assessments must be taken not as direct evidence of a person's wealth, but as an indication of how his contemporaries ranked him within his community'.<sup>117</sup>

Tables 8 and 9 each show a pyramid, with very small numbers of people paying the highest rates. The variation is greatest in the 1546 table, with a large gap between John Ripley at the top paying 26s.8d., the next highest payer contributing 10s. and seventeen people at the bottom paying 3s.4d. The variation is also striking between payments by the same person in the two years. John Ripley's payment had shot up from 7s.4d. to 26s.8d., but Adam Spence, who was previously the highest payer at 8s., now paid only 3s.4d. Among the Carlton tenants, John Foxgill's payment had more than doubled from 2s. to 4s.8d., while Thomas Geldart's had risen from 6d. to 3s.4d. After studying the same unpredictability in the Craven returns, Hoyle speaks of 'cavalier treatment of individual assessments' and concludes that 'assessments were engineered'. On a smaller scale the Carlton evidence seems to lead to a similar conclusion.<sup>118</sup>

The tables are alike in presenting a striking contrast between Carlton and the Highdale. In 1543 twenty-nine out of the seventy-five taxpayers paid 8d. or above. Nineteen of these came from the Highdale and only six from Carlton. The place of

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<sup>116</sup> NA:PRO, E179/212/194.

<sup>117</sup> R.W.Hoyle, *Tudor Taxation Records* (1994), pp.13-16.

<sup>118</sup> *Early Tudor Craven*, ed. Hoyle, pp.30-31.

residence of the other four is not known. In 1546 out of twenty-seven taxpayers fourteen were from the Highdale, and eight were from Carlton, leaving five whose residence is not known. The family names suggest that four of these five should also be located in the Highdale. This evidence clearly indicates that the majority of those who were regarded as the more prosperous individuals in the manor lived in the Highdale settlements which had developed out of the forest vaccaries. As we saw in the last section, they had the advantage of more extensive pastures.

The Ripley family, which emerges as a comparatively prosperous group of taxpayers in the 1540s, had figured in 1531 in a case brought to the Court of Star Chamber by one Thomas Gibson against John, Ottiwell and Robert Ripley.<sup>119</sup> Gibson complained that these three, ‘accompanied with divers other evil disposed persons of their affinity to the number of twenty-four persons and above’, armed with swords and other weapons, had made an unlawful assembly at Carlton and had assaulted and beaten him, in the worst example of riotous assembly ever seen in the district. He named John Ripley as the ringleader. The record does not state whether Gibson was a resident of Carlton. If he was, there is no trace of him in the lay subsidy rolls of 1543 and 1546, while the Ripleys continued to flourish.

In 1563 the Bishop required a return from each parish stating its number of households. The figure for the parish of Coverham is 200 households.<sup>120</sup> The 1543 lay subsidy return lists a total of sixty-four taxpayers in the four townships in the parish which were outside the manor of Carlton (Caldbergh, Melmerby, West Scrafton and Coverham cum Agglethorpe). Adding these to the taxpayers from the manor of Carlton brings a total of 139. Remembering that the poor with goods worth less than £1 were exempt from the lay subsidy, and may have accounted for up to one-third of all households, it looks as if the 1563 return, though it is a suspiciously round number, may not have been too far wide of the mark. Similar returns were requested in 1603 with numbers of communicants, Protestant dissenters and Roman Catholics, but if the return from Coverham was ever sent it has not survived.

In July 1636 the inhabitants of Carlton presented a petition to Quarter Sessions alleging that they were being over-charged, because from time out of mind Carlton had provided two constables. The households in Gammersgill, Horsehouse and

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<sup>119</sup> Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings, II, ed.H.B.McCall, YASRS XLV (1911), 59.

<sup>120</sup> Information from Professor D.M.Palliser.



Braidley paid, or should pay, 1d. each towards the cost. The Carlton inhabitants wanted the Highdale, 'where divers able men do live, the places being large and spacious', to have a separate constable. The justices were evenly divided on the matter, and referred it to the Assizes.<sup>121</sup> The outcome in the 1630s is not known, but by the time of the Hearth Tax collections in the 1660s the Highdale, distinguished from Carlton Town by the title 'Carletondale', had its own constable.

The Hearth Tax records provide the material for at least an informed guess at the total population of Carlton, and some information about its houses. The tax was assessed on the number of hearths in each home, and the initial assessment in 1662 lists thirty-three households in Carlton Town and eighty-four in Carlton Highdale.<sup>122</sup> Carlton Town had twenty-five houses with one hearth, seven with two hearths and one with three hearths. In the Highdale there were seventy-three houses with one hearth, ten with two hearths and one with three hearths.

It is clear from these figures that in the period between the 1605 survey of the Lordship and the first Hearth Tax returns in 1662, the population of the Highdale settlements had grown, whereas that of Carlton remained at much the same level. The following are the figures for 1554, 1605 and 1662:

Carlton Town	1554	30 Lordship tenants and 3 tenants of former monastic land.
	1605	34 holdings in the Lordship, probably 25 tenants. Plus the tenants of former monastic land (probably not more than 3).
	1662	33 households.
Carlton Highdale	1554	33 Lordship tenants and 18 tenants of former monastic land.
	1605	37 holdings in the Lordship. Unknown number of tenants of former monastic land.
	1662	84 households.

There are several caveats to bear in mind. The figures are not exactly comparable; there may be inaccuracies caused by double counting of individuals with more than

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<sup>121</sup> Quarter Sessions Records, ed.J.C.Atkinson, North Riding Record Series, IV (1886). 58.

<sup>122</sup> NA:PRO, E179/215/451.

one holding; and in all three sources the very poor are excluded. Nevertheless the contrast between Carlton and the Highdale settlements is clear.

Comparing the surnames of Carlton residents in 1605 with those of 1662, we find that six surnames had disappeared from Carlton between those dates (Foster, Hammond, Houldsworth, Lobley, Pickering and Spence). Eight new ones had arrived (Battye, Burton, Coates, Dighton, Jackson, Kaygill, Pratt and Topham). All but one of the new names were common elsewhere in Coverdale or in the neighbouring dales and appear elsewhere in the Lordship in the 1605 survey. The remaining one appears in West Scafton in the early seventeenth century. Conversely all the surnames which had disappeared from Carlton are to be found elsewhere in Coverdale in 1662, and some of them reappear in Carlton at a later date. This evidence suggests that some movement of families between nearby settlements was taking place.

The Hearth Tax return for Michaelmas 1670<sup>123</sup> is more informative than the one for 1662, because it lists not only households which paid the tax but also some of those which were exempt. This was the return selected for the North Riding by J.D.Purdy in his analysis of the Hearth Tax returns for Yorkshire.<sup>124</sup> It shows Carlton as a settlement with thirty chargeable households and sixteen non-chargeable, 'discharged per legal certificate'. People who were exempt from paying church rates and poor rates because of their poverty were automatically exempted from paying Hearth Tax. In addition people who lived in a house worth £1 a year or less, and did not occupy land worth more than £1 a year, or possess lands, tenements, goods and chattels worth £10 were also exempt – providing they obtained a certificate signed by the minister and at least one churchwarden or overseer of the parish, and countersigned by two justices.

The Hearth Tax figures can be used to produce an estimate for the population, multiplying the number of households by four and five to estimate the extreme limits.<sup>125</sup> By this method the Carlton Town figure of forty-six households suggests a population somewhere between 184 and 230. Probably the lower figure is nearer

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<sup>123</sup> NA:PRO, E179/216/461.

<sup>124</sup> J.D.Purdy, 'The Hearth Tax Returns for Yorkshire', University of Leeds M.Phil. thesis (1975).

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.90-91.



the mark, as the Hearth Tax return for Michaelmas 1673 gives Carlton five fewer households, twenty-nine chargeable and twelve exempt by certificate, which would give extreme limits of 164 and 205. T.Arkeell has suggested a multiplying factor of about 4.3 for all areas outside London, with a range of at least plus or minus ten per cent.<sup>126</sup> The 4.3 multiplier would give Carlton a population of 198, and the ten per cent variation would give extreme limits of 178 or 218. A population of around 200 seems a fair estimate, but the figures must be regarded as extremely tentative, bearing in mind that the very poorest, those who were automatically exempt, do not appear in the Hearth Tax figures at all.

Twenty-three (77%) of Carlton's chargeable households in 1670 had only one hearth; six (20%) had two hearths, and only one (3%) had three hearths. Possibly the house with three hearths was an inn. For the North Riding as a whole 70% of chargeable households had only one hearth, 17% had two hearths and 6% had three hearths. The remaining 7% had more than three hearths. In the wapentake of Hang West 70.9% had one hearth, 18.9% had two hearths, and 4.5% had three hearths.<sup>127</sup>

Carlton therefore had fewer hearths than the average for both wapentake and Riding. However, Carlton was better-hearthed than its two neighbours, Melmerby and West Scafton. Melmerby had twenty-seven chargeable households in 1670, of whom twenty-five had one hearth and only two had two hearths. Nobody in Melmerby had more than two hearths. West Scafton had eighteen chargeable households, sixteen of them with one hearth and two with two hearths. Both these settlements are included by J.D.Purdy in his list of 'exceptionally cottage-dominated townships'. Carlton escaped inclusion because of its one house with three hearths. On the other hand, the Carlton figure of sixteen exempt households equals 35% of the whole, a higher proportion than is found in West Scafton, which had seven (28%), or Melmerby, which also had seven (21%).

The Hearth Tax return for the Highdale in 1670 appears to be a late addition. In the 1662 and 1673 records the Highdale households are entered in one long list, but in 1670 they are recorded settlement by settlement, which is useful. However, there is no record of exemptions; J.D.Purdy therefore used the 1673 figure of twelve

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<sup>126</sup> T.Arkeell, 'Multiplying factors for estimating population totals from the hearth tax', *Local Population Studies*, 28 (1982), 51-56.

<sup>127</sup> All the comparative figures in the discussion of the Hearth Tax returns are from J.D.Purdy's analysis.

exemptions. There was no change in the number of chargeable households in the Highdale between 1670 and 1673, but the ratings of two householders were reduced to one hearth from three and two and a half respectively.<sup>128</sup>

The Highdale figures are as follows:

Woodale	1 house with 2 hearths, 6 with 1 hearth.
Braidley	1 house with 3 hearths, 1 with 2½ hearths, 7 with 1 hearth.
Horsehouse	11 houses with 1 hearth.
Gammersgill	1 house with 3 hearths, 3 with 2 hearths, 3 with 1 hearth.
Arkleside	1 house with 2 hearths, 10 with 1 hearth.
Hindlethwaite	2 houses with 2 hearths, 3 with 1 hearth.
Swineside	1 house with 2 hearths, 10 with 1 hearth.

In addition two settlements are unnamed: the first has four houses, each with one hearth, while the second has one house with two hearths and three with one hearth. One of these hamlets must be Fleensop.

The total number of chargeable houses in the Highdale was therefore sixty-nine. The percentages are as follows: one hearth 83%; two hearths 14%; three hearths 3%. The Highdale exemptions formed 15% of all recorded households there. The Highdale therefore had a lower percentage of exempted households than Carlton, but a higher percentage of houses with only one hearth. Using the Hearth Tax figures to estimate population on the same basis as before suggests a population for the Highdale somewhere between 324 and 405.

Table 13 compares Carlton with its immediate neighbours, while Table 14 uses the same group of townships selected for comparison throughout this study. These tables throw up a number of questions which are beyond the scope of a study of Carlton, but a few comments need to be made. Agglethorpe's eleven chargeable homes comprised ten single-hearth cottages and the manor-house of the Topham family with nine hearths; there were three exemptions by certificate. Coverham and Middleham both appear in Purdy's list of 'exceptionally well-hearthed townships'. Coverham's eleven chargeable houses included one with five hearths, two with six

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<sup>128</sup> It is hard to see how a house could have two and a half hearths!



and one with eight with three exemptions. Middleham, with seventy-six chargeable houses, had one with five hearths and seven with six hearths, but thirty-one exemptions. East Witton had slightly more houses than Middleham, maintaining its position as a well-populated township. It covered a large area, including Jervaulx with a mansion with thirteen hearths. Bainbridge covered a considerable number of settlements in upper Wensleydale, Hawes among them, which explains its surprisingly large figures. Hang West wapentake, though not one of the North Riding's wealthier areas, presented striking contrasts between the few well-hearthed houses and their neighbours.

A fuller picture of the standard of living and level of wealth of some families can be found in the surviving wills and inventories. The Carlton series, supplemented by some from the Highdale and other Coverdale settlements, has already provided information about agriculture. It will now be examined further for glimpses of daily life and details of inheritance customs.

There seems to be only one surviving sixteenth-century will from Carlton, and rather surprisingly this does not come from one of the more prosperous inhabitants.<sup>129</sup> It is very short and provides just a few glimpses of the standard of life of the testator and his family. Brian Baynes paid 2d. for the 1543 lay subsidy, and does not appear on the list for the 1546 subsidy. In the 1554 Court Roll he is listed as a Carlton tenant, and paid 1d. fine. He made his will 21 March 1570/1, and it was proved by his wife Agnes and son John on 3 June 1573. The will assumes that Agnes and John will have the bulk of the estate. John is instructed to pay 60s. to another son Richard; 40s. of this bequest is to be paid at such time or times as two supervisors think convenient, implying that it would not be immediately available. Brian's mother and sister are to have 'their bedrooms ['beddromes'] so long as they can agree with my wife and my son John and such meat and drink as God sends'. Bedrooms in this context must mean somewhere to sleep, and certainly not bedrooms in the modern sense. The general picture which emerges from the will is of a family on or near the bread-line. There is no inventory, and no mention in the will of farming gear, livestock or household belongings to add more detail to the picture. In 1584 John Baynes of Carlton was one of the debtors of the wool merchant Adam Dawson of Gammersgill mentioned above, so he may have been a weaver.

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<sup>129</sup> WYAS, Leeds, Richmondshire wills. All the wills and inventories cited in this section come from this collection.

From the early seventeenth century a group of wills and inventories has survived, very different in character from the will of Brian Baynes. From the smallness of the holdings listed in the 1605 survey of the Lordship, it might be thought that the Carlton tenants were living a similar life to the hand-to-mouth existence of Brian Baynes and his family, but this was certainly not the case in some families. The inventory of John Pickering (1613) was used above to illustrate the farming economy. It also includes a list of furniture and household equipment:

Cupboard, aumbry and sideboard, £1 6s.8d.

Chests, 'charlesbord', one long settle, wooden vessels, plus cart and cart gear, £4.

Two feather beds, one of them 'furnished', £2 3s.4d.

A silver spoon, 5s.

Coverlets &c., 13s.4d.

Five pairs of sheets, £1 2s.0d.

Twenty pewter vessels, 13s.

Pots, pans, kettles, £1 13s.4d.

Spits, racks, reckons and tongs, 10s.

This is the most detailed list of household goods surviving from Carlton in the early seventeenth century. Other lists are much briefer, and these items are commonly valued together under the heading 'Household stuff'.

The four appraisers who drew up his inventory reckoned John Pickering's goods were worth £82 15s. in total. Tenant right ensured that his land would go to his eldest son, but there was an expectation that all children would inherit a part of their father's goods, known as their 'filial portion'. Just as in the will of Brian Baynes, there is an instruction in the will of John Pickering for cash payment by instalments. The eldest son John is instructed to pay £30, to be shared equally between the other three sons, and details of the instalments are carefully prescribed. There was also an expectation that a widow would be provided for by the 'widow's third', and this also appears in the will of John Pickering. His wife Elline is to have the third part of his two tenements during her widowhood, and also her 'lawful portion' of his goods. The remaining two-thirds of the goods are to be equally divided between his four sons and his wife.

The will and inventory of John Horner (1615/16) describe a family with a very



comfortable living. John Horner's two holdings from the lordship were small, and are listed in Table 11. However, his will reveals that he was also the tenant of Carlton Flatts, and that he had accumulated other properties in Coverdale, Bishopdale and Nidderdale. His wife Alison was one of the prosperous Ripley family, and had been left a share of Coverham rectory and also lands in Coverham by her brother Thomas Ripley.

Because John Horner had a number of properties he was able to provide lands for each of his four sons, not just the eldest. He left Carlton Flatts to his son Thomas, together with one other holding in Carlton, one in West Scafton, half a pasture in Bishopdale, and two shares in Coverham rectory. One share had been bought by John from his brother Henry, while the other was Alison's inheritance from her brother Thomas Ripley. The will expresses some doubt about the legality of this part of John's bequests to Thomas. He bequeaths Alison's share of the rectory and the lands in Coverham 'so far as by law I may', and earnestly requires Alison to permit and allow this gift to stand after her death. During her widowhood Alison is to have one-third of Carlton Flatts, on condition that she makes no claim on the share of the rectory which John had bought from his brother. Alison is to have a share of the house in which John lives, and her lawful portion of his goods. All in all, the treatment of Alison does not seem overly generous.

John left a group of properties to each of his other three sons. George received Smelter and two other holdings in Bishopdale;<sup>130</sup> Christopher received New Houses and a further two holdings in Bishopdale; Francis received Longside at Bouthwaite in Nidderdale, and also a parcel of land in Nidderdale which John had bought. The will carefully mentions tenant right in respect of each property to which it applies.

John Horner prescribed complicated arrangements whereby Thomas, George and Christopher must make a payment to Elizabeth, who seems to have been the only unmarried daughter. These payments total £140, and the time limits for payment are laid down. Another daughter, Katherine, was married to Henry Foster, and we can presume that she had been well provided for already at the time of her

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<sup>130</sup> Smelter is in upper Bishopdale. The house is dated 1701 and has the initials IH, possibly for a later John Horner. J.Hatcher, Richmondshire Architecture (Richmond, 1990), p.26.

marriage. Katherine was left £7, and her children received 20s. each.<sup>131</sup> The inventory which accompanies John Horner's will is unfortunately largely illegible, but the will itself makes it clear that for a yeoman he was a wealthy man. Others did not have the same level of resources to dispose of, but the custom of the widow's third (only partially carried out by John Horner), and the attempt to provide in some way for all sons and unmarried daughters, are recurring themes in Carlton wills.

Anthony Dawson in his will of March 1621 left all his lands to his elder son Godfrey, 'saving that my ... wife Elizabeth shall have and enjoy her widow's right forth of my said lands'. After the funeral and other expenses have been paid, Elizabeth is to have the residue of Anthony's goods, except that his carts, a table and loose boards are to be divided equally between her and Godfrey. The second son Richard is to be paid the sum of £100 by Godfrey upon completion of his apprenticeship. Richard's master, Mr Scott of Richmond, is owed £25 by Anthony, who directs that the debt is to be 'paid forth of the money and gold which I have in my purse and coffer'. When Mr Scott has received his due, the rest of this money is to go to Richard as his filial portion. One daughter, Janet, evidently disabled in some way, is provided for; her mother and two 'trusty friends' are to see that she has 'meat, drink, apparel and other necessaries' during her natural life. Another daughter, Alice, is left £100 'as a full satisfaction for her filial portion for her preferment in her marriage so as she marry and take a husband according to the mind of her mother' and two of the supervisors of the will. The substantial amount of cash which Anthony kept in his coffer is noteworthy. There is no inventory, so we do not know his total wealth.

If a testator had no sons his wife might get a larger share. In his will of August 1623 John Dawson left his goods and any money paid in settlement of debts due to him to his wife Barbara and daughter Alice. A note on the will says the total, all debts discharged, amounted to £84 10s. There is no indication of how the money would be shared between them. It would appear that John Dawson had no son, and there is no mention of any lands. If there were no children the wife might be the main or even the sole beneficiary. In October 1632 another Anthony Dawson made a short nuncupative will, leaving everything to his wife except one bequest of 20s. to Percival Dawson, son of Thomas Dawson. The accompanying inventory is dated 1637, so it would appear that Anthony recovered from the illness in which he made

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<sup>131</sup> Henry Foster is named as supervisor of John Horner's will and was one of the appraisers of his inventory.



his nuncupative will, but never replaced it by anything more formal.

Grandchildren were often remembered by gifts in cash or kind, but Alison Horner, the widow of John, attached a condition to one of her gifts. Alison was living at Coverham when she made her nuncupative will in March 1623/4, and left £20 to the children of her daughter Margaret (not mentioned at all in John Horner's will). The money was in the hands of her son Thomas 'and not to come into the hands of George Dodsworth their father'.

Money promised as a daughter's marriage portion was not always paid over immediately, and this could cause problems. In 1643 Richard Geldart left his son-in-law Anthony Buckle £60, 'in consideration of a portion promised by me with [my] daughter Alice Geldart'. This debt is made the first charge on Richard's estate. In the absence of a parish register there is no means of knowing how long the debt had been owing.

In the later seventeenth century the surviving Carlton papers are more often inventories without wills, and there is therefore less of the information about family relationships which wills often provide. Even so, an inventory can be a very useful document for the historian, depending on the amount of detail the appraisers decided to include. Carlton appraisers very often valued 'Household stuff' as a single item, especially when the value was small. The furniture described in the inventories is limited in amount and utilitarian in character. There is a complete absence of any luxury items – the silver spoon valued at 5s. owned by John Pickering in 1613 is the only household item made of precious metal to be mentioned in any of the Carlton seventeenth-century inventories studied. 'Purse and apparel' were sometimes noted together, sometimes separately. Values ranged from 6s.8d. for the purse and apparel of Jane Pattison in 1661 to £5 for the purse and apparel of Thomas Buckle in 1699.

The three inventories in Appendix 2 contain more detail than most of the Carlton inventories in the series. The list of Thomas Geldart's furniture and household goods, together with his stores, his farming gear, and the numbers of his cattle and sheep, all suggest prosperity. He lived in a large house with two parlours and two chambers as well as the main living area. It was not unusual at the time to use a parlour for sleeping, as was happening in the Geldart household. The 1670 and 1673 Hearth Tax returns list only one Thomas Geldart in Carlton, in a house with

two hearths, so it would seem that only two of his five main rooms were heated. The value of Thomas Geldart's goods, put at £141 3s.8d., was the highest in the Carlton series. On the other hand, his debts were correspondingly high, totalling £130. He died intestate, so there is no information about his lands which a will might have provided.

Anthony Buckle, with his goods valued at £50 6s.8d., was a smaller-scale farmer than Thomas Geldart and lived in a smaller house, which seems to have had four rooms. He owed two debts which together totalled more than the value of his goods. The larger one of £50 was owing to Francis Jefferson of Spennithorne, who accompanied Anthony's son (another Anthony) to the registry. Anthony senior died intestate and there is no information about his lands. There is only one Anthony Buckle listed at Carlton in the 1670 and 1673 Hearth Tax returns, in a house with two hearths. This may have been the Anthony Buckle who headed the list of petitioners to the King in 1660 about the Lambert lands, but the name was such a common one in Coverdale that it is impossible to be sure.

The inventory of Thomas Dawson is similar in value to that of Anthony Buckle, and in his case his debts were a little below the value of his goods and chattels. In this example there is a will as well as the inventory. The lands are not listed by name, but they are described by the common portmanteau phrase, 'Messuages Houses & Grounds Lands & Tenements'. They were left to Thomas's son Francis, but if Francis should die before he reached the age of twenty-one they were to go to Thomas's wife for her life, and then to one of his nephews with instructions to make cash payments, totalling £83 10s., to a number of other relatives, presumably by selling the lands. Such arrangements could cause a great deal of trouble. Matthew Topham of Caldbergh described to the Court of Chancery in 1668 the difficulties he experienced as executor of the will of Francis Topham of Coverham, who he claimed had left legacies far beyond what the estate would bear.<sup>132</sup>

In contrast to the inventories of the yeomen, it is instructive to look at some of the smallest value inventories in the series. Jane Pattison, spinster, possessed goods valued at 16s.8d. in the inventory made in October 1661. She was owed a total of £12 by six debtors, sufficient to cover the small legacies she left. Anne Ryder,

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<sup>132</sup> NA:PRO, C6/190/130.



widow, left goods which were valued at £10 in the inventory made in January 1678/9. Her purse and apparel were valued at £1, her 'household stuff' at £1 and there was £8 in other monies. She does not appear at Carlton in the Hearth Tax return of 1673. She may have moved there subsequently, or she may have been living in someone else's household. Her brother is mentioned in her will as 'Richard Geldart of Carlton'. There were two men of this name at Carlton in the 1673 Hearth Tax return. Richard Coates is an example of a testator who owed more than the value placed on his goods, which were valued at £5 1s. in the inventory made in April 1688, while he owed a debt of £5 8s. There was a Richard Coates living in a house with one hearth at Carlton in the Hearth Tax return of 1673.

The very poorest appear in the wills only as recipients of occasional charitable bequests. In June 1618 William Robinson of Carlton added a nuncupative codicil to his will, witnessed by Thomas Stevenson, the long-serving curate of Coverham, and two others, leaving 20s. yearly to poor people in Coverdale who were sick or lame and unable to fend for themselves. The money was to be paid each year for six years after prayers on Good Friday, at the discretion of William's wife Katherine and the three supervisors of his will. At the end of six years the capital sum of £6 was to be applied instead towards the maintenance of a free school in Coverham parish for poor children. Evidently there were plans at this time for a school to be built, and William Robinson expected it to be ready within six years, but it does not seem as if the plan was carried through.

Another testator, William Waddie of Fleensop (1639) restricted his benefaction to the Highdale. He left the use of £3 for ever to the poor of the parish 'from Gammersgill up to the head of Coverham', and the use of a further £3 to 'the Reader of Horsehouse Chapel'.

There is a marked contrast between Carlton in the early seventeenth century, where some families were comparatively prosperous, and post-Restoration Carlton as it appears in later testamentary records and in the Hearth Tax returns, a village where most people lived at a very basic level, and some of those who were better-off were burdened by large debts. There are a number of possible reasons, and in the first place it is necessary to look briefly at the impact of the Civil War on Carlton, or rather at what can be deduced from admittedly limited evidence.

The Coverdale gentry families were committed Royalists, and provided officers in the King's army. Henry Topham of Agglethorpe was a lieutenant-colonel in a cavalry regiment, which suffered very heavy casualties at Marston Moor, where Henry Topham was killed. Christopher Croft of Cotescue was a captain in Lord Darcy's regiment of foot, a regiment which was based on the Hang West militia. Trainband soldiers were notoriously reluctant to serve outside their own county, but Lord Darcy's regiment was an exception. The militiamen fought at Wakefield in May 1643, formed part of the Queen's escort to Oxford, and later fought at Newbury and Naseby. It seems highly likely that men from the Topham lands in Coverdale (which included a small part of Carlton) accompanied Henry Topham; and that Carlton militiamen were part of Darcy's regiment of foot.<sup>133</sup>

Coverdale was not on the route used by the Scots army, but the Scots are known to have caused problems in parts of the surrounding area, when they were quartered on Sir Marmaduke Wyvill at Constable Burton and William Hardcastle (impropriator of the Coverham tithes) at Laverton.<sup>134</sup> Middleham Castle changed hands twice in 1643/44, and there was a garrison there (and not being paid) in the 1650s.<sup>135</sup> Bolton Castle, only five miles from Carlton as the crow flies, was the last Royalist garrison in the North Riding to hold out against Parliamentary troops, surrendering on 5 November 1645.

The evidence therefore suggests that although Carlton was not as far as we know the scene of fighting in the Civil War and its aftermath, the village is likely to have suffered a loss of men fighting for the King, and loss of supplies to soldiers quartered in the surrounding district. A street village like Carlton would be particularly vulnerable to marauding troops scouring a district in search of supplies.

The sale of the manor to the tenants by the City of London may have caused problems as well as benefits. Most tenants would wish to take the opportunity when it was offered, even if it meant going into debt to raise the necessary money, thus exchanging one kind of insecurity for another. This would explain the level of debt in the three inventories in Appendix 2. Money may also have been borrowed by the

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<sup>133</sup> P.R.Newman, 'The Royalist Army in Northern England 1642-45', University of York Ph.D. thesis (1978), vol.2, pp.74, 310 and 312.

<sup>134</sup> Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers, vol.II, ed.J.W.Clay, YASRS XVIII (1895), 164-65 (Wyvill), 158 (Hardcastle).

<sup>135</sup> CSPD, 1655-56, p.42.



new freeholders in order to rebuild their houses in stone, a process which was well under way in the Dales by the later seventeenth century. There are a number of seventeenth-century houses in Carlton, and in others a later exterior may conceal a seventeenth-century interior, as at Seaton House.<sup>136</sup> The oldest building in Carlton is probably a farm building at the Old Hall. It seems to be a cross-wing of a house built or re-built in 1659. On its west side were two wide doorways, now collapsed, and close by lies a lintel with the raised characters 'WFS 1659', together with another part-lintel which has a keystone motif carved with a fern.<sup>137</sup>

The wills constantly refer to the possibility of early death, and make alternative arrangements in case a young beneficiary should die. The parish registers, when they begin, show why this fear was ever-present. The Coverham parish registers do not begin until 1707, but from 1662 onwards there is a scattering of bishop's transcripts of the registers, one from each decade until the 1690s, when there are three. The last in the series, for 1699/1700, shows a striking surplus of burials over baptisms, forty-nine burials and only eight baptisms. Ten of the deaths were from Carlton, one a new baby, one a stillborn child. In the previous year there were twenty-seven burials and fifteen baptisms. Deaths of infants and children occur regularly in the registers, but the number of adult deaths in Coverdale at the turn of the century seems to point to an epidemic of some kind, possibly continued from the previous year.<sup>138</sup>

At the end of the seventeenth century, therefore, Carlton was beset by illness and there was insecurity caused by high levels of debt. Even long-established families were not going to find it easy to resist outside pressures, still less to improve their position.

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<sup>136</sup> See below, pp.190-91.

<sup>137</sup> Hatcher, *Richmondshire Architecture*, p.45.

<sup>138</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/RR/75. The full figures are: 1662/3, baptisms 24, marriages 5, burials 14; 1663 (obviously incomplete), baptisms 7, marriages 1, burials 2; 1674/5, baptisms 13, marriages 4, burials 16; 1681/2, baptisms 23, marriages 6, burials 16; 1690/1, Baptisms 8, marriages 4, burials 19; 1698/9, baptisms 15, marriages 4, burials 27; 1699/1700, baptisms 8, marriages 6, burials 49.

## **2.5 Canons, Curates, Catholics and Quakers: Conformity and Non-conformity in Carlton and Coverham in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries**

We saw in the last chapter that Coverham Abbey was responsible for spiritual care of the parish, as well as being a major landowner in Coverdale. This section will examine the changes that took place in the religious life of the parish as consequences of the Dissolution of the Abbey, and the extent of non-conformity, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, in Coverdale in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

### **2.5.1 The Last Years of Coverham Abbey**

In order to fulfil its duty to the parish, the Abbey designated one of its canons to serve as parish priest. Successive priests are listed in the Coverham registers for Redman's visitations. Arrangements were also made for services at the dependent chapels. The 1530 agreement for Horsehouse Chapel provided that a brother of Coverham Abbey should remain there 'and mynyster the service off God' (Matins, Mass and Evensong are specified), except on those special days when it was customary for the parishioners who usually attended Horsehouse Chapel to go to the parish church. Those days were specified, but the Abbot of Coverham or the curate could add other days as well. The agreement emphasised the Abbey's concern that the duties belonging to the parish church should not be diminished in any way. The curate would be paid four nobles yearly by the Abbey, and four marks by the 'aforesayd nabores' and their successors.<sup>139</sup> In addition the Abbey sent a priest to say service regularly at St.Simon's Chapel.<sup>140</sup>

What kind of teaching was given by the canons to their parishioners? The Premonstratensians as an order were far from being in the forefront of new theological thinking, and their surviving literature is conventionally monastic.<sup>141</sup> This is certainly true of the common-place book of John Gisborn, mentioned in the last chapter, which Gribbin has described as an 'admixture of orthodox and

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<sup>139</sup> T.M.Fallow, 'The Abbey of Coverham', in *VCH:Yorkshire*, ed. W.Page, III (1913), 244. The special days listed in the agreement were Christmas Day, Candlemas Day, Palm Sunday, Easter Day, Whit Sunday, Trinity Sunday and the dedication day. A mark (13s.4d.) was worth twice as much as a noble (6s.8d.)

<sup>140</sup> NA:PRO, E134 28 Eliz. Easter No.3, evidence of John or Jenkin Slater of East Witton.

<sup>141</sup> Gribbin, *Premonstratensians*, p.172.



superstitious practices'.<sup>142</sup> This description is equally applicable to another surviving manuscript, a prayer roll written by Percival, a canon of Coverham. The date is debateable, but it seems likely that he was Percival Melsynby, who appears in the Coverham register for 1491-1500. The prayer roll contains crudely drawn pictures, with Latin and English prayers. The writer promises that one image, the 'Measure of the Nails', accompanied by a set number of prayers, will give its bearer daily protection from sudden death, pestilence and other evils.<sup>143</sup>

Local tradition, often repeated by writers of directories and guide-books, says that Miles Coverdale, the Bible translator, was born at Caldbergh. However his modern biographer says there is no evidence for this. In a list of English exiles who were living at Aarau in Switzerland in 1557 it is stated that Coverdale was born at York. This list is careful in its detail, and the information presumably came from Coverdale himself.<sup>144</sup>

There is one clear link between the Reforming movement and the dale in the person of John Pickering, one of the chaplains of Sir Francis Bigod, the extreme Protestant who paradoxically became embroiled in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Unlike his master, Pickering was pardoned after Bigod's failed attempt to raise a rebellion in the East Riding. 'John Pikering of Lythe, Yorks., alias of Coverdale in co. Richmond, clk., alias of Tokett, Yorks. General pardon'.<sup>145</sup> The pardon is dated 21 June, 1537. A.G.Dickens says Pickering 'must certainly be numbered with the early Protestants of Yorkshire'.<sup>146</sup> Coverdale was possibly his birthplace – the surname is found in the 1540s at Caldbergh with Little Scrafton and at West Scrafton. His Protestant beliefs may of course have developed after he had left the dale. Those who took part in the Pilgrimage of Grace in Richmondshire had a different and much more traditionalist agenda.

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid. See also the account of the common-place book in J.B.Friedman, Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages (Syracuse, 1995), pp.152-53.

<sup>143</sup> Gribbin, Premonstratensians, pp. 149-50, 165 and note 205, p.165; Friedman, Northern English Books, pp.167-70.

<sup>144</sup> J.F.Mozley, Coverdale and his Bibles (1953), p.1.

<sup>145</sup> LP, XII (ii), 191 (34).

<sup>146</sup> A.G.Dickens, Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509-1558 (2nd edition, 1982), p.100.

## 2.5.2 The Dissolution of Coverham Abbey and the Pilgrimage of Grace

The findings of the ‘Valor Ecclesiasticus’ in 1535 marked Coverham Abbey out for early suppression as one of the lesser houses. Early in the following year the King’s Visitors, the notorious duo of Dr. Richard Layton and Dr. Thomas Legh, inspected Coverham in the course of their lightning tour of the north of England. They reported that the Abbot, Christopher Rokesby, was strongly suspected of incontinence, and that three of the canons were guilty of self-abuse. An object of superstition was the ‘iron girdle of Mary Nevell for lying-in women’.<sup>147</sup> There are reports of similar objects at other religious houses (for example, the girdle of St. Ailred at Rievaulx, ‘helpful to lying-in women’), but it was unusual for the relic not to be from a saint or at least a member of a religious order.<sup>148</sup>

When the Abbey was suppressed in August 1536, the Abbot and fifteen canons were turned out. In the suppression of the lesser houses only the head of the house was given a pension, and Christopher Rokesby was awarded a pension of £24 a year. This was more generous than the usual rate established later as one-tenth of the clear yearly value. He was also the only member of the house who was later granted a dispensation to hold a benefice.<sup>149</sup>

Although Coverham was chosen for early suppression because of its smallness and poverty, it did have some treasures worth removing. Coverham’s goods disposed of by the Receiver, William Blitheman, included church ornaments, furniture, 781 ounces of silver plate and three ounces of gold.<sup>150</sup> The Account of Thomas Pope, Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, lists the jewels, plate and other treasures delivered to the Crown from the religious houses. Here we find ‘a cross of gold with fourteen stones set in it, weighing four ounces, belonging to Coverham’, worth £13 6s.8d.; ‘a suit of vestments of cloth of gold “raysed” with red velvet, which belonged to Coverham’, worth £26 13s.4d.; and a suit of vestments of purple velvet embroidered with “flowredeluces” and bells, which belonged to Coverham, accounted for elsewhere’.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> LP, X, 364.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 364, *passim*.

<sup>149</sup> C. Cross and N. Vickers, Monks, Friars and Nuns in Sixteenth Century Yorkshire, YASRS CL (1995), 355-57.

<sup>150</sup> Yorkshire Monasteries. Suppression Papers, ed. J. W. Clay, YASRS XLVIII (1912), 95-96.

<sup>151</sup> LP, XIII (ii), 457, 176-77.



Sybil Jack in her article on the last days of the smaller monasteries in England comments that there is remarkably little reference to wool in the surviving accounts, and uses Coverham as one of her examples.<sup>152</sup> The Receiver's Account mentions thirty-three stones of wool, valued at 100s., which came from the tithes of the Rectory of Kettlewell, and no less than 236 stones of wool, valued at £33 8s.8d., from the Rectory of Sedbergh – but there is no reference to the wool from the sheep on the abbey's own demesnes. Jack suggests that the wool may have been contracted for and paid for in advance, though this practice was less common in the sixteenth century than it had been earlier. However, she thinks it is more likely that a blind eye was turned to income from wool, and also to income from milk, butter and cheese, in order to give the departing religious a little cash in hand.

Two months after the suppression of the Abbey the district was in the hands of rebels as the Pilgrimage of Grace gathered support across Yorkshire.<sup>153</sup> The rising spread to Coverdale from the area to the south-east. On October 12 Lord Scrope wrote to his father-in-law, the Earl of Cumberland, that the commons in Mashamshire and Nidderdale had risen the previous day, 'and came to Coverham abbey and Midlame and burned beacons yesternight'. Scrope had been warned that they were coming to Bolton to force him to swear the Pilgrims' oath or to take him, and he had decided to leave his home and his wife and go into hiding.<sup>154</sup> Scrope was the nearest great lord to Coverdale – Bolton Castle is only five miles from Carlton as the crow flies. Earlier that year he had been granted the reversion of Lord Conyers' offices in the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond, and as Conyers was in London he might have been expected to give a lead in making some resistance to the rebels. Instead he fled into Westmorland, and eventually joined his father-in-law at Skipton Castle. His wife was forced to hide her young son and his nurse in a poor man's house for safety.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> S.Jack, 'The Last Days of the Smaller Monasteries in England', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXI no.2 (1970), 97-124.

<sup>153</sup> The account of the Pilgrimage of Grace which follows will concentrate on Coverdale and the rising in Richmondshire. For accounts of the rising as a whole, see M.H. and R.Dodds, The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy, (2 vols., 1915); M.Bush, The Pilgrimage of Grace (Manchester, 1996); R.W.Hoyle, The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s (Oxford, 2001).

<sup>154</sup> LP, XI, 677.

<sup>155</sup> Clifford Letters of the Sixteenth Century, ed.A.G.Dickens, Surtees Society 172 (1962 for 1957), 112.

Burning beacons was the usual method of raising the militia, and from the manor of Carlton it would bring a contingent of about sixty men, according to the muster roll of 1535. The rising rapidly recruited support from a large area; on 17 October Coverdale appears in a long list of places where the commons are up.<sup>156</sup> The rebels restored Coverham Abbey, where the canons seem to have been still near at hand. One of the Coverham canons, named Helaigh, was later regarded as a ring-leader in the rising; he was one of those named by the Duke of Norfolk to be excepted from the general pardon when the government regained control.<sup>157</sup>

Abbot Adam Sedber of Jervaulx like Scrope went into hiding, but stayed too near at hand, on Witton Fell. He was forced to return to the abbey, and intimidated into joining the rising. He later took an active part, for which he paid with his life. The flight of both Scrope and Sedber illustrates the fear aroused by the force which Michael Bush has described as a 'rampant commons'.<sup>158</sup> Lord Darcy's report to the King on 17 October gave a remarkable account of the situation across Yorkshire: 'The commons swear every man, priest and other, and charge them, on pain of death, to come to musters, where they pick out the best men. They can not be resisted for no man can trust his tenants, and few their own servants'.<sup>159</sup>

The rebels went on to join the gathering at Richmond which Bush calls 'the Bowes host', after its chief captain, Robert Bowes of East Cowton.<sup>160</sup> The host moved northward to raise County Durham, going as far as Spennymoor before dividing into two, one army proceeding directly to Pontefract to join the main assembly of the Pilgrimage, while the other followed a different route via Skipton in search of the Earl of Cumberland and Lord Scrope. The direct route from Spennymoor to Skipton Castle would have been via Coverdale and Wharfedale. However, Michael Bush has suggested a route through Bishopdale, while Richard Hoyle has pointed out the difficulty of leading a large mounted force through an area

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<sup>156</sup> LP, XI, 760 (2).

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, XII (ii), 291. There is no record that Helaigh was captured, and he may have escaped to Scotland. M.H. and R.Dodds, Pilgrimage of Grace, II, 266.

<sup>158</sup> Bush, Pilgrimage of Grace, p.141.

<sup>159</sup> LP, XI, 760 (2).

<sup>160</sup> Bush has given a detailed account of the Richmondshire rising in 'The Richmondshire Uprising of October 1536 and the Pilgrimage of Grace', NH, XXIX (1993), 64-98, and in Pilgrimage of Grace, chapter IV. Hoyle deals more briefly with Richmondshire, stressing the movement's claim to act in the name of 'Captain Poverty', Pilgrimage of Grace, pp.209-224.



lacking in fodder, and has made a convincing case for a more easterly route through the Vale of York, then across to Skipton via Pateley Bridge.<sup>161</sup>

The contingent from Skipton arrived to join the main body of the Pilgrims only in time to form the rearward of the great army which was assembled overlooking Doncaster. Hoyle says there are hints that the newcomers were far from happy to observe the truce, which was offered to the Pilgrims because of their sheer weight of numbers – possibly around 30,000 men.<sup>162</sup> They returned home with the promise of a general pardon, doubtless with varying degrees of reluctance and feelings of betrayal by leaders who had preferred talking to fighting. Attempts to revive the rebellion in January 1537, including a call for a muster on Middleham Moor, were abortive.<sup>163</sup>

Recent historians of the Pilgrimage have debated the causes of the rebellion, and the relative roles of the commons and the gentry and nobles. As far as Coverdale is concerned, both debates seem relatively straightforward. There were no resident gentry in Coverdale at this time, and the contemporary accounts all stress that the rising was a popular revolt: it was ‘the commons’ who were ‘up’. On the first day the rebellion came to Coverdale, the captains were identified as three men, all from the lordship of Masham: Ninian Staveley, Thomas Lobley and Edward Middleton, all described by Bush as ‘commoners of substance’.<sup>164</sup> A few days later, when Abbot Sedber was persuaded to return to Jervaulx by a threat to burn the Abbey, the ring-leaders, by the Abbot’s later account, were two minor gentlemen: Leonard Burgh, who probably lived at Leeming, and William Aslaby of Barden in the parish of West Hauxwell.<sup>165</sup> In the Coverham/Jervaulx locality there is no evidence whatever that a lead, either open or surreptitious, came from substantial gentry to promote rebellion.

What had so stirred up the commons in Coverdale that they were ready to join a rebellion? There was certainly a strand of agrarian grievance in the Richmondshire rising, but as we saw in Section 2 the grievance about increased gressoms did not

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<sup>161</sup> Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, p.222, note 38.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.224 and 292-3.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p.387.

<sup>164</sup> Bush, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, p.142.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.142-43.

apply in the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond in the 1530s. There must, however, have been fear for their future among the tenants of Coverham Abbey. In his evidence after the rebellion, Dr. John Dakyn, vicar-general of the archdeaconry of Richmond, said that suppression of abbeys was lamented not only by 'religious persons' but by 'such as had living by their houses', i.e. their lay dependants, employees and tenants.<sup>166</sup> This would apply to the servants at Coverham Abbey, and to the tenants on the monastic lands in Coverdale.

All the people of Coverham parish had depended on the Abbey for pastoral care, and the suppression therefore affected them all. The way the suppression was carried out, involving the dispossession of the canons without pension, the sharp practice of Sir Arthur Darcy, and the sight of the Abbey's treasures being removed from the dale, must have aroused resentment against outside authority, which had so suddenly taken away a part of the very fabric of local life. There are echoes of local pride when John Leland was later told: 'There was good singing in Coverham'.<sup>167</sup>

People who had been involved in the suppression were targeted by the rebels. Robert Asporner complained that he had been expelled from his house at Cotescue Park, despoiled of all his goods, deprived of his office and forced to flee for his life, because 'at the time of the insurrection he was on the King's business... at the house of Koveram'. Asporner wanted compensation, and asked Thomas Cromwell to write to the surveyors of the north park at Jervaulx, 'that he may have the circuit within the walls of the monastery, paying for it as any other man'.<sup>168</sup> James Rokeby, a lawyer and auditor of the Court of Augmentations, met with abuse in Cleveland as a 'puller down of abbeys'.<sup>169</sup> Robert Asporner stated that he was working at Coverham on the instructions of Rokeby and Blitheman.

James Rokeby later gave evidence that 'there was a common noise in Richmondshire that Drs. Layton and Leigh would come down avisting into the country and would pull down all chapels dependent and many parish churches leaving but one in every ten miles and take away all silver chalices, leaving tin ones

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid., p.163. Dakyn was taken forcibly from his home at Kirkby Ravensworth and used as a scribe by the Pilgrims.

<sup>167</sup> The Itinerary of John Leland, ed.L.T.Smith, 4 (1909), 29.

<sup>168</sup> LP, XII (i), 1326.

<sup>169</sup> Bush, Pilgrimage of Grace, p.159.



in their place'.<sup>170</sup> Rumours of this kind were current in many other places as well as Richmondshire, for example in Dent, in the western dales, which was a chapelry of Sedbergh church, belonging to Coverham Abbey. From the government side it was suggested that such rumours were deliberately spread by the clergy; but the conduct of the suppression helped to give the rumours credibility. John Dakyn said it moved him 'to hear that the servants of those who suppressed monasteries had made apparel (yea even saddle cloths) of the abbey vestments'.<sup>171</sup>

An emotive issue was the rationalisation of saints' days and holidays ordered by the Henrician government in August 1536. With extraordinary tactlessness it was decreed that 'in future all patronal festivals were to be celebrated on 1 October, except when the church was lucky enough to have a major festival for its feast'.<sup>172</sup> This was bound to be interpreted as an attack on local pride and sense of tradition, and John Dakyn was threatened as a 'putter down of the holidays'; but it would not affect Coverdale, where the parish church was dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

It is significant that the rebels moved so quickly to restore the canons to Coverham, and that the 'Captain Poverty' letter composed by the Richmondshire Pilgrims exhorted others to follow their example by putting the religious back into their houses.<sup>173</sup> The evidence points strongly to the suppression of Coverham Abbey as the primary motivation for the rising of the commons in Coverdale.

The collapse of the rising and the government's retribution brought the Abbey's restoration to an end. As far as is known, no-one from Coverdale was executed for taking part in the Pilgrimage, and Abbot Christopher Rokeby escaped the fate of his neighbour, Abbot Adam Sedber of Jervaulx. The lay purchasers of the Abbey's site and its lands and churches took possession of their properties. For the next three centuries Coverham church was served by a succession of 'perpetual curates', who were licensed by the bishop and thereafter had lifelong tenure.

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> LP, XII (i), 786.

<sup>172</sup> C.S.L.Davies, 'Popular Religion and the Pilgrimage of Grace', in Order and Disorder in Early Modern England, ed. A.Fletcher and J.Stevenson (Cambridge, 1985), p.71 and note 59; Bush, Pilgrimage of Grace, p.164.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., p.163.

### 2.5.3 Coverham Church and its Curates

The only hint about the arrangements made for Coverham church and the chapel of ease at Horsehouse at the time of the Dissolution comes from researches made two centuries later on behalf of a lay impropiator in a legal dispute. The impropiator, Thomas Hardcastle, sent legal opinions to the parishioners in April 1737, when he and they were trying to remove an unsatisfactory incumbent. He told them the receiver's account in the augmentation office showed:

that at the time of the dissolution of the abbey an annual pension or sallary was paid to Robert Kendall chaplain & curate of the parish church of Coverham to £5 6s.8d. yearly and an annual sallary or pension paid to the chaplain performing within the chapell of St. Buttolph called Horsehouse in part of the payment of his sallary (over and above 4s.4d. paid to the said chaplain by the inhabitants of the vale of Coverdale) to 26s.8d. yearly as it appeared by an indenture made & shewn between the abbot and the said inhabitants.

In Hardcastle's view this discovery of payments by the receiver proved the right of the impropiators to the nomination to the church and chapel.<sup>174</sup> There was a Robert Kendall, who was a priest, among the canons of Coverham when the Abbey was suppressed.<sup>175</sup> It seems probable, therefore, that he was allowed to remain as curate of Coverham church.

The Henrician Reformation made changes to the pattern of English dioceses, and in 1541 the archdeaconry of Richmond became part of the new diocese of Chester. The new bishopric was poorly endowed, and the first Bishop, John Bird, kept the archdeaconry in his own hands in order to save money. The Richmond consistory court continued under a commissary who had charge of legal matters, but his authority was uncertain. The chancellor of the consistory court at Chester also had jurisdiction in the archdeaconry of Richmond, a sure recipe for rivalry and confusion.<sup>176</sup> The new bishopric covered an area of over 5,000 square miles. stretching from Chester to the Copeland deanery in Cumberland in the north-west and Richmond deanery in the north-east. The combination of such an unwieldy area

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<sup>174</sup> M.Y.Ashcroft, 'Coverham Advowson', in Miscellany 1992, NYCRO Publications no.52 (Northallerton, 1993), 17.

<sup>175</sup> Cross and Vickers, Monks, Friars and Nuns, p.356.

<sup>176</sup> S.J.Lander, 'The Diocese of Chester to 1660', in VCH:Cheshire, III (1980), 12-13.



with poorly designed administrative machinery was bound to produce weak episcopal authority.

The problems were compounded by the shifts in direction and changes in personnel which came with each new monarch. Bishop Bird was deprived of his office in 1553. His successor, George Cotes, appointed an Archdeacon of Richmond, John Hanson, who in 1559 was deprived by Queen Elizabeth. The next Archdeacon was Christopher Goodman, who had been a Marian exile and co-pastor with John Knox of the English church at Geneva. Goodman remained Archdeacon of Richmond until his death in 1603, but was non-resident.<sup>177</sup> The diversity within the Established Church at this time is well illustrated by the fact that although the Archdeacon was an extreme Protestant the commissary at Richmond, Robert Hebblethwaite, was suspected of leanings towards Popery. He was distrusted as early as 1564, but did not lose his job, and in 1582 appears in a York list of Catholic suspects.<sup>178</sup>

Until 1580 little is known about Coverham's perpetual curates. Because of the weakness of authority in the bishopric and the archdeaconry, visitation was inconsistent. The archdeaconry was more remote from Chester than it had been from York, and its visitation was sometimes omitted even when other areas were visited. A visitation of 1548 has a list of clergy in which Lancelot Fothergill is named as the incumbent of Coverham.<sup>179</sup> One of the witnesses to the will of Brian Baynes of Carlton in 1570/1 was George Snell, who also witnessed a Scrafton will of 1575 where he is described as 'George Snell clerk'. This suggests he was probably the curate of Coverham. Both these wills and another from Swineside in 1573 use a very simple and straightforward formula in their religious preamble: 'I bequeath my soul unto Almighty God my maker and Redeemer', which is a Protestant rather than a conservative Catholic formula but carries no suggestion of extremism.<sup>180</sup>

More is known about the man who was curate of Coverham from about 1580 through to the 1620s. Giving evidence in the tithe case in the Court of Exchequer in 1613, described in Section 2 above, Thomas Stevenson clerk gave his age as about

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<sup>177</sup> G.Ormerod, The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester, I (1882), 117.

<sup>178</sup> H.Aveling, Northern Catholics (1966), p.16.

<sup>179</sup> CRO, Call Book, EDV/2/4.

<sup>180</sup> WYAS, Leeds, Archdeaconry of Richmond Register of Wills, 1573-1579, wills of Brian Baynes of Carlton, Thomas Slinger of Scrafton and Thomas Loftus of Swineside.

fifty-six years, and stated that he had known the parties and the parish for about thirty-three years.<sup>181</sup> Stevenson bought a small property in Melmerby in 1592,<sup>182</sup> and is described as 'of Melmerby' in 1613. In the early seventeenth century most of the Carlton wills, and others from Coverham parish, use a formula which speaks of Christ the Redeemer 'through whose merits and bloodshedding I trust to be one of the number of his elect in his glorious kingdom'. Thomas Stevenson was a regular witness to the wills, and it seems quite likely he was the scribe. The Calvinist flavour of the formula may give a clue to his brand of churchmanship. This form of words became so well-established in Coverdale that in spite of the political and religious upheavals of the intervening years it is still found in a Carlton will made in 1670/1.<sup>183</sup>

In the early seventeenth century Stevenson's ministry was supplemented by a reader at the chapel of ease at Horsehouse, Thomas Jenkinson of Hindlethwaite, who found himself in trouble with the authorities, and was presented at Quarter Sessions at Richmond in January, 1608, 'for suffering pyping, and other disorders, in the Chapple on St.Symond daie'.<sup>184</sup>

Carlton residents who felt themselves to be of sufficient status would record their wish for burial in the choir of Coverham church (for example John Horner in his will of 1616 and Richard Geldart in 1643), but most testators in Carlton simply stated their wish to be buried in Coverham churchyard. There is some evidence to suggest that the church and churchyard were not in good order. A presentment to the bishop's visitation in 1619 stated that corpses were buried in the aisles, which were not paved 'as in decency they ought'.<sup>185</sup> In 1633 Archbishop Neile's primary visitation recorded at length a dispute about who was responsible for repairing the churchyard wall, and there was a complaint that the church seats were in decay.<sup>186</sup> However, the problems at Coverham were less serious than the disrepair of the church at West Witton, where the churchwardens reported in 1623 that the windows in the chancel were broken and wind and rain were likely to rot the woodwork: in

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<sup>181</sup> NA:PRO, E134/11Jas.I/Mich.1.

<sup>182</sup> Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period, ed.F.Collins, Part III, YASRS VII (1889), 184. Thomas Stevenson bought two acres of meadow in Melmerby and one-third of a message there.

<sup>183</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1/95/811, will of Henry Tophan of Carlton, 7 February 1670/1.

<sup>184</sup> QS Records, ed. Atkinson, I, 107.

<sup>185</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/CB/8/1 No.18.

<sup>186</sup> Borthwick Institute, V.1633/CB.2A, p.24.



any great tempest of wind and weather the minister and people could hardly remain in the church, because of the amount of water coming in. Lord Scrope was the farmer of the rectory at West Witton, and was therefore responsible for keeping the chancel in repair.<sup>187</sup>

It is surprising that in 1627 Margaret Stevenson, wife of Thomas Stevenson, late curate, appears in a list of five people presented as non-communicants by the new curate, Francis Parker. To be non-communicant did not necessarily imply Roman Catholicism, though it often did. Possibly Margaret Stevenson was a Puritan non-communicant, and this presentment arose from a change of theological direction in the parish with the arrival of the new incumbent.<sup>188</sup>

The most enigmatic figure among the curates of Coverham is Thomas Dickenson, who was licensed to serve the parish on 9 August 1642. Dickenson therefore became incumbent of Coverham just as the Civil War broke out, but we know nothing of his allegiance or his experiences. He is not listed among the ejected clergy, either Royalist or Parliamentarian, and there is no indication that he left his duties. He was in post in January 1645/6, when he was appointed at Quarter Sessions as one of the arbitrators in a dispute about land at Caldbergh.<sup>189</sup> W.J.Sheils has analysed the northern clergy in 1662, from the exhibit books produced for Archbishop Frewen's metropolitan visitation, but unfortunately there is no entry for Coverham in the relevant exhibit book (Catterick deanery). Coverham does appear in other papers from this visitation, which record 'Mr Tho. Dickinson' and the names of his churchwardens.<sup>190</sup> The records of the Bishop of Chester's visitation in 1674 give the details of his licence, and show that Dickenson was made a deacon in June 1631 by the Bishop of Chester, and a priest by the Bishop of Durham in June 1636. He was presented to Coverham by the lay impropiators, William Hardcastle and Thomas Horner.<sup>191</sup> It was unusual for the gap between the diaconate and priest's orders to be as long as five years, especially for non-graduates – and Dickenson does not appear on the alumni lists of the universities. Sheils comments

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<sup>187</sup> M.Chadwick, 'Early Churchwardens' Presentments in the Archdeaconry of Richmond', *YAJ*, 40 (1962), 660.

<sup>188</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/CB/8/1/111 (a fragment of a document).

<sup>189</sup> *QS Records*, ed. Atkinson, IV, 251.

<sup>190</sup> Borthwick Institute, V.1662/3.

<sup>191</sup> CRO, Call Book, EDV/2/7, and Visitation Book, EDV/2/8. The name is here variously spelt as Dickonson and Dickinson, but I have used Dickenson which was the form used in the curate's own signature to the bishop's transcript of the parish register in 1662/3.

that a gap of three years or more between diaconate and priesthood 'may well point to greater scrupulousness over ordination on the part of the bishops, even in the northern province'.<sup>192</sup> Ordination by the Bishop of Durham was not unusual among the clergy in north Yorkshire, and there are a number of examples in the 1662 exhibit books.<sup>193</sup>

Assuming that Dickenson did continue undisturbed in his incumbency throughout the years of upheaval, he was by no means alone in this. Sheils notes there were at least forty-three parishes in the northern province (out of a total of about 654 livings) which were being served by the same man in 1662 as in 1642.<sup>194</sup> J.H.Pruett in his study of the Leicestershire parish clergy describes those who escaped both eviction by the Puritans and ejection by the Royalists as 'highly adaptable moderates', who were 'primarily concerned with hanging onto their livings, protecting their families, and riding out the storm'. He adds: 'There are few clues as to how they reacted to the events going on around them, for parsons who stayed out of trouble seldom attracted attention, and they left few records behind'.<sup>195</sup> Dickenson certainly fits this description as far as documentation is concerned. Even in the Restoration period, when ecclesiastical documents multiplied as the old system of Anglican church government was re-established, Dickenson left few traces of his work. For example, he signed only the first of the three bishop's transcripts of the Coverham parish register (for 1662/3, 1674/5 and 1681) which have survived from the years of his curacy.<sup>196</sup>

In the aftermath of the Civil War it seemed that an endowment might be obtained for Coverham church, at the expense of one of the impropiators. William Hardcastle of Laverton had fought for the King as a captain of dragoons at Skipton Castle, and was consequently forced to compound for his estates. In July 1647 the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents was notified that the inhabitants of Coverham 'desire the second payment of Hardcastle's composition towards the

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<sup>192</sup> W.J.Sheils, Restoration Exhibit Books and the Northern Clergy 1662-1664, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, 13 (York, 1987), pp.xv-xvi.

<sup>193</sup> For example, Samuel Lindesay, the curate of Langton, who was made deacon and priest by the Bishop of Durham in September and December 1636 respectively. Sheils, Restoration Exhibit Books, p.8.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.vi and xiv. Coverham is not included in the forty-three, as it does not appear in the exhibit book.

<sup>195</sup> J.H.Pruett, The Parish Clergy under the Later Stuarts (Chicago, 1978), pp.13-14.

<sup>196</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/RR/75.



purchasing of so much of the Rectory as it will extend unto'. This was agreed by the committee, and Hardcastle was ordered to settle the tithes of Coverham 'for the maintenance of the minister there'. His half of the rectory was valued at £42 6s.8d. yearly.<sup>197</sup> Hardcastle had not paid the second half of his fine by January 1652, and sequestration was threatened, but by May of that year the fine was finally paid. It was not unusual for inappropriate rectories to be included in composition settlements: for example, Sir John Lowther was compelled to augment the living of Arkengarthdale, and his fine was reduced accordingly by £500.<sup>198</sup> The benefit for Coverham church of Hardcastle's composition was only temporary, as after the Restoration the Hardcastles resumed their position as lay impropriators.

In the first assessment for the Hearth Tax in 1662 Dickenson appears at Coverham with his title of respect, 'Mr.Dickinson, cl[erk]', but no indication of his number of hearths. A note at the side says 'noe returne' for him and two other householders at Coverham. In 1670 he lived at Coverham in a house with two hearths, and in 1673 he had only one hearth. His accommodation was poor in comparison with some of the other houses at Coverham, where in 1670 John Hammond had eight hearths, William Foxgill and Thomas Smith each had six, and Christopher Deighton had five.<sup>199</sup> This picture of the curate's home from the Hearth Tax returns accords with information about the Coverham stipend supplied during litigation in 1716, that the owners of the rectory 'have usually paid the minister for the time being, who has officiated as curate of the said parish £8 a year for his officiating there; and the same, by other charitable gifts, has been usually made up to £20 a year'.<sup>200</sup> When Parliament passed the Act establishing Queen Anne's Bounty in 1704, its aim was to improve livings worth less than £50 a year, in response to a concern about poor clergy which had been growing ever since 1660.<sup>201</sup> The remuneration of the curate of Coverham was therefore far below the accepted clerical poverty line.

When Thomas Dickenson was in his last illness and 'by reason of his extream

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<sup>197</sup> Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers, II, 157-58.

<sup>198</sup> C.B.Phillips, 'The Royalist North: the Cumberland and Westmorland Gentry, 1642-60', in The English Civil Wars, Local Aspects, ed. R.C.Richardson (Stroud, 1997), p.247 and p.257, note 35.

<sup>199</sup> NA:PRO, E179/215/451 and E179/216/461; Ripon Historical Society, The Hearth Tax List for the North Riding of Yorkshire Michaelmas 1673, Part One (Ripon, 1991), p.31.

<sup>200</sup> Ashcroft, Miscellany 1992, p.14.

<sup>201</sup> Pruett, Parish Clergy, p.98.

age and weakness altogether unable to performe his ministerial function', the better-off among the parishioners realised that the living would have to be improved if they were to attract a new minister – and that it would have to be done by their own efforts. They drew up a draft agreement, pledging to make annual contributions, 'for the better incouragement of a minister amongst us'. After Thomas Dickinson's death they were in hopes of persuading the Reverend Thomas Furnis, who was already known to them, to move from Pateley Bridge to Coverham. There were problems: though Mr.Furnis had heard of the death of 'the late painfull minister' [ 'painfull' meaning painstaking, diligent], he was recovering from a severe illness which had left him 'infirmе dull and almost deafe', and so was unable to visit them, as he wrote to Mr.Topham of Caldbergh on 6 November 1686. He was also dubious about leaving his present situation, where he was living among his relations and had an affectionate people and an income of over £40 yearly 'without dependence upon any one's gratuity'. His hesitation must have increased when on 1 December he received a letter from another candidate, William Daggett of Middleton Quernhow, informing him that he, Daggett, had already got the presentation to Coverham from Mr.Hardcastle, and had made long journeys 'to get the gift of the living' and to get a toleration from the Bishop of Chester, necessary because he was not in orders! Daggett's very unpleasant letter, designed to stop a proposed visit by Furnis to Coverham, contains the threat that 'it is directly contrary to a canon to preach in any strange pulpit without the consent of the minister of the place and hee that does contrary to that canon incurs the danger of suspension'. Daggett also suggested that the parishioners of Coverham would not produce an augmentation sufficient to improve on Furnis's present income, and that they could not be persuaded to be bound to an augmentation for life, but only for three or seven years (which was untrue, as a second draft agreement, naming Thomas Furnis, bound the signatories and their heirs and executors). Furnis must have wondered why Daggett wanted such an unpromising situation so much. Possibly he saw Coverham as a stepping-stone to a better living in the future. In the meantime he certainly planned to live cheaply; as he explained in his letter, as a single man he expected to economise on his living expenses by getting board for himself and his horse from Mr.Topham.<sup>202</sup>

In the event neither Furnis nor Daggett seems to have succeeded Thomas Dickenson. The next curate to appear in the church records is Thomas Oddy, named as curate of Coverham in the call book for the archdeacon's visitation in April 1689. Oddy was a priest in holy orders, with a university background at Trinity College,

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<sup>202</sup> The letters to and from Thomas Furnis, and the draft agreements, are printed in Ashcroft, *Miscellany 1992*, pp.11-13.



Cambridge.<sup>203</sup> He began his ministry at Coverham just at the time when the parish church was losing the legal monopoly which it had enjoyed. The passing of the Toleration Act in May 1689 is a good point to pause in the story of Coverham church, and turn to those in Coverdale who refused to accept the authority of the established church.

#### **2.5.4 Roman Catholicism in Coverdale**

Following the Elizabethan settlement, the parish church, with its claim to the allegiance of all, faced potential opposition on two fronts – on the one hand the Roman Catholics, on the other Protestant Dissent. The latter did not present problems in Coverdale until after the Civil War, but Catholicism persisted tenaciously in the district from the sixteenth century to the present day.

In view of Coverdale's history in the Pilgrimage of Grace, it is not surprising to find men from Coverdale involved in the Rising of the Northern Earls in 1569, which aimed to restore the Catholic religion. After the Rising was over five men from Coverham parish were executed and fifty-six were fined.<sup>204</sup> The neighbouring very large parish of Aysgarth, which included Bishopdale, also produced a large number of rebels, with four men executed and 125 fined. In Hang West wapentake there were rebels or active supporters in every parish except Wensley (with its close connection with the loyalist Lord Scrope). However, participation in the rising cannot be taken as a sure indicator of Catholicism. It has to be remembered that the Earl of Northumberland used his position as Chief Steward of the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond to call out the musters through their head constables and parish constables by writs in the Queen's name.<sup>205</sup>

The lists of fines levied in Hang West wapentake after the rising was over includes a list of forty-seven names headed 'Carleton in Coverdale'.<sup>206</sup> The family names listed are all those of well-known families from Carlton village and the Highdale (Table 10). Every one of these family names appears on the court roll of 1554. Comparatively few of the Christian names tally, but probably younger

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<sup>203</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/CB 4a; CRO, EDV2/10A, pp.41-42; Ashcroft, Miscellany 1992, p.13.

<sup>204</sup> Aveling, Northern Catholics, p.428.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, p.69.

<sup>206</sup> NA:PRO, E137/133/1.

members of the families would have been sent to the militia rather than heads of households, and there would also have been changes in the intervening years. Eighteen out of twenty-two family names of those fined after the Rising of the Northern Earls also appear in the Muster Roll of 1535 (Table 7). The evidence of the family names therefore suggests that the Carlton men fined as rebels were indeed part of the Hang West militia. They must be considered lucky to have escaped with their lives.

The persistence of Catholicism in country areas seems to have depended to a large extent on the religious views of the gentry, who had the means to support those described by the government as ‘runagate priests’. By the early part of Elizabeth’s reign Coverdale had a family at Agglethorpe which had risen from yeoman to gentry status, and had strong Catholic leanings. Edward Topham senior, who built up his holdings of land at Agglethorpe, Melmerby and Carlton from 1563/4 onwards, was listed as a non-communicant in the 1570s. Two members of the large Topham clan in Coverdale (Richard and Oswald) were among those executed after the Rising of the Northern Earls. Another Edward married one of the Scropes of Danby-on-Ure, a cadet branch of the Scropes and a family which maintained a strong tradition of Catholicism.<sup>207</sup>

It is difficult to assess the true strength of Catholic feeling in Coverham parish in the absence of presentments for recusancy. Action by the authorities was always patchy, even at times when the government was trying to crack down on Catholics, and the absence of presentments does not mean there were no Catholics. In the early years of the seventeenth century, when presentments appear, the number of Coverham parishioners presented to the religious or secular authorities as recusants was small. For example in July 1614, when a special sitting of the Quarter Sessions was held at Richmond for presentment of recusants, the only person from Coverdale to be presented was ‘John Gristwhit, milner’ of Carlton. This compares with a list of eighteen people presented from Wensley parish.<sup>208</sup> The miller was presented again at a similar court in July 1616, together with two women, Ann Allen, widow, and Lucy Atkinson, spinster. On this occasion the Coverdale township where the recusants lived is not stated.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p.175.

