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A BEAKER BURIAL AT WEST TANFIELD, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By P. Mayes, Margaret Atherden, K. Manchester and T. G. Manby

A new gravel quarry opened in Autumn 1973 on the eastern slope of Park Hill (SE 260779) to the south-west of West Tanfield, cut through the grave pit of a crouched inhumation burial. Prompt action by the excavator driver, Mr. A. Rudd, prevented the total destruction of the material, and subsequently most of the skeletal remains and pottery were collected from the site by P. C. Leaman. The grave pit was excavated and drawn by members of the West Yorkshire Archaeological Rescue Unit (Fig. 1). A careful examination of the surrounding areas which had been stripped preparatory to working, and of the quarry faces, showed no further features of archaeological interest. The grave pit was immediately adjacent to an estate road at the top of a 5-metre quarry face. Excavation was, therefore, limited to the grave itself; no horizontal stripping was possible. In the remainder of this note the soil profile is discussed by Margaret Atherden, the skeletal remains by Dr. Keith Manchester, and the beaker by T. G. Manby.

The soil could be described as an acid Brown Earth, freely drained and showing evidence of leaching, but with some earthworm activity. It has developed under a roadside vegetation of grasses, sycamore and hazel on a gradual slope with a northerly aspect and on sandy parent material. The soil appears to have developed *in situ*, but shows signs of disturbance in the upper horizons, e.g. the large boulders near the surface, probably from the construction of the road.

The parent material is derived from the Pleistocene outwash sands and gravels which cover the Magnesian Limestone in this part of Yorkshire. The deposits range from pure fine sand to medium gravel, with larger cobbles, and show many cross-laminations with a general local dip towards the north. Decayed tree roots provide irregular intrusions of

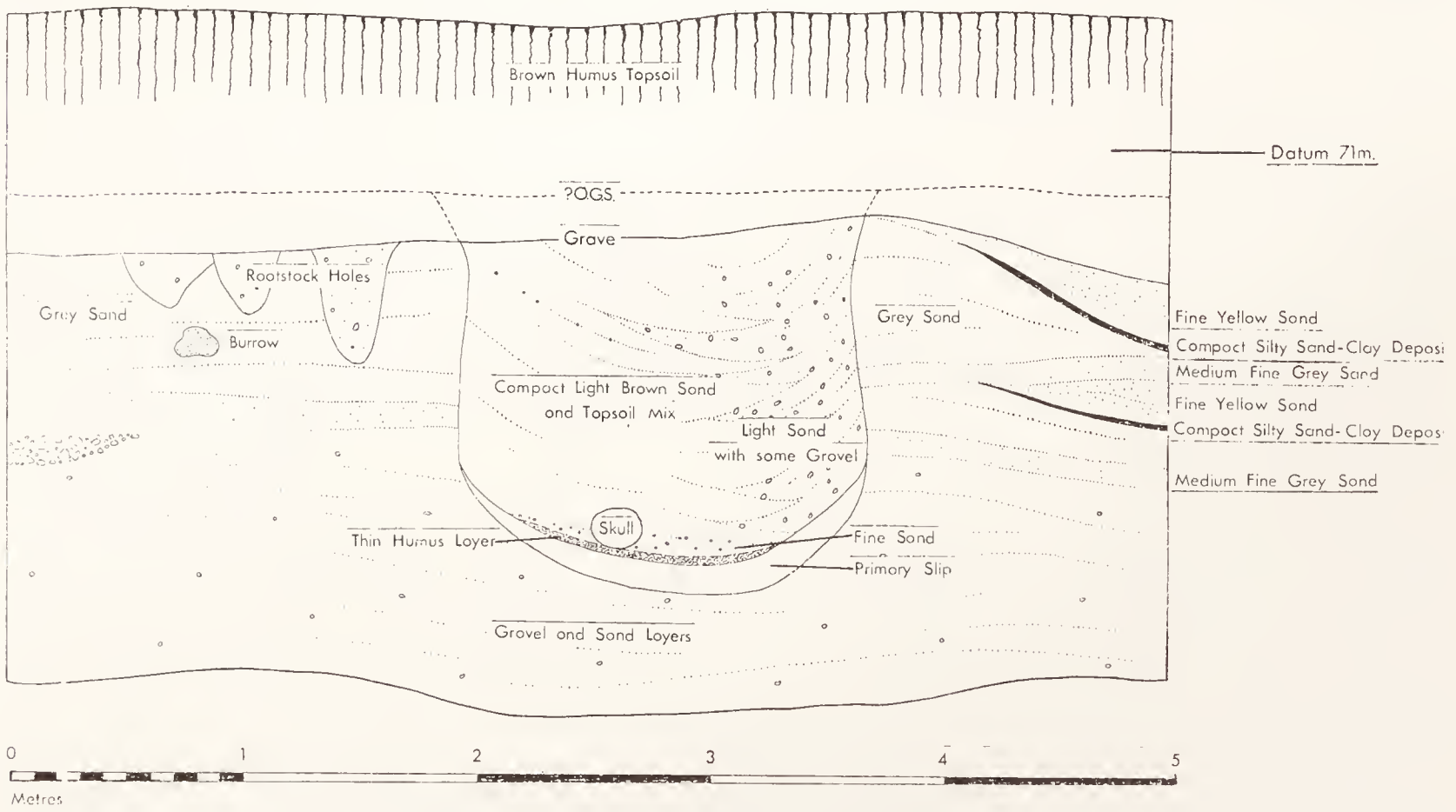

Fig. 1. West Tanfield: section of grave pit.

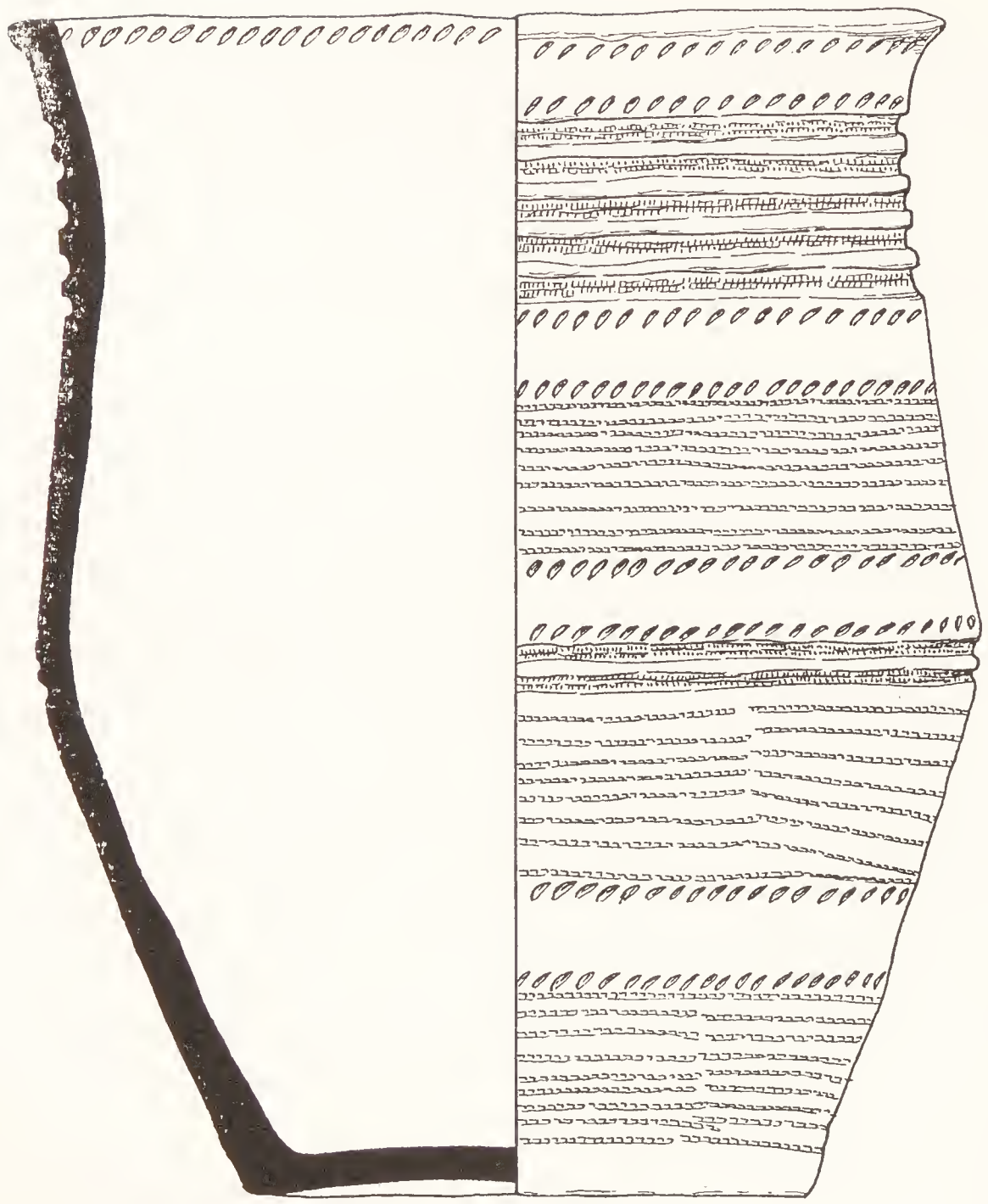

Fig. 2. West Tanfield: beaker (1:2).

humic material from the surface to a depth of about one metre. Erratic cobble of Carboniferous Limestone, Yoredale Series and Magnesian Limestone are common and suggest a source area to the north-west.

The profile, taken from an area of grey sand to the west of the burial, showed the following features. A (0-27 cm): dull, grey-brown sandy loam, friable with well-defined crumb structure. Moist. pH 5. Many roots of surface vegetation. Few small stones and several large boulders. (27-60cm): clearly defined boundary to dull grey-brown loam/ sandy loam with fine crumb structure. Slightly moister than above. pH 5. Many roots; few small stones. B(60-156 cm): gradual transition to orange-brown sandy clay loam with very fine crumb structure. Moist. pH 5. Frequent roots. C (below 156 cm): sharply defined boundary to pale yellow medium/coarse sand with shale fragments. Drier than above with granular structure. pH 7.

The preservation of the bones present in the skeleton was good. The burial was of an adult male of about 25 years. His height was 180 cm (5 ft 7 in.). He was a powerfully built man showing evidence of old trauma in that his left fibula had been fractured, almost certainly by a direct blow to the outer aspect of the left lower leg. His nose had been fractured with remaining displacement and this, together with nasal septal deviation, probably caused some degree of nasal blockage. There is a squatting facet on the right tibia and a corresponding facet on the right talus. The cause of this is not discussed. The dental condition is good, there being one tooth lost *ante mortem*. and one showing minor caries. The stature, absence of disease and absence of arrested growth lines indicate a

healthy individual in whom no cause of death is suggested from the skeletal remains.

The beaker (Fig. 2) had been recently broken but was restorable from the available fragments, the profile distorted on one side, probably by pressure. Its dimensions are 21.5 cm (8.4 inches) high, 15 cm (6 ins.) in diameter at the rim, and 10 cm (4 ins.) in diameter at the base. The fabric is compact with a smooth to glossy exterior surface, reddish-orange in colour toned red and brown, a brown interior and a dark grey core. An admixture of sand and finely crushed stone has been used as a gritting agent. Decoration on the exterior consists of zones of horizontal comb lines on the body; each zone has a fringe of diagonal indentations made by a round-tipped tool. A pair of grooves mark the belly and these, like the wider and bolder grooves on the neck, each contains a double line of comb impressions. Two rows of diagonal indentations occur in the zone below the broad lip and there is a single row inside the rim.

The vessel is attributable to Clarke's Northern British/North Rhine Beaker Group (N/NR) but exhibits some traits also found in the Northern British/Middle Rhine Beakers (N/MR).[1] The particular characteristics of the former group are the vessel's profile with dominant belly and the grooved neck, placing it among the angular variants of the N/NR Group. However, the zonal decoration of horizontal lines with a fringe has good parallels in N/MR vessels like that from Hanging Grimston Barrow 56.[2] An integration of N/MR and Wessex/Middle Rhine features is a characteristic of the N/NR Beakers from sites in Eastern Yorkshire.[3]

The location of an N/NR Beaker at West Tanfield on the western edge of the Vale of York is comparable with the Rossington, Doncaster, vessel.[4] Both are outliers of a regional distribution concentrated on the Yorkshire Wolds.[5] Crouched inhumation burial in a grave is the usual rite accompanying N/NR Beakers, although cremation associations occur at Broxa Barrow 4 and Rudston Barrow 62.[6]

An unusual feature of the West Tanfield Beaker is its broad lip which combines with the grooving on the neck to give the appearance of a collared rim. The broad lip appears on an N/MR Beaker from Norham in Northumberland;[7] the decoration on the lip of this beaker, like that inside the rim of the West Tanfield vessel, is a rare feature of the Rhenish Beaker Groups. The grooving of the neck occurs on Beakers in the Rhineland and on N/NR, Northern British and Barbed Wire Beakers in Britain.[8] Only in a minority of cases has comb impression been applied to the floors of such grooving like that on the West Tanfield Beaker. It also occurs on one of two N/NR Beakers from a cairn at Chatton Sandyford, Northumberland, each accompanying an inhumation burial in a pair of small pit graves and associated with a radiocarbon date of (GaK-800) 1670± 50 b.c.[9]

The presence of a substantial beaker settlement between the River Ure and Swale is implied by the Class II henge monuments concentrated in this district. The limited investigation at the Thornborough henges, immediately east of the West Tanfield Beaker find, did not yield any evidence of their cultural connections.[10] Neither did excavation at the Nunwick henge;[11] the Hutton Moor and Cana monuments have not

1. Clarke, D. L., *Beaker Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland* (1970), pp. 118-29.
2. Ibid., No. 1365, Fig. 334.
3. Ibid., 120 and 126.
4. Ibid., No. 1365, Fig. 334.
5. Ibid., 123 and 534; Map. 4.
6. Manby, T. G., 'Rudston Barrow LXII: Beaker Cremation Associations', *Y.A.J.* 42 (1969), pp. 255-6, Fig. 2.2.
7. Clarke, op. cit. in n.1, No. 693, Fig. 297.
8. e.g. ibid., Figs 283, 284, 288, 308 and 352.
9. Jobey, G. 'Excavations of Cairns at Chatton Sandyford, Northumberland'. *Arch. Ael.* 4th ser. 46 (1968), 8-22, Fig. 4.
10. Thomas, N. 'The Thornborough Circles, Near Ripon, North Riding'. *Y.A.J.* 38 (1955), 425-445.
11. Dymond, D. P. 'The Henge Monument, at Nunwick, near Ripon, 1961 Excavation'. *Y.A.J.* 41 (1968), 98-107.

been excavated. The Beaker associations of Class II henges were originally demonstrated by Atkinson and have been supported by more recent finds at Llandegai, Maiden's Grave and Durrington Walls.[12] As these associations are with the later Southern British and related Rusticated Beaker wares it is unnecessary to postulate any direct connection between the West Tanfield Beaker and construction of the local henge monument complex.

12. Wainwright, G. J. 'A Review of Henge Monuments in the Light of Recent Research'. *Procs. Preh. Soc.* 35 (1969), 112-133.

A GROUP OF IRON AGE BARROWS AT COWLAM, NORTH HUMBERSIDE

By I. M. Stead

Three barrows south-east of Burrow House, Cottam (SE 98356670) were included in the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments' programme of excavation of plough-threatened barrows. The excavation, at Easter 1969, was resumed in October 1969 and October 1972 to explore further barrows in the group and to follow the course of an adjoining dyke. The writer shared the direction with A. L. Pacitto, and Valery Rigby was in charge of the finds; sites were supervised by Ann Dent, A. B. Havercroft, J. Hinchliffe, P. E. Judkins, T. W. Potter and M. R. Snodin. Mr. J. Gatenby, of Chalet Farm, Langtoft, generously gave permission for the excavation and presented the finds to the British Museum.

The site is 159m above sea-level, on the top of the chalk Wolds. To the south the land rises slightly to a maximum height of 164m, but that apart the Cowlam barrows are fully exposed, with nothing to divert winds and weather for miles in all directions. To the east a deep dry valley leads to the east-south-east and houses both Langtoft and Kilham; south of the valley and only three miles from the Cowlam barrows is the large Iron Age cemetery of Danes Graves. The three barrows were so low that on the 1958 edition of the Ordnance Survey 6-inch sheets they had been relegated from 'Tumuli' to 'Tumuli (Sites of)'. Two of them (Barrows A and B) were Scheduled Ancient Monuments (Yorkshire 835a and b).

A century ago five barrows survived and were excavated by Canon Greenwell[1] but correlation with his report presents certain difficulties. Under the centre of each barrow Greenwell found a single crouched inhumation on the original ground surface. Two of the skeletons had Iron Age grave-goods: (1), Barrow L, a bronze brooch, bronze bracelet and a necklace of glass beads; and (2), Barrow LI, a bronze bracelet.[2] Also under the barrows and in the body of the mounds were sherds of pottery, a fragment of a shale bracelet, and flint implements. Some of this domestic refuse was found in pits, and it seemed that there had been a settlement at some time before the barrows had been built.

Before the three barrows were excavated a 60m square was surveyed by A. J. Clark using resistivity and a fluxgate gradiometer. Both surveys detected square-plan ditches surrounding the barrows, and a number of anomalies in the vicinity suggested the positions of pits belonging to the earlier settlement. The plough-soil over each barrow was then stripped by a Drott Tractorshovel, leaving a central baulk about 2m wide.

Barrow A

The largest of the surviving barrows, greater in diameter and slightly higher than the other two had a fairly square platform 14 to 14.5m across with quite sharp corners (Fig. 1, A). Its ditch averaged 2m wide, about 1m deep, and had a flat base 0.6 to 0.7m wide. In the initial silting the chalk and earth had fallen from both sides of the ditch, and only in

1. W. Greenwell, *British Barrows* (1877), pp. 208-13; the excavation was earlier described by C. Roach Smith in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Nov. 1867), pp. 651-2.
2. I. M. Stead, *The Arras Culture* (1979), p. 64, fig. 23, no. 1; p. 73, fig. 27, no. 1; p. 80; p. 73, fig. 27, no. 6. For a preliminary account of this excavation see also I. M. Stead, 'Yorkshire before the Romans' in R. M. Butler (ed.), *Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkshire* (1971), pp. 22-24 and pl. 1.

the upper filling were layers obviously derived from the mound. This might suggest that the barrow had been surrounded by a berm.

The mound was only 0.25m high, and hardly anything of its structure survived. It had covered a layer of dark reddish-brown earth which capped the natural chalk in the centre of the barrow platform and contained numerous potsherds. Near the centre of the mound this 0.2m deep buried soil was immediately below the present plough-soil, but towards the sides it was shallower and separated from the plough-soil by a layer of chalk and earth. It disappeared completely between 1.5 and 2m from the present inner edge of the ditch. At its limits, and beyond towards the ditch, it was covered by small pieces of chalk—contrasting with the larger chalk lumps nearer the centre not only in size but in orientation, for they sloped down towards the ditch, as if they had been washed down as the mound had weathered (Fig. 2, a — b).

Greenwell's excavation had reached the natural chalk but only the deepest part survived and it was impossible to plot its original extent. Certainly he had cleared the centre of the barrow, and at the bottom on one side his excavation had a fairly sharp edge a little more than 1m north-west of the centre. To the south and east the disturbance was more extensive, and the full area covered was at least 6m square. He seems to have tackled this barrow in his usual way, which was 'to drive a trench, the width of the barrow as it was originally constituted and before it was enlarged by being ploughed down, from south to north, through and beyond the centre'.[3] Fragments of human bone, found in the filling of this excavation to the north and west of the mound's centre may be the remnants of a central inhumation, and the absence of a grave cut into the chalk confirms Greenwell's observation that the Cowlam skeletons had been buried on the original ground surface.

A quantity of pottery from the first half of the first millennium B.C., some animal bones, worked flints and a jet bead were found in the soil sealed by the barrow. They were found particularly in the north-west sector; to the south and east this layer was much more eroded, quite apart from Greenwell's disturbance. A shallow pit about 1.5m diameter but cut only 0.1m into the chalk had been covered by the barrow and a similar pit had been cut by the outer lip of the ditch. Two trenches dug into the west side of the mound proved to belong to sheep bield.

Barrow B

The only other mound clearly visible before excavation was slightly lower and smaller in diameter, but its ditch was more impressive. The square platform was 10m across, and the ditch about 3m wide and 1.1 to 1.2m deep with a flat base about 1m wide (Fig. 1, B). The filling was quite different, with very much more chalk which was concentrated on the side ajoining the mound, suggesting the rapid weathering of the barrow. A very heavy concentration of chalk in the filling near the centre of the south-east side may have been no more than a quirk in the weathering. Nothing of the mound itself survived, for dark reddish-brown earth was found immediately below the present plough-soil. This buried soil, exactly the same as that under Barrow A, extended to the very edge of the barrow platform, which together with the distribution of chalk in the ditch filling suggests that the mound had been built to the limits of the platform without a berm.

Greenwell's excavation, approximately 6m square, had removed completely the southern quadrant and extended into the other three. A series of narrow east-west trenches had been excavated: three of them, respectively 0.5m, 0.45m and 0.3m wide at the bottom, were well defined where they cut into the buried soil at the limits of the excavation on the west side. At the centre a shallow oval pit, 1.5 by 1m and 0.2m deep had been cut below the general level of the excavation; it had certainly been excavated by

3. W. Greenwell, *op. cit.* in n.1, p. 27, note 1.

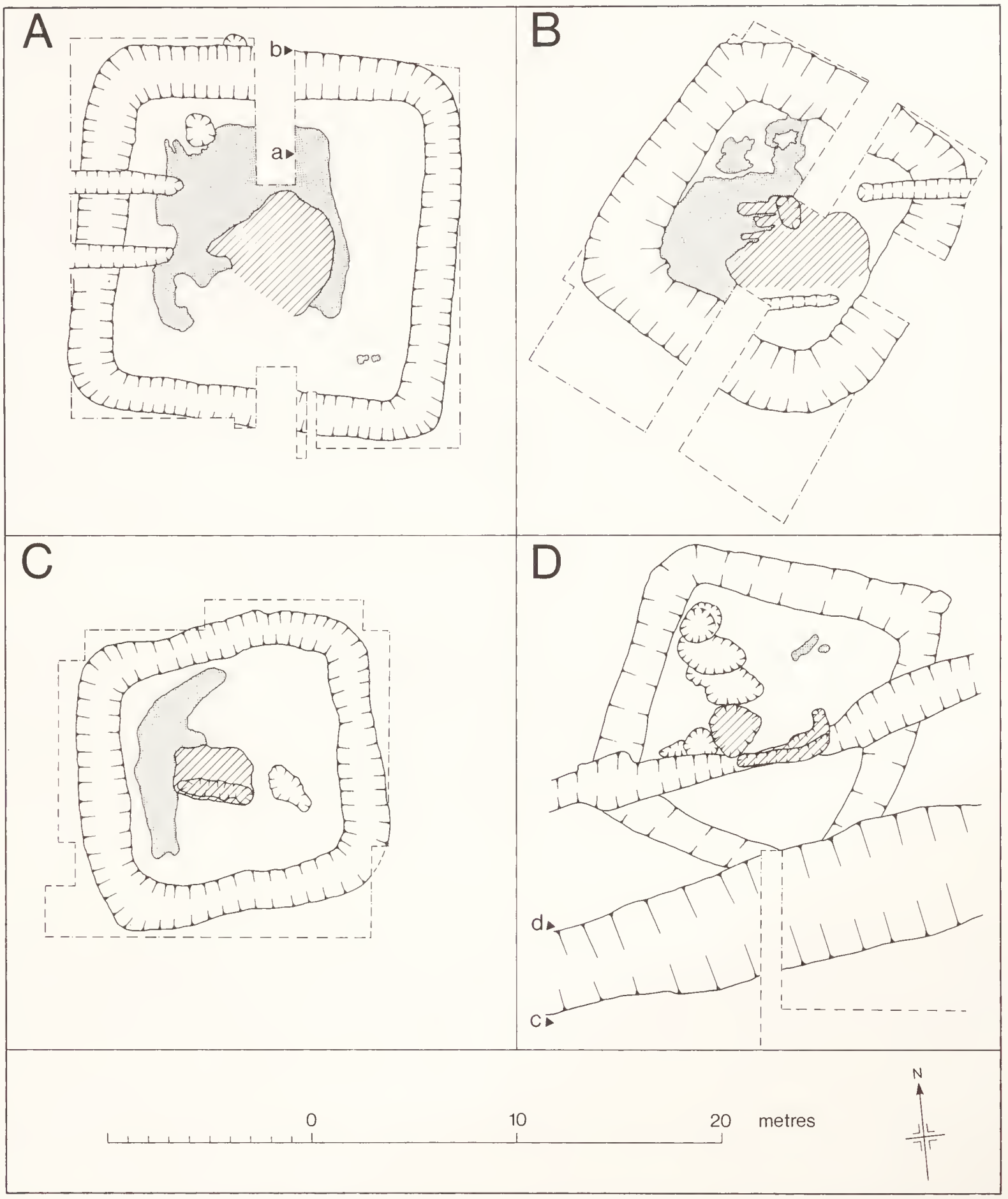

Fig. 1. The four barrows excavated in 1969. The extent of buried soil is indicated by stippling and Greenwell's excavations are hatched.

Greenwell, and was either the remains of a grave or the creation of the Canon's workmen. Human bones were scattered in the filling of the pit, and to the south and west of it. This barrow had also been cut by sheep bield trenches.

The dark reddish-brown earth was undisturbed over much of the north-west half of the mound. No pre-barrow features were recognised, but there were some sherds of Late Bronze Age/Iron Age pottery, as well as a barbed and tanged arrow-head, Beaker and other Neolithic sherds.

Barrow C

The third barrow was just visible—perhaps with the eye of faith—before excavation. Its position was in any case known because it had been plotted by the Ordnance Survey

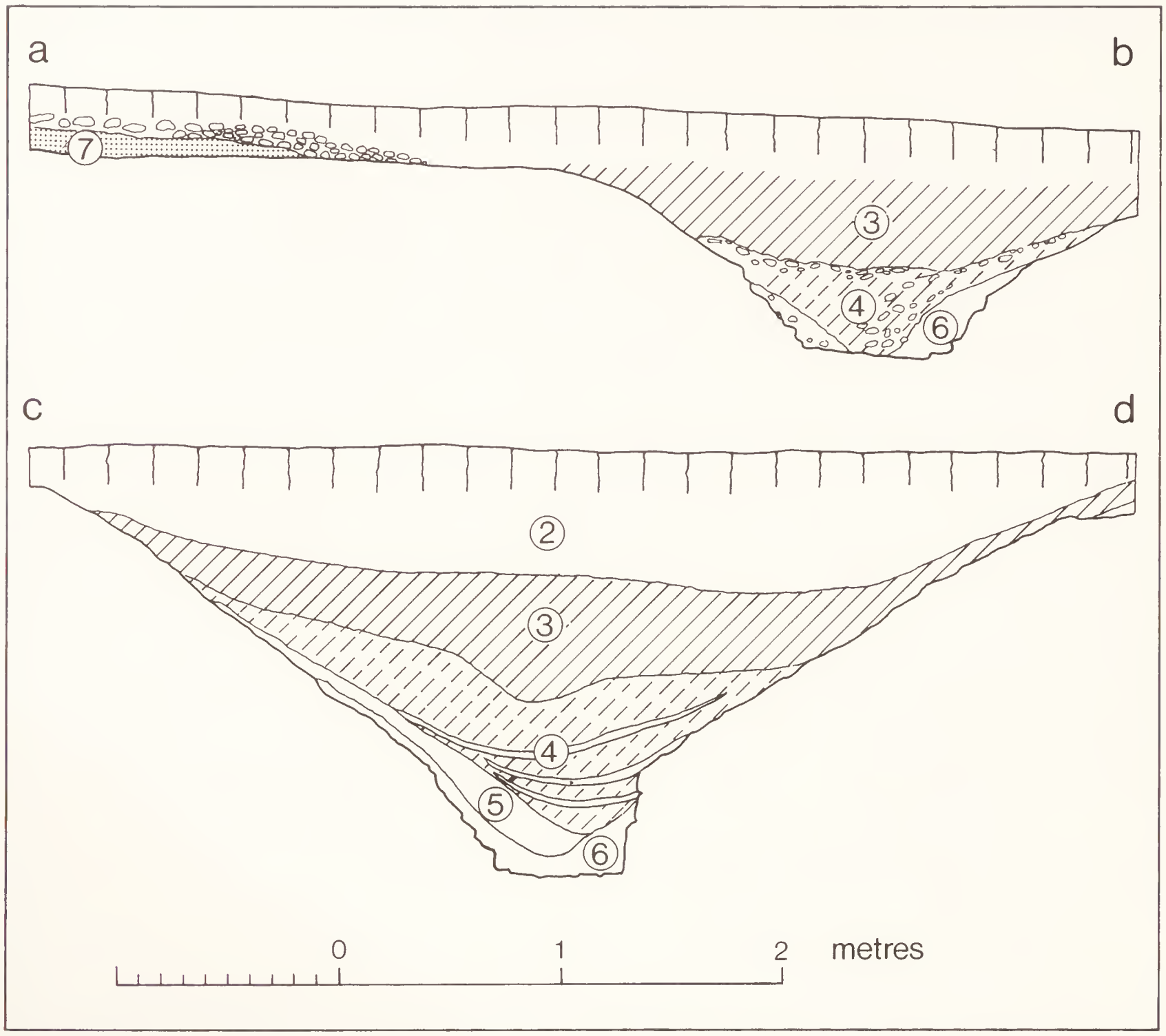

Fig. 2. Sections through the edge of Barrow A and its ditch (a-b); and the dyke adjoining Barrow D (c-d). Layers: 2, brown earth with some chalk; 3, fairly clear brown earth; 4, brown earth with some chalk; 5, chalk with some earth; 6, chalk silting; 7, buried soil with the remains of the mound above.

and located on the resistivity and magnetometer surveys. The barrow platform was 10.5m square, surrounded by a ditch some 2m wide and 0.8 to 1.1m deep with a flat bottom 0.6 to 0.7m across—very similar to the ditch round Barrow A (Fig. 1, C). Its filling showed that more chalk had come down from the mound than in Barrow A, but nothing like as much as in Barrow B. Dark reddish-brown earth similar to that under Barrows A and B was found in some of the western half of the barrow, but nowhere was it more than 0.1m deep and none of the barrow structure survived. In section this barrow closely resembled Barrow A, with the reddish-brown earth tapering and ending between 1 and 2m from the inner edge of the ditch and the edge of the barrow platform being covered with fine chalk.

Greenwell's excavation survived as a fairly rectangular disturbance, 4 by 2.5m, covering the centre of the barrow and west of centre, but its floor was within 0.1m of the plough-soil so conceivably a larger area had been investigated. To the south of the centre Greenwell had excavated a pit 3.7 by 0.8m cut 0.75m into the chalk, but it was certainly an earlier feature for some of the original filling survived. Fragments of human bone were scattered in and around the filling but it is unlikely to have been a grave because Greenwell recorded all burials in this group as being on the original ground surface.

Other sherds were found in the reddish layer which, as in Barrows A and B, was found only on the west side of the barrow. Greenwell had not found a second pit, 2.5 by 1.5m and about 0.45m deep below the chalk, which produced some sherds.

Barrow D

The fourth barrow, seen as a concentration of chalk on the surface after ploughing, was beyond the limits of the geophysical survey. Its squarish platform was about 10.5 by 11.5m, surrounded by a ditch 1.5 to 2m wide and up to 0.5 to 1m deep with little chalk in its silting (Fig. 1, D). The south corner of the barrow ditch, and the edge of the platform, had been removed by a deep linear dyke and a smaller parallel dyke some 5m to the north cut the barrow just south of its centre. Nothing of the barrow survived, and all but the smallest pockets of dark reddish earth had disappeared. In the western half of the barrow platform were a series of intersecting pits between 0.5 and 0.65m deep; the one nearest the centre had been excavated by Greenwell who had also cut into an adjoining 4.5m length of the smaller dyke. The filling of the southern half of the barrow ditch, to a distance of about 10m from the larger linear dyke, included a substantial layer of chalk—presumably upcast from the dyke. This chalk layer had been cut by the smaller linear dyke.

Barrow E.

Like Barrow D, this was noticed as a concentration of chalky earth surrounded by darker earth—it was not very conspicuous and similar features elsewhere in the field might well have escaped detection. The barrow platform was squarish, 8 by 9m, surrounded by a ditch from 1.5 to 2m wide and about 0.5m deep (Fig. 3). Much of the surviving ditch filling was of chalk, which explains why this barrow was not visible on the air photographs. No buried soil survived, there was no grave and no pre-barrow features.

Barrow F.

Detailed examination of the air photographs suggested several possibilities for other barrows. All were trenched, but only one proved successful. Irregular in shape, approximating to a 7m square, it was defined by a ditch from 1m to 1.7m wide and about 0.3m deep. The central grave survived as a very slight hollow no more than 0.10m deep once the plough-soil had been removed: at this level it measured 0.95 by 0.55m and contained the remains of a contracted inhumation on its right side and orientated north-south.

Burial G.

Another trench designed to locate a possible crop-mark produced a burial but no hint of barrow ditches. The grave was remarkably small, only 0.7 by 0.6m and about 0.15m deep (Fig. 3). The corpse had been crammed into this small space on its back with the shoulders against the end of the grave and the head pushed forward with the chin on the chest. The legs were drawn up so that the left knee was almost touching the head. The skeleton was orientated south-west/north-east. There were no grave-goods.

Burial H.

While investigating the ditches of the cruciform sheep bield another inhumation was found—between Barrows A and B (Fig. 3). The grave was 0.1 to 0.15m deep and only the upper part of the body survived—the rest had been cut by one of the ditches of the sheep bield. The skeleton had been orientated with the skull at the south end of the grave.

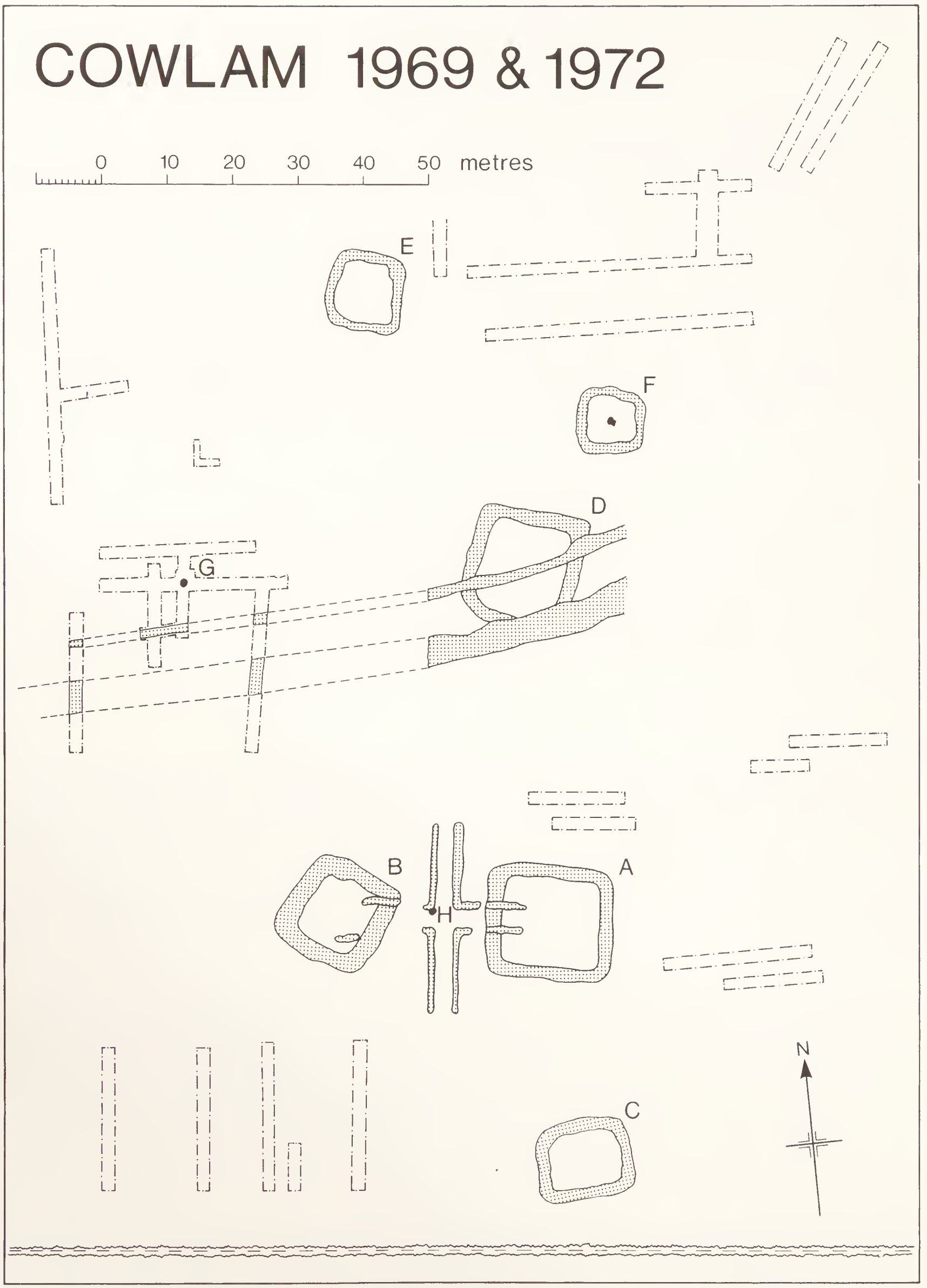

Fig. 3. Barrows A—F, burials G and H, the sheep bield between A and B, and the trenches excavated in the vicinity.

Correlation with Greenwell's excavation

Greenwell did not publish a plan, and the correlation between his barrows and the recent excavations is not immediately obvious. But he did record height and diameter measurements which may be compared with those for Barrows A to F (Table 1).

For the purpose of this exercise it is assumed that all five of Greenwell's barrows have been re-excavated and that he did not find Barrow F, which had a surviving burial. The correlation between A and LIV seems clear: it is largest in diameter and height. For the others, there is little comparison between the diameters, but the heights seem to be significant. Two of Greenwell's barrows were recorded as 2ft. high, and the other two were 1ft high. It seems reasonable to suppose that his higher barrows were the ones with a little height left in 1969 (B and C) and this argument is supported by the fact that even in the mid-nineteenth century the Ordnance Survey plotted only three barrows (A, B and C)—presumably L, LII and LIV. Greenwell records pits ('trench', 'hollow', 'holes') under Barrows LI and LII, and the recent excavations showed that he excavated pits under C and D only—but the measurements and positions of those pits are not closely comparable. If LI/LII are the same as C/D, then on the argument of height LII would be C, so LI = D, L = B, and LIII = E. The main problem posed by this suggested correlation is that LIII, recorded as 42ft diameter (13m) is equated with E which is only 8.5m diameter. None of the other measurements are particularly close, but this one does seem a long way out: perhaps Greenwell mistook the measurement, or recorded it as 42ft instead of 24ft. For some reason he did not classify LIV as an Iron Age barrow, but he did record it as near L-LII (thus implying that it was away from LIII) which suits the equation suggested.

The dykes

As elsewhere on the Wolds the chalk pit in the south-west corner of the site had started life in a major linear dyke. The dyke clipped the south corner of Barrow D (Fig 1), where it was sectioned and shown to be almost 5m wide and cut 1.7m below the level of the chalk (Fig. 2, c-d). A parallel dyke crossed the centre of Barrow D: it was 2.5m wide and 1m deep away from the barrow and the two dykes were about 8m apart between centres.

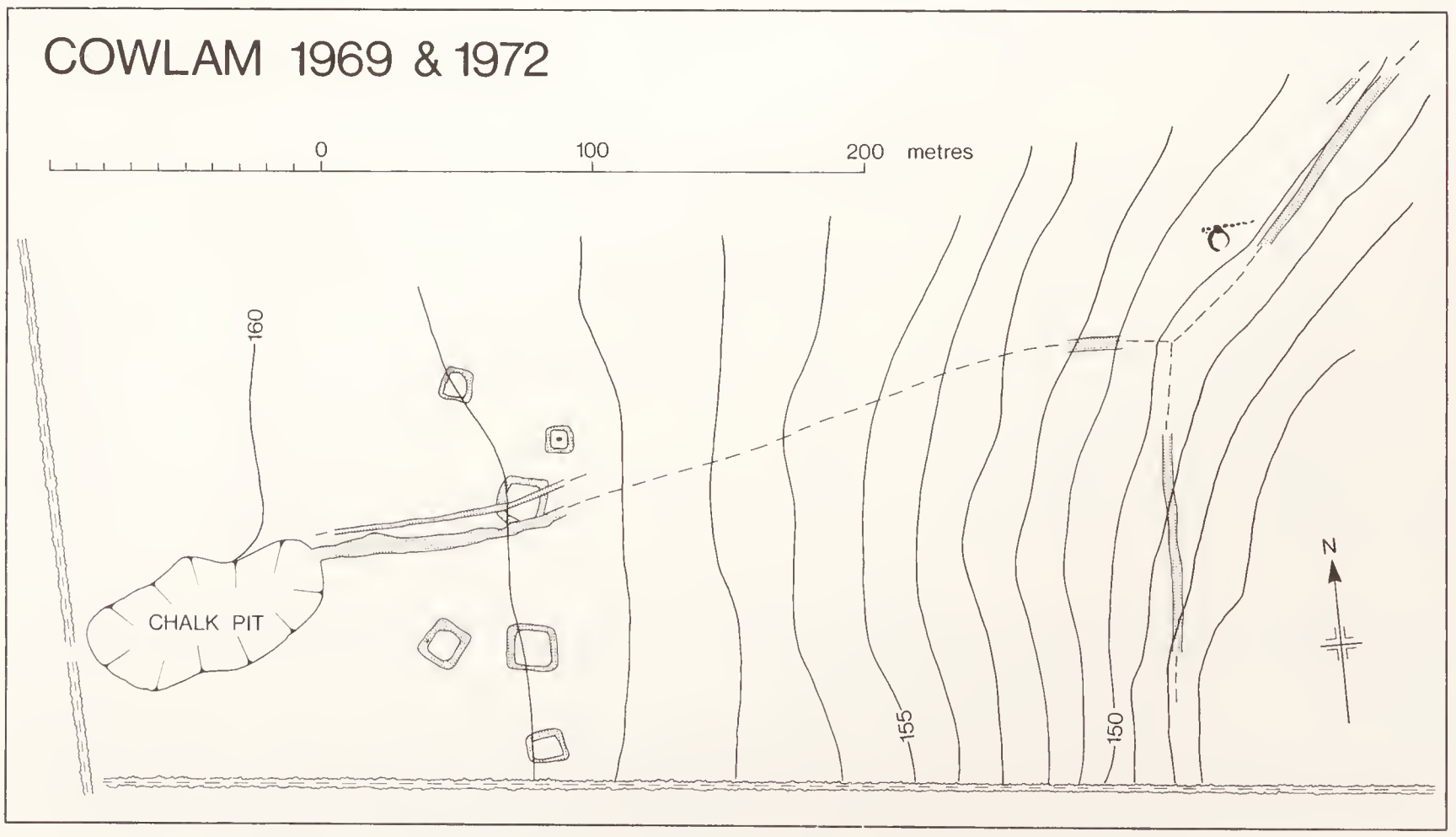

Fig. 4. Plan of the barrows and dykes. The dykes were located in trial trenches.

Both were undoubtedly later than the barrow and the larger dyke was the earlier of the two. About 220m to the east of the barrows there is a junction of three major linear dykes (Fig. 4): the one from the barrow group in the west, a second from the north-east (its line is followed by a plantation south of Chalet Farm), and a third from the south. The second and third dykes are followed by the parish boundary between Cottam and Langtoft and all three seem to have been directed at the heads of dry valleys. The three dykes were traced by trial trenches in the area east of the barrows and the first one was sectioned just west of the junction where it was 4.5m wide and 1.6m deep below the level of the chalk. At that point the dyke intersected a hollow-way, also about 4.5m wide but only 0.4m deep. North-east of the junction the trial trenches located other features which were exposed but not excavated. A roughly oval area 5.5 by 6.5m was defined by a ditch 0.5 to 1m wide with a 1m break in the south side, and may well have been the site of a hut. Two sherds of Romano-British pottery came from the top of the filling of the ditch. There was also a line of eight pits, oval in plan and all with the longer measurement along the length of the line: in plan they were on average 1.9 by 1.2m, and were spaced at intervals of about 2.5m between centres.

The sheep bield

Barrows A and B had been used as the basis of a sheep bield (Fig. 3). A 30m cruciform earthwork had been constructed, with one bank linking the centres of the two mounds and a second at right-angles between them. The banks, of course, had been ploughed flat but there survived the trenches which defined them: they were about 1m wide, up to 0.35m deep in the chalk (but on average only 0.15m deep) and set 2.5 to 3m apart. The latest find from the trenches was a post-Medieval glazed sherd. J. R. Mortimer called such earthworks 'embankment crosses' and was evidently unaware of their purpose.[4] One near Birdsall is marked as a sheep bield on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey map, and they resemble the stone walled sheep bields of Cumberland and the Border country—the idea being to provide shelter from whichever way the wind was blowing. This information on sheep bields has been provided by H. G. Ramm, who suggests that those on the Wolds could have been constructed in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries—sufficiently old to mystify Mortimer but late enough for the word 'bield' to have survived in local names into the nineteenth century.

Table I

Greenwell excavation			Suggested	1969/72 excavation		
height	diameter	Barrow	correlation	Barrow	diameter	height
2ft (0.6m)	22ft. (6.7m)	L	=	B	10m	0.2m
1ft (0.3m)	24ft (7.3m)	LI	=	D	11m	—
2ft (0.6m)	32ft (9.7m)	LII	=	C	10.5m	0.15m
1ft (0.3m)	42ft (13m)	LIII	=	E	8.5m	—
2½ft (0.75m)	50ft (15m)	LIV	=	A	14m	0.25m
—	—	—		F	7m	—

Comparison between barrow measurements recorded by Greenwell and in 1969/72, and a suggested correlation between the two.

4. J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches in British and Saxon burial mounds of East Yorkshire* (1905), pp. 388-96. In Heslerton parish a cruciform bank and a circular enclosure are respectively described on the 1st edition of the O.S. 6-inch map Sheet 125 as 'The Old Bield' and 'The New Bield'.

The Finds

The pottery and other finds from these excavations are to be published in a forthcoming British Museum monograph: *The Greenwell Collection: a catalogue of excavated Prehistoric and Roman finds.*

The Human Bones by Janet D. Henderson (Ancient Monuments Laboratory and Institute of Archaeology, London).

It was estimated that there were a minimum number of five individuals present (see Table 2). Observations were made for demography (sex age and stature), anthropology (metric and morphological skeletal variability) and pathology (dental and skeletal). Details of the results by individual for demography and pathology are given in the attached catalogue; it was not considered justifiable to include the anthropological data given the small number of records that could be made.

Analysis of this material was restricted by the small size of the sample and the overall poor preservation of the bones. However, it was noted that there were four adults and a juvenile. Observations for pathology were confined to the dentitions of Burials G and H. Here it was found that Burial G had no dental disease but Burial H had one large caries on the mandibular right first molar. No further comment was possible.

Table 2

Burial no.	Sex	Age (in years)	Stature
Barrow A	Male	Adult	—
Barrow C	Female	Adult	—
Barrow F	—	6— 8	—
Burial G	Male	20—25	1.73m (*c*.5' 8")
Burial H	?? Female	30—35	—

Summary of results for Sex, Age and Stature.

The following is a catalogue of the results by individual for sex, age, stature and pathology (in that order), together with a brief statement of the method(s) used in the analysis. Where no mention is made of a result, none was obtained.[5]

The bones from Barrows A—C were scattered in areas excavated by Greenwell:

Barrow A
Various fragments of human bone from the vertebrae, pelvis and lower limbs.
Male: Metrics: Talus.
Adult.

Barrow B
Various fragments of bone identifiable as from an adult human individual only.

Barrow C
Various fragments of human bone representing most parts of the skeleton with the exception of the skull.
Female: Morphology: General.
Metrics: Talus.
Adult.

Barrow F
Fragmentary remains in very poor condition, *c*. 20% present.
6—8 years: Dental development.

Burial G
Partial skeleton in poor condition, *c*. 75% present.
Male: Morphology: Pelvis, general.
Metrics: Femur.
20—25 years: Pubic symphysis, epiphyseal union, dental wear.
1.73m±.0327. *c*. 5' 8". Left femur.
Pathological changes were absent on this skeleton.

5. For further details of the methods used for assessing sex, age and stature see Janet D. Henderson, 'The Human Skeletal Remains—Carlisle, Blackfriars Street' (Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report no. 4219, unpublished, 1984).

COTTAM: MAGNETOMETER

COTTAM: RESISTIVITY

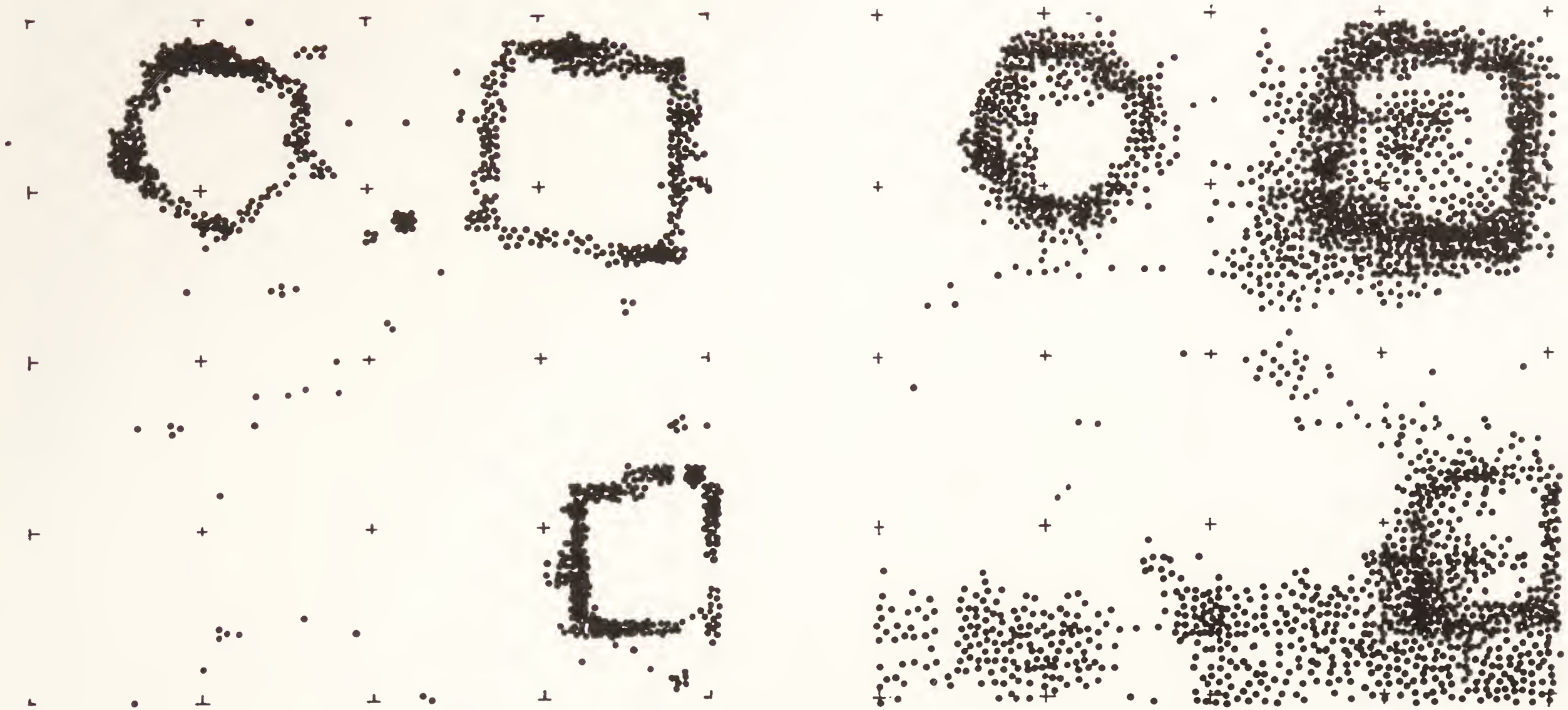

Fig. 5. Dot density plots of (left) the proton magnetometer survey and (right) the resistivity survey of Barrows A, B and C at Cowlam. The crosses are at 50 ft. (15.24m) intervals and the survey area is 200 ft (60.96m) square.

Burial H
Fragmentary remains in very poor condition, *c.* 25% present.
??Female: Morphology: Skull, general.
30—35 years: Dental wear.
Evidence for pathological change was confined to the dentition of this individual.
There was a large caries present on the right mandibular first molar, such that only the tooth roots remained.

Resistivity and Magnetometer Surveys by A. J. Clark, Ancient Monuments Laboratory.

An area 200 ft (60.96m) square, containing the three southern barrows, (A, B, C) was surveyed by proton magnetometer and also by resistivity, using a 2.5ft (0.762m) square array electrode system. The reading interval was 5ft (1.524m). Very clear responses were obtained from both surveys, which are shown as dot density plots in Fig. 5.

The barrow ditches gave magnetic anomalies frequently as high as 8-10 nanotesla, peaking at 14 nT, and low (negative) resistivity anomalies of 10.2—12.3 ohm-metres from a base level of about 24.5 ohm-m—up to 50% reduction in apparent resistivity. On the southern English Chalk, such ditches would be expected to give little or no resistivity response in the early part of the year when the survey was done because general saturation of the chalk and ditch filling would remove any resistivity contrast between them. The difference seems to be partly due to the relatively good water retentivity of the soil on the site, and partly to the hardness of the Chalk in this area, caused by filling of the Foraminifera cells, which make up half its bulk, with calcite[6] whereas in the southern Chalk they are empty, allowing the water retentivity to be higher. The magnetic response, as generally on the Wolds, is also strong compared with many sites on the southern Chalk, probably because of a relatively iron-rich boulder clay component in the Wolds soil, which may also account for the good water retentivity mentioned above.

The combination of the strong responses and uncomplicated background conditions of the site allowed both plots, which were produced by hand, to be made from the raw data without filtering or other processing. The magnetic plot is especially clear, and possibly reveals some of the pits of the earlier settlement. The resistivity plot seems more diffuse because the starting level for plotting was made deliberately high to bring out subtle features. This was effective in revealing traces of the red-brown soil layer beneath the mounds, and, with hindsight, one can just discern the east ditch of the northern arm of the sheep bield, and the north ditch of the eastern arm. The deepening of the soil against the southern edge of the field can also be seen.

6. H. C. Sorby, 'On the structure and origin of limestone', *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London* 35 (1879), p. 56.

ROMAN TILES FROM TEMPLEBOROUGH AND SLACK, AND THE ADOPTION OF TILE STAMPING BY THE *AUXILIA*

By G. R. STEPHENS

Roman tiles are difficult to date. This is because few carry any internal dating evidence,[1] so that in most cases the only indication of date is provided by the archaeological context in which they were found. Tiles stamped by the army can sometimes, however, be more closely dated, for although early excavators seldom noted the context in which they were found, approximate dates can often be obtained by reference to the movements of the stamping unit. This is particularly true of auxiliary units, which were much more mobile than the legions.

It has been thought that only one auxiliary unit in Britain, *cohors IV Breucorum,* certainly stamped tiles in the second century, and that only two others, *cohortes III Bracaraugustanorum* and *I Hispanorum, may* have done so. Since six units are known to have stamped tiles in the third century, it has been concluded that in Britain, auxiliary units normally stamped tiles only in the third century.[2]

Stamped tiles have been found at Templeborough and Slack, where they attest the presence of *cohors IV Gallorum* and *cohors IV Breucorum* respectively. These tiles provide important information about the adoption of tile stamping by the *auxilia* in Britain. Their early date prompts a reconsideration of the dating evidence for the stamps of other auxiliary units. This shows that far more units stamped tiles in the second century than has hitherto been supposed. It is convenient to arrange the evidence by unit, for some units stamped tiles at more than one site.

Cohors IV Gallorum. Tiles of this unit have been found at Templeborough.[3] The site was first occupied by a timber fort, which was probably abandoned in the late-first century; rebuilt in the early-second century, it was evacuated during the second half of that century, perhaps *c.*175.[4] Two tombstones of troopers in the unit have also been found at Templeborough. These are not dated, but since the formula *Dis Manibus* ('to the spirits of the departed') is given in full on one stone (*RIB* 620), and is abbreviated *Dis M.* on the other (*RIB* 619), they are likely to date from the late-first to early-second centuries. Both stones were re-used in drains,[5] and hence were either relics of the timber fort re-used by the builders of the first stone fort, or were early-second century stones re-used by the builders of Templeborough III. In other words, *IV Gallorum* was in garrison at Templeborough under either Domitian, or, more probably, Trajan, when the tiles in question must have been fired.[6]

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1. The only certain examples are *EE* ix 1294 (Silchester), a graffito of 26 September, and *Britannia* ix (1978), 476.16a, b (Chester), of A.D. 167. For three other possible examples, see R. Tomlin, 'Graffiti on Roman Bricks and Tiles found in Britain', in *Roman Brick and Tile,* B.A.R. S68, ed. A. McWhirr (Oxford, 1979), p.233.
2. M. Hassall, 'Military Tile-Stamps from Britain', in A. McWhirr, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 264-5.
3. T. May, *The Roman Forts of Templebrough, near Rotherham* (Rotherham, 1922), pp.122-3.
4. G. Simpson, 'Roman Manchester and Templeborough', in *Greeks, Celts and Romans,* ed. C. Hawkes and S. Hawkes (London, 1973), pp.88-9.
5. T. May, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.28, 127, 129.
6. For the unit's movements, see G. R. Stephens and M. G. Jarrett, 'Two Altars of *Cohors IV Gallorum* from Castlesteads', *Trans, Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Archaeol. Soc.,* forthcoming, where it is concluded that *IV Gallorum* was at Templeborough in the Trajanic period.

Cohors IV Breucorum. Stamped tiles have been found at Slack, Castleshaw, and Castleford.[7] The Trajanic fort at Slack was reduced to a fortlet under Hadrian, whilst the fortlet at Castleshaw was abandoned in the same reign.[8] The unit was then transferred to Bowes, where it is attested *c.*130-132 (*RIB* 739). It can only have garrisoned Slack and Castleshaw before *c.*130/2, so that its tiles are Trajanic or Hadrianic—and more probably Trajanic, before the reduction of the fort. The Castleford tile could be a stray. If *IV Breucorum* ever garrisoned Castleford, it must have done so during the period *c.*80-150, when the fort seems to have been occupied.[9] In that case, the tile would date from somewhere within that period.

Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum. This unit is presumably the COH III BR recorded on tiles found at Melandra Castle and Manchester.[10] Rebuilding is attested at Melandra by a Trajanic, or possibly Hadrianic, inscription (*RIB* 280). The Melandra tile can be plausibly assigned to this period, and is certainly earlier than *c.*140, when the fort was abandoned.[11]

Cohors I Hispanorum. Inscriptions and one tile attest the presence of this unit at Maryport, where it formed the garrison only in the period *c.*122-139.[12] The tile must, therefore, be Hadrianic.

Cohors I Tungrorum. A stray tile of this unit has been found at Hare Hill—by Milecastle 53, between Birdoswald and Castlesteads.[13] It was presumably fired whilst the unit was stationed at Birdoswald,[14] and must date from Period I, since only the Period I barrack blocks had tiled roofs.[15] The tile could be Hadrianic, but since Period II did not certainly commence until *c.*205-208 (*RIB* 1909), it could date from later in the century. In any event, the tile is unquestionably second century.

Ala Augusta ob virtutem appellata. Stamped tiles of this unit have been found at Chesters.[16] It garrisoned Chesters under Hadrian,[17] but had been transferred to Old Carlisle by 185 (*RIB* 903), where it was still in occupation in 242 (*RIB* 897). The Chesters tiles are Hadrianic-Commodan.

Ala I Hispanorum Asturum. Stamped tiles have been found at Benwell and Wallsend; both come from the same die.[18] Since Wallsend was not large enough for an *ala,* the tile may

7. Slack: *CIL* vii 1231; *EE* vii 1127; P. W. Dodd and A. M. Woodward, 'Excavations at Slack, 1913-15', *YAJ* xxvi (1915), p.72; I. A. Richmond, *Huddersfield in Roman times* (Huddersfield ,1925), pp.57-9; J. K. T. Hunter *et al.*, 'Recent Excavations at the Slack Roman Fort, near Huddersfield', *YAJ* xlii (1967), p.95. Castleshaw: *EE* ix 1278; F. A. Bruton, *Excavation of the Roman Forts at Castleshaw* (Manchester, 1908), p.29. Castleford: *Britannia* xii (1981), p.330.
8. J. K. T. Hunter *et al., op. cit.* (note 7), pp.87-8; F. H. Thompson, 'The Roman Fort at Castleshaw, Yorkshire (W.R.): Excavations 1957-64', *Trans. Lancashire Cheshire Antiq. Soc.* lxxvii (1967), p.4.
9. *Britannia* xiv (1983), p.295.
10. Melandra (COH III B(R)): *Britannia* v (1974), p.464.14. Manchester: *CIL* vii 1230; F. A. Bruton, *The Roman Fort at Manchester* (Manchester, 1909), pp.29-30.
11. P. V. Webster, 'Excavations at Melandra Castle, Derbyshire 1969', *Derbyshire Archaeol. J.* lxxxix (1969), pp.96, 98.
12. *RIB* 814-820, 822-828, 846, 855; *CIL* vii 1232; *LS* 894; M. G. Jarrett, *Maryport, Cumbria: A Roman Fort and its Garrison* (Kendal, 1976), pp.19-23.
13. *EE* ix 1279; ''Pilgrimage' Along the line of the Roman Wall', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newcastle,* ser. 3, ii (1906), p.294.
14. E. Birley, 'The Beaumont Inscription, the Notitia Dignitatum and the Garrisons of Hadrian's Wall', *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Archaeol. Soc.,* ser. 2, xxxix (1939), p.218; *pace* M. Hassall, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.264, who appears to assume that the title dates from the third century, when the unit was stationed at Housesteads. This is scarcely credible.
15. E. Birley, *op. cit.* (note 14), p.218.
16. *EE* vii 1152, 1153.
17. *Britannia* x (1979), p.346.7; P. S. Austen and D. J. Breeze, 'A New Inscription from Chesters on Hadrian's Wall', *Archaeol. Aeliana,* ser. 5, vii (1979), pp.115-26.
18. Benwell: J. A. Petch, 'Excavations at Benwell (Condercum): First Interim Report (1926)', *Archaeol. Aeliana,* ser. 4, iv (1927), pp.183-5; J. A. Petch, *ibid,* v (1928), p.71. Wallsend: *Britannia* vii (1976), p.389.51.

have been carried from Benwell, where the unit was stationed from at least *c.*205-208.[19] An inscription (*RIB* 1329) attests the presence of an *ala* at Benwell under Ulpius Marcellus, *c.*180-184,[20] so that the unit may well have occupied Benwell from the reign of Commodus. These tiles could therefore be second, third, or fourth century.