<sup>208</sup> *QS Records*, ed. Atkinson, II, 79.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.



By the early seventeenth century the Croft family at Cotescue had risen to become small gentry, and like the Bainbriggs, who lived for a time at Coverham, and the Tophams of Agglethorpe, they had Catholic leanings. The historian of recusancy, Hugh Aveling, says that in the Topham family 'strong Catholic influences battled with an equally strong sense of self-preservation'.<sup>210</sup> It was often the case in North Riding gentry families that the head of the family and the heir would practise occasional conformity (which Aveling calls 'Church-papistry'), in order to preserve the family estates from heavy financial penalties, while the women kept firmly to their Catholic faith even if it meant being labelled as 'obstinate recusants'.<sup>211</sup> In 1624 Mistress Croft and Mistress Bainbrigg were presented by the churchwardens of Coverham as non-communicants.<sup>212</sup> In Archbishop Neale's visitation of 1633 Anne Topham and her daughters Margaret and Elizabeth appear in the list of recusants, underlined as if for special attention.<sup>213</sup> Edward Topham of Agglethorpe was convicted of recusancy in 1626, and his son Francis paid £18 13s.4d. as a composition for recusancy in 1632, so Aveling's judgment on the Tophams at this time seems harsh.<sup>214</sup>

In the Restoration period the Catholicism of the Tophams of Agglethorpe did come to an end, but lesser families in the dale maintained the Catholic presence. An estimate of their numbers by the authorities in 1665 produced a figure of about thirty-five to forty papists, which presumably included children and servants, as it is a considerably higher figure than any other in the century.<sup>215</sup> It is not known where they met for their clandestine services. Possibly they met in private homes or out-buildings in the dale, or they may on occasion have gone to Danby-on-Ure, where the Scropes had a chapel at Danby Hall and later a 'Mass-house' at Ulshaw, close to the confluence of the Cover and the Ure. The presbytery at Ulshaw, attached to the present church, has the date 1695 over the door.<sup>216</sup>

Some Catholics still dreamed of a future in which the Catholic religion would be restored. In 1678 Robert Rider of Arundel House left money for a priest, 'except

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<sup>210</sup> Aveling, Northern Catholics, p.262.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.263-66.

<sup>212</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/CB//8/1/97.

<sup>213</sup> Borthwick Institute, V 1633/CB.2A., p.25.

<sup>214</sup> Miscellanea: Recusant Records, ed. Clare Talbot, Catholic Record Society, Record Series, 53 (1961 for 1960), 343, no.5, and 369, note 139.

<sup>215</sup> Aveling, Northern Catholics, p.428.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, p.389; Hatcher, Richmondshire Architecture, p.239.

that the Catholic Religion come in, in wch case ye Revenew is to be applied to some Priest to Catechize and instruct the people of that tract of Coverdale'.<sup>217</sup> The money was used to set up Coverdale as a mission district, but the numbers (at least as recorded by the authorities) seem to have been decreasing. The Toleration Act did not apply to Catholics, and presentations for recusancy continued, but at Quarter Sessions in 1690 only two people were presented from Coverdale, George Geldert and John Watson, both from Carlton. This compares with eleven people presented from Middleham and nine from East Witton.<sup>218</sup> Rider, Geldert/Geldart and Watson were all common surnames in Coverdale, and the surviving parish registers show that other members of the wider families were not Catholic; indeed, all three families produced churchwardens in the later years of the seventeenth century.

The number of practising Catholics in Coverdale willing to withstand the pressures to conform was therefore small. However, there is evidence for a different kind of Catholic influence, the survival of a tradition which the authorities disliked and tried to suppress. In the Middle Ages Coverdale's devotion to St. Simon centred on the chapel and the ancient holy well. The post-Reformation history of the chapel is an example of the effect the religious changes had, literally, on the ground; but the decay of the chapel did not destroy the tradition.

In 1586 two cases were heard in the Court of Exchequer about right and title to the chapel, the tithes, and which manor it belonged to.<sup>219</sup> Together the two cases provide a very detailed picture of the chapel before and after the Dissolution of Coverham Abbey, though the evidence for the two sides is so conflicting that at times it is difficult to realise it relates to the same place. The plaintiff was Christopher Buckle; the defendant was Francis Topham, one of the Tophams of Agglethorpe.

Christopher Buckle probably lived in Carlton, where Leonard Buckle, his father, is listed as a tenant in the 1554 court roll. Two of his eight witnesses were Roger Dawson of Carlton, yeoman, said to be aged eighty-five, and Anthony Buckle of Carlton, yeoman, aged about seventy. Other witnesses came from Coverham, East

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<sup>217</sup> Aveling, Northern Catholics, pp.343, 346.

<sup>218</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, Ninth Report, Part I (1883), p.342.

<sup>219</sup> NA:PRO E134 28 Eliz. Easter Nos.3 and 5. No.3 gives the interrogatories and the evidence on behalf of the plaintiff, Christopher Buckle; No.5 gives the interrogatories and evidence on behalf of the defendant, Francis Topham.



Witton and Melmerby, together with Isabel Mason of Bolton (probably Castle Bolton), a widow aged eighty-four, who gave evidence that she had lived for a long time with her aunt, the wife of John Pratt, in one end of the chapel. She had known three hermits, and gave their names as Craggs, Brittoner and Moore.

All witnesses agreed on a few basic details. Three acres of land belonged to the chapel; the names of the lands were Hermit Rigg, described as meadow ground on the north side of Cover (i.e. across the river from the chapel), Hermit Croft and Chapel-garth. The last hermit, 'Hermit More', continued at the chapel for a time after the Dissolution of Coverham Abbey.

The witnesses for Christopher Buckle maintained that before the Dissolution the hermit, who lived in one end of the chapel, was 'placed and displaced' by the abbot of Coverham. The abbot received the offerings and oblations that were made to St. Simon, and regularly sent one of the brethren to say mass and service at the chapel. John Pratt also lived in part of the chapel, keeping an alehouse and occupying part of the lands. No tithes were paid on the chapel or lands because they were monastic property.

The witnesses described events after the Dissolution, when John Ward, Luke Metcalfe and Leonard Buckle (father of the plaintiff) had a lease of the parsonage of Coverham and of the chapel and its three acres of land, and were undisturbed during their lease. Roger Dawson said he had heard they paid £6 rent (which seems to indicate the offerings were profitable). Anthony Buckle confirmed the £6 rent, 'which rent was decayed and taken away immediately after the offerings and Pilgrimage was put down'. This suggests that the use of the chapel as a place of pilgrimage was expressly forbidden, perhaps at the time of the suppression of chantries. Anthony Buckle also described the legal conveyance of the property to the plaintiff, from Theophilus and Robert Adams, about two years before the case. Christopher's occupation was shortly 'interrupted' by the defendant. Other witnesses confirmed this part of Anthony Buckle's evidence.

The witnesses for Francis Topham were heard on a subsequent occasion, and presented a totally different story. The Topham case was that the chapel and lands were situated within the hamlet of Scrafton and manor of Melmerby, and not in the manor of Middleham. It was claimed that the chapel was built by one of the Pigott

lords of Melmerby as a chapel of ease to enable the inhabitants of Melmerby and Scafton to worship in winter storms and tempests, and the lords of Melmerby and the local inhabitants had paid divers sums of money towards the maintenance of a priest to say service in the chapel in winter. The hermit who kept the chapel was a poor man who for the most part lived by begging from the local people. The lord of Melmerby (then Sir Charles Brandon) had taken trees from the property after the Dissolution, which was taken as proof of his ownership.

The first witness for Francis Topham, John Runder of Agglethorpe, spoke about years when the lord of Melmerby paid for a priest for one year and the inhabitants paid for another three years. Another witness, Christopher Palliser of Caldbergh, tailor, was uncertain about the priest. However, he could depose that he and his father had occupied Hermit Rigg and Hermit Croft as tenants of Alison Topham and later of Edward Topham.

Reviewing the evidence of both sides, it is clear that the witnesses for Christopher Buckle painted a convincing picture of the chapel as a place of pilgrimage before the Dissolution of the abbey, and continuing until such use was prohibited. Their evidence is less convincing about subsequent events, and there is a gap in their narrative of events between the end of the lease to Ward and partners and the more recent conveyance to Christopher Buckle from Theophilus and Robert Adams. It would seem that in the interval the Tophams had established a claim to at least some of the land. A reference to 'timber trees of ash wood', suitable for house building, may indicate one reason for the interest of both sides in this small area of land at the bottom of a steep-sided valley – not normally regarded as productive ground. It is possible that the Tophams wished to retain control of the chapel for religious reasons, but there is no evidence that clandestine services were held there. They seem to have won the case, as in the eighteenth century their successors owned the lands.

In spite of the decay of the chapel building, the attachment to St. Simon and the tradition of feasting in Coverdale on St. Simon's day did not come to an end. As we have seen, in January 1608 Thomas Jenkinson of Hindlethwaite, Reader at Horsehouse Chapel, was presented at Quarter Sessions at Richmond 'for suffering piping, and other disorders, in the Chapel on St. Simon's Day'.<sup>220</sup> Two centuries

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<sup>220</sup> Quarter Sessions Records, ed. Atkinson, I, 107.



later, around 1800, the curate of Coverham, William Law, wrote a poem about St. Simon's chapel which is quoted in W.G.M.Jones Barker's Historical and Topographical Account of Wensleydale (1856). The poet waxes lyrical about the ruined chapel and the well, 'That deep sequestr'd, wood o'ershadowed spot', and says that

still one day in honour of the saint

In feasting yearly, through the dale is spent.

Jones Barker comments: 'The latter characteristic is still quite correct'.<sup>221</sup>

### 2.5.5 The Quakers

In the 1650s an entirely new religious movement came to Coverdale. The Society of Friends, popularly known as the Quakers, originally an uncomplimentary nickname, gained a small but steadfast group of adherents in the dale. His Quaker beliefs cost one of the group his life, while others suffered prolonged imprisonment and the repeated, crippling loss of their goods. Through all this they stood firm against their persecutors.

In order to put the Coverdale group in its proper context it is necessary to review briefly George Fox's journey through the dales in 1652, and the beginnings of the movement in its heartland around Sedbergh, an area which later Friends called 'the Quaker Galilee'.

George Fox, born in Leicestershire, had been an itinerant preacher for nine years when in the early summer of 1652 he turned to the north and travelled through Lancashire, climbed Pendle Hill, and went on through the dales to the borders of Yorkshire and Westmorland. His account of the journey was written much later, and he was not interested in topographical detail; but one historian with a close knowledge of the area has suggested that the route may have included Coverdale. Fox describes in his 'Journal' how he and his companion Richard Farnsworth after leaving the Pendle area 'passed on among the fell countries and at night we got a little ferns or brackens and lay upon a common and the next morning went to a town where Richard Farnsworth parted with me... So I came up Wensleydale...'.<sup>222</sup> David

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<sup>221</sup> W.G.M. Jones Barker, Historical and Topographical Account of Wensleydale (1856), p.145.

<sup>222</sup> The Journal of George Fox, ed. J.Nickalls (Cambridge,1952), pp.103-104.

Hall in his detailed study of the Wensleydale Quaker, Richard Robinson of Countersett, suggests that the common was probably in Coverdale, and the town may have been Middleham.<sup>223</sup> There can be no certainty about Fox's route, but the important point to note is that Coverdale was on the fringes of the Quaker heartland.

From Wensleydale Fox seems to have made a detour to upper Wharfedale, to Scar House in Langstrothdale, the home of the Tennant family, perched high on the fellside above Hubberholme. At first sight this detour seems illogical, but it is clear that Fox's journey had nothing to do with reaching a known destination in the shortest possible time. In the words of David Hall, he 'set out to contact and if possible to convince and unite dispersed groups of like-minded people',<sup>224</sup> and he was quite prepared to divert from the obvious route in order to visit a likely convert.

After convincing James Tennant at Scar House Fox crossed the fells to Dent. Then he moved on to the area around Sedbergh and Preston Patrick. In this district he found an established and well-organised group of Separatists known as the Seekers, with links to a similar group in Swaledale. The meetings he held with the Seekers are recognised by members of the Society of Friends as the foundation of their movement. Fox gathered the large company of Seekers almost wholly to 'The Children of the Light' - the first name used by Friends. Very early they were joined by Richard Robinson of Countersett, who was already in touch with Thomas Taylor, one of the leaders of the Seekers.

Fox fired his converts to missionary activity, and within a short time the Quaker message was taken throughout England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, to Europe and the Americas.<sup>225</sup> Richard Robinson was one of the preachers, travelling mainly in the north of England and choosing places where people gathered. Sometimes he went to Middleham market, at least once semi-naked 'in his shift' - a method used by some early Quakers to attract attention by a 'prophetic sign' calling the people to repentance.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> D.S.Hall, Richard Robinson of Countersett 1628-1693 and the Quakers of Wensleydale (York, 1989), p.xiv.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> M.Watts, The Dissenters, I (Oxford, 1978), 197-98.

<sup>226</sup> Hall, Richard Robinson, p.3.



The Quaker meeting at Carlton was 'settled' (as Friends described the establishment of regular gatherings) at this time of extensive missionary activity, and the first contact came from the hamlet of Countersett, where Richard Robinson lived at what is now Countersett Hall.

And about ye above sd year, 1653 (as far as can be Remembred), did one Richard Lancaster, from about Countersett in Wensladale, (occasionally) come to Carleton in Coverdale, being the first called a Quaker yt came there, to ye house of Richard Geldart, who, through some Discourse or agreemt about the Principles of Truth, both he and his wife was Convinced of it. And then abouts did Gervise Benson and John Blaykling, both fro about Sedbergh, in the Drawings of Truth come (tho not Just together, or at one time) to the aforesd Ri: Gelderts House, who Gladly received them. And they had Some Meetings thereabouts, & Preached ye everlasting Gospell, & severall were Convinced; & in some short time after, there was a meeting sattled thereabouts, which has continued ever since, & is called Coverdale Meeting.<sup>227</sup>

This account comes from a series of documents deposited in the London headquarters in response to appeals for Friends in all the counties of England and Wales to collect material for a history 'of the Entrance and Progress of Truth in this Age'. They remained unpublished until 1907, but were written not later than 1720.

The details given for Coverdale link the Carlton meeting not only with Countersett but also with George Fox's first journey to Sedbergh. Fox first met with the Seekers at the home of Colonel Gervase Benson at Borret just outside Sedbergh. Benson was then a justice and a powerful man in the district. He had been mayor of Kendal, and before the Civil War a high official in the Archdeaconry of Richmond. Later he preached, wrote and suffered for the Quaker cause, and often acted as Friends' legal adviser.<sup>228</sup> A few days after the meeting at Borret, after preaching the day of the Lord at Sedbergh fair, Fox went to Draw-well, a little farmhouse below the Howgills, the home of the Blaykling family. They had been at the meeting at Borret, and on this first visit Fox stayed four nights with them. John Blaykling became a much-travelled Quaker preacher and was imprisoned many times.<sup>229</sup>

Richard Geldart at Carlton was therefore visited by two outstanding Quaker

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<sup>227</sup> The First Publishers of Truth, ed. N.Penney (1907), p.310.

<sup>228</sup> D.and A.Boulton, In Fox's Footsteps (Dent, 1998), pp. 118-20.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 132-33.

leaders from the original group of Seekers. The new Coverdale meeting was firmly linked into the Quaker mainstream. The phrase 'the everlasting gospel' a favourite expression of the Quakers, is also of interest. Another Yorkshire example of its use comes from Craven, where William Dewsbury, Richard Farnsworth and others 'Preached ye Everlasting Gospell' at Scale House, near Skipton, 'by wch many were turned from Darkness to Light & from ye Power of Satan to ye Power of God'.<sup>230</sup> However, the phrase had a very long history, going back through medieval dissent to the twelfth-century heretic Joachim of Fiore. It signified a belief in inward light rather than outward rules, rejecting the authority of the institutionalised church and also the authority of the letter of Scripture.<sup>231</sup>

George Fox was fiercely anti-clerical, and he and other Quakers often got into trouble for 'speaking to' (i.e. heckling) the clergy in church. The Quakers rejected all liturgical and sacramental forms as 'Babylonish and heathenish'. It was a matter of principle with them not to pay tithes. They insisted on using the familiar forms of address 'thee' and 'thou' to those who considered themselves their social superiors, and they would not take off their hats before magistrates. They rejected the use of 'pagan' names for days and months, and hence developed their own calendar, in which Sunday was 'First Day' and March was 'First Month'. Another principle was the refusal to swear oaths, which gave their opponents an easy way of ensnaring them when they were taken to law. In the early years not all Quakers were pacifist, and Fox even wrote a pamphlet urging Oliver Cromwell into stronger military action in Europe; but in 1660 he forbade his followers to take up arms because 'our weapons are spiritual'. Quakers became noted above all for the way they met persecution with non-violence.<sup>232</sup>

These beliefs, and the code of conduct they entailed, gave ample cause for conflict between the Quakers and authority. In the years before 1660 there were some brutal examples of imprisonment and ill-treatment of Friends, but on the whole this was localised and spasmodic.<sup>233</sup> After the Restoration persecution quickly became more systematic and more comprehensive. This pattern is seen on the local scale in Coverdale, where there are no records of persecution of Quakers before 1660. Physical attacks on meetings began in that year, soon followed by legal

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<sup>230</sup> First Publishers, ed. Penney, p.303.

<sup>231</sup> C.Hill, The World Turned Upside Down (1975), pp.147-48.

<sup>232</sup> Watts, The Dissenters, I, 192-93.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid*, I, 199.



cases for non-payment of tithe brought by the lay impropiators, now re-installed in their authority.

In May 1660 (on the 13th day of the 3rd month as the Quaker record has it) as Quakers 'from several parts in and about Richmond, Massam, Coverdale and some other of the adjacent Places' had gathered at the house of Ralph Ainsley in Bellerby, the meeting was attacked by armed men crying, 'Where are these rogues? We have orders to break up your Meeting', some of them saying, 'We will cut you as small as bread'. The Friends were beaten with swords, staves and pistols (some of which were fired), and their horses were turned loose. One group going towards Marrick and Richmond were attacked again on their way home.<sup>234</sup>

In the same month another attack took place on a meeting in West Burton 'where some of the People in Scorn called Quakers were peaceably met together, to wait upon and Worship the Lord, according to that Manifestation of his Will discovered to them'. This meeting would probably have been attended by Friends from Coverdale. Later records show them regularly attending meetings in Bishopdale, while Friends from West Burton likewise attended meetings at homes in Carlton, Melmerby and Woodale. On this occasion there was a visitor, Samuel Watson from Knight Stainforth near Settle. The attack was led by George Fawcett of Ballowfield, near Carperby, 'then a Chief Constable... bringing with him a Rude Wild Company of men, like himself'. One of them singled out Samuel Watson, beating him about the head with a long hazel staff and knocking him senseless to the ground. He was unconscious for so long that the assailants took fright, fearing he was dead. When he began to recover they returned to the attack, and drove some of the Quakers out of the village.<sup>235</sup> Another account of the incident says that Samuel's attacker had a pistol as well as his staff, and threatened to lodge a brace of bullets in Samuel's belly before knocking him down. As soon as Samuel came to himself, 'they hurried him to the Stocks, whence after some Time, they drove him and others out of the Town to a River's Side, and threw one of them into the River'.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> Richard Robinson, A Blast blown out of the North And Ecchoing up towards the South To meet the Cry of their Oppressed Brethren, (no publisher stated, 1680), pp.5-9.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid, pp.9-11.

<sup>236</sup> Joseph Besse, A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers, for the Testimony of a Good Conscience, II (1753), 99.

‘The Record of Sufferings of Friends in Coverdale’, in the records of the Richmond Monthly Meeting, begins with an undated statement of a loss by Carlton’s first Quaker. ‘Richard Geldert of Carleton in Coverdaile because he could not pay tithes for conscience sake had a Mare taken from him which was valued to be worth three pounds.’ The case was brought by the lay impropiators of the tithes. William Hardcastle of Laverton and Thomas Geldart of Carlton.<sup>237</sup> This is an example of the way members of the same extended family could be on different sides of the divide between the Quakers and the established order, just as one member could be a Catholic and other relatives Anglican (or even Quaker). This first distraint probably took place in 1660.

In the following year the threatened penalty for the Coverdale Quakers was not distraint but prison. Richard Geldart and William Horner were arrested by a bailiff, at the suit of William Hardcastle. They had gone as far as Kirkby Malzeard towards prison in York when they were released by Thomas Winn, ‘who said he paid five pounds for Richard Geldert and three pounds for William Horner’.<sup>238</sup> On later occasions payment in order to secure release was disowned by victims, but on this occasion no comment is made. William Horner, who lived at Woodale, appears in many subsequent records of the sufferings of Friends in Coverdale.

The Coverdale Quakers seem to have escaped the wholesale imprisonment of Friends in January and February 1661 for refusing to swear an oath. At this time 535 Quakers were imprisoned in York castle and other prisons in Yorkshire, 505 of them being in York castle, where five prisoners died ‘through the Unhealthiness of the Place, where they were thronged together’.<sup>239</sup>

In 1664 a whole list of Quakers appears in the presentments of the Coverham churchwardens at the archdeaconry court for the deaneries of Richmond and Catterick.<sup>240</sup> Offences cited were not paying the assessment towards the repair of the church ‘and other holy uses’; keeping private conventicles; or simply ‘for quakers’. Richard Geldart and William Horner were presented on all three counts. In all ten people appear in the list: William Horner and his wife, Richard Geldart, John

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<sup>237</sup> NYCRO, R/Q/R 5/1, Memoranda Book of Richmond Monthly Meeting, microfilm 1466, frame 000181.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> Besse, *Sufferings*, II, 103.

<sup>240</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/C2, Correction Book, 1664.



Geldart and his wife, Richard Geldart junior, Stephen Winn, Thomas Cowpland, Alice the wife of Thomas Winn and Maria the wife of George Ryder. There is a marginal note by the name of William Horner that goods had been sold for 2s.4d. 1664 was a bad year for Quakers, after the discovery of the Kaber Rigg plot the previous year, as one of the plotters had once been a Friend. The Quaker leaders were in prison, George Fox in Lancaster castle.<sup>241</sup> In Coverdale the Quakers were clearly marked out as individuals, but so far it was the ecclesiastical not the civil authorities who were imposing penalties.

Non-payment of tithe could however have just as disastrous consequences as refusal to take an oath. In 1666 Richard Geldart 'because he could not pay tithes was cast in prison about the space or time of one yeare by ...William Hardcastle and then was taken out of the body, and his body buried in the prison buriinge place'.<sup>242</sup> His death is also recorded in The First Publishers of Truth: 'The afore-mentioned Richard Geldart ... did grow up a Zealous, serviceable Man, & bore a faithfull Testimony for ye Truth in its several Branches, wch he fully Demonstrated by suffering, for he Dyed a Prisoner in Yorke Castle, because for Conscience sake he could not Pay Tythes'.<sup>243</sup> This account makes clear that the Richard Geldart who died in York castle was Richard Geldart, the first Carlton Quaker. William Horner was also put in prison by William Hardcastle for non-payment of tithe at the same time as Richard Geldart, but with a more fortunate outcome as he 'there remained about the space of a yeares time and then was released by his brother who paid about nine pounds as he said but wholly without the consent of the said Will: Horner'.<sup>244</sup>

An inventory of Richard Geldart, with Quaker dating and many Quaker connections in the text, may well be that of the martyr who died in York castle. The inventory is dated 'The first day of the ninth month called november 1667'. The four appraisers are not the usual men who appear regularly in the Carlton inventories of this period, but instead all four names are also to be found in the Quaker records: William Horner, Thomas Winn, Thomas Simpson and Stephen Winn. The total value of Richard Geldart's goods was £80 2s.10d., consisting of corn and hay, farm animals and household goods. His funeral expenses were small – £2 16s.0d. He

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241 W.C.Braithwaite, The Second Period of Quakerism, 2nd edition, ed. H.J.Cadbury (Cambridge, 1961), pp.32-36.

242 NYCRO, R/Q/R 5/1, microfilm 1466, frame 000181.

243 First Publishers, ed.Penney, p.310.

244 NYCRO, R/Q/R 5/1, ut supra.

owed substantial debts of £65 18s0d. and one of his creditors, who had lent £20, was Marmaduke Beckwith, a well-known Quaker. Another, with £4 owing to him, was George Wilson – probably the George Wilson of Cray who appears in an entry in Besse's Sufferings for the year 1663, when he had two cows distrained for his refusal to contribute towards the cost of the county militia.

The administration papers from the archdeaconry of Richmond, of 11 March 1667/8, which accompany the inventory, list six children under the age of twenty-one – Margaret, Anne, Margery, Ruth, Joshua and Richard. An older son, Miles, is named as the administrator – but although a bond for £200 was given, Miles did not sign, which would have been the usual practice. The remarkable feature of these papers is the appearance in them of Edward Winnington, clerk, the rector of Wycliffe. He signed the bond, along with the widow, Edith Geldart. The clue comes in Edward Winnington's will, made in 1681, in which he left to 'Anne Geldert my present house keeper' the sum of £6 13s.4d. His involvement in the estate of Richard Geldart is thus explained. He was helping his servant's Quaker family in their dealings with the archdeaconry of Richmond, in order to avoid any problems they might otherwise encounter. It is also interesting that among the debts owing to Richard Geldart, which totalled £16 15s.8d., was £2 owed by Edward Winnington, possibly his servant's wages.<sup>245</sup>

The passing of the Second Conventicle Act in April 1670 heralded a new phase in the persecution of Quakers, in Coverdale as elsewhere. The penalties imposed by this Act, and the methods it encouraged, can be seen in operation in Coverdale. The Act was to be enforced without the safeguard of a jury. A single J.P. could convict, and a fine of five shillings was the penalty for a first offence of attending a conventicle, and ten shillings for any further offence. Two new offences were created – a preacher at a conventicle was to be fined £20 for a first offence and £40 for any further offence; and a person harbouring a conventicle was to be fined £20. Fines were recoverable by distraint, and were to go in thirds to the King, the poor and the informer. Where the offenders were strangers or poor their fines could be distrained for up to £10 on anyone else convicted of being present. 'The policy of the Act was to ruin rather than imprison the offenders.'<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> WYAS, Leeds, Richmondshire Wills, RD/AP1, inventory of Richard Geldart 11 March 1667; will of Edward Winnington, 10 June 1682.

<sup>246</sup> Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, p.67.



Throughout Richmondshire the Quakers suffered severely through the activities of the notorious informer William Thornaby senior of Richmond, aided by his son William Thornaby junior and others. Thornaby's own account of his activities has been preserved in Besse's Sufferings, while Richard Robinson of Countersett later published a compilation of eye-witness descriptions of the events in his pamphlet A Blast blown out of the North. It was general Quaker policy to make their sufferings widely known, in order to shame their persecutors, and this was part of Richard Robinson's purpose. He also wished to show that in Richmondshire William Thornaby and his accomplices, and the two justices who had principally encouraged them, James Metcalfe and Joseph Cradock, had gone way beyond the limits of even this draconian law and had acted illegally.

Stephen Winn comes to the forefront in this phase of the persecutions. He is usually described as 'of Melmerby', and the informer William Thornaby senior described his house as 'in Sundale at Melmerby' in August 1670.<sup>247</sup> He appears as a householder at Melmerby in the Hearth Tax returns of 1670 (where his surname is spelt 'Wind') in a house with one hearth. Sometimes, however, he is described as 'of Carlton', for example by Richard Robinson in 1679.<sup>248</sup> It may be that at some time he lived in Carlton, as Richard Robinson was a stickler for accuracy. In the record entitled "The Sufferings of Friends in Coverdale" there is a note of corn taken yearly from Stephen Winn of Carlton in Coverdale to the value of 10s. per annum from 1670 to 1683 for non-payment of tithes.<sup>249</sup>

William Thornaby listed ten meetings in Coverdale against which he informed between August 21, 1670 and May 7, 1671.<sup>250</sup> The first was at the house of William Horner, and William as the householder was fined £20. Eight other people there, who included Stephen Winn and his wife, were each fined 5s. The following week the meeting was at Stephen Winn's house, and he was fined £20. Five offenders on a second offence were fined 10s. each, and a first offender was fined 5s. As the series of meetings continued, the amount of the fines increased. For a meeting at Stephen Winn's house on 11 December 1670 Stephen himself was fined £60 – £20 as the householder and £40 as the speaker and previously convicted. James Janson (sometimes known as Jonson) of Woodale was the other speaker and was fined £20.

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<sup>247</sup> Besse, Sufferings, II, 123.

<sup>248</sup> Robinson, A Blast, p.44.

<sup>249</sup> NYCRO, R/Q/R 5/1, microfilm 1466, frame 000184.

<sup>250</sup> Besse, Sufferings, II, 123-24.

There were eight other people there, and the fines amounted to £84.

This total was exceeded on 16 April 1671, when there were two meetings at Stephen Winn's house on the same day. All told sixteen people attended, in addition to Stephen himself – the highest number recorded for any one day. Not all those attending were from Coverdale; a regular interchange was taking place between Coverdale Quakers and those from West Burton. Stephen Winn was repeatedly fined £40 as a speaker at West Burton, while the Simpson brothers, Thomas, Robert and Jeremiah from West Burton, with their wives, are regularly listed as attending meetings in Coverdale, together with Ralph Ainsley from Bellerby. Ralph was counted as a member of the Coverdale meeting, and was the scribe for part of the meeting's own account of losses under the Conventicle Act.

Thornaby listed the following people attending the two meetings on April 16 1671: Stephen Winn, fined £40 as householder, and another £40 as speaker at one of the meetings and previously convicted; William Horner and his daughter, James Janson and his wife, Richard Geldart and his wife, Robert Simpson and his wife, Ralph Ainsley, Thomas Simpson and his wife, Jeremiah Simpson and John Geldart – all present at both meetings and fined £1 each; Susanna Pell, Eden Geldart and Richard Miles, fined £2 15s. between them (it is not clear how this figure was arrived at). The total of seventeen people attending the meetings on April 16 is the highest in the series, and the total amount of the fines imposed for that day was £95 15s.0d. In all, for this series of ten meetings, the fines came to £445 15s.0d. The total amount of fines imposed as a result of William Thornaby's activities as informer was reckoned at £1999 5s.0d. His area covered Richmond, Swaledale, Wensleydale, Coverdale, Bishopdale, Snape, Masham, and part of County Durham.<sup>251</sup>

Quakers were discouraged by their leaders from holding meetings in secret, as some other dissenting groups and Roman Catholics did. However, in response to the severe penalties of the Second Conventicle Act Quaker meetings in some places were held in the open air, in order to avoid the fine on the householder. At Bainbridge, for example, Thornaby informed on some meetings held on Bainbridge Pasture. It is noteworthy that the Friends from Coverdale and West Burton did not take avoiding action in this way, but continued to meet in houses as before, defying

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<sup>251</sup> Ibid, II,129.



both Thornaby and the justices who were encouraging him, to do their worst. Their persistence in the face of persecution is illustrated by events on 23 April 1671, just one week after their fines of over £95. They met at West Burton at the house of Thomas Simpson, and moreover they reassembled 'after they had been twice by the Constables and Officers dispersed'. Thomas Simpson was fined £20 as the householder three times over. Most of those present had been at Stephen Winn's house the previous week, and they likewise received triple fines.<sup>252</sup>

Such enormous amounts could not possibly be distrained for in full, but the local constables had orders from the magistrates to take what they could. Richard Robinson believed they had been given deliberate instructions to take whatever property they found in an offender's house or on his land, 'be it whose it would'.

There are some vivid descriptions in A Blast blown out of the North of the scenes when Quakers lost their goods as a result of the fines. In September 1670 the constables took from Stephen Winn a piece of cloth worth about 13s. In another distraint a different constable took from Stephen Winn 'two Kine and Houshold Goods, so that he neither left Dish, Dubler, Spoon nor Stool to sit upon; he also distrained and sold two pair of Looms, and working Instruments, and Yarn, he being a Weaver, and Stuff upon the Beam, an unwrought part of it belonging to others, for whom he wrought it, valued together about £7 10s.6d.' This was a deliberate attempt to leave Stephen Winn not only destitute at that point in time, but also without the means of pursuing his trade and supporting his family. In his denunciation of the illegal acts of the informers and justices at the end of A Blast blown out of the North the author points out that the Act only allowed distraint of the offender's own goods. There was no authority to take property belonging to others, such as yarn and cloth from a weaver who was working with other people's materials.<sup>253</sup>

Others who lost property at this time included Richard Geldart of Carlton, perhaps the son of Richard who died in York castle. Five kine and two heifers were taken from him, 'well worth £13'. Richard Robinson notes that most of the goods taken by the constables were sold cheaply, and relatives and neighbours often bought them and returned them to the previous owners. The Quakers were winning the battle for public sympathy. Joseph Cradock, the J.P. and Commissary of the

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<sup>252</sup> Ibid, II,125.

<sup>253</sup> Robinson, A Blast , pp.26 and 42.

Archdeaconry of Richmond, was angered by this, and ordered the goods to be distrained again, or compounded for and bought again, 'under pretence of a Combination to defeat the King', so that the buyers had to go to Quarter Sessions to get them back.<sup>254</sup>

On 2 April 1671 the constable of Burton and William Thornaby the younger came to a meeting at the house of Thomas Simpson, took the names of the assembled Quakers, and then went to the stable and took a mare which William Horner had borrowed, with a saddle and a woman's seat on it, and likewise a mare which Stephen Winn had borrowed, also with a saddle and seat, and a little mare belonging to the owner of the house. The last was rescued when 'a little Girle pluck't off the Halter from the little Mare's Head, whereby she got away'. The other two mares were taken to Richmond, another example of property being taken illegally as it did not belong to the Quakers. Richard Robinson notes with a certain satisfaction that the next day the constable collapsed suddenly in Richmond and died, and old William Thornaby's wife died on the same day as the raid on West Burton; and that the two mares also died shortly afterwards in the possession of the Thornabys.<sup>255</sup>

The most dramatic account in A Blast blown out of the North describes a raid on the house of Stephen Winn on 10 December 1671 by John Watson and Thomas Stephenson, the constables of Melmerby, and John Smithies the overseer, with William Thornaby the younger and Henry Spence, another informer. Stephen Winn was away, but his wife and family were there, with two or three women 'that came with their Work to bear Stephen Winn's wife company'. There was no conventicle, but the raiders broke down doors and took bedding, clothing and yarn. 'And the said Stephen Winne, being a poor man, was by this and the like former Cruelties, left in Want of Necessaries for his poor Family, not having any manner of Bed-Clothes for him and his said Family to lie on.' One of the children cried so much that Henry Spence the informer asked the others to get done because 'he could not endure to hear the Child cry so'.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> Ibid, p.27.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid, pp.27-30.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid, pp.39-40.



Quakers were well-organised in their Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, and one of the advantages of the system was the way it enabled wealthier Friends and those less severely persecuted to help the poorer members and make good at least some of the losses. Property trusts were established 'for the use of poor Friends'. As early as 1666 the Richmond merchant Francis Smithson had bought a house and land at Braidley in Coverdale 'for the use of poor Friends about Richmond'.<sup>257</sup>

Richard Robinson explains in his introduction to A Blast blown out of the North that it was mostly written in 1671-2, but remained unpublished then because James Metcalfe, who had issued many of the warrants, had died, and William Thornaby the elder had left the district for London. It was believed he had gone to see the Attorney General about fines which had been imposed as a result of his activities but had never been levied. He never returned, and with the disappearance of the two prime movers the persecution ceased for a time. The Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 must have been another reason for the breathing-space the Coverdale Quakers were now given.

George Fox mentions Wensleydale only twice in his journal, once in 1652 and again in 1677, when he visited Countersett in early April in the course of a journey from Swarthmoor to York. He stayed the night at Richard Robinson's house, and next day a few local Friends came to accompany the party over the Stake Pass to Scar House. James Tennant like Richard Geldart had died in York castle, but his family remained stalwart Quakers. Fox was not in good health, and the journey was trying – 'the way many times deep and bad with snow and our horses sometimes were down, and we were not able to ride'. The next day he preached for several hours to a large crowd of Friends from Wensleydale, Littondale, Bishopsdale, Skipton, Coverdale, Kellett (near Lancaster) and Sedbergh. Once again the visit to Scar House was a detour for Fox, as the party proceeded through Bishopdale to Middleham and then on to the house of Marmaduke Beckwith near Masham. The journey to Scar House in the snow cannot have been easy for the Friends from Coverdale, who must have met with the same problems as Fox and his party.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> NYCRO, R/Q/R 2/5.1.

<sup>258</sup> Hall, Richard Robinson, p.11.

Joseph Cradock, the Commissary, still remained as a potential threat to the Quakers, and in 1679 he used ecclesiastical law to detain Richard Robinson, John Fothergill of Carr End and Christopher Routh of Hawes on writs of 'Excommunicato Capiendo'. They were committed to prison in Richmond on 4 January 1678/9, and were soon joined on 15 March by Stephen Winn and Richard Geldart, 'both of Carleton in Coverdale', by the same legal device. Richard Robinson's offence was non-payment of an assessment of ten shillings towards the repair of Askrigg church, 'and other Matters joyned with the same, as Money for Destroying of Foxes, &c. all which he could have paid save that for the Repair of the Steeplehouse, if the same had been distinctly assessed'. Stephen Winn and Richard Geldart were imprisoned 'for not going to the Steeplehouse, nor receiving the Sacrament (so called) or some such like things'.<sup>259</sup>

It was during this imprisonment at Richmond that Richard Robinson revised A Blast blown out of the North, added some extra material to bring it up to date, and published it in 1680. He says the jailer had been threatened 'to keep them strait', but the imprisonment does not seem to have been as severe as some which other Quakers endured. Nevertheless it lasted almost two years, until it was ended by the intervention of Humphrey Wharton, one of the M.P.s for Richmond, and by pressure brought to bear on Thomas Cradock (son of Joseph), the other M.P. All the prisoners except Christopher Routh were released on 29 December 1680.<sup>260</sup>

Nationally the closing years of Charles II were a time of severe persecution, and many Quakers suffered further spells of imprisonment. Richard Robinson was sent to Richmond jail again twice,<sup>261</sup> but on the whole the Coverdale Friends seem to have got off more lightly. Stephen Winn 'of Carleton, yeoman' was presented at Quarter Sessions at Richmond on 5 August, 1684 for attending a meeting (an 'unlawful assembly under colour of the exercise of religious worship in another mode than according to the liturgy and practice of the Church') at the house of Matthew Hutchinson in Leyburn, along with James Janson of Leyburn, a linen weaver, and 'other persons unknown'. At the same sitting of the Sessions Michael Robinson of Countersett (eldest son of Richard) and several others were presented for attending a meeting at the house of James Janson. No-one from Coverdale was involved on this occasion. The records do not indicate any outcome of these

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<sup>259</sup> Robinson, A Blast, pp.44-5.

<sup>260</sup> Hall, Richard Robinson, p.13.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid*, p.16.



cases.<sup>262</sup> Stephen Winn, Richard Geldart and Joseph Geldart, all of Carlton, are all recorded by Besse as having tithes taken in kind in the years 1683-90. In Stephen Winn's case Besse gives the value as £12 in total. For Richard Geldart (spelt by him as Gildart) he gives a loss of 9s. in total, and for Joseph Geldart 24s.<sup>263</sup>

The accession of James II brought a reversal of the policy followed in his brother's later years. Following a General Pardon many Quakers were released from prison, and a Declaration of Indulgence in the spring of 1687 allowed freedom of worship. Quakers and other dissenters were beneficiaries, but there was much suspicion because James made no secret of the fact that his main motive was to benefit his Roman Catholic co-religionists. The overthrow of James and the accession of William and Mary were speedily followed by the Toleration Act of 1689, which is seen with hindsight as a landmark in the history of dissent, when freedom of worship was finally won. It is important to recognise that it did not appear so at the time. The laws passed by the persecutors were not repealed, but the penalties were allowed to lapse. The correct name of the Toleration Act is 'An Act for exempting Their Majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws'. The Act did not allow any freedom of worship for Roman Catholics. As far as the Quakers were concerned, W.C. Braithwaite, the classic historian of Quakerism, described the Act as 'formless and devoid of principle, a mere invertebrate "modus vivendi" made to pass the two Houses and to do its work of easing the nation'. Tithes and prosecutions for tithes were preserved in existence, and dissenters continued to suffer from civil disabilities. Their meeting-places were to be certified and registered either in the ecclesiastical courts or at Quarter Sessions. An important safeguard was that it became a penal offence to enter a meeting-place for the purpose of disturbing the congregation.<sup>264</sup>

In 1672, at the time of the first Declaration of Indulgence, Quakers as a body declined to take out licences, on the ground that the state had no more right to give, than to take away, religious liberty.<sup>265</sup> In 1689 they took a different decision. The Toleration Act became law on 24 May, 1689, and by September the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting was making careful arrangements for registration. At the North

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<sup>262</sup> *QS Records*, ed. Atkinson, VII, 70.

<sup>263</sup> Besse, *Sufferings*, II, 172 and 176.

<sup>264</sup> Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, p.154 and note 3.

<sup>265</sup> Watts, *The Dissenters*, I, 247-48.

Riding Quarter Sessions at Thirsk on 8 October 1689 eighty-one Quaker meeting-houses in the Riding were registered.<sup>266</sup> The certificate for the group which includes Carlton has been preserved in the records of Richmond Monthly Meeting. There were seventeen meeting-houses in this group, which were registered together as follows: two at Countersett, one each at Bainbridge, Hawes, Carperby, Burton, Carlton, High Ellington, Masham, Snape, four in Grinton parish and three in Romaldekirk parish.<sup>267</sup>

Some of these meetings quickly progressed from gathering in a private home to having a special building set aside as a meeting-house. Bainbridge Friends, for example, bought an old cottage for their meetings as early as December 1668, and bought the neighbouring property in order to extend it in 1696.<sup>268</sup> The Coverdale Quakers were never numerous enough to take this step. The meeting-place registered in 1689 was probably the house of Stephen Winn. The 'Testimony' prepared after Stephen's death in 1712 states that the meeting was kept at his house in Carlton for several years.<sup>269</sup>

Recent historians of Quakerism have examined links between the growth of the movement and areas with a previous history of tenant right disputes and tithe disputes. This line of enquiry stems from an article by B.G.Blackwood in which he drew attention to such links in north-west Lancashire in the districts of Cartmel, Hawkshead, Heaton (near Lancaster) and Yealand. He concluded that it was 'the most militant and exploited tenants...who supplied the Quakers with the most numerous and zealous recruits'.<sup>270</sup> David Boulton in his study of Early Friends in Dent looked for similar links. A tithe strike had begun in Dent only a few weeks before George Fox first visited the township in 1652. Boulton was able to trace links between the tithe strikers and the Quakers, but initially Quakerism did not grow as quickly in Dent as it did in Sedbergh, though it did take strong root there later on. There was one inconsistent individual, Thomas Middleton of Deepdalehead, who was one of the leaders of the 1652 tithe strike, but in the 1660s became a notoriously

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<sup>266</sup> QS Records, ed. Atkinson, VII, 100-103.

<sup>267</sup> NYCRO, R/Q/R 7, microfilm 1466, frame 000775.

<sup>268</sup> Hall, Richard Robinson, pp. 58-59.

<sup>269</sup> Leeds University Library, Special Collections, Quaker Records from Clifford Street, York, I, 11 (1).

<sup>270</sup> B.G.Blackwood, 'Agrarian Unrest and the Early Lancashire Quakers', Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, 51 (1965-7), 72-76.



rapacious tithe farmer and oppressor of the Quakers in Dent.<sup>271</sup> John Breay in Light in the Dales enquired in great detail into tenant-right disputes and links with Quakerism in the upper Eden valley and the nearby dales, and concluded: 'it can no longer be doubted that many families which had been deeply involved in tenant-right struggles embraced Quakerism after 1652'.<sup>272</sup>

Looking at Coverdale from this point of view, one might expect that in this dale with its history of tenant-right disputes and tithe disputes Quakerism would have attracted more adherents than in fact it did. Another important factor promoting the growth of Quakerism was the previous existence of sectarian congregations. George Fox's discovery of the Seekers in the Sedbergh area was the key coming together of leader and followers which formed a dynamic evangelising movement. There is no hint of any such group in Coverdale before the first 'Publishers of Truth' arrived.

Though they were so few in number, with the largest recorded meeting attended by only seventeen people, and not all of those from Coverdale, the sheer loyalty and determination of the few to remain true to their principles in the face of persecution must have left its mark on their neighbours. It is clear from Richard Robinson's vivid accounts of events that public sympathy had swung behind the Quakers and there was widespread distaste for the informers. Of all the dissenting groups the Quakers stood out most strongly and openly in their determination to worship in their own way. As Braithwaite put it, 'the stiffness and endurance of Friends had opposed an impregnable obstruction to the annihilation of Dissent'.<sup>273</sup> The story of the Coverdale Quakers is a remarkable illustration of that 'stiffness and endurance'.

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<sup>271</sup> D.Boulton, Early Friends in Dent (Dent, 1986), pp.42-43.

<sup>272</sup> J.Breay, Light in the Dales (Norwich, 1996), III, 51.

<sup>273</sup> Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, p.158.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Carlton in the 'Long' Eighteenth Century**

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the predominant social group in Carlton consisted of yeomen; mostly from long-established local families, practising mixed farming on a small scale, with cattle-rearing the most important activity. They provided the majority of the office-bearers on whom local administration depended, such as constables, church-wardens and 'bylawmen'. They were free to bequeath or sell their lands as they chose, unconstrained by the 'custom of the manor'. The door was therefore open for wealthier families from outside the township to gain increasing influence within it. The first section of this chapter will consider the changes that followed, up to and including the enclosure of the West Pasture and Carlton Moor, a defining event that changed the landscape and changed the way of life in Carlton. At the same time, after Quaker decline and a period of unchallenged Anglican dominance, the coming of the Methodists changed the religious landscape of the dale. That transformation will be treated in the latter part of the chapter.

### **3.1 The Landowners**

As a consequence of the yeomen's freedom to dispose of their lands as they chose, differing trends developed simultaneously, preserving, fragmenting, or enlarging holdings. Some examples will illustrate the different processes which were at work.

The old 'custom of the manor', with its emphasis on primogeniture, had preserved the integrity of holdings. The force of tradition remained strong, and no doubt its benefits were appreciated, so that a father might wish to follow the old custom and pass his lands intact to his eldest son, while making such provision as he could for younger members of the family. This was the practice followed by Thomas Battie of Highfield, who made his will in February 1722/3, and died in October 1725.<sup>1</sup> Thomas was a small farmer and also a tailor. He left his wife Mary his two cows and his household goods, and also left her for her life his lands, which consisted of some arable land and three cattlegates in Carlton West Pasture, and 'that part of the dwelling house which I now dwell in'. After Mary's death the

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<sup>1</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1, 116/120.



property was to go to the eldest son John, with a payment of £8 to the second son Robert. Thomas also left bequests to three grandchildren: 40s. to be divided between his grandsons John and Thomas Hutchinson, when Thomas Hutchinson came of age, and £20 to his granddaughter Isabel Constantine, when she came of age. The bequest to Isabel, although delayed, would be a burden on a small estate.

Fragmentation was most likely to occur when there was no son, when property was often divided equally between daughters; or when the testator was childless, and property was divided between more distant relatives. Thomas Kaygill, who made his will in April 1705, left his property to his wife Alice for life.<sup>2</sup> After her death the house, barn and lands were to be shared between two daughters, Mary, the wife of William Fryer of 'Bolton in Wensleydale' (Castle Bolton), and Elizabeth, the wife of Leonard Eagle of Carlton. Each daughter was to pay £5 towards Thomas Kaygill's debts. In addition Elizabeth was made responsible for a mortgage of £20 on two of the lands left to her ('Pickill'<sup>3</sup> and 'Langlands') 'which money her husband hath received'.

Another example of the division of lands comes from a much wealthier family. Alice Lucas was the widow of Francis Lucas, gentleman, whose inventory in February 1705/6 listed goods worth £250 10s. plus five debts owing to him amounting to £40 18s.<sup>4</sup> When Alice made her will in October 1717, shortly before she died, she was living on a lesser scale than when her husband was alive, but she had a substantial property to leave.<sup>5</sup> Her grandson Lucas Jackson, aged sixteen, was the major beneficiary of her will. She bequeathed to him the house where she lived and another adjoining it, her household goods, husbandry gear and other goods and chattels, together with a 'turf house' (peat store), a stable, an orchard and a garden, and a field called East Croft. The remainder of her lands and property rights, all in Carlton, was to be divided equally between Lucas Jackson and Alice's daughter and son-in-law, Alice and Francis Todd of Hubberholme in upper Wharfedale. Lucas

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., RD/AP1, 54/129.

<sup>3</sup> 'Pickhill' appears on Alexander Calvert's map of Carlton, 1805 (NYCRO, ZIF 1559), close to the confluence of the Howden beck and the river Cover. By 1805 it belonged to West Witton Poor. In the Carlton Tithe Award it is 'Pickles Gill'. There is a farm of the same name in the Highdale, spelt variously 'Pickill', 'Pickhill', or more usually 'Pickle'. The name comes from Middle English 'pichel', meaning a small piece of land. See J.Field, English Field Names: A Dictionary (Newton Abbot, 1972), p.165.

<sup>4</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1, Box 58.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., RD/AP1, 111/103.

Jackson, who was to come into his estate at the age of twenty-one, was to pay his mother Elizabeth Emmerson £10 a year for life. The final instruction in the will was that if Lucas Jackson should die before the age of twenty-one or without issue, his share of real estate was to go to Elizabeth Emmerson. As the young man was under age at the time of his grandmother's death, Francis Todd, together with John Battie of Carlton, yeoman, signed a tuition bond at the archdeaconry of Richmond to act as his guardians.

This arrangement has elements of both primogeniture and partible inheritance, the grandson receiving the larger share but the lands being divided. However, Alice Lucas's hopes for her grandson were not realised. In the 1720s and 1730s it was not Lucas Jackson but Samuel Emmerson who was summoned to the Carlton manorial court, as Francis Todd was also.<sup>6</sup> In the 1720s the manorial court, when setting down the by-laws, referred to the wall between Doland Well and 'Francis Todd's Low Barn adjoining to the Street'. This suggests that at least some of the Lucas property was at Townhead.

An example of a division of lands in a much smaller unit of landholding is to be found in the will of Edward Wilkinson, carpenter and joiner, and owner of two fields. Making his will in May 1742, he left West New Close (3 acres) to his brother Walter's son (unnamed), and East New Close (2½ acres) to his brother Christopher's eldest son, another Christopher, with a barn to be divided equally between them. As Walter and Christopher Wilkinson both lived in Leeds, it seems likely the lands would be sold. The field name 'New Close' occurs more than once in the township; the acreage given suggests it was probably a close taken from the East Field, on the east side of Quaker Lane, divided into two, but reunited by the time of the Tithe Award.<sup>7</sup>

There are indications in the wills and inventories of families in financial difficulties, and these too could lead to the fragmentation of holdings. When Francis Dawson, yeoman, made his will in January 1710/11, he directed that some of his lands should be sold to pay his debts and funeral expenses. He specified which lands should go: they were 'Shortshaw', 'Lobley Close Head', a close called 'Common',

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<sup>6</sup> York Minster Library, Hailstone Collection, Box 4.16, has records of the Carlton manorial court, with some gaps, from 1722 to 1767.

<sup>7</sup> NYCRO, T/Carlton in Coverdale, field no.144.



and a cattlegate in Carlton West Pasture. His remaining lands were for his wife, Jane, and the maintenance of their daughter, another Jane, who was to inherit half of them when she came of age and the whole on the death of her mother.<sup>8</sup>

Robert Battie, tailor, in his will of July 1735, was another testator with concerns about the debts he was leaving for his family to settle. He directed that if his goods would not pay all his debts his wife Margaret and son William should sell 'such part or parcel of land as they shall think most fit or convenient for the discharging of all my debts'.<sup>9</sup>

While some families were struggling, others were prospering, chief among them that branch of the Geldart family which lived in the farmhouse at the top of the village later known as Elm Tree House, and had a share in the impropriation of the tithes of Coverham church. In three successive generations in the eighteenth century there was a Thomas Geldart, here distinguished for convenience as Thomas I, II and III. Their house has seventeenth-century double-chamfered mullioned windows on the first floor, and eighteenth-century flat-faced windows below. There is a fine two-storey porch, with a wreathed panel inscribed 'TG 1751'.<sup>10</sup> Thomas I was therefore improving the house even before the death of his father Richard in 1754, which suggests that he may have obtained a useful dowry with his wife Isabel. Thomas I in his will instructed his son Thomas II to pay Isabel an annuity of £20 per year 'in lieu...and full satisfaction of her dower or thirds', which again suggests that her dower had been substantial. In 1754 Thomas I inherited his father's real estate, while his brother John received £65, plus the writing-off of a debt of £45 which he owed his father 'for arrears of rents'.<sup>11</sup> Thomas II, an only son, inherited the estate from Thomas I, but with two substantial legacies; Thomas I left £400 to his daughter Mary Bolland and £120 to his grand-daughter Bella Bolland at the age of twenty-three.<sup>12</sup> The family was rising in social status, for while Richard Geldart's will described him as a 'yeoman', Thomas I's referred to him as a 'gentleman'. These social distinctions were carefully maintained in the eighteenth-century Carlton documents, and the change is significant.

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<sup>8</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1, Box 34.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., RD/AP1, 126/66.

<sup>10</sup> J.Hatcher, *Richmondshire Architecture* (Richmond, 1990), p.45.

<sup>11</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1, 137/79.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., RD/AP1, 152/5.

Thomas II and his wife Elizabeth had four sons: John (bapt. 1770), Thomas III (1772), Richard (1773) and James (1784).<sup>13</sup> Thomas II made his will in January 1786, when his youngest son James was only fifteen months old.<sup>14</sup> He had already added to the lands he had inherited from his father, for the will refers to 'the Ridding' which he had purchased from Hammond Metcalfe. He had decided that his lands were sufficiently extensive to provide a comfortable living for his two eldest sons, and he divided the lands between them. He owned four houses, one of which he left to his wife Elizabeth and after her to his son Thomas, two to his son John, and his own dwelling-house to Thomas. One of John's two houses was a new one, and the other was 'the old Hall now in several tenements'. The list of lands left to John and Thomas was extensive. In the division of the lands John's share was larger than Thomas's, but Thomas II divided his share in the 'manor or royalties of Carlton' equally between them.<sup>15</sup> The two younger sons were also well provided for with bequests of £400 each, and their mother was to have an annuity of £20 p.a.

Thomas II died in June 1790 at the age of fifty-three. He had named his friends Henry Constantine and Anthony Buckle as trustees and joint executors, but his will was not proved until June 1792, by John Geldart who by then had come of age. Thomas II's plans for his lands did not work out as he intended, for Thomas III died in October 1795, aged twenty-three. The will had specified what should happen if either John or Thomas died before reaching the age of twenty-one, and it looks as if this plan was followed even though Thomas had come of age, all the lands going to John. If their father's will was followed, there would be an extra £250 each for Richard and James. In 1796 John paid the highest amount of Land Tax in the township,<sup>16</sup> but the legacies and annuity may have overburdened the estate. John's land sales around the time of the Carlton enclosure will be considered in a later section. Subsequent events brought the family lands to the other two brothers in turn, but the most extensive landowning phase of this, the most prosperous branch of the Geldarts in Carlton, had ended before John Geldart's death in 1810.

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<sup>13</sup> Dates of baptism in this paragraph and the next are from the Coverham parish register, available in draft transcript at NYCRO. Dates of death are from the family gravestone in Coverham churchyard.

<sup>14</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1, Box 156.

<sup>15</sup> John's share amounted to around 38 acres plus twelve cattlegates in Carlton Pasture; Thomas's share was just over 26 acres, with eight cattlegates in Carlton Pasture. Some acreages are given in the will, and the remainder have been taken from the 1805 map and the Tithe Award.

<sup>16</sup> NYCRO, QDE(L), MIC 205.



The history of another family, which became one of the leading families in Carlton, also illustrates the possibility for small owners to extend their lands. The progress of the Constantine family can be charted through a series of informative wills spanning more than a century.<sup>17</sup> The Coverdale branch of the family seems to have moved into Carlton Highdale from Wharfedale in the seventeenth century, and maintained contact with their relatives in Wharfedale. Robert Constantine of Gammersgill made his will in February 1707/8, and left his lands to his young son John. Robert's goods were valued at £309 10s., which included £150 in debts owing to him and £50 in 'desperate debts' (i.e. unlikely to be repaid). John Constantine died while he was still a young man, and the main beneficiary of his will, made in November 1724, was theoretically his uncle Henry, who inherited the lands. In 1708 Henry lived in Gammersgill, but by 1724 he had moved to Carlton. He is the first of a series of Henry Constantines in Carlton, and as with the Thomas Geldarts it seems best to distinguish them by numbers. His wife Jane was one of the Constantines of Hebden in Wharfedale. John Constantine left his lands to his mother Emma for her life, and after that they were to go to Henry – but they were charged with payments for charitable purposes totalling £25 15s. yearly.<sup>18</sup> John Constantine is one of the benefactors remembered in a nineteenth-century verse on the wall of Horsehouse school. His thoughtfulness even included a payment of 10s. yearly for a treat for his trustees when they met to consider the affairs of the trust. In fact Henry Constantine I never received any benefit from the Gammersgill lands, for his sister-in-law Emma outlived him.

When Henry Constantine I died in 1734 he left to his only son John, when he became of age, the reversion of the Gammersgill properties currently in the possession of Emma Constantine, 'subject...to the several payments thereupon charged'. It seems, however, that Henry was prospering on his own account, for he left substantial legacies to all four of his children: £600 to John when he came of age, 'with interest for £400', £50 to his married daughter Isabel, 'to be added to what I have formerly given her', and £200 each to his daughters Alice and Jennet when they came of age. He left an annuity of £10 yearly for his wife Jane, to be paid

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<sup>17</sup> WYAS, Leeds, wills of Robert Constantine, RD/AP1, Box 28; John Constantine, RD/AP1/117/43; Henry Constantine, RD/AP1/126/120; Jane Constantine, RD/AP1/136/97; John Constantine, RD/AP1/146/17; Edith Constantine, RD/AP1, Box 55; Henry Constantine, RD/AP1/173/10; Ruth Constantine, RD/AP1/201/27.

<sup>18</sup> See Section 5 below for discussion of John Constantine's bequest for Horsehouse chapel.

by John. The will mentions debts owing to Henry. Two Constantines of Hebden are named as supervisors.<sup>19</sup>

Emma Constantine was 'of East Witton' when she died in February 1748/9, and was buried at Coverham. Presumably John then inherited the Gammersgill properties, together with the yearly charges which had to be paid from them; but he seems to have disposed of his interest in Gammersgill, for he is not named as a proprietor there in 1759 in the first surviving Land Tax return. He appears in the return for Carlton Town, paying the comparatively modest sum of 8s.0½d. (Table 15). Two of his brothers-in-law, Jonathan Ryder of Fleensop and William Ripley of Walden, had both moved to Gammersgill before 1749, so possibly the lands had been transferred within the family.<sup>20</sup> Jonathan Ryder was one of the highest payers of Land Tax in the Highdale in 1759, paying £3 4s.7d. William Ripley is not listed, so if he was still at Gammersgill he must have been a tenant or a very small owner.

Over time the monetary payments made in accordance with John Constantine's will out of the Gammersgill properties would be slowly reduced in value in real terms by inflation, and the value of the lands themselves would increase, so it would have been beneficial for John Constantine of Carlton to keep them if he could. He seems, however, to have been successful in acquiring properties in another direction, for when he died in 1771 he left to his only son, Henry Constantine II, all his 'messuages, lands and tenements situate at Carlton and at Middleham' – a reminder that, though this study is concerned with landownership in Carlton, owners resident in Carlton might have other property elsewhere. He left £500 to his only surviving daughter Pally, and a further £100 on the death of her mother Edith.<sup>21</sup>

The Carlton Land Tax return of 1781 is the first to list occupiers as well as owners, and it shows Henry Constantine as an owner-occupier, paying very little more Land Tax than his father had paid, at the same rate, in 1759. Henry was an assessor for the tax in Carlton Town in 1781. By 1796 his share of the tax had risen

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<sup>19</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1/126/120.

<sup>20</sup> Their addresses are both given as Gammersgill in the will of Jane Constantine, *ibid.*, RD/AP1/136/97. Jane made her will in February 1748/9, and died in June 1754.

<sup>21</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1/146/17. His daughter is named as Mally in the will, but she was christened Pally in 1757, and is called Pally in the will of her mother Edith. Another daughter, Mary, was born in 1748 and died in 1755. She is called 'Mally' in the burial register.



to £1 1s.7d. Still an owner-occupier, he appears in Table 16 as one of the ‘top payers’ in Carlton who paid over £1.

The Land Tax returns form a useful but controversial source for historians. In the past they have been used for large-scale studies, for which they are unsuitable because of local variations; and attempts to use them as a basis for calculating acreages have sometimes failed to appreciate that land values depended on quality as well as size. It is now generally accepted that they must be used with caution, in conjunction with other sources, and recognising the ossified nature of the quota system for townships and the consequent unreality of the valuations. However, the information about landowners from the Land Tax returns is too important to be ignored. Michael Turner, in summarising the corpus of work on this tax, stated: ‘As a census of owners and occupiers the Land Tax seems to have had its greatest recent successes’.<sup>22</sup> This is the greatest usefulness of the Land Tax records for Carlton, which show very clearly the changes in the composition of the body of landowners in the township between the first surviving Land Tax return, for 1759, and the last one, for 1831 (Tables 15 and 17). The comparison of the ‘top payers’ over the period, in Table 16, underlines the principal change, the appearance of gentry families from outside Coverdale as landowners in Carlton.

In 1759 the highest payer of Land Tax in Carlton was John Atkinson, a younger son of Robert Atkinson of Coverham and grandson of George Wray of Coverham. The latter by Coverdale standards was a very wealthy man when he died in 1726, leaving personal estate valued at £1732.<sup>23</sup> John Atkinson married Jane, the heiress of Edward Watson of Hindlethwaite, in March 1758. The couple lived in Carlton and are described deferentially in the parish register as ‘Capt. and his Lady’ – but when the Captain died suddenly in November 1761, aged only thirty-one, he was in financial trouble. He left no will, and a bond of administration was taken out by Christopher Watson of Carlton, gentleman, and John Yarker of Middleham, gentleman, ‘Principal Creditors and Administrators’.<sup>24</sup> They were accompanied at the archdeaconry registry by the Rev. Christopher Lonsdale, the curate of Coverham, who joined in signing the bond. This was an unusual step, for though he

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<sup>22</sup> M.Turner, ‘The Land Tax, Land, and Property: Old Debates and New Horizons’, in Land and Property: The English Land Tax 1692-1832, ed. M.Turner and D.Mills (Gloucester, 1986), p.19.

<sup>23</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1/125/69.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, RD/AP1/141/4.

often witnessed wills Mr.Lonsdale did not normally take part in the legal proceedings at Richmond. His presence seems to reflect concern in the parish about the Captain's affairs.

The link with the Coverham Abbey estate, which dated back to the Foxgill/Wray transaction of 1674/5, continued in the person of John Atkinson's brother, Wray Atkinson, nearly twenty years his senior. He was the highest Land Tax payer in Carlton in 1769. When he died in 1777 he left Coverham Abbey House and estates to Edward Lister of Hunslet, who seems to have been a relative.<sup>25</sup> Edward and Jane Lister moved to Coverham Abbey, so the estates retained an owner who was resident in Coverdale. In 1781 he was the highest payer of Land Tax in Carlton, where his payment of £4 12s.5d. for an estate with seven tenants was the highest in the whole series of returns right through to 1831. An estate map of his lands in Carlton was produced in 1779, together with a list of fields and acreages.<sup>26</sup> By far the greater part of the land was situated in the western part of the township, in several blocks of fields, separated from each other by other people's land. There was also a house near the top of the village, described as 'Parson's House & Garth' – the future Victorian vicarage.

In the 1780s Edward Lister's Carlton estate was put up for sale, and was divided between several different purchasers. The largest part, amounting to 73 acres, 1 rood, 33 perches, together with twenty-two 'twinter gates' in the West Pasture, was bought by William Chaytor of Spennithorne for £87 19s.6d. Mr.Thomas Bulmer of Middleham bought a more compact section, 44 acres, 3 roods, 28 perches, all in the area west of Townhead. This was a good buy, and formed the nucleus of a prosperous nineteenth-century farm which was handed down through Mr.Bulmer's daughter Jenny to the Tophams. Thomas Geldart bought 'Spout Close', behind his house, and 'Castleyside', next to his fields at West Ridding, and also useful as part of an access route to the enclosed fields below the West Pasture. The 'Parson's House' was sold to Thomas Watson.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> M.Moverley, 'The Population of Coverdale 1700–1900', M.A.thesis, University of Leeds, 1998, p.116 and notes 50 and 56, p.135.

<sup>26</sup> NYCRO, ZQH 6/9 (map) and ZQH 4/8/3 (estate book).

<sup>27</sup> All these purchases are written into the 1779 estate book. ZQH is the Chaytor archive.



In William Chaytor of Spennithorne (1733-1819) Carlton had a new landowner who was buying land not just for the financial returns but in order to build up a sphere of influence for himself. He was the heir of a long-established gentry family, the Chaytors of Croft on Tees, but lived for most of his life at Spennithorne, where he inherited property from his mother. He was a barrister, and at the same time a very active country gentleman, taking a leading part in the administration of the North Riding; he was a magistrate, chairman of Quarter Sessions, Recorder of Richmond. He had financial interests in lead mining in Swaledale.<sup>28</sup> In pursuit of his ambition to build up a landed estate in Wensleydale and Coverdale he acquired extensive but scattered properties at West Witton, Wanlass and Thoresby, Agglethorpe, Melmerby, East Scrafton, West Scrafton and in the Highdale. The property he bought at Carlton was therefore only one part of a larger design. In an age when the exercise of patronage was of high importance, William Chaytor aimed to establish himself as the leading proprietor and in consequence the source of patronage for lesser people in the area. This explains why the property he bought at Carlton from Edward Lister was a mixed portfolio which would surely not have been selected if he had been acting on purely financial grounds. The impression created by an examination of the Lister map and estate book is that Chaytor was willing to buy whatever was available. As just one example, his purchase included 'West Braes', an enclosed piece of pasture of just over 5 acres near the river in the eastern part of the township, surrounded on all sides by other people's land and far away from the other lands he had bought. He continued with the same policy, adding other properties in Carlton to his estate, as can be seen by comparing the 1779 documents with a map of 1805 from the Topham archive.<sup>29</sup> His new acquisitions included land on both sides of the road from Gammersgill as it reached the top of Carlton village. The Land Tax returns reflect his purchases. In 1796, when John Geldart was the highest payer, William Chaytor was the second highest, with three tenants and an assessment of £2 11s.7d. By 1807 he had nine tenants, and was the highest payer in Carlton. His assessment was £3 14s.7½d., of which £1 3s.5d. was 'exonerated', meaning that a lump sum payment had been made in order to be exempt from future payments.

William Chaytor was not the only member of a gentry family from Wensleydale to develop an interest in Carlton. Michael Errington was one of a gentry family at Ulshaw Grange near Danby Hall, and was well provided for by his

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<sup>28</sup> Ed. M.Y.Ashcroft, Papers of Sir William Chaytor (1771-1847), NYCRO Publication No.50 (Northallerton, 1993), p.vii.