It is clear that at least six units stamped tiles in or by the second century. Whether the practice of stamping was more prevalent in the third century is questionable. The following units are known to have stamped tiles in the third or fourth centuries.

Ala (Gallorum) Sebosiana. Tiles of this unit have been found at Lancaster and Quernmore.[21] Since the unit is attested at Lancaster 262-266 (*RIB* 605), the tiles are presumably third century.

Cohors I Aquitanorum. Tiles have been found at Brancaster, where the unit probably formed the original garrison in the first half of the third century.[22]

Cohors II Asturum. Tiles from Great Chesters (*CIL* vii 1228) are presumably third century, for this unit formed the garrison in 225 (*RIB* 1738), and perhaps thereafter (*Occ.*, 40.42).

Cohors I Baetasiorum. Tiles from Reculver[23] must date from somewhere between the foundation of the fort in the first half of the third century, and the late-fourth century (*Occ.*, 28.18).

Cohors IV Breucorum. Tiles of this unit have also been found at Ebchester,[24] where the unit is attested in the period 213-222 (*RIB* 1101). These tiles were reused in the hypocaust pillars of a building tentatively dated to the fourth century.[25] Elsewhere in the fort, there is evidence for re-building in the second half of the third, and in the fourth centuries.[26] The tiles are probably third century, but a fourth-century date cannot be excluded.

Cohors I C(...). Tiles stamped C.I.C.F. and C.IcFI S.P.P. have been found at Caersŵs (*EE* ix 1285). The stamping unit may have been *cohors I Cornoviorum*. None of the tiles can be closely dated. Some could date from the late-Hadrianic-Antonine period, when the fort's central buildings were rebuilt in stone, but others are probably third century.[27]

Cohors V Gallorum. Tiles from South Shields[28] are presumably third century, for although the unit is first attested *c.*222 (*RIB* 1060), it was probably transferred to South Shields *c.*207.[29]

Numerus Concangensium. This is probably the name to be restored on the N CON tiles from Binchester.[30] They are no doubt fourth century, for examples have been found in the late bath-house, which dates from around the second half of that century.

(Numerus Abulcorum.) It is possible that the ^BO^ CI tiles from Chester-le-Street were

19. *RIB* 1337; *N.D.Occ.*, 40.35.
20. M. G. Jarrett, 'The Case of the Redundant Official', *Britannia* ix (1978), pp.290-1; M. G. Jarrett and G. R. Stephens, 'Ulpius Marcellus and Chesters', *Britannia,* forthcoming. But see A. R. Birley, *The* Fasti *of Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1981), pp.140-1, 165-6.
21. *Britannia* v (1974), p.465. 24-6; *CIL* vii 1233.
22. *Britannia* vi (1975), p.288.25; x (1979), p.354.44; M. W. C. Hassall, 'The Historical Background and Military Units of the Saxon Shore', in *The Saxon Shore,* C.B.A. Research Report 18, ed. D. E. Johnston (London, 1977), p.9.
23. *JRS* li (1961), p.196.30a; lix (1969), p.242.37.
24. *EE* vii 1229; *JRS* liv (1964), p.183.26; lviii (1968), p.212.47.
25. A. Reed, 'Excavations at Ebchester in 1962-3', *Archaeol. Aeiliana,* ser. 4, xlii (1964), p. 178.
26. V. A. Maxfield and A. Reed, 'Excavations at Ebchester Roman Fort 1972-3', *Archaeol. Aeliana,* ser. 5, iii (1975), p. 65.
27. V. E Nash-Williams, *The Roman Frontier in Wales,* ed. 2, ed. M. G. Jarrett (Cardiff, 1969), p.18; G. R. Stephens, 'The Stamped Tiles from Roman Caersŵs', *Montgomeryshire Collect.*, forthcoming.
28. *EE* iii 123; iv, p.207; *JRS* xli (1951), p.143.6; *Britannia* ii (1971), p.295.35; R. Miket, *The Roman Fort at South Shields: Excavation of the Defences 1977-1981* (South Shields, 1983), p. 23.
29. R. Miket, *op. cit.* (note 28), pp. 159-60.
30. *CIL* vii 1234; I. M. Ferris and R. J. F. Jones, 'Excavations at Binchester 1976-9' in *Roman Frontier Studies,* vol. 1, B.A.R. S71(i), ed. W. S. Hanson and L. J. F. Keppie (Oxford, 1980), p. 241; I. A. Richmond and O. G. S. Crawford, 'The British Section of the Ravenna Cosmography', *Archaeologia* xciii (1949), p. 29.

stamped by this unit.[31] If this is correct, the tiles could well be fourth century, although predating the unit's transfer to Pevensey (*Occ.*, 28.20).

The evidence for tile stamping may be summarized:

	Second Century	Third	Fourth
ala Asturum	?	?	?
ala Augusta	★		
ala Sebosiana		★	
cohors I Aquitanorum		★	
cohors II Asturum		★	
cohors I Baetasiorum		?	?
cohors III Bracaraugustanorum	★		
cohors IV Breucorum	★	★	
cohors I C(...)	?	★	
cohors IV Gallorum	★		
cohors V Gallorum		★	
cohors I Hispanorum	★		
cohors I Tungrorum	★		
numerus Concangensium			★
(numerus Abulcorum)			(★)

It is clear that approximately the same number of units stamped tiles in the second century as did so in the third. Tile stamping was not, therefore, characteristic of the third century. By the fourth century, stamping seems to have become uncommon, perhaps because at many sites—Chester, for example[32]—tiles were no longer used to roof buildings.

Of the early stamping units, *cohors IV Gallorum* stamped tiles at Templeborough in the early-second (or, less probably, in the late-first) century. *Cohortes IV Breucorum* and *III Bracaraugustanorum* stamped tiles under Trajan, and *I Hispanorum* under Hadrian. In the Rhineland, auxiliary units commonly stamped tiles in the late-first and early-second century.[33] The practice may have been adopted more slowly in Britain, and may never have been as widespread. It was, nevertheless, adopted by at least four units during the first half of the second century. Since three of these units seem to have stamped tiles early in that century, it would seem that the practice of stamping was first adopted in Britain under Trajan (98-117).

An early-second century date for the introduction of stamping by the *auxilia* accords well with other evidence for tile stamping in Britain.[34] Thus the legions appear to have adopted stamping in the early-second century.[35] Stamps of the *Classis Britannica*[36] are less closely dated, but also appear to commence in the early-second century.[37] Similarly at

31. *JRS* xlix (1959), p.138.14; M. Hassall, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.265; M. W. C. Hassall, *op. cit.* (note 22), p.9.
32. T. J. Strickland, 'Chester: Excavations in the Princess Street/Hunter Street area, 1978-82', *J. Chester Archaeol. Soc.*, ser. 2, lxv (1982), pp.9, 15, 20.
33. J. E. Bogaers, *'Cohortes Breucorum', Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* xix (1969), p.32.
34. The provincial authorities stamped tiles at a much earlier date, for a tile from Silchester stamped NERCLCAEAVGGER presumably came from an imperial tilery at Little London (W. H. St. J. Hope and G. E. Fox, 'Excavations on the site of the Roman City at Silchester, Hants, in 1903 and 1904', *Archaeologia* lix (1894-5), p.366; J. Greenaway, 'The Neronian Stamped Tile from Little London', *Britannia* xii (1981), pp.290-1). The stamped tiles from London (*JRS* xlvi (1956), p.149; *Britannia* i (1970), p.312.30) could also be first century (see R. Merrifield, *The Roman City of London* (London, 1965), p.231.142).
35. A. McWhirr, 'Origins of Legionary Tile-Stamping in Britain', in A. McWhirr, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.253-9.
36. G. Brodribb, 'Stamped Tiles of the Classis Britannica', *Sussex Archaeol. Collect.* cvii (1969), pp.102-25; G. Brodribb, 'A Further Survey of Stamped Tiles of the Classis Britannica', *Sussex Archaeol. Collect.* cxviii (1980), pp.183-96.
37. B. W. Cunliffe, *Fifth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent,* Research Report of the Society of Antiquaries 23 (London, 1968), pp.257-60. This date is supported by the Beauport collection of tiles (G. Brodribb, *op. cit.* (note 36), p.185).

Gloucester, stamping was first introduced in the municipal tilery in the first decade of the second century.[38] It is true that many of these tiles cannot be closely dated, so that the dates—and especially those of the *Classis Britannica*—may be subject to modification. Nevertheless, the evidence as currently interpreted suggests that stamping was introduced early in the reign of Trajan.

A review of the evidence for tile stamping by the *auxilia* highlights the chronological importance of the tiles from Templeborough and Slack. These forts provide two of the three earliest examples of such stamping in Britain, and suffice to show that a number of auxiliary units adopted the practice of stamping at approximately the same time as the legions, the *Classis Britannica,* and the municipal tilery at Gloucester. It would have been impossible to perceive this analogy without the evidence from these Yorkshire forts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to Professor M. G. Jarrett for providing me with many of the references incorporated in this paper, although he is not responsible for the conclusions here drawn.

38. A. J. Parker and T. Tatton-Brown, 'The RPG Stamped Tiles', *Britannia* xiii (1982), p.62. Stamping may have been introduced at Cirencester at about the same date (T. Darvill, 'A Petrological Study of LHS and TPF Stamped Tiles from the Cotswold Region', in A. McWhirr, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.312-13), and perhaps also at Lincoln (M. Todd, 'Roman Stamped Tiles from Lincoln', *Lincolnshire Hist. Archaeol.* i (1966), pp.29-32; J. E. Bogaers, 'Roman Tile Stamps from Lincoln (*Lindum*) and the *Legio V Alaudae*', *Britannia* viii (1977), pp.275-6).

MORTHEN RECONSIDERED

By M. S. PARKER

Among the ancient territories or 'regiones' of Yorkshire one of the most obscure is Morthen, recorded only in place-name evidence in the hamlet name Morthen, and as an affix to various village names in the area south-east of Rotherham. These are Laughton and Brampton, which are still 'en le Morthen', and Morthen itself, also Dinnington, and Aston, which are called 'in Morthen' in early records.[1]

Morthen appears to show the well known characteristic of early English district names of being applied both to the district and to one or more places within it. Many examples can be quoted, and among those which have survived until modern times are Hastings, originally a large area in eastern Sussex, Ripon, once the central place of 'Riponshire', and Ely 'the eel district' in the fens.[2] In the case of Morthen, Morthen the hamlet has the only settlement name directly derived from the regional name. The use of 'in Morthen' as an affix to Laughton and the others is of much later origin, although it is our main clue to the extent of the area.

Morthen had ceased to function as a 'territory' before the Norman conquest, for the arrangements in Domesday Book take no notice of it. So although its existence was obviously long remembered, it is hard to determine its exact extent in early times (Fig. 1). But certain clues are available in our information about Domesday estates and medieval and later parish areas, which appear to be closely related to one another. Our knowledge of later parishes and townships enables us to plot Domesday holdings precisely on a map, with some confidence (Fig. 2).[3] A large area extending to the Nottinghamshire boundary belonged to Laughton en le Morthen parish, and to the Laughton Domesday soke.[4] We shall probably be right in assuming that this area had earlier formed part of the district Morthen. The parish is clearly shown on the map in Joseph Hunter's unpublished volume of plans to accompany 'South Yorkshire' which is the basis for Hey's map.[5] The maps show, on grounds of topography and layout of parish boundaries, that Dinnington had formerly been part of the block of land pertaining to Laughton and hence presumably part of the early Laughton estate (soke). Dinnington's dependency on Conisbrough and its church was an event of a period later than the local date at which township boundaries were defined and in the case of Laughton these township boundaries clearly arose as sub-divisions of the parish. I shall produce elsewhere a great deal of conclusive evidence that the Domesday Conisbrough estate was of tenth-century origin.[6] The territorial solidarity of Morthen may be safely restored by affirming the position of Dinnington 'in Morthing'.

On the west the problem is more difficult. We have to find a boundary including Aston, Brampton and the hamlet of Morthen itself. I have been able to come to no firm conclusion, but an area whose boundaries adjoin those of the Sheffield/Ecclesfield estate on the west and the early parish of Rotherham on the north-west is the most probable solution, i.e. an area including Harthill, Wales (with its extraparochial areas of Laughton

1. Smith (1961-3) 1, 168 (Morthen); 1, 141-2 (Laughton); 1, 162 (Brampton); 1, 146 (Dinnington); 1, 158-9 (Aston); also 1, 101 (Morthen as a district name).
2. Ely: Reaney (1943) 213-4; Hastings, Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1929-30) 1, XXIV; 2, 534; Ripon, Smith (1961-3) 5, 77; 5, 164; 7, 38.
3. South Yorkshire evidence on this point, Davies (1980) 3-4.
4. Laughton parish Hnt. 3, plan 22 p. 7. soke, Skaife (1895-8) 2, 36-7.
5. Hey (1979) 39.
6. In 'Bilham and the origin of the Conisbrough Estate' in preparation.

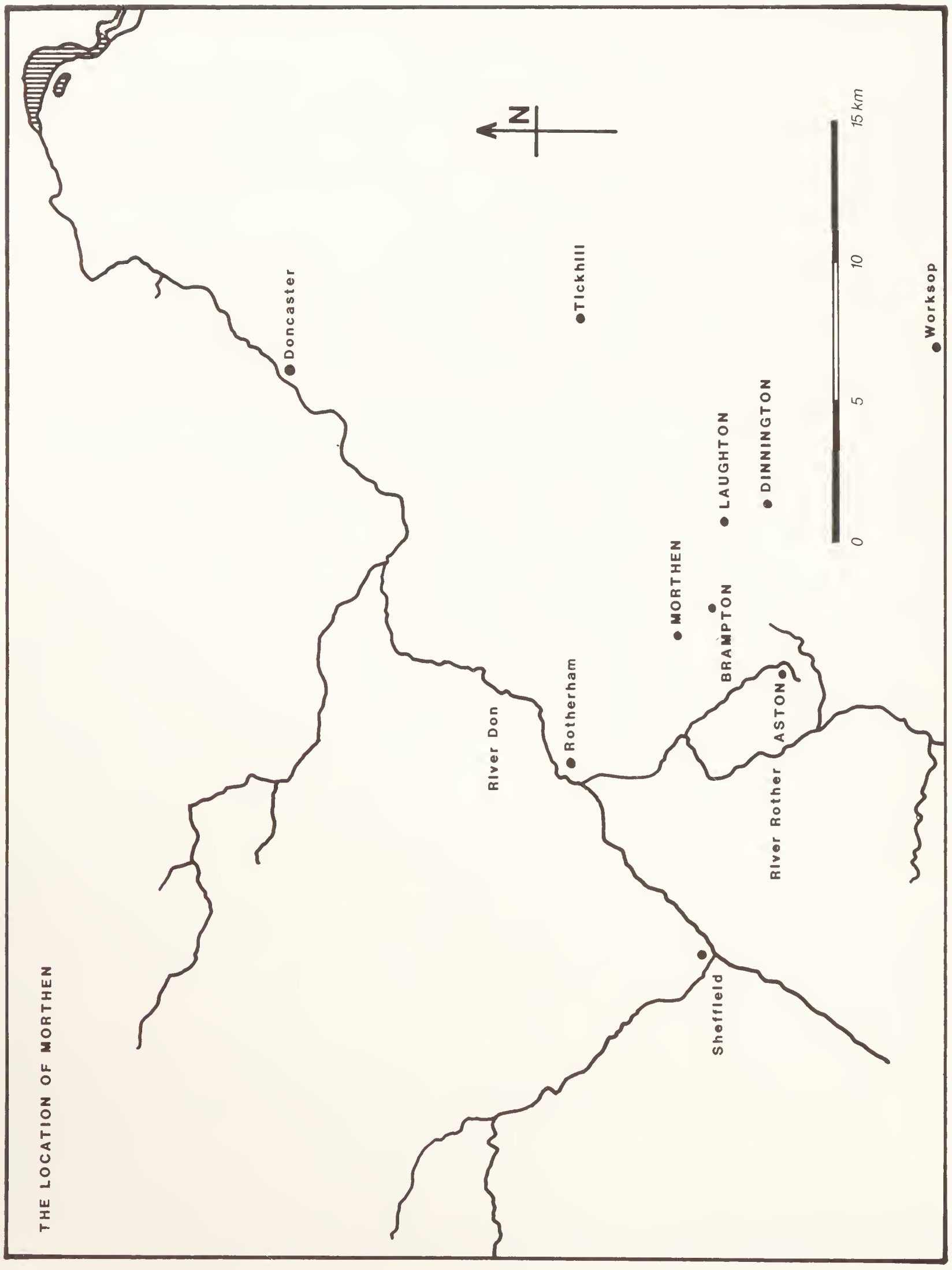

FIG. 1. The Location of Morthen.

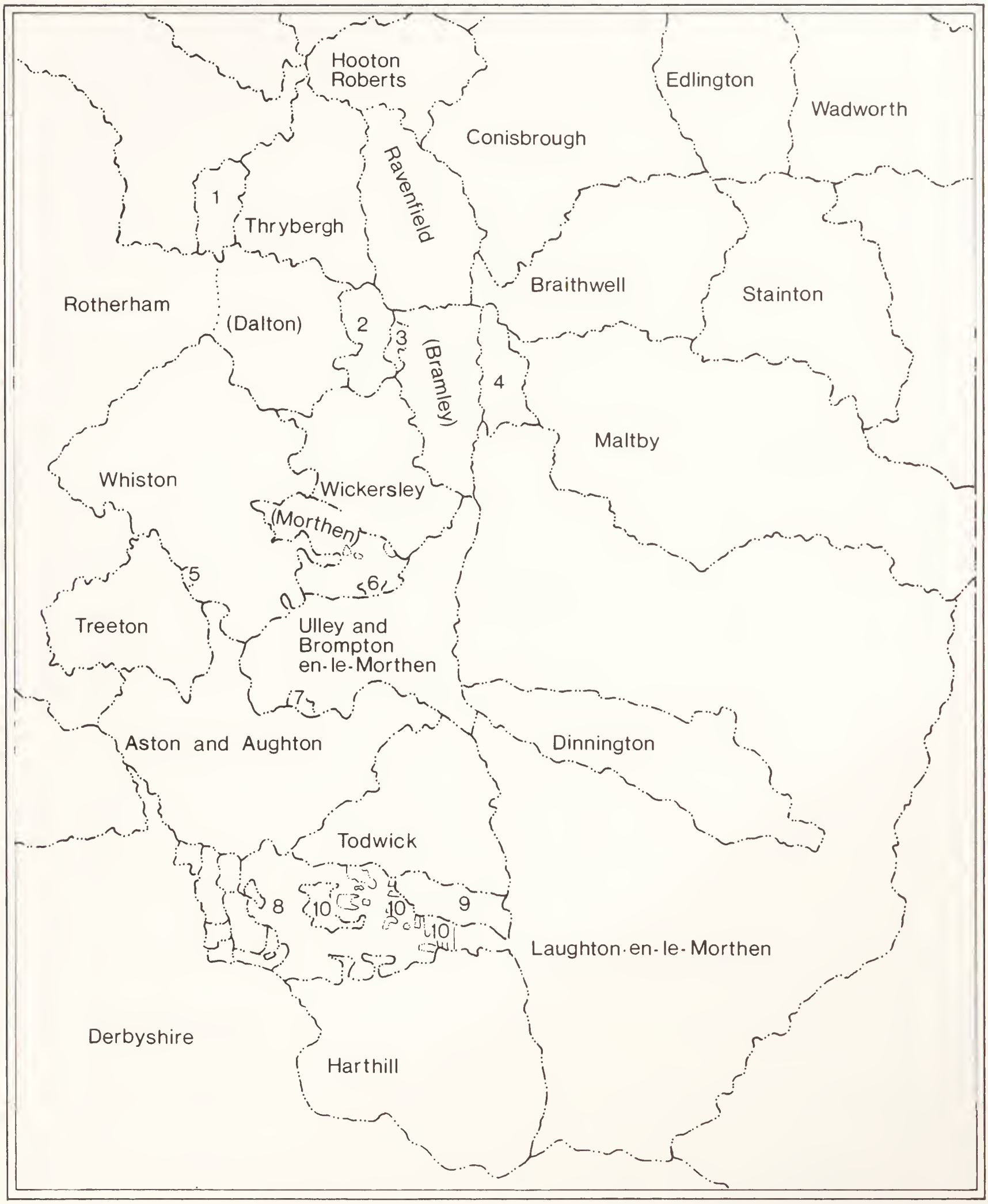

FIG. 2. SOME PARISH AND TOWNSHIP BOUNDARIES IN THE MORTHEN AREA.
Townships and other areas detached from their parishes numbered - 1 Aldwarke, belonging to Ecclesfield parish; 2 Woodlaithes and Flanderwell belonging to Conisbrough parish; 3 Land in Rotherham parish; 4 Hellaby belonging to Stainton parish; 5 Guilthwaite belonging to Rotherham parish; 6 Detached lands of Whiston within Morthen township; 7 Detached lands of Treeton within Ulley township; 8 Wales township in Laughton parish; 9 Land in Harthill parish; 10 Detached lands of Treeton within Wales township. The bracketed areas on the map are also townships, the rest parishes.

Reproduced from a manuscript volume of maps to acompany SOUTH YORKSHIRE by Joseph Hunter, by permission of Sheffield City Library.

parish[7]), Whiston (apparently a detached dependency of Ecclesfield church in the twelfth century but later independent), Morthen (later mostly a detached part of Rotherham parish, but partly in Whiston),[8] Aston and Aughton, Todwick, and Treeton (certainly its large extraparochial area comprising the townships of Ulley and Brampton en le Morthen, if not Treeton itself).[9] Unfortunately there seem to have been exchanges of tithe rights in the medieval period between the churches of Rotherham and Conisbrough in this area, so for some of these places no certainty is possible in the question of to which parish they originally belonged.[10] If the parish and township boundaries are old, Maltby, Stainton Wickersley and Bramley (a Conisbrough holding in Domesday but a late annexation to Conisbrough (subsequently Braithwell) parish, probably originally from Wickersley)[11] should probably be included, to make a neat border.[12]

What matters is however that Morthen stopped short of the well known Domesday 'Hallamshire' estate, the lordship of Sheffield, which was probably originally based at Ecclesfield.[13] For, as appears in Hey's comment, there is a certain difficulty in reconciling the topography of this area with the accepted explanation of the name 'Morthen'. Smith, following a suggestion of Moorman and Ekwall, proposes that the name means 'the moorland assembly' from Old English *mōr* (= Old Norse *mór*) and Old English or Old Norse *thing* 'an assembly', a word which is preserved in the name Tynwald, applied to the parliament of the Isle of Man, in which it is of Norse origin.[14] In an effort to reconcile this description with the geographical character of the area indicated as being in 'Morthen', Hey suggests that the district was centred on the coal measures sandstone, that is, the western half of the land in question, rather than the eastern, magnesian limestone part.[15] But the name is really inapplicable to either, indeed ludicrously unsuitable. I am sure that nobody who has ever been in the area could have invented this etymology for Morthen, and that Dr. Hey's doubts are well founded. For this fertile and lowland (but undulating) district is perhaps the least fitting in all of Yorkshire to be described by the word 'moor'. It is a land of orchards, cornfields and meadows, studded with prosperous farms and pleasant villages, and although some of it has become industrialised in modern times, it presents an unanswerable protest to this supposed etymology. Nowhere does the land rise much above 500 feet, it is seldom above 400, and nowhere does it fall much below 100 feet, so that the word 'moor' is inapplicable both in the sense of upland moorland and in that of level peat and marshland, to which the word refers in the Hatfield area. And if at any relevant date the land was not as intensively used as it has been since medieval times, it would have been woodland, both on the limestone and the coal measures clay, not a any kinds of moor.

On these grounds the derivation of the name Morthen from the Old English word *mōr* 'moor' must be rejected. There are two alternatives. One depends on the form *Mortething*

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7. Hnt. 3, plan 22 p. 7. The rest of Wales township was made up of detached parts of Harthill parish, plan 11 p. 8.
8. Whiston = The dependency of Whiston on Ecclesfield is not a problem, as dependencies of Conisbrough church and soke have turned out to be of tenth-century origin, see n. 6 above and Thompson and Clay (1933-43) 2, 113. Morthen, Hnt. 3, plan 34 p. 16, and Whiston plan 45p. 13.
9. Ulley and Brampton, Hnt. 3, plan 44 p. 21.
10. Exchanges, Clay (ed.) *Early Yorkshire Charters* vol. VIII p. 165 in a note to item 116; also see no. 6 above.
11. Bramley tithes in 1179, Clay (ed.) *Early Yorkshire Charters* vol. VIII 164-5 item 116. Thompson and Clay (1933-43) 1, 39-40. Register of Archbishop Corbridge 149, Register of Archbishop Grey item CCCCLV, pp. 100-101.
12. cf. Hnt. 3, plan 20 p. 6 (Maltby), plan 9 p. 8 (Stainton); Wickersley plan 21 p. 13; Bramley plan 9 p. 6; and General plan 69 p. 35.
13. Barrow (1973) 19-21; Jones (1975) 22-3; Hey (1979) 26-9.
14. *Smith (1956), 2, 204* for ing, and the Old Norse compounds *thing-, haugr, thing-vollr*. Morthen v. Ekwall (1960) 331, Moorman (1910).
15. Hey (1979) 26.

recorded once as the surname of William de Mortething in an investigation into some property rights in Ecclesfield in 1200.[16] This may be derived from the name of the village Morthen, if all the other spellings recorded by Smith are of an early contracted form. Comparison with Mortehoe or Morthoe in Devon[17] suggests that if the meaning of the Middle High German word *mürz* 'stump' is allowed for the Old English or Old Norse base ⋆*mort-* (obviously Old English in the case of Mortehoe), then 'the assembly at the treestump' or 'the assembly at the dead tree' would make reasonable sense. Trees are often associated with meeting places in Old English and later documents, and many 'hundreds' and 'wapentakes' were named from the trees (? or posts) where the hundred or wapentake assemblies took place.[18] This is however the only form definitely suggesting the word *thing*, 'an assembly', and it may be a scribal error.[19] At this point it should be noted that the word *thing* was present in Old English as well as the related Norse languages, and that an institution described by it is as likely to be of Anglo-Saxon as of Scandinavian origin and naming.

But it should also be noted that there is no independent confirmation of the etymology from *thing*, 'an assembly', the support adduced by Smith being very doubtful. The name *Tourneberg* supposed to be support of the word *thing* in the old explanation 'moorland assembly' probably means simply 'round hill' (Old English *trun/turn, beorg*).[20] It is hardly likely that an ancient institution, probably long since obsolete (since Morthen as an area was obsolete by Domesday) would be described by a placename containing a French word ('tourn') in an area where till recently the dialect in its purest form contained or used remarkably few words adopted from a non-Germanic origin. Indeed a French derivation of an element in a name referring to such an obsolete pre-Norman institution would be an anachronism anywhere in England.

The second alternative looks like a radical departure for West Riding toponymy, but is very much more acceptable now that the old rigid framework for distinguishing the earliest Germanic place-names in England has been dismantled. Two early spellings of the name Morthen given by Smith are of plural form, and in view of the general loss of the plural ending (-as) in the Middle English descendant of the Old English patronymic formation in *-ingas* when used alone in a placename, this is enough to establish the possibility that a word of this type may be the right explanation.[21] What significance would such a name have?

Place-names of this kind have a markedly eastern and southern distribution. They are not primarily place-names at all - Hastings in Sussex is 'the people of *Haesta*', the name of the people who lived there rather than the location. *Haesta* would be the name of some early Anglo-Saxon leader. The *Haestingas* are well recorded as an early group or tribe, and many others of these names refer to Anglo-Saxon tribes and their territories. Thus a series of villages called Roding or Roothing covering a wide area in Essex are 'the people of *Roda*' (again a personal name). These formations could also be created from words and older place-names; thus Meering in Nottinghamshire and an old variant of the name Mareham le Fen in Lincolnshire both mean 'the people of the lake'.[22] Just how early in the

16. Palgrave (ed.) *Rotuli Curiae Regis ii, 165* Probably the same as the William who witnessed a Braithwell deed of 1200-1210 (Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters* vol. VIII, item 121 pp. 169-70, witness list p. 170).
17. Ekwall (1960) 331; Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1931-2) 1, 52-3.
18. v. Smith (1956) 2, 186-7, s.v. treow.
19. Because other early spellings are so unlike it, e.g. Mordinges (C.12) and Mordhingg (1230) which suggest a voiced dental fricative (-th- as in either) while spellings with -t- alone (which would suggest the voiceless sound in 'thin' as the early pronunciation) are absent. So these two spellings may be incompatible with the derivation from ⋆*morte-thing,* unless they are scribal errors themselves. If it were 'corrected' to Morlething, this might help the second alternative, but would not be genuine evidence.
20. *trun/turn* v. Smith (1956) 2, 188; *beorg (berg)* Smith (1958) 1, 29, Old Norse *berg* 1, 31.
21. Loss of plural ending, v. Smith (1956) 284 paragraph (iii).
22. Reaney (1935) 75-6, 490-5, introduction xxii. Meering and Mareham v. Ekwall (1960) 314, 320.

Anglo-Saxon period these place-names were formed is uncertain, since many of them, although in the general part of England where the first Anglo-Saxons settled, are in different areas on a more local scale from those which have produced archaeological evidence for the early (pagan) period.[23] Possibly these names existed at an early date, but only came to be applied to villages well after they were coined as the names of tribal groups, and then to villages on the less thickly inhabited edges of the tribal areas. Otherwise some of them may have been applied to villages in thinly inhabited and socially backward areas where old-fashioned types of social structure may have persisted longer. At any rate, one or two such names are found isolated in Lancashire, and they seem to have been retained for longer in the north than elsewhere, as Lancashire was only conquered and settled by the Anglo-Saxons in the middle or late seventh century. The Morthen area is on the western edge of pagan burial distribution, but Morthen could still quite easily be an example of this type, given the Lancashire evidence, and its Old English form would be *Morthingas*. It would be an isolated example, except for examples of the related type, a true place-name with the patronymic as its first element in the genitive plural, such as Finningley 'the woodland clearing or village of Finn's people' (or 'of the fen dwellers')[24] or Totley, the woodland clearing or village of Tota's people[25] (the -ing- part has been lost), which is found more widely in England.

Although *morth-* remains inexplicable, no certain personal name of that form being known, many of the -ingas place-names have obscure first elements. This type, with its tribal group overtones, would be particularly suitable for a district name such as Morthen, and the application of the name to both the district and a place within it would be directly parallel to the case of Hastings.