<sup>29</sup> NYCRO, ZIF 1559.

father Thomas, who divided the bulk of his personal estate between his two sons.<sup>30</sup> In 1768 Michael married Isabel Watson of Carlton. He acquired land in the Highdale, where he appears in the Land Tax records in 1769 as 'Mr.Etherington' and in later returns with his name spelt correctly as Errington. In 1796 his assessment was £2 19s.8d. as an owner in the Highdale, and he also appears in Carlton, as a tenant of John and Thomas Watson. The assessment was 2s.5d., which sounds like a payment for a substantial dwelling-house with some land attached. When Michael Errington died in 1801 he was 'of Carlton'. His successor Thomas Errington lived at Clints Hall, north of Marske in Swaledale, and all the Carlton documents refer to him as 'Esq.' (i.e. on a par with William Chaytor). In 1807 he was assessed for Land Tax in the Highdale, but shortly after that he must have bought land in Carlton, for he received an allotment in the Enclosure Award. Surprisingly, he was chosen as Trustee for the inhabitants of the township for the property they held in common.<sup>31</sup>

A third member of the gentry from the same area of Wensleydale to acquire land in Carlton was the Rev.Christopher Wyvill of Constable Burton. He inherited his estate in 1774, through the failure of senior branches of the family to produce heirs, and was an unusual character to find as a North Yorkshire country gentleman, being a strong supporter of parliamentary reform.<sup>32</sup> His policy in running his estate, however, was not so unusual, as he increased his lands by buying up suitable farms, mainly in Spennithorne and Finghall. He extended his interest to Coverdale, and acquired land in both Carlton and the Highdale. In 1796 he was assessed for Land Tax at 11.0½d. in Carlton and £1 19s.7¼d. in the Highdale. His land is shown on the 1805 map, and he received allotments from the West Pasture and the Moor in the Carlton enclosure.

A surprising feature of the list of Carlton landowners at this time is the number of land-holdings where the profits went to the poor of other parishes or their clergy. The oldest of the charities owned the land called 'Tenters', beside the track leading up to Waterforth and the quarry. This was owned by 'Masham Poor' under a deed of 1731, and the profits were used to provide the necessitous poor in Masham with

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<sup>30</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1/137/39. Thomas Errington's will was proved in February, 1757, and the bond (still usually for twice the amount of the goods) was for £2000.

<sup>31</sup> See Section 3 below.

<sup>32</sup> NYCRO Guide, The Wyvill of Constable Burton Family Archive, off-printed from the NYCRO Annual Report, 1967. See also J.R.Dinwiddy, Christopher Wyvill and Reform 1790-1820 (York, 1971).



clothes, bedding, fuel, food, and aid in sickness, and to apprentice the children of poor families resident in Masham.<sup>33</sup> Before 1759 a second charity, known as William Atkinson's charity, provided for the poor of West Witton. Their land, 'Pickles Gill' and 'Acres', was west of the present road to West Scrafton.<sup>34</sup> By 1807 a third and larger charity owned a belt of land stretching across the hillside above the village, consisting of 'West Hall Ings', 'East Hall Ings' and 'Lobley Garth', an area of just over thirteen acres. The beneficiaries remain something of a mystery. In the Enclosure Award they are 'Marston Poor', in the Tithe Award 'Marsden Poor', and both names appear in the Land Tax returns. Three possible locations are Marston near York, Marsden near Huddersfield, and Marsden (which afterwards became better known as Nelson) near Colne. The third is possibly the most likely, as the cotton industry was developing in this area of east Lancashire, together with a tradition of attracting Dales migrants.<sup>35</sup> No land in Carlton was donated in a similar way for the poor of Coverham parish.

The clergy listed as Carlton proprietors are more problematic. Although benefactors may have donated or bequeathed land to support them, some of the wealthier clergy had the means to purchase land privately. There are three clergy from other parishes listed on the Carlton Land Tax return for 1807: Rev. Dr. Dodsworth (Rector of Spennithorne, listed in Carlton Land Tax returns from 1781 onwards), Rev. Jeffrey Wood (West Witton), and Rev. John Bourne, the highest payer of the three, assessed at 9s.9d.<sup>36</sup> Of the three, the curate of West Witton was the least likely to have private land, while the wording of the Enclosure Award suggests that Dr. Dodsworth's land belonged to Spennithorne Church and not to him personally. Comparison of the Land Tax returns with the 1805 map, the Enclosure Award and the Tithe Award suggests that Mr. Bourne's land was the same as that sometimes attributed to Rev. Christopher Wyvill, and may have been connected with the Rev. Christopher's plans for his family. In 1845 Edward Wyvill, son of the Rev. Christopher, held this land and also the Spennithorne Church land. He was Rector of both Spennithorne and Finghall.<sup>37</sup> The land in Carlton held by the outside clergy

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<sup>33</sup> VCH:NR, ed. W. Page (1914), I, 331.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, I, 290.

<sup>35</sup> G. Lawton, Collectio Rerum Ecclesiasticarum (1840), I, 68-69, gives a list of charities in Marston in the Ainsty, with no mention of land in Carlton. He had no return for Marsden near Huddersfield. The land owned by all three charities has been located from the Carlton Tithe Award. They all continued to own the land through into the twentieth century.

<sup>36</sup> This may be an erroneous entry for Rev. Nicholas Bourne, the Rector of Finghall.

<sup>37</sup> For Rev. Edward Wyville see J. and J.B. Burke, A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland, II (1846), 1661.

and the charities was not poor unwanted land, but good land and conveniently situated. As we shall see, it gave some Carlton families the opportunity to build up long-lasting relationships as tenants, particularly with the three charities.

Although Carlton's Land Tax quota remained virtually unchanged throughout the period 1759 to 1831 (it rarely varied by more than a ha'penny either way from £23 11s.10d.) it will be evident from the examples discussed above that individual payments altered from year to year, as land was bought and sold, exchanged or bequeathed. This is exactly the same process as Donald Ginter found in the townships of Gilling East wapentake.<sup>38</sup> He found that 'minor revaluations...were virtually incessant throughout the wapentake, but more especially in those townships where the land was held by large numbers of proprietors, and the land market was commensurately more active'.

The Carlton Land Tax returns included some very small payments for what must have been small cottages with little or no land. After 1798 such properties were theoretically exempt, but there was pressure to include them in the returns for other reasons. As Ginter points out, 'there is little doubt that throughout the country a large proportion of parishes and townships employed a common valuation in assessing the Land Tax and such local rates as the poor and constable's rate'. This would also explain why the redeemed tax entries continued to be recorded in Carlton (Table 16).

Where it is possible to compare the Land Tax returns with other records (the 1769 return with the 1767 manorial court list; the 1807 return with the allotments in the Enclosure Award; the 1831 return with the 1841 census and the Tithe Award), there are always names missing from the Land Tax. This again is a finding similar to those from more intensive studies of the tax, such as John Broad's study of three Buckinghamshire parishes, where the Land Tax returns could be compared with contemporary Enclosure Awards and also with a large listing of potential recruits for the militia, the Posse Comitatus. He found that in all three villages the number of names from the Posse was considerable larger than those from the Land Tax or the Enclosure Awards. It is important to keep in mind that the landowning segment of village society, while ranging down to very small owners, existed with what Broad

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<sup>38</sup> D.Ginter, 'The Incidence of Revaluation', in Land and Property: The English Land Tax 1692-1832, ed.M.Turner and D.Mills (Gloucester, 1986), pp.180-88, especially pp.182-84.



calls a 'large underbody of tradesmen, craftsmen, and labourers.'<sup>39</sup> That group was probably smaller in Carlton, with its preponderance of small family-run farms – a theme to be considered further in the next chapter when much more evidence is available from the censuses.

Table 18 shows the distribution of the Carlton Land Tax payments, divided into four bands. Because the numbers are small, real numbers have been given rather than percentages. This exercise brings out the number of small owners in Carlton, always over one-half and sometimes almost two-thirds of the total. It is worth noting that changes could be due to family circumstances rather than wider trends. For example, in 1796 Anthony Buckle paid £1 16s.6d., while Thomas Buckle paid 13s.0d. Each of them farmed the other's lands! In 1807 the executors of A. and T.Buckle, holding both sets of lands in trust for a next generation Anthony Buckle, paid £2 8s.6d., thus moving into the top band. It must also be noted that some small owners in Carlton owned land in other townships. The picture is more complicated than superficial appearances suggest.

The same is true of Table 19, which deals with owner-occupiers, a group which has fascinated historians over many years, with particular attention being paid to the effects of enclosure on their fortunes. John Broad pointed out that the heading covers a wide variety of people.<sup>40</sup> This applies to Carlton, where the group at its highest numbered fifteen in 1807. In that year John Geldart was the second highest payer, and was one of the very few who were direct line successors of the seventeenth-century tenants who bought their lands from the City. At the other end of the scale, six owner-occupiers were among the lowest payers, assessed at 6d. or 1s.0d. Several owner-occupiers were also tenants, for instance William Walls, who paid 1s.0d. for his house (the inn which is now the 'Foresters' Arms'), and also farmed the Masham Poor land. The Walls family continued to be tenants of this land for over a century. In addition William Walls was one of two tenants of the land of Mr.Wood, the curate of West Witton. Conversely, an owner-occupier might also be a landlord. John Geldart had one tenant, as did Henry Constantine, while Thomas Tennant was an owner-occupier who farmed some of his own land, also had two tenants, and at the same time was a tenant himself, farming the land of West Witton Poor. The owner-occupiers cannot be treated as a homogeneous group.

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<sup>39</sup> J.Broad, 'The Land Tax and the Study of Village Communities', in Land and Property, op.cit., p.70.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p.69.

In 1807 Carlton was on the threshold of parliamentary enclosure; but before turning to the detail of the enclosure it is necessary to consider farming in the township in the eighteenth century, the changes which occurred, and the pace of change.

### **3.2 The Farming Economy**

What kind of agriculture was being practised in eighteenth-century Carlton? There is strong evidence of continuity with the previous methods of farming in the records of the Carlton manorial court. They are much more plentiful for the eighteenth than for any other century, and show the court meeting regularly, and its members endeavouring, just as in previous centuries, to enforce rules for the common good.<sup>41</sup> There are three surviving sets of byelaws, all from the 1720s. The last court record in the collection dates from 1767, and it is not known if the court continued to meet after that date. In the neighbouring townships of Melmerby and West Witton manorial courts met in the nineteenth century, but in these places the Chaytors were lords of the manor and took it as a matter of course that they should exercise their rights, whereas the Carlton court records begin by listing several leading landowners, followed by 'and others Lords of the said Manor'.<sup>42</sup>

By the eighteenth century there were separate meetings of the manorial court for Carlton township and the Highdale, held at Carlton and Horsehouse respectively. It became the custom at Carlton for two of the freeholders to serve as 'Bylawmen' for a year, and then as representative 'Lords of the Manor' the following year. In 1737 John Geldart and Giles Miller were 'sworn Bylawmen and to have an Old Beast Gate for their trouble, and to be Lords next year'. This seems to indicate that the 'stint', the number of animals allowed per beastgate, was altered from time to time. The byelaws do not state what the stint was, and there is no suggestion that it was a cause of controversy.

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<sup>41</sup> York Minster Library, Hailstone Collection, Box 4.16. The series runs from 1722 to 1767, but some years are missing, and many of the records are lists of attenders rather than verdicts.

<sup>42</sup> Papers of Sir William Chaytor, ed. Ashcroft, pp.240 (Melmerby and West Witton, 1838) and 308 (Melmerby, 1845).



On the whole the courts were well-attended, and apologies ('essoins') were usually given by or for those who failed to attend. There were occasional fines for those who ignored this requirement. In 1722 four people were fined 3d. each for not appearing at the court 'to do suit and service', and another nine were fined 6d. for the same offence. No explanation is given for the different amounts; possibly the nine were repeat offenders. In 1742 four people (John Constantine, Francis Todd, James Pennyman and Thomas Longstaff) were fined 1s.0d. each for not appearing, while in 1767 Thomas Lofthouse was fined 3s.4d. for refusing to serve as a juryman. In that year the lords named in the preamble to the court record were Christopher Watson, Thomas Geldart, John Geldart, Hammond Metcalf, Anthony Buckle, Joshua Geldart, William Storey, Wray Atkinson 'and others'. Joshua Geldart and Jonathan Bland were the 'Bylawmen', and Hammond Metcalf and Anthony Buckle were 'Lords for this Year'.

The Carlton byelaws, listed in Appendix 3, are typical of upland townships. All of them have parallels in the examples presented by Angus Winchester in The Harvest of the Hills. They set out the priorities for Carlton farmers in their communal use of the West Pasture and the moor: secure walls and gates for the Pasture and its preservation in good condition, the prevention of breeding from poor quality animals, preservation of ling, the restriction of peat-cutting to an approved area, and protection of the best source of water in the village.<sup>43</sup> Ling was used for thatch and fuel, and for making besoms.<sup>44</sup> In 1742 John Constantine and Henry Topham were fined 10s.0d. each for taking ling from Carlton common to Gammersgill. Peat was the principal fuel used in the Dales, and 'turf houses' for storing it are mentioned in a number of Carlton wills.<sup>45</sup> A distinction can be made between peat and turf, but both were included in the right of turbary, and in the Dales 'cutting turves' seems to have been used to include digging peat as well as cutting turves from the surface of the moor. The Carlton byelaw about 'cutting turves' undoubtedly refers to the Peat Moor. The 1722 version of the byelaws includes one forbidding putting geese on the common between May Day and

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<sup>43</sup> The well to the east of the waterfall below Waterforth is the present-day source of Carlton's water supply.

<sup>44</sup> Winchester, Harvest of the Hills, p. 136; M.Hartley and J.Ingilby, Life and Tradition in the Yorkshire Dales (Clapham, 1981), pp.165-168 and illustrations 228-231, old photographs of ling-thatched buildings.

<sup>45</sup> Winchester, Harvest of the Hills, pp.126-133; Hartley and Ingilby, Life and Tradition in the Yorkshire Dales, pp.102-104, 121, and illustrations 106-111, showing the traditional methods of peat-cutting still being used in remote parts of the Dales in the twentieth century.

Michaelmas, but this was omitted in 1726 and 1727. It was, however, a restriction not uncommon elsewhere, because geese were voracious feeders and their droppings spoiled pasture for other livestock.<sup>46</sup> Two of the Carlton jurymen, Henry Metcalfe and Francis Buckle, refused to sign the byelaws in 1726. The reason for their opposition is not given. These two were not members of the jury when the byelaws were re-stated in 1727.

There is an interesting comparison between the Carlton byelaws and those for Melmerby, set down at a court held in November 1783, soon after William Chaytor had become lord of the manor.<sup>47</sup> The Melmerby farmers naturally shared the Carlton concerns about 'scabbed' or 'riggald' animals, which would be a danger to other people's stock. They wished to preserve the ling right up to the township boundary, including the top of Penhill. Different matters were also of importance in Melmerby township. Four of the eleven Melmerby byelaws aimed to ensure that gates were hung in the lanes, and another regulated certain watercourses, which were to be made half a yard wide and one foot deep. A penalty of 5s.0d. was decreed for anyone who turned beast, sheep or horse into the lanes or common fields 'between Old Ladyday and ten days after Old Michaelmas'. By contrast there is no reference to common fields in the Carlton byelaws, made sixty years earlier.

Common field had not, however, completely disappeared in Carlton, for some remnants of the West Field were still in existence towards the end of the eighteenth century. An area marked 'Common Field' and divided into strips is shown on the map of Mr. Lister's estate in Carlton (1779).<sup>48</sup> By the time the pre-enclosure map was made in 1805, these strips all belonged to Thomas Tennant.<sup>49</sup> There were five of them, similar in shape but not identical in size, varying from 1 acre, 20 perches to 2 roods, 6 perches. This area stretched across the present-day junction of the lane from West Scrafton with the road from Gammersgill, to the south of Carlton village. In 1805 the route from West Scrafton over Nathwaite Bridge continued only part way up the hill and then joined the old track from Gammersgill, which ran across Carlton Flatts, emerging at Quaker Lane. To the west of Thomas Tennant's land on the 1805 map a field belonging to William Chaytor looks like a double strip, and next to that was a single strip which was Geldart land. By 1845 the road from

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<sup>46</sup> Winchester, *Harvest of the Hills*, pp.104-5.

<sup>47</sup> NYCRO, ZQH 4/8/53. microfilm 3069, frames 2495-98.

<sup>48</sup> NYCRO, ZQH 6/9.

<sup>49</sup> NYCRO, ZIF 1559.



Scrafton ran through on its present line, and the land on either side belonged to Christopher Tennant. He also owned the former Chaytor and Geldart strips, which were incorporated in the field west of the road. Both fields were named 'Carlton Field' in the Tithe Award.<sup>50</sup> The area provides a good example of a long, slow process of enclosure by agreement. It may well have been the last area in Carlton's former common fields where this informal process took place; but it is impossible to say with absolute certainty, because the maps do not cover the whole of the former East Field. All the other common fields named in the 1605 survey were fully divided into enclosures before the process of parliamentary enclosure began for the West Pasture and the moor.

Evidence from inventories, available for the first half of the century, also suggests continuity with the farming of the seventeenth century.<sup>51</sup> The eighteenth-century inventories continued to include 'husbandry gear', usually of low value or not valued separately at all. In almost all cases cattle took pride of place, and were of greater value than sheep. There was one exception, Henry Lambert, whose goods were appraised in February 1729/30. He owned sixty 'Scotch' sheep, valued at £8 10s., while his two cows and a heifer were worth £7.<sup>52</sup> The largest flock of sheep in the eighteenth-century series of inventories belonged to Francis Lucas or Lucas, whose inventory, made in February 1705/06, lists 180 sheep, valued at £30. His fifty-seven cattle were valued at £76 10s., and he had his own bull, a rarity when most farmers shared in the township's 'common bull', kept in the 'Bull Park'. Francis Lucas also had six horses, and his stores consisted of hay worth £20, corn worth £15 10s. and wool worth £14 10s.<sup>53</sup>

There is a great contrast between this well-to-do farmer and some of his neighbours. Anthony Buckle's inventory, made in February 1700/01, lists one cow, one heifer and one calf, worth £3 6s. between them, a Galloway pony, a 'cart and wheels and some other husbandry gear', worth 10s., and hay worth 10s.<sup>54</sup> This is one of a number of inventories which have cattle but no sheep. There are some examples of dual occupations, small farming being combined with a craft. The Battie family at Highfield combined tailoring with farming. George Lofthouse, a

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<sup>50</sup> NYCRO, T/Carlton in Coverdale.

<sup>51</sup> The number of probate inventories from Carlton dries up in the 1750s.

<sup>52</sup> Leeds Archives, RD/AP1 120/112.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, RD/AP1 Box 58.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, RD/AP1 Box 20.

weaver, in 1742 left a cow, a Galloway, some husbandry gear, and his loom and gears, along with his household goods, to his young wife Faith.<sup>55</sup>

The 'Scotch' sheep owned by Henry Lambert had probably not come from Scotland. R.T.Fieldhouse explains in his article on agriculture in Wensleydale that the Pennine sheep which were the ancestors of the present-day ubiquitous Swaledales were often referred to as 'scotch sheep', to distinguish them from the other main breed found in the Dales, the 'mugs', which were ancestors of the Teeswater and Wensleydale breeds.<sup>56</sup>

Henry Lambert's sheep may not have come from Scotland, but it is very likely that some of the cattle in Carlton had come from north of the Border. In K.J.Bonser's classic study of the droving trade, the road through Coverdale is shown as a route used by drovers.<sup>57</sup> It was not one of the major routes to compare with the Hambleton Drove Road or the Galloway Gate above Garsdale and upper Dentdale, but it was a useful road for drovers travelling between markets. The fair established at Middleham by Richard III on the feast of Saints Simon and Jude and the three days following became very large and influential as the droving trade increased in volume through the eighteenth century. The fair was held on Middleham Low Moor, an unenclosed expanse of grassland where great numbers of livestock could be accommodated, without pens, the drovers making their sales and then moving on.<sup>58</sup> From Middleham the road through Coverdale gave them several choices as they travelled on to other markets. From Kettlewell they could go on to Skipton, or to Malham via Kilnsey and Mastiles Lane, or could continue further along Wharfedale making for Wetherby and the Great North Road. The slow-moving herds of cattle must have been a familiar sight in Coverdale. The trade encouraged Dales farmers to follow the practice of buying young Scottish black cattle at the autumn fairs, in order to fatten them over the winter months and sell them the following spring.<sup>59</sup> The Carlton farmers were well placed to take part in this trade. Inn-keepers and blacksmiths may also have benefited. The cattle were shod for their long journey, and often needed reshoeing before they reached their destination.

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., RD/AP1 133/113.

<sup>56</sup> R.T.Fieldhouse, 'Agriculture in Wensleydale from 1600 to the present day', *NH*, XVI (1980), 185.

<sup>57</sup> K.J.Bonser, *The Drovers* (1970), pp.162-63.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p.142.

<sup>59</sup> G.N.Wright, *Roads and Trackways of the Yorkshire Dales* (Ashbourne, 1985), p.156.



In the late 1760s Arthur Young visited the northern Dales in the course of his travels in the north of England looking for examples of agricultural improvement. He described what he found in the second volume of A Six Months Tour through the North of England. The point of view of an enthusiastic ‘improver’ is summed up in his verdict on a journey across Stainmore from Bowes to Brough:

It is a country that calls for industry to inclose: Fertile fields loaded with corn, and giving food to numerous herds of cattle, ought to be the prospect in this tract, not whins, fern, ling and other trumpery! Shame to the possessors!

Likewise on his journey over the dreadful road from Brough to Askrigg:

It is extremely melancholy to view such tracts of land that are indisputably capable of yielding many beneficial crops, remaining totally waste.<sup>60</sup>

Opinions like these from a very influential writer encouraged the movement towards enclosure of commons and waste land. Thirty years later Carlton’s Act of Parliament was part of this movement.

In his journeys in the Dales Arthur Young found two ‘improvers’ after his own heart, Mr.Elliot of Fremington and Mr.Scroope at Danby. Mr.Elliot’s ‘surprising improvement of moors’ was not near his home in Swaledale, but at Greenfield in upper Wharfedale. Mr.Scroope’s improvement of moorland was on property he owned at Dalton, north of Richmond. Together with his experiments in the cultivation of cabbages and other vegetables at Danby, this work merited a whole chapter in Young’s book. Simon Scroope was a true scientific improver, and his experiments, all carefully documented, were greatly admired by Young, who described him as ‘one of the most accurate cultivators I have any where had the satisfaction of meeting with’.<sup>61</sup>

From Danby Arthur Young passed through Middleham, admired the view over Wensleydale from the edge of Middleham moor, and decided to ascend ‘Mount Penhill’, where he found the general prospect ‘more bounded, and less striking, than the height of the hill led me to expect’. At the summit of Penhill he was above Coverdale, but he seems to have concentrated his attention on Wensleydale, apart from noting the ‘vast range of black mountains’ with a ‘horrible aspect’ to the south. He descended to Aysgarth Falls, ‘beautifully picturesque’, and investigated the state

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<sup>60</sup> A.Young, A Six Months Tour through the North of England (1771), Vol.II, 186-7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 344.

of husbandry about Aysgarth.<sup>62</sup> He learned that enclosed grassland would let at an average of about 20s. an acre, and farm rents varied from as low as £5 to £100 a year, but in general were about £20 or £30. Grassland was used for both dairying and fattening, and one acre would feed a cow through the summer or four sheep. 'They all manure their grasses'. Cows were kept indoors in winter and fed on hay alone, 'of which two acres per cow'. Flocks of sheep varied from thirty to 400.

Arthur Young's general description of farming around Aysgarth is in accord with the picture built up from the Carlton inventories; but when he gives an account of individual farms there is less agreement. He gives details for four farms, of 160 acres, 100 acres, 75 acres and 35 acres. The largest had 55 acres of arable land, and all four had large flocks of sheep, even the smallest having 100 sheep and only three cows and six young cattle. Cattle farming was hit by a severe cattle plague in the mid-eighteenth century, when North Yorkshire's fairs and markets were closed for a time, movements of stock were forbidden and bridges were watched.<sup>63</sup> In the second half of the century there was an increase nationally in numbers of sheep.<sup>64</sup> However, taking both these factors into account, it seems unlikely that the Carlton farmers had altered the balance of their stock-keeping towards sheep to the extent that Arthur Young records on the farms in Wensleydale. He makes no mention of differing numbers of 'gates' attached to the farms, which suggests they were not typical upper Wensleydale farms. As G.E.Mingay has pointed out, Young was interested in finding out what the leading farmers of a district were doing, and was looking for successful innovations, rather than describing the general system of any district.<sup>65</sup>

The final section of Young's account of the farming around Aysgarth deals with agricultural wages and the prices of implements and provisions. It seems wise to treat this hotch-potch of information with a great deal of caution, for two reasons. In the first place, Young collected his material from local informants, in this case anonymous, and his method was in no sense a scientific survey. Secondly, both wages and prices varied from place to place and from year to year, and prices

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 421-27.

<sup>63</sup> Bonser, *The Drovers*, pp.96-97.

<sup>64</sup> H.C.Prince, 'The Changing Rural Landscape, 1750-1850' in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* Vol.VI, ed. G.E.Mingay (1989), p.43.

<sup>65</sup> *Arthur Young and his Times*, ed.G.E.Mingay (1975), p.16.



fluctuated from season to season within the year.<sup>66</sup> Young was criticised by contemporaries, and by later writers, because he did not always state his sources, and his description of the country around Aysgarth is a case in point.

It was left for John Tuke, in his report to the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement, General View of the Agriculture of the North Riding of Yorkshire, to produce a more comprehensive account of farming throughout the Riding, including the Dales, which he called 'the Western Moorlands'.<sup>67</sup> His first edition, published in 1794, was expanded in the second edition, published in 1800, which included many extracts from correspondence received as a result of the first edition, and further comments by Tuke himself.

Tuke was at pains to make clear that variations between farms should be judged by the rentals and not by the number of acres: 'for where, in the same farm ... a man occupies land, both of the best and the worst quality, the number of acres form not a proper scale by which to judge'. His descriptions bring out the contrast between the fertile Vale of Mowbray, which he called 'the northern part of the Vale of York', where 'the rental of farms is usually from £100 to £300 per annum ... and some as high as £600', and the Eastern and Western Moorlands, where 'the farms are small, very few above £100 per annum, but generally from £5 to £40 per annum'.

He also brings out the contrast between the improvers and the traditional farmers:

In those parts of the North Riding which are best cultivated, the farmers form a very respectable class of society; they are liberal in their sentiments with respect to their profession; they do not think, that the science of agriculture has arrived at its ultimate perfection; they are desirous of making improvements, and are ready to adopt any in which there is a reasonable probability of success; exceptions, however, are not wanting in the more remote and sequestered parts of the Riding, of those who holding different sentiments, and influenced by different habits, are content to jog on in the way of their forefathers.

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<sup>66</sup> There are numerous examples of these fluctuations in R.P.Hastings, Essays in North Riding History 1780–1850 (Northallerton, 1981), chapter IV, pp.54-74, passim.

<sup>67</sup> J.Tuke, General View of the Agriculture of the North Riding of Yorkshire, (2nd. edition, 1800), passim.

He was of the opinion that ‘in those families which have succeeded from generation to generation in the same farm, the strongest attachment to old customs prevails’.<sup>68</sup>

He had a poor opinion of the farmhouses in the Western Moorlands:

Little can be said in praise of the arrangements either of the farm-houses or offices throughout this district; the old ones appear as if built without plan or contrivance, patched together at various times, as the circumstances of the occupier might happen to require.

He conceded that more recent houses were more commodious and compact, ‘and the plans are daily improving’. He appreciated the usefulness of the Dales hay-barns:

The western dales are remarkable for their hay-barns, which are situated in the centre of every third or fourth field: those barns have always a cow-house at one end and frequently at both, where their cattle are wintered: by this arrangement, the hay and manure are not carried any great distance; an important circumstance in these hilly countries. The barn is of particular use during the time of making hay, in a country where the weather is very uncertain, and attended with sudden, frequent, and violent showers.<sup>69</sup>

Tuke admired the Dales method of hay-making, and devoted several pages to an account of it, provided by his friend William Fothergill of Carr End in Raydale for the first edition of the General View, and repeated in the second edition. Fothergill stressed the importance of hay for the Dales farmer: ‘In the dales where the above method of hay-making is practised there is scarce an acre in tillage. Hay is the grand object of the farmer, and he bestows upon it the most sedulous attention’. Tuke praised the attention given to ‘getting the crop dry, with as little loss of the virtues of the grass as may be’.<sup>70</sup>

Marie Hartley and Joan Ingilby, in Life and Tradition in the Yorkshire Dales (first published in 1968) say that the processes of hay-making described by Fothergill – strewing, turning, making foot-cocks and windrowing – continued to be followed until the gradual introduction of hay-time machinery drawn by horses in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century; and, they say, ‘In some cases

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., pp.47-48.

<sup>69</sup> Tuke, General View, pp.34-35.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., pp.173-76.



they are still practised'. Fothergill said the strewing and turning should be done by hand. He disapproved of the use of forks, which he described as 'the miserable invention of indolence'. Later generations used rakes, which are in use in the action photographs in Life and Tradition, and have survived in many collections of farming memorabilia.<sup>71</sup>

Unlike Young, Tuke recorded that important feature of Dales upland farming, the cow-pasture. He wrote that in all the Dales 'the inclosed lands are chiefly appropriated to meadow; the lower and better parts of the Moors are mostly stunted pastures, on which the cattle are kept in summer'. Dairy cows, he said, were always given the best pastures, and were usually brought indoors about Martinmas.<sup>72</sup> He confined himself to description of the Dales cattle, without open criticism:

The cattle of the western Moorlands are small: in the lower parts of the dales, they are generally of the short horned kind; but in the higher situations, near the Moors, and on the borders of the West Riding and Westmoreland, the long horned breed prevails; and in consequence of there being two breeds in the neighbourhood, it is natural that there should be a considerable number of a mongrel, or mixed breed, between the two; this mixture (in the opinion of many there) produces the best breed. They are rather heavier than the true long horned, and graze more kindly than the short horned; and weigh, when fat, from 30 to 40 stones.<sup>73</sup>

In other parts of the Riding he recorded cattle, bred by 'spirited improvers' of their stock, weighing 90 stones and upwards.

He described several different breeds of sheep in the western Moorlands, but found 'the principal part of the sheep' there to be 'Short Scots (so called in opposition to a larger breed of Scotch sheep, which are called Long Scots), which are bought about Midsummer, and are usually sold off again in the wane of that summer, or the summer following'. Fleeces of sheep bred on both eastern and western Moorlands averaged from 3 to 4 lbs. in weight, much less than the fleeces of an improved breed in the northern part of the Vale of York and in Cleveland. He

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<sup>71</sup> Hartley and Ingilby, Life and Tradition, pp.122-29, and plates 118-23.

<sup>72</sup> Tuke, General View, pp.101-02 and 257.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, p.247.

concluded that the sheep stock of the Moorlands was 'in great need of improvement'.<sup>74</sup>

He was more complimentary about the horses:

Horses constitute a considerable part of the stock of the high parts of the western Moorlands; the farmers there generally keep a few Scotch galloways, which they put to stallions of the country, and produce an hardy and very strong race in proportion to their size, which are chiefly sold into the manufacturing part of the West Riding and Lancashire, to be employed in ordinary purposes.<sup>75</sup>

As he was writing about agriculture he did not include any information about the breeding and training of race-horses, which in the late eighteenth century was already an industry in the Middleham area, stretching into Coverdale.

Tuke's careful descriptions provide an excellent general picture of farming in the western Moorlands, which is nowhere at variance with the Carlton sources. In fact Carlton emerges as a very typical Dales village. As we have already seen, the absence of viable lead mines meant that it was not altogether typical, but this was not an aspect stressed by Tuke. He mentioned lead mining and coal mining only very briefly, devoting more space to types of stone, and in this section he drew attention to a type of stone slate found in Coverdale:

The stone out of which it is riven, lies on a level with the water at the foot of the hill, on the western side of the dale, and is supposed to extend far under it in a stratum not more than three feet thick; this affords a tolerably good, but heavy covering, as far as the expence of land carriage will admit of the use of it.<sup>76</sup>

He added that a similar slate was also found 'in Pen-hill'.

The remains of the quarrying industry by the river Cover can be seen today on the West Scafton side (i.e. the east side) of the river, where there are tunnel entrances through which the flagstone, used for roofing, was brought out. The quarries were not of the usual type; instead the stone was 'mined' underground, as at the better-known Burtsett quarries near Hawes. The stone slates can be seen on

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., pp. 260-63, 350-51.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p.274.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p.20.



roofs throughout the district, including most of the houses in Carlton, and many field barns.<sup>77</sup>

Tuke's description of agriculture in the Dales at the end of the eighteenth century gives the necessary background for consideration of the major development in Carlton's history in the early nineteenth century, the enclosure of the West Pasture and the Moor. With this in mind, two further topics from his account have special relevance, firstly his enthusiasm for potato-growing, and secondly his warning about misuse of the common grazing grounds.

He devoted considerable space to a detailed description of the work required to grow a good crop of potatoes. Extremely hard work was involved (not that Tuke saw it that way), with repeated ploughing, harrowing and weeding, not to mention the back-breaking task of harvesting the potatoes, this last a job for women and children. He noted that potatoes were already 'much grown in the dales and margins of the Moorlands, both for feeding cattle and pigs, and for family use; considerable quantities are also sold into the lower parts of the country for sets'. He recommended the growing of potatoes as a preparation for other crops: 'A well managed crop of potatoes ... prepares the soil better for a succeeding crop of corn than any summer fallow or any present mode of cultivation of any other crop'. He was aware that not everyone shared his enthusiasm, and in the second edition included some correspondence from those who disagreed. These opponents thought potatoes exhausted the soil, but Tuke was unshaken in his own view. The importance of this discussion is that potatoes, already grown by Dales farmers, would be an obvious potential crop for land released for cultivation by enclosure.<sup>78</sup>

Tuke pointed out that stinted pastures were only stinted in the summer half-year; for the rest of the year they were open, like the commons, to those who had rights, with no restrictions on the numbers of stock, a system which was open to abuse.

The pasturage of these moors and pastures, while they are common, is in general monopolized by a few individuals, some of whom occupy but small farms,

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<sup>77</sup> The West Scafton Millenium book, written by the villagers, West Scraeftun (West Scafton, 2000), has an account of the quarry remains with a drawing and a photograph, pp.288-89, and a photograph taken inside the workings, p.326. See also D.Hall, Burtersett Quarries (Hawes, 1985).

<sup>78</sup> Tuke, General View, pp.149-155.

consequently their right upon the wastes ought to be in proportion to them. These people, about Midsummer, go to the fairs in the north, where they buy large flocks of Scotch wethers, to turn upon the commons, which they so effectually eat up, that regular breeding stocks of the country cannot be maintained to advantage, and therefore have greatly declined.

In his second edition he printed a long communication, from W.Sadler, giving details of a case at York Assizes in 1795 from Thornton Rust in Wensleydale.<sup>79</sup> A local farmer of about 150 acres had complained of a 'surcharger', who had stocked Thornton Rust common with upwards of 120 sheep, between forty and fifty lambs, and two mares and foals, though his farm there was only about 5 acres. The court found against the surcharger, 'without hesitation'. Sadler thought this decision would be a precedent, helping to prevent overstocking. Nevertheless he went on to argue strongly in favour of land improvement, giving examples of methods used on land enclosed from former stinted pastures and commons.<sup>80</sup>

There is no evidence to suggest that large-scale overstocking had become a particular problem at Carlton, but the discussion in Tuke's General View indicates that the risk had become widely recognised and provided yet another argument in favour of enclosure, which would put a stop to this kind of damage being done by one individual. This debate implies that the manorial court (where it was still meeting) was not thought to be powerful enough to deal with the problem.

Young, Marshall and Tuke were all strong supporters of enclosure, believing that it would lead to agricultural improvement. Poor harvests and very high food prices in the period of wars with France gave momentum to the enclosure movement. By the time of Tuke's second edition in 1800 the flow of Acts for Parliamentary enclosure was about to become a flood. Between 1800 and 1814 enclosure Acts were passed at the rate of over 95 a year.<sup>81</sup> Carlton's Act, which came in 1808, was a part of this surge of legislation for enclosure.

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<sup>79</sup> This correspondent was probably William Sadler, land agent to Lord Bolton. Tuke was employed as a surveyor by Lord Bolton in 1797. M.Hartley and J.Ingilby, 'A Farm Account Book from Wensleydale', Miscellany 1992, NYCRO publication no.52, (Northallerton 1992) pp.25-28.

<sup>80</sup> Tuke, General View, pp.198-201.

<sup>81</sup> G.E.Mingay, Parliamentary Enclosure in England (Harlow, 1997), p.22.



### 3.3 The Enclosure of Carlton West Pasture and Carlton Moor

Carlton was by no means the first township in the district to have an Enclosure Act. In 1779 a private Act was passed for the enclosure of 321 acres of stinted pasture at West Witton and over 1000 acres of moor. An area of 121 acres was left unenclosed because of the bareness of the moor. An Act of 1804 dealt with 850 acres of West Burton pasture and 1140 acres of moor. West Burton Moor had a long boundary with Carlton Moor along the watershed between Bishopdale and Coverdale. At West Scafton the traditional method was followed, and the West Pasture was divided by agreement in 1776.<sup>82</sup>

The supporters of the enclosure movement, like Young and Tuke, argued the need for a General Enclosure Act, in order to simplify the procedure, set out standard clauses for Bills, and make the whole process cheaper, benefiting in particular the smaller owners, who sometimes sold their land because they could not afford the expenses of enclosure.

A General Enclosure Act was passed in 1801, but it is described by G.E.Mingay as ‘a dismal half-measure’, which ‘did little to reduce the expense ... Separate private Acts were still required for each enclosure, though they were somewhat simplified and perhaps a little quicker to obtain’.<sup>83</sup> The Carlton Act repeatedly refers to this Act of 1801 as its guiding piece of legislation.

We may wonder why, in a township like Carlton where piecemeal enclosure had been going on for centuries, an Act of Parliament should have been considered necessary at this stage. Mingay suggests three reasons why initiators of enclosure turned to the private Act procedure. The first was greater legal certainty: ‘the reallocation of land among owners under an Act of Parliament was highly unlikely to be challenged once the work of the Commissioners was completed and their Award sealed and delivered’. Secondly, other objectives might be achieved under an enclosure Act in addition to the division of land, ‘particularly commutation of tithes and improvement of roads’. Thirdly, ‘opposition to an enclosure, unless it affected more than about a quarter or a fifth, by value, of the land involved, could be over-

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<sup>82</sup> See NYCRO Guide No.4, Enclosure Awards and Maps.

<sup>83</sup> Mingay, Parliamentary Enclosure, p.29.

ridden by the proprietors who owned the great bulk of the land in the parish'.<sup>84</sup> Consideration of the detail of the Carlton Act and Award will indicate whether all, or any, of these factors influenced the decision to carry out the enclosure of the West Pasture and the Moor by Act of Parliament.

The Carlton Enclosure Act (48 George III, c.27) dealt with 'a certain ancient stinted Pasture called Carlton West Pasture... and a Tract of Common Waste or unenclosed Ground called Carlton Moor or Common and Waste Ground'.<sup>85</sup> The Pasture contained by estimation 300 acres or thereabouts, while the Moor and waste ground was estimated at 2000 acres or thereabouts. The Act names seven persons who 'are or claim to be Lords and Owners of the ...Manor, so far as the township of Carlton extends: William Chaytor, Esq., John Geldart, Anthony Buckle, Geldart Metcalfe, George Wright, Thomas Tennant and Thomas Errington, Esq. They, together with Henry Constantine, John Hammond Junior 'and divers other Persons', are stated to be the owners of cattlegates in the West Pasture between 5 April and 10 October each year, and to have right of common there for the rest of the year, and on the Moor and waste ground at all times of the year. The intention is said to be division of the West Pasture into separate allotments, and conversion of the Moor into a stinted pasture. 'The said Owners and Proprietors are desirous that the said stinted Pasture should be divided and allotted, and the said Moor, Common and Waste Grounds should be inclosed or converted into a common stinted Pasture...' This is not what actually happened when the Act was put into effect. The reason given for requesting an Act is extremely general: 'such Division and Inclosure would be very advantageous to all Persons interested therein, and tend to the Improvement of their respective Estates'.

Alexander Calvert of Richmond, Land Surveyor, was named as sole Commissioner for the enclosure, and he was also the surveyor. Francis Sadler of Cotescue Park was named as the Auditor for Calvert's accounts. Calvert acted as Commissioner in other Dales enclosures, including West Burton's, and he had previously worked in Carlton, producing the map of 1805 mentioned earlier. It is clear there must have been discussions and negotiations among the leading proprietors in preparation for the application to Parliament, but the records are silent about their content. Calvert held his first meeting in Carlton as Commissioner on 5 July 1808 at the inn kept by Thomas Tennant. His final Award, a very lengthy

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., pp.21-22.

<sup>85</sup> NYCRO, MIC 1482, frames 355-68.



document, is dated 31 August 1815.<sup>86</sup> His full survey had altered the figures for the acreage of the West Pasture to 313 acres, 3 roods and 29 perches, and for the Moor and waste lands to 1800 acres, 1 rood and 10 perches. All this land was allocated in 'allotments', with the exception of certain areas reserved for the communal use of the township. The Act provided that any proprietor could write requesting the Commissioner to make them a distinct allotment on the Moor instead of cattlegates – and all of them did so. Therefore the Moor, as well as the Pasture, was divided into allotments, even in the remotest areas. The Carlton enclosure was more thoroughgoing than the Act would have led one to expect.

Although the Award was not completed until 1815, there is some evidence of the work that went on in the intervening years. In a court case in 1872 two documents were produced, setting out allotments to Jonathan Peacock and Francis Pickard, printed forms dated 16 August 1809 and 8 September 1810 respectively.<sup>87</sup> Neither of these was the final version as published in August 1815. In the case of Jonathan Peacock there had been a change in ownership of one of the neighbouring allotments by 1815, while in the case of Francis Pickard's allotment up the Burton road the Commissioner had altered his description of its orientation (not an easy matter to decide in some cases). There is also evidence that walls were being built on the Moor before the publication of the final Award. In August 1813 William Chaytor of Spennithorne wrote to his friend John Harvey that he had never known moor game so scarce on the Coverdale moors. 'I suspect many of them have been killed by the workmen employed in building new Walls upon Carlton Moor', in consequence of its division amongst the different proprietors. Because the game was so scarce the Chaytors did not take up their quarters at Agglethorpe, as was their usual practice, and William Chaytor had not tried a shot.<sup>88</sup>

Alexander Calvert started his work by ascertaining the boundaries between Carlton and the townships of Fleensop, West Burton, West Witton and Melmerby, all of which adjoined Carlton Moor, examining witnesses on oath. His breathless description (one enormous sentence with no commas) records the old boundary stones: the stone marked with a cross in Elm Gill; a stone on Height of Hazely, at the meeting point of Carlton, West Burton and West Witton; a little lower down, 'Lord Litchfield's Stone', at the meeting point of Carlton, West Witton and

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., PC/CTT, MIC 319 and MIC 1506.

<sup>87</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2419, frames 166 and 167.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., MIC 2377, frames 40-41.

Melmerby above Ramsgill Head; and the boundary stones separating Carlton and Melmerby between Ringing Hole (where the boundary leaves Ramsgill) and the head of Cat Gill. Along the watershed Calvert's task was easy, as the boundary was clearly marked by 'the new Wall and Fence, lately made'. The new wall must have been a result of the West Burton enclosure; it still exists for most of the length, but it has perished on the stretch towards Height of Hazely.

The Commissioner's next task was to set out the roads over the lands to be enclosed, and prepare a map of them. The main road through Coverdale was outside Calvert's area of operations, apart from the allocation of a few small parcels of waste land. Twelve roads are described in detail in the Award, with titles which put them into different categories. Three were entitled 'Public Carriage Road and Highway', one 'Carriage and Occupation Road and a private Bridle Road', five 'Carriage and Occupation Road', two 'Private Carriage and Occupation Road', and one 'Foot Road or Path'.

The three public roads connected Carlton with West Witton, West Burton and Walden respectively. The Award says the West Witton and Walden roads are each at least in part 'nearly in a line of the present and ancient Road'. This wording does not occur in the description of the West Burton road, although Jefferys' map of Yorkshire, which predates the Carlton enclosure by more than thirty years, shows the road on its present route over the moor.<sup>89</sup> It takes the obvious line, utilising the dip in the ridge between Height of Hazely and Harland Hill, which is the lowest route possible from Carlton to West Burton without going round Pen Hill. Possibly the lower section of the road, where it leaves Carlton village, was straightened and the route altered to fit with the string of enclosure allotments on both sides of the road. The three public roads would have to be maintained by the township, whereas the remaining roads would have to be maintained privately and the Award gives instructions about responsibility for hanging the gates. The 'Carriage and Occupation Road and a private Bridle Road' gave access from the Walden road to the houses at Highfield and went on to Fleensop. 'Carriage and Occupation Roads' led to Hazely Peat Moor, by two different routes, and to Howden Limestone Quarry, also by two different routes. The quarry was situated in a field allotted to West Witton Church, about half-way up the West Burton road. The fifth 'Carriage and Occupation Road', which was called 'Cuma Know Gate Road', led from 'an ancient Gate in the south side of Carlton Pasture' through three allotments up to the

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<sup>89</sup> See Appendix 2, Map 3.



Walden road. 'Cumma Know Gate' itself is marked on the enclosure map at a point in the wall between Carlton West Pasture and the Moor. Cumma Know Gate Road was crossed by the Fleensop road (Fleensop being just to the west), and another track from the bottom gate (the 'ancient Gate') also came from the direction of Fleensop. The two 'Private Carriage and Occupation' roads were provided for a different purpose again, giving access to land otherwise cut off (one new allotment and one old enclosure). Finally, the one footpath in the Award, 'Dowland Well Foot Road', gave access from the west end of Carlton village to the well, which was just inside one of the new enclosures from the Pasture. The owners of two allotments which the footpath traversed were ordered to make 'a good safe and easy stile' in the east fence of their respective allotments.

All the roads except the footpath were ordered to be made 33 feet wide, which is less than the standard width of 40 feet usual in enclosure Acts at this time.<sup>90</sup> The roads constructed or improved as a result of enclosure Acts have often been seen as one of the great benefits of enclosure, and landscape historians from Hoskins on have commented on the contribution of the roads to the post-enclosure landscape still visible today. So how have the Carlton enclosure roads lasted? Of the three public roads, the track to West Burton is the only one which is well used today, mainly by fell-walkers. The West Witton road appears on the current OS 1:25 000 map as a public footpath branching from the lane to Waterforth, but after crossing the first gill the old route is no longer clear on the ground. The Walden road starts off well, and as far as the approach to Highfield it is the only section of Calvert's roads to be surfaced, but it disappears altogether beyond the access to Mount Pleasant, a farm which is a nineteenth-century outpost on the moor. The Fleensop road remains as a public footpath, but access to Fleensop for vehicles is from Gammersgill. Part of the western peat road survives as a rough track over grouse moor, but it has disappeared beyond its junction with the West Burton road, while the eastern peat road, the main access to the Peat Moor from the village, has disappeared altogether. Elsewhere in the Dales peat roads have often survived. There is a good local example on Hazely Peat Moor, adjoining Carlton Peat Moor, in West Witton township, where a bridleway leads from the Melmerby to West Witton road into the heart of the moor. The roads to Howden Quarry have lasted no better than the roads to the Peat Moor. There are faint traces of the access road from the Burton road on the current OS map, but not as a public footpath, while the other access road has disappeared altogether. 'Barras's Accommodation Road' survives as

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<sup>90</sup> W.G.Hoskins, The Making of the English Landscape (1977 edition), p.202; Mingay, Parliamentary Enclosure, p.49.

the access road to East Farm. Lastly, there is no longer any access from the village to Doland Well.

Thus, only two of the enclosure Commissioner's roads serve to link Carlton with other communities today, but only as pedestrian routes, and two more provide farm access. The others have become redundant as facilities which were once important have fallen out of use, traffic has required better routes, and owners of grouse moor have discouraged access.

The Peat Moor, a triangular piece of moorland consisting of just over 119 acres in the north-west corner of the township, was the only part of Carlton Moor left unenclosed when Calvert's work was finished. The enclosure Award states the entitlement of owners and occupiers of properties within the township of Carlton 'as heretofore [to] get stones of any kind and Turves and Turbary' on any part of the Peat Moor for their own use, but for no other purpose. Today the Peat Moor belongs to the Parish Council and is leased out as rough grazing.

At Howden Limestone Quarry an acre of land in the allotment to West Witton Church was reserved for the purpose of building lime kilns as well as getting limestone. The Award specified that the land itself remained part of the West Witton allotment. The first edition of the 6-inch OS map (1856) shows a kiln and quarry, but the 1914 edition has only 'Old Limekiln'.

Two other communal facilities, the 'Bull Allotment' and 'Waterforth Watering Place and Common Quarry', were awarded to Thomas Errington, Esq., and his heirs as trustees for the township of Carlton. The 'Bull Allotment' (2 acres, 1 rood, 24 perches) was the first allotment from the Pasture along the Walden road. The Award instructed the trustees to rent out the land, for not more than three years at a time, and to pass the profits to the Carlton Surveyor, to be used for repair of the public highways. The allotment's name suggests a need for pasture for the township's common bull, but the instructions for leasing suggest this custom had lapsed. Today this land is still known as the 'Bull Park', and the Parish Council leases it yearly to the highest bidder.

At Waterforth an allotment of 6 acres contained the source of Melbeck and the quarry which was the largest in the township and the nearest to the village. Thomas



Errington was instructed to 'manage or let this Allotment to the best advantage', and to apply the proceeds to the purchase and maintenance of 'Gates and other Articles' for the Peat Moor and the quarry.

The choice of Thomas Errington is surprising, when William Chaytor was by far the largest owner of the manorial rights. Thomas Errington's father Michael, who died in 1801, had lived in Carlton, but by the time of his father's death Thomas lived at Clints Hall, north of Marske.<sup>91</sup> He may have been selected as trustee because he owned the Old Hall in Carlton, and a memory of its primacy as the medieval 'principal messuage' may have attached to the house; or he may have been thought more suitable on personal grounds.

By the time of the final Award the number of Lords of the Manor was reduced to six, not all of whom were among the original seven in the Act. Each received a special allotment to compensate them for the loss of some of their manorial rights. They retained their rights to mines and minerals and other rights and privileges. The following table sets out their manorial allotments and their shares of the manorial rent due to the Crown.

	<b>Manorial rent</b>	<b>£</b>	<b>s</b>	<b>d</b>	<b>Allotment</b>	<b>a.</b>	<b>r.</b>	<b>p.</b>
William Chaytor Esq.	13	18	2		89	0	0	
John Geldart	1	12	6		1	3	20	
Thomas Errington, Esq.	1	5	0		25	0	0	
John Hammond	1	5	0		1	3	21	
Alice Metcalfe		11	11		4	0	0	
Anthony Buckle		10	6		4	1	0	

At first sight the allocations to the Lords of the Manor seem strangely inconsistent, but John Tuke's warning that land value depended on quality rather than acreage is apposite here. The small allotments to John Geldart and John

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<sup>91</sup> Parish register, burials; WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1 160/97. Clints is in a secluded valley, but only five miles from Richmond. The Hall has been demolished, but judging from the surviving coach-house it must have been a fine house. Its situation was much admired by John Byng when he visited it in 1792. Hatcher, *Richmondshire Architecture*, pp.143-44.

Hammond were close to the village, adjoining their own old enclosed land.<sup>92</sup> The other four received land adjoining their allotments on the Moor. Both William Chaytor and Thomas Errington received tracts of bleak moorland below the boundary with West Burton. This helps to explain why Thomas Errington got 25 acres for a manorial rent of £1 5s.0d. while for the same share of the rent John Hammond got less than 2 acres.

Dividing the West Pasture between the owners of the cattlegates was more straightforward than the complicated task of dividing the Moor and waste lands. Calvert says in his final Award that there were no objections to any of his roads; but in dividing the Pasture and the Moor he examined witnesses on oath and determined 'rights or Claims and Objections'. The Award does not say what the objections were, but it would be surprising in such a process if some people did not feel they were receiving unfavourable treatment.

In addition to the Bull Allotment, which was a piece of the Pasture, Calvert made twenty-one allotments from the Pasture to sixteen individuals or institutions and two partnerships. Two individuals (William Chaytor and John Geldart) and one partnership (Christopher Topham and William Midgley) got two Pasture allotments; the others were all single allotments. The smallest went to West Witton Poor (1a.2r.8p.); the largest was one of William Chaytor's allotments (93a.), while John Geldart's two allotments totalled 42a.2r.24p. and Henry Constantine's single allotment was 35a.2r.16p. Chaytor's 93-acre allotment was almost at the far end of the Pasture, close to Cumma Know Gate Road, with one of Chaytor's four allotments on the Moor above it. The Witton Poor allotment was at the near end of the Pasture, and also adjoined their allotment on the Moor. There is a standard wording in the Award for almost all the owners of cattlegates on the Pasture, stating that the allotments are in respect of 'Cattlegates Common and other Rights and Interests in Carlton West Pasture'. There is different wording for William Chaytor, stating that his allotments are in respect of 'his Winter average Cattlegates Common and other Rights and Interests in Carlton West Pasture'. As there were rights for more stock to use the Pasture in winter than in summer, this sounds like an attempt by Chaytor or his lawyer to push his rights as far as possible.

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<sup>92</sup> John Geldart died in July 1810, and his brother Richard inherited the Geldart lands, but John's name appears throughout the final Enclosure Award.



From the Moor and waste lands Calvert made sixty-eight allotments to thirty-two individuals or institutions and two partnerships, plus the allotment of Waterforth for the township and the manorial allocations already described. The partnership of Christopher Topham and William Midgley received five Moor allotments.<sup>93</sup> Thomas Tennant also got five, but three of these were very small (6, 18 and 20 perches respectively), being small pieces of waste land, two in the village and the third ('heretofore an Incroachment') along the road to Gammersgill. William Chaytor, Thomas Errington and John Hammond each had four Moor allotments. The largest Moor allotment was Coulton and Winstanley's 324 acres, a tract of moorland in the far west of the township, below the boundary with Walden.<sup>94</sup> The standard wording in the Award stated that the allotments were in right of 'ancient Messuages Lands and Tenements' in the township of Carlton. Again there was special treatment for William Chaytor. One of his Moor allotments (165a.0r.9p.) was 'in lieu of and as a full Compensation or satisfaction for the Land tax to which he ... is intitled in respect of his ancient inclosed Lands and Tenements' in the township of Carlton. The rationale behind this decision is not clear; it may be related to Chaytor's exonerated Land Tax, but not all his Carlton lands were exonerated, and he was not the only proprietor in Carlton with exonerated lands. The 165-acre allotment stretched from the Walden road across the Burton road up to the Peat Moor.

Sixteen individuals or institutions and one partnership had only one Moor allotment each. In five cases they also had a Pasture allotment, leaving twelve who had only a single allotment in the Carlton enclosure. These varied in size from Christopher Topham's 141 acres<sup>95</sup> to Mary Walker's allotment of 1 rood from the waste by Carlton Street. Five of the recipients of a single allotment got less than 1 acre. All five paid either 1s. or 6d. Land Tax in the year before the enclosure began.

The Act of 1801 required Commissioners to pay due regard to the quantity, quality and situation of the land being allotted, and to have special concern for the convenience of the smallest owners. Alexander Calvert seems to have tackled a difficult task very capably, giving the smallest owners land nearest the village, in a group of small fields between the Walden and Burton roads. In the Award he says

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<sup>93</sup> Topham and Midgley were the sons-in-law of Thomas Bulmer – see p.157 above. They held the Carlton lands in right of their wives.

<sup>94</sup> Coulton and Winstanley also held the lands in right of their wives. They held land in the Highdale as well as in Carlton.

<sup>95</sup> Christopher Topham owned this land in his own right through a recent purchase from Thomas Tattersall.

that he attempted to put an owner's allotments together where possible, and this seems to have been the guiding principle in many of his allocations. For some people it worked very well: for example, Thomas Errington had a line of four allotments running from the bottom of the Pasture to the boundary wall with West Burton; Matthew Beck had three allotments running from his house at Highfield to the West Burton road. Most people who had allotments on the Pasture received adjoining allotments on the Moor. Such a convenient arrangement was not possible in every case. John Hammond's six allotments were in four locations: a Pasture allotment and adjoining Moor allotment below the West Burton road; two small pieces of land next to his old enclosures; a tract of moorland (71a.3r.13p.) below the Peat Moor; and a tiny piece of only 10 perches, which formed a kind of island in Carlton Street, with Melbeck behind, and by 1845 had been enlarged to 20 perches and made into a garden.<sup>96</sup> Matthew Duffield was another owner who received scattered allotments, all three of modest size: one was well up the West Burton road, another adjoined his old enclosed land on the Melmerby boundary, and the third was a Pasture allotment just beyond Highfield.<sup>97</sup>

It was not unusual for a Commissioner to allocate the smallest enclosures near a village centre, with larger allotments further out near the boundaries.<sup>98</sup> The topography of the township meant that in Carlton this arrangement would give the larger owners tracts of moorland. They must have wanted that type of land, otherwise they would surely have exerted pressure to make sure they received a more varied allocation. As the largest landowner, and the holder of by far the largest portion of the manorial rights, there can be no doubt that William Chaytor was a prime mover in the Carlton enclosure. He received in total just over 395 acres, with the largest block, just over 254 acres, stretching from the Walden Road across Howden Gill to the West Burton boundary and across to the Peat Moor. This land was easily accessed by the Burton road. Another block, amounting to over 117 acres, consisted of his land at the far end of the Pasture, with some moorland above. It could be accessed by the Walden road or the Fleensop road. In quantity the land Chaytor acquired through the enclosure was therefore plentiful, but in quality it was poor – so what was his motive in accepting it?

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<sup>96</sup> NYCRO, Carlton Tithe Award, No.69.

<sup>97</sup> His name is spelt 'Driffield' in the text of the Award, but 'Duffield' on the enclosure Map. Duffield seems more likely to be correct, as this name occurs again in Carlton records.

<sup>98</sup> Mingay, Parliamentary Enclosure, p.50, with an example from Barton-upon-Humber.



In his study, 'The impact of grouse shooting on the development of the cultural landscape of the Yorkshire Dales', A.B.Done says: 'Prior to the nineteenth century, the pursuit of grouse shooting was regarded as the preserve of an eccentric landed gentry, who had to be prepared to endure arduous journeys on poor quality tracks, with small groups of friends'.<sup>99</sup> Their guns were clumsy, heavy and inefficient. By the middle of the nineteenth century the sport had gained wider popularity, with aristocrats and royalty, merchants and manufacturers, as well as the landed gentry, as gun technology improved and the old muzzle-loaders were superseded, and shooting lodges and huts and lines of shooting butts began to appear on the moorlands. William Chaytor of Spennithorne was one of the older type of 'eccentric', zealous in the pursuit of moor-game. His correspondence with his fellow-sportsman John Harvey reveals true enthusiasts, for whom, at the height of the Napoleonic Wars, 'the Campaign' was the campaign against the grouse.<sup>100</sup> This explains Chaytor's apparent eagerness to secure large expanses of bleak moorland in the Carlton enclosure: he was acquiring private grouse moors. By the time of the first edition of the 6-inch OS map (1856) a shooting lodge, Howden Lodge, had been built at the top of Howden Gill, close to the Burton road. There was also a shooting hut at the junction of Thomas Errington's Pasture and Moor Allotments, and another in the middle of the large Coulton and Winstanley allotment below the Walden boundary.

It was a general experience that the land market was stimulated by enclosure, and the Carlton Award records three recent sales: John Dawson's Moor allotment was in right of property recently bought from John Geldart; Christopher Topham's Moor allotment of 141 acres was in right of property bought from Thomas Tattersall; and Woodcock Winstanley had bought Thomas Tattersall's cattlegates, and so acquired a Pasture allotment adjoining the land he held jointly with John Coulton.

How many of those who received allotments were residents of Carlton township? It is not possible to give an answer which is absolutely precise, but a 'best guess', based on other Carlton records, is fifteen 'definites' and four 'probables', giving a top estimate of nineteen out of the thirty-six recipients as Carlton residents.

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<sup>99</sup> A.B.Done, 'The impact of grouse shooting on the development of the cultural landscape of the Yorkshire Dales', unpublished MA dissertation, University of Leeds, College of Ripon and York, 1999.

<sup>100</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2377, especially frames 38-41.

In 1804, replying to a questionnaire from the Bishop of Chester, the assistant curate said there were forty-three households in Carlton.<sup>101</sup> Thus less than half the households received allotments in the Carlton enclosure. The others lived in houses which did not count as 'ancient messuages' and so did not have rights of common attached to them. One notable absentee is the schoolmaster, William Watson, who was well-to-do, but most of the others would be the poorer inhabitants living in cottages without land.

G.E.Mingay's suggested reasons for the use of a private Act can now be reassessed in relation to the Carlton enclosure. By obtaining the Act and Award the Carlton proprietors obtained the greater legal certainty which an Act of Parliament conferred. There was no attempt at Carlton to include a commutation of tithes in the enclosure procedure. The Commissioner's road improvements were only of minor significance, and made no lasting changes to the landscape. If there was opposition in the community to the enclosure in general, rather than objections by individuals to specific proposals, it was not strong enough to leave any record. Thus, most of Mingay's suggested reasons did not apply to the Carlton enclosure. However, he has also stressed that 'greater flexibility of land use ... was ... the underlying basic objective of all enclosures'.<sup>102</sup> The Carlton enclosure achieved this objective, giving control to landowners who no longer needed to observe manorial bye-laws or to fear 'surchargers'. That did not necessarily mean they would pursue agricultural improvement as advocated by Arthur Young and John Tuke. The use they made of their land after enclosure will be considered further in the next chapter.

### **3.4 Population and Standard of Living**

Between the Hearth Tax returns of 1670-73 and the first national census in 1801 Carlton's population increase was comparatively small, from the estimated 200 in 1670 to 236 (105 male and 131 female) in 1801.<sup>103</sup> For the intervening years no sources allow even an approximate estimate of the township's population at any given time. The Coverham parish registers begin in 1708, but in the early years the information recorded was scanty, and there was a further period of poor record-keeping in the 1760s and early 1770s, when locations were often omitted, and even

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<sup>101</sup> CRO, Microfilm 44/10, no.138.

<sup>102</sup> Mingay, Parliamentary Enclosure, p.44.

<sup>103</sup> For the Hearth Tax see p.98 above; for the census, Parliamentary Papers 1801-2 (9) VI.I, Enumeration Abstract.



sometimes the names of parents. The bishop's transcripts supply some of the missing details, but there are still gaps, and it seems certain there was under-registration. However, the registers can be used to provide indicators of general trends.

Marion Moverley studied three parishes, Coverham, Middleham and East Witton, in her dissertation, 'The Population of Coverdale 1700–1900', and produced charts, for each half-century, of the baptisms, marriages and burials in each parish. In Coverham parish from 1700 to 1749 there were fifteen years in which burials exceeded baptisms, and in one year the numbers were equal. From 1750 to 1799 there were only two years when burials exceeded baptisms, and again in one year they were equal. Baptisms and burials both had peaks and troughs, but there was no year in which burials approached the numbers seen in 1699 to 1700.<sup>104</sup>

The modest increase in Carlton's population between 1670 and 1801, an increase of just over one-sixth based on the estimate for 1670, is out of line with the national trend. The second half of the eighteenth century is generally agreed to have been a period of substantial growth in the English population, the result primarily of increased fertility rather than reduced mortality, though the expectation of life was slowly improving.<sup>105</sup> The figures for the excess of births over deaths in Coverham parish would lead one to expect an increase in Carlton's population nearer to the national trend. The most reasonable explanation is that population increase was being held back by outward migration. There is scattered evidence in the wills and other documents to support this theory. The wills occasionally name beneficiaries living outside Coverdale, such as Edward Wilkinson's nephews in Leeds, or Joseph Geldart's son John, described as a 'tobacconist' in Woodhall.<sup>106</sup> A later example comes from the deeds of Seaton House, which in 1783 was left by its first recorded owner, James Smith, to his wife Elizabeth and her son Francis Pickard.<sup>107</sup> By 1806, when the house was sold to Thomas Metcalfe, Elizabeth had moved to Darlington

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<sup>104</sup> M.Moverley, thesis, pp.215 and 216.

<sup>105</sup> R.Schofield, 'British Population change, 1700–1871', in R.Floud and D.McCloskey (eds.) *The Economic History of Britain since 1700*, 2nd. edition (Cambridge, 1994), I, 63–71. Schofield, using the technique of 'back projection', gives figures of 4,930,385 for the population of England in 1681, 5,057,790 in 1701, 5,772,415 in 1751, and 8,664,490 in 1801.

<sup>106</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1 135/63/1 (Edward Wilkinson, 1742); RD/AP1 132/144 (Joseph Geldart, 1741). It is not clear which Woodhall John Geldart had moved to.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, RD/AP1 153/130.

with her third husband, Joshua Lobley.<sup>108</sup> Carlton would not be exceptional in losing a natural increase in population through outward migration in the eighteenth century, as Wensleydale was also experiencing losses.<sup>109</sup>

Migration was not all one way. In November 1745 a surname 'foreign' to the Dales appears in the Coverham parish register, when David Donaldson, then of Gammersgill, married Mary Tomlin of Carlton. Their three children were all born in Carlton, and by the late 1760s Donaldson had become a small-scale landowner, paying 3s.9d. in the 1769 Land Tax return. He was a churchwarden in 1762-63, and a juror at the manorial court in 1767. By 1781 he was no longer an owner, but remained in Carlton as a tenant of Edward Lister and Thomas Geldart.

Carlton remained the largest settlement in the parish throughout the eighteenth century, but a comparison of the number of houses in the 1670s with the number in 1801 shows that there had been no expansion. The 1801 census recorded forty-five inhabited houses and one uninhabited, as against the forty-six recorded in 1670 and forty-one in 1673. As the homes of the very poorest inhabitants were not included in the Hearth Tax records there may even have been a slight decline. Some of the other settlements in the parish had definitely shrunk. Melmerby now had only twenty houses, one of them uninhabited, as against thirty-four in 1670, and the Highdale had only sixty-four houses, plus two uninhabited, against eighty-one in 1670. West Scrafton's total remained the same, with twenty-two inhabited houses and three uninhabited in 1801.

The 1801 census contained a question about the number of families occupying the houses. The return for Carlton stated that fifty-seven families were occupying the forty-five inhabited houses. This seems to indicate a substantial amount of overcrowding, but it must be treated with a certain amount of caution. No definition of a 'family' was given to guide enumerators, and in practice they would find it was not always a simple matter to determine. However, as the population had increased by over one-sixth since 1670, it is clear that more people were living in the same number of houses or less.

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<sup>108</sup> Deeds of Seaton House, in the author's possession.

<sup>109</sup> C.Hallas, Rural Responses to Industrialization (Bern, 1999), pp.268-69, footnote 12, with reference to an unpublished undergraduate dissertation by P.J.Asquith, 'Population Change in Selected Parishes in Swaledale and Wensleydale in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', Oxford University, c.1978.



The answers of the assistant curate, the Rev. James Law, to the questionnaire from his bishop in 1804 and again in 1811, differ in some respects from the census figures. By 1804 Law lived in Carlton himself, and he put the number of houses at forty-three in both 1804 and 1811. For the Highdale Law returned figures of fifty-three in 1804 and sixty-three in 1811. For Melmerby his figures were sixteen and nineteen, and for West Scafton twenty-one and twenty-four.<sup>110</sup> The 1811 census return combined the figures for Carlton and the Highdale, so Law's figures are the only ones available for that year. A possible explanation for the discrepancies may lie in the nature of some Coverdale houses and their out-buildings, which made it possible to take some buildings into and out of use as dwelling-houses as circumstances required. It may have been no easier to define a 'house' than it was to define a 'family'.

In 1804 the bishop's questionnaire also asked about 'Families of Note' in the parish, and Law in reply singled out the families of Mr.Lister, Mr.Sadler and Mr.Mangle. All these lived at the Coverham end of the parish – Mr.Lister at Coverham Abbey, Mr.Sadler at Cotescue and Mr.Mangle, a horse trainer, at Brecongill. Evidently the more substantial families in Carlton (the Geldarts and the Watsons being possible candidates) did not qualify as 'Families of Note'.

The parish registers make painful reading because of the number of deaths of children and young people. There are few clues to the causes of death, except in the case of accidents, as when Thomas Harrison of Melmerby died aged twenty-six, 'lost in the snow' in February 1805. Sometimes the records seem to point to minor epidemics of infectious diseases, as when David and Mary Donaldson buried their two small daughters within days of each other in July 1755. Deaths in the parish had been climbing through the early 1750s, and reached a peak in 1755, before falling again.<sup>111</sup> In the 1790s child deaths occurred in the family of the doctor, Christopher Watson. The assistant curate James Law and his wife Ann had a large family, but several died as children or teenagers. They lost daughters aged nineteen and eighteen in 1804 and 1808.

The fear of early death occurs again and again in the wills, with testators making elaborate alternative arrangements in case the intended beneficiaries did not

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<sup>110</sup> CRO, Microfilms 44/10 (1804), 44/16 (1811).

<sup>111</sup> M.Moverley, thesis, p.216.

live long enough to receive their inheritance. The will of Hammond Metcalfe, made in 1788, provides an example.<sup>112</sup> The testator was anxious to provide for his daughters Betty and Alice and his grand-daughter Betty Atkinson, all three being under age. The intended legacy was £70 each, but he left detailed instructions in case any or all of the three should die before reaching the age of twenty-one. A Metcalfe sole survivor would receive more than Betty Atkinson.

Hammond Metcalfe was a Lord of the Manor in 1767, when he was one of the two 'Lords for this year'. He can therefore be counted as one of Carlton's leading yeomen. The possessions which he left to his wife Elizabeth form an interesting collection: all the household furniture which had belonged to her before their marriage, together with a bed and bedding, iron oven, tea kettle, tea china, silver tea spoons, frying pan, tin can and washing tub, and the use of his clock for life – but she would lose the clock if she married again. After Elizabeth's death or marriage his daughter Betty would inherit the clock. He left his silver watch to his grandson Hammond Geldart Metcalfe.

The will of Thomas Geldart II, made in 1786, also contains a list of items left to his wife, including details of some furniture: the use of one bedstead, bed and bedding, half a dozen chairs, a chest of drawers, two dining tables, a tea table, half a dozen silver tea spoons, a pair of tea tongs, tea cups and saucers, tea pots, a silver tankard and a brass pan, with such other furniture as his trustees considered necessary, until his son Thomas was twenty-one and as long as she did not remarry. Although the will is so detailed, it does not spell out exactly what would happen to the household treasures after Thomas reached his majority.<sup>113</sup>

Christopher Watson, 'Surgeon', left a gold watch, his gun, two pistols and a 'prospect glass' to his son William, and a second gold watch to his youngest son Thomas. He left to 'my dear Mrs. Margaret Watson otherwise Margaret Calvert' a long list of high quality household goods: a clock, a chest of drawers, a dressing-table, four chairs and an arm-chair, a mahogany tea table, an oak dining table, a little tea stand, two beds and bedding, an iron oven, a baking stone, a fry pan, a tea kettle and a tea tray, eleven of his best knives and forks, half a dozen silver tea spoons, a pair of silver tea tongs, a dozen plates, a swing looking glass, a plated pint and a

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<sup>112</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1 153/27.

<sup>113</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1, Box 156.



plated tankard, together with half his table and other linen. All were for her use for life as long as she continued single and unmarried. The fact that she was single and they had never been married seems to have been a carefully kept secret, and she was known as 'Mrs. Watson', but it had to be revealed in his will.<sup>114</sup>

Some parents followed the fashion of using surnames as Christian names, which allowed instant recognition of family inter-relationships. Wray Atkinson, Hammond Metcalfe and Hammond Geldart Metcalfe are some examples, and Constantine King was similarly given a family name, more unusual for a girl. She was well provided for by her grandmother, Edith Constantine, and married William Watson, son of Christopher and Margaret. In later life her name was sometimes feminised as Constantina.<sup>115</sup>

The Watsons' house is one of the two finest Georgian houses in Carlton, and it must have looked even more impressive before the adjoining stables were altered. The house has had several changes of name, and was Clovelly Dene when Jane Hatcher published Richmondshire Architecture in 1990, but it has recently reverted to an earlier name as Coverley House.<sup>116</sup> The other outstanding Georgian house is now called The Hermitage, and from the mid-nineteenth century was the Coverham vicarage. The National Park 'listing' assesses it as an early- to mid-eighteenth-century house of two builds, the original house being of five bays, with a slightly later addition of two bays on the right. Jane Hatcher suggests that an outbuilding may be part of an older house on the site. Other fine Georgian houses are Pear Tree House, dating from the early eighteenth century and relatively little changed, and Prospect House, built later in the century; they both have Venetian staircase windows facing Carlton street.

Flatts Farm was formerly the home of the Constantines, and Hatcher says its early-eighteenth century windows 'disguise earlier origins'. Houses in Carlton are not always what they seem. A recent survey of Seaton House by two members of the

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., RD/AP1, Box 164.

<sup>115</sup> She signed the bond at the registry after her husband's death as 'Constantina', and she is 'Constantina' on her gravestone in Coverham churchyard. WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1 199/47, admon. of William Watson, 1841.

<sup>116</sup> Information about the Carlton houses in this section comes from Hatcher, Richmondshire Architecture, pp.45-47, and from the statutory listing of buildings of special architectural or historic interest from the Yorkshire Dales National Park, which is the planning authority.

Yorkshire Vernacular Buildings Study Group produced some surprising findings. The house is described in the National Park 'listing' and by Hatcher as mid- to late-eighteenth-century. However, the findings revealed a house with four phases of construction, with a rectangular two-cell house of seventeenth-century date at its core, possibly with the 'two-cell and end-stacks' plan, which is found widely in the northern dales, notably in Dentdale. The roof of the seventeenth-century house was much lower than the present roof, and when an outshut was added, perhaps around 1700, this too had a very low roof. The Georgian front probably dates from the late eighteenth century; traces of the masonry joint are just visible behind the quoins in the gable wall. The roof was raised at this time, and the interior of the house was remodelled, with the construction of the staircase. There were further alterations in the nineteenth century. Although the street elevation is described by the researchers as 'polite' rather than 'vernacular' in character, elsewhere in the house the builders were not above re-using old materials. The lintel of the staircase window is a chamfered stone which was once part of a mullioned window, while a stone beam at the top of the staircase is a recycled gatepost, with the notches for the gate plainly visible. All this is typical of many houses in the Dales, altered and altered again over the centuries to meet the needs of new generations, retaining features from different phases of rebuilding.<sup>117</sup>

A building of a different kind appeared, or more likely was given a new use, in Carlton in the eighteenth century. As for the previous centuries, information about the very poorest inhabitants of the township is very limited, but we know that by 1776 Carlton had a workhouse or poorhouse, the two terms being used interchangeably at this time. Throughout the century there was increasing concern about the cost of poor relief, and particularly about the numbers of able-bodied poor; but this was not such a serious problem in the North Riding as in some other counties whose difficulties became widely known.<sup>118</sup> An Act of 1722 permitted parishes or groups of parishes to build or rent workhouses to 'receive the labour' of their inmates. The numbers of workhouses increased gradually, until by 1776 there were at least thirty-five scattered across the North Riding. Paul Hastings, whose work provides an authoritative overview of poor relief in the Riding, says: 'The basic pattern of the workhouse system was already laid out. Every market town had

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<sup>117</sup> I am most grateful to Alison Armstrong and Arnold Pacey of the Yorkshire Vernacular Buildings Study Group for their survey, in August 2004. See Appendix 5 for photographs of Coverley House, Flatts Farm, Seaton House, and Elm Tree House with its fine Georgian porch.

<sup>118</sup> R.P.Hastings, Poverty and the Poor Law in the North Riding of Yorkshire c1780–1837 (York, 1982), p.1.



a workhouse and a number of smaller townships had them too'.<sup>119</sup> In 1776 overseers were required to provide information for Parliament about their expenditure on poor relief and to state whether they had a workhouse and how many it would accommodate.

The 1776 returns state that Carlton and Carlton Highdale together had raised £80 in poor rate in the year ending at Easter 1776, and had a workhouse which would accommodate twenty persons. This was the only workhouse in Coverham parish. All the Carlton poor rate had been 'expended on account of the poor', with no expenditure on rents or litigation. By contrast West Scafton had raised £40 5s. 3d. and had spent £23 11s.0d. on litigation concerning settlements and the removal of paupers, which may indicate that its coal and slate mines attracted some migrants. Among the Hang West townships West Scafton spent the second highest amount under this heading – only Bainbridge, a much larger township, spent more. Middleham had a workhouse, said to have accommodation for twenty-four persons, but at this stage Leyburn did not. Carlton and the Highdale raised a higher amount of poor rate than either Middleham (£75 0s.2d.) or Leyburn (£59 5s.2d.). Burton cum Walden raised an even larger amount (£91 10s.9d.) and had a workhouse, but it accommodated only eight persons.<sup>120</sup>

Hastings says workhouses in the lesser townships were often short-lived,<sup>121</sup> and there is some evidence that by the 1790s the Carlton workhouse was being used to house one poor family. In the 1796 Land Tax return 'Widow Morland' was occupying a house belonging to 'The Proprietors of Carlton', tax payment 4d. In 1807 Elizabeth Morland lived in a house belonging to the 'Proprietors of Carlton and Highdale', tax payable 6d. 'Widow Morland' was almost certainly Elizabeth, the widow of William Morland of Carlton, 'killed in a slate quarry' in September 1794 at the age of thirty-nine. They had three children at the time of his death and another was born posthumously in the following March. The house does not appear in the later Land Tax records; but in the Tithe Award a cottage and garden opposite Littleaside, six perches in extent (a plot slightly larger than some of its neighbours)

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<sup>119</sup> Idem, *Essays*, pp.18-19. See also the same author's article, 'The Old and New Poor Law' in *Historical Atlas of North Yorkshire*, ed.R.A.Butlin (Otley, 2003), pp.133-36, which has a better map.

<sup>120</sup> *Abstracts of the Returns made by the Overseers of the Poor*, House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century, Reports and Papers, 1775–80, ed. S.Lambert (Wilmington, USA, 1975), pp.205-07.

<sup>121</sup> Hastings, *Historical Atlas*, p.133.

was owned by the township and occupied by Mary Morland.<sup>122</sup> In the 1851 census a Mary Morland lived in the same part of the village and was receiving parish relief. It seems reasonable to suggest that the house she lived in was the former workhouse, still owned by the township, and occupied long-term by a pauper family. It must surely have been grossly overcrowded if it ever accommodated twenty people in accordance with the capacity reported in 1776.

John Tuke in his second edition (1800) said he believed the average of North Riding poor-rates to be still moderate, compared with many other places, 'notwithstanding a late and great increase brought on by the war'.<sup>123</sup> Figures produced for Parliament covering the years from 1800-01 to 1817 show that for the year to Easter 1801 the poor rate raised in Carlton had more than doubled since 1776, to £166 3s.6d. In this year there were legal expenses of 17s.6d.; nothing was paid to wives and families of militia men, mentioned by Tuke as a 'prodigious expence' brought on by the war; but relief paid to paupers travelling with passes (to their places of origin) and the expense of conveying them cost the Carlton rate-payers 10s.10d. There was no separate return for the Highdale, and it can be assumed that the figures again relate to Carlton Town and the Highdale together.<sup>124</sup> 1799 to 1801 was a time of great dearth, caused by exceptionally bad weather and poor harvests, the second such crisis in four years, but Carlton's poor rate did not reduce in the following years until 1806-07.<sup>125</sup>

### **3.5 Conformity and Non-conformity in Coverdale: Eighteenth-century Developments**

After the religious turbulence of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the two groups which the established church saw as presenting a challenge to its dominance in Coverdale post-1689 were the Roman Catholics and the Quakers. This section will examine the fortunes of the parish church and the non-conforming alternatives in the eighteenth century, and the new situation which gradually unfolded with the coming of the Methodists.

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<sup>122</sup> NYCRO, Coverham parish registers and Carlton Tithe Award.

<sup>123</sup> Tuke, *General View* (1800), p.51.

<sup>124</sup> NYCRO, QDW, MIC 469, Abstracts of poor relief returns 1801-1817. The frames are not numbered. The townships are not in alphabetical order; nor are they arranged by wapentakes. The Carlton return is almost at the end of the film.

<sup>125</sup> Hastings, *Essays*, pp.54-59, gives details about the harvests year by year 1780-1850.



### 3.5.1 Coverham Church and its Clergy

Thomas Oddy was in post as curate of Coverham by April 1689, when his name appears in the Call Book for the visitation of the archdeaconry of Richmond. He was a fairly new priest, made deacon in May 1686 and priest in September 1687. He took the oath of allegiance to William and Mary promptly on 30 July 1689 at Richmond, and later took the oath to Queen Anne at York Castle on 21 July 1702. He appears again in the Call Books for 1700 and 1702, but had died before the start of the surviving Coverham parish register in late March 1708. Thomas, son of Thomas Oddy of Coverham, who died in January 1699/1700, one of the many deaths in the parish in that year, was probably his son.<sup>126</sup>

In February 1738/9 Thomas Oddy's widow Jane was still resident near Coverham, and gave a deposition for use in the dispute which was then raging about the rights to the living. She said her husband, who had died about thirty years before, had been curate of Coverham for about sixteen years. She remembered that 'her husband called to her one day and bid her bring a drink to the door for the impropriators were there and had paid him'.<sup>127</sup>

Thomas Oddy himself left comparatively little mark in the Coverham records. The same cannot be said of his successor, who proved to be a disaster for the parish. John Turner was instituted to the living in 1708 on presentation by the Crown. He claimed to be both rector and vicar, and immediately proceeded to antagonise his new parishioners by extortionate claims to all tithes. He quickly resorted to the law, and pursued cases against the wealthier parishioners, including George Wray of Coverham Abbey and William Smith of Cotescue, through a series of courts – the archdeaconry court, the assizes at York, the Court of Exchequer, and eventually the House of Lords in 1715/16.<sup>128</sup>

It is hard to see how Turner managed to get the Crown officers to present him and the Bishop to institute him to the living. The parishioners accepted that he had been so presented and instituted, and were left to challenge his rights to the tithes. As William Smith's response put it in the archdeaconry court, 'till about six months

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<sup>126</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/CB, 4a, Call Books; RD/RR 75, Bishop's Transcripts; CRO, EDV2/10A,p.42, Exhibit Book; *QS Records*, ed. Atkinson, IX (1892), 25, 32.

<sup>127</sup> Ashcroft, *Miscellany 1992*, p.18.

<sup>128</sup> Ashcroft, *Miscellany 1992*, pp.15-17.

ago there never was a vicar lawfully instituted and inducted to the said vicarage of Coverham', the church being served by salaried curates. Smith's case was that Turner had no rightful claim to the tithes, 'neither by endowment, composition nor prescription, nor by any ancient custom'.<sup>129</sup>

As early as 1710 the churchwardens were presenting Turner at the archdeaconry court for dereliction of duty, complaining that 'the minister does at some time not come to prayers at Church'; and again in 1713, 'Mr. John Turner neglects his duty in not performing service'. In the 'Comperta' book in 1713, noting facts found at the visitation, the case was recorded against John Turner 'for not performing his duty and never giving public notice for the catechizing of children in the parish', but the side-note says 'nothing done'.<sup>130</sup>

The way was probably made easier for Turner because in 1707/08 there was a prolonged struggle over the succession to the bishopric. The new Bishop, William Dawes, toured the major centres of the diocese in 1708, and did not conduct his primary visitation until 1709. His successor, Francis Gastrell, Bishop of Chester 1714-25, was an absentee and lived in Oxford, but he thoroughly investigated the condition and history of his diocese, compiling a detailed survey, the 'Notitia Cestriensis'.<sup>131</sup> The entry for Coverham describes the confusion which had arisen about the status of the living:

Turner the present incumbent was instituted both to Rectory and Vicarage upon Title of the Crown which is still in dispute An.1716. No mention of any other Institution in Register.

Another version adds, 'He is the first that was presented and instituted since the Reformation'.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AC 2/21. The papers about Turner's cases in the archdeaconry records are only fragmentary, but later in the century William Chaytor of Spennithorne set lawyers to work collecting documents about the Coverham advowson, which are in the Chaytor archives at NYCRO, ZQH 11/35, MIC 2377.

<sup>130</sup> M.Chadwick, 'Richmondshire Presentments in the Reign of Queen Anne', *YAJ*, 40 (1959-62), 374; WYAS, Leeds, RD/C 23, Comperta Book 1713-32, p.6.

<sup>131</sup> A.T.Thacker, 'The Diocese of Chester from 1660', *VCH:Cheshire*, III, ed.B.E.Harris (1980), pp.47-49.

<sup>132</sup> The Archdeaconry of Richmond in the eighteenth century: Bishop Gastrell's 'Notitia': the Yorkshire parishes, 1714-1725, ed. L.A.S.Butler, YASRS CXLVI (1990), pp.74 -75.



His series of persistent but unsuccessful court actions brought John Turner to destitution. No costs were imposed on him by the Court of Exchequer because he was a pauper. As far as parish duties were concerned he disappeared from view entirely, and was believed to have left the country because of debt.<sup>133</sup> In his absence there were several replacement curates. The parish register records the burial in August 1726 of Mr. Richard Thompson, 'late Curate of Coverham'. Bishop Gastrell's 'Notitia' names John Barnett, curate at Coverham 1725-26.<sup>134</sup> In 1727 the Crown presented Humphrey Dickinson to the living, which was described as a vicarage.<sup>135</sup>

By the 1730s some of his parishioners believed that John Turner was dead, and he must have caused consternation when he reappeared to claim back the living. Thomas Hardcastle of Gray's Inn, one of the impropiators of the tithes, negotiated with him and reached a settlement, as he thought, in 1734, paying him arrears of the stipend and a lump sum of £25 5s. on condition that he signed a 'general release'. If Hardcastle thought this would settle the matter he was mistaken, and the dispute rumbled on until Turner was finally deprived of the living by the church court in 1739.<sup>136</sup>

It is not surprising that the parishioners in the Highdale aspired to have their own curate, and from time to time their hopes were realised, but no-one stayed long.<sup>137</sup> The aspirations in the Highdale found expression in 1722 in the will of John Constantine, who left £12 a year for a curate who must be resident at Horsehouse, must be approved by John Constantine's trustees, and must perform divine service at Horsehouse chapel every Sunday morning unless prevented by illness.<sup>138</sup> However, the payments would not begin until after the death of John Constantine's mother Emma (who lived until 1749), and the bequest was not big enough to ensure a regular ministry for the Highdale independently of the rest of the parish. In the late 1730s, when discussions were taking place about new financial arrangements for the parish if and when they succeeded in finally removing John Turner, Thomas Hardcastle promised to contribute £30 to the augmentation of

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<sup>133</sup> Ashcroft, *Miscellany*, pp.14-15.

<sup>134</sup> *Bishop Gastrell's 'Notitia'*, ed. Butler, p.75.

<sup>135</sup> Ashcroft, *Miscellany*, p.15.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> For example the 'Notitia' lists a curate named Thistlethwaite at Horsehouse in 1717.

<sup>138</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1 117/43.

Coverham church and £20 to the augmentation of Horsehouse chapel, on condition there was only one curate serving both Coverham and Horsehouse.<sup>139</sup>

Meanwhile a dispute of a different kind had reached the archdeacon's visitation court in June 1731, when Christopher Ripley had to answer a complaint that he had not delivered his accounts and had not reimbursed the former churchwardens. The dispute had evidently been going on for two years. Christopher Ripley replied that he had delivered his accounts and offered the balance to 'the Four and Twenty Men' at William Kaygill's house at Carlton on Easter Tuesday 1729. The following week he returned to the court with a certificate to say that he had paid.<sup>140</sup> The reference to 'the Four and Twenty Men', which is the only one that has come to light in the course of this study, is of great interest as it shows a form of local government in operation, in addition to the justices of the peace and the manorial court. Andrew Fleming, commenting on Grinton's 'Council of Twenty Four', says similar bodies 'are recorded from quite a number of places in England', and dealt with both civil and church business. His references go back to 1280 (at Winchester). He adds that twenty-four was a useful number for a council representing several districts, being divisible in six different ways.<sup>141</sup>

Living at Gray's Inn Thomas Hardcastle was well placed to obtain expert legal opinion and to commission research into the sixteenth-century records. By the time the dispute with John Turner was drawing to a close he had established conclusively that the right of nomination to Coverham church and Horsehouse chapel belonged to the impropriators, namely himself and Richard Geldart, 'who I daresay will join in the nomination of Mr Lonsdale who was agreed on by the company present at our last meeting at Carlton'. It was his belief that 'if the parishioners are hearty in the affair... Mr Lonsdale may be pretty well provided for till he obtains better preferment'.<sup>142</sup> The Rev. Christopher Lonsdale was duly nominated by Thomas Hardcastle and Richard Geldart, and continued as curate of Coverham for the next fifty years until he died in office in 1788. The Bishop of Chester's commission for the Rector of Wensley and the Vicar of Aysgarth to conduct the institution of Mr. Lonsdale to Coverham is endorsed October 1739, but he had been working in the

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<sup>139</sup> Ashcroft, Miscellany, p.17.

<sup>140</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/C23, p.151b.

<sup>141</sup> Fleming, Swaledale, p.62. See also VCH:NR (ed. Page), I, 331, for a reference to the 'Four and Twenty of the Parish of Masham'.

<sup>142</sup> Letter from Thomas Hardcastle to Mr. Atkinson of Coverham, quoted by Ashcroft, Miscellany, p.17.



parish earlier. He lived at Horsehouse and was described as 'curate' in the parish register when his daughter Jane was baptised in 1736, and on his gravestone close to Coverham church he is said to have been curate of Coverham for fifty-two years.<sup>143</sup>

Thomas Hardcastle set about augmenting the curate's income by applications for Queen Anne's Bounty. The fund had been established to help the poorest churches, but a successful outcome was much more likely if matching funding was provided.<sup>144</sup> Hardcastle succeeded in obtaining two separate grants, in 1743 and 1745. In the first transaction he sold a farm of about 15 acres at Highfield to the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty. The farm was valued at £400; the Bounty gave £200, and Hardcastle gave the other £200. In the second transaction Hardcastle gave the churchyard at Coverham, two cattlegates in Carlton West Pasture, the Easter offerings and mortuaries, together valued at £200, and obtained a further £200 from the governors of the Bounty. With the proceeds land called 'Foulkilns' was bought at Horsehouse, together with three cattlegates in Horsehouse Wood and two on Horsehouse Moor. The curate was thereby provided with glebe land. The details are recited in the earliest Coverham glebe terrier (1778)<sup>145</sup> and in later glebe terriers, and Mr. Hardcastle was undoubtedly regarded in the parish as a generous benefactor. However, his relationship with Richard Geldart, who owned a lesser portion of the tithes, was not altogether smooth. A metal plate still remains on the wall of Coverham church, dated 1743, and indicating that rights needed to be clarified. It refers to Mr. Thomas Hardcastle's pew as impropriator, and states that he has given leave to Mr. Richard Geldart of Carlton and his son Thomas and his heirs to sit in it. In his will, made in January 1753, Richard Geldart instructed his executor, his son Thomas, to go to any expense 'in law or otherwise' in getting £200 which Thomas Hardcastle of Gray's Inn owed him upon bond. Christopher Lonsdale was one of the two witnesses of the will.<sup>146</sup>

All the indications are that Christopher Lonsdale was a conscientious minister, and a support to his parishioners. As one example, he was present, along with the apothecary William Plewes from Middleham, when Thomas Watson of Carlton made his nuncupative will at midnight, 28 March 1747.<sup>147</sup> At this time Mr.

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<sup>143</sup> WYAS, Leeds, CD/PB 3.

<sup>144</sup> G.F.A. Best, Temporal Pillars (Cambridge, 1964), p.129.

<sup>145</sup> WYAS, Leeds, CD/RG 14.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, RD/API 137/79.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, RD/API 135/113.

Lonsdale and his wife Anne were living at Cotescue, but the parish register, recording the births of their children, shows a number of moves around the parish. In the early days they lived at Horsehouse, in 1743 they were at Highfield, in 1745 they were at Cotescue, and from 1749 they lived in Carlton. The house which became the nineteenth-century vicarage was 'Parson's House' in the list of Edward Lister's property made in 1779.<sup>148</sup> The house at Highfield which went with the glebe land there was unsuitable to be a parsonage. The glebe terrier for Coverham church compiled in 1778 explains that it was not resided in by the curate because of its inconvenient situation. The dwelling house contained two low rooms with stone floors, two upper rooms 'which are boarded', and a milk-house, together with a stable and barn. All the buildings were thatched with ling. The garden was 'a narrow piece of ground walled round for a few herbs'. By 1789, when a new terrier was produced, the house, stable and barn had all been destroyed: 'some years ago [they] were all burnt down by a careless tenant'.<sup>149</sup> Mr. Lonsdale wished to rebuild the house, and in 1780 petitioned the Lord Chancellor for a brief to raise money to do so; but the house was still a ruin when a further glebe terrier was made in 1804.<sup>150</sup>

In the last years of Christopher Lonsdale's life William Chaytor of Spennithorne began to plan moves to obtain the advowson or right of patronage at Coverham church for himself. He thought he saw an opening because of the two occasions in the eighteenth century when the Crown had presented to the living. He hoped he could persuade the Crown to grant him the advowson, in exchange for donations to attract more money from Queen Anne's Bounty. To support his project he commissioned more researches into the sixteenth-century documents. The papers he collected are in the Chaytor archives, and show that he went to considerable effort and expense.<sup>151</sup>

William Chaytor made two proposals to improve the living. In the first he would give £200 to obtain a further £200 from Queen Anne's Bounty, in return for being allowed the right of patronage; in his second proposal he doubled his offer, and would give an additional £200 to augment Horsehouse chapel. He thought it would be beneficial for the church and chapel to have different clergymen. No doubt

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<sup>148</sup> See above, p.155.

<sup>149</sup> WYAS, Leeds, CD/RG 14, for both terriers.

<sup>150</sup> Ashcroft, *Miscellany*, footnote p.18; WYAS, Leeds, RD/RG 8/2.

<sup>151</sup> NYCRO, ZQH 11/35, MIC 2377, Coverham advowson 1787-1790.



the parishioners in the Highdale were pleased to hear this. The basis of his effort was that he was 'the principal proprietor of lands' in the parish of Coverham.<sup>152</sup>

He had underestimated the Hardcastles, a family of lawyers, unlikely to give up any of their rights in Coverham church easily. Legal proceedings between the two parties began even before Christopher Lonsdale's death in December 1788. The Hardcastles emerged victorious when the court ruled that the Crown in the time of Queen Elizabeth had not permanently reserved the advowson for itself. Chaytor was obliged to give up his plans, and desist from wasting more of his money. M.Ashcroft concludes that he received 'bills for at least £150 from his London solicitors and other agents, but his actual costs must have been higher'.<sup>153</sup> We may wonder why he went to so much trouble about a living as insignificant as Coverham. The answer seems to lie in his determination to secure a sphere of influence in Coverdale, an ambition which he placed above financial considerations, as he had already shown by his indiscriminate purchases of land.

Chaytor was also the prime mover in a scheme to renew the pews in Coverham church. He organised a petition to the commissary of the archdeaconry of Richmond, asking for eight gentlemen of the parish to be appointed as commissioners to allot new pews, which were necessary because the church was 'in many places...very ill and irregularly pewed'. Two of the proposed commissioners were from Carlton –Thomas Geldart and Roger Dawson.<sup>154</sup> The licence was granted in February 1789, and the result was a plan for twenty-two pews, their future occupants being expected to pay for them to be built. Most of them were shared – for example, Pew K, 'George Wright the elder, George Wright the younger, Richard Metcalfe and William Morland, all of Carlton'. William Chaytor was the only one who had two pews, but Edward Lister had one pew and five seats in another.<sup>155</sup> At the time this must have seemed an excellent way to improve the parish church, but it is noticeable that no provision was made for seating the poorer parishioners unless they were dependants of one of the pew-owners. Pews were regarded as private property, owned by those who had paid for them. This attitude was very general, and Coverham was following the contemporary trend. In the next century it was

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<sup>152</sup> Ashcroft, *Miscellany*, p.19.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p.22.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p.21.

<sup>155</sup> NYCRO, PR/COV, MIC 2419, Coverham Church Fabric and Furnishings.

recognised as a cause of feelings of exclusion and alienation from the church among the poor.

The success of the Hardcastles in their legal battle with William Chaytor enabled one of their family, the Rev. Thomas Hardcastle, to become the new perpetual curate of Coverham and Horsehouse. He obtained his licence in July 1790, on the nomination of John Hardcastle and Thomas Arthington as patrons.<sup>156</sup> In December 1791 the Rev. James Law was licensed as assistant curate of Coverham and Horsehouse, on a stipend of £35 a year, nominated by the Rev. Thomas Hardcastle.<sup>157</sup> Law had been assistant to Christopher Lonsdale in his later years, and after Lonsdale's death he seems to have remained in the parish, and was the person actually doing the work. He signed the terrier of 1789 as 'Officiating Curate of Coverham'. Thomas Hardcastle seems to have been non-resident throughout his time as incumbent of Coverham, and for at least part of the time he was a pluralist. Law's stipend was raised to £47 in 1796, and £60 in 1804.<sup>158</sup> In 1809 £150 per annum was fixed by Queen Anne's Bounty as the desirable minimum for a living, but the exploitation of stipendiary curates like Law was not tackled because they were regarded as temporary auxiliaries – it was 'an occasional and temporary employment' according to Bishop Law (Bishop of Chester 1812-24).<sup>159</sup> Perhaps Law would have fared better if William Chaytor had succeeded in his plans for the parish; Chaytor had promised to do all in his power to get him appointed, 'if the principal inhabitants should recommend Mr. Law'.<sup>160</sup> His ministry at Coverham was anything but temporary, for he continued to be 'de facto' curate until he died in 1831 at the age of seventy-six.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century Parliament was taking an interest in the extent of clerical non-residence and the reasons for it, and Thomas Hardcastle was obliged to write to the Bishop from time to time explaining himself and asking for permission to continue living outside the parish. In 1803 he wrote seeking permission to reside at Masham, for health reasons. In 1804 he provided a certificate stating that he was rector of Wapley (Gloucestershire) and residing there. In the same year James Law signed the Bishop's visitation questionnaire, 'for the Revd.

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<sup>156</sup> CRO, EDA 1/8, Bishop's Act Book.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, EDA 1/9.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> Thacker, VCH:Cheshire, III, 58.

<sup>160</sup> Ashcroft, Miscellany, p.21.



Mr.Hardcastle who is at Bath in pursuit of his health, who upon his return will give your Lordship a more particular information'. In 1806 Hardcastle again petitioned to reside at Wapley, pointing out that Coverham had no parsonage house.<sup>161</sup>

In 1811 James Law once more provided the answers to the Bishop's questionnaire, but by now there was a new incumbent. In reply to the final request for any other information Law wrote:

My Lord! I have had a licence to Coverham and Horsehouse for many years, but I think it wants altering as Mr.Otter has lately got the living. He resides at Trumpington near Cambridge and can properly answer the queries which I have let alone.

He again signed himself 'Officiating Curate'. He eventually got his new licence in 1814, but his stipend remained at £60.<sup>162</sup>

The Bishop's questions were detailed about the work in the parish. Law replied that he held services every Sunday morning and afternoon, alternately at Coverham and Horsehouse, and preached at each service. Communion was celebrated four times a year at each place, with about twenty-five communicants at Coverham and fifty at Horsehouse. A collection was made for the poor, and given out on the spot to poor people who had received the sacrament. There was free schooling for some poor children at Horsehouse, 'at the discretion of five trustees', but Law seems to have disapproved of the use being made of John Constantine's bequest: 'I will not pretend to say that the money is employed as it ought to be'. William Swithinbank's bequest of £5 yearly was paid to Law himself for teaching other poor children at Carlton.

These answers build up a picture of an established church that was functioning, but not flourishing. How then had the non-conforming groups fared in the preceding century?

### **3.5.2 The Roman Catholics**

In the last chapter we saw that in 1690 only two people from Coverdale were presented at Quarter Sessions for recusancy. In 1804 James Law reported 'only one

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<sup>161</sup> WYAS, Leeds, CD/PB 3; CRO, Microfilm 44/10.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., Microfilm 44/16.

single papist' in the parish, a farmer's wife, and two in 1811, a farmer and another farmer's wife. There is no evidence of much larger numbers in the intervening years. Aveling says Coverham had three Catholic families in 1744/45, and two papists in 1789. The parish made no return of 'reputed Catholics' in 1766.<sup>163</sup>

Leyburn was a centre for Roman Catholics; in 1713 the Wensley churchwardens reported about forty papists in their parish, meeting frequently at a house in Leyburn (then part of Wensley parish).<sup>164</sup> In 1766 thirty-seven reputed Catholics were named at Leyburn. The Scropes were reported to have a priest at Danby Hall, but the churchwardens of Thornton Steward could give no more details about him. As attitudes towards Catholics became less severe, chapels were built. The Scropes built a 'mass-house' at Ulshaw Bridge in 1788, and in 1791 the chaplain at Leyburn registered part of the house of Ralph Riddell Esq. at Quarter Sessions for use as a chapel. The Riddells of Northumberland had just inherited the Thornborough estate at Leyburn.<sup>165</sup>

Catholicism was heavily dependent on the patronage and protection of gentry families, and Aveling devotes many pages to tracing the fortunes of different families. When the Tophams ceased to be Catholics in the 1660s Coverdale had no leading gentry family to promote the Catholic faith. Lord Lichfield, who held Melmerby, Agglethorpe and East Scrafton in right of his wife in the mid-eighteenth century, came of a Catholic family but was himself a nominal Anglican who became High Steward and then Chancellor of the University of Oxford. His family property was in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, and though he took an interest in the Coverdale manors he could not have the same influence as a resident owner would have enjoyed.<sup>166</sup> Some members of the Errington family were Catholics, and Michael Errington and his sister were returned as reputed Catholics from Thornton Steward in 1766. He took no part in the petition in 1789 when the scheme for new pews at Coverham church was being prepared, and he was not allocated a pew. His son Thomas (the trustee for the township of Carlton in the Enclosure Award) maintained an existing chapel at Clints Hall when he moved to Swaledale, served by a Catholic priest from Richmond.<sup>167</sup> The Erringtons do not seem to have attempted

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<sup>163</sup> Aveling, Northern Catholics, p.428; WYAS, Leeds, RD/CB 11.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, RD/C 23, Comperta Book, 1713.

<sup>165</sup> Aveling, Northern Catholics, p.390.

<sup>166</sup> VCH:NR, p.221; Complete Peerage, VII, 646-47.

<sup>167</sup> Fieldhouse and Jennings, History of Richmond and Swaledale, p.330.



to establish a Catholic centre in Coverdale. This was a time when Catholics in North Yorkshire were having difficulty in maintaining their position in some places, and there was a tendency towards concentration in fewer centres.

### 3.5.3 The Quakers

As the Coverdale Quakers entered the 1690s, with freedom to worship at their newly-registered meeting, they must have wondered whether the new freedom would last. They were still liable to be prosecuted for non-payment of tithes, for which Stephen Winn was in prison at Richmond in 1690, and they could not feel secure from continued persecution.<sup>168</sup> In 1703 Joseph Geldart and George Geldart (a Catholic) were presented by the Coverham churchwardens for non-attendance at church, but nothing was done – ‘Nil’ is the note at the side of the entry in the ‘Compert Book’.<sup>169</sup>

Stephen Winn and his wife Katherine were respected as leaders in the Quaker movement beyond Coverdale and Wensleydale. Katherine died in March 1711, and Stephen in October 1712, and the Richmond Monthly Meeting honoured their memory by sending a ‘Testimony’ to the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting.<sup>170</sup> It recalled that Stephen had ‘received the Truth ... in his tender age when but a youth’.

[He] never was known to shrink in the time of sufferings which befell him both by imprisonment and otherwise; he likewise received a part in the ministry and therein was a zealous labourer, and travelled through several counties visiting friends in the love of God, he was one that delighted to see the Truth prosper and friends zealous for it...

Katherine also ‘received the Truth pretty early, and likewise a part in the ministry in which she was zealously concerned’. They were both buried in ‘friends burying place at Carlton’.

Nationally the Friends had already begun to move into what Quaker historians call the ‘age of quietism’. After the heroic resistance of the previous century they turned in upon themselves, and became concerned above all with standards of behaviour, including the sober dress which made them immediately identifiable.

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<sup>168</sup> Besse, *Sufferings*, II, 170.

<sup>169</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/C 16, f.4.

<sup>170</sup> Brotherton Library, Special Collections, Quaker Records, Clifford St., I, no.11, vol.1.

Their homes also had to be plain and functional, and simplicity was the key to their lifestyle in death as in life – their burial grounds did not have gravestones. They laid great emphasis upon retaining the allegiance of the children of Quaker families, but without outreach to bring in new members this was a certain recipe for decline. The prohibition against ‘marrying out’ (i.e. marrying a non-Quaker) brought many losses. In small country meetings there might not be much choice of marriage partners, and some who obeyed the rule died single. Others moved from the country to towns, where tithe was also less of a problem, or emigrated.<sup>171</sup> The small meeting at Carlton experienced this general decline.

In 1730 Joseph Geldart transferred a piece of land at Carlton fifteen yards square to trustees, none of them from Coverdale: ‘all that parcel of ground as it hath been used for a graveyard or burying place for the ...people called Quakers’.<sup>172</sup> The gift of the land was made ‘in consideration of the friendly respect and benevolence which he beareth toward that sect and people called Quakers’, so that it could continue to be used as a burial ground and for no other purpose. Today there is no visible reminder of the burial ground, and it has not proved possible to pinpoint its exact location. It adjoined Carlton Street, and was probably close to Quaker Lane.

Joseph Geldart was a blacksmith, who also owned land and houses. He made his will in May 1737, when he was weak in body ‘by reason of old age’.<sup>173</sup> Two of the witnesses, Alexander Stockdale and Joseph Dobinson, both from Bainbridge, were long-standing members of the Wensleydale meeting.<sup>174</sup> Joseph left two dwelling-houses in Carlton with their out-buildings, and his lands in Carlton and Melmerby, both meadow and pasture with their cowhouses, to his son Jonathan, with descent to Jonathan’s son Joshua. Payments of £80 and £20 respectively were to be made out of the estate to Joseph’s other two sons, John and Richard. The will does not have Quaker dating, but there is a sense of hesitation in its date – the ninth day of ‘the month called May’. John, a ‘tobacconist’ at Woodhall, was made sole

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<sup>171</sup> For further discussion of these points see D.Bower and J.Knight, Plain Country Friends (Wooldale, 1987), pp.18-19, 30-31 and 46-47; A.Davies, The Quakers in English Society 1655–1725 (Oxford, 2000), chapter 12.

<sup>172</sup> NYCRO, R/Q/R 2/6/2, MIC 4288. The trustees were Simon Bickerdike of Leyburn, William Thistlethwaite of Redmire, John Parker of Chantry and Arthur Thistlethwaite of Aysgarth.

<sup>173</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1 132/144.

<sup>174</sup> Hall, Richard Robinson, pp.19, 25, 60.



executor, and together with Alexander Stockdale he proved the will at Richmond in August, 1741.

Almost eight years before his father transferred the burial-ground to the trustees Jonathan Geldart had broken the Quaker rule and 'married out'. He married his first wife Alice in October 1722 at Coverham church. He was widowed and re-married, at Coverham church. In 1749-50 he was a churchwarden. His son Joshua was baptised and married at the parish church, was allocated a pew (shared with Roger Dawson of Carlton) in the new scheme in 1789, and in the same year signed the glebe terrier as one of the 'Principal Inhabitants'. Joseph Geldart's descendants at Carlton had become pillars of the established church.<sup>175</sup>

Quakers in small country meetings shared with other groups of Dissenters the problems caused by deaths of leading members or the loss of a meeting place, which was always a possibility for those meeting in private houses.<sup>176</sup> There was a natural tendency to concentrate in those centres which could support their own meeting-house. In Wensleydale in the eighteenth century these were Leyburn, Aysgarth, Carperby, Bainbridge, Countersett and Hawes. Leyburn would be the nearest for Friends from Coverdale, but even there the numbers were small. In 1772 Leyburn was visited by John Woolman, a famous American Friend, who found it 'a small meeting, but the town's people coming in, the house was crowded'. He had previously been at Countersett – 'a large meeting house and very full'.<sup>177</sup>

In 1804 when James Law was replying to the Bishop's questionnaire he reported 'two poor Quakers' at Melmerby as the only members of this body of 'Sectarists', as the Bishop called them, in his parish. There was always a tendency for replies from the parishes to downplay the numbers of non-Anglicans, but whatever the exact numbers there is no doubt about the decline of the Quakers in Coverdale.

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<sup>175</sup> Coverham parish registers; NYCRO, PR/COV, MIC 2419; WYAS, Leeds, CD/RG 14.

<sup>176</sup> Watts, The Dissenters, I, 288.

<sup>177</sup> E.Cooper, The Quakers of Swaledale and Wensleydale (1979), pp.16 and 22-23.

### 3.5.4 Other Dissenters

The two Quakers were not the only Dissenters recorded at Melmerby in 1804. Law also recorded ‘about ten Sandemanians of no note who meet in a house which is licensed. Their number is lessened of late years and they have no constant teacher’.<sup>178</sup> This group at Melmerby was almost certainly an offshoot from the congregation at Gayle, above Hawes. James Allen of Gayle spent much of his time preaching in the surrounding area.<sup>179</sup> Allen and the Sandemanian group at Gayle had originally been followers of Benjamin Ingham, who with the Wesleys and George Whitefield was one of the pioneers of the Evangelical Revival. Like John Wesley Ingham became an itinerant preacher, and he and the colleagues he recruited preached extensively in east Lancashire, Westmorland, and the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire. James Allen was an Inghamite preacher, but in 1761 Ingham sent him to Scotland, seeking guidance on the organisation of his network of followers from John Glas and Robert Sandeman, whose own followers were known as Glasites in Scotland and Sandemanians in England. Allen was so impressed by them that he left Ingham and joined the Sandemanians, and persuaded the group at Gayle and most of the other societies to do the same. Ingham was left with only eight of his eighty groups.

Sandemanians sought to follow the teaching of Jesus and the first disciples literally and in detail. They recognised no other authority in religion. The central part of their service was communion, which they called ‘The Breaking of Bread’, and this was observed every Sunday. It was followed by a common meal, a ‘Love Feast’, held at the home of one of the members. At Gayle the communion service was held in the morning, and a preaching service in the afternoon. The Sandemanians ‘were the strictest of the strict in the enforcement of Church discipline’, and excluded all who differed on any detail of doctrine or practice. ‘Members were forbidden even to eat or drink with persons who had been excluded from fellowship whatever the ground’. Their societies were ruled by elders, but the members had a democratic input as no decision was valid unless there was a unanimous vote of the members.<sup>180</sup> Thus when James Law wrote, ‘they have no teacher’, he misunderstood the way the Sandemanians were organised.

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<sup>178</sup> CRO, MIC 44/10, no.138.

<sup>179</sup> J.Alderson, ‘James Allen of Gayle’, in The Dalesman, vol.41, no.4 (July 1979); and *idem*, Under Wetherfell (Gayle, 1980), pp.77-78.

<sup>180</sup> T.Witton Davies, ‘The McLeanist (Scotch) and Campbellite Baptists of Wales’, Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society, VII (1921), 150-57. The main body of the article deals with two offshoots of the Sandemanians in Wales.



It will be obvious from the foregoing how greatly these ‘sectarists’ differed from the Anglicanism described by Law in his replies to the Bishop. The group at Melmerby was not longlasting; but its existence is an indication that there was potential in Coverdale for new alternatives to the established church.

### **3.5.5 The Methodists**

The Bishop of Chester did not ask about Methodists in his 1804 questionnaire, but in 1811 the new Bishop, Bowyer Sparke, included them in his enquiries. Law replied:

There are about twenty Methodists in the higher part of the dale, who assemble together in a dwelling house which is not licensed. Two riding preachers attend at times vizt. a Mr. Gill and a Mr. Sewell in the late Wesley’s Connexion. Yet although they have these preachers and preach among themselves, they constantly attend the chapel and receive the sacrament.

Law did not mention Quakers or Sandemanians in 1811.

The Wesleyan superintendent minister’s book starts in August 1795 with the names of the preachers, and records the names of the members and the locations of each group from June 1796.<sup>181</sup> The superintendent was based in Middleham, and the circuit was very large, extending up Wensleydale as far as Askrigg, and to Swaledale in the north and Masham in the south. There were 570 members in the first list, but no group in Coverdale. Later the circuit was divided, losing first Swaledale in 1807 and later the Masham area. Each loss was keenly felt by the superintendent, especially the separation from Middleham of the Swaledale lead-mining area, which had by far the highest numbers of Methodists in the circuit. Superintendents did not stay long, as it was Methodist policy to move their ministers frequently from one district to another, the maximum stay being three years. Samuel Sewell and John Gill appear as the ministers in 1809, and Samuel Sewell signed the book in 1810 and 1811.

‘Coverdale’ first appears in the lists of members in 1797, with nine names, headed by Thomas and Margaret Clark. In the following year there were six names, with one new one added and four missing from the previous year’s list. In 1799 there were only five, all of which appeared in the previous two lists, and the heading

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<sup>181</sup> NYCRO, R/M/W, 1/1/1.

was 'Hindlewait'. In 1802, under the heading 'Coverdale' there were seven names, in 1804 there were thirteen, in 1805 twenty-two, and in 1807 twenty-three.

In 1809 'Carlton' appears in the lists for the first time, with nine members named: John and Elizabeth Riddin, James Walker, Thomas Scarr, James and Dorothy Whitfield, Elizabeth Binks, and George and Elizabeth Paley. Five of the nine had appeared in the 'Coverdale' list in 1807. Fourteen members were listed at Horsehouse, six of them being members of the Loftus family.<sup>182</sup> In 1811 ten members were named at Carlton, with a note at the bottom of the page : 'Two more at Carlton'. At Horsehouse the number had risen to twenty-eight. James Law therefore underestimated the number of Methodists in his parish. The superintendent's register named only those who were in full membership, which was strictly controlled among the Methodists, with tickets being issued to members every quarter.<sup>183</sup> There may have been other potential members attending their meetings.

Methodism established itself in Coverdale comparatively late, considering that John Wesley began his field preaching in 1739, and called the first 'Conference' of preachers in 1744.<sup>184</sup> He visited Wensleydale early, as the vicar of Wensley was a personal friend, and preached at Redmire in 1744 and again in 1774, according to local tradition preaching under the old oak tree on the village green.<sup>185</sup> Redmire and Castle Bolton were early centres of Methodism in Wensleydale, but the large circuit with its base at Middleham was not established until the late eighteenth century. The superintendent's register shows how from then on new villages were added to the Methodist locations.

Wesley himself was reluctant to break all ties with the Church of England, indeed he never did so, although he was pressed hard by many of his followers, especially the preachers, most of whom were not ordained in Anglican orders and whose ministry was not recognised by the Anglican church. With hindsight we can see that from the time the first preachers were accepted by Wesley in 1741 the path was leading towards separation. For many years Wesley tried to stop the administration of communion by his preachers, but eventually he had to make

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<sup>182</sup> Elsewhere in the register the name is spelt 'Lofthouse'.

<sup>183</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, I, p.404.

<sup>184</sup> H.D.Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (2nd. edition, 1992), pp.191, 194, 242-43.

<sup>185</sup> J.McGregor, *Redmire: A Patchwork of its History* (Redmire, 1989), pp.117-18.



concessions, and in the 1780s he himself ordained some of them, for America, Scotland and a few for work in England.<sup>186</sup> These issues were still causing serious division in the 1790s, and in 1795 a 'Plan of Pacification' was produced by the Conference, whereby it was agreed that communion might be administered in any chapel where a majority of trustees, stewards and leaders were in favour, and in other chapels where it was already the custom. Watts comments that the decision 'guaranteed that the Wesleyan Methodists of the early nineteenth century, if not exactly Dissenters, would for the most part not be Anglicans either'.<sup>187</sup> The Methodists in the Highdale who in 1811 were still attending Horsehouse chapel and receiving the sacrament there were following the earlier tradition among Wesleyans, but by then many others had ceased to do so. The problem was more pressing in those places where Methodists had ceased to meet in private houses and had built their own chapels. As this had not yet happened in Coverdale, it goes a long way towards explaining why the Methodists had not yet broken their links with the established church. As we shall see in the next chapter, it was only a matter of time.

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<sup>186</sup> Rack, Reasonable Enthusiast, pp.506-21.

<sup>187</sup> Watts, Dissenters, I, p.449.

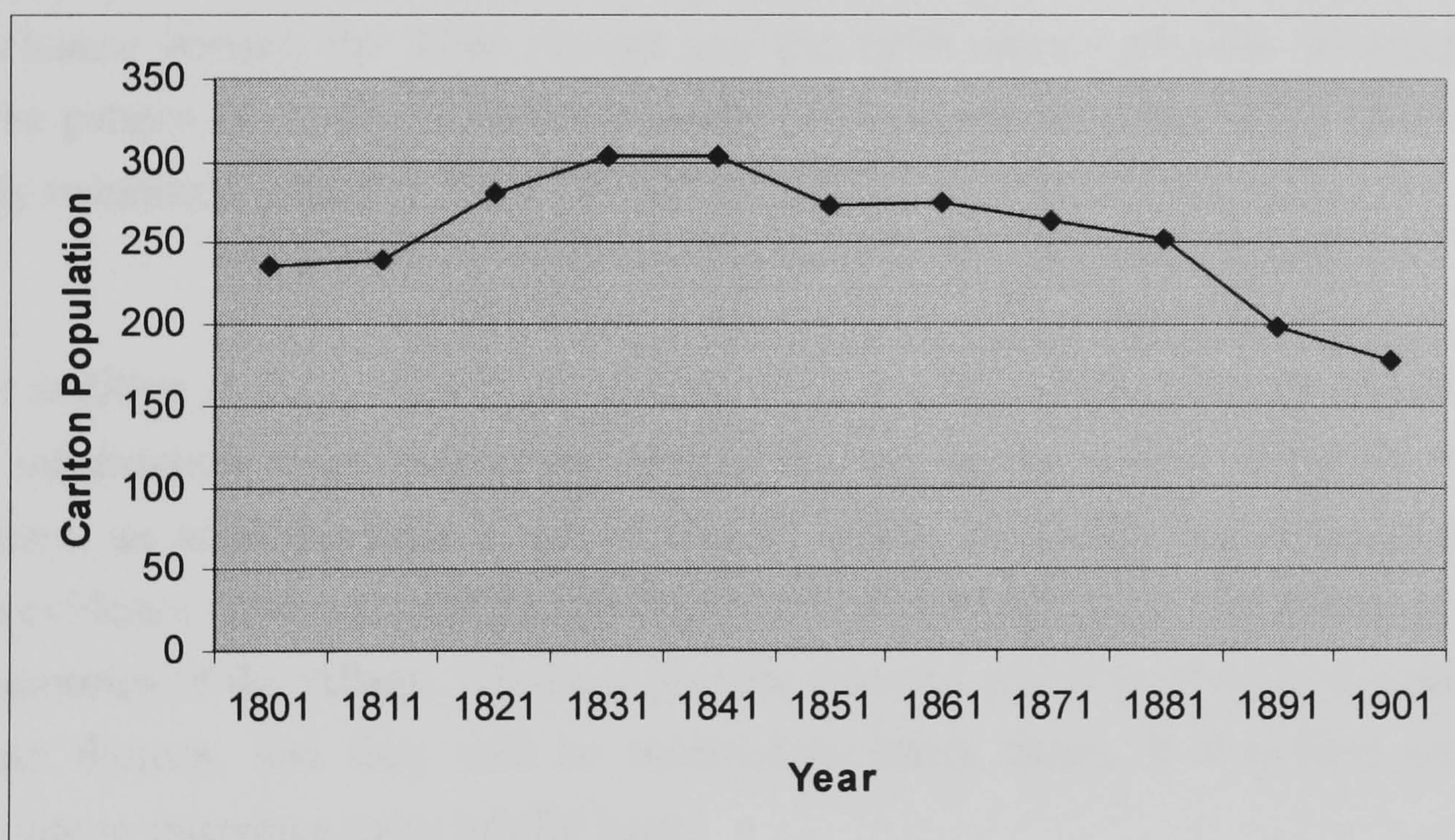


## Chapter 4

### Carlton in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

#### 4.1 Setting the Scene

As this chapter begins, England was celebrating the end of wars with France which had lasted over twenty years; as it ends, the storm-clouds of the Great War were already looming on the horizon. In the history of Carlton, the chapter covers the period between the Enclosure Award and the 1910 survey, the most detailed survey of property in the township that has ever been made, in consequence of the Finance Act of 1909-10.<sup>1</sup> The discussion will follow the same themes as before, with some changes in emphasis which arise from the nature of the sources.



From 1801 to 1901 the census returns provide decennial population figures for the township, with the exception of 1811, when the census figure includes both Carlton Town and the Highdale. The graph above shows how the population rose until 1831, remained at this level in 1841, and then began a fall which continued throughout the rest of the century. The population numbered 236 in 1801, rose to 303 in 1831, but had fallen to 177 in 1901. This was at a time when the population

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<sup>1</sup> The correct title of the survey material is 'Valuation Office records created under the Finance (1909-1910) Act', which is the title of the NA:PRO guide to the documents. For the sake of brevity I refer to the '1910 survey' or the '1910 valuation', while recognising that it was not completed in 1910.



of England and Wales rose from 8.9 million in 1801 to 32.5 million in 1901.<sup>2</sup> The loss of population must therefore be a major topic in the study of nineteenth-century Carlton. It provides the essential context which must be kept in mind when other topics are being considered.

By 1851, the census had developed into a house-by-house account of the population with sufficient detail to permit an analysis of the age structure and the occupational structure of the community; also a study of birthplaces. It is problematic that most of the addresses are given as 'Carlton Village' or alternatively 'Carlton Street'. However, exact locations can often be decided with the help of other sources. For the 1851 census the pieces of the jigsaw can be fitted together with the help of the material from the Tithe Award, which was approved in 1849, and included a map of every field in the township, and an accompanying schedule enabling them to be matched with their owners and occupiers. Comparisons between the Enclosure Award, the Tithe Award and the 1910 survey provide information about the pattern of change in landownership and land use between 1815, 1849 and the early twentieth century.

In addition to these official documents there are three other sources which are full of information about nineteenth-century Carlton in the words of people who lived there: an autobiography; a set of articles which are mostly autobiographical; and the evidence from a court case in which Carlton residents were questioned about their memories of the village. All these provide material which is relevant to each of our main themes, and they will be referred to many times. It therefore seems appropriate to introduce them briefly here.

John Bowes was born at Swineside on 12 June, 1804. At that time his father, of the same name, seems to have been a shepherd. In 1810 the family moved to Melmerby, and the following year to Carlton, where they lived for several years on a small farm belonging to John Dawson, who was the uncle of Bowes senior. Later they moved to some land and a larger house 'at the low end of the village'. At the age of thirteen John 'found the pearl of great price' as he later put it, when he was converted and joined the Wesleyan Methodist Society, as his father had done before him. In 1821 the Primitive Methodists came to Carlton and John 'went to hear what their preachers had to say. People called them "Ranters", and I expected them to be

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<sup>2</sup> D.Hey, How Our Ancestors Lived (2002), p.13.

a lively, zealous people'. Their brand of Methodism greatly appealed to him, and he soon joined them. After only a few months he was a local preacher, and soon afterwards, still only eighteen, he became a travelling preacher, starting in a new circuit based on Guisborough. He never returned to live in Coverdale, and for most of his life carried out an itinerant ministry, travelling throughout the British Isles, and also visiting Ireland and North America. In 1827 he was sent to Edinburgh and left the Primitives due to a dispute which was not of his making, but the independence which followed seems to have been to his liking, though it brought hardship at times for his family. In later years he earned money by lecturing and writing, and his sons ran a printing business. His last years were spent in Dundee, where he published his autobiography in 1872.<sup>3</sup> Only the first twenty pages deal with his early life in Coverdale, but they are packed with information about local people and the conditions in farming and other occupations, as well as Methodism. Cross-checking with other sources shows that his memory, after fifty years, was very accurate.

Another author who wrote in later life about his youth in Carlton was Charles Maltby, who produced a series of five articles published monthly in The Dalesman from December 1948 to April 1949.<sup>4</sup> His father was the schoolmaster, Robert Maltby, who was the Carlton enumerator for the 1891 census, and was a man of many talents but with a weakness for drink. The family moved to Carlton from Buckden, but their stay ended in disaster when Robert Maltby was forced to resign from Carlton school by the vicar for getting drunk (what his son calls 'one over his four', and by no means a first offence) at hay-making. Charles was then thirteen. His reminiscences range widely over village life, but he has most to say about farming. The Maltby family was always short of money, and as a young boy he did many odd-jobs for the local farmers in order to earn a little extra cash. In among his gossipy anecdotes there are some nuggets of information, and the whole series gives a view of the village in the late 1880s and early 1890s from one who experienced very different places in later life.

The third source bringing the village to life seems at first sight an unlikely means of conveying 'human interest', being the legal papers in respect of a court

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<sup>3</sup> J.Bowes, The Autobiography or History of the Life of John Bowes (Glasgow and Dundee, 1972). See also J.Alderson, 'A Dales Preacher', The Dalesman, vol.49, no.11 (February 1988), and article on John Bowes by N.Dickson, DNB (on-line).

<sup>4</sup> C.T.Maltby, 'Yorkshire for Me', The Dalesman, vol.10, no.9, pp.331-333, 338; no.10, pp.364-366; no.11, pp.404, 409-11; no. 12, pp.440-42; and vol.11, no.1, pp.15-17.



case brought by Robert Pickard against John Walker and his son Christopher, who were neighbours of a house he owned at Townhead.<sup>5</sup> Robert Pickard had built a wall round some waste land in front of his house, but Christopher ['Kit'] Walker had destroyed the wall and a gatepost with a big hammer. The Walkers claimed the wall obstructed access to their property for carriages and carts. They had a different means of access, but claimed a right to this one. Behind the Walkers stood their landlord Thomas Topham, a Middleham lawyer, who was present when Kit Walker broke down the wall. Robert Pickard brought a case in the Court of Exchequer of Pleas, from where it was sent to York Assizes. A preliminary verdict was entered in Pickard's favour, but the case was referred to an adjudicator, George Winn of Askrigg, both sides agreeing to accept his verdict. Winn made his award in November 1872, and on all points but one he found in favour of the defendants and awarded costs accordingly. Robert Pickard was a stubborn man, and was evidently convinced he had right on his side, and he changed his solicitor and tried to continue the fight. It was not until 1874 that he eventually gave in and stated that he now wished to avoid further litigation. His legal costs were ruinous, and in 1878 he had to sell land, which was even offered to Thomas Topham, but predictably he was not co-operative about the conditions.

In some ways the case is reminiscent of the tithe causes of earlier centuries, with the same examination of elderly people, asked to remember small points of detail after a gap of many years. Several of the witnesses for the Walkers were former servants of the Thornton family, their predecessors at Townhead. Others were local residents from the top end of the village, and one was an elderly man brought from Richmond to give evidence about his time at Townhead from 1813 to 1823. He said he remembered leaving Carlton 'just the same as yesterday'. Both sides were prepared to go to great lengths to win the case. The evidence given for them both, often on side issues or apparent irrelevancies, throws light on a variety of aspects of life in Carlton since the time of the enclosure.

In the study of nineteenth-century Carlton it is necessary to look also at the wider context, and the changing pattern of communications and transport which enabled producers to market their goods. For centuries Carlton had looked to Middleham as its natural market centre, but in the early nineteenth century Leyburn,

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<sup>5</sup> NYCRO, PR/COV, MIC 2419, frames 0165 to 0316. The legal papers appear to be from Robert Pickard's lawyers, handed over to him at the end of the case. Much of the evidence is recorded verbatim, the rest in note form.

formerly an unimportant place and still only a chapelry in the parish of Wensley, was beginning to grow, and Middleham's decline was becoming apparent. Dr. Whitaker concluded his description of Middleham with a gloomy forecast:

The town itself, deprived in a great measure of its market, without trade, and on the line of no great road, is gradually relapsing to the state in which we took it up at the period of Domesday, "Nunc vastum est". I am sorry to observe and to report the declension which has actually taken place within the last forty years.<sup>6</sup>

Whitaker's fears were exaggerated, and Middleham continued to be the home of gentry and professional families, and the centre of a specialised industry training racehorses, but its weekly market dwindled as Leyburn market, which had been established as far back as 1684, finally gained supremacy. Edward Baines in his directory, published in the same year as Whitaker's history, also commented on the poor attendance at Middleham market, 'owing to its vicinity to the more flourishing town of Leyburn'. The splendid wide market-place at Leyburn was to its advantage, and it gained an extra benefit when Hutton, Other and Co., soon to be part of the Swaledale and Wensleydale Bank, opened an office there.<sup>7</sup> However, Whitaker put his finger on the key difference when he pointed to Middleham's poor road links. By contrast Leyburn, standing at the entrance to the upper dale, had good links with Wensley, Reeth, Richmond and Bedale. Only one carrier operated from Middleham, whereas Leyburn had six.<sup>8</sup>

At the time when Whitaker and Baines were writing there was no bridge over the Ure between Wensley and Ulshaw, and travellers from Middleham had to cross the river by ford or ferry in order to reach Leyburn and its road connections. The ford and ferry were replaced by a suspension bridge in 1830, but not long afterwards it collapsed under the weight of a herd of cattle. It was repaired and maintained by a trust fund, but because money was short it was made into a toll bridge. The present iron girder bridge was built in 1865.<sup>9</sup> Anyone from Carlton wishing to go to Leyburn would have found it easier to avoid Middleham and travel via Melmerby and Wensley – which is still the favoured route for local people today.

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<sup>6</sup> Whitaker, Richmondshire, I, 349.

<sup>7</sup> E. Baines, History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York, II (Leeds, 1823), 473.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 474 (Leyburn), 489 (Middleham). C. Hallas, 'On the hoof. Road transport in the Yorkshire dales, 1750–1900', Journal of Transport History, Third Series, vol.17, no.1 (March 1996), 34, shows the routes from Leyburn in diagrammatic form.

<sup>9</sup> Hatcher, Richmondshire Architecture, pp.163-64.



For travellers leaving Carlton in the opposite direction, towards Kettlewell and Wharfedale, a more difficult journey was in prospect. John Bowes vividly remembered journeys to Kettlewell, when his family lived on the small farm belonging to John Dawson:

At that time we kept horses, and drove meal and flour to Kettlewell, over a mountainous and hilly road. Often I went with the horses. Sometimes they were restive and refused the hills, and sometimes they tired.

One mare became so tired that she could not take home the empty cart. 'But my father gradually got into a better class of horses'.<sup>10</sup> Hartley and Ingilby, in A Dales Album, have a photograph from the 1920s with the caption 'A motor car in difficulties on Park Rash competing in the Whit Monday Endurance Race between London and Newcastle'. Horses and chains were taken up from Kettlewell 'to help competitors up this notorious hill', watched by a large crowd of spectators. The picture gives an excellent impression of the conditions which travellers had to contend with on this road, which was still unmade and unimproved since previous centuries.<sup>11</sup>

Because the road through Coverdale was shown in Ogilby's 'Britannia', and was included in subsequent road-books as a 'cross-route' between London and Richmond, some topographical writers have assumed that it was used by a regular coach service. Even Harry Speight, writing in the 1890s, called it 'a romantic coaching-route', and believed that 'In the middle of last century the London and Richmond coaches came this way', quoting a road-book published in 1756.<sup>12</sup> It is, however, very difficult to see why such a journey should have been undertaken when a lowland route was available, and none of the well-known tourists who came to the Dales in search of romantic scenery mentions using this route.<sup>13</sup>

The coming of the railway age raised expectations in Wensleydale and Coverdale, as elsewhere, that the 'iron horse' might soon reach their district. One might think that only the most optimistic speculator would even contemplate the idea of a railway from Wharfedale to Wensleydale through Coverdale, but in fact at

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<sup>10</sup> Bowes, Autobiography, p.2.

<sup>11</sup> M.Hartley and J.Ingilby, A Dales Album (1991), no.238. The road was not tarred until after the Second World War.

<sup>12</sup> H.Speight, Romantic Richmondshire (1897), p.308.

<sup>13</sup> In the course of this study I have looked for an account of a journey over the Park Rash road by coach, and have not found any.

least five schemes were put forward, in 1845, 1864, 1882, 1894 and 1912.<sup>14</sup> The project was attractive to railway speculators hoping to achieve a through route from the industrial parts of Lancashire and the West Riding to the north-east of England. Maps of the late 1840s and 1850s show the route through Coverdale as part of a projected railway from Colne to Darlington via Kettlewell and Leyburn.<sup>15</sup> Construction costs were bound to be high, as all the schemes required a long tunnel under Great Whernside in order to reach Coverdale, and there was never sufficient backing to proceed.

The North Eastern Railway supported the Bedale and Leyburn Railway Company, which opened its line in 1856, and in 1858 took over the line when the B. and L. got into financial difficulties. This gave the company an advantage in the district which it never lost, and N.E.R. opposition was a great obstacle for the promoters of a Coverdale line. The directors of the N.E.R. were determined to prevent other companies from getting any long-distance route into north-east England, which they regarded as their territory. The railway line from Bedale, connecting with a main line at Northallerton, helped the further development of Leyburn as a market centre, and for Carlton people Leyburn station was the nearest point of access to the railway network. In 1878 an extension of the line was opened, running through the whole length of Wensleydale via Hawes to meet the Midland Railway's Settle to Carlisle line at Garsdale. The N.E.R. built the line from Leyburn to Hawes, and the Midland built the remaining section to Garsdale. There was now access to a main line at each end of the Wensleydale railway.

The achievement of the Midland Railway in building the Settle to Carlisle line inspired railway promoters and engineers to think again about other possible lines crossing difficult terrain. The proposal of the North Yorkshire and Lancashire Railway for a line through Coverdale was put before Parliament in 1882. It included a tunnel over 1½ miles long, emerging near Coverhead. The detailed drawings required for a Parliamentary Bill show the railway running above Gammersgill, crossing the Gammersgill to Carlton road and then running below Carlton and along

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<sup>14</sup> For more details of the Coverdale schemes and alternative routes suggested through Bishopdale see C.Hallas, The Wensleydale Railway (4th. edition, Ilkley, 2004), chapter 2, and P.E.Baughan, The Railways of Wharfedale (Newton Abbot, 1969), chapters 2, 10, 11 and 12.

<sup>15</sup> H.Whitaker (ed.) Maps of Yorkshire, YASRS LXXXVI (1933) notes a number of examples, which are all in the Whitaker collection of maps, Brotherton Library, Leeds, Special Collections.



the valley of the Cover quite close to the river. The station is not marked, but would presumably have been situated where the line crossed Cover Lane, making it reasonably accessible for people from West Scafton as well as Carlton.<sup>16</sup> Christopher Other, who lived at Coverham Abbey and was chairman of the Swaledale and Wensleydale Bank, was one of the promoters of the railway. The previous year he had given evidence before a House of Commons committee on behalf of the Skipton and Kettlewell Railway for a proposed route via Buckden and Bishopdale, when he was given a hard time by the opposing lawyers from the N.E.R. and the Midland. The North Yorkshire and Lancashire Railway also failed in Parliament due to opposition from the N.E.R. The company withdrew its Bill and was not heard from again.<sup>17</sup>

In 1894 the Yorkshire Dales Railway deposited plans for a similar line, but with an additional short tunnel under Middleham Low Moor. For the first time a proposed line was intended to cross the Bedale to Leyburn railway and continue towards Darlington. The capital required was £1,750,000, so it is not surprising that the project was withdrawn.<sup>18</sup> A much cheaper version of this line was suggested in the last attempt to promote a railway through Coverdale, which was made in 1912 by the North Yorkshire Dales Railway Co. The route was similar to that of 1894, but with a shorter main tunnel and without the additional tunnel near Middleham. Like all its predecessors it came to nothing; it was abandoned by the promoters before its second reading in Parliament.

The attractions of a more direct route between industrial areas are shown by the number of proposals made over a period of more than sixty years; but the capital costs involved in the crossing of the fells were prohibitive. It is significant that the Midland Railway actually applied to abandon the Settle to Carlisle project because of the costs, but Parliament refused to agree.<sup>19</sup> In opposing those projects for a line through Coverdale which progressed as far as a Parliamentary committee, the N.E.R. and its allies never had any difficulty in demonstrating that the line would not be profitable, and that the promoters' estimates were far too optimistic, an argument which was commonplace in railway history.