These two possibilities must be set against the one remaining piece of evidence. A place granted in the will of the Anglo-Saxon nobleman Wulfric Spot (1002-4 A.D.) and listed next to Doncaser in that document is *'Morlingtun'*. Wulfric owned both the Doncaster and Conisbrough estates and disposed of them in his will.[26] On the grounds that these two and the estate of Laughton en le Morthen were the three main territories in the area on which the tenants known as 'sokemen' are found in Domesday Book, and on the ground that joining the three makes an almost solid block of territory, Davies has made the reasonable suggestion that *Morlingtun* may be another name for Laughton, or at least the name of an earlier centre of the Laughton soke. A late old English *Morlingtun* is scarcely compatible with ⋆*mortething*, but could easily be a reduction of *Morthington* 'the tun of Morthel' or *Morthlingatun* 'the tun of Morthel's people', genitive (plural) of the plural ⋆*morthlingas*, plus *tūn*, 'village', 'settlement'. If this is right it would suggest that *Morthel* is a diminutive form of *Morth*, i.e. a familiar form, and therefore that the unexplained ⋆*morth* is therefore a personal name. It would perhaps be the name of the founder or leader of the *Morthingas* or *Morthlingas*, and might be some kind of nickname formed from the Old English word *morth* 'death'. However the identity of *Morlingtun* in Wulfric's will is not certain so I have kept its discussion separate from the question of ⋆*morthingas* as a possible etymology of Morthen, and it cannot therefore weigh entirely against the *'Mortething'* alternative.

Although some obscure regional names (e.g. Elmet[27]) are of pre-English (i.e. Celtic) origin, this appears to be ruled out in the case of Morthen on phonological grounds. The question of origin must therefore remain open for the moment, between the two possibilities discussed above. I would however be pleased to hear of any other

23. Dodgson (1966) passim, Gelling (1976) 265-7.
24. Smith (1961-3) 1, 44; 7, 37. Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1940) 79.
25. Cameron (1959) 2, 315. For the type cf. Smith (1956) 1, 298.
26. Whitelock (1955) 542; (1979) 587; for Conisbrough, Doncaster and 'Morlingtun' cf. Hart (1975) 109, 126.
27. Elmet, Smith (1961-3) 4, 1.

suggestions, bearing in mind that the world *mōr-* 'moor' is unacceptable for topographical reasons.

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NOTES ON STONE MONUMENTS AT ROYSTON AND NEAR RICHMOND

By P. F. RYDER

I *A Pre-Conquest Cross from Royston, South Yorkshire.*

Royston, a village which has greatly expanded since the development of local collieries last century, lies 5km to the north of Barnsley and just within the boundary of South Yorkshire. The pre-industrial village was unusual in apparently having two nuclei, the village street with the Hall and a number of old farms (virtually all swept away this century) and, 0.5km to the east, the Parish Church of St. John the Baptist with the nearby Rectory, formerly moated, and the late medieval Chantry House. The parish church, externally a fine example of the Perpendicular style characteristic of the Pennine fringe of Yorkshire, proves on closer examination to be a complex structure incorporating work of several building phases from the thirteenth century onwards; twelfth-century evidence is provided by several cross slab grave covers and re-used ironwork on the fourteenth-century door into the vestry. Chantry House can probably be correlated with the foundation *c.*1500 of the Chantry of St. Nicholas, and may have been the chantry priest's residence.[1]

In November 1983 drainage works exposed the footings of the north aisle wall of the parish church, and a South Yorkshire County Archaeology Service team spent some time on the site making a detailed record of the exposed masonry. During this time members of the team inspected the older buildings of the village, along with potential archaeological sites. The Chantry House was visited by M. Parker and the writer, who noted, with some surprise, that a stone sunk in the ground bordering the drive showed what appeared to be Pre-Conquest ornament. Local enquiry revealed that this, along with other carved stones in the garden, was thought to be the work of an amateur sculptor who had occupied the house some years previously; when contacted, he stated that the stone in question had already been in the garden when he came to the house, and that it was at one time known as the 'Fertility Stone' - it had perhaps been brought to the Chantry House by a nineteenth-century tenant who was parish gravedigger. Meanwhile, the present owners of the house had unearthed the stone, which proved without question to be an important sculptural piece of Pre-Conquest date. (Fig. 1).

The stone is a section of a cross shaft 0.53m long, 0.35m wide and 0.21m thick, cut from a coarse purplish sandstone probably of local origin and carved on all four sides. Each angle of the shaft bears a continuous cable moulding. The front face, unfortunately badly weathered, is largely occupied by a panel containing three standing figures carved in relief, the flanking figures facing that in the centre; the left figure appears to have a grotesque non-human head with open jaws or beak. The rear face is better preserved, with very loose interlace of hanging ring knot type. The sides of the shaft each have a median-incised two-cord twist with almost square terminals.

The panel of figure sculpture would seem likely to be a representation of the Temptation of St. Anthony, in which the saint is conventionally shown standing between two figures seen in profile, one with a cockerel's and one with a goat's head. The subject occurs on several Irish crosses, including both North and South crosses at Castledermot (County Kildare) where it forms a part of the 'Help of God' sequence.[2]

1. A description and survey of Chantry House can be found in the South Yorkshire County Sites and Monuments Record.
2. Henry, Francoise. *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions 800-1200 A.D.* plates 65 & 71. Methuen 1967.

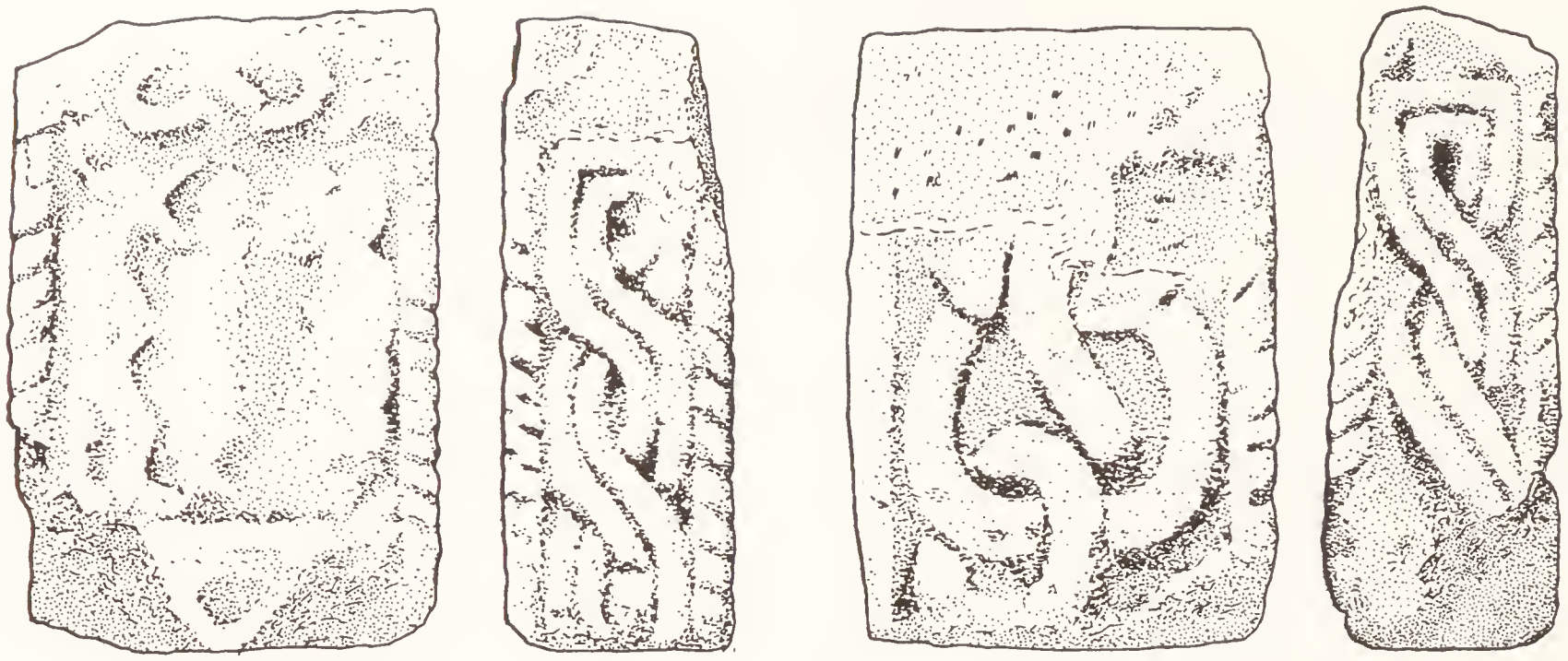

FIG. 1. Royston, South Yorkshire: section of cross-shaft.

Here the common thread of Divine intervention links a reasoned succession of illustrations commencing with the Fall, through Old Testament examples to the New Testament, with Christ teaching or the Crucifixion, and concluding with incidents from the lives of the saints; St. Anthony, as representative of an asceticism which Irish monks attempted to emulate, was a popular choice.[3] Another example of the Temptation of St. Anthony occurs at Penmon on Anglesey[4] and two probable instances, in which pairs of opposed beast-headed figures are shown without the saint between, at Kirklevington in Cleveland.[5]

Examples of Irish influence in Pre-Conquest sculpture are quite common in and to the west of the Pennines; a figure at Slaidburn[6] is shown wearing distinctively Irish boots and there are other examples of the use of popular Irish motifs. The Slaidburn figure is set within a cable-moulding, as on the Royston stone, but this appears to be an ornament which remained in common use over several centuries, being seen on relatively early pieces such as one of the Ilkley crosses[7] through to the Saxo-Norman 'Overlap', exemplified by the font bowl from High Hoyland now at Skelmanthorpe in West Yorkshire.[8]

The two-cord twist on the sides of the Royston cross is seen in several Yorkshire examples such as Bingley,[9] Collingham[10] and Kildwick in Craven.[11] The angular terminals and the very loose interlace of the rear face suggest some Scandinavian influence; the latter is seen again on the Leeds cross.[12] Stylistically this fusion of Irish and

3. Ibid. p. 145.
4. Nash Williams, V. E. *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* pp. 65-7, no. 38, pl. LXX no. 2. Cardiff 1950.
5. Collingwood, W. G. 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* XIX, (1907), 350-1 figs d & 1.
6. Collingwood, W. G. *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, p. 151, fig 176. London: Faber & Gwyer 1927.
7. Collingwood, W. G. 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding of Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* XXIII (1915), pp. 128-229.
8. Ryder, P. F. *Saxon Churches in South Yorkshire*, South Yorkshire County Council County Archaeology Monograph No. 2. 107-8. 1982.
9. Collingwood 1915, p. 144.
10. Ibid, p. 160.
11. Ibid, p. 198.
12. Collingwood 1927 p. 162 fig. 194.

Viking influences would tally well with a tenth-century date, two centuries prior to that of the earliest sculptural fragments previously known at Royston.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer would like to thank Mr. and Mrs. Hall of Chantry House for their cooperation in allowing the stone to be inspected and recorded, the Revd. Hudson for his enthusiasm and interest, and Mr. J. T. Lang for his invaluable advice and assistance.

II *Four Medieval Cross Slabs from North Yorkshire*

By far the most common form of medieval sepulchral monument to survive in the North of England is the cross slab, a recumbent grave cover bearing as its principal motif a full-length cross, often accompanied by emblems usually held to denote the rank or occupation of the deceased. The majority of medieval Yorkshire churches preserve at least one or two examples, often re-used in the fabric or set into the walls of an aisle or porch by nineteenth-century restorers.

Cross slabs in Yorkshire have not yet been adequately recorded or studied, and indeed across the country as a whole they have received relatively little attention. The only 'standard texts' to deal with such monuments were published in the middle of last century;[13] later workers such as C. C. Hodges described and illustrated some groups of slabs[14] but the majority of those which survive in the county - in total probably exceeding 1,000 - remain unpublished. One valuable recent study of minor medieval monuments by L. A. S. Butler is based on East Midlands material, and includes dated stylistic sequences for slab designs which have been drawn upon by others publishing more minor bodies of material.[15]

Cross slabs were in use before the Norman Conquest, but the vast majority of those which survive today were produced in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Later in the medieval period competition from other forms of memorial reduced their popularity. The use of such permanent forms of memorial was restricted in many areas to the upper classes, particularly where stone had to be imported from some distance away. In regions where a workable stone was available locally (as in most of North Yorkshire) the use of trade emblems indicates that cross slabs were available to those a little lower down the social scale.

A relatively small number of slabs are marked out by their rich decoration as the memorials of persons of some importance, and it is with four such monuments that this article is concerned, all within 10km. of Richmond in Lower Swaledale. Each slab bears a cross of the interlaced diamond type, a distinctive North of England form common in Durham and Northumberland but less so in Yorkshire - not one example occurs in over 400 slabs in what is now South Yorkshire.[16] The Durham examples of the cross form can be ascribed stylistically to the second half of the thirteenth-century and the early years of the fourteenth-century.[17] The other motif linking the four slabs considered here is the use of leaf scrolls flanking the cross shaft, and the absence of any emblem or inscription.

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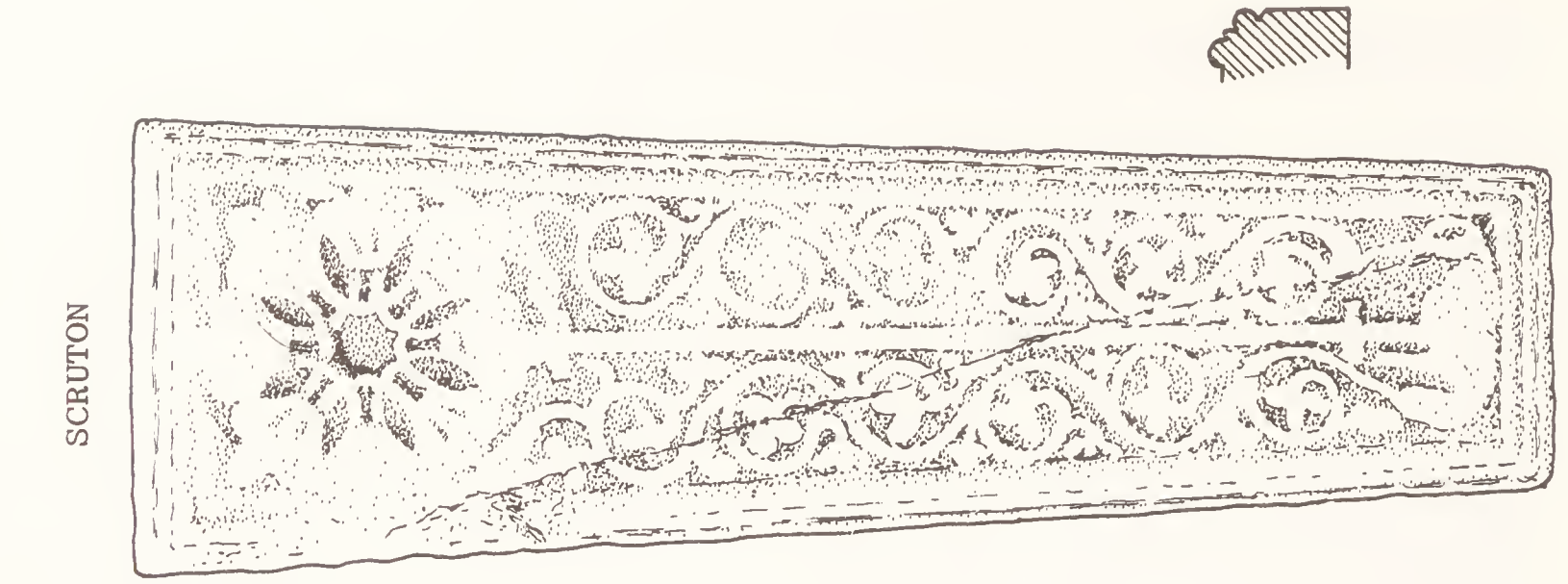
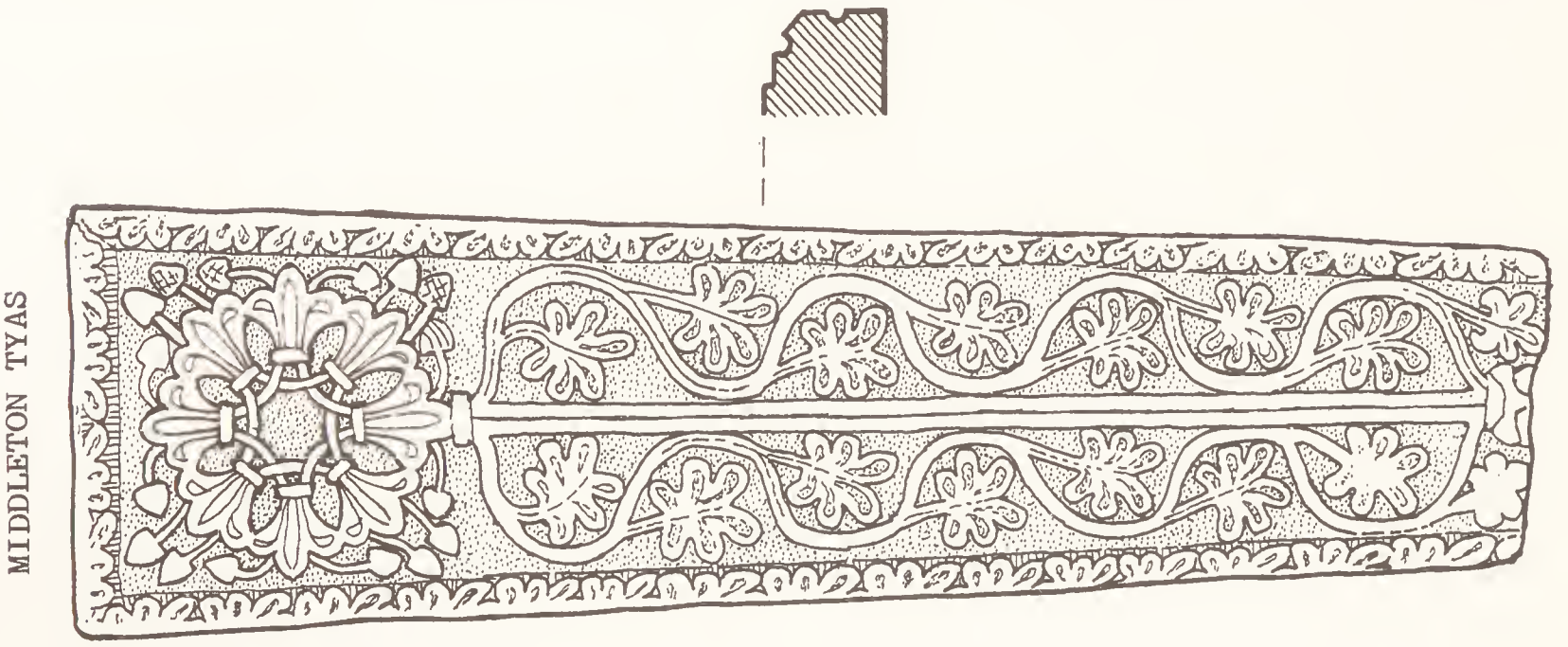
13. Boutell, C. *Christian Monuments in England and Wales; an historical and descriptive sketch* . . . George Bell, London 1849 (parts 1 & 2). Cutts, E. L. *A Manual for the Study of The Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages*. John Henry Parker, London 1849.
14. Hodges, C. C. On some medieval grave covers of exceptional or unusual character in the County of York. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* XX (1909), pp. 220-224.
15. Butler, L. A. S. Minor Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the East Midlands, *Archaeological Journal* CXXI (1964), pp. 111-153.
16. Ryder, P. F. The Cross Slab Grave Cover in South Yorkshire, unpublished M. Phil. thesis, Sheffield University 1980.
17. Ryder, P. F. *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Cover in County Durham*. Achitectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland Research Report no. 1, 7-8. Durham 1985





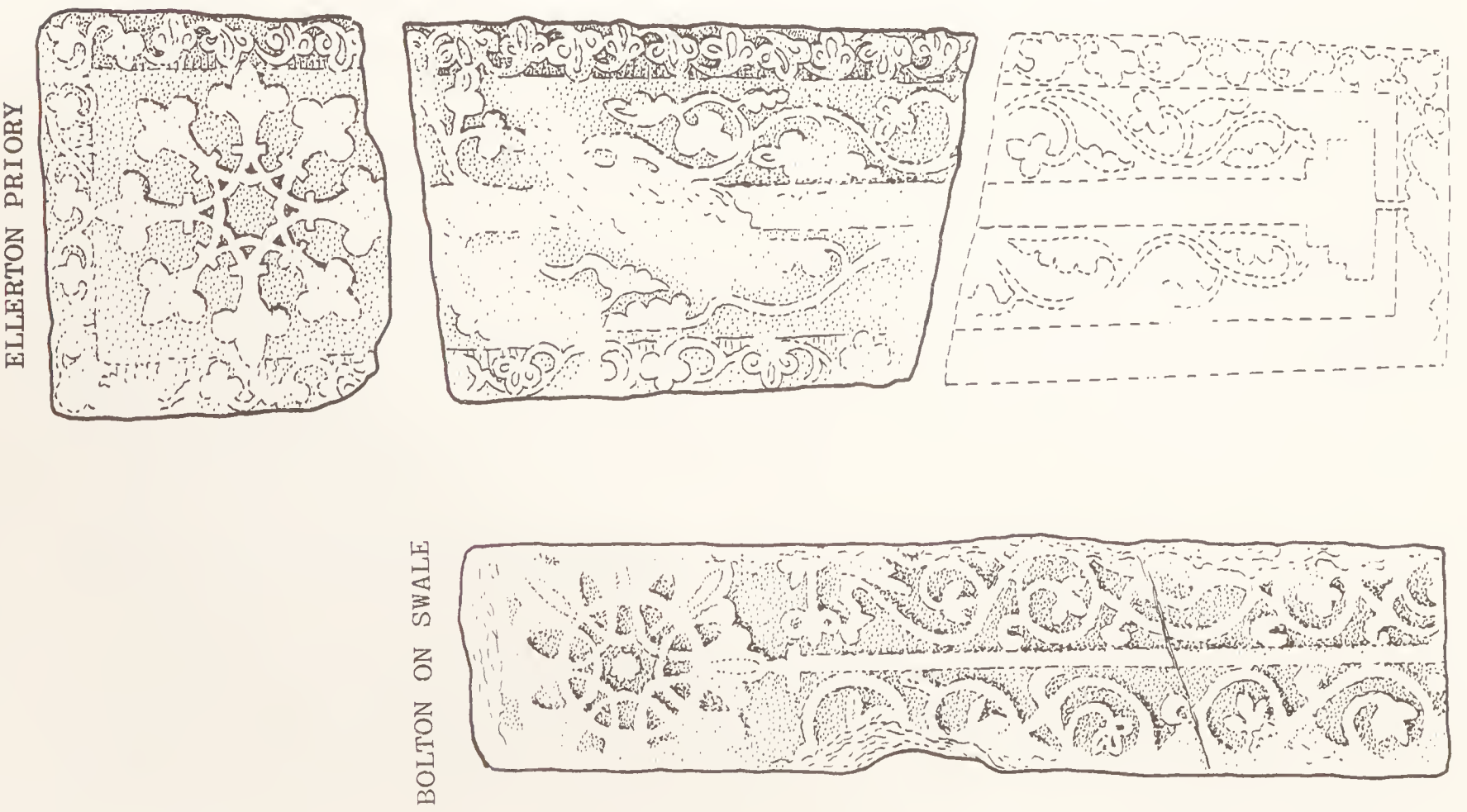


FIG. 2. Cross-slabs from North Yorkshire.
a) Bolton on Swale; b) Ellerton Priory; c) Middleton Tyas; d) Scruton.

Bolton on Swale

St. Mary's church at Bolton on Swale, a much Victorianised medieval structure, preserves three cross slabs, re-set last century in the internal face of the south wall of the south aisle, to the west of the south door. The right-hand slab bears a relief design cut on whitish limestone; the cross head is of the interlaced diamond type with a central petalled rosette, a circle overlying the arms, and fleur-de-lys terminals (Fig. 2a). This head form is closely paralleled by a group of slabs in churches around Darlington in County Durham and tentatively dateable to *c.*1300.[18] Leaf scrolls with trefoiled leaves and smaller buds flank the shaft. Unfortunately the slab has been utilised as building material at some time, both edges and the whole base having been trimmed off.

Ellerton Priory

A more elaborate but sadly damaged slab lies in the ruined church of Ellerton Priory, a small Cistercian nunnery in Swaledale 9km west of Richmond. When first seen by the writer in 1963 the stone lay broken into three pieces, and accompanied by three other slabs, two of which were described and illustrated by Edlestone.[19] On a second visit in 1979 the base of the elaborate slab, and two of the other three slabs, had been removed from the site. Their present location is unknown.

The elaborate slab has an interlaced diamond cross head without central rosette or overlying ring, having terminals of trefoil rather than fleur-de-lys type, indicative of a date 1250-1300 (Fig. 2b). The flanking leaf scrolls are more open and show a greater variety of foliage form than on the Bolton on Swale slab. The marginal chamfer bears a running band of trefoil leaves, alternately facing in and out from the slab. The broad cross shaft rises from a three step Calvary base of the usual form. The whole design is carved in bold relief on a grey fine-grained sandstone, and has been a piece of work of very high quality.

Middleton Tyas

The parish church of St. Michael at Middleton Tyas, a structure which includes work of a number of medieval dates, preserves a single cross slab, lying in a fourteenth-century tomb recess in the south aisle, which moves Pevsner to the adjective 'exquisite'.[20] The slab, its design cut in bold relief on a fine-grained buff sandstone, is by far the best preserved of the group (Fig. 2c); it shows little sign of weathering, but has lost its extreme base. The cross head is of interlaced diamond type without central rosette or ring, and has fleur-de-lys terminals from which spring motifs which may represent either fruit or perhaps pine cones. The cross is flanked by sinous branches which spring from the shaft just above its base and return to it just below the head; from these sprout fleshy six-lobed leaves. The base has not been the common stepped calvary form, but too little of it survives to allow a reconstruction. The marginal chamfer bears a continuous line of six-lobed leaves. Whilst the workmanship of the slab is of high quality, the actual laying-out of the design, especially as regards the curves of the branches flanking the shaft, is slightly stilted and irregular, perhaps suggesting an extremely painstaking piece of work by a relatively local mason.

Scruton

The last of the four slabs, now lying in the churchyard of St. Radegund's church at Scruton, a few metres north of the chancel, is complete but in a sadly weathered condition (Fig. 2d). The design, carved in relief on a fine-grained purplish sandstone, is

18. Ibid. p. 8.
19. Edleston, R. H. Illustrations of Tomb Slabs. *Teesdale Record Society* 10 (1943) plates IV & VII.
20. Pevsner, N. *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire, the North Riding* (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1966), p. 255.

now barely traceable under normal lighting - the drawing given here was prepared from photographs taken at night with an oblique light source.

The cross head is of interlaced diamond form and rather similar to that on the Middleton Tyas slab, but here the leaf scrolls flanking the shaft are well laid out with flowing trefoiled leaves. The base of the cross shaft, below a short cross bar, appears to pierce a recumbent dragon, from the head and tail of which the leaf scrolls spring. The edge of the stone has a double roll moulding.

The Leaf Scroll on Cross Slabs

Whilst the vine scroll is a common motif in Roman and Anglian sculpture, its use on medieval cross slabs appears to be relatively infrequent; the only other North Yorkshire example currently known to the writer is a section of a slab built into the south porch at Eryholme, bearing a not-very-successful 'scroll' which is no more than a sinuous branch with three-lobed leaves on alternate sides - a simplified version of the Middleton Tyas theme. Further afield, a fully developed and ornate vine scroll in high relief occurs on the spectacular but much weathered coped slab at St. John's Church, Laughton-en-le-Morthen in South Yorkshire.[21] A simpler example with sinous branches rather than a scroll proper is to be found in Wakefield Cathedral, and a version with downward-turned leaves at Gosforth in Cumberland; both these slabs have simple bracelet type cross heads suggesting of a date in the first half of the thirteenth-century.

The significance of the use of the motif is open to various interpretations. Most simply, a reference to Christ as the True Vine (John 15.1) may be intended. The use of elaborately foliate designs - and these include the more common form in which leaves spring from the cross shaft itself - has been linked to the Tree of Life, reputed to originate in Persian art.[22] Butler has drawn attention to the custom of throwing flowers and leaves onto a coffin before it was covered with earth, and suggests that floral designs on cross slabs either relate to this or to palms and branches carried in a funeral procession.[23]

An elaborate fourteenth-century incised slab in Hexham Priory Church has its entire surface covered in naturalistic leaves which spring from the cross shaft, which bifurcates at its base, each branch springing from the mouth of a grotesque human head. Cutts' comment that 'the heads at the base have no meaning' may not be justified.[24] Similarly the dragon or similar beast at the base of the cross on the Scruton slab probably has some specific symbolic significance; a rather similar creature is figured on a slab at Heighington (County Durham) under a crocketted canopy at the cross base.[25]

To conclude, Yorkshire's cross-slab grave covers offer a broad field for future research, although this can hardly be embarked upon until a complete survey is made of all surviving slabs and slab fragments. The urgent need for this is underlined by the continuing decay of important monuments such as the Scruton slab which lie unprotected in churchyards, and the 'disappearance' of slabs from Ellerton Priory and elsewhere.

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21. Boutell. Op.cit., p. 122.
22. Burgess, F. *English Churchyard Memorials,* pp. 90, 105, 163-164. Lutterworth Press. London 1963.
23. Butler. Op.cit., p. 122.
24. Cutts. Op.cit., p. 67 & plate XVII.
25. Ryder 1985. Op.cit., plate 39.

THE RAUGHTON FAMILY INFLUENCE ON THE CURVILINEAR STYLE

By M. R. PETCH

Since my first cursory note on Ivo de Raughton in 1975,[1] further interesting indications of a career pattern of both a father and a son of that name have come to light. The object of this paper is to elucidate the initial discovery and to show the career patterns of both men (Fig. 1). As research progressed it became clear that the role of the son was of greater importance for the development of the curvilinear style in the north of England than that of the father.