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<sup>16</sup> NYCRO, ZRF 4/3, MIC 2105.

<sup>17</sup> Baughan, Wharfedale Railways, pp.164-5, 172-3.

<sup>18</sup> Drawings for this project have been reproduced in the West Scafton Millenium Book. See The Villagers of West Scafton, West Scraeftun, pp.267, 269-71.

<sup>19</sup> Hallas, Wensleydale Railway, p.17.

The net result for Carlton was that in the years before the First World War the road through the dale was still unimproved, and all the railway schemes had failed. Promoters of better roads and new railways always pointed to the economic benefits they would bring. The following sections will examine how Carlton fared in the absence of improved communications.

## **4.2 The Landowners**

### **4.2.1 1815–1851**

#### **The sale of the Chaytor lands**

In other villages one might expect to examine changes in these years in terms of the aftermath of the enclosure, but in Carlton there is a complicating factor in the personality and ambitions of William Chaytor, eldest son of William Chaytor of Spennithorne.<sup>20</sup> The younger William Chaytor did not share his father's choice of Spennithorne as his primary residence, or his interest in Coverdale as a sphere of influence. Even before his father's death, which occurred in 1819 at the age of eighty-seven, he had made clear that his future lay elsewhere. In 1816 he wrote to Lord Darlington telling him in confidence of his wish to purchase the Witton Castle estate in Weardale, and his intention to sell the scattered lands in Wensleydale which he would inherit from his father. At that time he and his family were living in the traditional Chaytor family home at Croft on Tees. He did buy Witton Castle, where there was a coal mine on the doorstep, and much later admitted that his wife had never liked it. His interest was turning from lead mining to coal, and later he added banking and started a bank in Sunderland with two partners. He set out to dispose of his lands in Wensleydale, where he had interminable negotiations with Lord Bolton, and in Coverdale, where he was more successful. The process was a long one, because he always wanted to drive a hard bargain, and was never willing to give way on anything that he considered to be his right.<sup>21</sup> The insistence on his rights is a recurring theme in his voluminous correspondence.

In 1816 William Chaytor of Spennithorne was still the highest payer of Land Tax in the township, with five tenants and a total payment of £3 15s.7d., slightly higher than his payment in 1807. By 1831 William Chaytor, future baronet, was paying only £1 2s.10½d. Land Tax in Carlton Town, and had dropped to ninth in the

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<sup>20</sup> Where it seems necessary in order to avoid confusion I shall refer to the younger William Chaytor as 'William Chaytor, future baronet'. He obtained his baronetcy in 1831.

<sup>21</sup> Papers of Sir William Chaytor (1771– 1847), ed. M.Y.Ashcroft (Northallerton, 1993), pp.vii-xi, 15.



list of payments arranged by value (Table 17).<sup>22</sup> By 1849 he retained only four small pieces of land on the borders of the township totalling 12a.0r.32p.<sup>23</sup> Two of them, although in Carlton township, were on the West Scrafton side of the river. Elsewhere in Coverdale Agglethorpe was sold, but East Scrafton was retained as one of the Chaytor family residences. The scattered lands which had made up the Chaytor estate in Carlton were sold to a number of different people, giving some opportunities for smaller owners.

The Carlton landowners were a varied group, and this was particularly true of the owner-occupiers among them. It was noted above that the owner-occupiers could not be treated as a homogeneous group. This variety continued in the nineteenth century, and can be illustrated by case studies of some families, all resident in Carlton, bringing together information from the Land Tax, the Tithe Award, wills if they are available, and the 1851 Census.

### **Some landowning Carlton families**

It seems appropriate to start with a family whose land was bought in its entirety from William Chaytor, future baronet. The Chaytor farm at New Close on the road to Gammersgill was sold in 1823 to John Hutchinson, who in 1831 was paying more Land Tax in Carlton than William Chaytor himself.<sup>24</sup> He was still farming at New Close in 1849, when the Tithe Award lists the farm as comprising 41a. 3r. 17p.<sup>25</sup> He was what might be called a 'classic owner-occupier', farming all his own land, not leasing any extra land and not renting any out to others. In 1851 he lived at New Close with his wife, son and daughter. The Census lists his son of the same name, aged twenty-three, as 'Assistant Farmer'. John Hutchinson was born in Redmire, and his wife in Thoraby, but the son and daughter were both born in Carlton after the purchase of New Close.<sup>26</sup>

John Hutchinson bought a complete farm; but the acquisitions of another purchaser of Chaytor property, who was born and bred in Carlton, show that it was

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<sup>22</sup> NYCRO, QDE (L), MIC 223, Land Tax 1816; MIC 238, Land Tax 1831.

<sup>23</sup> NYCRO, T/Carlton in Coverdale, nos. 208, 209, 230 and 231.

<sup>24</sup> NYCRO, QDE(L), MIC 238.

<sup>25</sup> NYCRO, T/Carlton in Coverdale Tithe Award (henceforth simply noted as Tithe Award).

<sup>26</sup> 1851 census, schedule 62. In this chapter all the census references are to the returns for Carlton Town, unless otherwise stated.

perfectly possible for a small owner to add to his estate piecemeal. George Wright explained in his will that he had purchased additional properties from a number of people, among them Sir William Chaytor.<sup>27</sup> The will, made in January 1843, skilfully distinguished between three different John Barkers by their relationship to Thomas Barker of Swineside – they were respectively his father, brother and son. George Wright left all his real estate to his wife Margaret for her life, but after her death it was to be divided among four people, his two nephews, John and Christopher Wright, and the two younger John Barkers.<sup>28</sup> He had bought from Sir William Chaytor a dwelling-house, stable and buildings and an adjacent close of land, which was situated at the top of Carlton village, at the corner where the road turns in a right-angle.<sup>29</sup> It had been bought by William Chaytor of Spennithorne from the Lister estate. George Wright left this property, and some other land, to the youngest John Barker, ‘who now resides with me’. He left his own residence, with adjoining buildings and land, to the middle John Barker, ‘who formerly lived with me as servant’.<sup>30</sup> Back in 1816 George had farmed some of his land himself, but by the time he died the eldest John Barker was tenant of all the land.<sup>31</sup> At the time of the Tithe Award Margaret Wright was still alive, and the property was listed under ‘George Wright’. The total amount was only 21s.0d.36p., but it included four dwelling-houses.<sup>32</sup> The remaining two houses, together with three closes and an allotment, were left to George’s nephews, who were both joiners. John Wright was already occupying his house and workshop, and the remainder of his mortgage was cancelled by George’s will. Bequests in cash were left to George’s brother and another nephew, and an annuity for a niece.<sup>33</sup> The will is a fine example of provision for relatives, and also for the two ‘living-in servants’, who were clearly looked upon as an extension of the family. There is no mention of any blood relationship between George Wright and the Barkers, and even distant relationships were usually carefully described in the Carlton wills of the time. The will also illustrates how a small estate which had been built up over time could be fragmented again after a death, particularly if the testator had no son.

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<sup>27</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1 199/66.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> NYCRO, Tithe Award, nos. 11,12 and 186.

<sup>30</sup> WYAS, Leeds. RD/AP1 199/66.

<sup>31</sup> NYCRO, QDE (L). MIC 223. George Wright died in March 1843, aged eighty-two: grave in Coverham churchyard.

<sup>32</sup> NYCRO, Tithe Award.

<sup>33</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1 199/66.



The leading yeoman families in Carlton had differing fortunes in these years. The Geldarts will be considered first, as the leading family in the 1807 Land Tax assessment after William Chaytor.<sup>34</sup> When John Geldart died in 1810 the lands passed to Richard, the third of the four sons of Thomas Geldart II. In 1816 he was not farming the lands himself, and probably he never did so. In the will of his father-in-law, Henry Constantine II, made in August 1822, he is described as 'Richard Geldart of West Witton, gentleman', and Baines' directory of 1823 has 'Richard Gelder, gentleman' at West Witton.<sup>35</sup> In the Land Tax return of 1816 he had three tenants, one of whom was his brother James; in 1831 he again had three tenants, but James's holding had apparently increased, and the other two were joint tenants. In order of Land Tax paid Richard Geldart was sixth in both 1816 and 1831, paying £1 13s.5¾d. in 1816, and £1 10s.11d. in 1831.<sup>36</sup> When he came to make his own will in 1834 Richard and his wife Elizabeth were living in Middleham. He left all his real estate to his brother James, with an annuity of £35 p.a. to Elizabeth, who also received his personal estate, with the exception of some family heirlooms of plate and furniture which he left to James, and his gold watch and silver tankard, left to James's son Richard.<sup>37</sup>

James Geldart finally inherited the family lands in Carlton on Richard's death in 1837.<sup>38</sup> In 1849 he owned 114a.1r.10p., and was farming 78a.1r.7p. himself.<sup>39</sup> The remainder was farmed by Richard Simpson, who was almost certainly one of Richard Geldart's tenants in 1831.<sup>40</sup> The proportion of Geldart land farmed by James himself in 1849, roughly two-thirds, is very similar to the proportion of Land Tax payable in 1831 on the land where he was tenant. It looks therefore as if James chose to retain the existing arrangement with Richard Simpson when he became the owner of the land instead of his brother's tenant. In 1849 James lived in one half of the fine old Geldart house at the top of the village, while Richard Simpson lived next door in the other half.<sup>41</sup> In the same year the two families became related by marriage when Richard, a widower, married Elizabeth Geldart, daughter of James.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> NYCRO, QDE (L), MIC 215.

<sup>35</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/API 173/10; Baines, Directory, p. 586.

<sup>36</sup> NYCRO, QDE (L), MIC 223 and 238.

<sup>37</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/API 183/14.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> NYCRO, Tithe Award.

<sup>40</sup> R. & Chrs. Simpson' were the joint tenants in 1831. NYCRO, QDE (L), MIC 238.

<sup>41</sup> NYCRO, Tithe Award, nos. 17 and 18.

<sup>42</sup> Coverham parish register.

By 1851 the Simpsons had moved to Highfield, where Richard Simpson, aged forty-nine, is described in the census as 'Farmer of 80 acres'. The household consisted of Richard, his unmarried brother Christopher, a slate miner, and Richard's wife Elizabeth and the children of his two marriages.<sup>43</sup> They were living on the property at Highfield which had formerly belonged to William Chaytor, and had apparently added the farm there to the land leased from James Geldart to make up the 80 acres. In the Townhead court case in 1872 Richard Simpson said he had been at Highfield for twenty-one years, and gave evidence about the earlier time when he 'lived in a part of Geldarts house'.<sup>44</sup>

James Geldart is described in the 1851 census as 'Owner farming 86 acres'. He was now aged sixty-six, and had been a widower for sixteen years. His unmarried son Thomas, aged thirty, lived with him and was 'Farm manager', and a nineteen-year-old grand-daughter, Maryanne, kept house for them.<sup>45</sup> The census description of James does not necessarily mean that he no longer owned the land which Richard Simpson had farmed as his tenant. The census instructions in 1851 regarding farmers were quite complex, but even so they did not cover the situation of someone who was simultaneously an owner-occupier and a landlord. Householders were told that the term farmer was to be applied only to the occupier of land. The examples provided for the enumerators do not include an owner-occupier/landlord.<sup>46</sup> It is possible that James (and others in Carlton) owned more than the number of acres given in the census.

Since the death of Thomas Geldart II there had been some losses from the Geldart lands. We know from the Enclosure Award that John Geldart had sold land to John Dawson. We also know that Henry Constantine II possessed a 'dwellinghouse with stable and garden, and field called the Croft, adjoining it, formerly the property of John Geldart, gentleman'. In his will, made in August 1822, he left this house and land in trust for his grandson, Henry Constantine IV.<sup>47</sup> But the most significant loss of land by the Geldarts, also to the Constantines, was the 20

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<sup>43</sup> 1851 census, schedule 61.

<sup>44</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2419, frames 288-89.

<sup>45</sup> 1851 census, schedule 42. James Geldart's wife Mary died in 1835 at the age of forty-four: Geldart family grave in Coverham churchyard.

<sup>46</sup> E.Higgs, Making Sense of the Census Revisited (2005), p.107.

<sup>47</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1 173/10.



acres of Carlton Flatts which Thomas Geldart II had left to his son John. By 1849 this land was owned by Henry Constantine III.<sup>48</sup>

On the credit side, the Geldarts had gained some land since 1815. In 1849 James Geldart owned a group of four allotments between the Fleensop road and the Walden road, farming two of them himself, while the other two were farmed by Richard Simpson.<sup>49</sup> In the Enclosure Award the first two were allotted to John Geldart, but the second two were allotted to Alice Metcalfe.<sup>50</sup> However, even when this addition to the lands is taken into account, the evidence points to a decline in the prosperity of the Geldarts.

In contrast, the Constantines extended their possessions of lands and houses in this period, in spite of family misfortunes. In 1807 Henry Constantine II was assessed at £1 1s.0d. Land Tax, for himself and one tenant.<sup>51</sup> In 1816 his assessment had risen to £2 14s.0d., and only William Chaytor had a higher one.<sup>52</sup> Although this change took place during the period of the Carlton enclosure, it would be a mistake to think that enclosure allotments were responsible for any part of the higher bill. There is plenty of evidence from Carlton that enclosure allotments made no difference to the amount of Land Tax their owners paid. Presumably this was because they were regarded as compensation for rights of pasture which were already allowed for in the assessment.<sup>53</sup>

In 1816 Henry Constantine II was still doing some farming himself, but he now had four tenants, the largest of whom was John Constantine, his eldest son. The assessment for the land John was farming was £1 10s.6d., more than his father's whole bill in 1807.<sup>54</sup> In 1817 John and his wife Ruth lost two daughters, who died within a few weeks of each other, aged four and two. In the following year John

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<sup>48</sup> NYCRO, Tithe Award, nos. 177 and 179.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, nos. 286, 303, 304 and 305.

<sup>50</sup> NYCRO, PC/CTT. Alice Metcalfe was the daughter of Joshua Geldart – see above, p.208. She and her husband Henry Metcalfe moved to Halifax. M.Moverley, thesis, p.106.

<sup>51</sup> NYCRO, QDE (L), MIC 215.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., MIC 223.

<sup>53</sup> For example, the Topham and Midgley farm, with its farmhouse at Town Head House, was assessed at £2 1s.0d. throughout the period 1807–1831. Likewise the assessment on the land belonging to Masham Poor remained constant at 2s.9d. In both cases enclosure allotments had been added to their lands. Other examples could be given.

<sup>54</sup> NYCRO, QDE (L), MIC 215.

himself died; his youngest son John was born posthumously at the end of the same month (April 1818).<sup>55</sup> With John's death his brother, Henry Constantine III, became the heir to the family estates in Carlton. In the next generation there were three children of John and Ruth to provide for – Henry, Elizabeth and John. Henry Constantine II in his will left a house and a small portion of land in trust for each of the boys. Until they were of age the proceeds were to be used for their maintenance and education and 'advancement in life'.<sup>56</sup> He also left substantial cash legacies for each of the three grandchildren when they came of age, and in addition Elizabeth was to have the interest on £200 for life. His daughter Elizabeth Geldart was left an annuity of £25 p.a., and his daughter-in-law Ruth got a small annuity of £5 p.a. These arrangements were bound to be a considerable drain on the estate, and Henry recognised as much when he directed that Elizabeth's £200 should be raised 'out of personal or real estate (by mortgage or sale)'.<sup>57</sup>

Henry Constantine III was regarded by contemporaries as a remarkable character, known as 'The Coverdale Bard'. His home at Flatts Farm still retains above the front door a panel dated 1861, 'inscribed in lengthy self-commemoration', as Jane Hatcher puts it.<sup>58</sup> It contains eight lines of his verse, beginning:

He wrote from knowledge, genius kind

Opened the casket of his mind...

In later years he was able to spend more time on his writing, but as a young man he had to concentrate on farming. The Land Tax return for 1816 names him as tenant of Matthew Beck's land at Highfield.<sup>59</sup> By 1831, now the owner of most of the family lands, he was assessed for Land Tax at £2 9s.0d.<sup>60</sup> This was only 6d. less than Thomas Errington's assessment, which was the highest in Carlton after William Chaytor's sales (Table 17). Even so, Henry Constantine's assessment in 1831 was less than his father's in 1816. He was farming most of the land himself, with only one tenant, John Thompson, whose house and land accounted for 7s.0d. of the assessment.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Coverham parish register.

<sup>56</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1 173/10.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Hatcher, *Richmondshire Architecture*, p.45.

<sup>59</sup> NYCRO, QDE (L), MIC 223.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., MIC 238.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.



The Tithe Award shows that in 1849 Henry Constantine III was no longer farming his land personally. He owned 108a.1r.26p., but had 'in hand' only the house he lived in, two gardens and a house (the older part of 'The Mount') where his sister, Elizabeth Geldart, lived. All his farmland was tenanted by Jeffrey Matson.<sup>62</sup> The Award names Henry Constantine as the impropiator of the Carlton tithes; he had therefore a strong financial interest in the process, which gave him a secure income of £27 9s.0d. a year in lieu of the tithes.<sup>63</sup> His nephew, Henry Constantine IV, was benefiting from his grandfather's bequest to him, living in the house and farming the land. He also owned an enclosure allotment, which had been awarded to his father John, and which was tenanted by Thomas Pickard.<sup>64</sup> Ruth Constantine is listed as the owner of the property which had been bequeathed to her younger son, John – three cottages, including the older part of the present 'Crag View', with outbuildings and land behind, and 'Sybb', the field across the road. This property was divided between two tenants, while Ruth herself lived in a house owned by Anthony Buckle and adjacent to his own.<sup>65</sup>

The 1851 census describes Henry Constantine III as 'Landed Proprietor', living with his wife Isabel, whom he had married comparatively late in life, and a young house servant.<sup>66</sup> Henry Constantine IV is described as 'Owner, farming 4½ acres', which confirms the supposition that the 1851 census in Carlton does not record the complete landholdings of people who were both owner/occupiers and landlords. The allotment up on the moor tenanted by Thomas Pickard consisted of over 58 acres of pasture.<sup>67</sup> Henry Constantine IV was now aged thirty-seven, and had a wife and five children to support on his farm. Ruth Constantine is described in the census as 'Annuitant', and her son John as 'Out of Business'. They lived together, and had a general servant.<sup>68</sup> We know from the deeds of 'Crag View' that John Constantine had been to Manchester, and had returned in debt from a business venture there, so that his mother had to rescue him from debt by paying off £300 owing to Lupton Topham of Middleham and buying John's property in Carlton.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> NYCRO, Tithe Award, schedule of holdings.

<sup>63</sup> NYCRO, *ibid.*, final statement.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, schedule of holdings.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> 1851 census, schedule 36.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, schedule 47; NYCRO, Tithe Award.

<sup>68</sup> 1851 Census, schedule 21.

<sup>69</sup> I am grateful to Mrs. Isobel Jenkins for a copy of her notes on the deeds of 'Crag View'.

The fortunes of the Constantines in the period 1815 to 1851 can only be described as mixed. Henry Constantine II had risen to become a leading landowner in the township, but the early death of his elder son was a blow to the family, and his younger son had his heart in writing rather than farming. By 1851 Henry Constantine III was using his income from the farm and the commuted tithes to support the lifestyle of a gentleman and man of letters. The immediate prospects for his two nephews were not encouraging; Henry had to support a family of growing children on a small farm, while John had to recover from his business failure if he could.

Thus, both the Geldarts and the Constantines were in a less favourable position in 1851 than they had been in the past. It is significant that neither family had entered the market to buy any of the land William Chaytor wanted to sell. They had ceased to be in a phase of expansion. In the Carlton enclosure both families had received good-sized allotments, including some well-situated land, and the enclosure should not be seen as the reason for their inability to build on their previous success. Their circumstances had been affected by untimely deaths, by the wishes of testators to provide for all their children and grand-children, and also perhaps by attempts by Richard Geldart and Henry Constantine III to live on rents rather than by personal farming.

### **Winners and losers among the smallest owners**

As we saw in the last chapter, the enclosure commissioner followed instructions to the letter by allotting the smallest owners land close to the village. The area between the Walden and Burton roads stands out on the enclosure map as a patchwork of tiny fields. Francis Pickard received two of them, but one was originally intended for Thomas Harrison, whose name appears in the version produced in the Townhead court case in 1872.<sup>70</sup> Thomas did not get an allotment in the final version of the Award, so it seems as if Francis Pickard must have bought the rights while the enclosure commissioner was at work.<sup>71</sup> By 1849 more of these very small enclosures had come into the hands of the Pickard family. Francis had acquired Jonathan Peacock's allotment next to one of his own, and combined them into one field called 'Nook Allotment'. His son William had bought Thomas Metcalfe's allotment (1r.32p.) and Christopher Caygill's (2r.8p.); in 1849 they also formed one

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<sup>70</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2419, frame 166.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, PC/CTT, Carlton Enclosure Award.



field, known as 'Metcalf Field'. In addition William owned a rather larger field which had been allotted to William Raynard in 1815. William Pickard farmed his own fields, but those belonging to Francis were farmed by his other son Robert.<sup>72</sup> In the 1851 census Francis, listed as 'Retired Farmer', was living with Robert at Highfield, where Robert was tenant of the middle farm. From a farming point of view it made good sense for these tiny allotments to become part of larger farms, and if possible to be amalgamated into larger fields. No doubt most of the smallest owners were glad to sell, and may have done so in order to avoid the costs of walling – but they now had cash instead of land in compensation for their lost rights, and they or their families may later have regretted their bargain.

Thomas Metcalfe, whose allotment was the smallest of this group, was an innkeeper and blacksmith.<sup>73</sup> Baines in his directory calls the inn the 'XYZ', the name of a famous racehorse, who won the Gold Cup at Richmond in three successive years, 1812-14.<sup>74</sup> In 1816 Thomas Metcalfe was an owner-occupier, but in 1831, when he owned two houses and land, both had tenants, the second being another Thomas Metcalfe.<sup>75</sup> This is slightly ambiguous, but it almost certainly means that his son, of the same name, was running the business. Thomas Metcalfe senior died at the age of seventy-two in 1831.<sup>76</sup> Thomas Metcalfe junior succeeded him, and is listed in the 1841 census with his wife Elizabeth and seven children, the oldest of whom was aged only eleven.<sup>77</sup> In that year the family were already in severe financial difficulties, and owed £141 to the Swaledale and Wensleydale Bank. They were obliged to mortgage the inn and blacksmith's shop for the amount

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<sup>72</sup> Information about the Pickard family from NYCRO, MIC 2419, passim; *ibid.*, Tithe Award, nos. 352, 353, 357, 347 and 348.

<sup>73</sup> Information about Thomas Metcalfe and his family comes from the deeds of Seaton House.

<sup>74</sup> J. Fairfax-Blakeborough, *Northern Turf History*, I (undated, late 1940s), 214-17. 'XYZ' was owned by Mr. Ralph Riddell, of Felton Park, Northumberland. His horses were trained in Coverdale by John Lonsdale at Tupgill. Fairfax-Blakeborough says the horse 'was looked upon as a local hero and considered a great North country horse', and quotes the chorus of a song about him. He also quotes the horse's obituary from the *New Sporting Magazine* of May, 1832, which explained that he got his unusual name because Mr. Riddell 'on account of his great ill-luck' had determined to abandon the Turf, and 'XYZ' was to be 'his last experiment'. He later had other winners, including the even more famous 'Dr. Syntax'.

<sup>75</sup> NYCRO, QDE (L), MIC223 and MIC 238.

<sup>76</sup> The dates of death in this and the following paragraph come from the Metcalfe family graves in Coverham churchyard.

<sup>77</sup> 1841 census.

of the debt, at interest of five per cent.<sup>78</sup> The family's fate was sealed when Thomas Metcalfe died in November 1843, aged only thirty-eight. After his death the bank's officers took possession of the property; the £141 debt was still owing, plus £9 in interest.<sup>79</sup> In December 1850 William John Anderson and Christopher Other, on behalf of the bank, sold the inn, 'known by the sign of the Race Horse', and the blacksmith's shop to Thomas Topham of Middleham for £150. The tenant at that time was Henry Harrison, who appears in the 1851 census as 'Innkeeper and Blacksmith'.<sup>80</sup> In October 1854 Thomas Topham in turn sold the property to William Harrison the younger, a butter factor, for £300. The wording of the indenture – 'heretofore used as an inn' – suggests it was no longer being used for that purpose.<sup>81</sup> Thomas Topham may of course have made some improvements to the house, but he certainly made a handsome profit on the transaction.

Elizabeth Metcalfe was still living in Carlton in 1851, and had become a charwoman. She lived with her eldest daughter, a 'servant out of place', and two of her other children, a twelve-year-old son and a nine-year-old daughter who was the Metcalfes' eighth and youngest child.<sup>82</sup> Two years later James, one of the sons living away from home at the time of the census, died at the age of nineteen.

The Metcalfes had lost their home and livelihood; the small allotment which was sold at some point after 1815 seems comparatively insignificant in the scale of the family's losses. The death of the father, leaving his wife to cope with such a large family, was the final crippling blow, but as we have seen the couple were in serious financial trouble before Thomas died. The debts which led to the mortgage of their property started the process which ended in eviction. Local tradition says the house was a drovers' inn, and the fact that there was once a long room upstairs with a large fireplace lends some credence to the story. Droving was in decline in the early nineteenth century, well before the transport of animals by railways and steamships brought the trade to an end, so this may have played some part in the

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<sup>78</sup> Deeds of Seaton House. The details of the mortgage are contained in the indenture of 1850 when the property was sold.

<sup>79</sup> The indenture in the Seaton House deeds does not give the date when the bank took possession – blank spaces were left in the document and never filled in. Elizabeth Metcalfe is named as the owner of the property in the Tithe Award, 1849.

<sup>80</sup> Seaton House deeds; 1851 census, schedule 27.

<sup>81</sup> Seaton House deeds.

<sup>82</sup> 1851 census, schedule 38.



difficulties the Metcalfes encountered.<sup>83</sup> But the story of the Metcalfes' family tragedy illustrates again the point made earlier that circumstances within a family, often including untimely deaths, could lead to changes in status. It is far too simplistic to blame enclosure for the disappearance of some small owners.

**'Family owner-occupation'.**

John Hammond is listed in the Tithe Award schedule of holdings, but had died before the Tithe Commissioner for Carlton made his first report.<sup>84</sup> John Hammond's will was made in August 1844, and proved in March 1845 by his trustees, Henry Walker (his son-in-law) and Anthony Buckle.<sup>85</sup> He left legacies for the trustees, and an annuity of £5 per year for his sister in Doncaster. Subject to these payments, all his real and personal estate was left for the benefit of his grand-daughter, Elizabeth Walker. He wanted her to have a 'liberal education', and to receive the rents and interest from his property when she came of age.<sup>86</sup> In 1851 Elizabeth was living with her father, Henry Walker, and five other Walker children at the house now known as 'Abbot's Thorn'.<sup>87</sup> The Tithe Award lists Henry Walker as the largest tenant of the Hammond lands, farming over 108 acres.<sup>88</sup> The 1851 census describes him as 'Farmer of 112 acres', and his daughter Elizabeth, now nineteen, as 'Landed Proprietor'.<sup>89</sup> This arrangement should perhaps be called 'family owner-occupation', where the owner lived with a relative who was the occupier. There is another example in the Pickard family, described earlier, where the retired farmer, Francis Pickard, lived with his son Robert, who farmed his own land and his father's, and was also the tenant of George Beck's farm at Highfield.

The seven families described above illustrate some of the variations which can be encountered under the general heading of 'owner-occupation'. The

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<sup>83</sup> See Bonser, *The Drovers*, pp.225-27, for an account of the factors involved in the decline of the trade.

<sup>84</sup> The Assistant Tithe Commissioner for Carlton Town was Charles Howard of York. His first report was dated 19 December 1846. A supplementary report was produced after a number of Carlton owners claimed rights which had not been included. The legal process, which commuted the tithes into cash payments, was completed 8 May 1849. NYCRO, T/Carlton in Coverdale, final report.

<sup>85</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1 194/28.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> The location has been arrived at by combining information from the Tithe Award and the 1851 census.

<sup>88</sup> NYCRO, Tithe Award.

<sup>89</sup> 1851 census, schedule 26.

straightforward system where the owner farmed his land as John Hutchinson did, without any additional arrangements either as tenant or as landlord, was a rarity in Carlton. The schedule of holdings in the Tithe Award provides only two other examples, John Dawson and William Lumley.<sup>90</sup> The last-named does not appear in the 1851 census in Carlton. Anthony Buckle farmed almost all his own land, with only a very small proportion let to tenants.<sup>91</sup> William Pickard farmed his 16½ acres, and let out the row of three small cottages which stood at the head of the village, looking down the village street – when he could find tenants for them.<sup>92</sup> Nobody in the Tithe Award listing was owner-occupier, tenant and landlord at one and the same time, after the example of Thomas Tennant in 1807;<sup>93</sup> but it was common practice for people to combine two of the three categories, or to move between them at different stages of the life-cycle. The variations must be kept in mind when considering the numbers of owner-occupiers in Carlton.

### **Numbers of owners and owner-occupiers from the Land Tax returns and the Tithe Award**

Analysis of the Carlton Land Tax assessments in the four bands used earlier shows that in 1816 and 1831, as before, there was a preponderance of payers in the lowest band (Table 18). In 1816 over two-thirds of the assessments were under 10s.–twenty-four out of thirty-five.<sup>94</sup> In 1831 the figure was twenty out of thirty-five (57%).<sup>95</sup> The 1831 return included brief descriptions of the property on which the assessments were made, showing which payments were made on a house only. Nine of the twenty payments in the lowest band were assessed on a house but no land other than a garden (mentioned in two instances). Two owners, Edward Prest and Edward Bell, were charged 3d. each for their houses, which was certainly contrary to the legislation exempting small owners.<sup>96</sup>

In 1816 there were fourteen owner-occupiers out of the thirty-five owners, and only three of them were in the top three bands combined. Eight of the eleven in the

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<sup>90</sup> NYCRO, Tithe Award. William Lumley lived at the present 'Quaker Garth', but at the time of the Tithe Award the name belonged to the field behind the house.

<sup>91</sup> NYCRO, Tithe Award.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. One of the cottages was listed as unoccupied.

<sup>93</sup> Above, p.160.

<sup>94</sup> NYCRO, QDE(L), MIC 223.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., MIC 238.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.; R.W.Unwin, Search Guide to the English Land Tax (Wakefield, 1982), p.8.



bottom band paid only 1s. or 6d. (Table 19).<sup>97</sup> In 1831 there were sixteen owner-occupiers, and seven of them were only paying for a house. Ten of the sixteen were in the bottom band, paying under 10s. (Table 17).<sup>98</sup> Among the highest payers, Anthony Buckle had joined the owner-occupiers when he came of age and took over his lands from his trustees.<sup>99</sup>

The Carlton Tithe Award listed forty-five owners, forty-one individuals and four partnerships (not counting 'Carlton Township', now credited with ownership without any trustee).<sup>100</sup> Table 20 ranks the owners by acreage. Nine of them had 100 acres or more, but the two largest areas, owned by Ann Simpson and the partnership of Wray, Picard and Ware, included great swathes of the outer reaches of Carlton Moor. Christopher Topham's 141 acres consisted of his single large allotment on the Fleensop boundary, and the two Wrays had a smaller holding in the same area. None of these owners were residents of Carlton, and most of their land was let as pasture to tenants from Gammersgill and Fleensop, no doubt with suitable arrangements regarding grouse shooting in the season. Although large in acreage the moorland was much less so in value. Leaving aside these estates on the high uplands, the largest landowner in Carlton was Thomas Errington, whose lands were divided between two tenants, James and Thomas Harrison. Then came Anthony Buckle, the largest owner-occupier, with over 187 acres, followed by Jenny Topham and Catherine Elizabeth Midgley, who owned the old Bulmer farm. Their single tenant, Thomas Thornton, probably made a much more comfortable living than most of the owner-occupiers in Carlton.

At the other end of the scale, eight of the twelve owners with less than 1 acre were owner-occupiers. One of them was Elizabeth Metcalfe, soon to be evicted. William Walls had already relinquished the ownership of his inn to William Lightfoot, but he remained as the tenant. All the owner-occupiers in this group, owning a house and in most cases a little land, had occupations in retailing or crafts, and three of them were also tenants, farming a small amount of extra land.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> NYCRO, QDE(L), MIC 223.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, MIC 238.

<sup>99</sup> Anthony Buckle (born in 1800) inherited his lands as a very young child: Coverham parish registers.

<sup>100</sup> All the information about landholdings in this and the next two paragraphs comes from NYCRO, T/Carlton in Coverdale.

<sup>101</sup> Information about occupations is from the 1851 census.

All told there were nineteen owner-occupiers in the Carlton Tithe Award, plus the two examples of ‘family owner-occupation’ described earlier. All these owners were resident in the township; in addition there were four owners who lived in the village but rented out all their property.<sup>102</sup> In the years since the enclosure local residents had therefore held their own against the threat of domination by outside owners. If the trends in the years before 1815 had continued, Carlton would have become a village controlled by gentry families from outside Coverdale. William Chaytor’s decision to sell properties in Wensleydale and Coverdale, concentrating his interests further north, helped to maintain the numbers of local residents among the landowners.

#### 4.2.2 1851–1910

In the second half of the nineteenth century public concern was increasingly expressed about the perceived concentration of land ownership in the hands of large owners, and in the 1870s a parliamentary enquiry was launched, in the hope that the facts would alter the public view. Instead, the survey confirmed the view, for it showed that 7,000 owners controlled four-fifths of all the land in the United Kingdom.<sup>103</sup> The enquiry was based on returns by local parish officers from the rate books. The ‘Explanatory Statement’ which introduced the published data admitted the limitations of the method, and outlined some of the problems which had been raised.<sup>104</sup> Nevertheless, the survey was soon popularly known as ‘the New Domesday’ – a name which was also applied, with more justification, to the valuation of property as a consequence of Lloyd George’s ‘People’s Budget’ of 1909-10. The information about Carlton landowners from these two statutory investigations is supplemented by census material and other sources such as the popular local directories. But in evaluating these sources it is necessary once again to be cautious, always bearing in mind that the value of a property was not determined by the number of acres. As the Local Government Board explained: ‘A large acreage may be represented by a comparatively small rental’, for instance ‘mountainous or similarly unproductive land’.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> These four were Ruth Constantine, Constantine Watson, Margaret Wright and the Rev.G.C.Tomlinson. Most of the information about residence is also from the 1851 census.

<sup>103</sup> J.V.Beckett, ‘landowners’, in Oxford Companion to Local and Family History, ed.Hey, pp.263-66.

<sup>104</sup> Owners of Land (England and Wales), 1872-3, P.P. (1874), LXXII, Part 2, 6-11.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.



### **‘Principal Owners’**

It was customary for the compilers of directories to name individuals as ‘principal owners’ or ‘principal landowners’ in each township; but they usually based their judgement on the number of acres owned. A variety of directories for the North Riding included information of this kind about Carlton, which cannot always be taken at face value. The directories also customarily named the ‘lord of the manor’; the residual manorial rights in Carlton were apparently still prized for their status value.

The farm at Townhead, owned jointly by the Bulmer heiresses Jenny Topham and Catherine Elizabeth Midgley at the time of the Tithe Award, was a good basis for anyone who aspired to be a ‘principal landowner’. It passed to Thomas Topham, the younger son of Christopher and Jenny Topham, when his aunt, Mrs. Midgley, died.<sup>106</sup> As a lawyer and also a director of the Swaledale and Wensleydale Bank, Thomas Topham was well-placed to add to his land-holdings, and over time he moved to the leading position in Coverdale vacated by Sir William Chaytor. In Whellan’s directory (1859) his name heads the list of landowners in Carlton township: ‘The lordship is divided among several proprietors, and the principal landowners are Thomas Topham, Esq., Mrs. Tomlinson, Mr. Henry Constantine, sen., and Mr. James Geldart’. Whellan also has a footnote about Carlton Flatts: ‘The Flatts property, which anciently formed part of the possessions of the neighbouring Abbey of Coverham, now belongs to Messrs. Buckle, Errington, and Constantine’.<sup>107</sup>

It is somewhat surprising to find in Whellan’s list of principal landowners the name of Mrs. Tomlinson, widow of the Rev. George C. Tomlinson, curate of Coverham from 1844 until his death in 1855.<sup>108</sup> Clearly the Tomlinsons must have had private means, which they were willing to invest in property in the parish. Mr. Tomlinson bought the parsonage in Carlton, in advance of its purchase by the trustees of Queen Anne’s Bounty, and he also bought the advowson of the living. Whellan’s statement about the principal landowners suggests there were also

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<sup>106</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2419, frame 193 – a list of documents produced by Thomas Topham in the Townhead case, 1872, to prove his title to his property. Mrs. Midgley’s will was proved in 1852.

<sup>107</sup> T. Whellan and Co., History and Topography of the City of York and The North Riding of Yorkshire (Beverley, 1859), II, 419-20.

<sup>108</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/RR 75/4 and 75/5.

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crossed township boundaries, were dealt with under Carlton Highdale and Melmerby respectively.<sup>121</sup>

By contrast, the farm at Townhead, owned by Mrs. Williams, contained 443 acres and brought in a yearly rent of £172, by far the highest in Carlton. The farm included the former Chaytor grouse moor at the top of Howden Gill, with the 'shooting house' at Howden Lodge; the lodge was valued at £205, and the sporting rights for the farm at £595. The gross value of the whole property was assessed at £4,965.<sup>122</sup> In addition Mrs. Williams owned two other farms, a small one of just over 29 acres, and a larger one with over 312 acres, and she was part owner with one other of a stretch of grouse moor with a rateable value of £60 per annum.<sup>123</sup> In terms of value, therefore, her property in Carlton was well ahead of her brother's. By 1910 the Williamses were living in Berkshire, at East Woodhay, near Newbury. A firm of land agents, T.F. King and Son, was the local contact for the valuer at an address in Leyburn.<sup>124</sup> In an interview published in The Dalesman in 1982, Simon Horner of Carlton, then aged eighty-two, reminisced about the excitement in his schooldays when Mrs. Williams arrived in the dale for the grouse-shooting, and arranged for bags of sweets to be distributed among the school-children.<sup>125</sup>

Carlton Peat Moor, owned by the Parish Council, was let out for grazing on an annual basis, but A.T.C. Orde Powlett claimed sporting rights over it as lord of the manor. A similar claim by 'Reps. of Mrs. Geldart' was inserted by the valuer as a late addition. He rated the moor 'good sporting for grouse, which is claimed by Lord of Manor. Title probably doubtful... Parishioners can get ling, peat, sand etc.' One wonders how they were supposed to do this in the grouse shooting season.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., nos. 51 (Fleensop) and 62.

<sup>122</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, no.85.

<sup>123</sup> NYCRO, NG/V, Carlton Town, nos. 49, 67 and 102.

<sup>124</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, no.85.

<sup>125</sup> W.R. Mitchell, 'Coverdale Folk', The Dalesman, vol.44, no.9 (Dec.1982), 678.

<sup>126</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58660, no.115. Today the routes to the peat moor which were set out in the Enclosure Award have entirely disappeared, and the only access (other than by a scramble round the top boundary) is by a private road made for grouse shooters through the adjoining Melmerby Moor.

### **The Old Yeoman Families: The Geldarts**

Thomas Geldart succeeded his father James in 1856 as owner of Elm Tree House and the Geldart lands, and a share in the lordship of the manor.<sup>127</sup> Thomas and his wife, Mary Metcalfe Geldart, appear in successive Carlton census returns from 1861 to 1891. The enumerators usually described him as 'Farmer'; in 1881 he was 'Retired Farmer', but he was 'Farmer' again in 1891. In that year a nephew, John Suttill, aged seventeen, was living with the Geldarts as 'Farm Servant'.<sup>128</sup> As we have already seen, Thomas was accorded his status as a lord of the manor in successive directories. In the parliamentary survey of 1872-3 his lands were listed as 80 acres, 1 rood and 1 perch, with a gross estimated rental of £65 5s.<sup>129</sup>

Geldarts had been recorded in Coverdale ever since the earliest extant court roll of 1450 for the Carlton manor court,<sup>130</sup> but Thomas and his wife were the last of the name to be resident owners in the township. Thomas died in March, 1894; his wife died in November, 1896. In 1901 a John Suttill, whose personal details match the farm servant of 1891, seems to have been living at Elm Tree House, and was described as 'Farmer. Own acct.'<sup>131</sup> In the 1910 valuation the owner was R.W.Geldart of New York, and the contact was a Leyburn solicitor. The house, buildings and land were measured at just over 72 acres, and the tenant, Arthur Iveson, paid a yearly rent of £55. The gross value was assessed at £1,470. The valuer considered the rent was on the low side, though he had a very poor opinion of the house.<sup>132</sup> It would seem that the extent of the lands had been reduced since the early 1870s, and the house had become run-down by 1910. The owner in New York maintained his rights as a lord of the manor. The relevant volume of the Victoria County History, published in 1914, traces the descent of the manor, and states that Thomas Geldart 'bequeathed his rights to the present owner, Mr.R.W.Geldart of

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<sup>127</sup> As before, dates of death in this and the next paragraph have been ascertained from the Geldart gravestones in Coverham churchyard.

<sup>128</sup> Census returns, 1861, schedule 12; 1871, schedule 85; 1881, schedule 7; 1891, schedule 48.

<sup>129</sup> Owners of Land, P.P. (1874), LXXII, Part 2, Yorks.NR, 14.

<sup>130</sup> WYAS, Leeds, DW 568.

<sup>131</sup> Census return, 1901, schedule 42. His location at Elm Tree House is suggested by his position in the return, next after Eli Walker and family of Townhead. In 1901 Arthur Iveson, the future tenant of Elm Tree House, was living with his in-laws, the Horner family, at the Post Office.

<sup>132</sup> NA:PRO IR 58/58659, no.45.



New York, his nephew'. A footnote says the information was 'kindly given by Mr.R.W.Geldart'.<sup>133</sup>

### **The Constantines**

In 1910 Henry Constantine VI, aged twenty, the latest 'Henry Constantine junior' to appear in the Carlton records, was farming some of the ancestral acres. Superficially it presents as a natural development, the very opposite of what had happened to the Geldarts – but the background is unexpected, for Henry Constantine VI was born in New Zealand.<sup>134</sup>

However, before examining the sequence of events in the young Henry's branch of the family, it is appropriate to trace the story of another returned migrant, his great-uncle, John Constantine. In 1851 John was living with his mother Ruth, who had done her best to sort out the debts which had accompanied his failed business venture in Lancashire. She continued to have worries about him, for in her will, made in May 1854, she left him a legacy of £200, with the explanation to her executors that it might be needed to pay off a debt of that amount which he owed to Thomas Chapman of Carlton, joiner. Ruth had joined with John in the promissory note, and the executors were authorised to pay the debt if necessary, cancelling the legacy. She entrusted the task as executors to her daughter and son-in-law, Elizabeth and William Beck of Exelby, near Bedale. Her elder son Henry was left a legacy of £100, but the Becks received Ruth's dwelling-houses and land at Carlton, and her silver plate and linen. Her other household goods and furniture were to be divided equally between Henry and John.<sup>135</sup>

In 1861 John Constantine was boarding with the family of James J.Walker, 'Stone Miner', and his wife Dorothy. They had another boarder, a two-year-old child 'Put out to Nurse'.<sup>136</sup> We know from her evidence in the 1872 court case that Mrs.Walker worked for the Thorntons at Town Head House for nearly thirty years, doing their washing and helping out at haytime and harvest.<sup>137</sup> All in all, it seems an odd setting for John Constantine, whose occupation was given as 'Land Agent'.

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<sup>133</sup> VCH:NR, ed.Page (1914), I, 222.

<sup>134</sup> 1901 census return, schedule 32; NYCRO, NG/V, Carlton Town, no.17.

<sup>135</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/AP1 201/27A. The will was proved in 1856.

<sup>136</sup> 1861 census, schedule 7.

<sup>137</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2419, frame 286.

This was a job for which there was no professional training; writers of the time complained that anyone could set up themselves as a land agent, with no guarantee of competence.<sup>138</sup> There is no indication of the identity of any employer of John Constantine. William Thornton, the census enumerator in Carlton in 1861 and 1871, gave himself the title of 'Land Agent' in 1861, but he was also 'Farmer 500 Acres' and an experienced surveyor.<sup>139</sup>

John Constantine was boarding with a different family in 1871, when his occupation was given as 'Landowner', and he lived with Margaret Harrison and her six young children.<sup>140</sup> In 1881, now aged sixty-two, he boarded with the family of Christopher Binks, shoemaker, living on 'Income from House and Land'.<sup>141</sup> After his failure in his business venture in the 1840s, he never succeeded in restoring his fortunes. He was never recognised in the directories as worthy of inclusion, either as a man of property or as a professional person, and never established himself in his own home.

His uncle, Henry Constantine III, achieved some renown, publishing a very varied literary output in the later years of his life. Whellan refers to 'two very amusing pamphlets in the dialect of this locality' – a Taale from Reéal Leife and Rattleham Feast – and An Essay on the best method of reclaiming Heath Land.<sup>142</sup> Speight mentions in addition The Farmer's Vicissitudes, or the Adventures of Tom Random and his Family, published at Richmond in 1862, and Rural Poetry and Prose, in two volumes, published at Beverley in 1867.<sup>143</sup> Ronald Harker, researching for an article in The Dalesman, conducted an extensive search for Henry Constantine's writings, but found only one extract from Rural Poetry and Prose in a volume about Yorkshire poets.<sup>144</sup> 'Gentleman, Author of Poetry' is the description of him in the 1861 census. In that year his nephew, Henry Constantine IV, was

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<sup>138</sup> E.Richards, 'The Land Agent', in The Victorian Countryside, ed. G.E.Mingay (1981), II, 440-44.

<sup>139</sup> 1861 census, schedule 5.

<sup>140</sup> 1871 census, schedule 35.

<sup>141</sup> 1881 census, schedule 19.

<sup>142</sup> Whellan, History and Topography, II, 420.

<sup>143</sup> Speight, Romantic Richmondshire, pp.310-11.

<sup>144</sup> R.Harker, 'Looking for the Coverdale Bard', The Dalesman, vol.47, no.11 (February 1986), 947-48.



‘Farmer of 100 Acres’, which suggests that he was now farming his uncle’s lands in Carlton.<sup>145</sup>

By 1871, the year after the poet’s death (which took place in July, 1870), Henry Constantine IV and all his family had disappeared from Carlton.<sup>146</sup> John Constantine is the only member of the family to appear in the 1871 census of the township. It was not a very brief absence, for none of them appears in the Post Office Directory, 1872.<sup>147</sup> The parliamentary survey of owners in 1872-3 lists ‘Hy. Constantine, Carlton’ with just over 210 acres of land, and a gross estimated rental of £255 8s. The list does not seem to have been up-to-date, for it also lists Anthony Buckle, who died in the same year as Henry Constantine, and unlike him did not have a successor of the same name.<sup>148</sup> The amount of land is a reminder that the Constantines held land outside the township.<sup>149</sup> It is a sad loss that the Constantine archive of deeds and other papers, mentioned by Speight, does not seem to have survived.<sup>150</sup>

Henry Constantine IV’s departure from Carlton was not permanent. By 1881, aged sixty-seven, he and his wife were back living in the village with his youngest daughter, his youngest son Frederick, and a twelve-year-old grand-daughter. Henry was farming, but only 2¾ acres.<sup>151</sup> No occupation is stated for Frederick in the census return, but it looks as if he may have been the son intended to take over the Constantine lands. His death in 1887, at the age of thirty-six, may have been the reason for his brother Henry’s return from New Zealand, with his wife and family.<sup>152</sup> Henry’s wife Emma was born in Cornwall, and four of their children were born in New Zealand. This reverse migration had taken place by the time of the

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<sup>145</sup> 1861 census, schedules 20 and 11.

<sup>146</sup> 1871 census. Henry Constantine III is described as ‘The Coverdale Bard’ on his gravestone in Coverham churchyard.

<sup>147</sup> Post Office Directory (ed. Kelly, 1872), entry for Carlton Town, pp.114-115.

<sup>148</sup> Owners of Land, P.P.(1874), LXXII, Part 2, Yorks.NR, 9 (Henry Constantine), 6 (Anthony Buckle).

<sup>149</sup> Henry Constantine III paid Land Tax on land in the Highdale in 1831, and the Coverham Glebe Terrier of 1844 mentions land belonging to Henry Constantine which bounded the allotment in Swineside Wood belonging to Foster’s Charity (NYCRO QDE(L), MIC 238, and PR/COV 11/1, MIC 2451/0332.)

<sup>150</sup> Speight, Romantic Richmondshire, p.310; Harker, The Dalesman (vol.47, no.11), 947. The then occupants of Flatts Farm told Mr.Harker that a box full of papers had ‘got burned’.

<sup>151</sup> 1881 census, schedule 14.

<sup>152</sup> Frederick’s death is recorded on the same gravestone as that of his great-uncle, Henry Constantine III.

1891 census, when they were the only Constantines in Carlton. Henry had no occupation listed in the census other than 'Living on his own means'.<sup>153</sup> It would appear, therefore, that he was not farming the family lands himself. Again in the census of 1901 Henry was described as 'Living on own means'. Another daughter had been born since the return to Carlton, but the eldest son, Leonard, was no longer at home.<sup>154</sup> It was the second son, Henry Constantine VI (aged fourteen in 1901), who in due course started farming his father's lands.

The property of Henry Constantine V in the township, as described in detail in the 1910 valuation, makes an interesting comparison with the property of Henry Constantine III, listed in the Tithe Award. Henry Constantine V owned and occupied Flatts Farm, which the valuer described as very old property, in fairly good repair. The gross valuation was £200. The house next door, occupied by Elizabeth Binks, built in 1837 and in good repair, had a gross valuation of only £70; it occupied a much smaller site than Flatts Farm, and had no garden. Across the road 'The Mount' (occupied in 1849 by Henry Constantine's sister, Elizabeth Geldart) was occupied in 1910 by Margaret Harrison, who was apparently a relative, and paid a lower rent than the house was worth, in the valuer's opinion. A building next to 'The Mount', also owned by Henry Constantine V, was used as a slaughter-house by Metcalfe Harrison. This does not seem to have reduced the value assigned to 'The Mount'! The house was given a gross valuation of £90, and the slaughter-house £35.<sup>155</sup> The 1½-acre field behind 'The Mount' ('Par Garth' in the Tithe Award) was occupied by another of the Harrisons, John, in 1910. By the time the valuer compiled the Field Book, giving it a gross valuation of £152, it had been taken over by Henry Constantine VI.<sup>156</sup> The latter was already farming the rest of his father's lands in 1910 – namely, Carlton Flatts and the land below, stretching down to the river, and a group of fields above Flatts Farm, running across the hillside towards the beck and the lane from Waterforth. These lands and the associated farm buildings were measured by the valuer at over 42½ acres, and given a gross valuation of £2,400.<sup>157</sup> In total the property belonging to Henry Constantine V, all of which had belonged to Henry Constantine III in 1849, had a gross valuation of £2,947. The farmland was all situated in the best areas, immediately above and below the village.

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<sup>153</sup> 1891 census, schedule 41.

<sup>154</sup> 1901 census, schedule 32.

<sup>155</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, nos.16 (Flatts Farm), 23, 39 ('The Mount') and 111 (the slaughter-house).

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, no.40.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, no.17.



The remainder of Henry Constantine III's land in the township was owned in the early twentieth century by a different member of the Constantine family. This land consisted of one field in the village, above Little Side ('Lazonby Field' in the Tithe Award), together with Henry Constantine III's two allotments from the West Pasture and the Moor. 'Lazonby Field', just under 2½ acres in extent, was described in the 1910 valuation as 'a very good grass field, excellently situated', with a good stone building, but no water, gross valuation £248. The allotments, 61 acres in extent, were valued with their barns at £1,015. The owner was John W. Constantine, with an address in Littleton Road, Lower Kersal, Manchester.<sup>158</sup> The most likely explanation is that he was the eldest son of Henry Constantine IV, who disappears from the Carlton records after 1861, or a descendant.

Thus the landed property which Henry Constantine III held in Carlton in 1849 was divided in two by 1910. Henry Constantine V had inherited a good, compact and well-situated farm; but one field and the outlying allotments now belonged to a different, and non-resident, branch of the family. The property which Henry Constantine IV had in 1849 was no longer part of the family holdings in 1910.

### **The Buckles**

The Buckles were another long-established Carlton family; two of them attended the manorial court in 1554,<sup>159</sup> and the name appears frequently in subsequent Carlton documents. The Christian names Anthony and Thomas were passed down the generations. The last Anthony Buckle in Carlton inherited his lands as an infant, and on reaching his majority took his place as one of the leading landowners. His house, the present 'Coverlea', and the adjacent 'Dale View', which he also owned, have prominent and attractive cast-iron railings, and 'FAB 1865' carved on the angle piers.<sup>160</sup>

The 1851 census return reveals an unconventional household. Anthony Buckle was then aged fifty. Elizabeth Taylor, aged twenty-three, was listed as 'Servant' and 'House Keeper', and Alfred T. Taylor, aged one, was listed as 'Lodger'. Anthony

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid., nos.35 and 64; NYCRO, NG/V, Carlton Town, pp.4 and 7. The owner's name and address were altered several times in the Valuation Book; the address in Littleton Road is very clear in the Field Book.

<sup>159</sup> York Minster Library, Hailstone Collection, Box 4.16.

<sup>160</sup> Hatcher, Richmondshire Architecture, p.46.

Buckle and Elizabeth Taylor were both unmarried.<sup>161</sup> Ten years later a different enumerator listed Elizabeth Taylor in the same way as 'Servant' and 'House Keeper', but Thomas Taylor, aged eleven, was listed as 'Son', and Mary Ann Taylor, aged four months was 'Daur.' If the rules of the census were followed by the enumerator, these relationships were with Anthony Buckle as head of the household.<sup>162</sup> Mary Ann was baptised at Coverham as the daughter of Elizabeth Taylor, 'single woman', but when she died at the age of eleven she was described on her gravestone as the daughter of Anthony Buckle.<sup>163</sup>

When Anthony Buckle died in 1870, Thomas succeeded him. In the 1871 census he called himself Thomas A.T.Buckle, and had a wife, Emma, who was aged eighteen, and a daughter, Mary E.T.Buckle, aged nineteen months. His brother, James T.Buckle, aged two, lived with them. They had a 'Farm Servant' and a 'General Servant', so although they were so young they were keeping up a household of some status.<sup>164</sup> By 1881 the family, still including James as well as the children of Thomas and Emma, had moved to Thrintoft (four miles west of Northallerton, in the parish of Ainderby Steeple), where Thomas was 'Farmer of 54 Acres'.<sup>165</sup> Carlton had lost the last representatives of this old and once numerous family.

### **The Dawsons**

There was a Dawson presence in Carlton in 1450, when Adam Dawson was one of the tenants attending the manorial court.<sup>166</sup> In later centuries members of the family appear in the records throughout Coverdale and in Nidderdale and Bishopdale. In the early nineteenth century John Dawson was a beneficiary in the Carlton Enclosure Award, receiving three allotments, amounting to just over forty-five acres. The largest, his 'High Allotment' of 42 acres, was given in right of property he had recently purchased from John Geldart.<sup>167</sup>

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161 1851 census, schedule 23.

162 1861 census, schedule 45.

163 M.Moverley, thesis, p.97.

164 1871 census, schedule 45.

165 1881 census, Thrintoft.

166 WYAS, Leeds, DW 568.

167 NYCRO, PC/CTT. MIC 319.



John Bowes in his Autobiography describes some incidents from the time when he and his family lived in Carlton on a small farm belonging to John Dawson, his father's uncle. In the eyes of the young schoolboy John Dawson was a wealthy man, at any rate in comparison with the Bowes family.<sup>168</sup> In 1818, when he was fourteen, John Bowes left school and went to work as general assistant on the farm of another of his father's uncles, Edward Dawson of West Scafton. Before John's arrival, Edward's wife and three daughters had died, and a fourth daughter died soon afterwards. His brother helped out by taking Edward's only son, then six years old, to live with him in Carlton.<sup>169</sup>

It would seem that the nephew stayed on in Carlton, and inherited his uncle's farm, for in the 1851 census we find John Dawson, born in West Scafton, living in Carlton as 'Owner farming 50 acres'. Although he was only thirty-eight, he was already a widower, and lived with his three daughters and one son, James Edward.<sup>170</sup> The Tithe Award lists the lands of the Dawson farm, just short of 56 acres, all owner-occupied and very scattered. The largest single area by far was the 'High Allotment', 42 acres of pasture stretching up to the Peat Moor, with access by East Hazely Peat Road.<sup>171</sup>

By 1871 John Dawson, 'Farmer of 54 Acres', lived with his youngest daughter Sarah in a new house, two doors away from their previous home. It was named 'Carlton Villa' on the 25-inch Ordnance Survey map used for the 1910 valuation, and the valuer noted that it was built in 1868.<sup>172</sup> In the parliamentary survey of 1872-3, John Dawson, Carlton, was listed as owner of 55 acres, 2 roods, 7 perches, with a gross estimated rental of £35 17s., an extent very similar to that in the Tithe Award.<sup>173</sup> His son, now married with four children, was farming 37 acres in Carlton in 1871, apparently as a tenant.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Bowes, Autobiography, p.2.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, p.7.

<sup>170</sup> 1851 census, schedule 40. John Bowes does not mention the Christian name of Edward Dawson's only son, but the age and birthplace of John Dawson support the identification.

<sup>171</sup> NYCRO, Carlton Tithe Award.

<sup>172</sup> 1871 census, schedule 80; NA:PRO, IR58/58659, no.22. The house is now called 'Dawson House'.

<sup>173</sup> Owners of Land, P.P. (1874), LXXII, Part 2, Yorks.NR,10.

<sup>174</sup> 1871 census, schedule 86.

Ten years later John Dawson had retired; Sarah Dawson remained single, and kept house for her father. James Edward was 'Farmer 120 Acres', and at this time was still living in Carlton village, with six children living at home.<sup>175</sup> In 1889 Kelly's directory lists John Dawson in Carlton, and James at Highfield, while Bulmer's directory of 1890 lists Mr. John Dawson as a 'principal owner' and a resident of Carlton, and has a John Dawson at Highfield House.<sup>176</sup> In the following year the census records Sarah Dawson living alone, 'on her own means', and sixteen-year-old Edward Dawson living as a boarder and 'Farmers Assistant' with the Horner family at one of the other farms at Highfield.<sup>177</sup> James and the rest of his family were no longer in Carlton, but subsequent records suggest that the farm at Highfield remained in Dawson ownership.<sup>178</sup> In 1901 Thomas Dawson was farming at Highfield, and according to the census this was 'on own account'.<sup>179</sup> He was still at Highfield when the 1910 valuation was produced, but was only the tenant. Sarah Dawson owned one-third of the farm, and Edward Dawson the other two-thirds.<sup>180</sup>

The name of Edward Dawson of Braithwaite Hall recurs throughout the 1910 valuation of Carlton.<sup>181</sup> In addition to his share of Highfield, he owned all the lands which John Dawson had at the time of the Tithe Award, but instead of owner-occupation they were split between seven tenants. He also owned a stretch of grouse moor, and had a share in another.<sup>182</sup> The gross valuations of these properties (excluding the grouse moors, and deducting Sarah's one-third share of Highfield) amounted in total to £3,147. Sarah continued to live at Carlton Villa, and owned the house. Edward owned the older family home, now occupied by Christopher Binks, the shoemaker. Unusually among the Carlton owners, Edward challenged the valuation of this house and the shoemaker's workshop, and also of the farm at Highfield. He obtained an increase in the gross valuations 'on objection' – an

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<sup>175</sup> 1881 census, schedules 12 and 52.

<sup>176</sup> Kelly's Directory (1889), p.53; Bulmer, History, Topography and Directory, pp.405 and 407.

<sup>177</sup> 1891 census, schedules 47 and 55. The details of this Edward Dawson match those of James Edward's youngest son.

<sup>178</sup> There were three farms at Highfield; this one was the furthest away from Carlton village.

<sup>179</sup> 1901 census, schedule 47. His details match those of James Edward's second son.

<sup>180</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, no.24.

<sup>181</sup> The address is sometimes given in the valuation as 'East Witton' and sometimes as 'Middleham'. Braithwaite Hall, a fine manor house now owned by the National Trust, is in East Witton parish.

<sup>182</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, nos.3.46, 70, 71, 74, 81, IR58/58660, nos. 103, 112, and 116.



increase of £90 in the case of Highfield, where the valuation rose from £1,865 to £1,955.<sup>183</sup>

All four of the old yeoman families whose fortunes have been traced in this section appeared to be still firmly established as farming owner-occupiers in Carlton in 1849. At that date James Geldart, Henry Constantine IV, Anthony Buckle and John Dawson all farmed their own lands, and Henry Constantine III lived in the old family home, though he chose to lease his lands. By the time of the 1910 valuation, only the Constantines remained as farming owner-occupiers, 'family owner-occupiers' in their case, farming lands reduced in extent from those of 1849. However, the story of James Simpson, the last of the Carlton residents in Bulmer's list of 'principal owners', shows that a family could rise from small beginnings to leading landowner status in nineteenth-century Carlton.

#### **A new landowning family: the Simpsons**

Simpson was a widespread surname in the Dales in the seventeenth century; the surname index for the Hearth Tax of 1673 shows Simpsons spread across the North Riding from Teesdale to Wensleydale and Bishopdale.<sup>184</sup> At that time and later they were numerous in Burton cum Walden and around Aysgarth. In the early nineteenth century there were Simpsons in Carlton Highdale, among them Richard Simpson, born in Braidley, who settled in Carlton and married Elizabeth Geldart.<sup>185</sup> But the founder of the family which rose to prominence in Carlton in the late nineteenth century came into the dale from Wensleydale.

In the 1851 Carlton census we find James Simpson, aged sixty-seven, born at West Witton, following his trade as a butcher and farming four acres. His wife Elisabeth was born at Caldbergh. The rest of the household consisted of their daughter Martha, teenage son James, and grandson John.<sup>186</sup> They had been in Carlton since the 1820s at least, for Martha was baptised at Coverham in March 1828, when James was recorded as a butcher, of Carlton.<sup>187</sup> The Tithe Award lists him as a tenant of Constantine Watson, renting a cottage, garden and garth. The

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<sup>183</sup> Ibid., nos.3 and 24.

<sup>184</sup> Ripon Historical Society, Hearth Tax List (Gilling West and Hang West), p.81.

<sup>185</sup> See above, pp.222-23.

<sup>186</sup> 1851 census, schedule 12.

<sup>187</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/RR 75/3, Bishop's transcript of the Coverham register.

cottage was tiny, occupying a site of only 4 perches; it was on Carlton Street above Quaker Lane. James was also the tenant of just over 4 acres of land owned by Thomas Watson. The largest of his three fields was King Close, 2½ acres of meadow across the Street, beyond Micklethwaite Gill.<sup>188</sup> He was a typical example of the combination of a trade with small farming, and his farm was a miniature edition of the larger ones in Carlton, for the garth was used as arable, and he had two meadows and a small pasture.

By 1869 his son James, following his father's trade as a butcher, was living with his wife and family at the property which is now divided into 'Middleham House' and 'Melbeck Studio'. It consisted of 'dwelling house, butcher's shop, stables and carthouse or warehouse ... lately erected and rebuilt by William Harrison the Younger', and when it was sold to James Simpson in March 1869 he was already living there.<sup>189</sup> The 1871 census return shows that the household consisted of James and his wife Hannah, who was born at Melmerby, a daughter, Elizabeth, four sons, James, John, Edward and Watson, an apprentice and a fourteen-year-old house servant.<sup>190</sup> There is no mention of any farming in this census entry, and James does not appear as a farmer in the Post Office directory (1872), or as an owner of land in the parliamentary survey of 1872-3.<sup>191</sup>

In 1881 James was listed in the census as 'Butcher and Farmer 35 Acres'. He no longer had an apprentice or a domestic servant; his children were all living at home, now aged between eighteen and eleven, and though all four boys were still at school they would be expected to help in the business and on the farm whenever they were available.<sup>192</sup> This was the common practice in the district. As Charles Maltby put it, 'Farm labourers were not much in evidence in our village, only a few of the larger farms ran to this luxury. The farmer's family bore the heat and burden of the day.'<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> NYCRO, Tithe Award, nos.104, 106 and 110 owned by Constantine Watson, 147, 386 and 387 owned by Thomas Watson.

<sup>189</sup> Information from the deeds of 'Crag View', which was bought later by James Simpson.

<sup>190</sup> 1871 census, schedule 50.

<sup>191</sup> Post Office Directory, ed. Kelly (1872), p. 115: 'Simpson, James, butcher'.

<sup>192</sup> 1881 census, schedule 42.

<sup>193</sup> Maltby, The Dalesman, vol.10, no.10 (Jan.1949), 364.



James prospered, and added to his lands, to the extent, as we have seen, that in 1890 Bulmer's directory listed him as one of Carlton's 'principal owners'. By 1891 he was a widower, but four of his five children were still at home. The eldest son, James junior, had married and was farming in Carlton. James senior was concentrating on farming, while the second son, John, was listed in the census as a butcher, Edward as assistant farmer, and Watson, the youngest son, at the age of twenty-one was, surprisingly, a draper's assistant.<sup>194</sup>

In Kelly's directory of 1901 James is among the four leading inhabitants at the top of the Carlton list. John and Watson appear in the 'Commercial' section as 'Butcher' and 'Farmer' respectively, and Edward is in the Melmerby list as 'Farmer'.<sup>195</sup> From their positions in the 1901 census return it seems likely that John Simpson, now married with three children, was living at 'Middleham House', James senior, now remarried, was living at 'Dale View', and Watson, still single in 1901, lived next door in Anthony Buckle's former home, the present 'Coverlea'.<sup>196</sup> They were certainly living at these locations at the time of the 1910 valuation, which reveals the full extent of the Simpson family's ownership of land and houses in Carlton, and also the large acreage they occupied between them as tenants.

The Field Book for the 1910 valuation begins with New Close, owned by James Simpson, and valued at £2,320. Edward Simpson had recently become his father's tenant there. James also owned the middle farm at Highfield, tenanted by George Harrison and valued at £1,460. He still owned 'Middleham House' and its outbuildings, with 4½ acres of land, valued at £561 and tenanted by his son John. He owner-occupied 'Dale View', and he owned 'Coverlea' and some of the old Buckle lands, tenanted by his son Watson. The last entry in the book says part of this holding had recently been split off from the rest, and was now owned by John Simpson, but still tenanted by Watson. In addition James Simpson owned 'Crag View' and the other two cottages in its row, and one unoccupied house in the village, and he shared ownership of a grouse moor with Mrs. Williams.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> 1891 census, schedule 18. James junior disappears from the Carlton records after this census. He moved to East Witton and died prematurely. Information from Mr. Charles Utley of West Scafton, a grandson of Watson Simpson.

<sup>195</sup> Kelly's Directory (1901), p.63.

<sup>196</sup> 1901 census, schedules 11 (James), 12 (Watson) and 17 (John).

<sup>197</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, nos.1, 8, 26, 30, 47, 61, 63, 68, 93, IR58/58660 nos. 102, 122.

Edward and Watson Simpson jointly owned 15 acres of land, next to New Close land, and Edward was the occupier. They also jointly owned 2½ acres which had another tenant.<sup>198</sup> Edward occupied 128 acres owned by A.C.T.Orde Powlett, a holding which stretched across the township boundary into Melmerby, plus another 42½ acres owned by Edward Dawson.<sup>199</sup>

John Simpson owned the Post Office and shop, tenanted by Margaret Horner. He owner-occupied 8 acres of land, and was the tenant of the 19½ acres which still belonged to Marsden Poor.<sup>200</sup>

Watson Simpson did not own any land other than his joint holdings with his brother Edward, but he was tenant of five holdings, in addition to the land owned by his father which was traditionally associated with his home at 'Coverlea'. He occupied 61 acres, 3 roods, owned by J.W.Constantine; 30 acres owned by Thomas Thompson of Leyburn; 21½ acres owned by the trustees of Christopher Other; a house, buildings and land amounting to 312 acres, 1 rood, owned by Mrs.Williams; and lastly, the 117 acres of Carlton Peat Moor, which he rented from the Parish Council. According to the valuer the Peat Moor was 'only moderate grazing, nearly whole of it old rough ling', but would summer 100 sheep. The land tenanted by Watson Simpson was spread across the township, and it is clear from the extent of it that although he was not yet an owner he was a substantial farmer.<sup>201</sup>

By value, though not by acreage, James Simpson was second only to Mrs.Williams as a 'principal owner' in the years before the First World War. He succeeded in acquiring properties which would provide comfortable homes and a living in farming for his sons. In Kelly's Directory for 1921 John, Edward and Watson Simpson are all listed as farmers in Carlton.

### **Holiday-makers as owners**

The 1910 valuation includes some entries which describe early examples of today's holiday cottages in Carlton. George T.Cockayne, a brewer from Sheffield, owned

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<sup>198</sup> Ibid., nos.2 and 72.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., nos.62 and 71.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., nos.28, 91 and 69.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., nos.64, 65, 66 and 67, IR58/58660, no. 115.



‘Coverdale Lodge’, which had been converted from four cottages below Quaker Lane, in order to be occupied by the owner ‘as a summer residence’. The valuer much admired the house, with its three reception rooms, two kitchens, six bedrooms and bathroom, and valued it at £405. G.T.Cockayne had also acquired three old cottages with some land and farm buildings on the other side of the road. One house was unoccupied at the time of the surveyor’s visit, and the other two were used as harness rooms. Mr.Cockayne rented three fields nearby.<sup>202</sup> Another member of the family, W.S.Cockayne, rented ‘Quaker House’ and 11½ acres of land, owned by a group of no fewer than nine people, each receiving a share of the £35 rent. At the time of his survey the valuer thought the house was ‘not fit to live in in present state’; it had been unoccupied for some time, but the Cockaynes must have had plans for it. They were evidently building up a little estate around ‘Coverdale Lodge’.<sup>203</sup>

‘Thistle Cottage’, on the north side of Carlton Street not far from the top of Quaker Lane, was less grand than ‘Coverdale Lodge’, but was also a conversion of old property into a holiday home. The owner, George Thistlethwaite, was a dyehouse manager from Girlington, Bradford, who bought a cottage and added to it the ruined cottage next door, which had formerly been used as a joiner’s workshop. In the Field Book the surveyor says the purchase price (in December 1906) was £80 for the two, and Mr.Thistlethwaite had subsequently spent about £50 on the restoration. The work was apparently still in progress at the time of the visit.<sup>204</sup> Albert Farnell, a garage owner from Bradford, caused great excitement when he visited ‘Thistle Cottage’ in the first motor car to be seen in Carlton.<sup>205</sup>

### **Resident and non-resident owners in the 1910 valuation**

Comparison of the data about ownership in the Tithe Award and the 1910 valuation immediately presents some differences. The four partnerships in the Tithe Award

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<sup>202</sup> See Kelly’s West Riding Directory (1901), Part 3, pp.302 and 401 for details of G.T.Cockayne’s Sheffield home and brewery.

<sup>203</sup> NA:PRO, 58/58659, nos.18, 19, 20 and 27. The present ‘Quaker Garth’ was ‘Quaker House’ on the map used for the 1910 valuation. The owners all appear to have been related, and their names suggest they were descendants of William Lumley, who owned the property in 1849.

<sup>204</sup> NA:PRO, 58/58659, nos.15 and 97.

<sup>205</sup> The Dalesman, vol.45, no.2,127: a letter from Mr.Farnell’s grand-daughter, correcting some of the details in an article in the magazine in December 1982, which described George Thistlethwaite as the garage owner.

were all non-resident owners. In the 1910 valuation the patterns of ownership were more complicated, and it is necessary to explain briefly how they have been dealt with in calculating the numbers. There were six partnerships, with the numbers of partners ranging from two to nine, but there were only two cases in which the partners did not own other land in Carlton as individuals: 'Thos.Smith and others', and 'Carling and Harrison'.<sup>206</sup> The nine people who received shares of the rent of 'Quaker House' have been counted as one owner. The partnership of J.H.Carling of Catterick and Mary Harrison of Carlton, owning a house (occupied by Mary Harrison) and 50 acres of land, has been treated differently, and each partner has been counted separately (in order to avoid fractions appearing in the numbers of residents and non-residents!)

On this basis of calculation there were forty-seven owners of property in Carlton in the Valuation Book, excluding the owners of public buildings and communal property such as the Parish Council and the school trustees. The proportion of Carlton residents and owner-occupiers among the owners had decreased since 1849. Out of forty-seven owners, nineteen were Carlton residents and fourteen were owner-occupiers.<sup>207</sup> This compares with twenty-five Carlton residents, and nineteen owner-occupiers plus two examples of 'family owner-occupation', out of the forty-five owners in the Tithe Award. There were twelve owners with less than 1 acre in the 1910 valuation, the same number as in 1849; six were Carlton residents, but only four of them owner-occupied their houses, and by contrast with 1849 only two of them were tradesmen – Orlando Harrison, a butcher, and Joseph Walls at the 'Foresters' Arms'. When the valuer called to do his survey of the 'Foresters' Arms' he found that Joseph Walls had sold out to T. and R.Theakstone. The new occupant, S.R.Bellamy, had only been there ten days, and could not give him any details about the volume of trade.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> NA:PRO, 58/58659, no.27; *ibid.*, no. 41, 58/58660, no.106.

<sup>207</sup> I have counted Edward Simpson as a local resident because of his move to New Close, recorded in the Field Book. NA:PRO, IR58/58659, no.1. No other non-resident owners moved into Carlton during the valuation, but it is possible some Carlton residents moved out. At least two such moves are suggested by amendments in the Valuation Book, but there is no indication of the date, and it is known that the books remained in use in Valuation Offices for years after the survey was completed. See B.Short, Land and Society in Edwardian Britain (Cambridge, 1997), p.56.

<sup>208</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, nos.34 and 82; 1901 census, schedule 27, for Orlando Harrison's occupation.



As before, landowners were sometimes also tenants. John Simpson was one example, an owner-occupier of land, landlord of the Post Office-cum-shop, and his father's tenant at Middleham House, all at the same time.<sup>209</sup> Mrs. Cecilia Harrison, widow of a blacksmith, had achieved a similar combination of tenures. In her case she owner-occupied her house, rented out her 29 acres of land (described by the valuer as 'good grass land, well watered'), also rented out the blacksmith's shop next to her house, and was herself the tenant of the 6 acres of land belonging to West Witton Poor.<sup>210</sup>

The twenty-eight non-resident owners were spread far and wide. The Field Book adds many details about their addresses, and in some cases the valuer clearly had to do some detective work to establish names and addresses of owners. The most troublesome unresolved matter seems to have concerned the 19 acres of land belonging to 'Marsden Poor'. The valuer was required to find the trustees instead of dealing with the agent in Leyburn. He gives an alternative name of 'Topham's Charity', and a note fastened into the Field Book names the trustees as Lord Middleton of Birdsall House, Colonel W.L. Maude of Rylston and Ed. Clitherow, Esq., of Healaugh Old Hall, Tadcaster.<sup>211</sup> A note on top says, 'Parish completed'. Some non-resident owners were near at hand, such as Thomas Binks in Middleham, Thomas Thompson, who lived at 'Carlton House' in Leyburn, and A.C.T. Orde Powlett at Spennithorne.<sup>212</sup> Others were more distant: J.W. Constantine in Manchester, J.R. Pickard, J.P., in Kirkby Lonsdale, Charles Holgate in Laxey, Isle of Man, Mrs. Williams in Berkshire, and of course Walter Geldart in New York. Their tenants were often dealing with agents, rather than the owner.

Landowners based outside the township and the dale had been a feature of Carlton's history since the Norman Conquest, and possibly even earlier; but in the years preceding the First World War, there were more of them than ever before. The substantial body of local freeholders, established when the tenants bought their lands in the seventeenth century, had been whittled away in the eighteenth century, and had suffered severe losses in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some of the

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<sup>209</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, nos. 28, 68 and 91; IR58/58660, no. 122.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., IR58/58659, nos. 12, 37, 38 and 57. For Cecilia Harrison's family see 1901 census, schedule 24.

<sup>211</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, no. 69. The information does not throw any light on the question of which 'Marsden' benefited.

<sup>212</sup> See Kelly's Directory (1909), p. 160, for Thomas Thompson.

underlying reasons will become clearer as we examine changes in farming, which continued to be the only major source of employment in the township.

### 4.3 Farming in Carlton in the Nineteenth Century

#### 4.3.1 Land Use in Carlton Post-enclosure

The eighteenth-century agricultural improvers prophesied that enclosure would bring more land into agricultural production. The Tithe Award, with its detailed account of land use in the township in the 1840s, provides an opportunity to put their theory to the test in an upland area. It is instructive to examine the pattern of farming in Carlton post-enclosure, and to note the changes in land use which took place, particularly in the enclosure allotments on the West Pasture and the Moor.

The Tithe Award recorded 145 acres and 3 roods of arable land in the township, divided into forty-nine separate plots of land, belonging to twenty-five different owners.<sup>213</sup> It was not concentrated either in the former common fields or in the enclosure allotments. Most of it was scattered in small fields across the township, below the area of enclosure. Roger Rayner had one rood of arable, 'Hyde Park', right in the middle of the village, an 'island' of arable between Carlton Street and Melbeck.<sup>214</sup> Constantine Watson owned 28 perches in what is now the garden of 'Pear Tree House', and the present long garden of 'Quaker Garth' was an arable field (the original 'Quaker Garth').<sup>215</sup> Some of the larger landowners had similarly small pieces of arable. Henry Constantine III had 'Ploughing', an isolated field of less than 1 acre, surrounded by meadows and pasture in the middle of the old West Field.<sup>216</sup> Anthony Buckle had 'West Close', just over 2½ acres of arable on the edge of the old East Field, and 'Potatoe Garth', a tiny piece only 10 perches in extent, halfway down Goodman's Gill.<sup>217</sup> The largest blocks of arable were at opposite ends of the township. A block of four fields on the Melmerby boundary belonged to Martin Mangles, the owner of Town Foot Farm.<sup>218</sup> Altogether the four

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<sup>213</sup> NYCRO, Tithe Award, passim.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., no.48.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., nos.110 and 112.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., no.199.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., nos.170 and 78.

<sup>218</sup> Martin Mangles lived at Brecongill, near Agglethorpe. His father John was a former jockey who became a noted racehorse trainer. 'Mangles' is the spelling in the Carlton Tithe Award, but elsewhere the name is often spelt 'Mangle'. Whellan, History and Topography,



fields amounted to very nearly 30 acres, but the topmost field, 'Cat Gill Allotment'. 13½ acres, was described in the Tithe Award as 'Arable and Ling'. It was an allotment from the Moor, and it seems likely that only the lower part had been brought under the plough.<sup>219</sup> At the other end of the township, Mark Scott, who owned the former Chaytor farm at Highfield, had a row of three arable fields, 'East Close', 'Middle Close' and 'West Close', amounting to 18 acres, 3 roods and 9 perches. The field names dated from the enclosure of the old High Field.<sup>220</sup> Mark Scott also owned one of two fields lower down the hill, both called 'Slacklands'. In this area, between Hobgill and the Gammersgill boundary, a block of five arable fields had four different owners.<sup>221</sup>

With the exception of 'Hyde Park', which was an enclosure from the Town Waste in the 1815 Award, and 'Cat Gill Allotment', all the arable fields mentioned so far were part of Carlton's old enclosures, pre-dating the enclosure of the West Pasture and the Moor. There was, however, a further group of small arable fields between the Burton and Fleensop roads, consisting of some of the smallest allotments in the Enclosure Award, which were mostly allotted to the smallest owners. Six of this group of fields were listed as arable in the Tithe Award; one was 'Arable and Meadow', and one (Marsden Poor's 'Moor Allotment') was 'Arable and Ling'.<sup>222</sup> Six others in the group were all meadow.<sup>223</sup> Across the Fleensop road James Geldart's 'Doland Allotment' was an arable field of nearly 2 acres converted from an allotment from the Pasture; and across the Burton road was his 'Backside Allotment' (above his house and older fields), which was 'Pasture and Arable', 8 acres.<sup>224</sup> Way up the Burton road was one isolated arable field, George Beck's 'High Allotment', 3 acres, farmed by Robert Pickard.<sup>225</sup> This was the sum total of arable land in the Tithe Award which had been brought into cultivation from the areas removed from common ownership by the enclosure of the West Pasture and the Moor. Descriptions such as 'Pasture and Arable' and 'Arable and Ling' suggest that those farmers attempting to use the plough on land which had traditionally been high pasture had found it difficult.

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II, 418; J.Cook, A Map of Middleham showing historical training yards and their famous horses (Newmarket, 1998).

<sup>219</sup> NYCRO, Tithe Award, nos.391, 402, 403 and 404.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid., nos. 277, 278 and 279.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., nos. 239, 240, 260, 265 and 266.

<sup>222</sup> NYCRO, Tithe Award, nos.343, 344, 346, 349, 353, 356; 345 and 342.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., nos.347, 348, 352, 354, 355 and 357.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., nos.351 and 360.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., no.327.

A few farmers, but only a few, had turned some of the larger allotments into meadow. James Geldart had made a meadow of nearly 9 acres, called 'Seed Field', from an allotment from the West Pasture.<sup>226</sup> Robert Pickard had bravely attempted to use the 14½ acres of his 'Redcar Allotment', not far below the summit of the Burton road, as 'Meadow and Pasture'.<sup>227</sup> Lower down the same road Robert was farming his father's 'Moor Allotment', which had been divided into five fields, all used as meadow. The adjoining allotment, owned by Christopher Tennant, was named simply 'Ling Allotment'; but at a lower level Christopher had a 6½-acre meadow, named 'Clover Close', adjoining the old 'Hall Ings' and created by a rearrangement of the lands allotted to Thomas Tennant in the Enclosure Award.<sup>228</sup> Henry Constantine's allotment, adjoining the township land around the quarry and the source of Melbeck, was likewise meadow.<sup>229</sup> Elsewhere the many acres of grazing land, all designated as 'Pasture' in the Tithe Award, stretched away towards the horizon just as they had done in centuries past. The differences were that instead of being communally managed they were now in private ownership, drystone walls marked the divisions, and the owners of the larger stretches of moorland were free to restrict grazing and develop grouse moors if they so wished.

The detailed information about the Carlton farms contained in the Tithe Award indicates, therefore, that the parliamentary enclosure had brought comparatively little change in the pattern of mixed farming. The bulk of land in the township was pasture, but a little extra arable had been created, together with valiant attempts by a few farmers to turn moorland into additional meadow. The arable land was divided among many owners, following the traditional pattern whereby each farm had a little.

In an autobiographical poem, Henry Constantine described the variety of a farmer's tasks in this type of farming:

A farmer's son, I used the spade,  
Worked in the sunshine and the shade,  
The plough, the scythe, the fork, the rake

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid., no.337.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., no.309. It was allotted to Matthew Duffield in the Enclosure Award. The area is marked 'Redcarr Bogs' on the present-day 1:25 000 OS map.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., nos.316-20, 315 and 369.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., no.367.



The walls of stone, the hedger's stake,

The reaping hook, the thrasher's flail,

Being native of a rural dale.

And many years I followed o'er

The plain, the morass and the moor,

Where cattle and the bleaters fed.

The description is incidental to the main point of the poem – instead of doing these tasks the frustrated poet wanted to be using his 'pensive quill'.<sup>230</sup>

The farm of 44½ acres at Highfield (the present East Farm), which belonged to the curate of Coverham as part of the glebe, is an example of the assortment of lands on a typical Carlton farm. In this instance the evidence from the Tithe Award is supplemented by a very detailed description in a glebe terrier dating from 1844.<sup>231</sup> The original farm of about 15 acres, sold to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty in the previous century by Thomas Hardcastle, had been augmented in the Enclosure Award by three allotments, one from the West Pasture and two from the Moor, in lieu of six cattlegates and five two-year-old cattlegates in the West Pasture and rights of common on the Moor. The original farmhouse, thatched with ling and 'burned down by the carelessness of the then tenant', was in the field called 'High Close', but by 1844 little was left of it, as most of the stones had been removed and used to repair other buildings and walls on the farm. The old house had been replaced by converting a barn in the field called 'High Afthouse' in the glebe terrier (the Tithe Award uses the colloquial version, 'Aftus') into 'a farm house and offices'. William Harrison was the tenant, and the farm was let on a yearly basis. The farm buildings are shown on the 6-inch OS map, 1856, in an L-shape. The terrier says the ground floor consisted of the 'firehouse' [living room], parlour, dairy, pantry, barn, 'pigcote', 'calfhouse', peat store and stable (this last newly added by Mr. Tomlinson). The three allotments were all used as pasture. The Tithe Award lists two fields of arable and three of meadow, but the terrier says 'Holling Bank' ('Holly Bank' in the Tithe Award and 'Arable') was partly arable and partly in clover. Another of Mr. Tomlinson's improvements was to wall off 'The Stripe Plantation', a narrow strip of land near the house, with the intention that it should be ploughed. Presumably this was to make the garden, which is not mentioned in the

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<sup>230</sup> Harker, *The Dalesman*, vol.47, no.11, 947.

<sup>231</sup> NYCRO, Tithe Award, lands listed under the name of the Revd. George Cockaine Tomlinson; PR/COV 11/1, MIC 2451/0332.

terrier but is listed in the Tithe Award.<sup>232</sup> The arrangements on the farm all point to mixed farming, with an emphasis on cattle which is suggested by over 8½ acres of meadow as well as the clover being grown at ‘Holly Bank’.<sup>233</sup>

Some of the field names in the Tithe Award indicate the land use, and some show changes in land use. Three fields were named ‘Corn Close’, two in the area of Quaker Lane, and the other a remnant of the old West Field on the approach to the village. Only one of them (the lower of the two down Quaker Lane) was still arable land at the time of the Tithe Award, the other two being meadow.<sup>234</sup> ‘Wheat Ridding’, in a sheltered position above the river, was also meadow.<sup>235</sup> ‘Great Field’, belonging to Townhead Farm and once part of the West Field, was meadow, and so was another ‘Great Field’ owned by James Geldart.<sup>236</sup> The change from arable to meadow, extending the supply of winter fodder, is another indication of the importance of cattle to the Carlton farmers. Beyond Micklethwaite Gill, three fields belonging to Thomas Errington were apparently used to grow rape, another fodder crop, closely related to the turnip. The fields were ‘High’, ‘Middle’ and ‘Low Rape Field’; they were listed in the Tithe Award with no other use indicated, so presumably the names referred to their use at that time.<sup>237</sup>

Anthony Buckle’s ‘Potatoe Garth’ was the only plot of land so named in the Tithe Award, but it is likely that many of the small pieces of arable land were being used for the same purpose. The crop was widely grown in the Dales, and this would be an obvious use for the small fields near the village.<sup>238</sup>

The limestone strata of the Yoredale Series provided the raw material for lime-burning in abundance and near at hand, and two field names refer to the location of

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<sup>232</sup> The Tithe Award nos. are: Holly Bank, 245; Long Roods (arable), 269; High Close, 254; Aftus or House Close, 267; Long Roods (meadow), 262; Common Allotments, 329 and 330; Pasture Allotment, 335; House, Outbuildings and Stripe, 255; Garden, 256; Wood, 246.

<sup>233</sup> Clover was grown as a fodder crop which added to soil fertility as well as yielding heavy crops of hay. J.D.Chambers and G.E.Mingay, The Agricultural Revolution 1750–1880 (1966), p.4.

<sup>234</sup> Tithe Award, nos.148, 149 and 187.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., no.151.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., nos. 196 and 259.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., nos.392, 400 and 401.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., no.78.



lime-kilns. Mark Scott's 'Limekiln Field' was on the Gammersgill boundary; the kiln is shown on the Tithe Award map and on the 6-inch OS map (1856), situated by the wall separating the field from 'Low Ridding'.<sup>239</sup> Christopher Tennant's 'Limekiln Allotment' was at the Melmerby end of the township, beyond his 'Ling Allotment'. In this case the OS map shows a limestone quarry in the same field.<sup>240</sup> The allotment was not far from the small Hedgeholes coalmine on Melmerby Moor, the nearest source of fuel, though it would have to take a roundabout route. The OS map shows other small field kilns in the township; they were especially numerous in the Highfield area, where fuel would be readily available from the Fleensop coalmine. In his study of limekilns in the Dales Arthur Raistrick comments, 'In the Yoredale series of rocks ... the conditions are almost ideal for the lime-burner'. He points to the benefits of situations where coal could be carried downhill to the kilns, and the lime could also be taken downhill to fields below.<sup>241</sup> The Carlton farmers thus had a highly-prized fertiliser for their fields locally available. It was used on both arable and grass land, and was expensive in many parts of the country because of transport costs.<sup>242</sup>

The Carlton Tithe Award gives the figure of 145 acres, 3 roods of arable land, as against 457 acres of meadow and pasture, a ratio of just under one to three. The 'pasture' in this assessment did not include rough grazing, which was classified as 'common' – even though large areas of rough grazing were designated as 'pasture' in the Award's listing by owners. But the main point for the purpose of the Carlton analysis is the amount of arable.<sup>243</sup> This contrasts with the national picture, for after comparing the sources for England and Wales from 1770 to 1854 H.T.Prince concluded that 'about 1840 the area under arable overtook that under grass, but the ascendancy of arable lasted for less than forty years after 1840'.<sup>244</sup> However, the Carlton figures are not out of line with Christine Hallas's account of the amount of arable in Wensleydale and Swaledale: 'In 1844 arable land in upper and lower

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<sup>239</sup> Tithe Award, no.267.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, no.314.

<sup>241</sup> Raistrick, *Old Yorkshire Dales*, p.76.

<sup>242</sup> J.Brown and H.A.Beecham, 'Arable Farming: Farming Practices', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, VI (1750–1850)*, ed.G.E.Mingay (Cambridge, 1989), p.280.

<sup>243</sup> The classifications in the Tithe Award were made under the Tithe Commutation Act, 1836, for the purpose of fixing the new tithes, commuted into a money charge. 'Meadow and pasture' was a combined category, and arable was rated more highly. See E.J.Evans, *The Contentious Tithe* (1976), pp.136-60, and p.162.

<sup>244</sup> H.T.Prince, 'The Changing Rural Landscape, 1750–1850', in *Agrarian History, VI*, ed.Mingay, p.30 and Table 1.1 p.31.

Wensleydale and Swaledale comprised 245, 1,927 and 725 acres respectively'. These figures suggest that in Carlton the proportion of arable land was higher than in Hallas's 'upper Wensleydale', which was a very much larger area.<sup>245</sup>

### 4.3.2 The Disappearance of Arable Farming in Carlton

By the time of the 1910 valuation, the picture had entirely changed; with the exception of small areas which survived as vegetable plots, Carlton's arable land had vanished under grass. 'Hyde Park' had been built upon, and two houses and a smithy now occupied the site.<sup>246</sup> The land behind 'Pear Tree House', formerly occupied by James Simpson and classed as arable, was now classed as 'garden'. Its size (and its present-day use) suggests that it was used to grow vegetables under both titles, for it was ideally suited for that purpose.<sup>247</sup> The long strip of land behind 'Quaker House' was now under grass, and the group of small allotments along the Fleensop road had ceased to be a patchwork of arable and meadow. The valuer assessed the fields belonging to Quaker House as 'fairly good grass land', and the small allotments on the Fleensop road as 'fairly good' or 'moderate quality grass'.<sup>248</sup> The old tradition of mixed farming, whereby a holding would include some arable, even if it was only a small amount, had been abandoned. The farm based on Carlton Old Hall provides a good example, for the Tithe Award shows that at that time, when it belonged to Thomas Errington, it had almost equal amounts of arable and meadow: 9 acres, 3 roods, 13 perches of arable and 10 acres and 11 perches of meadow. In the 1910 valuation, now owned by Thomas and James Watson, all the land was grass land, 'mostly good'. The farm no longer had the distant allotments from the West Pasture and the Moor which were part of its lands in the 1840s.<sup>249</sup>

Thomas Errington's other farm, with its farmhouse at 'Ghyll Farm', had a smaller amount of arable in the Tithe Award: 3 acres, 3 roods and 34 perches, as

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<sup>245</sup> Hallas, *Rural Responses*, p.88, note 13. Hallas's 'upper Wensleydale' comprised the twelve townships which became Aysgarth Rural District, including the whole of Bishopdale. Her 'lower Wensleydale' comprised the six townships of Castle Bolton, Redmire, Preston-under-Scar, Leyburn, Wensley and West Witton. *Ibid.*, pp.11-14.

<sup>246</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, nos.34, 37 and 57.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, no.83.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, no.27 ('Quaker House'); nos.69 (Marsden Poor), 80 (Masham Poor).

<sup>249</sup> Tithe Award, fields listed under 'Thomas Errington'; NA:PRO,IR58/58659, no.92. Thomas Watson is listed as the owner, but the details noted by the valuer about the mortgage suggest a form of joint ownership between father and son. James Watson was doing the farming.



against 16 acres, 3 roods and 32 perches of meadow, but it also contained the three fields named for their crop of oil-seed rape. In the 1910 valuation all the farm's fields were grass, except two that were described as 'moor'. The valuer's report pointed to the variations in the quality of the land: 'grass land, some v.good, some mod. high land, and some moor land, with lot of ling'.<sup>250</sup> The 25-inch map used in the valuation shows moorland coming much lower down in this farm than it does in the neighbouring fields belonging to Town Foot farm, where there was moorland only at the very highest point of 'Cat Gill Allotment', the highest of the Town Foot fields, which was 'arable and ling' in 1849. The block of four arable fields on the Melmerby boundary had not escaped the general pattern of conversion to grass. All the Town Foot land was grass land in the 1910 valuation: 'some good, lot of rough pasture'. The farm's lands stretched across the boundary into Melmerby, and the Town Foot tenant had ten sheepgates on Melmerby Moor, which remained unenclosed.<sup>251</sup>

At Highfield the farthest farm, owned by Edward and Sarah Dawson and tenanted by Thomas Dawson, no longer had the row of three arable fields above the house, for all the farm's fields were grass, 'good quality, well watered'.<sup>252</sup> The same pattern was repeated at Townhead, the largest farm in the township. Its 443 acres were not particularly admired by the valuer: 'grass land, some good, mostly moor, of rather poor grazing, rough, lot of ling, fair sporting'.<sup>253</sup> The Townhead lands included great stretches of the more distant allotments from the West Pasture and the Moor, and it seems clear that rough grazing remained rough grazing and enclosure had not been followed by an improvement in quality.

Griff Mill, a corn mill since at least the thirteenth century, was a casualty of the changed circumstances. The valuer found the house still occupied, but the mill out of use. 'Mill has not been used for over 5 years and a good deal of outlay would be necessary to put it into repair, old water wheel, bad and machinery etc. ditto ... very bad site for house'.<sup>254</sup> The site, deep in woodland, was inconvenient for access, and must have been damp and unhealthy. The machinery must have been

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<sup>250</sup> Tithe Award, second list under 'Thomas Errington'; NA:PRO, IR58/58659, no.13. The owner in the 1910 valuation was A.C.T.Orde Powlett.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid., no.31.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid., no.24.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., no.85.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid., no.75.

renewed many times over the centuries, but the mill's long history was no protection against dereliction.

### **4.3.3 The Farmer's Options in Animal Husbandry**

By abandoning the arable component of mixed farming Carlton farmers recognised economic reality. The middle years of the nineteenth century were good years for farmers, but were followed by years of agricultural depression which caused increasing alarm nationally.<sup>255</sup> It was commonsense to concentrate on the type of farming for which the land was best suited, and in the Dales that was pastoral farming, which was flexible enough to offer a variety of options for the farmer. It was advantageous to keep both sheep and cattle, in the traditional fashion, in order to have more flexibility in responding to the markets when demand and prices altered.<sup>256</sup>

The sheep were summered on the moor, but were usually brought down to the lower fields in very bad weather and for lambing. In the 1910 valuation there is an interesting account of sheep-farming on Gammersgill Moor, a distant area, but within Carlton township. It was included in the Carlton Enclosure Award, when it was allotted to Coulton and Winstanley.<sup>257</sup> In 1910 the owner was J.R.Pickard of Kirkby Lonsdale, and although the moor was in private ownership it would appear that the 'stinting' system still operated among the three tenants, who were all farmers from Gammersgill. The moor comprised 327 acres, which the valuer described as 'fairly good sheep grazing, well watered', and it contained 280 sheepgates. The farmers paid 2s. a year for each sheepgate.<sup>258</sup> The moor was also used for grouse shooting, but the valuer considered the shooting to be only 'moderate', and the small shooting box was in very poor repair.<sup>259</sup>

Cattle were wintered indoors, and in addition to byres close to the farmhouses the barns out in the fields were used for the purpose, with hay for winter feed stored

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<sup>255</sup> Chambers and Mingay, *Agricultural Revolution*, chapter 7, especially pp.179-181; Hallas, *Rural Response*, p.84, and references. in notes, pp.84-5.

<sup>256</sup> Hallas, *ibid.*, p.85, points out that 'demand and prices did not always follow an identical pattern for both sheep and cattle'.

<sup>257</sup> NYCRO, PC/CTT, enclosure 25.

<sup>258</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58660, no.114.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*



above the cow standings ('booses' in the dialect of the Dales).<sup>260</sup> For the 1910 valuation the location and condition of the barns on each farm was carefully noted, with the number of animals they would house. A few examples will illustrate the variety of arrangements which the valuer recorded. New Close was well provided with buildings, with an unusually large field barn housing ten cows, and another housing five, both classed as 'good', and another barn housing ten cows in the buildings attached to the farmhouse, classed as 'moderate', with a section for calves next to an old byre which was 'bad'.<sup>261</sup> Town Foot farm buildings were all close to the house, and classed as 'fairly good'. One housed nine cows, and another, adjoining the house, would hold five. There was separate housing for calves, between the pig sty and the implement store.<sup>262</sup> Elm Tree House had one field barn for four cows, which was 'moderate', and a 'fairly good' barn holding five cows, across Carlton Street from the house.<sup>263</sup> Townhead farm had a 'fairly good' field barn holding eight cows, while a substantial block of buildings in an L-shape close to the house included a byre for nine cows and two separate sections for calves.<sup>264</sup>

There were possibilities of specialisation within pastoral farming. Christine Hallas has described the different stages involved in raising cattle and sheep for meat, which might be carried out in different areas, so that 'livestock were bred in the upland zone; reared and kept for store in an intermediate area; and fattened in the lowland zone, in proximity to their final market'. Some farmers were involved in just one stage, others in several, 'depending on the resources of their area'.<sup>265</sup> In Carlton the topography, with its variety of land types, enabled farmers to choose between specialising in one stage or several.

A further option was to specialise in dairy products, or alternatively to make the sale of dairy produce one of several sources of income. In Wensleydale towards the end of the period farms were able to maintain profitability by the sale of liquid milk, sent by rail to the towns, or even to London.<sup>266</sup> This was not an option for the

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<sup>260</sup> See Hartley and Ingilby, *Life and Tradition*, pp.62-64, for a description and plans of these buildings, with the dialect names. Many of them, especially the more outlying ones, are now falling into ruin.

<sup>261</sup> NA/PRO: IR58/58659, no.1.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, no.31.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, no.45.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, no.85.

<sup>265</sup> Hallas, *Rural Responses*, p.85.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.254-55.

Carlton farmers – they were too far from the railway line. They had to rely on butter and cheese, traditional produce, which could be sold at the local markets, or collected by factors and taken to produce fairs or sent to other areas by rail. Before the middle of the nineteenth century cheese and butter markets were established at both Leyburn and Hawes, and gave farmers the option of direct selling;<sup>267</sup> but collection by the local factor was an attractive option for busy farmers. Butter and cheese factors based in Carlton appear in the census returns, combining the trade with shop-keeping in the village. When William Harrison bought the former inn, the ‘XYZ’, he was a butter factor, or ‘butterman’, as he was described in the 1851 census, with ‘cheese’ added in another hand.<sup>268</sup> In later censuses he was ‘grocer and draper’, but he probably continued to collect butter and cheese as part of his grocery business; his successor in the shop, Thomas Mawer, was described in Bulmer’s directory in 1890 as ‘draper, grocer and butter factor’.<sup>269</sup> From 1881 onwards another butter factor lived in the village, and became a well-known character in the dale. Joseph Horner was born in Carlton, and his wife Margaret was born in West Burton, but they had lived for a time in the north-east, for their two eldest children were born in County Durham.<sup>270</sup> In Bulmer’s directory Joseph Horner was ‘grocer and butter factor’. By 1901 the family were at the Post Office, and Kelly’s directory gives Joseph a fine list of multiple occupations: ‘butter factor, farmer and draper’ as well as being the sub-postmaster.<sup>271</sup>

Joseph Horner was well-known to Charles Maltby, who describes his weekly collections:

In Coverdale, Joe Horner, whom we called ‘Butter Joe,’ used to tour the dale weekly with horse and trap and buy the surplus butter and cheese from the dale farmers. I seem to remember bitter complaints at the wretched prices paid, but world markets ruled that, and I’m sure ‘Butter Joe’ didn’t wax fat on the fruits of his labour. Butter and cheese would fetch about 3½d. to 4d. per pound for the farmers.

Making the butter and cheese was among the many tasks of the farmer’s wife.<sup>272</sup> Some of the Carlton farms had separate cheese-rooms, in which cheeses were stored,

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<sup>267</sup> Ibid., p.120.

<sup>268</sup> 1851 census, schedule 56.

<sup>269</sup> Bulmer, History, Topography and Directory, p. 407.

<sup>270</sup> 1881 census, schedule 55. Thomas (aged two) and Jane (ten months) were born in Middleton, County Durham. The 1891 census, schedule 4, makes it clear this Middleton was at West Hartlepool.

<sup>271</sup> Bulmer, History, Topography and Directory, p.407; Kelly’s Directory (1901), pp.62-63.

<sup>272</sup> Maltby, The Dalesman, vol.10, no.12, 440.



and regularly turned, as they matured, and these were duly noted in the 1910 valuation.<sup>273</sup>

In the closing years of the nineteenth century small-scale attempts were being made in the Dales to produce cheese under factory conditions. The new industry appeared in Coverdale in 1912, when Alfred Rowntree opened a cheese factory at Coverham. The venture prospered, and the firm acquired a national reputation for blue Wensleydale cheese.<sup>274</sup> The Coverdale farmers were able to take advantage of a new local outlet for their liquid milk. They now had the same range of options as the farmers in Wensleydale, who in the 1890s had recognised the benefits of exporting liquid milk from the dale by the railway.<sup>275</sup>

#### **4.3.4 The Agricultural Workforce**

##### **Number of farmers, and dual occupations**

The Tithe Award names thirty-five Carlton residents who were either owner-occupiers farming some or all of their own land, or were tenant farmers. Their holdings ranged from Thomas Thornton's farm at Townhead, of nearly 147 acres, to Roger Rayner's owner-occupied 1 rood.<sup>276</sup> Roger was not classed as a farmer in the 1851 census, where his occupation was recorded as a stone mason; likewise Edward Prest's occupation was stated as boot and shoe maker, with no mention of any land, though he was tenant of two small fields in the Tithe Award.<sup>277</sup> There were also a number of moves and retirements between the Tithe Award and the census. For example, Henry Harrison was in temporary occupation of the former 'XYZ', as innkeeper and blacksmith, John Walker and family had moved to the 'Moorcock', farming 28 acres along with it, and William Thornton had succeeded his father Thomas as tenant at Townhead, describing his occupation as 'Land Agent farming 70ac. and 75 common'.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> For example, New Close and Carlton Old Hall, NA:PRO, IR58/58659, nos.1 and 92. At 'The Moorcock' the cheeseroom was upstairs; *ibid.*, no.54. For a description of the quite arduous process of making farmhouse cheese, see T.C.Calvert, 'Wensleydale Cheese', in A Century of Yorkshire Dialect, ed.A.Kellett and I.Dewhirst (Otley, 1997), pp.111-13.

<sup>274</sup> A.W.Rowntree, 'The Rowntrees of Cleveland', The Dalesman, vol.44, no.2 (May, 1982), 111-13.

<sup>275</sup> Hallas, Rural Responses, p.134.

<sup>276</sup> Tithe Award, listing of owners and occupiers.

<sup>277</sup> 1851 census, schedules 58 and 16; Tithe Award listing as above.

<sup>278</sup> 1851 census, schedules 27, 34 and 43.

The 1851 census lists thirty farmers in the township, and the size of their farms. Putting the evidence from the Tithe Award and the census together, and allowing for the changes which had taken place, the figure of thirty can be accepted, while recognising there would inevitably be one or two 'borderline' cases among tradesmen and craftsmen who rented a little bit of land. One oddity, included in the thirty, is George Whitfield, aged eighty, whose entry in the census described him as 'Pauper farming 4 acres'. He was presumably unfit to do any actual farming of his acres.<sup>279</sup> According to the census the farms ranged in size from 112 acres (Henry Walker) to 2 acres (John Thompson, William Harrison jun.); ten were of 50 acres or above, fourteen were in the range 5 to 49 acres, and six were under 5 acres. However, these figures must be treated with considerable caution. The entries for William Thornton and James Harrison differentiate between farmland and moorland ('common'), which is in accordance with the instructions to enumerators, but they were exceptional.<sup>280</sup> Other farmers, who also had moorland allotments, did not make the distinction. The figure of 65 acres for Anthony Buckle ignores his allotments entirely, while Henry Walker's 112 acres must have included the 'High Allotment', of over 71 acres, a moorland allotment just below Carlton Peat Moor.<sup>281</sup> There was also the ambiguity noted earlier concerning owner-occupiers who farmed some of their land and rented out the rest. The acreages in the census are more likely to be accurate for smaller farmers whose land was all situated in or near the village. In those cases the enumerator would be able to check the information provided by the householder from his own knowledge. No doubt in many cases he had to fill in the schedules himself.<sup>282</sup>

Eleven of the census entries name farming as the second of two occupations, combining it with a variety of crafts and trades, and in one case a profession: publican (2), shoemaker, butcher (2), joiner (3), blacksmith, buttermaker, and William Thornton's 'Land Agent'.<sup>283</sup> The householders' instructions in 1851 were that a person 'following more than one distinct trade may insert his occupations in the

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<sup>279</sup> Ibid., schedule 7.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid., schedules 43 and 50; Higgs, *The Census Revisited*, p.107.

<sup>281</sup> 1851 census, schedules 23 and 26; Tithe Award, no.312.

<sup>282</sup> The enumerator in 1851 was George Bennett, the village postmaster and shopkeeper. In 1871 enumerators were asked to state how many schedules they had filled in personally. William Thornton was the enumerator in that year, and had personally completed twenty out of ninety-one schedules in the enumeration district. The total consisted of sixty-six schedules in Carlton, and twenty-five in Melmerby.

<sup>283</sup> 1851 census, schedules 24, 39, 10, 12, 28, 30, 32, 52, 31, 56 and 43.



order of their importance'.<sup>284</sup> In general the tradespeople seem to have viewed their farming as a useful source of extra income, but this cannot have been true of William Thornton as tenant of the largest farm in Carlton. Presumably he valued the title of land agent as a mark of professional status.

In the 1881 census twenty-six farmers are listed, with acreages ranging from John Walker's 403 acres to Henry Constantine IV's 2¾ acres.<sup>285</sup> Seven farms had 50 acres and above, eighteen had between 5 and 49 acres, and Henry Constantine was the only farmer listed with less than 5 acres. Six entries recorded a combination of farming with another occupation: corn miller, joiner, butcher, miner and publican (2). The amount of land they were farming had increased. The highest amount was 53 acres farmed by Francis Rayner, licensee of the 'Moorcock', a larger farm than most of the others in Carlton where the farmer had only one occupation.<sup>286</sup> The lowest was 11 acres farmed by Roger Spence of Quaker House, who combined farming the land that went with the house with work as a miner.<sup>287</sup> The fact that no lower acreages are mentioned in combination with trades or crafts suggests that not all dual occupations were recorded in the census, in spite of attempts to strengthen the instructions to householders.<sup>288</sup>

The likelihood of under-recording of dual occupations becomes stronger when the 1891 census is compared with two directories, Kelly's of 1889 and Bulmer's of 1890. In 1891 the census recorded only nineteen farmers in Carlton, reflecting the continuing agricultural depression and the loss of population from the village. Only three entries recorded dual occupations: Ralph Ramshaw, farmer and provision dealer; Thomas Iveson, innkeeper and farmer; and Christopher Binks, shoemaker and farmer.<sup>289</sup> Ralph Ramshaw is described by Bulmer as farmer and meal and flour dealer, but in Kelly's directory he appears only as a farmer, with his name misspelt as 'Renshaw'.<sup>290</sup> Thomas Iveson had married the previous licensee at the 'Moorcock', and she appears in Bulmer's directory as farmer and victualler, but in Kelly's as licensee with no mention of farming. Christopher Binks appears in

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284 Higgs, The Census Revisited, p.100.

285 1881 census, schedules 5 and 14.

286 *Ibid.*, schedule 23.

287 *Ibid.*, schedule 58.

288 Higgs, The Census Revisited, p.100.

289 1891 census, schedules 16, 36 and 40.

290 All the comparisons in this paragraph are taken from Kelly's Directory (1889), p.53, and Bulmer, History, Topography and Directory, p. 407.

Bulmer's list as farmer and shoemaker, but only as a shoemaker in Kelly's. Conversely there are others who appear with dual occupations in one or both directories, but with a single occupation in the census. James Simpson is among them, and in his case it probably reflects his transition from his trade as a butcher to being first and foremost a landowner.<sup>291</sup> Two shop-keepers, Joseph Horner and Richard Simpson, are credited with an additional occupation as farmer in one or other of the directories, but not in the census. The comparison of the census with the two directories suggests that in all three sources the identification of dual occupations was somewhat 'hit-and-miss', and they were under-recorded in the census.

There are, however, some instances in which the family circumstances indicate that dual occupations had been split between family members, for instance because of advancing years. There are two examples in the 1891 census. Henry Harrison was listed as both blacksmith and farmer in Kelly's directory (1889), but in the census he was described as a farmer and his son William as a blacksmith. Henry was then aged seventy-three, and lived with William and family. By 1901 Kelly's directory lists William as engaged in both occupations, but the 1901 census omits the farming.<sup>292</sup> In the case of the Walls family the division of occupations was more permanent. Throughout their long occupation of the 'Foresters' Arms' the family had combined innkeeping and farming; but in 1891 William Walls was aged eighty-two, and his son Alfred was doing the farming.<sup>293</sup> By 1901 Joseph Walls had succeeded to the public house, and Alfred was farming.<sup>294</sup> The 1910 valuation shows Joseph owning a small garth, some houses and the 'Foresters' Arms', while Alfred continued the family tradition of farming the land of Masham Poor, together with two other parcels of land, totalling just over 10 acres.<sup>295</sup>

The 1901 census shows a further decrease in the number of farmers to seventeen, and only one instance of dual occupations, John Simpson as butcher and farmer.<sup>296</sup> Kelly's directory for the same year lists three more combinations of

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<sup>291</sup> 1891 census, schedule 18.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, schedule 31; *Kelly's Directory* (1901), p.63; 1901 census, schedule 24.

<sup>293</sup> 1891 census, schedule 19.

<sup>294</sup> 1901 census, schedules 44 and 34.

<sup>295</sup> NYCRO, NG/V, Carlton Town, nos. 11, 82, 83, 84 and 105 (Joseph Walls): *ibid.*, nos.78,79, 80 and 81 (Alfred Walls).

<sup>296</sup> 1901 census, schedule 17.



farming and trade. James Spence, described as a tailor in the census, is also a farmer in the directory. In the 1910 valuation he occupied a house ('West End') and 7½ acres of land belonging to Mrs. Barker of Menston.<sup>297</sup> William Harrison is listed as blacksmith and farmer in the directory, as noted above, and Joseph Horner again appears as butter factor, farmer and draper. A mystery surrounds Christopher Binks, junior, in 1901, for according to the directory he was licensee of the 'Moorcock', but his entry in the census describes him as a shoemaker. Information in directories was liable to be out-dated before publication, and this may be a case in point. Christopher was no longer 'junior' by the time of the census, for his father had died. It seems unlikely that he would try to combine the family shoemaking business with running the 'Moorcock' and its land (59 acres in the 1910 valuation) for any length of time.<sup>298</sup>

The 1891 and 1901 census returns do not have any information about farm acreages, but one might expect to be able to fill out the picture from the 1901 census with the facts and figures available from the 1910 valuation. However, by 1910 eight of the farmers listed in the census had moved from their farms. From the information in the Valuation Book and Field Book, twenty-one farmers resident in Carlton can be identified, four of them with dual occupations. One of the new farmers was Henry Constantine VI as he began to farm the family lands, and another was Cecilia Harrison, who seems to have taken over when her husband William died, and was apparently farming very successfully.<sup>299</sup> Among those with dual occupations the largest farmer was Mark Horner, who took over from John James Render as licensee of the 'Moorcock' and farmer of its lands, now almost 60 acres, while the valuation was in progress. Matthew Watson, described as a joiner in the census and wheelwright in Kelly's directories in 1901 and 1909, was also engaged in two occupations in 1910 and may have been doing so earlier. He owned 1 acre and rented two parcels of land, 12 acres and 2 roods respectively, in the valuation.<sup>300</sup> John Harrison, who worked as a carter on his own account, rented two fields in the village from members of the Constantine family, to whom he was

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid., schedule 36; Kelly's Directory (1901), p.63; NYCRO, NG/V, Carlton Town, no.76.

<sup>298</sup> 1901 census, schedule 28; Kelly's Directory (1901), p.63; NYCRO, NG/V, Carlton Town, no.54.

<sup>299</sup> NA:PRO IR58/58659, no.17 (Henry Constantine, jun.); nos.12, 37, 38 and 57 (Cecilia Harrison).

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., no.54 (Mark Horner); nos.70, 89 and 90 (Matthew Watson).

related.<sup>301</sup> Joseph Horner still had his two occupations of butter factor and shopkeeper, but seems to have dropped out of farming by 1910.<sup>302</sup>

Not one of the twenty-one farmers owned all the land he or she was farming, though several owned part of the land, like Cecilia Harrison, or were farming land in which there was a family interest, like Henry Constantine VI and James Watson. The farms ranged in size from the 443 acres tenanted by Eli Walker to John Harrison's 3½ acres, the only farm with less than 5 acres. Nine had 50 acres or more, and eleven were in the range 5 to 49 acres. From Townhead farm Eli farmed Mrs. Williams' 433 acres, plus 7 acres belonging to James Chapman and a field of 3 acres belonging to his brother, Mitchell Walker, an exile who had returned to the village.<sup>303</sup> In terms of acreage Eli had almost been overtaken by Watson Simpson, who was tenant of at least 436 acres, in five different holdings, plus the Peat Moor, which was let to the highest bidder on a yearly basis.<sup>304</sup> The accumulation of holdings on this scale was a new development; the land was mixed, but much of it was grazing land, and in view of the family business we may surmise that Watson Simpson's objective was to rear and fatten animals for the meat trade.

At the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, therefore, the number of farmers resident in Carlton had dropped since 1851 from thirty to twenty-one, and the number combining farming with another occupation had dropped from eleven to four. There had been a marked trend away from owner-occupancy. This is contrary to Christine Hallas's findings in her study areas in Swaledale and Wensleydale, where 'the trend from owner-occupancy of smallholdings to tenanted larger farms, which has been identified nationally, did not occur to any great extent.'<sup>305</sup> Hallas points out that her figures for owner-occupancy may be due, in part, 'to some tenants purchasing farms from their landlord when an estate was broken up.'<sup>306</sup> This opportunity had been experienced in Carlton earlier in the century, when Sir William Chaytor sold his lands, but it was not repeated in the second half of the

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<sup>301</sup> Ibid., nos.35 and 40; 1901 census, schedule 30. No.40 in the valuation was the field immediately behind the house where John Harrison lived with his mother Margaret at the time of the census.

<sup>302</sup> Farming was one of Joseph Horner's occupations in Kelly's Directory (1909), but he does not appear as an owner or tenant in the Valuation Book or Field Book.

<sup>303</sup> NYCRO, NG/V, Carlton Town, nos.85, 86 and 87.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., nos.63, 64, 65, 66, 67 and 115.

<sup>305</sup> Hallas, Rural Responses, p.58.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., p.60.



nineteenth century, when lands for sale were purchased by landowners like Thomas Topham or aspiring landowners like James Simpson, not by the tenants.

Hallas comments on the complexity of the land system in Swaledale and Wensleydale, and here her description of the combinations of ownership and tenancy, with Askrigg as her example, closely resembles the situation in Carlton both in 1849 and in 1910.<sup>307</sup> The complexity in Carlton and other Dales villages was a result of the topography. In order to obtain the 'mix' of lands needed for animal husbandry, the fields of the individual farm were scattered around the township. In this type of farming there was less incentive than arable farmers had to consolidate holdings by purchase, and it was preferable to rent additional land as circumstances required. The system still exists today.<sup>308</sup>

The decline in the number of dual occupations in Carlton is another figure contrary to Hallas's figures for Swaledale and Wensleydale, where such pairings increased between 1851 and 1891.<sup>309</sup> Her figures include pairings between craft and service occupations, as well as pairings with agriculture, and Swaledale was a special case because of the strong tradition of the lead-miner/farmer. Even so, the contrast between the figures for Swaledale and Wensleydale and those for Carlton is striking. It seems as if, when agriculture was in depression, employment opportunities were easier to find in the larger dales.

### **'Living-in servants'**

It was a tradition in the Dales for the larger farms (or smaller ones in special need of help because of family circumstances) to have 'farm servants', who lived in the farmhouse and were employed to assist on the farm. Often these 'farm servants' were relatives; the time John Bowes spent with the Dawson family in West Scafton is a good example.<sup>310</sup> The household of George Wright is a pleasant example of an employer's longstanding relationships with his 'farm servants'. From 1851 it is possible to track the numbers of such servants from the census returns. Caution is needed, for the distinction between 'farm servant' and 'domestic servant' was not always well understood, but the Carlton enumerators all had local knowledge, and

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<sup>307</sup> Ibid., pp.61-62.

<sup>308</sup> Information from discussions with local farmers.

<sup>309</sup> Hallas, Rural Responses, pp.42-44.

<sup>310</sup> Above, p.214.

there is no indication that the two categories were confused, even if the duties were apt to become blurred at times, for example at haytime, when every member of the household capable of holding a rake was expected to be out in the fields.<sup>311</sup>

The numbers of resident farm servants recorded in the Carlton censuses were always very small in comparison with the numbers of farms. In 1851 there were four such workers, employed on some of the larger farms, with no family relationship recorded in the column 'Relation to Head of Family'. In 1881 there was only one, and in 1901 there were two. Eli Walker's farm servant in 1901 was George Suttill, aged fifteen.<sup>312</sup> A few years earlier the Walkers had been assisted by the young Charles Maltby. As a young lad Charles often did odd jobs for farmers, but when he was eleven years old, he spent six months living with the Walkers at Townhead. He says:

'How it came about I don't know... I suppose it was my urgent pleadings to go and learn farming, together with the certain easing of the food and clothes problems at home that decided the issue'.

While he was with the Walkers he never went to school (schoolmaster's son though he was), and spent his time as a farm assistant. He thoroughly enjoyed life at Townhead, though it reads like a very hard life for an eleven-year-old. He was up at 5 a.m., milking and feeding cattle and pigs before breakfast at 7 a.m. He then spent the day stone-walling, 'muck-spreading', shepherding with two sheepdogs, or stubbing thistles on the edge of the moor. The last was one of the few jobs on the farm that he disliked.<sup>313</sup>

Robert Render gave evidence in the 1872 court case about various events while he was a living-in farm servant with the Thorntons. He said he worked for Thomas Thornton before William took over the farm, and lived with them at Townhead for about eighteen and a half years. His evidence suggests the dates were from 1844 until 1862 or thereabouts. By 1872 he was living at Melmerby – 'I work for anybody now'.<sup>314</sup> He was listed in the Thornton household in the census returns of 1851 and 1861, in 1851 as a 'farm labourer' and in 1861 as a 'carter'.<sup>315</sup> In his

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<sup>311</sup> Higgs, *The Census Revisited*, pp.108-10.

<sup>312</sup> 1901 census, schedule 41.

<sup>313</sup> Maltby, *The Dalesman*, vol.10, no.12, 440-41.

<sup>314</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2419, frames 282-83.

<sup>315</sup> 1851 census, schedule 43; 1861 census, schedule 5. In 1861 William Thornton, as the enumerator, was carefully following the census instructions to householders, which asked



evidence in 1872 he told how he used to bring loads of manure, turnips, coals and corn to Townhead, and brought chippings from Gilbert Scar Quarry, so that he and Thomas Thornton could repair the roadway he used (which crossed the disputed land). Disappointingly, there is no indication in the evidence of the reason why such a long period of service came to an end.<sup>316</sup>

### **Farm labourers and general labourers**

In 1851 four men living in their own homes in Carlton were specifically described in the census as 'farm labourers', and a further four had the more general description 'labourer'. It is not perfectly clear what the distinction was, but possibly the general term implies that they were available to do any labouring job, on a farm or elsewhere – they were not attached to one employer, but would 'work for anybody', an insecure and hand-to-mouth existence. There may have been more of these workers, of both types, on the Carlton farms than appear in the Carlton censuses, since they might well live in one village and work in another, or travel around the area, taking temporary work wherever they could find it. Melmerby had a large number of labourers in a small population; in 1871 there were eleven 'farm labourers', in addition to three workers resident on farms, in a population of only ninety-six.<sup>317</sup> Some of them may well have worked on Carlton farms.

In Carlton itself there were four 'farm labourers' living in their own homes in the 1881 census, and one 'labourer'. Another 'labourer', Hannah Fletcher, aged fifty-five, may have been a living-in servant with the Dawsons, but the entries are ambiguous.<sup>318</sup> In 1901 there were four farm labourers, with an assortment of titles – one was 'Hind', translated by a census clerk as 'Ag.Horse', and another was 'Stockman', translated as 'Ag.L.' and subsequently as 'Ag.Cattle'.<sup>319</sup> The job of compiling census statistics was not easy! In addition to the four farm labourers there were two men described as general labourers.

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for a more precise description than 'farm servant'. 'Carter' was one of the examples given. Higgs, The Census Revisited, p.108.

<sup>316</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2419, frames 282-83.

<sup>317</sup> 1871 census, Carlton and Melmerby. The enumeration district covers both townships; the Melmerby schedules are nos.1 to 25.

<sup>318</sup> 1881 census, schedules 52 and 53. There is a separate schedule for Hannah, who is described as a lodger ('Boarder' crossed out) as well as a labourer.

<sup>319</sup> 1901 census, schedules 13 and 22.

The census, by its nature, omitted to record much casual labour, especially by women.<sup>320</sup> An example is to be found in the evidence of Dorothy Walker, aged sixty-five, in the 1872 court case. She said she had known Townhead farm for many years, for her mother worked in the bakehouse there. She herself had worked for the Thorntons for nearly thirty years: 'I got my meals there in haytime and harvest – I washed for them'.<sup>321</sup> In the 1851 census she was listed as 'Washerwoman'; without her evidence in the court case her seasonal work in the fields would be unrecorded.

### **Family labour on the farms**

In the mid-Victorian years the census instructions to householders acknowledged the contribution of farmers' families to the farming economy. From 1851 to 1881 examples were provided in which the wife of the farmer was 'Farmer's Wife', rather than just 'Wife', and a further instruction was that 'Sons or daughters employed at home or on the farm, may be returned – "Farmer's Son", "Farmer's Daughter"'.<sup>322</sup> These instructions were not always followed in the Carlton returns. However, though the terminology varied, the returns do show quite clearly which farms were using family labour. In 1851 there were eight such farms, and eight sons, one daughter, and two grandsons were workers on family farms. Thomas Harrison ran his farm with the assistance of his two sons, George, aged twenty-eight, and Metcalfe, aged nineteen, and his daughter Mary, aged twenty-two, the only 'Farmer's Daur.' recorded in the 1851 Carlton census.<sup>323</sup> Sons working on the farms were given various titles, such as 'Farm Manager', 'Farm Servant' and 'Farm Assistant', as well as the officially approved 'Farmer's Son'. John Hutchinson's daughter Mary, working at home, was described as 'House Servant', while her brother John, aged twenty-three, was an 'Assistant Farmer'.<sup>324</sup>

In 1881 four Carlton farms were using family labour, as indicated in the census by the terms 'Farmer's Son' or 'Farmer's Daughter'. Four sons and three daughters were working on family farms. The largest user of family labour was John Walker at Townhead, who was assisted by two of his sons and one of his daughters.<sup>325</sup> There were also two doubtful cases in this census. John, Thomas and Septimus Binks were

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<sup>320</sup> Higgs, *The Census Revisited*, p.101.

<sup>321</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2419, frames 285-86.

<sup>322</sup> Higgs, *The Census Revisited*, p.102.

<sup>323</sup> 1851 census, schedule 18.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, schedule 62.

<sup>325</sup> 1881 census, schedule 5.



three brothers living together. John and Thomas were both farmers, of 6 acres and 32 acres respectively, but Septimus was a labourer. Possibly he worked for a number of employers, including one or both of his brothers; later he too had his own farm.<sup>326</sup> Thomas Iveson, aged nineteen and described as a farm labourer, lived with his grandmother Annie, aged seventy-seven, who was a farmer of 5 acres. Again, Thomas may have worked elsewhere, as well as helping his grandmother with her few acres.<sup>327</sup>

By 1901 the number of farms using family labour had reduced to three, or four at most. From 1891 the census instructions did not include 'Farmer's Daughter' among occupations to be noted.<sup>328</sup> This exclusion did not accord with the realities. At New Close, Carlton, Martha Binks, aged seventy-three, was the farmer, assisted by her daughter Elizabeth and grandson Thomas. The schedule for the household described Elizabeth as 'Farmer's Daughter'; this was crossed out by a clerk and 'F.Rel.' inserted instead. Thomas was described as an agricultural labourer.<sup>329</sup> One other female relative probably doing farm work was Sarah Watson, aged seventeen, the sister-in-law of farmer Ramshaw Robinson. She and her older sister Elizabeth both lived with the Robinsons, and while Elizabeth's occupation was stated in the census as 'Housekeeper', Sarah's was unspecified, the space being left blank, though her employment status was 'Worker'.<sup>330</sup> The other two family farms were both at Highfield, and the workers were sons. Simon Horner was assisted by his two grown-up sons, and all three were described as 'Farmer', with the father as 'Employer' and the sons as 'Workers'.<sup>331</sup> On the next farm Thomas Binks was assisted by his son George, for whom the description 'Farmer's Son' was crossed out by a clerk, and 'Rel.' inserted.<sup>332</sup> This was not in accordance with the sample provided by the census, which included a 'Farmer's Son'. It was only women whose work on family farms was officially excluded.<sup>333</sup>

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<sup>326</sup> Ibid., schedule 20; 1891 census, schedule 53.

<sup>327</sup> 1881 census, schedule 39.

<sup>328</sup> Higgs, The Census Revisited, p.108.

<sup>329</sup> 1901 census, schedule 1.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid., schedule 2.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid., schedule 45.

<sup>332</sup> Ibid., schedule 46.

<sup>333</sup> Higgs, The Census Revisited, p.188.

## Farmers' Wives

The same exclusion policy in relation to women's work was applied by the census authorities to farmers' wives.<sup>334</sup> From 1851 to 1881 'Farmer's Wife' was the entry in the 'Occupation' column for the great majority, but not quite all, of the wives of the Carlton farmers. There is no way of knowing whether there is any significance in the few cases where the occupation was omitted, and whether the omission was the work of the enumerator or the householder. In 1891 and 1901 the contribution of farmers' wives to the work of the farms was no longer recognised in the Carlton census returns, in line with the new instructions. By following this policy the census failed to reflect the real-life situation, graphically described by Charles Maltby in his account of the Carlton farming families:

The farmer's wife usually worked harder than anyone else on the farm. In addition to the ordinary housework, to her usually fell the odd jobs: poultry-feeding, calf-feeding, butter and cheese-making, fruit picking, and jam-making...As a boy, it seemed to me that when ever I saw a farmer's wife she was always working! Cooking, sewing, darning, and cheese-making into the late evening.<sup>335</sup>

When John and Isabella Walker realised that their son Eli was enjoying musical evenings with the Maltby family, and the attraction was Emily Maltby, a young pupil-teacher, they made their disapproval known.

Everyone was in favour of a match except my sister and his parents. They would prefer he married a more robust woman used to, and capable of performing, the endless physical work of a dairy farmer's wife. This coincided with my sister's view.<sup>336</sup>

Eli had to look elsewhere for a wife. Dairying was not the only source of income at Townhead, as Charles's own account of his life on the farm shows, but the Walkers evidently believed it to be of first importance. The hard work involved in making farmhouse butter and cheese is emphasised by Marie Hartley and Joan Ingilby in their description of dairy work. In spite of their love of the old traditions, they conclude that with the manufacture of cheese and butter in factories, 'the drudgery of dairy work has left the farmhouse'.<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> Ibid., p.102.

<sup>335</sup> Maltby, The Dalesman, vol.10, no.12, 440.

<sup>336</sup> Ibid.

<sup>337</sup> Hartley and Ingilby, Life and Tradition, p.38.



At the beginning of the twentieth century, therefore, there were fewer living-in servants on the Carlton farms than in 1851, and the number of farm labourers and general labourers had also decreased, while the number of relatives working on family farms had almost halved. In the same period the production of butter and cheese had increased in importance as a source of farm income, making the work of farmers' wives, unrecognised by the census, more significant than ever. It is safe to say that without the contribution made by the wives some of the Carlton farmers who weathered the great depression would not have remained in business.

#### **4.4 Craftsmen, tradesmen, and other members of the village community; those who left, and some who returned**

Agriculture was the mainstay of Carlton's economy, but the village also contained craftsmen and tradesmen. Their prosperity depended to a large extent on the farming families, on whom they relied for most of their custom.<sup>338</sup> This section will describe changes in craft and trade occupations, from the evidence of the census returns, supplemented by the directories; it will then examine the numbers of domestic servants in Carlton, and will consider what is known about those members of the community who were retired or 'living on own means', and the very poor; finally some evidence will be presented about migrants from Carlton, and some who returned.

##### **4.4.1 Crafts and Trades**

In previous chapters examples have been presented of farming combined with a craft or trade. In similar fashion, these occupations were sometimes combined with each other, in a variety of permutations.<sup>339</sup> For example, at each census there were three grocers in Carlton, but in 1851 one of them was a grocer and draper, the second was Post Master as well as grocer, and the third had no additional occupation.<sup>340</sup> The distinction between crafts and trades cannot be applied too rigidly, for some

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<sup>338</sup> J.A.Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen', in *The Victorian Countryside*, ed.G.E.Mingay, I (1981), 312. Chartres makes the point in relation to tradesmen, but it applies equally to Carlton's craftsmen.

<sup>339</sup> The combinations are so various that an attempt to construct a table of crafts and trades from the Carlton census returns had to be abandoned, when it became too complicated to be effective.

<sup>340</sup> 1851 census, schedules 33, 9 and 13.

craftsmen, such as shoemakers or tailors, sold the goods they made direct to the customer.

Chartres and Turnbull have suggested 'population thresholds' at which certain crafts appeared in the North Riding, based on Kelly's directory for 1879, as follows: tailor, 330; blacksmith, 340; wheelwright, 350.<sup>341</sup> Even at its highest point, Carlton's population did not reach the lowest of these figures.<sup>342</sup> But as the largest village in Coverdale, Carlton had its own hinterland, and its craftsmen had a potential customer base in other townships in the dale, and across the watershed into upper Nidderdale. The old packhorse track from Arkleside provided a connection between the two dales for travellers on foot or on horseback which has been lost in the days of motor transport.<sup>343</sup> In 1851 there was one tailor in Carlton Highdale, at Arkleside, and four shoemakers, but no blacksmith or wheelwright/joiner.<sup>344</sup> By the early 1870s the tailor at Arkleside and one shoemaking business at Horsehouse were the only craftsmen still remaining in the Highdale, and by 1889 John Beckwith, tailor and farmer at Arkleside, was the only one left.<sup>345</sup> The Carlton craftsmen could therefore provide services for an area where there was very little competition.

### **Shoemakers**

The tendency for boot and shoemakers (or 'cordwainers' as they were formerly known) to cluster in certain villages has long been noted.<sup>346</sup> In the mid-nineteenth century there was a cluster of these craftsmen in Carlton, for in the 1851 census there were five boot and shoemakers and two apprentices working in the village. The number seems to have increased, for Baines recorded only two shoemakers in 1823, and White listed one clogger and three boot and shoemakers in 1840.<sup>347</sup> The number reached a peak in 1861, when there were nine: five shoemakers, three

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<sup>341</sup> Chartres and Turnbull, The Victorian Countryside, I, 321.

<sup>342</sup> See graph of population, above p.211.

<sup>343</sup> G.N.Wright, Roads and Trackways of the Yorkshire Dales (Ashbourne, 1985), pp.114-16.

<sup>344</sup> 1851 census, Carlton Highdale. The shoemakers were at Horsehouse (2), Gammersgill and Arkleside.

<sup>345</sup> Post Office Directory (1872), p.115; Kelly's Directory (1889), p.53.

<sup>346</sup> E.g. Thwaite in Wharfedale was noted for its shoemakers from medieval times onwards: E.Pontefract and M.Hartley, Wharfedale (1938), pp.173-75. See also C.Hallas, Rural Responses, pp.34-35, for shoemaking as a specialism in Aysgarth in the nineteenth century.

<sup>347</sup> Baines, Directory (1823), II,423; White, Directory (1840), p.615.



journeyman and one apprentice. In 1871 there were eight shoemakers and an apprentice, but one of the shoemakers was a visitor staying with relatives. Thereafter the number decreased to four in 1881 and 1891, and three in 1901. At Aysgarth a similar decline occurred, but slightly earlier, from nine shoemakers in 1841 to six in 1871 and three in 1891.<sup>348</sup> The local craftsmen were under pressure from the availability of cheaper, mass-produced footwear, distributed via the railway, as well as from the impact of agricultural depression on their customers, and the decline in population.<sup>349</sup>

At Carlton the boot and shoemaking business which lasted longest was run by the Binks family. In the 1851 census Christopher Binks, then aged thirty-one, was listed as a master cordwainer. He lived with his parents in a lodging-house kept by his mother, and his seventeen-year-old apprentice also lived there.<sup>350</sup> Christopher did not inherit his occupation (his father was a labourer), but from him the name, and the occupation, passed down another two generations. His son (born in 1865) and his grandson (born in 1890) kept the craft alive in Carlton. In Kelly's directory (1909) theirs was the only shoemaking business listed in the village.<sup>351</sup>

Marie Hartley and Joan Ingilby talked with the third Christopher Binks in his later years, and published a photograph of him standing in his workshop in front of his rows of lasts.<sup>352</sup> He remembered taking boots to customers in upper Nidderdale on foot. Each pair weighed six or seven pounds, and 'it was as much as he could carry to take three pairs at a time'. He said that his father used to start work at 4 a.m., and 'thought the world of his measuring stick', which was beautifully made.<sup>353</sup> It was the essential instrument for measuring customers' feet. Later the third Christopher Binks used a bicycle to visit his customers in Nidderdale, riding over the old packhorse track from Arkleside. The tools and equipment from his workshop are now in the Nidderdale Museum at Pateley Bridge, where the shop has

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<sup>348</sup> Hallas, Rural Responses, p.34.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.36-37.

<sup>350</sup> 1851 census, schedule 37.

<sup>351</sup> 1891 census, schedules 20 and 40; Kelly's Directory (1909), p.68.

<sup>352</sup> Hartley and Ingilby, Life and Tradition, Plate 209.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibid.*, p.159.

been reconstructed to show a master craftsman at work.<sup>354</sup> The building itself still stands in Carlton, but is derelict.