In 1924 T.H.B. Graham produced a pedigree of the family 'de Raughton'.[2] In his lecture to the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society he mentioned Ivo de Raughton as deceased in 1327-28 and as having two sons, Henry and Richard; was there another? Later John Harvey pointed to evidence that Ivo de Raghton was a mason of York and gave a brief outline of a possible career extending from Carlisle as far south as Southwell in Nottinghamshire.[3] He further stated that Ivo worked under the patronage of Archbishop Melton of York. Documentary evidence linking Ivo with any work on York Minster is non-existent, but there are gaps in the Fabric Rolls of the minster church during the first half of the fourteenth century.[4] The only proof that he was a mason is to be found in the York Freemen's Rolls.[5] His name also occurs in the Lay Subsidy Rolls[6] and possibly in Archbishop Melton's Register (if we can interpret 'Ivo the mason' as a reference to Ivo de Raghton).[7]

Discovery

With no real documentary evidence linking any of the family 'de Raughton' (near Dalston) in Cumberland with any of the ecclesiastical works in the north of England, detailed research was necessary on the surviving monuments of the first half of the fourteenth century.[8] By great good fortune positive evidence was discovered during restoration work carried out within the Priest Rooms above the chapel of St Michael on the north side of the chancel at St Mary's church, Beverley. This was in the form of a graffito signature and mason's mark which were found adjacent to one another on a

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1. *The Friends of Southwell Cathedral, Report for 1975,* p. 4.
2. T. H. B. Graham, 'Vills of the Forest, Part II', *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Archaeol. Soc.* n.ser 25 (1925), 290-310.
3. J. H. Harvey, *English Medieval Architects, A biographical dictionary down to 1550* (1954), 41 and *The Medieval Architect* (1972), pp. 79-80.
4. J. Raine (ed.), *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster,* Surtees Soc. 35 (1859).
5. F. Collins (ed.), *Register of the Freemen of the City of York* i, Surtees Soc. 96 (1897).
6. *Y.A.S. Record Series* 74 (1929).
7. 'To master Ivo the mason, 5 marks', Reg. Melton, 1332 (24th June) in W. H. Dixon and J. Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses* i (York 1863), p. 432. The only other individual with the name Ivo, namely Ivo of Winchester, occurs in the York Freemen Rolls for 1316-52.
8. Mention must be made here of my friend, Mr. W. C. B. Smith, A.R.I.B.A., for the original stimulus and for help throughout this research. It was his supposition that Ivo de Raughton could have been 'unknown master' of St. Michael's Chapel at St. Mary's, Beverley.

FIG. 1. The possible career routes of Ivo de Raughton, senior and junior.

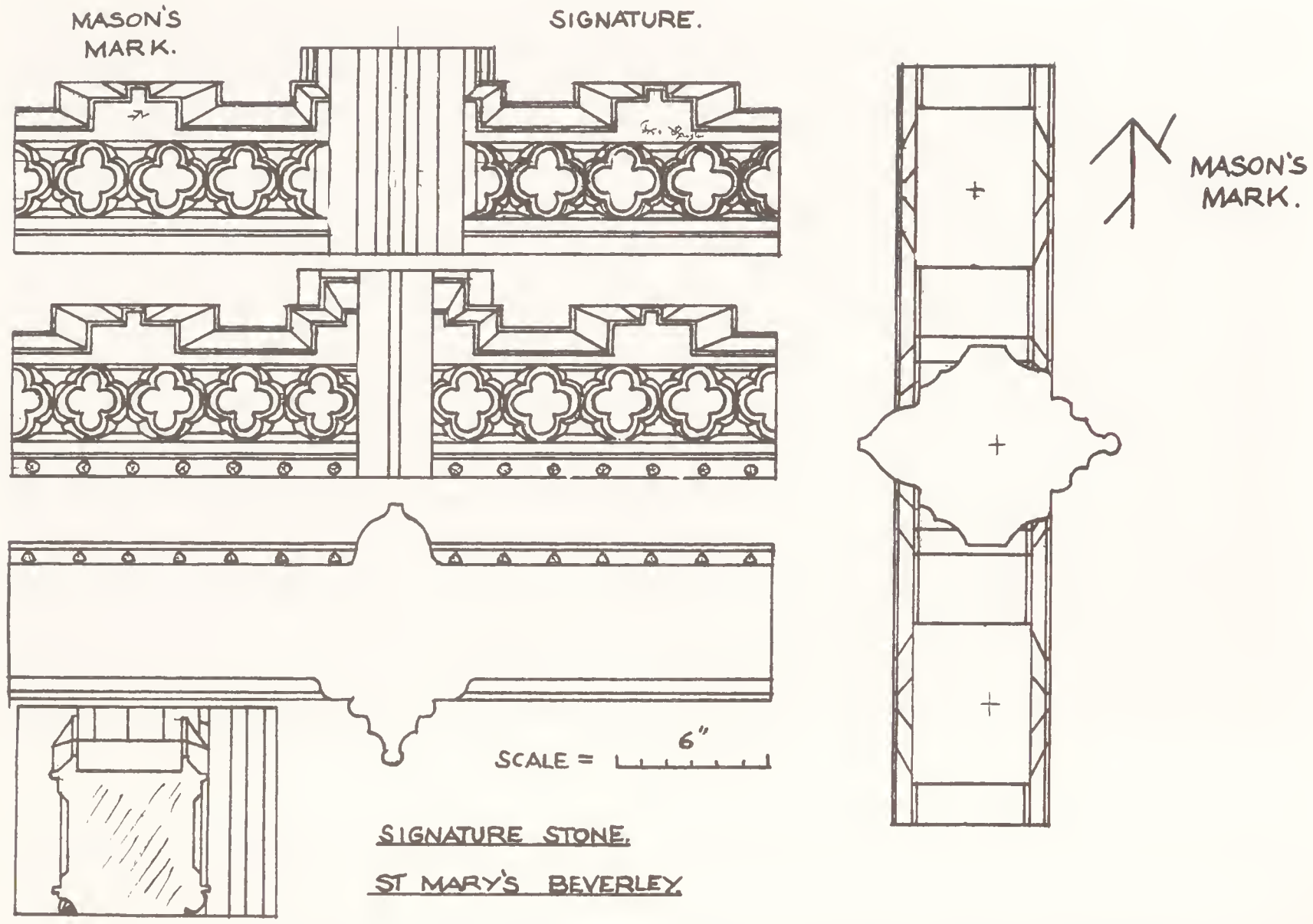

FIG. 2. St. Mary's, Beverley: stone from Priest Rooms with signature of Ivo de Raughton.

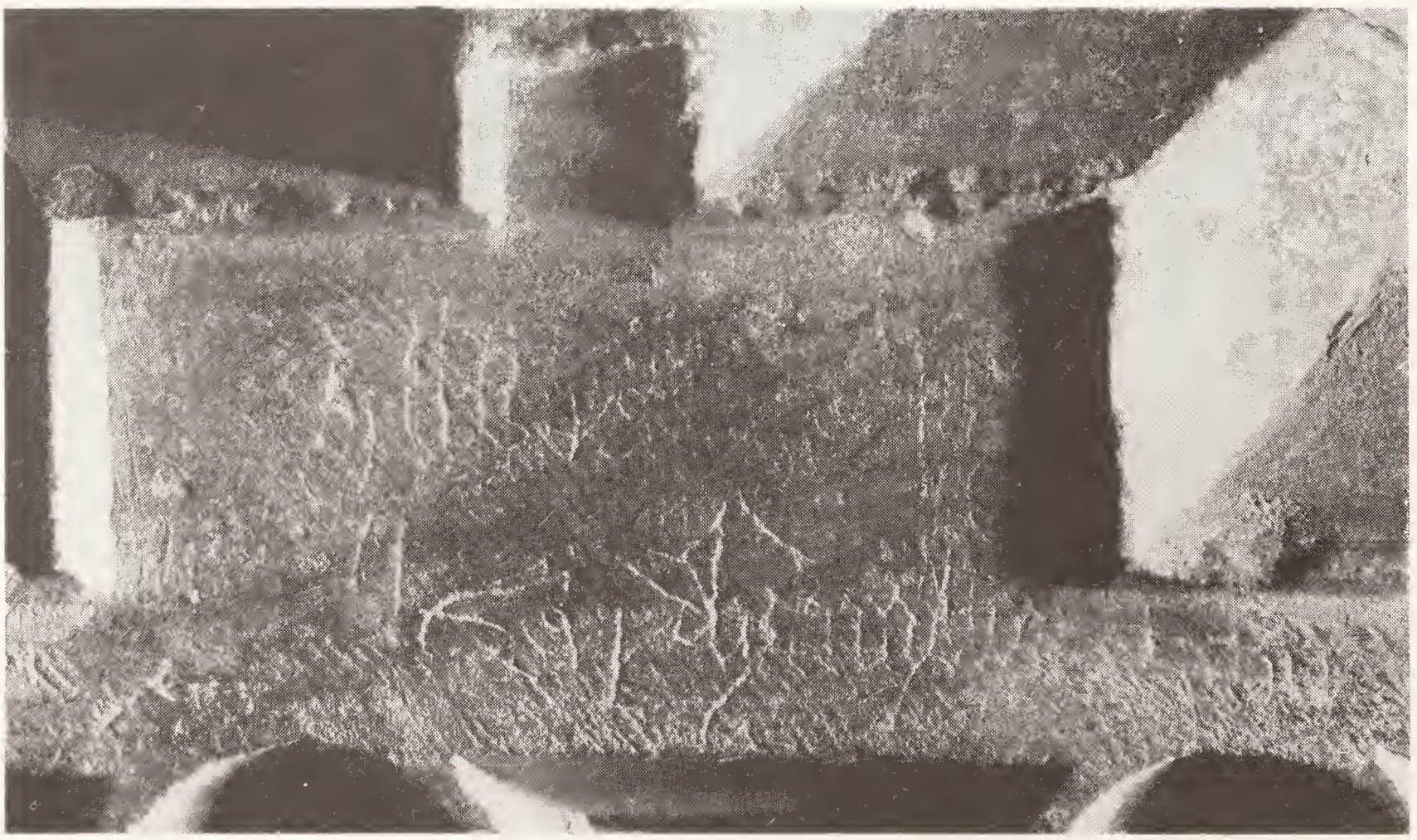

PLATE 1. St. Mary's, Beverley: stone with signature of Ivo de Raughton.

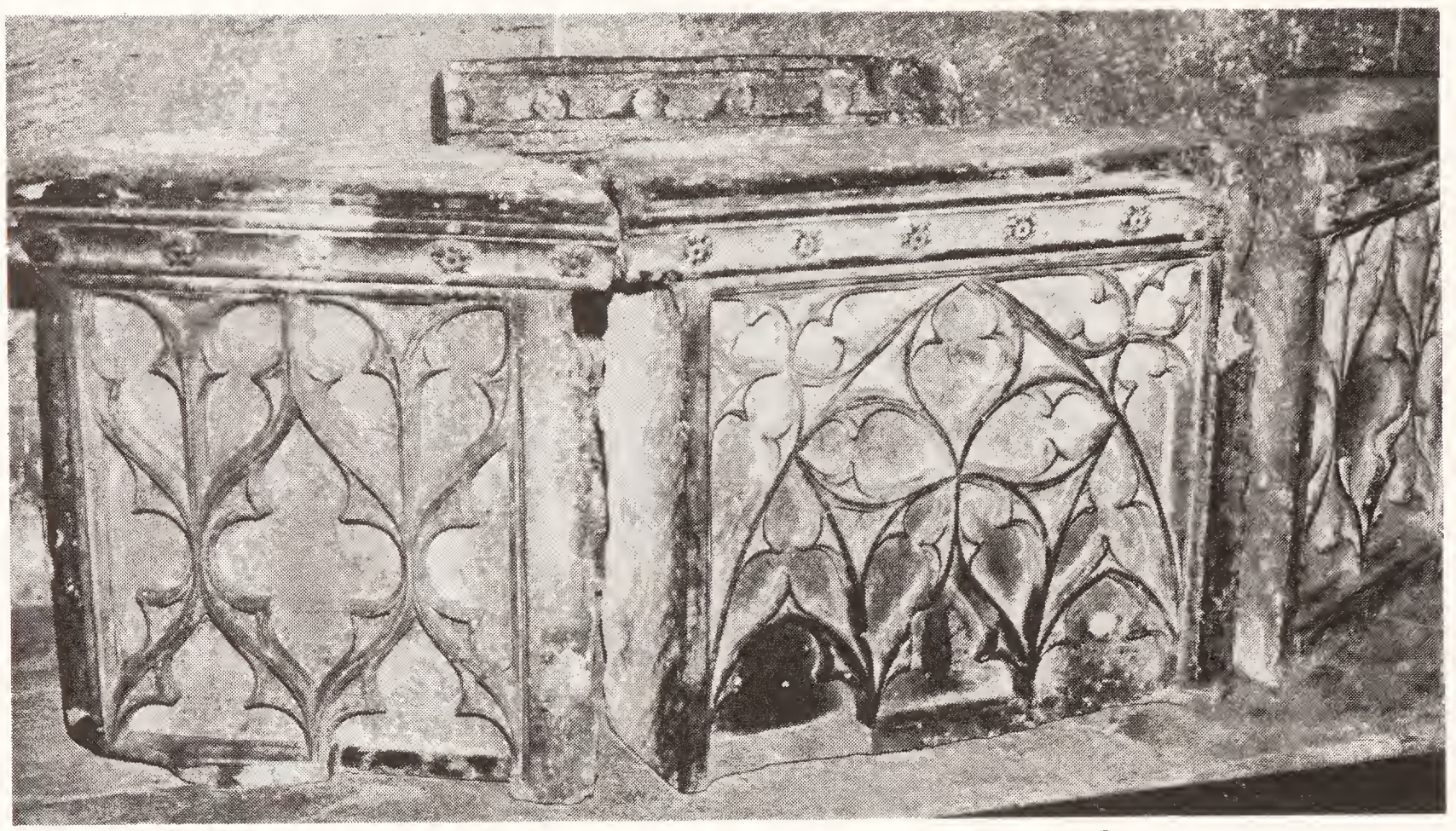

PLATE 2. St. Mary's, Beverley: blind tracery panels in Priest Rooms.

splendidly carved stone (Plate 1).[9] Prior to the discovery this stone had been covered by a succession of layers of whitewash which concealed a fine layer of medieval painting, only discernible by faint brush marks on the surface of the stone. All traces of colouring had disappeared due to the chemical action of salts in the covering of whitewash.

The carving on this important stone consists of a band of quatrefoils separated in the middle by shaft mouldings which continue through the stone with no break whatsoever. To the left and right of this moulding are slanted and stepped crenellations (Fig. 2). The central shaft moulding on one side consists of a plain keel moulding, but at the base on each side of this is a band of decoration in the form of octagonal pointed knobs, collectively called stud ornament. On the other side of the stone the central moulding forms a complex pattern but the base on each side of this is a plain roll moulding. On this side the stepped crenellation to the right contains the graffito signature and that on the left bears the masons's mark. All the carving to the left and right of the central pier moulding is precisely measured from its centre, where faint scribed marks are to be observed on the upper and lower jointing faces.

Amongst other fragments of carved stone there was assembled a magnificent carved

9. This graffito has been examined by several eminent experts in medieval palaeography, with both positive and negative responses. However, if it is a signature, as is highly probable, then it predates any other (apart from that of William de Malton) by at least a century (that is if Henrie Winchcombe's at Northleach can be described as a signature). After this, all other masons' signatures are written on parchment: these are rare and relate to Royal works of the latter part of the fifteenth century. See M. R. Petch, 'William de Malton, Master Mason', *Y.A.J.* 53 (1981), p. 37, for comparison.

For mason's marks, see R. H. C. Davis, 'A Catalogue of Mason's Marks as an aid to Architectural History', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, ser. 3/,17 (1954) pp. 43-76; and F. W. Brooks, 'Mason's Marks', *East Yorks Local Hist. Soc. Pubs.* 1 (1952). For graffiti, see V. Pritchard, *English Medieval* Graffiti (Cambridge 1967); for that of Henrie Winchcombe, see D. H. Leanard, *The Parish Church of SS Peter and Paul, Northleach* (Gloucester 19..) and J. H. Harvey, *The Perpendicular Style* (1978), p. 195. Don J. Vivres E. Miret, *Reinard des Fonnoll, escultor i arquitecte angles renovador de l'art gotic a Catalunya (1321-62)* (Barcelona and Madrid 1969) traces the work of the English curvilinear master mason at the monastery of Santes Creus in Tarragona Province, Spain, with the identification of a mason's mark which he describes as being in the shape of a 'cross botony'. W. C. B. Smith, 'St. Mary's Beverley. An account of its building over 400 years from 1120-1524' (unpublished) writes on mason's marks and signatures.

wavy band parapet which was covered in stud ornament. This parapet measured 17 feet in length and was found to contain an identical mason's mark to the one found on the stone with the graffito. Along with this was found a pier approximately 3½ feet in length, which in turn bore an identical mason's mark. To complete this ensemble were three beautifully carved stone panels with blind fenestration of curvilinear style (Plate 2) and three fine crocketed pinnacles. This important group of stones seem, because of the definite links of mason's marks and stud decoration, to have formed part of a sumptuous monument from within St Mary's church.

The chapel of St Michael forms an architectural entity in itself and has been dated to the second quarter of the fourteenth century (Fig. 3). It uses the north chancel arcades for its southern support. Within the chancel and on its north arcade are spandrels and a cornice above which are covered in this rare stud decoration. Approximately in the middle of this arcade is a niche (containing a modern statue of the Virgin and Child) which is also covered in stud decoration. Within the chapel decorative features are restrained, with emphasis on capitals, window tracery and a magnificent series of bosses which encompass intersections of the tierceron vault. Conversely, on the outside the north wall of the chapel and the wall of the sacristry are crowned with parapets which are a riot of stud decoration covering the band of quarterfoils and their upper and lower cornices. Finally, the only vault boss not of floriate design is a carefully executed face boss to the north of the central ridge rib and in the middle bay. It is tempting to link this face with the master who designed the chapel, referred to by John Bilson as 'the unknown master'.[10] Perhaps his identity has come to light with the discovery of the graffito, which appears to read 'Ivo de Raughton'.[11] Bilson dated the chapel between the years 1330 and 1349.

The Mason's Mark as an aid to identification

On most large-scale building works during the medieval period mason's marks abound and there are many varied types. In this instance the mark would be used to identify a mason as a member of a large team, each with his own personal mark. Conversley, small-scale building works do not show this trend of marking many of the stones.[12] A building project of the size of St Michael's chapel should prove this theory, as it did. While the only mark to be seen within the chapel (see Fig. 3) is so positioned, the same mark occurs at several places on the nave piers of Beverley Minster and also on seven stones inside the west front of York Minster, on its north side.

Mason's marks were a means of personal identification on a large building, for obvious reasons. Firstly, the mark could be used as a method of guarantee of his work by the mason, marked on the stone prior to a quality check by the master mason. Secondly, the mark could be a means of recording work done by the mason and be counted after a work period for purposes of payment. Thirdly, but most significant in the small-scale bulding work of St Michael's chapel, the positioning of the mark could have been of possible religious significance (see plan). It seems that this mark could be that of the senior mason working directly under the supervision of the master mason, Ivo de Raughton.

From the foregoing it may not be apparent why the master mason did not place his personal mark on St Michael's chapel (and the mark of the possible senior mason is the only mark found in the whole chapel). It is possible that Ivo, while in overall charge of the building works at St Mary's, would be involved in the creation of the monument and its emplacement somewhere within the church. It is not my purpose here to try to indicate what the monument was because the paucity of fragments makes it impossible to form any opinion. I can only say that the pierced parapet is approximately 17 feet long

10. J. Bilson, 'St Mary's Church, Beverley', *Y.A.J.* 25 (1920), pp. 357–436, esp. p. 388.
11. Smith, op.cit., in n.9
12. Davis op.cit., in n.9

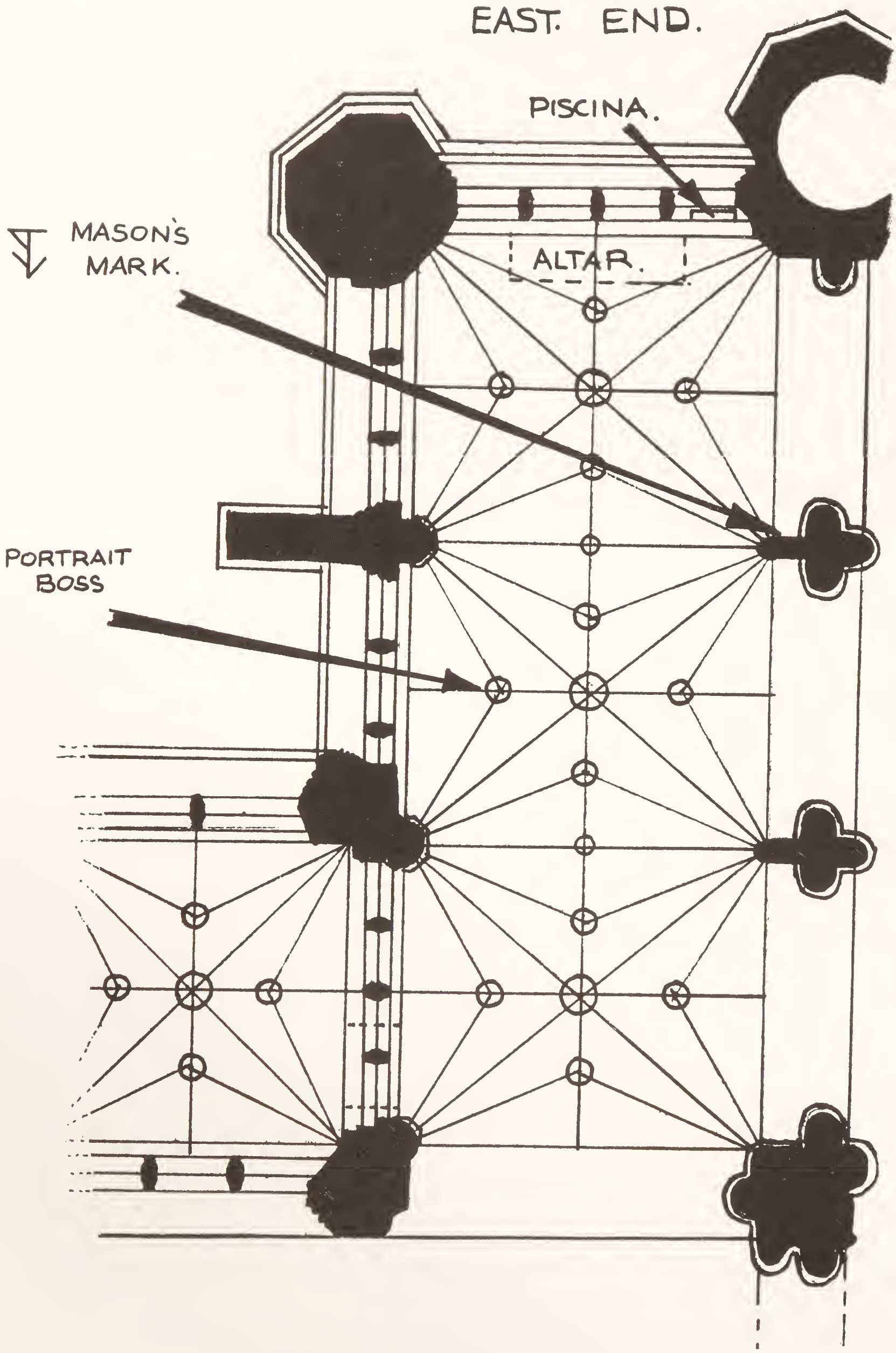

FIG. 3. St. Mary's, Beverley: plan of St. Michael's chapel.

with a straight joint in the middle and with a curious carving set at an angle, possibly the support of a shaft or pinnacle. Then there is the problem of the single shaft, the three odd pinnacles and the remains of possible niche canopies represented by the blind tracery panels. However, it seems that all these stones represent the remains of a sumptuous monument which are unified by the mason's marks, the stud ornament and, above all, the quality of the carving. From this it may be deduced that we are here observing the work of a major artist of the second quarter of the fourteenth century in England who erred on the side of pride by placing his mark and signature on a perfectly symmetrical stone. This stone seems to be the unifying element of the whole group and it seems probable that he knew that his mark and signature would never be seen because of the coating of paint which subsequently covered them. A further design feature within the chapel lies in the bases to responds to which we will turn later, but these, with other design features elsewhere in the north of England, confirm that here we are dealing with an architect of the first rank.

The career of Ivo de Raughton, Senior[13]

To establish a career pattern for the master of St Mary's, Beverley, by using mason's marks, a search was undertaken on major works of the curvilinear style in the north of England. Carlisle Cathedral is the largest ecclesiastical building near to the village of Raughton End in the parish of Dalston, Cumberland. During major restoration work on the cathedral in 1879, all the mason's marks observed were recorded and the record deposited at the Masonic Lodge in Carlisle. Unfortunately this record does not specify the exact locations of these marks, but it is interesting to note that a mark similar to that on the stone at St Mary's, Beverley, is recorded under marks discovered on the Refectory, Deanery and Abbey Gate.[14] Since the Refectory undercroft is datable to *c*1300 it may not be too rash to speculate that this mark was found within it. A search proved to be inconclusive because of heavy deposits of limewash on the vault ribs and walls inside the building. It now becomes apparent that there is the possibility of both a father and a son. Although the evidence at Carlisle is tentative and further research at York Minster proved negative, a search at Southwell Cathedral produced a mark on the Pulpitum identical to that in the records at Carlisle, positioned on the north-east respond of the entrance passage through the Pulpitum.[15]

It seems probable, therefore, that the main work sites of Ivo de Raughton, senior, were initially on the claustral buildings at Carlisle, possibly as an apprentice or improver. Then came a move to York where he became an established citizen, being recorded as a freeman of the city in 1317-18, and later being assessed in the Lay Subsidy for 1327. Whilst at York and working on the west end of the Minster nave he might have been

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13. To avoid confusion, I am here using the spelling 'Raghton' as it appears in the Lady Subsidy Rolls for the parish of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, referring to the man whom I am stating was the senior of the two masons. Dr. Harvey feels that there is only evidence for one master mason, Ivo de Raghton, who possibly died in 1339.
14. This mark is an arrow type with a stroke emanating from the shalft only. The Beverley mark is similar, but has in addition, a stroke emanating from one side of the point of the arrow. For comparison see Davis, op.cit. in n.9, p. 44 on the Böblinger Family. See also 'Der Munsterbaumeister, Matthaus Ensinger, Studien zu seinem Werk', *Berner Scriften zur Kunst* 10 (1967), ch. 2, pp. 22ff. Here the mark of Ulrich von Ensingen at Ulm choir also appears heraldically on a shield in the south tower at Ulm. This same mark appears in the octagon of Strasbourg Cathedral. See also F. Carstangen, *Ulrich von Ensingen* (Munich 1893), pp. 12-15. Here variations on Ulrich's mark are to be seen in Mathaus Ensingen's mark, also at Ulm, and further variations in those of his grandsons, Casper, Vincenz and Moritz, to be seen at both Ulm and Bern, all modified from Ulrich's basic mark. Thanks are due to Dr. Paul Crossley for this information.
15. N. Pevsner, *The Leaves of Southwell* (Harmondsworth 1945), p. 47, where he dates the pulpitum to about 1325.

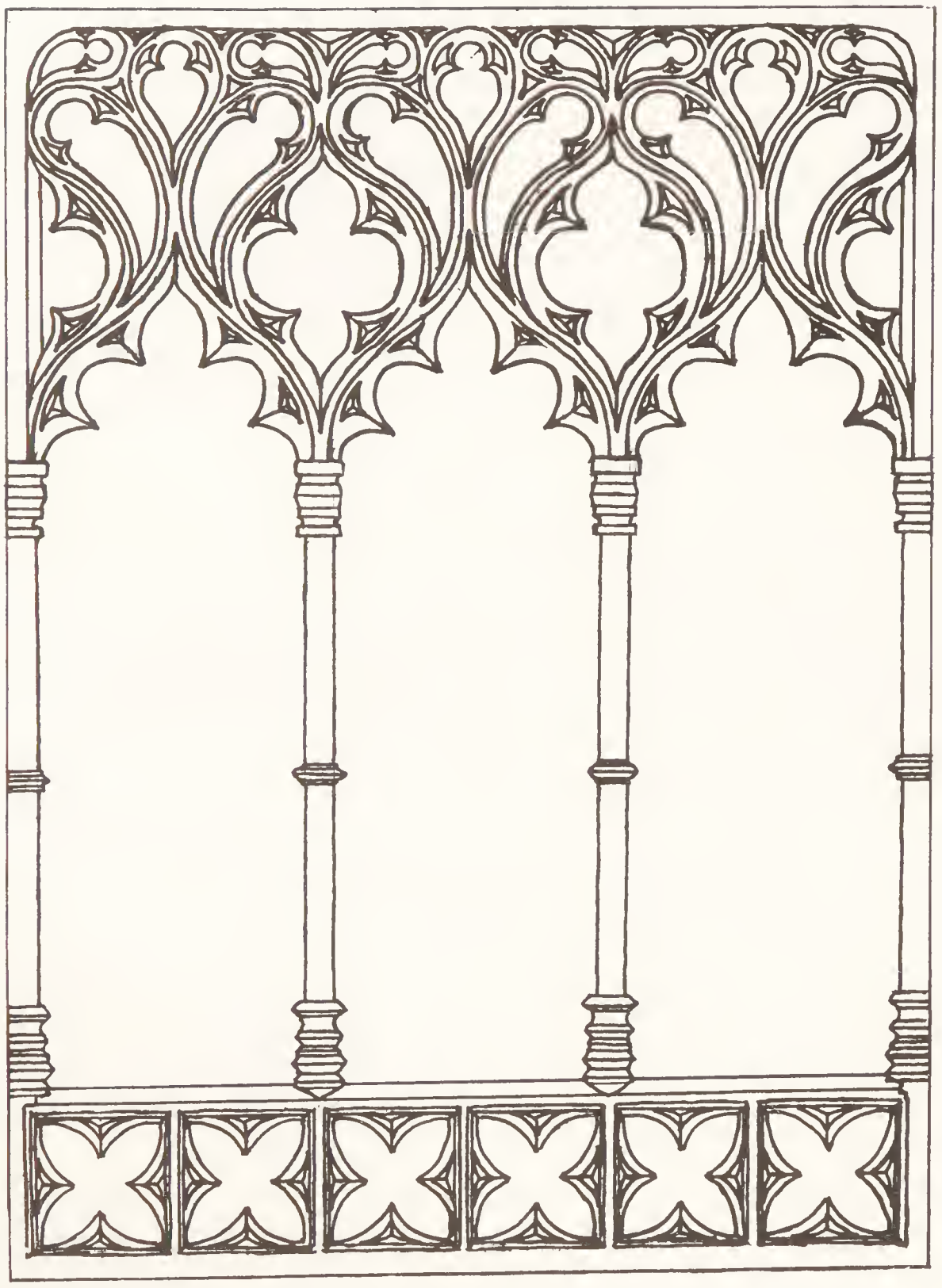

FIG. 4. Beverley Minster: blind tracery panel at rear of sedilia.

16. York Minster Library: V.C. Box III, Wighton Church, Cumberland, 1328-9, '... et iiiis pro mortuario de Raghtona'. My thanks are due to Dr. D. M. Smith, Director of the Borthwick Institute, for the information.
17. The north aisle windows are of the Decorated style with reticulated tracery. It may therefore be possible that this aisle was extended to the west thus enclosing the tower in the Perpendicular period.
18. However, the door jamb is hollow-moulded, and the hood mould is of plain form with a hollow underneath where the mark is to be found.

commissioned to return to Carlisle to design the tracery of the great east window, the jambs of which had been completed much earlier, *c.*1300-10. The main reason for the long gap between the jambs and the tracery of this window appears to have been the frequent incursions into the area by the belligerent Scots, which forced Bishop Halton to reside for most of his episcopate (1294-1324) at Horncastle in Lincolnshire. However, it seems that a reasonable period of peace ensued under Bishop John Ross (1325-32). It may be that it was during this period that Ivo senior returned to Carlisle to work on the east window of the cathedral.

The Southwell pulpitum presents certain difficulties in dating, but its west face may be of a slightly earlier date than the east face. This is by no means certain, but the west face is of a rather restrained composition in contrast to the rich curvilinear east face, and it may be possible that Ivo senior worked on the west face, including the entrance passage as indicated by the one and only mason's mark placed there. However, new documentary evidence has recently come to light at York: this document refers to Wighton parish, Cumberland, and mentions 'I de Raghtona' as dead in 1328-29.[16]

The son and the hallmark of his work, stud ornament

We now arrive at the beginning of the 1330s and the work which is possibly that of Ivo de Raughton, junior, as identified by the discovery of the mason's mark and graffito signature on the stone in St Mary's, Beverley. This mark occurs at two other places in the East Riding. At Hessle parish church it is seen on the north-east tower pier on the south face, adjacent to an inserted respond of Perpendicular date, which forms a part of the north tower arch on the east side. The stonework on which the mark is placed may represent part of an earlier tower and the north wall was perhaps pierced to take the later arch as part of the Perpendicular rebuild. Supporting this theory are the remains of a graffito on the other side of the wall (north side) bearing the mason's mark which displays lettering not unlike the graffito at St Mary's, Beverley. It may be mentioned here that the south aisle at Hessle is of Perpendicular date and was actually extended as a part of the modifications of that date. Hence the insertion of arches to north and south in the existing tower walls.[17]

At North Newbald church the situation of the same mark on the hood mould, west side, of the entrance door to the sacristry is difficult to comprehend. Pevsner states that the chancel is a Perpendicular rebuild. This may be so for its south and east walls, but work may have commenced earlier on the north wall, before the Black Death.[18] The evidence of the mason's mark would tend to support this view. However, it could be that it was a part of an earlier build which was incorporated into the new work.[11]

To map out a career pattern for this master mason where the mark is not to be found, we have again to revert to the stone at St. Mary's, Beverley. The most significant design feature on this is the band or cornice of stud ornament. Anywhere else in the country it would have been the common ball-flower ornament. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that Ivo did not disregard this delightful decoration out of hand, because he used it on one capital of a respond on the entrance doorway to the sacristry of St Michael's chapel. The rare decorative device of stud ornament is to be found at only five other places in the north of England: at Bainton, Beverley Minster and Kirkburn in the East Riding of Yorkshire, at York and at Lincoln.

Firstly we must turn to the wooden sedilia in the choir of Beverley Minster (fig. 4). Here the designer has produced a rich canopy over four seats which covers a miniature tierceron vault. This is similar in design to that of St. Michael's chapel and repeats the four-leaf boss of that chapel's central bay. The stud ornament is not readily apparent and to find it one has to go to the rear of this monument where the studs have been placed in the centre of each quatrefoil comprising a decorative band at the base. Other elements of the sedilia design are to be seen on the graffito stone at St Michael's chapel. Most important are the stepped crenellations which finish off the seat backs. Under them is placed a flowing band, but there is no stud decoration here. At the base of the seats is a band of quatrefoils not unlike those at the base of the west face of the Southwell pulpitum. These sedilia have been dated to the late fourteenth century, but all the stylistic evidence points to a date around 1335-40, when the reredos would almost certainly have been completed.[19]

At York between 1317 and 1340 Archbishop Melton gave £20 towards the making of a tomb for his predecessor, St William.[20] This tomb was placed at the east end of the nave of the Minster. At the Reformation the canopy which surmounted the tomb was cast out of the Minster and broken up. During the nineteenth century and early in the present one parts of the canopy were discovered and assembled in the Yorkshire Museum at York. This canopy is profusely decorated in the manner of the Beverley work and shows on the remaining niche arch and spandrels the delightful earthy characterizations so reminiscent of the curvilinear mason's work. Remains of the niche canopy supports with their individual niches show extraordinarily skilled workmanship. The pinnacle gablets on these supports, only about 2 inches long, have delicate crockets and near their points display representations of stud ornament as part of a minute cornice. Other parts of the monument display examples of ball-flower on an equally minute scale and, because of this, they have been carved in such a way best described as dimpled half-spheres. Stylistically this tomb canopy can be dated fairly accurately to the later years of Melton's episcopate, and there is little in the details to place it in the early 1320s. What we see in the remains is a florid exuberance of the northern curvilinear style that reached its peak of extravagance a decade or so before the Black Death.

In contrast to York Minster, two small village parish churches provide the next possible examples of Ivo de Raughton's work during this period preceding the Black Death. These are Kirkburn and Bainton. At Kirkburn there is little curvilinear work to be seen on this fine example of Yorkshire Romanesque. However, on the south-west corner of the tower is a vertical string of stud ornament. This tower is of Early English date and the stud ornament, an obvious unconformity, must be an example of churchwarden restoration with fragments of a lost curvilinear monument from elsewhere in the church.[21]

At the neighbouring parish church of Bainton is a much restored niche at the east end of the north aisle. After a Scottish raid into the area which left the church damaged, a campaign of rebuilding commenced. Later a new rector, William de Brocklesby, endowed a chantry in honour of the Blessed Virgin in 1349,[22] confirmed in 1350 by

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19. Mention must be made here of the wonderful square-headed tracery panels of pure curvilinear style with unusual rounded mullions (turned) and rare bagues in the middle. This tracery design of converging falchions repeats exactly the lower arrangement of the heart shape of the nave north aisle windows, and the same theme of cinquefoils at the heads of the lights below is repeated.
20. C. Wilson, *The Shrines of St. William of York* (York 1977), p.12.
21. K. A. MacMahon, *The Church of St. Mary's, Kirkburn* (1953). It seems unlikely that the architect J. L. Pearson would have bothered to place the stud ornament in its present position in 1856-7. A restoration that preceded Pearson's was carried out in 1819.
22. S. L. Ollard, 'Notes on the History of Bainton Church and its Rectors', *Y.A.J.* 25 (1918), pp. 104-23.

Archbishop Zouche.[23] It is possible that this chantry chapel was in the north aisle of the church and that the niche placed at its east end held a statue of the Virgin.[24] It appears that this niche has suffered damage in the past. In 1846 it was restored and used as a memorial to the local squire, John Grimston. Much of the canopy is original and displays design motifs similar to the niche of the Virgin Mary at St Mary's, Beverley, particularly the central gablet tracery, which is identical to that of the Beverley monument. The main identifying feature, however, is the string of stud ornament at the top of the niche.[25] The vertical strings of stud to the left and right of the tablet are apparently restorations of the 1840s. It is worth noting the contrast between this niche and the 'de Mauley' tomb in the south aisle at Bainton of about twenty-five years earlier, which shows a level of sophistication reached by a leading architect of the decade before the Black Death.

Finally we must go to Lincoln Cathedral to observe a really large-scale example of the work of this great master. This is the parapet on the west side of the south transept clerestory, together with the south nave clerestory parapet, surmounted by seven great canopied niches, and blind flowing tracery to the rear of the west front screen.[26] It is not readily apparent why the enormous south nave parapet with its niches was considered necessary at all, unless to provide extra weight and, allied with the flying buttresses, to support the outward thrust of the nave vault. This parapet from lower cornice to niche top, and that of the south transept, is covered with the rare stud ornament. Although wavy parapets are common in this period, the fact that it bears the rare decorative device of the stud means that it must be compared with the parapet fragment within the Priest Rooms at St. Mary's, Beverley.

All the work described in the foregoing paragraphs, because of this decorative device and its connection with the stone bearing the signature at Beverley, would indicate strongly that it is either work in which Ivo de Raughton was directly involved or was directly influenced by him. However, it must be mentioned that the parapets at Lincoln do not have the stepped crenellations to be seen at Beverley. Whether it was the work at Beverley that influenced Lincoln or vice versa is a point to be discussed later.

Analysis of window tracery of curvilinear form.

Since it has been established that William of Ireland was one of the first to introduce the ogee motif into this country on his famous Eleanor Cross at Hardingstone, Northamptonshire, in 1291-2,[27] it is strange to find that this motif did not catch on until well into the fourteenth century. However, at Newark in Nottinghamshire a fabric fund existed in January 1310 for the building of a chapel as part of the south aisle of the parish church, consecrated on 3 August 1315 as the chapel of St Mary. This information has come to light as a result of the researches of W. D. Wilson.[28] He established that a school of masons was at work in south Lincolnshire centred on Heckington parish church which, he states, provided a major influence in this area and on a wider scale.

It is tantalizing to accept his theory that Bishop Halton of Carlisle, on his return to his

23. Ibid., p. 104-23.
24. Ibid., p. 104-23. Canon Ollard indicated that this statue would be in the south aisle, and that this was the site of the chantry.
25. A further niche canopy of similar design is over the entrance doorway in the south porch of St. Mary's, Beverley. It also displays an identical crenellated cornice of stud ornament, as seen in the niche canopy at Bainton. The lower portions of this canopy have been heavily restored in wood and plaster and painted to resemble stone.
26. W. D. Wilson, Flowing Tracery in Lincolnshire, 1300-1380', unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Manchester (1978), ch.3, p. 62, where he dates this tracery and parapets to the second quarter of the fourteenth century.
27. L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain, The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth 1970), p. 144.
28. W. D. Wilson, 'The Work of the Heckington Lodge of Masons, 1315-1345', *Lincolnshire Hist. Archaeol.* 15 (1980), p. 21.

cathedral, may have taken masons trained in this Lincolnshire school back with him to work on the east end of the priory and possibly provided the designer of the east window of the cathedral church.[29] However, it is my purpose here to suggest that the major feature of curvilinear window design, the falchion, plays a greater role in the identification of a particular school of design than the central stem motif, which has hitherto been promoted as a prime design motif of the northern curvilinear. To attempt to establish the role of a dominant force in the establishment of this style, I claim that Lincolnshire (i.e. the Heckington school of masons and others further south) did not establish a real influence north of the Humber.

The falchion types (some call them mouchettes) are three in number.[30] Firstly, there is the rounded form with a point at the narrow end; secondly, the form pointed at both ends; and thirdly, the assymetrical or onion-shaped form with points at both ends. What I propose here is that the third type is primarily to be seen south of the Humber. This does not mean that there was no cross-fertilization to a limited extent, but by and large they play a large part in window design in the south and little to the north. A typical overlap can be observed in the east window of Selby Abbey. Its fenestration contains northern falchion types but in the major assymetrical elements that form the vesica it would seem that its design origins are in the south. Compare this window with windows at Heckington and Sleaford in Lincolnshire and Hawton in Nottinghamshire.[31] Assymetry of this nature is not seen at York, Beverley, Carlisle, or indeed on the Lincoln south rose, where the chief design motif is the central stem and, as we shall see later, the falchion. The central stem did of course make inroads into Lincolnshire, as can be seen for instance in the east window of Heckington, the west window of Brocklesby, and the north transept window at Horbling,[32] but in neither the Hawton or Selby east windows. Patrington, on the north bank of the Humber, displays both the central stem motif and assymetrical falchions,[33] and so I propose that this church by and large came fully under the influence of the Lincolnshire school of masons, rather than that of York or Beverley.

To return to the rounded and pointed falchions, which I am stating predominate to the north of the Humber, it may be possible to classify them to show a development pattern to link this with the careers of the master masons, Ivo de Raghton and his son. Carlisle east window has both pointed and rounded types, and the cusping on some of these is pierced, which is another problem to enter the equation. For these falchions can be further subdivided into two-cusped and four-cusped types and those with or without pierced cusps. The Carlisle east window represents a difficult problem in stylistic analysis, but I would accept Dr. Harvey's thesis that it is a product of Ivo de Raghton.[34] There are Lincolnshire elements in its design, but these are minor and limited to a couple of the assymetrical falchions on either side of the central stem on each side of the window. The west window at York Minster, however, contains rounded-type falchions only. This rounded type may represent its earliest form north of the Humber, but we cannot be sure. The aisle windows at Newark, as mentioned earlier, are the starting point for curvilinear windows, possibly for the whole country though the vestry windows at Merton College, Oxford, were designed in 1309. So these rounded falchions on the York window may represent the particular whim of the architect concerned.

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29. W. D. Wilson, The East Window of Carlisle Cathedral', unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Manchester (1976), ch. 5.
30. Mouchettes and soufflets are unnecessary French terms for the English 'falchions' and 'daggers' used by standard writers such as F. Bond.
31. N. Coldstream, 'York Minster and the Decorated Style in Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.* 52 (1980), p. 106.
32. Wilson, op.cit. in n.28, p. 27, pl: VII.
33. Coldstream, op.cit. in n.31, pp. 108-9, pls IX and X.
34. G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds) *The History of York Minster* (Oxford 1977), p. 157. Harvey dates this window to soon after 1318.

It is of interest to note a progression from these rounded falchions at York eastward to Beverley and south to Lincoln. The north and south aisles of Beverley Minster have both forms, which have unpierced cusps, and it is only when the north aisle of the chancel of St Mary's, Beverley, is reached that we find a further development in its east window. This window is very much an experiment and shows both rounded and pointed forms, with some of the cusps pierced. Indeed we move a stage further in this window with the four-cusped falchions, where only three of the four cusps are pierced. Then on to Lincoln Cathedral and to its south rose window. This has all the elements in it to show the natural terminus of falchion development in its use of pointed four-cusped falchions, all pierced, throughout this window (Fig. 5). Further evidence to support a Beverley connection can be seen in the arrangement of the falchions in its lower half: these form what can be best described as super falchions and a half-reticulation between them.[35] This unusual design seems to have originated at Beverley on the two square tracery heads that form a part of possible niches with the group of stones within the Priest Rooms at St Mary's. It would seem from this design of these tracery heads that, because the falchions within them are of the two-cusped type, therefore the design of the Lincoln south rose could have originated at Beverley and is the supreme achievement of Ivo de Raughton, junior, constructed not long before the Black Death.[36] All this, added to the experimental nature of the east window of St. Michael's chapel, would seem to prove that St Mary's, Beverley, was the inspiration of all the work of this period carried out at Lincoln.

To complete this analysis we now pass over the Pennines to Chester Cathedral. By pure coincidence both I and J. Maddison came to the same conclusions, quite independently, that work on the east aisle of the south transept and on St Werburgh's shrine was influenced by work at St Mary's, Beverley, and he attached the sobriquet 'The Yorkshire Master' to the mason who carried out the work at Chester.[37] The four windows of this east aisle are of curvilinear design and show outwardly a connection with the east window of St Michael's chapel at St Mary's, but they are different.[38] All are of four lights and have two lights to left and right of the centre that are encompassed at the top by ogival arches which go on to form a part of the fenestration. Under the ogee arch is a quatrefoil formed by the heads of the two lights, but at Beverley the heads of the lights which are cinquefoil form a part of the fenestration ogee. At Chester the heads of the lights, which are trefoil, are quite independent of the ogee arch above, but form individual ogees in themselves, unlike those at Beverley, which are pointed equilaterals.

At Chester the windows do have a diminutive central stem, but this is only a product of the formation of the convergent and divergent falchions within the fenestration, in contrast to Beverley which has the falchions diverging from a central stem emanating from the central mullion. Thus it can be seen that these windows are outwardly similar but different in detail. The falchions in the Chester windows are of the Beverley, York and Carlisle type and show no influence from Lincolnshire, but there is another detail at Chester which connects the work here strongly with the northern curvilinear style.

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35. Wilson, op.cit, in n.26, p. 62, where he dates this window to *c.*1330-35.
36. J. H. Strawley, *The Book of John de Schalby* (Lincoln 1966). After the saintly Bishop Dalderby died in 1320, the only work thought fit to record was the fitting of a new clock in 1324.
37. J. Maddison, 'Decorated Architecture in the North West Midlands, An investigation into the work of provincial masons and their sources', unpublished Ph. D thesis, University of Manchester (1978), p. 264. Harvey, op. cit in n. 3, p. 250, but of Oliver de Stainefield (fl. 1305).
38. Ibid., p. 227, where he states that the north-east window of the east aisle of the south transept shows a connection with work at Lichfield Cathedral.

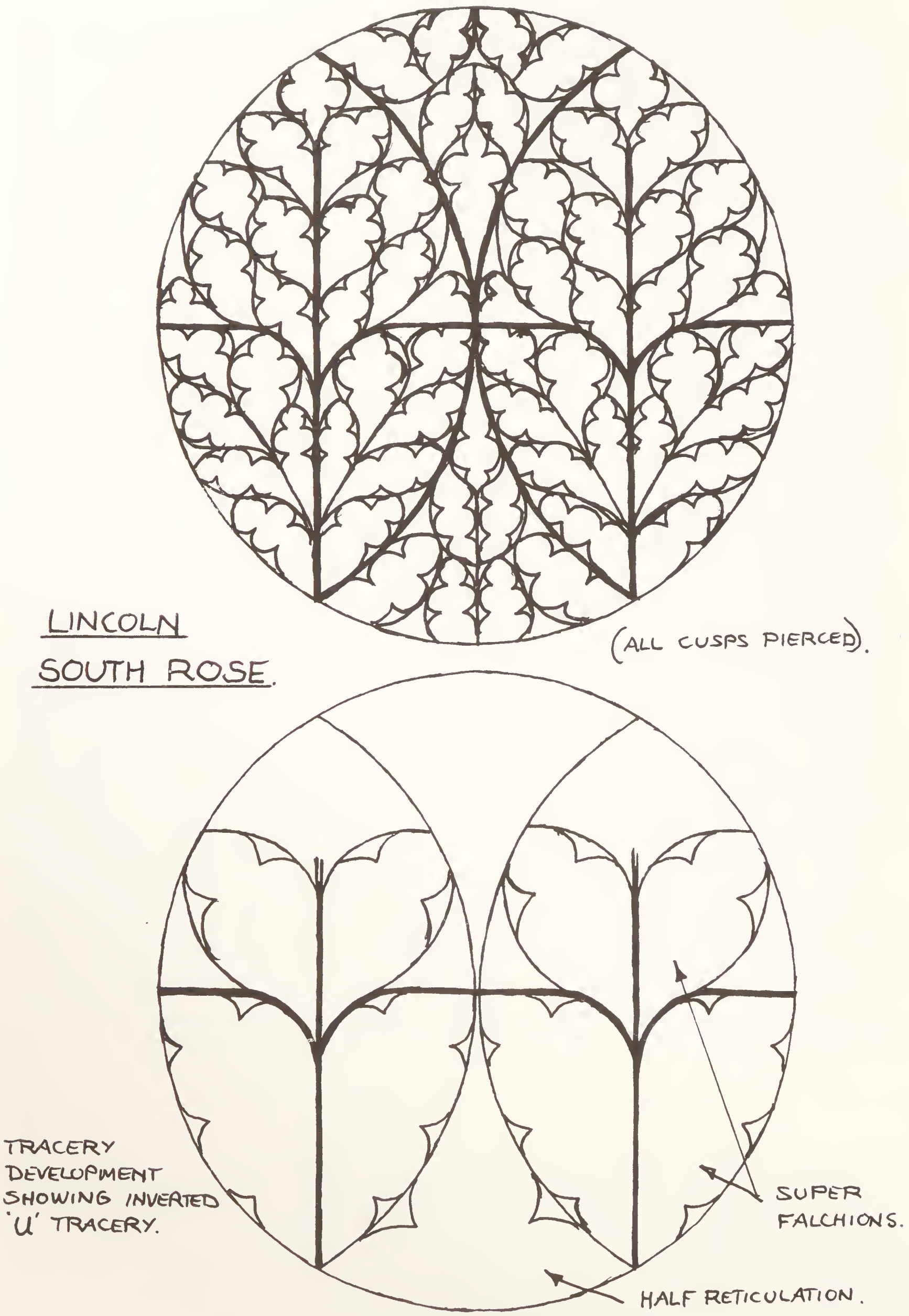

FIG. 5. Lincoln Cathedral: rose window in south transept.

St Werburgh's Shrine and bases to responds

At Chester we are fortunate in possessing one of the finest Decorated shrine bases in the country.[39] Resting on a plain moulded plinth of rectangular shape, it stands approximately 12 feet high. The lower element forms a block which rises to nearly half the shrine's height. In outward appearance this element is like its contemporary in the retrochoir of Lincoln Cathedral, the Shrine of St Hugh. There are six devotional niches, two on each side and one at each end. These have ogee heads, but the Lincoln shrine has in addition gable canopies over the niches. Both shrines are finished off with a moulded cornice. The Chester shrine is the more restrained in the richness of its detail. The upper part of the Lincoln shrine is now missing and was probably removed along with those of the Burghersh monuments to the east of its base.[40] At Chester the upper stage remains up to an openwork parapet which repeats almost exactly the remains of the parapet within the Priest Rooms at St Mary's, Beverley, including the stepped crenellations above. Below this parapet and to complement the six niches on the lower stage are six windows with rich curvilinear tracery, never glazed. Like those of the lower niches, the heads of these windows are of ogee form but, like the lower stage of St. Hugh's shrine, have gable canopies which are richly crocketed. Supporting the outer jambs to all these windows are substantial right-angled buttresses. Before the fenestration stage of the windows, these buttresses are panelled, but are divided half-way up by a transom, each panel having ogee trefoiled heads at this stage. At the window tracery stage these angled buttresses are carved into a gallery of niched and gilded figures, each with its nodding ogee canopy. These niche canopies form a close-knit group and because of this one's eyes are left looking in the space above for the pinnacles that must surely have finished off this masterpiece.

The twin grouping of windows has tracery comprising, on the long sides, divergent falchions with above a single falchion at the head. This tracery is a stock example of the northern curvilinear, to be seen at many places, including the east face of the Southwell pulpitum, Selby Abbey reredos, and the lower stage of the fenestration of the west window of York Minster. The tracery of these windows on the shrine would have been supported by a mullion, now missing. The central primary mullion which would have supported the windows on the long sides is also missing.

At each end of the shrine base are single windows which contain a different tracery design looking a little earlier than the others. However, closer study reveals them to be completely curvilinear, but a little more adventurous to keep interest. The falchions here are convergent, but support a single falchion that meets at the head of the window arch. Unlike the side window tracery, the cusps of the lower falchions are so pronounced that they join in the centre, which produces a trefoil at its head and an uncusped dagger opposite. The windows have gable canopies over, like the east windows of the south transept, and the intervening space is filled with convergent falchions exactly repeating those on the south transept east windows already described. These window falchions below produce a shallow arch to the tracery and are cusped to produce a cinquefoil. Because of this arrangement these windows do not have a supporting central mullion.

The six devotional niches on the base do have diminutive cusps to the ogee arches. These are not finished off with heads or other features as seen on the grander architectural schemes such as the arches to the Southwell pulpitum. Like the cusps on the Lincoln shrine they terminate in a shallow point and this may have been intended to protect the devotee from injuring himself whilst half entering his body into the niche. Each niche is

39. N. Coldstream, 'English Decorated Shrine Bases', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* 129 (1976), p. 20. This shrine has been moved several times since the Reformation. It was once used as the bishop's throne, and its original site is uncertain.

40. F. Bond, *The Cathedrals of England and Wales* (1912), p. 207.

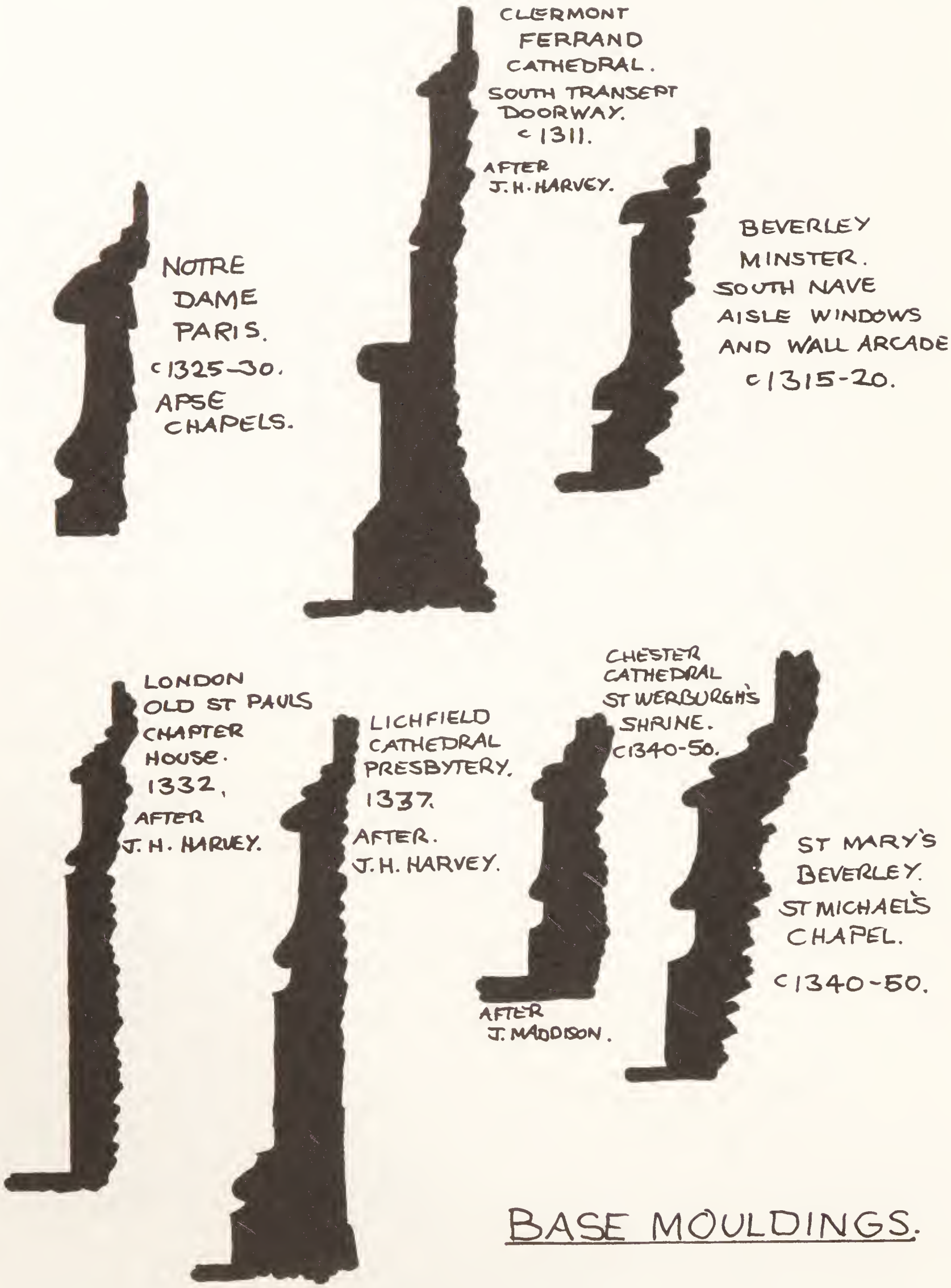

FIG. 6. Comparative fourteenth-century base mouldings.

roofed with a plain net vault, but because of its semi octagonal plan, the vault is supported by a number of capitalled responds which have substantial bases. The design of the base is such that it has a twin moulded top of round form and underneath a polygonal drum which splays outwards like a bell halfway down its sides and then in sharply to form a groove. It then continues down to a supporting pseudo bench table which seems to be an echo of that of St Michael's chapel at St Mary's, Beverley. This base type has been identified by J. Maddison at St John's Priory in Chester at the east end chapels, and at Nantwich parish church.[41] The windows of the east aisle of the cathedral south transept have jamb supports with this base. He observed that this base was a feature of design of the 'Yorkshire Master' and noted its prolific use as a respond base at St. Michael's chapel at St. Mary's, Beverley. This base type does not occur at Lincoln, Selby or Carlisle, nor in any of the Lincolnshire work on the parish churches as far as is known. It has however been observed at one important place as a single example in a niche at the top of the west window of York Minster, on the inside. This situation of a single base may be of importance, and may have been in place before the glazing of the west window in 1338.[42] A search for mason's marks at Chester did not produce a mark of the Raughton type as seen at Beverley. This is due to the friable New Red sandstone used in the construction of Chester Cathedral.[43] All the evidence so far discovered points to the work of a single driving force on both sides of the Pennines during the second half of the fourteenth century that provided its own impetus in design which was quite independent of work being carried out in Lincolnshire and the south, excluding of course the work of this period on Lincoln Cathedral itself and the Southwell pulpitum. Although the overall aspect of curvilinear architecture north of the Humber seems to have developed its own insular stylistic forms under the leadership of possibly two men of the family 'de Raughton', details were borrowed from elsewhere. Masons on completing their apprenticeships were required to embark on a period of travel. These masons travelled widely and noted architectural styles in their sketchbooks and returned with new ideas to translate into the medium of stone. Similar bases to responds mentioned above may have had their origins in France (Fig. 6). They were possibly being produced as early as 1311 at Clermont-Ferrand Cathedral by masons under the architect Pierre des Champs.[44] Later in 1325-30, a similar base profile was included in the apse chapels of Notre Dame Cathedral,[45] Paris. The first recorded architect to use this base in this country was William Ramsey at Old St Paul's, London in the Chapter House of *c*1332, and later as a respond and pier base in the Presbytery at Lichfield Cathedral *c*1337.[46]

However, similar bases to window jambs are to be seen on the south side of the nave of Beverley Minster and also below as bases to Purbeck marble shafts which form an arcade along the wall below these windows. All these bases have a slight chamfer inwards on the polygonal element below the moulded top. It is generally accepted that work on the nave began around 1308.[47] This would date the south side of this nave to *c*1315-20. This wall arcade does show the Geometrical style in its overall design detail. These south windows are later inserts and not much earlier than those of the north side. It may be that the

41. Maddison, op.cit. in n. 37, p. 268.
42. T. W. French, 'The West Windows of York Minster', *Y.A.J.* 47 (1975), p. 81 and National Monuments Record photograph no. 5712.
43. A. E. Trueman, *Geology and Scenery in England and Wales* (Harmondsworth 1971), pp. 162, 175.
44. Harvey, *The Perpendicular Style* (1978), pp. 34, 52.
45. W. and G. Audsley, *Dictionary of Architecture and the Allied Arts* (2nd ed. 1879), iii, p. 47.
46. Harvey, op.cit. in n.44, p. 52. Similar bases to those of St. Michael's Chapel at St. Mary's, Beverley occur on the outer doorway of the south porch at Holy Trinity, Hull. However, it would therefore seem logical that this type of base would be used on the east window jambs at Holy Trinity, but this is not the case; the bases used are those of the majority of bases on the west front of York Minster.
47. Coldstream, op. cit. in n.31, p. 102.

original Norman nave was still in use right up to the time that the window tracery was inserted on both sides possibly in the 1330s. This would account for the lack of perfect alignment of the nave piers due to the inability of the architect to get a true sighting across because of the Norman walls still standing. The bases on the south side may represent the introduction of this type of base into this country.[48]

The Beverley Minster Reredos

A problematic item which must be discussed in this study is the Beverley Minster reredos. This appears to have been under construction during 1334. It has suffered extensive damage on the west face which was almost entirely rebuilt in the 1820s by the then master mason, William Commins.[49] This rebuilding is confirmed by the absence of mason's marks on the west face parapet. That on the east face bears a mark above a half figure at the reredos junction with the adjacent pier on the north. This figure may be a portrait representing a master mason, possibly that of William de la Mare who died in 1335.[50]

It is to the relatively untouched east face that we must go to form opinions on the stylistic influences involved in its design. Underneath the vaulted reredos are blind tracery panels of curvilinear form, closer to a flamboyant style than any other work in the country. Their fenestration displays falchions that wildly flicker upwards in a flame-like motion, and because of this are all completely assymetrical in contrast to all the work so far discussed. True, the anachronistic geometrical quaterfoils do compare with those in the Carlisle east window, but like these they are only a minor element in the design and are only used to offset what would otherwise be a confused fire of falchions. Contrast these with those on the Percy Tomb[51] and on the rear of the sedilia. The bases to the two piers that support the reredos at the rear are of a design not seen on any of Ivo de Raughton's work.[52] These bases also support an unusual arrangement of Purbeck marble shafts. The whole composition of this east face resembles work on the Exeter Cathedral pulpitum.[53] Indeed, the piers and bases are similar in design. So it seems that the design is quite unrelated to the previous works discussed, and one must look to the south of the country, possibly Lincolnshire or elsewhere for its origins. This does not come into the scope of this article and it is only sufficient to show that the identity of its designer and the details are other than contemporary work in progress in the north of England.