### **Joiners/Carpenters/Wheelwrights**

The finer distinctions between the woodworking crafts did not apply in Carlton, where the three titles were used at different times by the same people in their census returns and entries in directories. 'Joiner' was the preferred name in the Dales for the craftsman in wood who carried out whatever type of work presented itself, making and repairing a wide range of essential items, from household and farm tools to larger work on buildings.<sup>355</sup>

There were four of these craftsmen in Carlton in 1851, three of them with very small farms in addition to their workshops. The fourth was William Calvert, who described himself as a wheelwright in the 1851 census, and a joiner thereafter.<sup>356</sup> He was born in Nidderdale, at Bewerley, and had lived at Otley, where two of his older children were born, but having settled in Carlton he remained in business in the village for forty years, training his sons to follow in the same occupation. The number of joiners in Carlton increased to five and two apprentices in 1871 (when William's son Benjamin was an apprentice), and to nine in 1881, when five of the nine were Calverts (William and four sons).<sup>357</sup> In 1891 the number dropped to three, but all of them were Calverts.<sup>358</sup> By 1901 Christopher Calvert was the only one carrying on the family tradition, working with an apprentice, but another family business had increased the numbers in Carlton, with the arrival of Matthew Watson from Melmerby, and his two sons working with him.<sup>359</sup> Kelly's directory in 1909 described Christopher Calvert as a joiner and wheelwright, and Matthew Watson as a wheelwright.<sup>360</sup> Christopher lived at the present Coverley House, with a workshop

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<sup>354</sup> Nidderdale Museum Guide (1989), p.17. The dates in the Guide are not in accord with the Carlton census returns, which are consistent in themselves.

<sup>355</sup> See Hartley and Ingilby, Life and Tradition, pp.130-33, for examples of the variety of work done by village joiners.

<sup>356</sup> 1851 census, schedule 45.

<sup>357</sup> 1871 census, schedules 58, 61, 65, 66 and 69; 1881 census, schedules 24, 31, 35 and 39.

<sup>358</sup> 1891 census, schedules 24 and 30.

<sup>359</sup> 1901 census, schedules 9 and 21; Bulmer, Directory (1890), p.407.

<sup>360</sup> Kelly's Directory (1909), p.68.



next door. A derelict workshop lower down Carlton Street was acquired by George Thistlethwaite, and incorporated into Thistle Cottage.<sup>361</sup>

Like shoemakers, practitioners of the woodworking crafts were under pressure in the later nineteenth century from factory competition. Even before motor transport became widespread, the traditional skills of the wheelwright were under most pressure.<sup>362</sup> It was helpful for the village joiners that they had a wider range of work, which enabled their skills to be preserved, though with a reduced workforce, through the twentieth century.<sup>363</sup>

### **Blacksmiths**

One branch of a blacksmith's work was closely related to a wheelwright's, for the final stage of making a wheel, 'tyring', was work for the smith.<sup>364</sup> However, this was only one of the smith's skills. In the towns blacksmiths spent almost all their time shoeing horses, but in country districts they also made and repaired a vast range of metal objects.<sup>365</sup> Marie Hartley and Joan Ingilby abstracted a list of miscellaneous jobs from the day books of a smith at Gunnerside in Swaledale in the later nineteenth century, varying from making a new kitchen range to putting a knob on a kettle lid and mending the doctor's brass tap.<sup>366</sup> This variety of work would be brought to the smiths in Carlton.

In 1851 there were three blacksmiths in Carlton. Henry Harrison was tenant of the former 'XYZ', and like his predecessor, Thomas Metcalfe, combined innkeeping with the work of the smithy.<sup>367</sup> John Thompson, in his seventies, was assisted by his grandson, William Ivison, as his journeyman.<sup>368</sup> When the inn was sold, Henry Harrison moved to another home in the village, and continued to work as a smith. By 1861 he was assisted by his son, William, while at the other smithy William

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<sup>361</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, nos.14 and 15.

<sup>362</sup> J.A.Chartres, 'The Retail Trades and Agricultural Services', in The Agrarian History of England, VII 1850-1914 (Part II), ed.E.J.T.Collins (2000), 1171-72.

<sup>363</sup> Hartley and Ingilby, Life and Tradition, p.130.

<sup>364</sup> J.A.Chartres and G.L.Turnbull, 'Country Craftsmen', in The Victorian Countryside, ed.G.E.Mingay, I (1981), p.325.

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.*, p.315.

<sup>366</sup> Hartley and Ingilby, Life and Tradition, p.135.

<sup>367</sup> 1851 census, schedule 27.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*, schedule 31.

Iverson was now working alone.<sup>369</sup> Both businesses existed in the early 1870s; but by 1881 the Harrisons were left without competition in Carlton, and William Iverson was farming 40 acres at Swineside.<sup>370</sup>

In his later years Henry Harrison concentrated on farming, and William was in charge of the smithy. In 1891 and again in 1901 the census entries imply that he was working single-handed.<sup>371</sup> Chartres quotes evidence that ‘a smith and at least one assistant were required to work the bellows of the forge before the advent of portable machinery’, largely after the First World War. He consequently assumes that each blacksmith ‘would normally have at least one employed man’.<sup>372</sup> It is puzzling, therefore, to know how William Iverson, and later William Harrison, managed to cope if they were working single-handed. Possibly they relied on help from family members, or used labourers who did not work solely for them and so were not identified in the census as their assistants.

The drop in the number of blacksmiths in Carlton, and its timing, fit with Chartres’s conclusion that ‘the 1870s may have seen the peak in the distribution of the rural smithy’.<sup>373</sup> He identified three factors which eroded their market: factory-made implements, partial mechanisation on the farm, and after 1900 the increasing use of motor vehicles. Only the first of these would have an impact on the smiths in Carlton in the period under discussion, but combined with the drop in population it was sufficient to reduce the number of smiths to one.

Hallas found a decline in the number of blacksmiths per thousand population between 1841 and 1891 in both the areas of Wensleydale which she studied. Interestingly, her analysis of the size of blacksmith businesses produced an average of under two employees per business in 1891 in the two Wensleydale areas and in Swaledale, suggesting that one-man smithies were not a rarity in the Dales.<sup>374</sup>

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<sup>369</sup> 1861 census, schedules 38 and 71.

<sup>370</sup> 1871 census, schedules 59 and 64; Post Office Directory (1872), p.115; 1881 census, schedule 29; 1881 census, Carlton Highdale.

<sup>371</sup> 1891 census, schedule 31; 1901 census, schedule 24.

<sup>372</sup> Chartres, Agrarian History, VII (Part II), 1165 and note 46.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

<sup>374</sup> Hallas, Rural Responses, pp.32-33.



## Tailors

In 1851 Carlton had three tailors, one of whom, Joseph Longstaff, had a shop where he also sold drapery (i.e. ready-made items). By 1861 he had added grocery to his drapery business.<sup>375</sup> Tailoring was no longer mentioned in his census entries, but it continued to appear in his directory entries, perhaps as a sideline, for his shop became the largest retail establishment in the village.<sup>376</sup> However, the number of tailors describing themselves as such in the census was maintained at either two or three throughout the period.<sup>377</sup> Their craft seems to have provided a sufficiently secure livelihood to keep them in Carlton for decades. James Blades and James Spence were both working in the village in 1871, and were still there in 1910. James Blades' son, Thomas, was working with his father in 1891, but had become a general labourer by 1901. James Spence combined a small farm with his tailoring business, for he was tenant of 7 acres of land along with his house at West End in 1910.<sup>378</sup> Although the tailors had remained in business, it appears as if they were coming under increasing pressure. The availability of ready-made clothing, and the fall in population, constituted a double threat to their profits.

## Dressmakers and milliners

These two crafts were closely linked, and it was possible to switch from one to the other, or to combine the two. In Carlton Elizabeth Pickard was a straw hat maker in 1851 and a dressmaker in 1871, and in the latter year Margaret Storey was both dressmaker and milliner.<sup>379</sup> The census recorded two dressmakers and a straw hat maker in 1851, and four dressmakers in 1861. There were three dressmakers and one milliner in 1871, and Margaret Storey doing both kinds of work. But in 1881 only one dressmaker was recorded, and none at all in 1891 or 1901. The workers in the earlier censuses were mostly young women, who were not heads of households. It seems unlikely that the demand for such work died out entirely, and it is possible

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<sup>375</sup> 1851 census, schedule 55; 1861 census, schedule 72.

<sup>376</sup> E.g. Post Office Directory (1872), p.115; Kelly's Directory (1889), p.53. The shop building survives as the 'Old Post Office' and is large for a Dales village. It was not the Post Office in Joseph Longstaff's day.

<sup>377</sup> See Hartley and Ingilby, Life and Tradition, pp.162-64 and plates 216-17, for a description of small tailoring workshops in the Dales, based on the recollections of former workers, and photographs of tailors 'sitting cross-legged on the board'.

<sup>378</sup> 1871 census, schedules 33 and 63; 1891 census, schedule 3; 1901 census, schedules 14 and 36; NYCRO,NG/V, Carlton Town nos.6 and 76.

<sup>379</sup> 1851 census, schedule 44; 1871 census, schedules 73 and 83.

that from 1891 this is another example of the under-recording of women's work carried out from the home.<sup>380</sup>

### **Retail trades in Carlton**

Chartres has also compared the numbers of tradesmen in North Yorkshire communities of various sizes in 1820 and 1879, and suggested 'population thresholds' for some of them in 1879.<sup>381</sup> In most respects the number of tradesmen in Carlton compares well with the villages selected by Chartres with a population below 500 in 1879. It is difficult to make exact comparisons, because retailers in Carlton tended not to use the generic term 'shopkeeper' – though in practice they may well have sold many types of goods on request by their customers.<sup>382</sup> The suggested 'thresholds' are: publican, 296; shopkeeper, 309; butcher, 372; grocer, 489. As with the craftsmen, the numbers of tradesmen in Carlton were higher than the population figures would lead one to expect.<sup>383</sup>

In 1851 there were three grocers in Carlton, the same number as in 1823. One of them, Ellen Render, grocer and draper, was aged eighty-two; this was probably the business attributed to Richard Runder, grocer and tailor, in 1823.<sup>384</sup> It was the usual practice in Carlton for grocery to be combined with some other branch of retail trade, or with Post Office business, which changed hands from time to time from one grocer to another. By 1861 William Harrison had converted the former 'XYZ' into a shop selling grocery and drapery, and Joseph Longstaff had added grocery to his drapery business. George Bennett continued to be Post Master as well as grocer.<sup>385</sup> Thereafter the numbers fluctuated, with never less than two, and a maximum of four, which was reached in 1891, Richard Simpson having moved from

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<sup>380</sup> Higgs, The Census Revisited, pp.101-02.

<sup>381</sup> Chartres, The Victorian Countryside, pp.302-04.

<sup>382</sup> This was the tradition handed down in the 'Old Post Office': information from Mrs. Betty Fraser. The motto was: 'You must be obliging, and try to obtain what customers ask for'.

<sup>383</sup> Chartres defines the threshold as 'the midpoint between the average size of villages with such a trade and those with none... Such a definition probably approximates to reality'. He says 'most of the figures represent populations slightly lower than those at which such businesses were found', with the exception of the figure for publicans, where the method produced a figure which is too high. Chartres, The Victorian Countryside, p.304.

<sup>384</sup> Baines, Directory, p.423; 1851 census, schedule 33.

<sup>385</sup> 1861 census, schedules 40, 72 and 60.



farming at Highfield to become grocer and Post Master in the village.<sup>386</sup> In 1901 the number was back to three, still a high number for a village the size of Carlton. Richard Simpson was 'grocer' in his census entry, and 'shopkeeper' in Kelly's directories for 1901 and again in 1909; but the accounts for Horsehouse school reveal that he was also a builder.<sup>387</sup> He submitted an estimate for a new classroom and closets at the school in October 1904. He got the job, but the work led to a dispute between him and the school managers, which had to go to arbitration before the matter was settled in his favour in 1906.<sup>388</sup> Dual occupations not only provided additional income, but also gave some protection when problems arose in one occupation. In this case the income from the shop must have provided a welcome 'cushion' when the school managers failed to settle the bill.

The number of butchers in Carlton remained steady throughout the period. In each census from 1851 to 1901 there were at least two butchers, usually combining the trade with farming. In 1861 both were in the Simpson family business, but in other years there were two independent businesses. The trade was certainly the foundation of the Simpson family success. In 1910 each business had a slaughterhouse, situated among the houses and farms in the heart of the village.<sup>389</sup> For poorer families butcher's meat was a treat. It was enjoyed by the Maltby family on Mondays, when the schoolchildren paid their fees, and Charles had memories of being called out of school to go to the butcher's: 'we revelled in high living for a day at least'.<sup>390</sup>

The two public houses which remained in Carlton after the demise of the former 'XYZ' shared between them the custom of the village, and such passing trade as there was. They were centres of social life – at least for men – and in this the village was typical of rural England.<sup>391</sup> As Charles Maltby put it:

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<sup>386</sup> In the 1881 census only Joseph Longstaff specifically mentioned grocery; Thomas Mawer, who had succeeded William Harrison, added an etc. to his drapery, and grocery appears in all his other census and directory entries. 1881 census, schedules 25 and 40; 1891 census, schedules 4, 22, 23 and 35.

<sup>387</sup> 1901 census, schedule 23; Kelly's Directory (1901), p.63; *ibid.* (1909), p.68; NYCRO, MIC 2419.

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>389</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, no.68; NYCRO, NG/V, Carlton Town, no.111.

<sup>390</sup> Maltby, The Dalesman, vol.10, no.9, 332.

<sup>391</sup> Chartres, Agrarian History, VII (Part II), 1193.

The life of the village revolved largely round the church and chapel, and the two pubs, with a distinct emphasis on the pubs.

He remembered farmers and labourers playing quoits on summer evenings on patches of ground adjoining the pubs.<sup>392</sup>

Strictly speaking there was a distinction between inns and public houses, but the terms were often used loosely, and this was certainly the case in Carlton, where ‘innkeeper’ and ‘publican’ were used interchangeably in the census entries. Both establishments were run in conjunction with farming, but at the ‘Moorcock’ the farm and the land belonged together, which was not the case at the ‘Forester’s Arms’. They both had changes of name: the present-day ‘Foresters’ Arms’ was the ‘Hare and Hounds’ in 1823, and the ‘Board Inn’ on the 6-inch OS map of 1856, and confusingly in 1840 the name ‘Board’ seems to have belonged to the house which was later the ‘Moorcock’.<sup>393</sup> The names ‘Foresters’ Arms’ and ‘Moorcock’ had become fixed by 1872, the ‘Foresters’ Arms’ taking its name from the Friendly Society which met on the premises.<sup>394</sup>

The Walls family (father and son, both William, and grandson Joseph) provided a dynasty of licensees at the ‘Foresters’ Arms’ throughout the whole of the nineteenth century. At the time of the 1910 valuation the surveyor found that the place had just been sold to T. and R.Theakstone. Commercial brewers were extending their empires, and the valuer’s comments make it clear that the ‘Foresters’ Arms’ had become a tied house.<sup>395</sup>

The ‘Moorcock’ had a more varied history. John and Isabella Walker took the house over around 1848, and stayed for twenty years, running the pub and the farm and raising a large family.<sup>396</sup> After their move to Townhead the pub changed hands on a number of occasions, with a different landlord named in each census. In 1901 there seems to have been a change of landlord about the time of the census. There was another change in 1910, when Mark Horner took over. According to the

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<sup>392</sup> Maltby, The Dalesman, vol.10, no.9, 332.

<sup>393</sup> Baines, Directory, p.423; White, Directory, p.615.

<sup>394</sup> Post Office Directory (1872), p.115; Hatcher, Richmondshire Architecture, p.46.

<sup>395</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, no.82. For developments in the brewing industry, see Chartres, Agrarian History, VII (Part II), 1195.

<sup>396</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2419, frames 289-90; 1851 census, schedule 34; 1861 census, schedule 26.



valuation, the 'Moorcock' had much more trade than the 'Foresters' Arms', but the incoming tenant at the latter was unable or unwilling to give any details. The 'Moorcock' had a more extensive range of buildings, and was in a much better state of repair. Neither of the pubs had a brewhouse still in use.<sup>397</sup>

Unlike the Carlton craftsmen, the publicans did not lack competition in the surrounding area. Bulmer's directory in 1890 listed public houses in Melmerby, West Scafton and Horsehouse, as well as the 'Lady Bab' at Coverham. All their licensees were also farmers, proving the point that very small communities could retain a public house when the publican had a second occupation.<sup>398</sup>

#### 4.4.2 Domestic Servants

It is generally accepted that domestic service was 'the major employer of women's labour throughout the nineteenth century'.<sup>399</sup> In Carlton the opportunities were limited, but even though the numbers were small the description, an 'omnibus term', covered a whole range of situations. Higgs found numerous ambiguities in the census returns in his study of domestic servants in Rochdale, Lancashire, in the period 1851 to 1871.<sup>400</sup> Some of these can be recognised in the Carlton returns. For example, 'servants' who were close relatives of the head of the household may have worked in return for their keep. There is no way of knowing whether they received any remuneration, or whether they were simply helping their family as a unit to make a living. 'Kin-servants' is Higgs' term for this group. The term 'housekeeper' is particularly problematic, for it could mean different things in different households, ranging from 'housewife' to some kind of extra-marital relationship.<sup>401</sup> There was also simple misunderstanding: in general the Carlton returns seem to be clear about the distinction between a house servant and a farm servant, but Thomas Geldart had surely mistaken the meaning of the term when he listed Richard Paley, aged fifteen, as a house servant in 1861.<sup>402</sup> The numbers can therefore only be

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<sup>397</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, nos.54 and 82.

<sup>398</sup> Bulmer, *Directory*, pp.406-08. The 'Thwaite Arms' at Horsehouse is the only one of the four still open today.

<sup>399</sup> P.Horn, 'Women's Cottage Industries', in *The Victorian Countryside*, ed.Mingay, I, 341.

<sup>400</sup> E.Higgs, 'The tabulation of occupations in the nineteenth-century census, with special reference to domestic servants', *Local Population Studies*, no.28 (1982), 58; see also Higgs, *The Census Revisited*, pp.82 and 102-03.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>402</sup> 1861 census, schedule 12.

regarded as rough estimates, since arbitrary decisions have to be made about whether or not to include certain individuals.

The largest number of domestic servants recorded in Carlton was in 1851, when fourteen women and girls were designated in the census as ‘servant’, ‘general servant’ or ‘house servant’. Four were close relatives of their head of household, comprising one daughter, one sister, and two grand-daughters. The remaining ten all appear to have been employed to do domestic work as living-in servants for families other than their own. The youngest was only eight years old – Isabella Walls, who was ‘servant’ in the household of Anthony Buckle.<sup>403</sup> This was exceptional, for the others were all in their teens or twenties. In addition there were two young women described as ‘servant out of place’, living at home with their families. There were also two male servants, whose duties are not clear. William Hill, aged sixty-five, was the servant of William Walls, and it seems likely that he would have some duties in the pub and would also help with the farm work.<sup>404</sup> Joseph Clarkson, aged seventeen, worked as ‘miller’s servant’ at Griff Mill, and here the duties were probably industrial rather than domestic. In later years he became a miller himself.<sup>405</sup>

Most of the employers were farmers, with two craftsmen/farmers. Two were older women from yeoman families, living on a private income, while the curate and his family had a ‘general servant’. The servants came from a wide range of places in the surrounding area – Caldbergh, Kettlewell, Horsehouse, West Witton, among others. In 1851 Isabella Walls was the only one from Carlton itself.

In 1871 the number of domestic servants had dropped to seven. There were no ‘kin-servants’, and most were teenagers from Coverdale. The vicar’s family in 1871 was the only one in the series to employ two domestic servants – a ‘general servant’ and a twelve-year-old ‘nursemaid’.<sup>406</sup> The number remained at six or seven through to 1901. In this year there was one ‘kin-servant’ (a sister-in-law), and all the servants were in their twenties. The only one born in Carlton, Hetty Watson, was

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<sup>403</sup> 1851 census, schedule 23.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.*, schedule 24.

<sup>405</sup> *Ibid.*, schedule 63; 1881 census, Richmond, Yorks.

<sup>406</sup> 1871 census, schedule 71.



servant to Christopher Binks, and she may well come into the category, identified by Higgs, of servants who were shop-assistants for at least part of their time.<sup>407</sup>

Throughout the period most of the employers of domestic servants were farmers, with a scattering of craftsmen or tradesmen, plus one or two elderly ladies, and the successive incumbents of Coverham. If work on the farms was hard for wives and daughters, it would certainly not be easier for servants. Contemporaries and later commentators noted that girls from rural areas went in large numbers to the towns in search of easier service.<sup>408</sup> Girls from Carlton may well have entered domestic service in other places, but the census details show very few who did so in their own village.

#### 4.4.3 'Living on own means'

In the days before old age pensions, retirement was a fluid concept, and older people might drop in and out of the labour market.<sup>409</sup> The more affluent might leave their work early, while some of the poor continued working, if they could, into extreme old age. Some single women, even those of modest means, never worked. The census authorities were interested in collecting information about the previous occupations of people who were no longer working, but the information they received was often ambiguous, and inconsistent from one census to another, because of the variety of situations represented in the householders' schedules.<sup>410</sup> Examples from the Carlton census returns illustrate these points. Thomas Geldart considered himself to be a 'retired farmer' in 1881, but a 'farmer' in 1891, when he was aged sixty-nine.<sup>411</sup> Possibly he had rented out his land in 1881, but had resumed farming it himself in 1891. Joseph Walls was a 'retired butcher' in 1891, at the age of fifty-three, but in 1901 he was carrying on the family tradition as licensee of the 'Foresters' Arms'.<sup>412</sup> An example of a very elderly manual worker was Robert Storey, who was a 'road mender' in 1881 at the age of seventy-seven.<sup>413</sup> By contrast, Peggy Law, daughter of the former assistant curate, James Law, was

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<sup>407</sup> 1901 census, schedule 28; Higgs, Local Population Studies, no.28, 64.

<sup>408</sup> W.A.Armstrong, 'The Flight from the Land', in The Victorian Countryside, ed. Mingay, I,124 and 126.

<sup>409</sup> Higgs, The Census Revisited, pp.112-14. The Old Age Pensions Act was passed in 1908.

<sup>410</sup> Ibid.

<sup>411</sup> 1881 census, schedule 7; 1891 census, schedule 48.

<sup>412</sup> 1891 census, schedule 45; 1901 census, schedule 44.

<sup>413</sup> 1881 census, schedule 62.

described as ‘annuitant, no occupation’ in 1851, when she was forty-eight, ‘clergyman’s daughter, retired’ in 1861, and ‘annuitant’ in 1871.<sup>414</sup> In her case, in view of her father’s poverty, it seems safe to assume her income was very small.

In 1851 four out of sixty-three heads of household in Carlton were ‘annuitants’ (all female), and there were two retired farmers living with their sons. The daughters of Constantine Watson, an annuitant, were listed as ‘no occupation’.<sup>415</sup> In 1881 eight heads of household were described as ‘retired’ (male) or ‘annuitant’ (female) out of a total of sixty-six. Four women who were not heads of household were also described as annuitants, including the two Watsons, who had been joined by their brother William, a retired grocer.<sup>416</sup> In 1891 the term ‘annuitant’ was superseded by ‘living on own means’, and in 1901 nine heads of household, out of forty-eight, were so described – i.e. more than one in six heads of household were not earning, but were living on some form of private income. In some instances, such as Sarah Dawson and James Simpson, we know from the 1910 valuation that the ‘means’ came from ownership of land, and they were in comfortable circumstances; in a handful of cases, perhaps two or three, the ‘means’ may have been so small that they were struggling to survive.

#### **4.4.4 The Very Poor**

##### **The Old and New Poor Law**

Although ratepayers had cause for complaint about the fluctuations in the amount they were charged for poor rates, in the North Riding the system under the Old Poor Law had not come to a collapsing point, as in some southern counties, and there was little enthusiasm for the New Poor Law when it was introduced in the 1830s.<sup>417</sup> New Poor Law Unions were formed in a hurried implementation scheme. Some changes were then forced upon the Poor Law Commissioners, with adverse effects upon Carlton. In the initial scheme the Bedale district was included in the Northallerton Union, but its leading landowners, including some very influential people, were bitterly opposed to this linkage. In order to appease them a new Bedale Union was formed in 1839, taking in some townships from the Leyburn Union – one

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<sup>414</sup> 1851 census, schedule 4; 1861 census, schedule 65; 1871 census, schedule 28.

<sup>415</sup> 1851 census, schedule 19.

<sup>416</sup> 1881 census, schedule 18.

<sup>417</sup> Hastings, *More Essays*, pp.35-36.



of which was Carlton.<sup>418</sup> From a geographical point of view, this decision was a nonsense. Bedale was not Carlton's nearest market town, and the linkage with Leyburn was much more suitable. It was impossible to travel to Bedale from Carlton without passing through territory which belonged to Leyburn Union.<sup>419</sup> Eventually the mistake was rectified, and Carlton was restored to the Leyburn Union. In the meantime anyone from Carlton unfortunate enough to be sent to the workhouse would go to a newly erected institution at Bedale. It was 'stone-built ... surrounded by a five foot wall surmounted by three foot iron palings but it also possessed water closets and a garden and was kept well-whitewashed throughout.' The Leyburn workhouse consisted of a number of converted cottages, and was very small and old. Its sick ward was 'a small, dark room with one bed, also used as a receiving ward for women. The large amount of poultry kept by the workhouse master adversely affected the cleanliness of the house'.<sup>420</sup> Bedale also paid a higher rate of outdoor relief. It fixed the maximum outdoor relief payment for an aged single person at 3s.6d. per week, and 5s.6d. for an aged couple; the Leyburn rate was 6d. per week less in each case.

### **Outdoor relief at Carlton**

Some Carlton census returns give an indication of the numbers of people receiving outdoor relief, and they were always very small.<sup>421</sup> The 1851 return listed four people receiving parish relief. George Whitfield was aged eighty, a widower living alone, and though a pauper he was also farming four acres.<sup>422</sup> Higgs found that 'despite the introduction of the New Poor Law... many paupers receiving out-relief still had some employment', and Hastings concluded that 'local diversity in expenditure and practice prevailed as under the Old Poor Law', and guardians adopted whatever means seemed to them appropriate, and above all economical.<sup>423</sup> It may be, therefore, that George Whitfield's relief was a supplement, regardless of the regulations. Ellen Ripley was an eighty-year-old widow, who received parish relief, though she lived with her daughter and three grand-daughters. The daughter and eldest grand-daughter worked as charwomen.<sup>424</sup> Elisabeth Scarr was aged seventy, and lived alone, as did Mary Morland, but she was aged only forty-one and

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<sup>418</sup> Ibid., pp.36 and 40.

<sup>419</sup> See map in Hastings' article in Historical Atlas, p.135, which brings out this point very clearly.

<sup>420</sup> Hastings, More Essays, p.74.

<sup>421</sup> Not all the census returns have this information. It appears in the Carlton returns in 1851, 1871 and 1891.

<sup>422</sup> 1851 census, schedule 7.

<sup>423</sup> Higgs, The Census Revisited, p.114; Hastings, More Essays, pp.62 and 88.

<sup>424</sup> 1851 census, schedule 11.

single.<sup>425</sup> It may be that she had some disability, not recorded in this census, but even from these few examples it is clear that local discretion was being exercised, and regulations were not being operated as harshly as they could have been. Outdoor relief was cheaper, as well as more humane, than sending people to the workhouse.<sup>426</sup>

In 1871 there were again four paupers listed in the Carlton census. Ellen Spence was only fifty-one, but had living with her as a 'boarder' Roger Rayner, aged sixty-seven and 'imbecile', which probably means that he was suffering from senile dementia.<sup>427</sup> Such 'boarding' arrangements were sometimes made by Poor Law officials under the Old Poor Law as an economical way of providing care.<sup>428</sup> We may have here another example of common-sense arrangements continuing to be made. The other two people living on parish relief in 1871 were Mary Mainman, a widow aged sixty-four, and William Bell, aged eighty-one.<sup>429</sup> Mary Mainman was still surviving on outdoor relief in 1891, when she was the only recipient in Carlton.<sup>430</sup>

Leyburn Union opened an imposing new workhouse in 1877, but in 1881 there was not a single person born in Carlton among the inmates on census night.<sup>431</sup> Anne Digby quotes a comment made about the eastern counties to the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws of 1905-9: 'The common aims are to keep down the rates and assist the poor, especially the old people ... The guardians believe outdoor relief to be more humane and less costly than indoor.'<sup>432</sup> Digby suggests this comment had a wider geographical application. On the limited but consistent evidence available from Carlton, it also had a wider chronological application. It seems to be a fair description of the Poor Law as it was experienced in Carlton, as reflected in the census material from 1851 through to 1901.

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<sup>425</sup> Ibid., schedules 57 and 29.

<sup>426</sup> Hastings, More Essays, p.62.

<sup>427</sup> 1871 census, schedule 40. Higgs, The Census Revisited, p.93.

<sup>428</sup> Hastings, Poverty and the Poor Law, p.30.

<sup>429</sup> 1871 census, schedules 56 and 72.

<sup>430</sup> 1891 census, schedule 26.

<sup>431</sup> Hastings, Historical Atlas, photograph, p.136; 1881 census, Leyburn, workhouse.

<sup>432</sup> A.Digby, 'The Rural Poor', The Victorian Countryside, II, 600, with ref. in note 45 to BPP 1909 XLIII 628.



#### 4.4.5 The Migrants

From its peak of 303 in 1841, Carlton's population dropped to 177 in 1901, a loss of 41.6%. In the half-century from 1851 to 1901, the loss was 35.4%.<sup>433</sup> The decade which saw the largest drop was 1881 to 1891, when there was a loss of 53, or 21%. The other townships in Coverdale also suffered losses:

	1851	1901	%
Carlton Highdale	388	206	46.9
Melmerby	120	79	34.1
West Scafton	139	95	31.6
Caldbergh with East Scafton	96	57	40.6
Coverham with Agglethorpe	204	155	24.0

Coverham was a special case because of the presence of the racing stables, which employed men and boys from all over the north of England.<sup>434</sup>

A recent map of population change in North Yorkshire from 1851 to 1901 shows that the decrease of over 25%, which was experienced by most of Coverdale, was shared with many other places in the present county, with the greatest concentration in the west of the county. A second map showing population trends by registration district over the same period shows the Leyburn district as part of a great swathe right across the county where net out-migration was greater than natural increase.<sup>435</sup> The gains in population which should have resulted from improved rates of natural increase were far outweighed by migration rates, not just from North Yorkshire but from many other rural areas, which eventually caused national alarm.<sup>436</sup>

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<sup>433</sup> See the population graph, p.211. The figures for 1851 to 1901 are the most useful for purposes of comparison, as this is the time-span most frequently used in other studies.

<sup>434</sup> M.Moverley, thesis, pp.161-68; see also Speight, Romantic Richmondshire, pp.316-17, for an account of the trainers at Ashgill, Brecongill and Tupgill, and some of their famous winners.

<sup>435</sup> R.Lawton, 'Population Change, 1700-1900', Historical Atlas, ed.Butlin, p.125.

<sup>436</sup> B.Short, 'Rural Demography. 1850-1914', Agrarian History, VII, Part II, p.1272. See also P.A.Graham, The Rural Exodus (1892), passim.

Christine Hallas makes the point that because young workers were the most mobile section of the population, out-migration would impact on birth rates.<sup>437</sup> This seems to have happened in Coverdale. Marion Moverley's graphs of births, marriages and deaths in Coverham parish, 1800 to 1849, show baptisms exceeding burials throughout the period. In the second half of the century, baptisms exceeded burials in almost all years until 1889, when the trend was reversed. From 1889 until the end of the century, burials exceeded baptisms in every year but two; the figures are identical, or nearly so, for 1894 and 1899.<sup>438</sup>

To understand the impact of migration on Carlton, it is instructive to look at one cohort, children aged nought to nine years in the 1851 census. There were sixty-nine of them, just over a quarter of the population, fifty-eight born in Carlton, and eleven born elsewhere. By the time of the 1881 census, when they were in their thirties, there were thirty-six people in the age-group, 14.3% of the population. Thirteen were born in Carlton, and twenty-three were born elsewhere. By 1901, when they would be regarded as elderly, there were eighteen people in the cohort, 10.2% of the population.<sup>439</sup> Only four of them, all males, were born in Carlton, and two of the four had spent time away before returning to their native village. Henry Constantine V had been to New Zealand and back, and Richard Walls had worked as a butcher in Birkenhead.<sup>440</sup> From the whole cohort only Richard Simpson and Alfred Walls (brother of Richard) appeared in each successive census from 1851 through to 1901. These figures give a sense of the scale of change in the village population. They also point to a certain amount of inward migration, as well as the larger numbers of outward migrants.

Inward migrants can be easily identified by their birthplaces in the census returns, but the destinations of outward migrants are more difficult to discover. However, the availability of a comprehensive data-base for the 1881 census, with a very efficient search facility, has made it possible to track some of the migrants from

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<sup>437</sup> Hallas, *Rural Responses*, p.272, note 20.

<sup>438</sup> Moverley, thesis, Appendices 11 and 12.

<sup>439</sup> Life expectancy was still under sixty in 1901, even for upper-class people, and much less for the poor in the slums. Hey, *How our ancestors lived*, p.36.

<sup>440</sup> 1901 census, schedule 32, for the Constantine family; 1881 census, Birkenhead, Cheshire, for Richard Walls.



Carlton.<sup>441</sup> This exercise, combined with the information available from other sources, gives some pointers to the nature of the migration.

Movement between villages in neighbouring dales was a longstanding tradition, and it continued to be commonplace. For example, Benjamin Calvert was trained as a joiner in Carlton by his father, William, and in 1881 he was working in this occupation in Redmire. His teenage nephew, Edward Calvert, lived with him, and worked as a draper's assistant.<sup>442</sup> Most of the migrants into Carlton came from neighbouring villages, especially through marriage, which again was a traditional pattern. Either partner might move from their home area, no doubt depending on employment opportunities and family circumstances, and such moves were sometimes reversed. In 1861, John Beck, a cattle dealer, and his wife Frances lived in Carlton with her mother, Hannah Tennant; but in 1881 the Becks were at Wood Nook Farm, Threshfield, Wharfedale, in John Beck's home area.<sup>443</sup> When she was widowed, Frances returned to Carlton.<sup>444</sup>

Craftsmen and tradesmen, with skills and experience to offer, were the groups most likely to move in search of better employment prospects. It was a natural development that they should widen their area of search to look for employment in growing towns. John Matson, born in West Burton, was a shoemaker and small farmer in Carlton in 1851, but he and his family had left before 1861. By 1881 they were in Harrogate, where he had taken up a new occupation as a 'lodginghouse keeper'.<sup>445</sup> While John Matson had made his way to a growing spa town, others made for the industrial centres of the West Riding. Henry Prest, a shoemaker, was the son of Edward Prest, a long-established shoemaker in Carlton. In 1851 Henry and his family were living in Carlton, but by 1881 they were in Hunslet. Henry was still a shoemaker, but his son Edward was a mechanic.<sup>446</sup>

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441 Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, electronic version of the 1881 census for the United States, Britain and Canada, available on the website of Leeds University Library.

442 1871 census, schedule 61; 1881 census, Redmire.

443 1861 census, schedule 70; 1881 census, Threshfield, Linton parish. John Beck was born at Fleets House, in a remote upland area of Rylstone parish, not far from Wood Nook.

444 See below, p.297.

445 1851 census, schedule 10; 1881 census, Beulah Place, Bilton cum Harrogate.

446 1851 census, schedule 17; 1881 census, Endon Street, Hunslet.

Some families moved into Carlton, spent some time there, and then moved on. Dixon Wilson was another shoemaker, born in Gammersgill. In 1851 he was living there with his father, a farmer, and working at his craft. By 1861 he had married a wife from Carlton, and moved into the village. In 1881 the family were in Leeds, but in the meantime they had been at Kirkby Malzeard, where their youngest child was born around 1872. In Leeds Dixon Wilson was making boots, one daughter was a leather dresser, another was a domestic servant, and a third a 'teacake seller'. The family had therefore found employment, but not in good quality jobs.<sup>447</sup>

The examples given so far have all involved destinations in Yorkshire, but in fact destinations were widely spread. It is not possible to identify one area to which substantial numbers of migrants from Carlton were drawn. The history of emigration from Swaledale to the new lead-mining area on the upper Mississippi river is well known, but there is no parallel in the migration from Carlton.<sup>448</sup> Links can be traced with Manchester, the Burnley/Colne area, Birkenhead, Middlesbrough and Cleveland, County Durham, Bradford, Leeds and Harrogate. Members of the old yeoman families who left Carlton seem to have travelled furthest. The Constantines had family members in Canada as well as New Zealand, and in 1910 the owner of the Geldart lands was in New York.<sup>449</sup>

The stereotype of migration is of young people leaving their home area, and this certainly occurred; but the examples make it clear that whole families also migrated. As a result the age structure in Carlton was not left greatly out of balance (Table 21). A comparison of the age-structure in 1851 and 1901 shows that the proportions of children and the elderly in the population had not been drastically altered. Children under ten made up 25.2% of the population in 1851, and 23.7% in 1901, while the proportion of those aged sixty and over had fallen from 14.2% in 1851 to 13% in 1901. The biggest change was in the age-group ten to nineteen years, 21.5% in 1851, and 14.7% in 1901. The number in this group was swollen in 1851 by young people from other villages who were domestic servants in Carlton. In 1901, in spite of the long period of out-migration, the community was not left unbalanced by large numbers of elderly people, or unequal numbers of males and

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<sup>447</sup> 1851 census, Carlton Highdale, part 2, schedule 2; 1861 census, schedule 29; 1881 census, Rowsley Street, Leeds.

<sup>448</sup> Hallas, Rural Responses, pp.286-89; D.Morris, The Dalesmen of the Mississippi River (York, 1989), passim.

<sup>449</sup> See Harker, The Dalesman, vol.47, no.11, 947, for the Constantine link with Canada.



females. The population in 1851 consisted of 138 males and 136 females, and in 1901 there were ninety males and eighty-seven females.

#### 4.4.6 Migrants who returned

Not all migrants left Carlton behind for the rest of their lives. Some people travelled in their youth, but returned to the village to bring up families. William Thornton was one example, for there are references in the 1872 court case to a time when William was away railway surveying, before he took over from his father as tenant at Townhead.<sup>450</sup> The 1881 census shows that Joseph Horner, butter factor, born in Carlton, and his wife Margaret, born in West Burton, had very recently been in Middleton, County Durham, and their two eldest children were born there.<sup>451</sup> The Horners subsequently had more children, born in Carlton, and took over the village Post Office and shop.<sup>452</sup>

Others returned to their native village later in life. The return of Henry Constantine V with his family from New Zealand is the most dramatic example, but not the only one. In 1881 four members of the Walls family were living together in Birkenhead. Three brothers, Joseph, George and Richard, were all butchers, and their sister, Isabella, kept house, with help from a local 'maid of all work'<sup>453</sup> By 1901 the brothers and sister were all back in Carlton. Joseph and Isabella were at the 'Foresters' Arms', and Richard was living with his stay-at-home brother, Alfred. George, still single in 1881 at the age of forty-one, had returned to Carlton with a wife twenty years younger than himself and seven children. He was maintaining them all by trading as a cattle dealer.<sup>454</sup>

Frances ('Fanny') Beck also returned to Carlton in old age; in 1901, aged seventy, she was living alone, but she had relatives in the village. She was living near Eli Walker, who was her nephew.<sup>455</sup> Another member of the Walker family, Mitchell Walker, appears only once in the Carlton census returns, in 1861, when he was aged eight. In 1881 he was working in Richmond as a draper's assistant. By the

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<sup>450</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2419, frames 274-75 and 283.

<sup>451</sup> 1881 census, schedule 55.

<sup>452</sup> 1901 census, schedule 7.

<sup>453</sup> 1881 census, Oxton Road, Birkenhead.

<sup>454</sup> 1901 census, schedules 44, 34 and 48.

<sup>455</sup> *Ibid.*, schedule 40.

time of the 1910 valuation he had returned to Carlton, and was the owner-occupier of 'South View'. 'Owner bought the place too dear in 1905, but has spent a good deal of money between then and 1909 upon it', noted the valuer. Mitchell Walker also owned a 4-acre field, which was let to his brother Eli. He is a good example of a returned migrant bringing back money to invest in property in the village.<sup>456</sup>

Clearly the pull of family, and attachment to the place and the land, would be important motives encouraging migrants to return; but a village with a strong sense of community would also promote a sense of belonging, keeping people in touch with their roots. The strength of community institutions in Carlton will be the subject of the next section.

## **4.5 Community Institutions in Nineteenth-century Carlton: Church, School, and Chapel**

There was a transformation in the social as well as religious life of Carlton in the course of the nineteenth century, with the opening of a chapel of ease and school, and a Methodist chapel. This section will examine the changing fortunes of the Church of England in Coverdale, the growth of Methodism in more than one variety, and the establishment of Carlton school.

### **4.5.1 Coverham Church and the Carlton Chapel of Ease**

For the first three decades of the century, the Rev. James Law, as stipendiary curate, continued to carry out the duties of the parish. There is no doubt that he was regarded as 'our minister' by the parishioners. To supplement his stipend he did some teaching. John Bowes became one of his pupils at a time when he had ideas of going to sea. He writes:

I prevailed upon my father to let me go as a private pupil to our parish minister, Mr. Law, to learn navigation.<sup>457</sup>

Most of the income from the benefice went to the non-resident perpetual curate. The bishops and parliament wanted to stop non-residence, but when there was no

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<sup>456</sup> 1861 census, schedule 26; 1881 census, Finkle Street, Richmond; NA:PRO, IR58/59659, nos.87 and 94.

<sup>457</sup> Bowes, *Autobiography*, p.3.



parsonage house there was little they could do.<sup>458</sup> The careless tenant who was held responsible for the loss by fire of the Coverham glebe house at Highfield had provided non-resident curates with a perfect excuse.<sup>459</sup>

The Coverham tithes and advowson changed hands a number of times. One owner, Sir James Graham, proved to be a generous benefactor to the parish.<sup>460</sup> He obtained £1,200 for augmentation of the living in 1814 and 1816 from the parliamentary grants administered by the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, and added £400 himself. He also met the cost of some necessary repairs to the church, in addition to renewing the chancel roof, which was his legal responsibility.<sup>461</sup> The yearly value of the living was much improved; White, who gave the details of the grants from the Bounty in his directory in 1840, put the value of the improved living at £220 p.a.<sup>462</sup> Contemporary critics of Queen Anne's Bounty complained that 'the not so poor clergy profited as well as the really poor', and Coverham parish illustrates their case.<sup>463</sup> The prime beneficiaries of the parliamentary grants were the members of the Otter family, who succeeded each other as perpetual curates until Edward Otter resigned in 1830.<sup>464</sup> In the following year James Law died, at the age of seventy-six.

In 1829, William Chaytor wrote to the Bishop of Chester with a plan for a new chapel of ease at East Scrafton. This hamlet across the dale was tiny in comparison with Carlton, and less accessible, but it contained William Chaytor's principal residence in Coverdale, which he intended to retain as a family residence. He offered land to build the chapel, to serve East and West Scrafton, Caldbergh and Melmerby, on condition that he and his heirs would have the right to nominate the curate. The Bishop replied that the commissioners for building churches had no more money. Their building grants had been for larger parishes with a population of 4,000 and upwards. 'The only way in which a chapel can be built and the patronage acquired is by endowment'. The patronage would probably be limited to 'three turns or 40 years'.<sup>465</sup>

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<sup>458</sup> Thacker, VCH:Cheshire, III, 57-58.

<sup>459</sup> The careless tenant still rated a mention in a Glebe Terrier in 1844.

<sup>460</sup> This was Sir James Graham, bart., of Portland Place, London, and Kirkstall, Yorks. Coverham Glebe Terrier, 1844, NYCRO, MIC 2451/0332.

<sup>461</sup> Ibid.

<sup>462</sup> White, Directory, p.613.

<sup>463</sup> Best, Temporal Pillars, p.230.

<sup>464</sup> WYAS, Leeds, CD/PB3.

<sup>465</sup> Papers of Sir William Chaytor, p.140.

William Chaytor was angered by the response to his proposal, and made his anger felt when a plan was brought forward for a day school and chapel of ease at Carlton. In January 1835, the Rev. Joseph Dalton, then curate of Coverham, wrote to ask him to join the board of trustees, explaining the plan:

It is intended to erect, in the vicinity of Carlton, a chapel in connexion with the established church; and also a commodious school-house, for the efficient and regular education of children in the parish on moderate term.

He stressed the need for the new building, owing to

the very inconvenient position of the parish church as regards facility of attendance of three-fourths of the population... and... the hitherto neglected state of education in the parish – many heads of families being unable to peruse the Word of God and children even of the poorer farmers never coming under a master's care ...

He incautiously added:

The site of the intended building from the facility of access from every quarter gives satisfaction to everyone in the parish...<sup>466</sup>

Sir William, now a baronet, replied:

I some time ago wrote to the present Bishop of Chester stating the want of an additional chapel and offered to give the land for the erection, the stones for building it with and the lime stones to convert into lime for the building, but those to be paid for and the money arising to go to the use of the clergyman. I got no encouragement from him. I some short time afterwards had an interview with him and I only requested his sanction to carry it into effect and he refused. I therefore under these circumstances will not subscribe...<sup>467</sup>

The scheme went ahead, in spite of Sir William's refusal to support it, and the small, unpretentious building which is now the Church of the Good Shepherd was opened later in the year, as a dual-purpose chapel and schoolroom.<sup>468</sup> No resident of Carlton was included in the list of trustees in the curate's letter to Chaytor: James

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<sup>466</sup> Ibid., p.209.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid.

<sup>468</sup> There is a datestone for 1835 over a blocked doorway on the side of the church building. Both Whellan, History and Topography, II, 420, and Speight, Romantic Richmondshire, p.318, mistakenly give the date as 1855.



Ewbank and Lupton Topham of Middleham, Esquires, Richard Other and J.Barnes.<sup>469</sup>

In 1836, the Bishop of Chester's authority over the parish came to an end with the creation of the new diocese of Ripon, which took in most of the archdeaconry of Richmond.<sup>470</sup> This was a change which was long overdue. Coverham was now part of a much more compact diocese, though the new Bishop of Ripon, Charles Thomas Longley, had plenty of problems awaiting him in the growing industrial areas of the West Riding in need of new churches and schools. William Chaytor had not given up hope of getting his chapel of ease at East Scrafton. He saw his opportunity in 1838, after a visit from the Rector of Wensley asking him to subscribe 'for additional church room'. He wrote to Bishop Longley, going over his discussion with the Bishop of Chester, and the lack of encouragement he had received. 'So much for supporting the Protestant religion'. He repeated his offer to give the land for a chapel, and also stones and lime. He added the offer of a £20 subscription, and a house for the curate 'at a moderate rent'. He was now willing for the Bishop to have the nomination of the curate, but he was adamant that the chapel must be at East Scrafton. He claimed it would be convenient to part of the village of Carlton! The Bishop suggested Melmerby as the best site. Predictably, nothing was achieved as a result of this correspondence.<sup>471</sup>

Bishop Longley compiled a register, with an entry for each parish in his new diocese.<sup>472</sup> At Coverham in 1836 there was a new incumbent, William Cuthbert, yet another non-resident, but at least he lived near at hand, in Middleham. He had a licence for non-residence, on account of his wife's health, and was included in the Bishop's list of non-resident clergy. He had the help of a succession of assistant curates (there were two at once in 1836), but seems to have done some of the duties himself, for example performing some marriages. Coverham was on the Bishop's

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<sup>469</sup> Papers of Sir William Chaytor, p.209.

<sup>470</sup> Thacker, VCH:Cheshire, III, 63-64.

<sup>471</sup> Papers of Sir William Chaytor, pp.243 and 245.

<sup>472</sup> Leeds University Library, Special Collections, Holden Library MS2 (3 vols.) Entries were added at each visitation. The register has entries for Coverham and Horsehouse, separately, from 1836 to 1853. Volume 2 has the Bishop's lists of churches with problems. The individual pages for Coverham and Horsehouse are in Volume 3, nos.32 and 70.

long list of parishes with no parsonages, but also on a list headed 'Parsonages in Prospect'.<sup>473</sup>

The register contains a note that Coverham church was in bad repair – 'walls green with damp'. The church accommodated 290, but there were no free seats. The chapel of ease at Carlton held about 200. Services were held at Coverham on Sundays, with an evening service at Carlton. At Horsehouse services were held twice on Sundays. The church would accommodate 150, but as at Coverham there were no free seats. The day school at Horsehouse was 'in hands of Trustees who are Methodists – school Room used as Meeting House for Ranters on Sunday'. There was also a complaint from Horsehouse of the 'heavy burthen in having to pay for support of Mother Church of Coverham'.<sup>474</sup>

William Cuthbert's successor, the Rev. George Cockaine Tomlinson, held other posts as well as the perpetual curacy of Coverham. He was domestic chaplain to both the Bishop of Gibraltar and the Marquis of Huntly.<sup>475</sup> He was a Fellow of the Society of Arts; Jones Barker's book on Wensleydale is illustrated by an etching from a painting in his collection.<sup>476</sup> The family were in-comers to the Dales: Mr. Tomlinson was born in Derby, and his wife in Nottingham, and his four children were all born at Staughton, Huntingdonshire.<sup>477</sup> Altogether, he seems to have had an unusual background, compared with his predecessors in the parish. Nevertheless, the family settled in Carlton, and the Tomlinsons spent money on acquiring property, and on improving the glebe lands. During this curacy, the parish at long last obtained the ownership of a suitable parsonage. The 1844 glebe terrier states that the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty retained £400 belonging to Coverham church, paying interest at 3¼% per annum, and a further £61 2s. remained from the parliamentary grants, invested in bank annuities. The resulting income was 'sufficient for providing a suitable residence for the incumbent'<sup>478</sup> The parish was thus benefiting from a change of policy by the Bounty in 1829-30, improving the

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<sup>473</sup> Ibid., Vol.2: NYCRO, MIC 2721, Coverham parish register; WYAS, Leeds, RD/RR 75/4, bishop's transcripts, 1836-48.

<sup>474</sup> Leeds University Library, Holden Library, MS2, Vol.3. See below, p.316, for Primitive Methodist use of Horsehouse school.

<sup>475</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2451/0332.

<sup>476</sup> Jones Barker, Wensleydale, p.ix.

<sup>477</sup> 1851 census, schedule 35.

<sup>478</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2451/0332.



interest and allowing parishes to invest grants not yet spent.<sup>479</sup> In 1849 the Tomlinsons were living as tenants in the house which is now 'The Hermitage', and was then known as 'Carlton House'.<sup>480</sup> Subsequently Mr. Tomlinson bought the house, and conveyed it to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty in January 1853. The price paid by the Bounty was £329 18s.<sup>481</sup>

Figures for attendances at church services and school were entered in the Bishop's register, and were very inconsistent. At Coverham church in 1844 attendances were said to be 'very variable, in depth of winter perhaps ten, summer perhaps 250 in afternoon'. In 1844, attendances at Coverham were said to vary from twenty to 200, and at Carlton chapel of ease from ten to fifty. Numbers of communicants at Carlton were small: four to fourteen. In 1853 attendances at Coverham were reported as ranging from fifty to 200, and at Carlton from fifteen to seventy-five.<sup>482</sup> In the religious census of 1851 there was no return for the Carlton chapel of ease. Average attendances were returned for Coverham church: in the morning a general congregation of fifty, and twelve 'Sunday scholars'; in the afternoon probably 200, and twenty scholars.<sup>483</sup> These sound remarkably high estimates for 'averages', when compared with the figures in the Bishop's register. The strongest conclusion which can be drawn from the figures is the variability of the attendances. A similar pattern has been noted in some other Yorkshire returns, especially from Anglican churches.<sup>484</sup>

Mr. Tomlinson was forty-eight when he died in office in March 1855.<sup>485</sup> Mrs. Tomlinson continued to live in the parsonage for a time, and she and two of her daughters were still there in 1861.<sup>486</sup> The Rev. Miles Booty, curate of Wensley and

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<sup>479</sup> Best, Temporal Pillars, pp.220-22.

<sup>480</sup> Tithe Award, Carlton Town. The owner was Ann Simpson. The name 'Carlton House' appears in the 1851 census, and also in the conveyance to Queen Anne's Bounty.

<sup>481</sup> NYCRO, PR/COV 8/8, MIC 2451, frames 296-99, plan and copy of the conveyance.

<sup>482</sup> Leeds University Library, Holden Library, MS2, Vol.3.

<sup>483</sup> NA:PRO, Religious Census 1851, Microfilm HO 129, 536-1-9-16. The form was the simplified version used for Anglican churches which had initially failed to make a return. It asked for a single set of figures, for the usual number attending, not the numbers on census day. Yorkshire Returns of the 1851 Census of Religious Worship, ed.J.Wolffe, vol.1 (York, 2000), x, xvi.

<sup>484</sup> Yorkshire Returns, ed.Wolffe, 1.v.

<sup>485</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/RR, 75/5.

<sup>486</sup> 1861 census, schedule 22. Eventually Mrs. Tomlinson moved to West Witton. 1881 census, West Witton.

also surrogate of the archdeaconry of Richmond, had already helped out with some of the parish duties, and later in 1855 he succeeded as incumbent of Coverham.<sup>487</sup> In 1861 he was staying in Carlton on census night, in the household of George Reynold, a farm servant, as a 'lodger for the night'.<sup>488</sup> He remained as incumbent until he was promoted to become Rector of Middleham when he was well into his sixties.<sup>489</sup> His successor, the Rev. Richard Frankland Dent, was young (thirty-one in 1871) and appears to have been very energetic, presiding over a great renewal of the Anglican buildings in the parish.<sup>490</sup> He had a higher status than his predecessors: the Victoria County History says the perpetual curacy was 'designated a vicarage since 1868 under the Act of that year'.<sup>491</sup> At last Coverham church had lost the perpetual curacy, the legacy of the Dissolution. The changed title was more fitting for a large and ancient parish, and it was fitting that the change took place when a programme of rebuilding and extension was being planned.

When Mr. Dent started his work in 1867, the parish was still considering what to do about the Rev. R. D. Dawson-Duffield, a descendant of Coverdale families, who was given to the use of grandiose titles aimed at inflating the importance of his ancestors, and used 'improvements' at Coverham church in the 1850s for the same purpose. The stained glass he gave for one of the windows contained an extraordinary mixture of heraldic blazonry – described by Bulmer as 'the arms of Scrope, Topham, Neville, Tomlinson, Dearden, Dawson, Croft, and Dawson-Duffield'.<sup>492</sup> He had obtained permission for a family vault in Coverham church, but when it was built it was much larger than his original proposal. Thomas Topham, by now the patron of the living, took the matter in hand, and eventually a settlement was reached. The offending clergyman paid Coverham parish £500, and undertook to take steps to remove those features of his family memorial to which the parishioners had objected.<sup>493</sup>

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<sup>487</sup> WYAS, Leeds, RD/RR, 75/5. See RD/AP1 204/19 for an example of probate signed by Miles Booty as surrogate in 1852. and RD/AP1 201/203 for another signed in 1856.

<sup>488</sup> 1861 census, schedule 46.

<sup>489</sup> There is a memorial window for him in Middleham church.

<sup>490</sup> 1871 census, schedule 71. The rebuilding and extension work is described in the Coverham and Horsehouse Vestry and P.C.C. minutes, NYCRO, MIC 2423.

<sup>491</sup> VCH:NR, ed. Page, I, 224.

<sup>492</sup> Bulmer, Directory, p.404.

<sup>493</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2423.



The series of building projects over which Mr.Dent presided began with the chapel of ease at Horsehouse, which was viewed by a builder/surveyor from Durham. He reported in April 1967 that its state was 'poor'. Subscriptions were gathered, and it was almost entirely rebuilt, only the old tower remaining.<sup>494</sup> The re-opening ceremony, in March, 1870, was attended by the Bishop of Ripon, and the Richmond and Ripon Chronicle reported that between the services at Coverham and Horsehouse 'there was Luncheon at the Vicarage, Carlton', for the Bishop, various clerical dignitaries, and Mr.George W.Wray of Leyburn, 'one of the principal landowners of the parish'. At the same time 'Dinner was served up at Mr.Josh.Clarkson's, The Moor Cock, Carlton, which was partaken of by the Church-Wardens, the choir, and several friends'.<sup>495</sup> The two eating-places were conveniently next door to each other, and social distinctions were thus preserved.

Subscriptions were soon requested again, as plans were made to extend the building at Carlton by adding a separate schoolroom. There is a datestone for 1875 over the entrance to the school. At the same time the chapel of ease was refurnished and improved. Mrs. Richard Taylor of Clayton Bridge, near Manchester, gave the east window in memory of her parents. She was Elizabeth, daughter of William and Mary Walls, born in Carlton in 1798. Her husband was a partner in a firm of calico printers, with almost 100 employees, in the Medlock valley outside Manchester. Mrs.Taylor also gave a harmonium, and she and her husband made cash donations to the Coverdale appeals – an interesting example of money made in industry coming back into a migrant's home area.<sup>496</sup>

The refurbished chapel was opened in June 1876, but it was not until August 1877 that the new schoolroom was ready for opening. The Vestry Minutes do not explain how the school continued to hold classes in the meantime.<sup>497</sup> But even before the work on the chapel was completed, the vicar and church wardens had turned their attention to refurbishment of Coverham church. In May 1876 a meeting was called for 'the Owners of Property in this Parish, the Inhabitants, and all who take an interest in the Parish Church'. A large committee was appointed, with the intention of carrying through a more thorough restoration than anything previously

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<sup>494</sup> Ibid. Speight, Romantic Richmondshire, p.309, has a picture of the old building.

<sup>495</sup> The cutting from the newspaper is inserted in the Vestry Minutes, NYCRO, MIC 2423.

<sup>496</sup> Ibid.; Coverham parish register; 1871 census, township of Failsworth, enumeration district 6, schedule 53. Clayton Bridge is very close to the boundaries of the present-day metropolitan boroughs of Oldham and Tameside, and the city of Manchester.

<sup>497</sup> NYCRO, MIC 2423.

attempted at Coverham. In contrast to the few hundreds required for each of the previous schemes, over £2,000 was spent on the parish church. The north wall was rebuilt, a new chancel arch was constructed, the Georgian pews were removed and replaced with open stalls, and attractive encaustic tiles ('very Victorian', said Pevsner) were used in the chancel and the south aisle. Pevsner thought the church was 'over-restored in 1854' (presumably a reference to Dawson-Duffield's handiwork) and he disliked the stained glass from the 1870s – 'terrible'.<sup>498</sup> But whatever the merits of the work from an artistic and architectural point of view, the amount of effort made by the Church of England in Coverham parish in just over a decade of Mr.Dent's ministry has to be admired.

Mr.Dent died while still a comparatively young man, and his wife and family left Carlton for Leeds.<sup>499</sup> His successor, the Rev.Frederick Wade-Dalton, who came to Coverham in 1880, was one of a gentry family at Hauxwell, north of Constable Burton.<sup>500</sup> He was known to Charles Maltby, who has little to say about him apart from the pleasure he took in 'a little hunting with the Hawes beagles who used to visit Coverdale two or three times each winter'. Robert Maltby shared his love of the sport, but was among the pedestrian followers of the hunt, while the vicar 'was always well mounted'. The school was closed for the day when the hounds were out.<sup>501</sup> Mr.Dalton was another young vicar (he was twenty-seven in 1881). It could not be expected that he would leave his mark on the parish in the same way as his predecessor, for the programme of reconstruction had already been carried through. His years in the parish were also the years when agriculture was severely depressed, and the population of the parish was falling most steeply.

The Rev.Edwin Hutton Hall succeeded Mr.Dalton as vicar in 1892. Charles Maltby has plenty to say about him – most of it uncomplimentary. It was natural that he should resent the man who obliged his father to resign as schoolmaster, uprooting his family from their home.<sup>502</sup> The months which followed must have been a time of extreme anxiety and distress for them. Robert Maltby had 'a fairly long period of unemployment', and his next school was in the west of England, at Bath. Charles

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<sup>498</sup> Bulmer, Directory, p.404; Hatcher, Richmondshire Architecture, p.60; Pevsner, North Riding, p.125.

<sup>499</sup> 1881 census, Belle Vue Road, Woodhouse, Leeds.

<sup>500</sup> Kelly's Directory (1889), p.52; 1881 census, Carlton Town, schedule 22; Speight, Romantic Richmondshire, p.160.

<sup>501</sup> Maltby, The Dalesman, vol.10, no.12, 442.

<sup>502</sup> See above, p.213.



himself left home for good when he was only fifteen, forced to make his own way in the world.<sup>503</sup> It is noticeable that there is no mention of the other trustees in the story of Robert Maltby's calamity. The vicar seems to have reigned supreme, and made his decision untroubled by any colleague who might take a more lenient view.

Charles contrasted his family's constant struggle to survive with the vicar's comfortable existence. He watched life at the vicarage at close quarters, for in his last twelve months in Carlton the vicar employed him: 'I looked after his pony and his large garden for the modest sum of 2s.6d. per week and my food! He always saw to it that I earned this large salary...' But by his own account Charles took full advantage of the meals. He describes the vicar 'installed in a comfortable Vicarage with a salary of about three hundred pounds a year, and a rent-free house'.<sup>504</sup> In actual fact, however, the value of the living was diminishing steadily in these years. This was reflected in successive editions of Kelly's Directory, which stated the value of the living at £280, with residence and 200 acres of glebe, in 1889, £248, with 112 acres of glebe, in 1901, and £232, with 60 acres of glebe in 1909. It seems clear, therefore, that the vicar's income was falling, and it seems as if much of the glebe land had been sold. Many country clergy, whose income came from the land, found themselves hit by the consequences of the agricultural depression.<sup>505</sup>

The vicar took three services each Sunday, at Horsehouse, Coverham and Carlton. The service at Carlton was in the evening, as it had always been.<sup>506</sup> Charles Maltby remembered poor attendances at Coverham in winter, when the congregation consisted of John Osborne (a racehorse trainer and stalwart supporter of the church), Emily Maltby (organist), Charles (organ-blower), and the vicar – but that was when deep snow was on the ground.<sup>507</sup>

Although the vicar's income was falling, his authority in the village and the dale was high, as the story of Robert Maltby's dismissal demonstrates. The increase in the status and authority of the incumbent was a major change in Coverdale in the nineteenth century, and it continued to be effective right through to the end of the

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<sup>503</sup> Maltby, The Dalesman, vol.11, no.1, 17; vol.10, no.11, 410.

<sup>504</sup> Ibid., vol.10, no.12. 441-42.

<sup>505</sup> O.Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part II (second edition, 1972), 167-69; Best, Temporal Pillars, p.471.

<sup>506</sup> Kelly's Directory (1889), p.52. It was the same in 1909.

<sup>507</sup> Maltby, The Dalesman, vol.10, no.11, pp.410-11.

period. It was very different in some other parts of the country, where many clergy felt the old respect was gone.<sup>508</sup> Changes in local government between 1888 and 1895 brought a new system of elected bodies; but they seem to have made little practical difference in Wensleydale and Coverdale. The system of deference remained alive and well in this part of North Yorkshire.<sup>509</sup> In 1909 Lord Bolton was the alderman for the Leyburn Division of the North Riding County Council, and his son and heir was the councillor. The Rector of Spennithorne was chairman of the Rural District Council.<sup>510</sup> The parish vestry had lost its functions in local government, but the Rev.E.Hutton Hall was chairman of Coverham Parish Council, and as such he is named in the 1910 valuation as the person in charge of Carlton's community facilities, such as the Peat Moor, the quarry and the Bull Park.<sup>511</sup> In 1910 the vicar thus seemed to be in a controlling position which was undreamed of in the time of James Law as 'officiating curate'. But there were parts of the religious life of the parish which were outside his control, and to these we now turn.

## 4.5.2 The Methodists

### The Wesleyans in Coverdale

In contrast to the more cumbersome Anglican parish system, the Methodist circuit system was particularly well suited to an area of scattered settlements like the Yorkshire Dales. Groups ('classes') could be gathered together throughout a district, even in small, remote hamlets, while forming part of a larger whole. If the number in a group dropped, either because of population movements or any other reason, the system was sufficiently flexible to adapt accordingly.<sup>512</sup> As we saw in the last chapter, from the time a Wesleyan circuit was established based on Middleham, in 1795, new preaching-places were constantly added. After its first mention in 1809, the group in Carlton grew slowly.<sup>513</sup> The elder John Bowes appears in the membership list for the first time in 1814, and Thomas Scarr was the class leader who spoke the 'word in season' that convinced him.<sup>514</sup> There were now four

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<sup>508</sup> Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, II, 157-59.

<sup>509</sup> See D.C.Moore, *The Politics of Deference* (Hassocks, 1976), passim.

<sup>510</sup> *Kelly's Directory* (1909), pp.8-9. 159; see D.Bythell, *The Fragility of Rural Liberalism* (Middlesbrough, 2003), p.33, for comments on the continuity of local power structures in North Yorkshire, in spite of the new system of local government.

<sup>511</sup> NA:PRO, IR58/58659, e.g. no.118, the Bull Park. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, II, 193-200, for the changes in the functions of the parish vestry.

<sup>512</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, II, 132-34.

<sup>513</sup> NYCRO, R/M/W 1/1/1.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.*; Bowes, *Autobiography*, p.2.



Methodist groups in the dale: two in the Highdale, one at Carlton, and a new group at West Scafton. The largest was at Horsehouse, with twenty-five members. In 1815 the superintendent minister at Middleham wrote that they had added a good many to membership in the circuit in the course of the year, but had had many deaths, removals and expulsions; but an attempt at opposition and division had met with little success, 'praise God for it'.<sup>515</sup>

Methodist meetings were often held in private homes, but it would seem that at Carlton some services were held at one of the inns. The preaching was 'in Walls' long room' when the younger John Bowes was convinced in 1817. Thirty years later, as an independent preacher, he himself preached at Carlton 'in Walls' long room'. In later life he often said that he had 'done with sects forever', but the Methodist influence upon him was strong, first the Wesleyans, and then the Primitives, who sent him out as a travelling preacher to their Guisborough circuit when he was only eighteen.<sup>516</sup>

### **The Primitive Methodists**

The Primitive Methodists looked back to a 'camp meeting' at Mow Cop in May 1807 as the origin of their movement. There were several breakaway movements from the Wesleyans, but the 'Prims.' were by far the most successful. Their leader, Hugh Bourne, was expelled by the Wesleyans, and he and William Clowes set up the new organisation in 1811, using the same 'class' and 'circuit' model, but with an emphasis on open-air preaching.<sup>517</sup> What Watts calls the 'sheer exuberance and showmanship' of the Primitives brought rapid results.<sup>518</sup> Their new movement spread much faster than the Wesleyans had done, partly because, though they claimed to be 'Primitive Methodists' on the pattern of Wesley himself, they had none of his inhibitions about the break with the Church of England. From their original district on the Cheshire/Staffordshire border, they spread through Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and across into Yorkshire. The Ripon circuit covered a very large area, extending from the boundaries of Leeds to Middleham, and from Nidderdale to the Hambleton Hills.<sup>519</sup> John Bowes met them

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<sup>515</sup> NYCRO, R/M/W 1/1/1.

<sup>516</sup> Bowes, Autobiography, pp.4-5, 13, 211.

<sup>517</sup> Watts, Dissenters, II, 139-40; J.S.Werner, The Primitive Methodist Connexion (Wisconsin, 1984), chapter 3.

<sup>518</sup> Watts, Dissenters, II, 141.

<sup>519</sup> Werner, Primitive Methodist Connexion, chapter 4.

in Carlton Street in 1821 and his account of them ‘preaching in the street and singing one of their lightsome tunes’ is typical of their methods.<sup>520</sup> Watts quotes George Herod, one of their first itinerant preachers, who wrote: ‘Their manner of entering a town or village produced great excitement’.<sup>521</sup>

There were strong Quaker influences on Hugh Bourne and the Primitive Methodists, indeed there were many similarities. ‘It was with pride that many Primitive Methodists appropriated to themselves the nickname of “Ranter”... just as the Friends had adopted the name of Quaker’.<sup>522</sup> The subsequent career of John Bowes, with his determination to follow his inner leading, and his dislike of a paid ministry, has many echoes of his predecessors, the Quakers in Coverdale. He was not persecuted as they were, but he suffered a good deal of hardship, and lack of understanding.<sup>523</sup> He recognised his inexperience when he was sent out as a travelling preacher: ‘If I knew but little, that exceeded the amount of knowledge of the great majority of my congregations, otherwise I was too young and inexperienced for so great a work’.<sup>524</sup> It was not unusual for the Primitives to have extremely youthful preachers. Watts quotes examples of subsequent leaders among them who began at the age of sixteen.<sup>525</sup>

It is a matter for debate how far the advent of the Primitive Methodists impeded the progress of the Wesleyans. Watts, taking a countrywide view, says the momentum of Wesleyan expansion did not slow down after 1820, though he admits that some of the growth of the Primitives was at Wesleyan expense.<sup>526</sup> On the other hand, Brian Greaves, in a study of Methodism in Yorkshire, concludes that after making remarkable progress in the years 1800–1815, the Wesleyans made somewhat slower progress in 1815–1830, ‘probably partly due to the rising

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<sup>520</sup> Bowes, *Autobiography*, p.10.