Conclusion

What has been attempted here is to prove that a single family of masons were active in the north of England, participating in the great surge of building activity, and providing its leadership during the decades before the Black Death. The discovery of one graffito signature does not tell the whole story, but the circumstances of its discovery and what

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48. Harvey, *The Medieval Architect* (1972), p. 80.
49. C. Hiatt, *Beverley Minster* (1898), p. 90.
50. Harvey, op.cit. first in n.3, p. 179.
51. J. Bilson, 'Beverley Minster, Some Stray Notes', *Y.A.J.* 24 (1917), p. 221, n.6, N. Dowton 'The Percy Tomb at Beverley Minster, in F. H. Thompson (ed.), *Studies in Medieval Sculpture,* Soc. of Antiq. Occas. Papers (n.s.) 3 (1982), p. 124.
52. Coldstream, op. cit. in n. 39, p. 21. Mention is made here of agreement between J. Bilson and A. F. Leach that the shrine stood on top of the reredos. I do not think that large numbers of pilgrims would have been allowed access up the narrow stairs, which show no sign of wear that one would expect in the area of one of the most important shrines in England. It would have been more sensible to have placed the shrine where it could have been seen and touched, and surely in the area where all the best religious carving was displayed at the back of the reredos.

    See also Bond, op.cit. in n. 40, p. 207, where a worn stone on the west side of the shrine of St. Hugh at Lincoln is mentioned, and K. A. MacMahon, *Beverley* (Clapham 1973). pp. 26-27.
53. Dowton, op.cit. in n. 51, p. 125.

was found with it did provide a substantial foundation on which to commence a process of detective work. Mason's marks are important in the study of medieval architecture because a mason placed his mark upon the stone so that it could be seen by his master. Ivo de Raughton and his son developed a style that was already in existence to a level of perfection that reached its zenith in the decade before the Black Death. This did not prevent others from expressing their individual styles in the medium of stone. Some did work within confined geographical boundaries as the contemporary William de Malton did,[54] but there would be a cross flow of ideas without an individual mason losing his identity.

Existing buildings did affect visiting masons who took away with them ideas which they either used or modified. It is interesting to note within St Michael's chapel the use of mullions that continue downwards to the bench table which is obviously a modification of York Minster's clerestory and triforium. Further work at St Mary's by Ivo is to be seen at both the east and west ends of the church. Unfortunately, this work did not progress and was possibly curtailed by the Black Death.[55] Masons were particualarly vulnerable to the disease whilst working in urban areas, and they travelled widely in their quest for work. This travel is best indicated by Ivo's senior mason. This is the man who placed his one and only mark on the pier that faces the altar of St Michael's chapel. His mark is also to be seen on the nave piers of Beverley Minster, and most importantly, on several stones inside on the north side of the great west window of York Minster.[56] This seems to prove that this mason shadowed Ivo de Raughton on his important works. It seems also to prove that whilst a great master, through pride, placed his mark and signature on an individual masterpiece, as the Master Mason in charge of a building work, it was not necessary for him to place his mark on the actual building structure.

If more marks are discovered associated with graffiti, then it would go a great deal further in unlocking the secrets of many of our great medieval buildings. How good it is to look upon the great domes of Brunelleschi and Michelangelo, or on the portrait bust of Peter Parler in Prague Cathedral and know that we are looking at their buildings, for which they are justly famous. However, if we cannot prove that the face boss in the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral is that of Henry Yeveley, by his protegé Stephen Lote,[57] or for that matter, the face boss in St. Michael's chapel at St. Mary's, Beverley is of Ivo himself, we can at least research the styles of the buildings using the evidence they left behind. All this improves our knowledge of these great English masters, and as a consequence, leaves us with a sense of pride in our heritage.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to record my indebtedness to the following. To the former Verger of St. Mary's Beverley, Mr. R. Sygrove for without his assistance none of this research would have been possible. Mr. R. Jenner, a former Royal Air Force colleague. Mr. W. C. B. Smith, A.R.I.B.A., for his continuous encouragement and learning. Dr. Paul Crossley, University of Manchester, who helped and advised on my preliminary draft of this article. Professor Gwyne S. McPeek, University of Michigan, U.S.A. Dr. R. M. Butler for helpful comments during the writing of this paper. The very Rev. Provost Pratt of Southwell Cathedral. Finally, to Dr. John H. Harvey for his splendid series of publications on the master masons which provided me with a necessary basis on which to embark on this research.

54. Petch, op.cit. in n. 9, p. 43.
55. Maddison, op.cit. in n. 37, p. 245.
56. I am indebted to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) for allowing me access to their records of mason's marks noted in York Minster.
57. Harvey. op.cit. in n. 3, pp. 171-3.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, LEVISHAM, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By R. A. HALL AND J. T. LANG

SUMMARY

Excavation of the nave of St. Mary's, Levisham, revealed features of twelfth-century and later date; specialist reports deal with an incised grave-slab, pottery, textile and glass. Anglo-Scandinavian sculptured fragments and Romanesque architectural fragments, some newly recovered from the existing nineteenth-century fabric, are placed in both a regional and a wider context.

INTRODUCTION

The 'old' church of St. Mary's, Levisham (SE 833901) now stands isolated below the steeply rising escarpment of Levisham Brow, at the southern boundary of this small, predominantly moorland parish approximately 6 miles north-east of Pickering. Beside its graveyard a lane runs to a ford (now a footbridge) over Levisham Beck, 50m away. A rectory previously stood in the field to the north-west of the church, where iron slag and thirteenth-fourteenth-century pottery have been found in fieldwalking by Mr. R. H. Hayes. The two fields east of the church, between it and Levisham Mill, have also produced pottery of this date.

A terrier dated 29 July 1817 records: 'There is both a Church and Chapel at Levisham. The church was almost wholly re-built and new pewed in the year one thousand eight hundred and two at the expense of the Parish. The chancel was repaired in the preceding year: the walls, window and roof by the Rector: the altar table, rails, seats and floor by the Parish'.

The extant fabric is essentially work of that date, with the addition of a west tower built in honour of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee in 1897, a vestry to the north of and structurally later than the chancel, and alteration to the fenestration as noted below (Fig. 1). The tower has a recent concrete floor, and the chancel is paved with large stone slabs. The nave has (and had) a wooden floor laid on joists to either side of a central, stone flagged aisle. The nave and chancel walls incorporated several fragments of Anglo-Scandinavian and Romanesque sculpture (below pp 66-82); other pieces, which until the 1950s were kept inside the church, are now (1984) in the porch of St. John's church in the village. The only other element in the fabric which appears to pre-date 1801 is the wall dividing nave from chancel; the plain narrow arch has voussoirs on both faces with a rubble core between, and rests on simple imposts chamfered below. The stratification against the west side of this wall confirms that its lower courses have not been moved since their insertion (below p. 61), and faint traces of painted plaster discovered on the voussoirs below several layers of plain plaster may be medieval.

The stripping of plaster at the north end of the nave east wall has revealed that in rebuilding the north wall was moved northwards about 20cms. There are two pieces of evidence for this—firstly the obvious insertion of a series of small filler stones extending the east wall north to its present junction with the north wall, and secondly a slight ridge of plaster projecting westwards from the east wall on the line of the junction of the filler stones with the original stonework.

When established on its present line, the north wall had four-centred windows with brick soffits, but these were later altered by the insertion of the present windows into their attenuated apertures.

The apparently shallow nature of the early nineteenth-century footings, particularly

along the north wall, restricted excavation; the north wall rests on what seems to be a single course of inwardly projecting footings made of neatly laid, rectangular sandstone blocks. On the south side the foundations are rather different; the wall rests on an earlier foundation, the interface between the older and the nineteenth-century work being marked by a mortar slick traceable along most of the internal face of the wall. This slick runs below two clusters of large rubble which extend below the wall and were traced to the outside; on the inside these rested in a trench.

The church is overlooked by the present village of Levisham, which is centred only about 750m away as the crow flies, but which is reached from the church only after a 100m ascent at gradients of approximately 1:2 in places. The village contains the church of St. John the Baptist, formerly a chapel of ease, whose present structure was built in 1884 with additions in 1900. This replaced what a terrier of 29 July 1817 described as "a very ancient building" containing, according to the *Malton Gazette* of 22 November 1884, "no architectural features of any value", which was in ruins by 1849 (*Malton Gazette,* 26 April 1884). St John's now houses a Norman font decorated with partially defaced figure carving (Pl. 9), perhaps originally from St. Mary's and discarded when replaced by an eighteenth-century font recorded by Pevsner (1966, 228) but now removed; the Norman font was rescued from service as a trough and reinstated to liturgical use in 1884 (Home 1905, 75 and 87). Fragments of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, including the frequently illustrated 'bound dragon' graveslab, which were previously in St Mary's church are also now (1984) in St John's.

St. Mary's was last used for worship in the 1950s, although the graveyard contains a few more recent burials. The church fell gradually into disrepair and was declared redundant in 1976, by which time the York parish of St. Paul, Holgate Road, was actively refurbishing it as a parochial 'retreat'. Their proposed programme of work included the possible laying of drains in the nave area, and it was in the face of this threat that the excavation of the nave was carried out in March-April 1977, with the objective of tracing the development of the church's fabric and internal layout, and the hope of discovering a pre-conquest structure to which the sculptural fragments might have belonged.

This work was directed by R A Hall, who is responsible for the excavation report which follows. Subsequently, a number of sculptured stones which had been built into the fabric of the nave, chancel and west tower in the nineteenth-century, were removed for study, and to prevent further erosion or vandalism. Their evaluation here is the work of J T Lang. The excavation archive will be placed at the Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton-le-Hole.

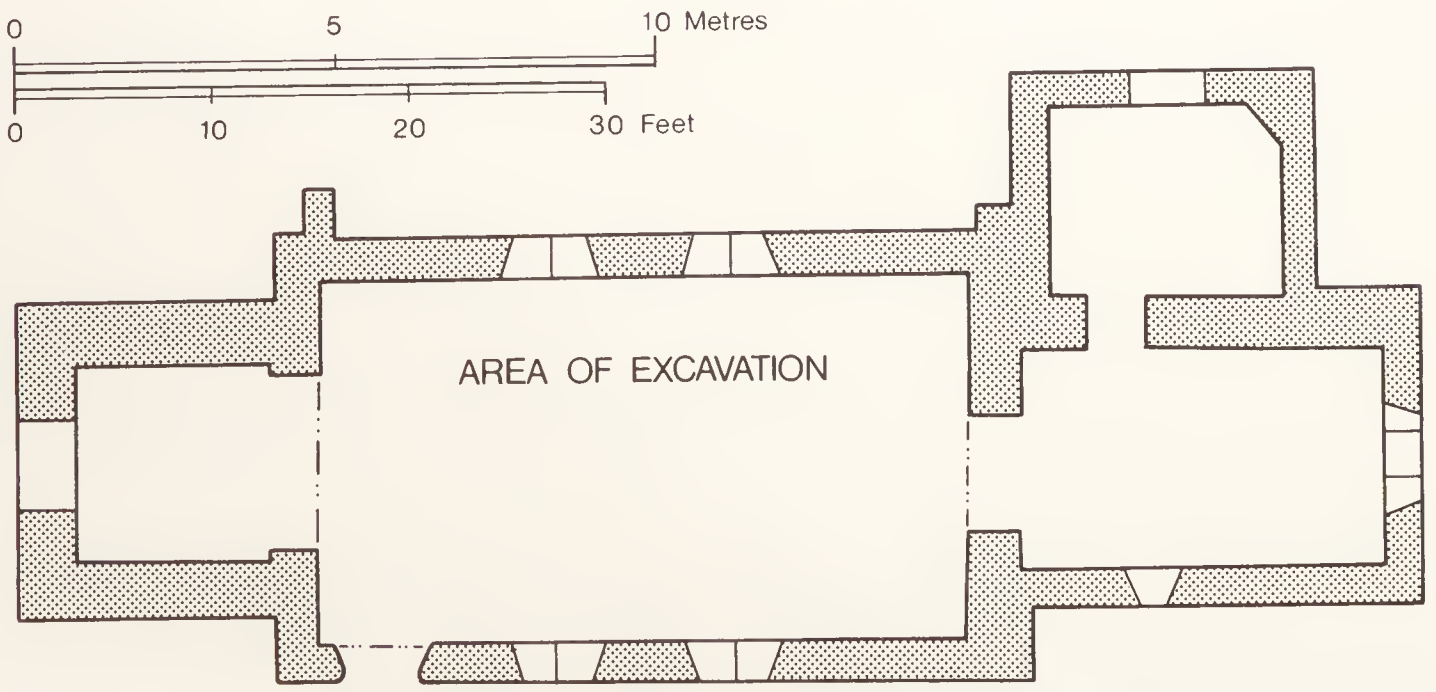

Fig. 1 St. Mary's. Levisham: plan of the existing fabric

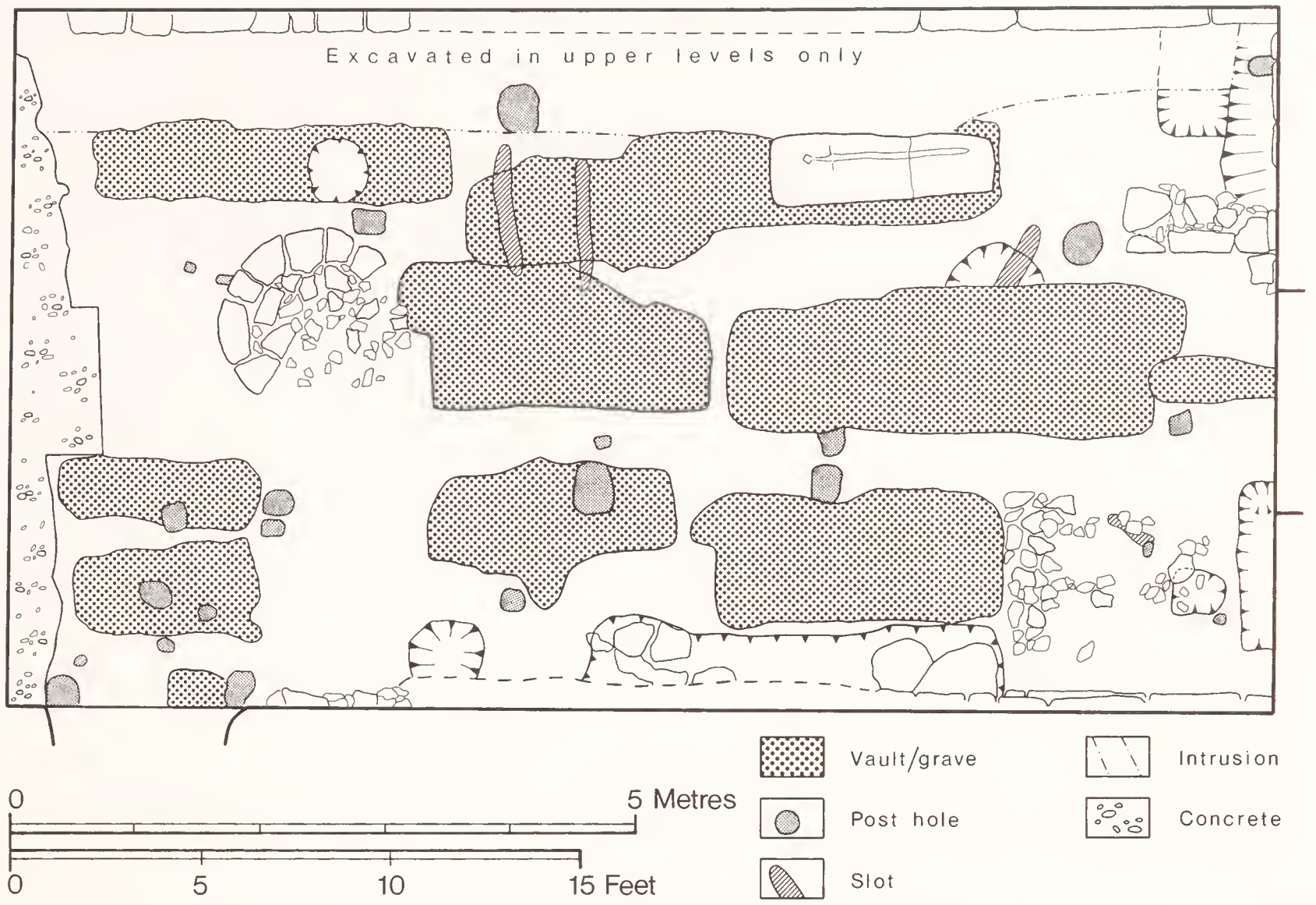

Fig. 2 St. Mary's, Levisham: all excavated features

The scheme to turn St Mary's into a parochial retreat was eventually abandoned, and the church passed briefly into the care of The Society for the Promotion of the Preservation of English Parish Churches (SPEC) and their secretary, Mr. A. Whitworth, whose intention was to open the building as a museum of church art. To this end, Mr. Whitworth took charge of the sculptured stones recovered from the fabric. When the SPEC scheme foundered, all the stones except the warrior fragment were recovered by the authors from the church and placed for safe-keeping in the Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton-le-Hole; the whereabouts of the other stone is unknown.

EXCAVATION RESULTS

Preamble

Over 500 contexts were identified, planned and recorded during the excavation, of which the majority were layers or spreads of pure or mixed mortar, plaster and silt; all other features are shown on Fig. 2. With the exception of mixed rubble and mortary loam layers immediately below the modern floor, which are interpreted as debris from the rebuildings of 1801-02, no continuous surfaces of any sort, either mortar/plaster or silt, extended over the entire area of the nave or indeed over more than approximately one-third of its area. Successive 'floor-levels' consisted instead of irregular interleaved spreads of mortar, plaster and silt, which with a few exceptions noted below did not appear to indicate the layout of fittings within the nave. The mortar and plaster layers may be interpreted as debris from successive rebuilding and refurbishing operations, and the silt as soil brought into the building on the boots of generations of worshippers.

Stratigraphy provides a relative chronology for the contexts in relation to one another but, as normal in church excavations, the paucity of dateable finds means that the relative sequence has few fixed points. The most important chronological indicators are two

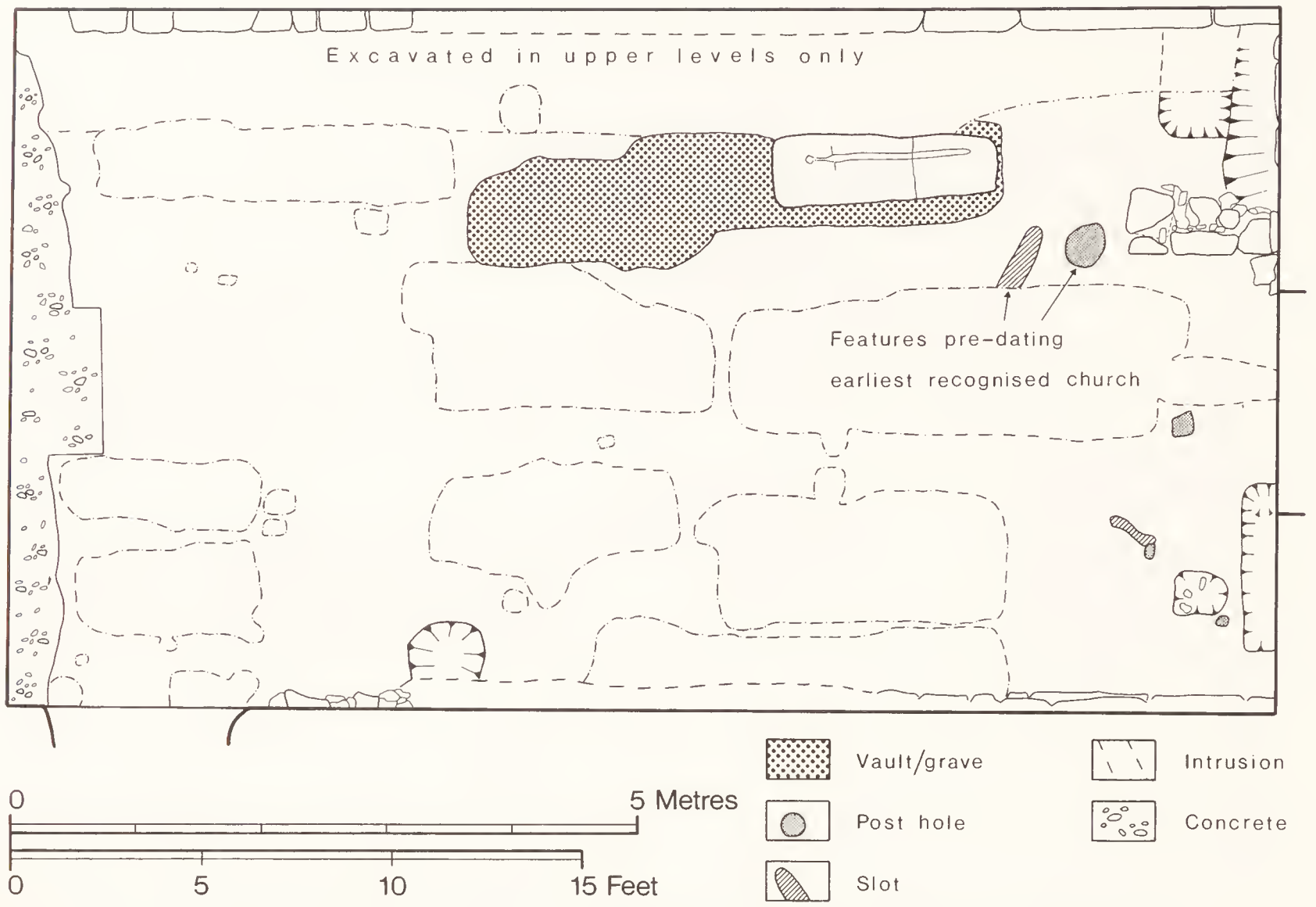

Fig. 3 St. Mary's Levisham: features pre-dating the church, and features of medieval date

sherds of pottery described in more detail below (p 63). One, dated by Miss J P Holdsworth to the twelfth century, was recovered from a context earlier than the construction of the nave's east wall, and also earlier than a grave-cut above which lay an incised slab, itself tentatively dated by Dr L A S Butler to the mid-twelfth century (below p 62). Together, this sherd and graveslab broadly define a twelfth-century horizon. The second sherd, dated by Miss Holdsworth to the sixteenth century, was found slightly higher in the relative stratigraphic sequence, underlying the majority of mortar/plaster layers, and thus suggesting that most of the alterations and renovations indicated by those layers took place in the last four centuries. On the basis of this sherd's position, the contexts interpreted as traces of furnishings or fixings have been divided into "medieval" and "post-medieval" groups, and are shown as such on Figs 3 and 5; features apparently related to the structure rebuilt in 1801-02 are shown in Fig. 6. The intrusions of later features and the structural constraints mentioned above have diminished the evidence available for the medieval church, and even in its post-medieval—pre-Victorian phases a complete picture is not possible due to both Victorian burials and the removal of the uppermost stratigraphy in the north-eastern part of the nave, where part of the incised graveslab was visible from an early stage in excavation.

1. Pre-Dating the 12th-century Structure (Fig. 3).

The natural soil underlying the archaeological deposits was a dark brown silty loam, possibly the result of solifluxion. This was covered by (in ascending order) sporadic patches of mortar-flecked loams, silty clay, a thin spread of powdered charcoal and 20-25cm of silty loams, containing a twelfth-century sherd (p 63) near their base. None of these contexts, either singly or in continuation, had a regular outline, and none were defined by any trenches, gullies or post-holes. The only features from this phase dug into

the ground were the adjacent post-hole and truncated gulley shown on Fig 3, which were filled with and sealed by the charcoal spread. The presence of mortar flecks in the lowest layers indicates that they derive from activities connected with building operations—and together they are interpreted as representing debris from the preparation for the construction of the twelfth-century church.

The unexcavated or disturbed strips along both north and south walls and the degree of later disturbance do not allow certainty that there was no structure earlier than the existing nave east wall, but this seems probable for two main reasons. Firstly, although earlier walls aligned east-west could lie within the unexcavated or disturbed strips, walls aligned north-south would have been detected if they had existed—they were not. An early timber church of equal size to the present structure is unlikely. Secondly, although it might be argued that a stone church of identical size to the later and existing building stood here in the pre-conquest period, it seems most unlikely that the present east wall of the nave, severe in its plainness, would have been built in the twelfth century to replace an earlier stone wall with chancel arch in the almost identical local Anglo-Saxon architectural tradition, as seen for example at Hackness. Furthermore, the absence of pre-conquest pottery and other artefacts (apart from the stone sculpture) adds a little further support to the contention that no earlier church stood below the site of the present nave.

2. The Medieval Church (Fig 3)

The nave east wall, erected after the deposition of a sherd dated to the twelfth century, indicates a medieval nave just 20cms narrower than the present structure, the alteration being on the north side. No other evidence for the twelfth century and medieval fabric was discovered apart from architectural fragments, discussed below pp. 74-9. Only a few features within the nave can be ascribed to the medieval rather than the post-medieval and early modern phase of the church's existence, including a scatter of what appear to be post-holes, which defy interpretation. A setting of mortared sandstone rubble, dressed to provide a straight south edge but otherwise irregular, and only one course deep, abutted the east wall of the nave to the north of the chancel arch. It measured 1.2m x 1.05m, and although having the appearance of being incomplete, rested in a slight depression in an underlying mortar layer which extended no further than the setting as excavated. It might be interpreted as the base for a child's tomb or for a screen, perhaps delimiting the southern limit of a chapel against the nave's east wall.

Alleviating this meagre assemblage of medieval features is an incised grave slab.

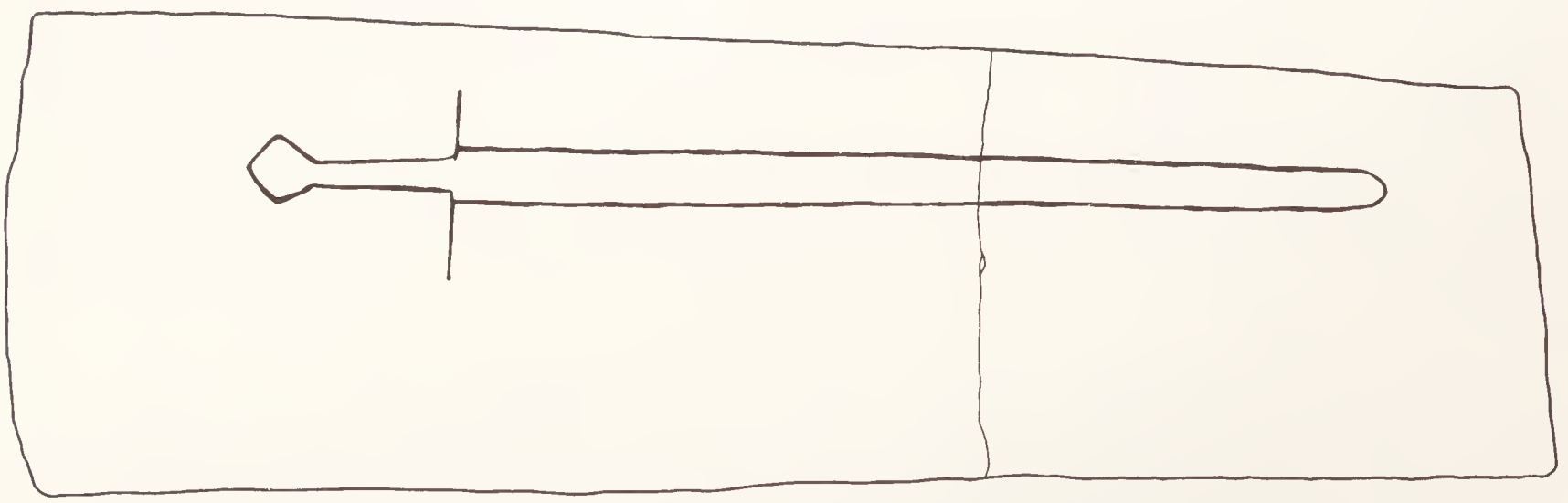

Fig. 4 St. Mary's, Levisham: incised grave-slab

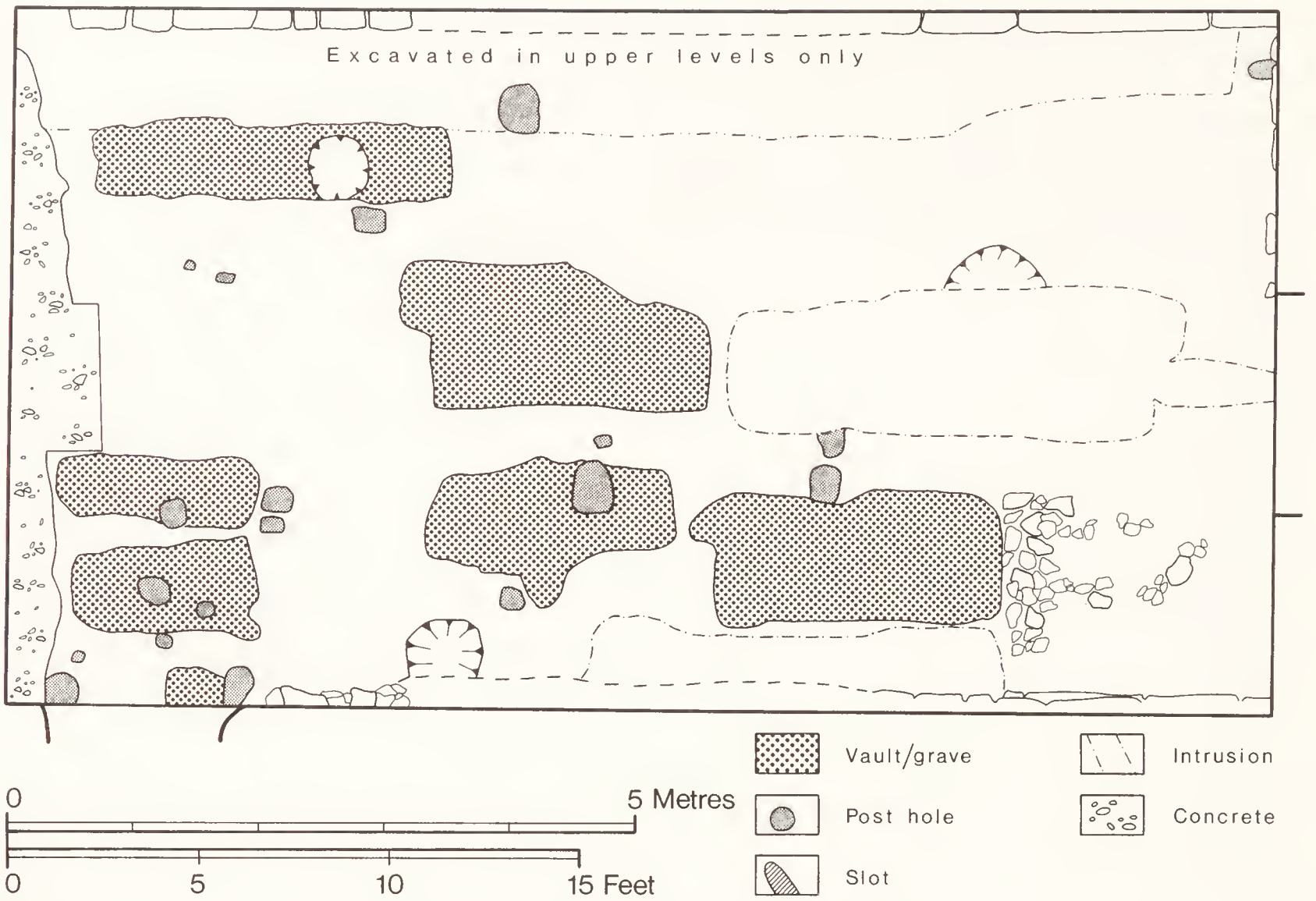

Fig. 5 St. Mary's, Levisham: features of post-medieval date

Dr. L. A. S. Butler writes:

A rectangular slab, probably of sandstone, is incised with a sword (Fig. 4). The sword has a round pommel so irregularly carved as to verge towards a lozenge shape; the hilt is of straight sides, not bulbous, and the guard is straight, indicated by a single carved line. The sword is best classified as Type V (London Museum, *Medieval Catalogue,* p 22, Fig 1, and p 25) for which a twelfth-century date is most likely though an early thirteenth-century date is possible.