<sup>521</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, II, 144.

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>523</sup> His younger brother, asked for a loan at a time of particular difficulty, expressed his incomprehension why John could not be useful as a minister in a sect. He reluctantly loaned £10. Bowes, *Autobiography*, pp. 210-11.

<sup>524</sup> *Ibid.*, p.13. Werner laments the shortage of records left by the Ranter generation of Primitive Methodists. She seems to be unaware of Bowes’ autobiography. Presumably, because he did not stay long with them, a copy did not find its way into their archives; but his account of the years he spent as a travelling preacher in the Guisborough, Ripon and Keighley circuits up to 1827 has much of interest.

<sup>525</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, pp.146-47.

<sup>526</sup> *Ibid.*, p.141.



importance of the Primitive Methodist Connexion'. He points to places where the two built chapels side by side.<sup>527</sup> There are several examples of this type of competition in Coverdale.

### **Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists side by side in Coverdale**

The Wesleyans of the Middleham circuit did not wait to gather a large membership before building a chapel. They were willing to build wherever they had a small group, and someone was willing to give them the land, and preferably also the stone for building. The cash required was collected throughout the circuit. In 1815, they collected for chapels at both Askrigg and Leyburn, though Leyburn had only eighteen members.<sup>528</sup> Their first chapel in Coverdale was built at Horsehouse in 1828-29.<sup>529</sup> It was followed in 1835 by the small, plain chapel at Carlton, on a site close to Butcher Bridge, where the village street crosses Melbeck.<sup>530</sup>

The Primitive Methodists were later with their buildings; but for both connexions the basic unit of organisation was the class meeting. Two 'Circuit Plans' are extant which show how the preachers were organised to visit all their groups. A Wesleyan 'Plan' for the Middleham circuit from November 1839 to April 1840 shows that they had twenty-four preaching-places, four of them in Coverdale. They did not all have accredited preachers with the same frequency. Carlton had two services each Sunday, afternoon and evening, with a preacher provided on each occasion. Horsehouse and Melmerby each had a preacher fortnightly, on Sunday afternoons, and Bird Ridding (Coverham) once a month in the evening. The last two groups met in private homes. There were twenty-four accredited preachers, plus one on trial, and also a group of sixteen 'Exhorters' and a small group of 'Prayer Leaders'. Some preachers were also used from other circuits. One of the accredited preachers was from Carlton (J.Rayner) and one from Horsehouse (J.Lofthouse).<sup>531</sup>

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<sup>527</sup> B.Greaves, 'Methodism in Yorkshire, 1740-1851', Liverpool University unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1968, pp.237-38.

<sup>528</sup> NYCRO, R/M/W 1/1/1.

<sup>529</sup> Hatcher, Richmondshire Architecture, p.43. She refers to the plaque on the building. In the return to the 1851 religious census, the date is given as 1829.

<sup>530</sup> The 1835 date is given inside the chapel. Hatcher, Richmondshire Architecture, p.45, gives the date as 1836, but her reference is to an unpublished dissertation by A.R.Evans on meeting house licences.

<sup>531</sup> John Rylands Library, Manchester, Methodist Archives and Research Centre.

A Primitive Methodist 'Plan' for the first quarter of 1859 lists twenty-six preaching-places. Their circuit was extensive, stretching as far west as Garsdale and Dent. At that time, they had four preaching-places in Coverdale, at West Scrafton, Caldbergh, Horsehouse and Woodale. West Scrafton and Caldbergh each had a preacher twice a month (once on a Sunday afternoon, once on a Monday evening), Horsehouse monthly on a Tuesday evening, and Woodale on a Wednesday evening once in six weeks. None of the Primitive Methodist preachers lived in Coverdale, but there was one 'exhorter' from Caldbergh, and a 'helper' from Horsehouse.<sup>532</sup> In both circuit plans we can see how the Methodists deployed their resources in order to keep in touch with all their groups. The Methodist class system has been admired for its effectiveness in an urban setting,<sup>533</sup> but here we see it being used equally effectively to reach small communities in remote areas, and keep them in touch with the wider organisation. The Primitive Methodist group at Woodale is a particularly good example, for this small settlement had only thirty-seven inhabitants (in six families) in 1851.<sup>534</sup>

There were seven returns from Methodist groups in Coverdale to the religious census of 1851, Wesleyans at Horsehouse, Melmerby and Carlton, and Primitives at Coverham, West Scrafton, Horsehouse and Melmerby.<sup>535</sup> There was therefore duplication at both Horsehouse and Melmerby. The Wesleyan return from Horsehouse shows a well-organised group, meeting three times on Sundays, with the morning service for Sunday School scholars only. Attendances on census Sunday were returned as fifty-six, eighty-eight and 100. The Primitive Methodists in Horsehouse gave no figures, but offered an explanation: 'The Primitive Methodists have no Public Worship at this place on Sundays. They have Public Worship every alternate Tuesday Evening in the School Room, in which place (by permission of the Trustees) they have preached for more than thirty years.' At Melmerby the Wesleyans met in a private house on Sunday evenings, and the average attendance was said to be twenty-five. The Primitive Methodists also met in a house, but on a week-night once a fortnight, and claimed an average attendance of thirty. The Carlton return stated that the chapel had 100 free sittings and sixty other.

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532 Ibid.

533 E.R. Wickham. Church and People in an Industrial City (1957), pp.266-72.

534 1851 census, Carlton Highdale.

535 NA:PRO, religious census 1851. The Coverdale returns are numbered 536-1-9-16 to 536-1-9-19, and 536-1-12-20 to 536-1-12-24.



Attendances on census Sunday were returned as 128 in the afternoon (forty-six of them scholars) and sixty in the evening.<sup>536</sup>

It is the general opinion among scholars that the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists drew their adherents from different social groups, with the Primitives doing well among miners, farm labourers, and the poorer classes in the industrial areas.<sup>537</sup> In Coverdale the census returns show concentrations of coal miners at West Scafton and Horsehouse, and Melmerby had more than its share of farm labourers. On the other hand, William Bell, one of the Wesleyan stewards at Carlton in 1851, was a labourer, as was the son who lived with him. Henry Walker, the other steward, farmed sixteen acres at Gilbert Scar. James Lofthouse, the Wesleyan leader at Horsehouse, farmed ten acres and was a butter factor.<sup>538</sup> Later in the century Joseph Longstaff, draper and grocer, was a leading Wesleyan at Carlton, and recorded the fact that he was a lay preacher on his census return in 1881.<sup>539</sup> There is no evidence of any social divide between the two Methodist connexions in Coverdale.

All attempts to interpret the figures of the 1851 religious census run into difficulties, because of the varied pattern of services, and the unreliability of estimated attendances. A recent analysis of the figures for the Leyburn registration district (of which Coverdale formed part) gave the Anglicans 46% of church or chapel attendances, the Wesleyans 40.1%, Primitive Methodists 6%, Roman Catholics 2.6%, other 5.3%.<sup>540</sup> Using the same method to analyse the figures for Coverham parish gives the Anglicans a share of 47.8%, the Wesleyans 33%, and the Primitive Methodists 19.1%. It must be stressed that estimates – in some cases ‘guesstimates’ would be a better description – are unreliable, and there are no figures for the Horsehouse Primitive Methodists, but it is clear that Primitive Methodists were stronger in Coverdale than in the wider district.

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<sup>536</sup> The Carlton return is 536-1-12-23.

<sup>537</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, II, 144; Werner, *Primitive Methodist Connexion*, 177-85; and others.

<sup>538</sup> 1851 census, schedule 25; *ibid.*, Carlton Highdale, Part 2, schedule 9 (Henry Walker), Part 1, schedule 29 (James Lofthouse).

<sup>539</sup> 1881 census, schedule 25.

<sup>540</sup> W.Sheils and R.Lawton, ‘The Religious Census of 1851’, in *Historical Atlas*, ed. Butlin, pp.137-39. The method used in this analysis counted only the best-attended service at each location, and ignored Sunday School scholars.

Later in the nineteenth century, the Primitives at Horsehouse finally moved from the school into their own chapel, and both connexions opened chapels at West Scrafton in the same year.<sup>541</sup> The Wesleyans added a small extension to Carlton chapel in 1873, and at Melmerby, where the Wesleyan group seems to have faded away, the Primitives opened a tiny chapel converted from a disused joiner's shop in 1893.<sup>542</sup> The two connexions were working in such close proximity, and there was so much migration from the dale, that each must have found it harder to survive because of the existence of the other.<sup>543</sup> But survive they did, and all the chapels were still in existence in 1933, when Methodist reunion forced the making of some hard choices. The Methodist pattern of church life fostered leadership skills, for one of the great strengths of Methodism was its encouragement of lay members to develop their talents and take responsibility. This was a feature of their distinctive contribution to village life.

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<sup>541</sup> Bulmer, Directory, pp.405-06.

<sup>542</sup> The date of the extension can be seen in Carlton chapel, and at Melmerby information about the opening of the chapel is displayed beneath the centenary banner.

<sup>543</sup> Watts says relations between the different Methodist denominations became cordial, 'once the dust of the original schisms had settled', and they often supported each others' special events. Dissenters, II, 156.



## Conclusion

The initial aim of this thesis was to bring together as much material as possible from very scattered sources, for the history of a village and township that at first sight appeared poorly documented, and had been written off by at least one connoisseur of historic places as containing ‘nothing of great interest’. This was the verdict of Edmund Bogg, as he hastened onward to write romantic pieces about Coverham Abbey and Middleham.<sup>544</sup> It is hoped that he has now been proved comprehensively wrong. The documentary evidence has proved to be surprisingly plentiful, and in unexpected places. When the research began there was no expectation of consulting records about a Yorkshire Dales village in London’s Guildhall.<sup>545</sup> But the material for the study has been found in the landscape in addition to the documents, and relating the two in the far corners of the township has brought some memorable moments – among them the search for the boundary stone in Elm Gill (Figure 2, Appendix 5), and a crossing of the rugged surface of the Peat Moor, pitted by the diggings which provided fuel for many generations of Carlton residents.

Throughout its recorded history Carlton has been the largest settlement in Coverdale. The site had many advantages, being sheltered, well-watered and well-drained, but the slope of the land encouraged the linear development along the road, making a long, straggling village. The siting of the parish church, at the foot of its parish and three miles from Carlton, was not unusual in the large pre-Conquest Pennine parishes, but it proved an inconvenience later. Throughout the period under review Carlton never had a resident lord, and therefore could never be self-contained. The fact that its lord was based at Middleham Castle right through the medieval era brought stability in one sense, but the turbulent history of the lords of Middleham ensured that their tenants would not have a quiet life. As the power of the Nevilles grew, and they became national figures, the importance of an individual manor within their territories progressively diminished, so that the transfer to Crown ownership, when it came, was not as great a change as might at first appear. It had the advantage that it sheltered the tenants from the pressures of the Tudor land

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<sup>544</sup> E.Bogg, The Green Dale of Wensley (1909), p.82.

<sup>545</sup> They have since been moved to more modern but less interesting surroundings at London Metropolitan Archives.

market, and also gave them access to the Equity Court of the Exchequer to assert their 'tenant right' and challenge disputed tithe demands.

The Dissolution of the religious houses had a much more immediate impact locally than the transfer of the Lordship of Middleham and Richmond to the Crown. Coverham Abbey had followed a policy of consolidating its landholdings, and was a major landlord in Coverdale, as well as the provider of pastoral oversight. When the living became a perpetual curacy at the Dissolution, the result of the Abbey's impropriation of Coverham church, the change had far-reaching consequences, which were still being felt in the nineteenth century. For three centuries the advowson and the tithes had an importance as property rights for their lay owners which was contrary to the best interests of the parishioners.

The Crown's sale of the Lordship to the City of London handed the tenants to a landlord aiming to sell on the properties at the earliest opportunity, an aim which was thwarted by the stubborn resistance of the tenants to attempts by first the Crown, and then the City, to remove their traditional tenure by 'tenant right'. Following the eventual victory of the tenants, the City's decision to sell them their holdings was assisted by the Quaker merchant, Francis Smithson, as intermediary. He played a major role at this significant moment in Carlton's history.

The purchases from the City seemed to offer the former tenants a great opportunity to establish a community of independent yeomen. However, the level of poverty revealed in the Hearth Tax returns is one of the most important findings of this study. Many of the freeholders did not become sufficiently secure financially to be able to resist gentry from outside the dale, who built up landholdings in Carlton in the eighteenth century. Chief among them was William Chaytor of Spennithorne, who set out to establish a sphere of influence for himself in Coverdale. This process is documented in the Land Tax returns of the later eighteenth century, and it gave the leading landowners the ability to carry through the enclosure of the West Pasture and the Moor.

Agricultural improvers claimed that enclosure would increase the amount of arable land in cultivation. But this study demonstrates that in Carlton the increase was marginal in the years following enclosure, and arable had disappeared entirely from the township by the end of the nineteenth century. The true beneficiaries of



enclosure were those who took great tracts of moorland and turned it into private grouse moor. Some data from Carlton can be added to the broader debate about the position of small landowners during and after the enclosure. They were not a homogeneous group, and some combined different types of landholding. It was possible to be a small landlord, an owner-occupier and a tenant all at the same time. The evidence from Carlton suggests that small landowners were always disappearing and always appearing. This process was helped by Sir William Chaytor's decision to sell the estate his father had built up in Coverdale, in small portions if necessary.

It would be easy to blame enclosure for the loss of population which took place in the second half of the nineteenth century. But this theory has been shown not to stand examination. The neighbouring townships of Melmerby, which was never enclosed, and West Scafton, which was only partially enclosed, lost a greater percentage of their population than Carlton. That is not to play down the severity of the depopulation at Carlton, simply to insist that it was a process experienced very widely. Some outward migration was necessary, and traditional, from Carlton, so that young people could find work which was not available locally for all of them. But the attraction of rapidly growing towns and cities drew more away than needed to go, and left the community depleted. The loss of most of the remaining old yeoman families left a break in the social fabric. Names disappeared from Carlton which had been present in the records over centuries. Traditional inheritance customs changed. Instead of the eldest son succeeding his father in the family farm, now the older children left home early, and it was a younger son who stayed and eventually took over the farm, as with the very large family of the Walkers at Townhead.

We must not exaggerate the plight of the village in the early twentieth century. The fall in population reached its low point (for a time) in 1901. There was a very modest increase in 1911. Some migrants returned, and brought money earned in the towns back into the village. The opening of the Coverham cheese factory, just after the close of our period, gave Coverdale dairy farmers an outlet for their fresh milk, a lifeline until the coming of the motor lorry removed the disadvantage of their distance from the railway.

The population was depleted, but the village had many strengths. Its housing was very mixed, with small cottages and larger houses intermingled. It was a 'face-

to-face' community, with mutual support systems reinforced by family inter-relationships and extended families in which some members were better-off than others. In spite of religious differences, all children went to the one school, and there was a strong sense of village identity. Indeed, the evidence suggests that religious diversity not only did not have a disruptive effect on community spirit in Carlton, but may indeed have had a positive impact.



## Appendix 1 Tables

**Table 1 The Coverdale settlements in Domesday Book**

	<b>'In the time of King Edward'</b>	<b>In 1086</b>
Carlton.	Bjornulfr had one manor. Value 16s.	The same man has it from the Count. Now waste.
Melmerby.	Aldred had one manor. Value 8s.	The same man has it from the Count. Now waste.
Agglethorpe.	Thorketill had one manor. Value 8s.	The same man has it from the Count. Now waste.
Scrafton.	Gillepatric had one manor. Value 10s.	Ribald now has it. It is waste.
Caldbergh.	Ormr had one manor. Value 7s.	The same man has it from the Count. Now waste.
Coverham.	Thorr and Egbrand had two manors. Value 20s.	Count Alan has them in demesne. Now waste.
Middleham.	Gillepatric had one manor. Value 20s.	Ribald now has it. It is waste.
East Witton.	Glunairn had one manor. Value £4 with its outliers, Thoresby.	Count Alan has it in demesne. Now worth 20s.

Domesday Book does not record any settlements higher up the dale than Carlton and Scrafton.

**Table 2 Domesday Comparisons**

Agglethorpe. 6N 96.	3 carucates, 2 ploughs possible. 1 league long x 1/2 wide. <u>Waste.</u> Value before 1066, 8s.
Caldbergh. 6N 97.	5 carucates taxable, 3 ploughs possible. 1 league long x 1 wide. <u>Waste.</u> Value before 1066, 7s.
<b>Carlton.</b> <b>DB 6N 93.</b>	<b>6 carucates taxable, 4 ploughs possible. Underwood with open land, 4 leagues long x 1/2 wide.</b> <b><u>Waste.</u> Value before 1066, 16s.</b>
Coverham. 6N 98.	4 carucates taxable, 3 ploughs possible. 1 league long x 1 wide. <u>Waste.</u> Value before 1066, 20s. 2 manors.
East Witton. 6N 92.	12 carucates taxable, 8 ploughs possible. 2 ploughs in lordship, + 11 villagers and 2 smallholders with 5 ploughs. Meadow, 1 league long and 1 furlong wide; underwood. The whole 1 1/2 leagues long and as wide. Value before 1066, £4; now <u>20s.</u> The manor has outliers: Thoresby, 2 carucates. (West) Witton, 5 carucates. Wensley, 4 carucates. Another Wensley, 3 carucates. Together 14 carucates taxable, 10 ploughs possible. The whole, 2 leagues long x 2 wide. <u>Waste.</u>
Melmerby. 6N 95.	6 carucates taxable, 4 ploughs possible. 1 league long x 1 wide. <u>Waste.</u> Value before 1066, 8s.
Middleham. 6N 99.	5 carucates taxable, 3 ploughs possible. 1 league long x 1 wide. <u>Waste.</u> Value before 1066, 20s.
Scrafton. 6N 94.	3 carucates taxable, 3 ploughs possible. Underwood and open land, 4 leagues long x 1/2 wide. <u>Waste.</u> Value before 1066, 10s.
Thoralby. 6N 84.	Held by Bjornulfr, as Carlton. 6 carucates taxable, 4 ploughs possible. 1 league long x 1 wide. <u>Waste.</u> Value before 1066, 20s.
West Burton.	6 carucates taxable, 4 ploughs possible.



6N 85.	+ Eshingtons. 3 carucates taxable, 2 ploughs possible. Whole of West Burton, 2 leagues long x 1 wide. <u>Waste</u> . Value before 1066, 20s.
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**Table 3 The Lay Subsidy 1301-1302**

**The Carlton Return**

De Galfrido Pigot'	4s.8d.
De Petro de Thoresby	5s.2d.
De Elya Stodehird'	4s.4d.
De Willelmo Fabro	4s.1 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d.
De Petro Coltehird'	1s.8d.
De Roberto Carpentario	2s.1d.
De Ada de Ramsowe	3s.7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d.
De Thoma filio Ricardi	3s.1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d.
De Willelmo Clerico	9d.
De Abbate de Coverham	2s.
De Maria de Midelham	£1 0s.5d.
De Willelmo de Kendale	1s.7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d.
De Ricardo Carpentario	1s.
De Waltero filio Hugonis	1s.10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d.
De Johanne Molendinaro	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d.
Total of the fifteenth	£2 16s.7d.

**Comparisons:**

Agglethorpe	8 taxpayers. Amount paid 12s 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d.
Bainbridge.	47 taxpayers. Amount paid £19 13s.0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d.
Caldbergh.	7 taxpayers. Amount paid 16s.7d.
<b>Carlton.</b>	<b>15 taxpayers. Amount paid £2 16s.7d.</b>
Coverham.	6 taxpayers. Amount paid 17s.3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d.
Abbot of Coverham - listed separately.	Paid £3 1s.1 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d.
East Witton.	31 taxpayers. Amount paid £3 18s.0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d. N.B. Jervaulx Abbey also paid for a grange at



	Witton, probably East Witton, £1 3s.1½d.
Melmerby.	6 taxpayers. Amount paid £1 2s.7d.
Middleham.	25 taxpayers. Amount paid £4 8s.0¼d.
Thoralby.	28 taxpayers. Amount paid £7 0s.3¼d.
Wensley.	18 taxpayers. Amount paid £3 0s.3d.
West Burton.	22 taxpayers. Amount paid £3 17s.0¾d.
West Scrafton.	7 taxpayers. Amount paid 13s.5¼d. Plus a grange listed under Abbot of Coverham, 8s.8d.

**Table 4 The Lay Subsidy 1334**

<b>Comparisons</b>	<b>Total amount paid</b>
Agglethorpe	No separate return.
Bainbridge.	£4 0s. 0d.
Caldbergh.	16s. 0d.
<b>Carlton.</b>	<b>£1 12s. 8d.</b>
Coverham.	13s. 0d.
East Witton.	£2 16s. 8d.
Melmerby.	11s. 0d.
Middleham.	15s. 0d.
Thoralby.	£2 13s. 0d.
Wensley.	£1 2s. 0d.
West Burton.	£2 12s. 0d.
West Scafton.	11s. 0d.



**Table 5 Poll Tax 1337**

<b>Comparisons</b>	<b>Number of taxpayers</b>	<b>Total amount paid</b>
Agglethorpe	No separate return	
Bainbridge.	143	£2 7s. 8d.
Caldbergh.	40	13s. 4d.
<b>Carlton.</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>17s.</b>
Coverham.	42	14s.
East Witton.	220	£3 13s. 4d.
Melmerby.	26	8s. 8d.
Middleham.	145	£2 8s. 4d.
Thoralby.	108	£1 16s. 0d.
Wensley.	66	£1 2s. 0d.
West Burton.	93	£1 11s. 0d.
West Scafton.	24	8s. 0d.

**Table 6 Lay Subsidies 1524/5**

<b>Comparisons</b>	<b>First Survey</b>	<b>Second Survey</b>
Agglethorpe.	(Absent. Probably included	with Coverham)
Bainbridge.	£1 8s. 0d.	£1 1s. 0d.
Caldbergh.	(Absent)	(Absent)
<b>Carlton.</b>	<b>7s. 0d.</b>	(Absent)
Coverham.	7s. 0d.	2s. 0d.
East Witton.	18s. 0d.	10s. 6d.
Melmerby.	(Absent)	(Absent)
Middleham.	£1 6s. 8d.	18s. 8d.
Thoralby.	11s. 0d.	11s. 0d.
Wensley.	5s. 0d.	2s. 6d.
West Burton.	1s. 4d.	3s. 4d.
West Scafton.	(Absent)	(Absent)



**Table 7 Muster Roll for Carlton in Coverdale, 1535**

7 men named:	Dawson.
6 men named:	Geldart/Geldert, Loftous, Loftus, Lofthous.
4 men named:	Rypley/Ripley.
3 men named:	Lobley.
2 men named:	Halmond, Norton, Pratt, Robinson, Ryder, Spence, Toppan/Topan, Watson.
1 man named:	Copland, Forster, Foxgill, Handley, Holdesworth, Jakeson, Johnson, Knolles, Lambert, Masterman, Metcalf, Nevyll, Rydmer, Rynder,

1 man named:	Smyth, Waynman, Wilson, Yoman.
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60 men (31 Archers, 29 Bills).

31 family names.

Source: NA:PRO, E36/44.



**Table 8 Taxpayers from the Manor of Carlton, 1543/44**

	75 names	Location from 1554 Court Roll
8s.	Adam Spence. Percival Watson.	Woodale. Hindlethwaite.
7s. 4d.	John Ripley.	Braidley.
6s. 8d.	John Hammond. Richard Ryder. Christopher Lofthouse.	Horsehouse. Swineside.
3s.	Richard Geldart.	Carlton.
2s. 4d.	Roger Dawson. Nicholas Yeoman. Francis Ryder. Simon Lofthouse.	Carlton. Horsehouse. Horsehouse & Gammersgill. Swineside.
2s.	Thomas Dawson. John Foxgill.	Carlton. Carlton.
20d.	Robert Dawson. Richard Dawson. Ottiwell Ripley. Leonard Ryder. Robert Ripley. William Ripley. Richard Topham. Edward Lofthouse.	Carlton. Carlton. Woodale. Woodale. Woodale.  Horsehouse. Swineside.
8d.	John Wynn. James Messenger. Thomas Hammond. George Geldart. Godfrey Watson. William Lofthouse.	Woodale. Braidley. Braidley.   Swineside.

8d.	Richard Handley. John Lofthouse.	Arkleside. Arkleside.
6d.	Godfrey Metcalfe. Thomas Masterman. Wife of William Lobley. Wife of John Messenger. Thomas Geldart. Thomas Forster. Wife of Peter Dawson. William Lobley. George Ripley. Richard Spence. Thomas Mare. William Pratt. Thomas Dawson.	Carlton.  Carlton. Carlton. Gammersgill. Gammersgill. Braidley. Braidley.  Arkleside.
4d.	Adam Watson Laurence Geldart. Thomas Kaygill. John Topham. William Forster. Wife of Thomas Forster. George Rider. Thomas Norton. Richard Smith.	Carlton. Carlton.  Gammersgill. Gammersgill.  Highdale (exact location n.k.) Arkleside. Fleensop.
2d.	Richard Dawson. John Holdsworth. Richard Wilson. John Geldart. Miles Dawson.	Carlton. Carlton. Carlton. Carlton.



2d.	James Butterfield. John Watson. William Norton. Christopher Watson. George Newell. Thomas Wynn. John Hammond. Christopher Loblely. Michael Loblely. Richard Norton. William Geldart. Wife of John Spence. Thomas Spence. William Messenger. Brian Baines. Gabriel Robinson. Joanna Lofthouse. John Ryder. Richard Clark.	Arkleside. Gammersgill. Gammersgill.  Hindlethwaite. Hindlethwaite. Arkleside.  Carlton. Fleensop.
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**Table 9 Taxpayers from the Manor of Carlton, 1545/46**

	27 names	Location from 1554 Court Roll	Tax paid 1543
26s. 8d.	John Ripley.	Braidley.	7s. 4d.
10s.	John Hammond		6s. 8d.
5s.4d.	Francis Ryder.	Horsehouse.	2s. 4d.
	Richard Geldart.	Carlton.	3s.
4s. 8d.	Christopher Lofthouse.	Swineside.	6s. 8d.
	Percival Watson.	Hindlethwaite.	8s.
	Nicholas Yeoman.	Horsehouse.	2s. 4d.
	John Foxgill.	Carlton.	2s.
	Roger Dawson.	Carlton.	2s. 4d.
4s.	Thomas Dawson.	Carlton.	2s.
3s. 4d.	Thomas Geldart.	Carlton.	6d.
	Richard Dawson.	Carlton.	20d.
	Robert Dawson.	Carlton.	20d.
	Thomas Dawson jun.		
	Thomas Kaygill.		4d.
	Simon Lofthouse.	Swineside.	2s. 4d.
	Godfrey Lofthouse.		
	Godfrey Watson.		8d.
	Richard Handley.	Arkleside.	8d.
	John Lofthouse.	Arkleside.	8d.
	Adam Spence.	Woodale.	8s.
	Robert Ripley.	Woodale.	20d.
	Ottiwell Ripley.	Woodale.	20d.
	Leonard Ryder.	Woodale.	20d.
	William Ripley.		20d.
	Richard Ryder.	Horsehouse.	6s. 8d.
	Richard Topham.	Horsehouse.	20d.



**Table 10 Fines imposed on men from Carlton in Coverdale 1570 after the Rising of the Northern Earls**

40s.	Richard Dawson. Edward Loftus.
30s.	John Forster. Leonard White (?). George Ripley. John Ripley. William Lobley. Thomas Wray. William Hudsworth.
26s. 8d.	William Hammond. George Hammond. John Forster. Simon Foxgill. William Ripley.
20s.	George Geldart. James Topham. John Dawson. Richard Ripley. Cuthbert Topham. Simon Lofthouse.
16s.	Laurence Geldart. John Geldart. Ralph Hammond. John Ripley. Richard Hammond.
13s. 4d.	Francis Wynne.

13s. 4d.	John Spence. John Messenger. Peter Metcalfe. Ralph Ryder.
10s.	James Watson. James Spence. Cuthbert Geldart.
6s. 8d.	Thomas Pratt. Thomas Messenger. Christopher Geldart. Thomas Hanley. George Ripley. William Forster.
5s.	Thomas Cowpland. John Topham. Adam Dawson. Robert Norton. Roger Loftus.
3s. 4d.	Ralph Hammond jun.
3s. 4d.	Ottiwell Ryder. Leonard Ryder.

47 names.



**Table 11 Carlton Tenants and their Holdings from the Lordship of Middleham in 1605**

	<b>Tenancy</b>	<b>Meadow</b>	<b>Arable</b>	<b>Beast-gates</b>
Vincent Metcalfe	for 3 lives	19a.3r.	7a.	12
John Horner	for 3 lives	4a.1r.	1a.1r.	2
Richard Geldart	for 3 lives	3a.	0	0
Vincent Metcalfe	for 3 lives, a brewing			
Thomas Dawson	customary	13a.3r.	1a.2r.	3
	2 <sup>nd</sup> holding	8a.2r.	2a.3r.	3 ½
Anthony Dawson, jun.	customary	15a.2r.	1a.1r.	3
Anthony Dawson, sen.	customary	24a.3r.	10a.	8
John Dawson	customary	25a.1r.	3r.	5 ½
John Foxgill	customary	37a.	0	6
Thomas Geldart	customary	23a.2r.	4a.1r.	5
James Geldart	customary	13a.3r.	1a.3r.	3
Richard Geldart	customary	21a.3r.	3a.	3
	2 <sup>nd</sup> holding	0	3r.	1
	3 <sup>rd</sup> holding	8a.1r.	1a.1r.	3 ½
Bartholomew Geldart	customary	21a.1r.	5a.	5
Henry Lambert	customary	7a.	2a.	2
Henry Dawson	customary	13a.2r.	2a.	3 ½
	2 <sup>nd</sup> holding	12a.	0	3
John Horner	customary	5a.3r.	0	2
William Watson	customary	9a.	1a.	2
George Foster	customary	8a.3r.	0	1
William Buckle	customary	13a.3r.	1a.	5
Anthony Beck	customary	6a.	0	2
Gawen Spence	customary	6a.1r.	3a.	4

John Pickering	customary 2 <sup>nd</sup> holding	3a. 3r.	1a. 0	4 0
Richard Dawson	an overshot mill			
Christopher Loblely	customary 2 <sup>nd</sup> holding	17a.2r. 6a.	1a. 0	3 ½ 2
John Holdsworth	customary	18a.	3a.	5
Thomas Buckle	for 7 years	5a.	0	1 ½
William Hammond	customary	11a.	2a.	5
Simon Dawson	customary	13a.	1a.2r.	4

This table has been compiled from the YAS version of the 1605 survey, in which the amounts of meadow and arable are stated for each holding in acres and roods.



**Table 12 Carlton Rents in 1605**

This table has also been compiled from the YAS version of the 1605 survey of the Lordship

	£	s	d
Vincent Metcalfe	1	11	4
Ditto, for brewery		5	0
John Horner		6	8
Richard Geldart		2	0
Thomas Dawson		9	9 ½
Ditto, 2 <sup>nd</sup> holding		11	8
Anthony Dawson, jun.		9	9 ½
Anthony Dawson, sen.	1	6	8 ½
John Dawson		18	5
John Foxgill	1	0	5 ½
Thomas Geldart		17	0
James Geldart		9	10
Richard Geldart		9	10
Ditto, 2 <sup>nd</sup> holding		9	0
Ditto, 3 <sup>rd</sup> holding		5	7 ½
Bartholomew Geldart		17	0
Henry Lambert		7	0
Henry Dawson		11	8
Ditto, 2 <sup>nd</sup> holding		10	0
John Horner		6	8
William Watson		5	7 ½
George Foster		4	0
William Buckle		16	4
Anthony Beck		6	8

Gawen Spence		13	4
John Pickering		11	0
Ditto, 2 <sup>nd</sup> holding		1	8
Richard Dawson, for mill	1	6	8
Christopher Lobley		11	10
Ditto, 2 <sup>nd</sup> holding		6	8
John Holdsworth		16	1
Thomas Buckle		5	0
William Hammond		16	2
Simon Dawson		13	5 ½



**Table 13 Hearth Tax Return, Michaelmas 1670**

	<b>1 hearth.</b>	<b>2 hearths.</b>	<b>3 hearths.</b>	<b>More than 3.</b>
<b>Carlton Town.</b>	23 77%	6 20%	1 3%	0
<b>Melmerby.</b>	25 93%	2 7%	0	0
<b>West Scafton.</b>	16 89%	2 11%	0	0
<b>Highdale.</b>	57 83%	10 14%	2 3%	0
<b>Hang West Wapentake.</b>	70.9%	18.9%	4.5%	5.7%
<b>North Riding.</b>	70%	17%	6%	7%

The above percentages are of chargeable households.

**Exemptions**

<b>Carlton Town.</b>	16 35%
<b>Melmerby.</b>	7 21%
<b>West Scafton.</b>	7 28%
<b>Highdale.</b>	12 (1673 fig.) 15%
<b>Hang West Wapentake.</b>	23%
<b>North Riding.</b>	24%

The percentages of exemptions are of all recorded houses (i.e. chargeable and non-chargeable).

**Table 14 More Comparisons, Hearth Tax, 1670**

	Total households	Chargeable	Not chargeable	Special features
Agglethorpe.	14	11	3	10 1h.,1 9h.
Bainbridge	292	240	52	
Caldbergh & Little Scrafton	37	31	6	29 1h.
<b>Carlton</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>16</b>	
Carlton Highdale	81	69	12	Exemptions 1673 fig.
Coverham	14	11	3	4 with 5+h.
East Witton	113	76	37	1 6h.,1 13h.
Melmerby	34	27	7	
Middleham	107	76	31	8 with 5+h. 1673 fig.
Thoralby & Newbiggin	91	86	5	
Wensley	66	46	20	Exemptions 1673 fig.
West Burton & Walden	85	75	10	
West Scrafton	25	18	7	



**Table 15 Land Tax, Carlton Town, 1759**

Rate 4s. in the £.

Carlton assessment £23 11s. 9¼d.

Assessors George Mason and Matthew Dawson.

The same men were the collectors.

**Total no. of payers 32.**

Only 3 paid over £2:	Mr. John Atkinson	£3 8s. 7d.
	Thos. Geldart	£2 14s. 8d.
	Mr. Chrstr. Watson	£2 12s. 0½d.
4 paid £1 to £2:	Anthony Buckle	£1 16s. 6d.
	John Geldart	£1 13s. 6d.
	Matthew Dixon	£1 3s. 10d.
	John Watson	£1 0s. 1d.
25 paid under £1.  7 paid 10s. to 19s. 11d.:           18 paid under 10s.	George Mason	19s. 8d.
	Hammond Metcalfe	19s. 1d.
	Joshua Geldart	16s. 5d.
	Matthew Dawson	14s. 6d.
	Mr. Lonsdale	14s. 4d.
	Mr. Thos. Hardcastle	14s. 2d.
	John Topham	10s. 5d.
	Mr. Lewis	9s. 6½d.
	Giles Miller	8s. 10d.
	John Constantine	8s. 0½d.
	William Longstaff	7s. 10d.
	Thos. Pennyman Esq.	5s. 6d.
	John Pratt	5s. 5d.
	Jeffra Clarkson	4s. 6d.

	Witton Poor	4s. 0d.
	William Lazenby	3s. 9d.
	Leonard Horner	3s. 2½d.
	Masham Poor	3s. 2d.
	John Watson mason	2s.10d.
	Mr. Linzey	1s.11d.
	Matthew Thompson	1s. 8d.
	Richard Varo	1s. 3d.
	William Kaygill	1s. 0½d.
	James Smith	9d.
	Edward Wright	9d.



**Table 16 Land Tax Carlton Town 1759-1831 Highest and Lowest Payers**

**Top Payers**

<p><b>1759</b></p>	<p>32 payers.</p> <p>Total payment: £23 11s.9½d.</p> <p>Mr.John Atkinson. £3 8s.7d.</p> <p>Thos.Geldart. £2 14s.8d.</p> <p>Mr.Chistr.Watson. £2 12s.0½d.</p> <p>Anthony Buckle. £1 16s.6d.</p> <p>John Geldart. £1 13s 6d.</p>
<p><b>1769</b></p>	<p>32 payers.</p> <p>Total payment £17 13s. 10d. (at lower rate of 3s. in the £).</p> <p>Mr. Wray Atkinson. £2 11s. 5¼d.</p> <p>Thos. Geldart £2 0s. 0d.</p> <p>Mr. Chistr. Watson £1 19s. 0½d.</p> <p>Anthony Buckle £1 7s. 4½d.</p> <p>John Geldart £1 5s. 1½d.</p>
<p><b>1781</b></p>	<p>35 owners (11 of them owner-occupiers; 3 of them among the lowest payers).</p> <p>Partnership counted as 1 owner.</p> <p>Total payment: £23 11s 10½d.</p> <p>Mr.Lister. £4 12s.5d. (7 tenants).</p> <p>Thos. Geldart. £2 15s.7d. (7 tenants).</p> <p>Mr.Christ.Watson. ) £2 12s.0¾d. (2 tenants).</p> <p>Mr.Thos.Watson )</p> <p>Anthony Buckle. £1 16s.6d. (owner-occupier).</p> <p>John Geldart. £1 13s.6d. (1 tenant).</p>
<p><b>1796</b></p>	<p>37 owners, inc. entry for Proprietors of Carlton (12 owner-occupiers; 5 of them are among the lowest payers, all 1s.).</p> <p>Total payment: £23 11s. 10d.</p>

	<p>Mr. John Geldart Jun. (2 entries) £3 4s. 7½d. (self &amp; 1 tenant).  Wm Chaytor Esq. (2 entries) £2 11s. 7d. (3 tenants).  Mr. Thos. Watson £2 6s. 11d. (2 tenants, 1 of them Mr. Michael Errington).  Mr. Thos. Bulmer £1 19s. 8½d. (1 tenant).  Mr. Anthony Buckle £1 16s. 6d. (1 tenant, Mr. Thos. Buckle).  Mr. Chrisr. Watson £1 10s. 2d. (self &amp; 1 tenant).  Mr. John Geldart Sen. £1 3s. 0d. (1 tenant)  Henry Constantine £1 1s. 7d. (owner-occupier).</p>
<p><b>1807</b></p>	<p>33 owners (15 owner-occupiers; 6 of them are among the lowest payers, assessed at 1s. or 6d.).  Total tax: exonerated £7 0s.9d.; not exonerated £16 11s. 1d.; total £23 11s. 10d.  Wm. Chaytor Esq. : exonerated £1 3s. 5d.; not exonerated £2 11. 2½d.p; total £3 14s. 7½d.  John Geldart: £3 8s. 5d., not exonerated.  Wm. Walker Esq.: £2 9s. 6d., all exonerated.  Execrs. of A. &amp; T. Buckle: exonerated £1 19s. 0d.; not exonerated 9s. 6d.; total £2 8s. 6d.  Mr. C. Topham: £2 1s. 0d., not exonerated.  John Hammond (2 entries): £1 13s. 5d., not exonerated.</p>
<p><b>1816</b></p>	<p>35 owners (14 owner-occupiers, but 8 of the 14 are among the lowest payers).  Total tax: exonerated £7 0s.9d.; not exonerated £16 12s. 6½d. (much altered); total £23 13s. 3½d.  Wm. Chaytor Esq.: exonerated £1 3s.1½d.; not exonerated £2 12s.5½d.; total £3 15s. 7d.  Mr. Henry Constantine: £2 14s. 0d., not exonerated.  Execrs. of A. &amp; T. Buckle: exonerated £1 19s.0d.; not exonerated 9s.6d. total £2 8s. 6d.  Thos. Errington, Esq.: £2 7s.0d., all exonerated.</p>



	<p>Mr.Chrisr. Topham: £2 1s.0d., not exonerated.</p> <p>Mr.Richard Geldart: 4s.3d. exonerated, £1 9s.2¾d. not exonerated, total £1 13s. 5¾d.</p> <p>John Hammond: £1 13s.5d., not exonerated.</p> <p>Mr.Dawson Duffield: 19s. 0d. exonerated, 6s. 7d. not exonerated, total £1 5s. 7d.</p>
<b>1831</b>	<p>35 payers. Each of the 2 partnerships has been counted as 1 payer.</p> <p>15 owner-occupiers. 7 of them were paying only for a house, paying 1s. or less.</p> <p>Total tax: exonerated £7 12s.9d.; not exonerated £15 19 1¼d.(this does not exactly match the column); total £23 11s.10¼d.</p> <p>Thos. Errington Esq. £2 7s.0d. exon., 2s.6d. not exon. Total £2 9s.6d.</p> <p>Mr.Heny. Constantine. £2 9s.0d. not exon. Mostly owner-occupied.</p> <p>Mr.Anthy. Buckle. £1 19s.0d. exon., 9s.6d. not exon. Total £2 8s.6d.</p> <p>Mr.C.Topham &amp; Mrs.Eliz.Midgley, £2 1s.0d. not exon.</p> <p>John Hammond. £1 13s.5d. not exon.</p> <p>Mr.R.Geldart. 1s.9d. exon., £1 9s.2d. not exon. Total 1 10s.11d.</p> <p>Rev.M.D.Duffield. 19s.exon., 6s.7d. not exon. Total £1 5s.7d.</p> <p>Mr.John Hutchinson. 9s.4½d. exon., 15s.7½d. not exon. Total £1 5s.0d.</p> <p>Wm.Chaytor Esq. 1s.exon., £1 1s.10½d. not exon. Total £1 2s.10½d.</p>

**Lowest Payers**

<b>1759</b>	<p>James Smith. 9d.</p> <p>Edward Wright. 9d.</p> <p>Richard Varo. 1s. 3d.</p>
<b>1781</b>	<p>Rich. Metcalf. 8d.</p> <p>John Loblely. 8d.</p> <p>Rd.Taylor. 9d.</p> <p>James Smith. 1s. 2d.</p>
<b>1796</b>	<p>Mr.Walker, tenant John Ripley. 4d.</p>

	<p>The Proprietors of Carlton, tenant Widow Morland. 4d.</p> <p>Chris. Caygill, tenant George Brockill. 8d.</p> <p>Mr. John Watson, tenant John Hammond Sen. 1s.</p> <p>Richard Metcalfe. 1s.</p> <p>George Wright Sen. 1s.</p> <p>John Blackbeard, tenant Robt. Topham. 1s.</p> <p>Jonathan Peacock. 1s.</p> <p>Bartholomew Tattersall. 1s.</p> <p>Mr. Roger Dawson. 1s.</p>
<p><b>1807</b></p>	<p>John Thompson. 6d. Also a tenant.</p> <p>Mrs. M. Walker. 6d.</p> <p>Jonathan Peacock. 6d.</p> <p>Thos. Metcalfe. 1s.</p> <p>Rev. Jas. Law. 1s.</p> <p>Edw. Wright. 1s. Also a tenant.</p>
<p><b>1816</b></p>	<p>Jonathan Peacock. 6d.</p> <p>Thos. Harrison Senr. 6d.</p> <p>Roger Rayner. 6d.</p> <p>Execrs. of John Watson. 1s.</p> <p>Chris. Caygill, tenant Bryan Bell, 1s.</p> <p>John Thompson. 1s. He is also a tenant.</p> <p>Thomas Metcalfe. 1s.</p> <p>Wm. Walls. 1s. Also a tenant.</p> <p>Edward Wright. 1s.</p> <p>Rev. James Law. 1s.</p>
<p><b>1831</b></p>	<p>Edwd. Prest. 3d.</p> <p>Edwd. Bell. 3d.</p> <p>Thos. Harrison jun. 6d. Also a tenant.</p> <p>Roger Rayner. 6d.</p>



Mr.Wm.Watson. 1s.

Mr.John Wright, tenant James Wright. 1s.

John Thompson. 1s. Also a tenant.

Wm.Walls. 1s. Also a tenant.

Edwd. Wright, tenant Ruth Wright. 1s.

**Table 17 Land Tax, Carlton Town, 1831, listed in order of amount paid**

35 payers. Each of the 2 partnerships has been counted as one payer.

16 owner-occupiers (marked with an asterisk). 7 of them are paying only for houses, paying 1s. or less.

Thos. Errington Esq. £2 7s.0d. exon., 2s.6d. not exon. Total £2 9s.6d.

Mr.Heny. Constantine.\* £2 9s.0d. not exon. Mostly owner-occupied.

Mr.Anthy. Buckle.\* £1 19s.0d. exon., 9s.6d. not exon. Total £2 8s.6d.

Mr.C.Topham & Mrs.Eliz.Midgley, £2 1s.0d. not exon.

John Hammond.\* £1 13s.5d. not exon.

Mr.R.Geldart. 1s.9d. exon., £1 9s.2d. not exon. Total 1 10s.11d.

Rev.M.D.Duffield. 19s. exon., 6s.7d. not exon. Total £1 5s.7d.

Mr.John Hutchinson.\* 9s.4½d. exon., 15s.7½d. not exon. Total £1 5s.0d.

Wm.Chaytor Esq. 1s. exon., £1 1s.10½d. not exon. Total £1 2s.10½d.

Chrs.Tennant. \* 1s.7½d. exon., 15s.8½d. not exon. Total 17s.4d. Mostly owner-occupied.

Rev.E.Wyvill. 13s.9d. not exon.

Mr.Geo.Beck. 12s. not exon.

Rev.C.Otter. 12s. exon.

Mr.Wm.Padget.\* 2s.6d. exon., 9s.2d. not exon. Total 11s.8d.

Mr.Geo.Wright. 9s.5d. exon., 1s.3½d. not exon. Total 10s. 8½d.

James Metcalf.\* 7s.10½d. not exon.

Rev.R.Anderson. 6s.9d. exon.

Marston Poor. 6s.6d. not exon.

Wm.Howson Trustee. 6s.4d. not exon.

John Dawson.\* 5s.4d. not exon.

Mr.Thos.Watson. 4s.1½d. not exon.



West Witton Poor. 3s.9d. not exon.

Thos.Metcalf. 2s.10d. not exon.

Wm.Pickard.\* 2s.9d. not exon. Partly owner-occupied (because shared with F.Pickard).

Masham Poor. 2s.9d. not exon.

Mr.John Coulston & Mrs.Eliz.Winstanley. 1s.6d. not exon.

Mr.Wm.Watson.\* 1s. not exon.

Mr.John Wright. 1s. not exon.

John Thompson.\* 1s. not exon.

Wm.Walls.\* 1s. not exon.

Edwd. Wright. 1s. not exon.

Thos.Harrison jun.\* 6d. not exon.

Roger Rayner.\* 6d. not exon.

Edwd. Prest.\* 3d. not exon.

Edwd. Bell.\* 3d. not exon.

I.e. there were six owner-occupiers in the top three bands combined.

**Table 18 Land Tax Carlton Town Payers by Payment Bands**

	<b>1759</b>	<b>1781</b>	<b>1796</b>	<b>1807</b>	<b>1816</b>	<b>1831</b>
Payers of £2 or over	3	3	3	5	5	4
£1 to £1 19s.11d.	4	2	5	1	3	5
10s. to 19s.11d.	7	8	7	6	3	6
Under 10s.	18	22	22	21	24	20
Total no. of payers	32	35	37	33	35	35



**Table 19 Land Tax Carlton Town 1781 to 1831**

<b>Year</b>	<b>No. of payers</b>	<b>Range of payments</b>	<b>Owner-occupiers</b>
1781	35	Top £4 12s. 5d. Bottom 9d.	11, with 3 of them among the lowest payers.
1796	37	Top £3 4s. 7½d. Bottom 4d.	12, with 5 among the lowest payers.
1807	33	Top £3 14s. 7½d. Bottom 6d.	15, with 6 among the lowest payers.
1816	35	Top £3 15s.7d. Bottom 6d.	14, with 8 among the lowest payers.
1831	35	Top £2 9s.6d. Bottom 3d.	16, with 7 among the lowest payers.

Notes.

Partnerships have been counted as 1 in counting the number of payers.

The lowest payers are those paying 1s. or less.

**Table 20 Tithe Award Landowners, ranked by acreage**

Ann Simpson, 392 a.1 r.13 p.

James Taylor Wray, Elizabeth Picard & Margaret Ware, 343.1.28.

Thomas Errington, Esq. 245.0.37.

Anthony Buckle, 187.1.32.

Jenny Topham & Catherine Elizabeth Midgley, 146.3.9.

Christopher Topham Esq., 141.0.0.

John Hammond, 140.2.36.

James Geldart, 114.1.10.

Henry Constantine, 108.1.26.

Christopher Tennant, 79.1.23.

George Woodcock Wray & James Taylor Wray, 66.3.13.

Henry Constantine, jun. 63.2.2.

John Dawson, 55.3.39.

Martin Mangles, Esq. 54.1.36.

James Tennant & Henry Thomas Robinson, 52.3.25.

George Beck, 45.0.19.

Rev.G.C.Tomlinson, 44.2.8.

Mark Scott, 43.2.16.

John Hutchinson, 41.3.17.

Francis Pickard, 35.0.28.

Rev.Edward Wyvill, 28.2.38.

George Wright, 21.0.36.

Marsden Poor, 19.1.25.

Rev.Richard Anderson, 15.2.9.

William Pickard, 14.2.11.

Robert Pickard, 14.2.0.

Sir William Chaytor, Bart., 12.0.32.



William Lumley, 11.1.6.

West Witton Poor, 6.2.30.

Masham Poor, 5.0.17.

Ruth Constantine, 4.2.22.

Thomas Watson. 4.0.30.

William Harrison, 1.2.26.

John Thompson, 0.2.36.

Leonard Fisher, 0.2.4.

William Rider, 0.1.37.

George Bennett, 0.1.8.

Constantine Watson, 0.1.6.

Roger Rayner, 0.1.3.

John Wright, 0.0.22.

Christopher Law, 0.0.14.

Edward Prest, 0.0.11

Elizabeth Metcalfe, 0.0.10.

William Lightfoot 0.0.9

Thomas Chapman 0.0.9

**Table 21 Carlton Town: age structure of population in three censuses**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1901</b>
Age 0-9 years	69	63	42
Age 10-19 years	59	43	26
Age 20-29 years	29	29	25
Age 30-39 years	28	36	21
Age 40-49 years	31	24	22
Age 50-59 years	19	19	18
Age 60+ years	39	38	23
Total population	274	252	177



**Table 22 Census Data: Comparisons**

	<b>1801</b>	<b>1851</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
Agglethorpe, with Coverham	156	204	110	102
Bainbridge	785	814	683	595
Caldbergh	73	96	72	75
<b>Carlton Town</b>	<b>236</b>	<b>274</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>199</b>
Carlton Highdale	328	388	247	204
Coverham (see Agglethorpe)				
East Witton Within	388	325	240	249
East Witton Without	294	285	236	222
Melmerby	106	120	110	102
Middleham	728	966	818	732
Thoralby	313	288	216	218
Wensley	327	285	322	261
(West Burton) cum Walden	446	483	444	409
West Scafton	107	139	106	106

## Appendix 2 Inventories

### Inventory of Thomas Geldart, 17 January 1676/7

A true Inventory of all the goods and Chattells of Thomas Geldart late of Carleton in Coverdale in the County of Yorke yeoman deceased apprized the ninth day of January Anno Dom: 1676 by us whose names are hereunder written

	£	s	d
Imprimis his purse & apparell	01	00	00
Ite[m] ten Kine & 2 heifers	41	00	00
Ite[m] eight Calves	09	10	00
Ite[m] fower stirkes	08	10	00
Ite[m] 2 Mares & one horse	12	00	00
Ite[m] 31 Wethers	13	00	00
Ite[m] 30 Ewes & one Ram	13	00	00
Ite[m] 27 Hoggsheepe	08	05	00
			[pence col. crossed out, new figs. are illegible]
Ite[m] Hay	19	10	00
Ite[m] Corne	03	00	00
Ite[m] Household goods in the fforehouse [sic]			)
one Great table 2 litle tables one			)
Cupboard one Dishbinke one Kettle			)
2 bras potts 2 pans 9 powder	03	00	00
Dishes 3 Candlesticks one			)
flaggon one Powder Can one			)
Cupp 4 wooden skeeles 4 Cans			)
wth trenchers dishes stooles Chaires			)
& other implements in ye said Room			)



Ite[m]	Household goods in ye East parlour	)			
	One table two Chests one Aumree	)	01	00	00
	& one fur... [? Form]	)			[Torn fold]
Ite[m]	Household goods in the East Chambr	)			
	Wooll 2 Chists 1 Aumree one	)	03	00	00
	Kettle Cheeses wth other implemts	)			
	in ye said Roome	)			
Ite[m]	Household goods in ye West Parlour	)	00	13	08
	2 Bedsteads wth bedding one Table	)			
Ite[m]	Household goods in ye Milkhouse	)			
	7[?] Milke bowles one Chirne Barrels	)	00	04	00
	and oth implemts in ye said Roome	)			
Ite[m]	Household goods in ye West Chamber	)			
	one Bedstead wth bedding one little	)	00	06	00
	Chist wth other implemts in ye said	)			
	roome	)			
Ite[m]	Husbandry geare oneCart one	)			
	Coup 2 paire of Wheeles	)			
	plough geare one gavelock wth	)	02	00	00
	axes, spades, saddles and other	)			
	small implemts	)			
		[suma totall	139	18	08
					crossed out]

Ite[m]	Beefe		01	05	00
		In all	141	03	08
Ite[m]	his ffunerall expenses		07	08	08
	Debts oweing by the said				
	Thomas Geldart deceased				
Impr:	To Mathew Dawson of Bramley		50	00	00
Ite[m]	more[?] to John Holdsworth of ye	)	40	00	00
	same place	)			
Ite[m]	More to Willm Hamond of		40	00	00
	Swinnythwaite				
Ite[m]	Debts wth ffunerall				
	Expenses	In all	137	08	08

ffrancis Lucas

John Watson

Henry Beck his Mrke

Otti: Rider

[Glossary:

wether - a castrated ram.

hogg - a young sheep of about a year old, before it has been shorn.

dishbink - a shelf or frame of shelves for storing dishes and plates.

pewder - pewter.

skeeles - wooden buckets.



aumree - aumbry, cupboard.

coup - a small cart either on wheels or runners.

gavelock - a crowbar or lever.]

**Inventory of Anthony Buckle, 1677**

A true and p(er)fect Inventory of all and singular the goods and Chattels moveable and unmoveable of Anthony Buckle of Carleton in Coverdaile the County of Yorke yeoman deceased prized by these foure men Thomas Buckle Henry Becke William Dighton and Parcivell Kaygill as followeth

	£	s	d
Imp[rimis] his purse and apparell	1	00	0
It[em] 6 Kine and Calves	15	00	0
It[em] 5 Twinters	08	06	8
It[em] 5 Stirkes	05	16	8
It[em] one Old Mare	01	10	0
It[em] One Nagge of 2 yeares old	02	06	8
It[em] 20 Ewesand Lammes	07	00	0
It[em] 20 Shearesheepe	06	00	0
It[em] 2 Tables 2 Chayres pewter and Brasse and other implements in the firehouse prized at	) ) )	01	00 0
one Bed and a long table and one pannell Chist standing in the East parlour prized at	) ) ) )	01	10 0
It[em] one Bed and a great Gimlin standing in the East Chamber	)	00	10 0
one Bed and Cheeseshelves in the West Chamber	) )	00	06 8

---



50 06 8

Tho Buckle

Henry Becke

Parcevell Kaygill

William Deighton

It[em] det owen  
by the Test[ator]

It[em] to Symon Jifrison

50 0 0

It[em] to Francis Foster

12 0 0

[Glossary:

twinter - a two-year-old. This term can be used for sheep or horses as well as cattle, but here it clearly refers to beasts.

stirk - a young beast, usually between one and two years old.

gimlin - a large shallow tub for salting bacon. ]

**Inventory of Thomas Dawson, 27 December 1699**

A true and perfect Inventory of all the goods and Chattells both moveable and unmoveable of the said Thomas Dawson of Carleton within the parish of Coverham deceased apprized by us whose names are here under written

	£	s	d
Imprimis His purse and Apparrell	02	00	00
Item Six Cowes	16	00	00
Item three Twinters	05	00	00
Item Four Steares	04	00	00
Item three Calves	02	00	00
Item one Mare	03	10	00
Item one Stagg	02	00	00
It[em] Nine Sheep	02	00	00
It[em] in Corne	00	17	00
Item in Hay	10	00	00
It[em] 9 pewter dishes with some small pewter	00	15	00
Item in Brass	00	12	00
Item one Iron pott	00	03	00
Item in wood vessell	00	10	00
Item two litle Tables	00	04	00
It[em] Four old Chaires	00	02	06
Item three old Chests	00	06	00
Item in bedding and Linnin	01	12	00
It[em] Beefe and Cheese	01	10	00
	<hr/>		
	53	2	00
	<hr/>		
	Totall		
	<hr/>		
Desperate debts owing to the deceased			
Robert Ryder	02	05	00



Ralph Carter	01	14	06
George Kaygill	00	09	11
Robert Leemin	00	05	00

---

Disbursed in Funerall Expenses	05	00	00
Debts owing by the deceased	46	00	00

Apprized by us  
Thomas Winnar  
Thomas Spence  
Henry Becke  
Thomas Battie

### Appendix 3 Carlton Byelaws

There are three surviving sets of 'Paines & Bylaws' from 1722, 1726 and 1727. There are minor differences, and different people are 'amerced', or threatened with same.

Offences for which fines will be levied, 1727 version:

1. Not repairing share of the West Pasture fence [wall] adjoining the common. The wall must be two yards high with broad stones along the top. Fine 2s.6d. per rood neglected to be made before the 25<sup>th</sup>. of March.

2. Not repairing share of the fence between Dowland Well and Francis Todd's Low Barn adjoining the street. The fence must be sufficient to turn beast, horse or sheep. Fine 2s.6d. per rood not made sufficient.

3. Burning ling on the common below Low Walden Way and between 'Hoiddin' Gill [Howden Gill] and Cat Gill. Fine 5s.0d.

4. Burning ling on the common between High Walden Way and Low Walden Way, and between East Green Gill and Knowgill Sike. Fine 5s.0d.

5. Putting a scabbed or 'Rigall' horse on the common. Fine 5s.0d. ['Riggalds' were animals with defects which made them unsuitable for breeding.]

6. 'Fothering' any beast on Carlton West Pasture between May Day and Rood Day. Fine 2s.6d. [Holy Rood Day, 14 September.]

7. Putting any horse, mare or gelding in the West Pasture between 26 March and Rood Day. Fine 10s.0d.

8. Putting on Carlton common any 'Rigal' Sheep or Close Ram between Michaelmas and Christmas. Fine 2s.6d.

9. Undertaking to hang the gates, which are paid for by a common charge, and not doing so before 26 March and not keeping them sufficient till Michaelmas; or leaving any of the West Pasture gates open. Fine 2s.6d.

10. Getting turves from the Liberties of Carlton except on the east side of 'Henry Smith's pit' [this name is crossed out and the insertion is unreadable] and from there as far north as they please. Fine 5s.0d.



11. Turning the 'Well of Water' on the east side of Waterfall out of its right course between Mayday and Michaelmas. Fine 2s.6d.

The 1722 version has an additional offence of putting geese on Carlton common between Mayday and Michaelmas. Fine 2s.6d.

Hailstone papers, York Minster Library, Box 4.16.



### Appendix 4 Maps

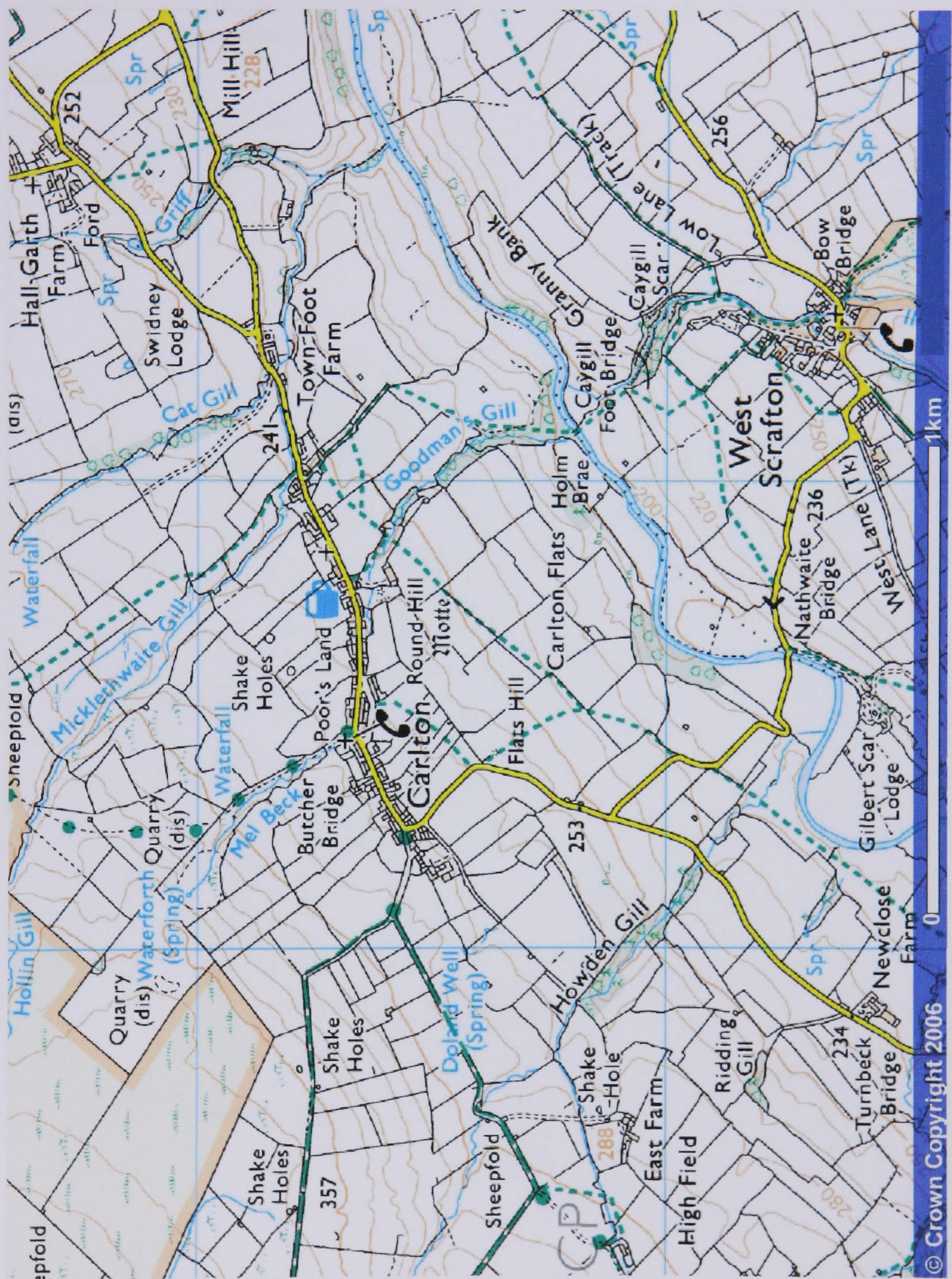


Image produced from Ordnance Survey's Get-a-map service.  
Image reproduced with permission of Ordnance Survey and  
Ordnance Survey of Northern Ireland.

**Figure 1 Carlton, Ordnance Survey 2006, Scale 1:25,000**



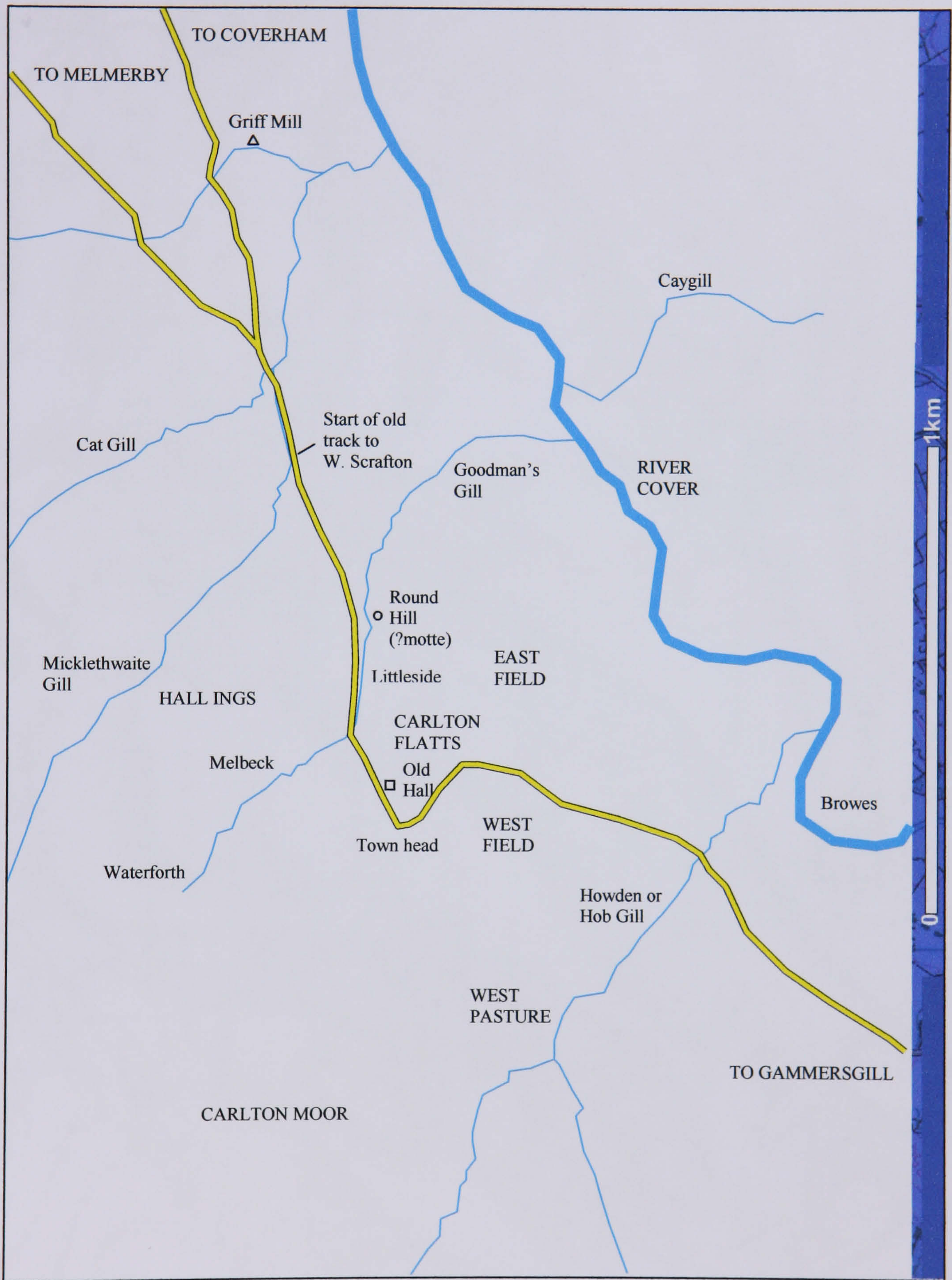


Figure 2 Medieval Carlton land use, based on the Tithe Award map





Figure 3 Coverdale, from Jefferys' Map of Yorkshire, 1771-2



**Appendix 5  
Photographs**



**Figure 4 Boundary Stone in Elm Gill, 1998**





**Figure 5 Carlton from the Air, 2003**





**Figure 6 Coverley House, 2005**





**Figure 7 Flatts Farm, 2005**





**Figure 8 Seaton House, 2005**





**Figure 9 Elm Tree House, 2005**



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