Most grave covers in northern England are decorated with a cross centrally placed and with symbols to either side of the cross. The substitution of the sword (for a knight or an esquire) in place of a cross is rarely found (e.g. Aikton, Cumb.; Gosforth: C. Boutell, *Christian Monuments* (1849), pp 83, 84). These slabs cannot be closely dated, but two examples where a crozier or a pastoral staff is the sole symbol, as at Welbeck, Notts, and Chichester Cathedral (E. L. Cutts, *Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses* (1849), plates XXXV, XXXVIII) are of twelfth-century date. The practice of using a single symbol is more characteristic of the four northern counties of England rather than those further south. The form of sword, the shape of the stone and the positioning of the symbol are all suggestive of a mid-twelfth-century date but it is difficult to be precise about this particular example.

3. The Post-Medieval Church (Fig 5)

Rather more features belonging to this period were recognised. Among the earlier is the setting of rubble and mortar in the south-eastern area of the nave, perhaps defining the base for an altar, pulpit or tomb chest. Inside the modern entrance a group of three burials includes an infant's grave against the foundation at the doorway. These graves each had post-holes dug into their backfill. Holes on either side of the present door could have held a doorframe at this earlier date, and the adjacent holes might perhaps indicate an internal panel or screen. Given the elasticity of the relative chronology, most other features of this

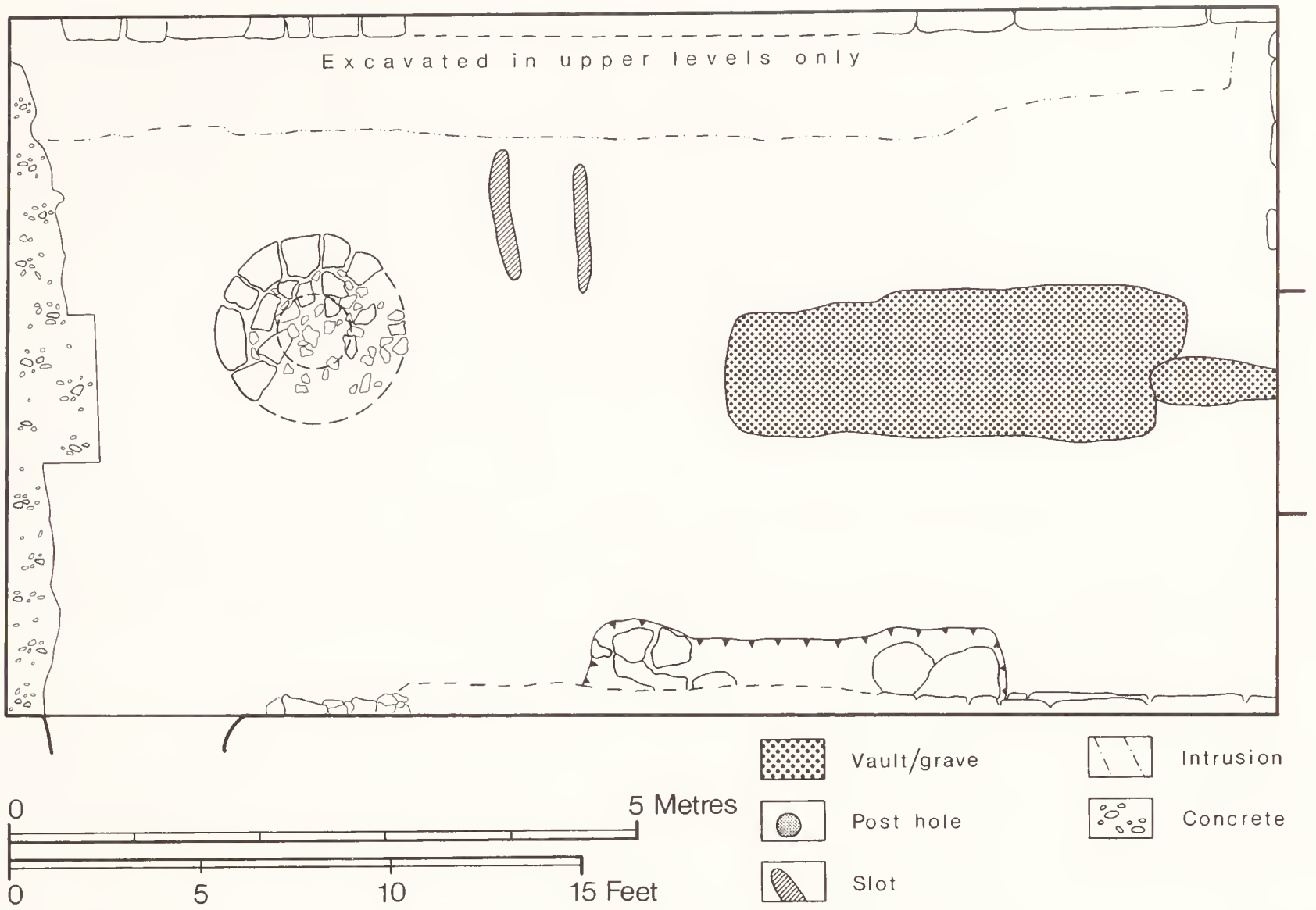

Fig. 6 St. Mary's, Levisham: features of early modern date

broad period cannot be associated convincingly. Two shallow depressions containing charcoal, ash and burned soil may have been bowl furnaces: small quantities of lead waste were recovered throughout the later layers, but none was associated with either feature.

4. *The Early Modern Church* (Fig 6)

A number of vaults and graves belong to this later phase in the church's life; the only other notable feature was a font-base and soak-away at the north-western end of the nave. The base consisted of a semi-circular setting of seven sandstone blocks. Their outer edges had been shaped to give a regular curve and their upper surfaces were diagonally tooled, but many of the adjoining edges and all the inner edges and bases were left undressed. The remainder of the circular setting was made up of rubble set in mortar. A central hole, packed with rubble, served as a soak-away.

Fig. 7 St. Mary's, Levisham: 12th-century sherd, 1:2.

POTTERY By Jane Holdsworth

Of some half dozen small fragments of pottery recovered during the excavation, only those two which may be *in situ* rather than in residual contexts are reported.

1. The rim sherd from a wide-mouthed jar or cooking pot, in a dark grey fabric with dense fine angular sand and less frequent larger white inclusions up to 2mm across. In terms of *The Munsell Book of Color,* the surfaces are light brown (7.5YR 6/4) to brown (7.5YR 5/2) with blackened patches (Fig 7).

   This ware is to be found in York associated with twelfth-century types of pottery, though it is not possible to place it more accurately within this century. (See 'The Medieval Pottery' in P. V. Addyman and J. Priestley, 'Baile Hill, York: A Report on the Institute's Research Project into the Origins of the Castle in England', *Archaeological Journal* 134 (1977) 134-7).

   Small find 18, context 1477.

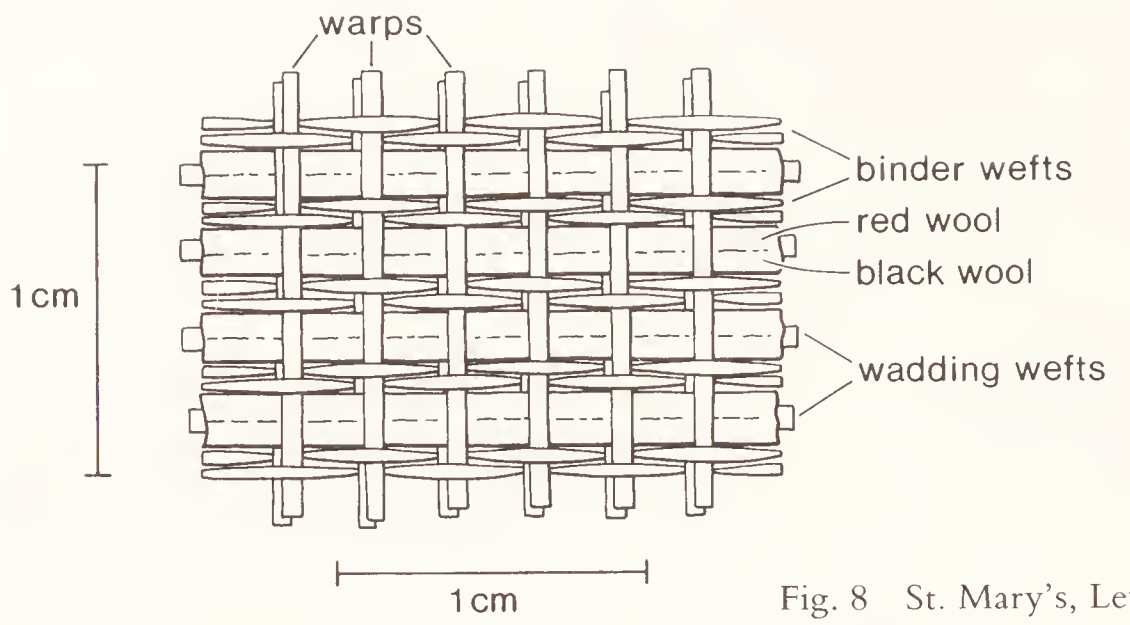

Fig. 8 St. Mary's, Levisham: textile fragment

2. Very small basal sherd; grey sandy fabric; shiny dark green glaze inside and out with darker green pitting. This ware is common in York in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries and is likely to be the product of a locally based industry. The relatively thin-walled construction of the sherd suggests a small vessel and it may well be part of a lobed bowl which often occur in this fabric. Several examples of these are housed in the Yorkshire Museum.

Small find 15, context 1422.

TEXTILE By Penelope Walton

A small fragment of textile, measuring only 5.0 x 2.0cms, is in an unusual and complex weave. The warps are arranged in well-spaced pairs, with one thread of each pair directly in front of the other. Two rows of tabby weaving (plain weave) bind these, each pair being treated as a single warp. The warps then divide into front and back and a group of weft yarns, one black, one red and one uncoloured, are passed between them, before they are again bound by two rows of tabby (Fig. 8).

The warps, the binding wefts and the thread which acts as a wadding behind the coloured yarns are all of undyed linen and Z-spun, while the black and red wefts are both of wool with very little twist visible. The dyes of the coloured yarns were extracted by solvents and their absorption spectra measured, with supplementary paper chromatography being carried out for the red dye only. The results of these tests showed that the black dye was logwood, while the red was either cochineal or lac.

Unfortunately no exact parallels have been found for this weave, despite an extensive search. However, the results of the dye-tests provide a clue to the date of the fragment, as logwood, *haematoxylon campechianum L,* was not used in Europe until after its discovery by the Spanish in Mexico (Brunello 1973, 358). Similarly the insect dye cochineal originates in the Americas, and lac does not appear to have been in general use until the 18th century, although it was known in the Italian industry two centuries earlier *(op. cit.* p. 188). This find would therefore appear to be no earlier than the sixteenth century. Although no examples of the same weave have been found, it bears some resemblance to the complex weaves of some oriental silks, and it seems possible that it is in fact a copy, in the cheaper materials of wool and linen, of a silk weave. Such copies were certainly being made in Holland in the seventeenth century (Geijer 1979, p. 162) and may also have been produced elsewhere in Europe at a similar date.

I am extremely grateful to Dr. G. W. Taylor for his advice on the identification of the dyes and to the many textile specialists who have commented on the weave.

Small find 25, context 1317.

EXCAVATED WINDOW GLASS By David O'Connor

About 150 fragments of window glass were found during the excavations; all the glass is broken and no complete pieces survive. A few pieces have completely disintegrated and others are crumbling badly; much of the glass has become semi-opaque since burial, but pitting on the exterior surface of several pieces shows that the glass had already begun to corrode while it was *in situ*. These various types of corrosion suggest that the

Fig. 9 St. Mary's, Levisham: painted glass fragments, probably 15th century

glass is rich in potash (K_2O) and is therefore medieval, as the soda glass of the Roman, Anglo-Saxon and post-medieval periods tends to be much more stable. A few pieces have been treated with PVA in an attempt to conserve them.

Most of the glass is flat and thin (1-2mm) suggesting a date in the late middle ages (15th or 16th century), but a few pieces (Nos. 2, 42, 44 and 47) are rather thicker (3-4mm); although thickness cannot be a secure method of dating it suggests that the glass from Contexts 1141 and 1317 may date to before 1400. A number of pieces show the characteristic 'nibbled' grozed edge of medieval window glass.

Although some of the glass is opaque, it is possible to determine the colour of many pieces at the edges. There are about 86 pieces of plain white glass—a few pieces have the greenish tint which is common in much early white glass, and one piece appears to have traces of yellow stain, a colouring technique not invented until the early years of the fourteenth century. One single piece of flashed ruby red glass is the only coloured piece on the site. Other colours may have corroded badly but if the excavated glass is a fair sample then the conclusion must be that the glazing at Levisham was not rich.

This is confirmed by the small number of painted pieces found (of course glass may have been removed at the Reformation). Seven fragments (21, 26, 34, 38, 40, 48 and 50) are painted with an iron oxide pigment which appears reddish-brown in reflected light. The pieces are so small that positive identification or discussion of style and design is barely possible. However, the fine-line drawing apparent in some pieces suggests a date in the late Middle Ages, probably in the fifteenth century (Fig. 9).

Inevitably, firm conclusions about dates must remain tentative but all the indications are that most of the pieces date to a period between 1400 and 1550 with a few pieces which could well be earlier, and that the windows of the church contained much plain glazing as well as windows with painted ornament and figures.

A detailed catalogue, to which the numbers in this synopsis refer, is lodged with the excavation archive.

Worked Stone fragments recovered in the excavation are described and illustrated by J. T. Lang in the Appendix 'Hand-list of early sculpture at Levisham', as small fragments A and B, and Romanesque sculpture 6.

Other objects recovered in the excavation but not described or illustrated here include fragments of lead and iron, a number of small copper-alloy pins (? shroud pins) and an ivory bead from a late context.

Conclusion

The excavation demonstrated that if there was a church associated with the tenth-century graveyard, it does not lie below the existing nave. The earliest structure identified is probably of the twelfth century, and study of the Romanesque decorated stones provides some hint of the possible early structural development of this church. The excavation revealed relatively little about the internal appearance of the church throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods; there is as yet, however, a near absence of results from similar churches with which to compare the Levisham data.

Fig. 10 St. Mary's, Levisham: cross-shaft fragments, Appendix No. 3

EARLY SCULPTURE FROM LEVISHAM, NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

By James Lang

The sculptured stone fragments from Levisham comprise two distinct groups with regard both to period and function : churchyard monuments from the Anglo-Scandinavian tenth century and decorative architectural pieces from an early Romanesque church. Apart from two pre-Conquest stones (the grave-slab and the cross-head) and the font, which had seen service as a cattle trough before 1884, the carvings were built into the fabric during the rebuilding of St. Mary's and only thanks to their careful extraction by Mr. Peter Hill are they now available for study.

The Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture

Though there are five pieces of tenth-century carving at Levisham, the site's reputation for pre-Conquest sculpture has long rested on a single monument : the grave-slab (Appendix, No. 1; Pl. 1). The bibliography for this stone is lengthy (see Appendix) because it has been regarded as a crucial example in the development of Scandinavian styles in Northern England, but it has been taken out of its local context in order to place it all too neatly in a typological progression (Brøndsted 1924, 227; Collingwood 1927, 129). The animal ornament has been variously described as developed Jellinge (Talbot Rice 1952, 126; Clapham 1930/69, 132) and Mammen (Wilson & Klindt-Jensen 1966, 123; Bailey 1980, 57), implying a date in the second half of the tenth century. The location and topography of Levisham, however, make it unlikely that its sculptors enjoyed an up to the minute receptiveness to subtle shifts of fashion in Scandinavia. Comparison with neighbouring animal ornament will demonstrate the parochial nature of the Levisham beast, and now that the concealed faces of the two decorated shaft fragments are revealed its context can be refined to an atelier operating within the confines of the site.

Recumbent grave-covers with flat tops like the Levisham stone are known from an early date in Ryedale. Two fine examples survive from the Anglian period at Kirkdale (Collingwood 1927, 16, figs 21 & 22), though their ornamentation eschews the animal. The introduction of zoomorphic decoration as it appears on the Levisham slab must stem from the York Minster cemetery whose recumbent grave-covers with panels of animals were produced at the very beginning of the Anglo-Scandinavian phase. The Levisham slab would have been a short monument, even when complete, and on the basis of the Minster cemetery's lay-out it may be assumed that it once had attendant upright end-stones, perhaps even cross-shafts.

Its single panel occupied by a solitary ribbon beast in profile is typical of Ryedale where the shafts of crosses are treated in an identical manner. The two complete crosses at

PLATE 1 Levisham: Grave-slab, Appendix No. 1

Middleton are the best known (Binns 1956, figs 4 & 8) and other examples are to be found at Sinnington and from Kirkby Moorside. The Levisham creature has the same jaws as many of the local parallels, with a slit in each mandible by the fangs, and the body is similarly embellished with a double outline. There are differences, however, which distinguish the slab's dragon from the Middleton group. Its stance undulates in regular zig-zag waves, unlike the S-formation of most Ryedale beasts. The head is held high instead of falling back over the body. There are no limbs and the tail is scrolled rather than extended into a trailing lappet. These differences need not necessarily be developments of the Middleton group's style and should not be regarded as an indication of a later position in the chronology. The decorative tricks of the Levisham animal's sculptor are most likely idiosyncratic and speak of variety between local workshops rather than chronological progression.

The erupting paired spirals are a feature which excites the art historian since they have been recognised as a departure from the animal in Viking ornament, the tendrils and scrolls being 'foliate'. Kendrick was quick to point out that this tendency is far from being proto-Ringerike, which in England is a Southern style (1949,99), and indeed the principal fetter of the slab's dragon is a serpent despite its three florid excrescences. Whilst the so-called 'combat motif' of a large beast entangled in a filiform serpent is typical of late Viking styles, at Levisham it must be an early manifestation and probably a modification of the habit of fettering profile animals with their own body extensions in the insular tradition. The paired scrolls are not necessarily an indication of the Mammen style. They are a particularly local feature and point to a stylistic link with sculpture at Sinnington where they serve to pack the background of the panels (Lang 1978a, Pl.II f). The two well preserved Sinnington dragons share details with Levisham's, for example the jaw slits and the half-moon incision on the tail, and the treatment of the fettering reveals a local source for the paired scrolls. At Sinnington the fetter bands are extended appendages of the animal whose trails terminate in a tight spiral. When two of these lie adjacent they give a first impression of paired scrolls; this can be seen on the Levisham slab itself where the loose trail lies across the tail. The same development has been noted on the shaft at Gilling West (Cramp & Lang 1977, no. 10).

David Wilson has indicated the Manx parallel for the placing of the paired scrolls above the hollow of an undulating beast. The posture and the cock of the head of such beasts on Thorleif's cross at Kirk Braddan also resemble Levisham's (Wilson & Klindt-Jensen 1966, 112-3, Fig. 52), but the Yorkshire stone's design has a greater looseness. The two monuments, however, employ the scrolls in a similar manner : the centre of each spiral lies on the original grid line used to control the design's lay-out. This may be seen operating on the slab where the upper scroll of the tail aligns with the vertical edge of the lower lobe and a drilled fix-point on the upper arris moulding. This single example must suffice here but the same principle operates on the Braddan shaft. The scrolls, therefore, derive from the carver's techniques rather than from purely stylistic embellishment.

The cross-head (Appendix, No. 2; Pl. 2) belongs to a local type. Its wheel has a surmounting ridge or crest which rarely occurs outside this part of Ryedale. It occurs on the Middleton crosses and at Kirkby Moorside in two forms, and from the cutting techniques it is possible to distinguish the individual hand of the sculptor. The Levisham cross-head was cut by the carver of Middleton B and Kirkby Moorside 2 (Lang, forthcoming), the three heads sharing the cutting in stepped planes with no bevelling and the same decorative embellishment of the rim of the wheel. The Levisham cross-head seems to be the only piece from the site which directly relates to a nearby atelier, the slab and shafts being more idiosyncratic.

The shaft fragment removed from the south-east corner of the chancel is an important addition to the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture of Ryedale since its design brings together

PLATE 2(a)
Levisham: cross-head, Appendix No. 2: Top

PLATE 2(b)
Levisham: cross-head, Appendix No. 2: Front

PLATE 2(c)
Levisham: cross-head, Appendix No. 2: Back

a number of motifs hitherto found only on disparate monuments (Appendix No.3; Pl. 3; Fig 10). There are stylistic connections between this stone and pieces at Sinnington, Middleton, Pickering and Kirkby Moorside in the broadest eclectic sense, despite some originality in the handling of decorative borders.

The distinctive arris with its scrolled terminals is a feature found at two sites west of Levisham : Sinnington has two examples, one of them with a similar interlace infill (Collingwood 1907, 386, *1* & (2)), and a debased version occurs on an unpublished face from Kirkby Moorside (Lang, forthcoming). Confronted spirals acting in this way occur only at these three Ryedale sites though they may be provincial reflex of the collared erupting scrolls of the Newgate shaft in York (Cramp & Lang 1977, no. 15). The Levisham narrow sides now suggest that the revealed faces of the Sinnington shafts, built into the fabric, may also be narrow sides and that broader, more decorative principal faces probably lie concealed in the masonry. Whilst the scrolled border is very localised in Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, it is interesting to note the resemblance to the rather later Danish runestones at Arhus, a chance parallel perhaps or a common source.

The arrow-head pendant, however, is unique to the Levisham monument. There may be some connection with the pendant swags of round-shaft derivative crosses which often have inverted triangular panels terminating their decorative faces, for example the large shaft at Sockburn (Knowles 1905, 111, no. 1) or the complete shaft at Lastingham (Collingwood 1907, 356 & 359, *cde*). The origin of this feature probably lies in the applied 'vandykes' of ecclesiastical metalwork which were suspended from an encircling band. The Levisham form is highly developed and incorporated into the scheme for the arris. Whilst such pendants are often zoomorphic (e.g. Sockburn) or simple interlace (e.g. Stanwick, Lastingham, Sherburn), here the treatment tends towards the foliate, with flanking leaflets on the principal face, which points to the drift away from animal ornament towards plant forms in the second half of the 10th century. A cross at Kirkdale, with late stopped plait interlace, has a similar leaning towards foliate loops (Collingwood 1907, 344 *b*) and the fashion may well be a local experiment rather than a stylistic progression in response to late Viking styles.

The human figure is related to the secular portraits on the shafts at Middleton and Kirkby Moorside though clearly not by the same hand. It is slightly smaller but the crude legs, and above all the distinctive belt and horizontal sheath caught up by a thong, relate it both to the 'warrior' of Middleton B and D and to the huntsman of Middleton A (Binns 1956, figs 3, 9 & 10; Lang 1973, Pl.IV, 1 & 2). The cutting is different from the work of both Middleton carvers, however, with much deeper penetration and almost drilling with the point of the punch. The figure is most likely a copy of the Middleton portraits and very slightly post-dates them.

The S-beast of the reverse face has parallels at Ellerburn and Pickering (Collingwood 1907, 314, 316, *a,* 380-1, *b*) where the size, shape and disposition are all much the same. The fetter band at Levisham is not so flat, however, nor is it so taut; indeed, the band is slightly humped in section and describes a loose loop below the animal rather than conforming to logical underpass and overpass of limbs and torso. This freedom can be seen as a minor development of the Ryedale S-beast. The smaller variety was contemporary with the large beasts like those on the reverse faces of the Middleton crosses, for at Sinnington on the piece affixed to the interior W wall the main face has a large S-profile dragon and the narrow sides of the same stone have the smaller type. The immediate origin of the Ryedale creatures lies in the early tenth-century sculpture at York and is not necessarily dependent on Scandinavian homeland varieties.

A second shaft fragment (Appendix No. 4) was taken out of the west face of the tower where it had been included in Victorian stone facing along with fragment Number 5. Three of its faces (the fourth is scabbled) carry fettered dragons but of varying designs:

PLATE 3(a) Levisham: shaft fragment, Appendix No. 3: Face A

PLATE 3(b) Levisham: shaft fragment, Appendix No. 3: Face B

PLATE 3(c) Levisham: shaft fragment, Appendix No. 3: Side 1

PLATE 3(d) Levisham: shaft fragment, Appendix No. 3: Side 2

PLATE 4(a)
Levisham: shaft fragment, Appendix No. 4: Face A

PLATE 4(b)
Levisham: shaft fragment,
Appendix No. 4: Side 1

PLATE 4(c)
Levisham: shaft fragment,
Appendix No. 4: Side 2

PLATE 5(a)
Levisham: shaft fragment,
Appendix No. 5: Face A

PLATE 5(b)
Levisham: shaft fragment,
Appendix No. 5: Face B

PLATE 5(c)
Levisham: shaft fragment,
Appendix No. 5: Side 1

PLATE 5(d)
Levisham: shaft fragment,
Appendix No. 5: Side 2

one closely resembles the grave-slab and another the Middleton type. This monument therefore serves as a link between two variants of the Ryedale school and makes the slab an absolute contemporary of the Sinnington-Middleton series of crosses. Only one face retains the head of the beast (Pl. 4a). It hangs down over the back, its jaws having the diagnostic slits. The fetter actually interweaves with the body and jaws, unlike fragment 3, in the Sinnington manner and it appears, despite damage, that the foreleg was once in the usual position crammed against the top of the panel. The tongue of the dragon is distinctively a Levisham one, protruding in a tight scroll like the flourishes to the slab's beast.

On an adjacent side the contoured ribbon torso describes an arc, as though it undulated in the manner of the animal on the recumbent slab (Pl. 4b). The leg joint is scrolled in exactly the manner of the Sinnington dragons (Lang 1973, 22, fig.1) but the fetter acts strangely, penetrating the contoured edge at one point and lying as a loose trail to complement the curve of the animal. It ends in a tight scroll, and the infilling fetter band in the hollow of the beast's back seems to have had a protruding serpent head, which may again be compared with the slab's design. The looseness of the composition distinguishes it from the Sinnington group on one hand and its sense of balance from the Middleton group on the other.

The third face (Pl. 4c) has the Levisham undulating ribbon with double outline, but the prodigious infilling scrolls appear as offshoots from the contoured edge, the fetter being reduced to a passing bar placed in the customary Anglian vinescroll position of the node immediately above the junction of the branchlet. Here the convention of the ribbon beast has been mixed with the pre-Viking vinescroll motif which would have been extant nearby at Hackness, Kirkdale and Lastingham (Collingwood 1907, 328 *b*, 347 *d*, 358 *g*). Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors in Ryedale did experiment with vinescroll, for example on the Middleton C cross (*Ibid.*, 370 *b*) and carvings elsewhere in the North Riding, such as the Brompton shaft (*Ibid.*, 301, *i*) indulged the same revivalist habit. The foliate motif of the Levisham piece, therefore, is not a reflex of late Scandinavian styles but a turning back to Anglian patterns. Its originality lies in its accommodation to the conventions of current animal ornament.

The third shaft fragment is distinctive since it carries no zoomorphic or free style designs (Appendix No. 5; Pls. 5a-d). Its decorative austerity renders stylistic analysis difficult and it may possibly be a pre-Viking Age piece. It is broken at the top and may have had either a cross-head or a slimmer extension of the shaft, a smaller version of the shouldered type of shaft exemplified in the monument from Kirkby Misperton now in the Yorkshire Museum (Brøndsted 1924, 198, fig. 145). In the North-West this form of shaft is associated with eleventh-century crosses, such as Whalley, but the decoration of the only two parallels in the Ryedale area, Kirkby Misperton and Hovingham, suggests a ninth-century date for the Yorkshire examples. The closest analogue is the recently identified Hovingham shaft (Addyman et al., forthcoming) which has the same design of two adjacent vertical panels with arched tops on the main faces and thinly incised restrained decoration on the narrow sides. The Levisham stone lacks the interlace within the panels of the other two but faint traces of red pigment in the incised lines suggest it once had a more elaborate polychrome appearance.

The less ambitious decoration of the Levisham stone may indicate that it copies the local analogues, yet in one respect it is original : the arched terminations of the panels are bound together by horizontal bands giving the impression of a rough Borre style return loop. Metalwork from York in this style is well known and may have provided a model. If so then this piece is a transitional monument of late Anglian form and decorative scheme but with a Scandinavian development of detail. The incised circles of one narrow side are in the tradition of the ninth-century Anglian interlace trails on the Hovingham

PLATE 6 Levisham: lintel, Appendix No. 6

shaft already cited and another at Stonegrave (Collingwood 1907, 400-2,*m*), both known ecclesiastical centres of pre-Viking Ryedale.

The Romanesque Sculpture

The architectural decorative fragments surviving at St. Mary's point to the enrichment of an early Romanesque church by a local sculptor. His ornamental repertoire is unambitious, even repetitive and archaic; certainly not in the mainstream of European Romanesque like the church at nearby Barton-le-Street. Four pieces comprise the group : a lintel, a window head, a capital and a font. They are united by quite primitive patterns and have close parallels in built-in fragments at Ellerburn church a few miles to the west.

The largest piece (Pl. 6), until recently built into the plinth of the south exterior wall of the nave near the present door, is undoubtedly a lintel, for it has a rebate on its back for a door. Its inner faces retain traces of white gesso and red pigment though it is impossible to trace a coherent pattern for dating purposes. The lintel carries the sculptor's complete range of motifs: square chequers in raised and sunken sequence, tight spirals and an equal armed splayed cross. The chequers are roughly cut and cannot be safely used for stylistic dating but it is interesting to compare the hogback from Tyninghame in Scotland which was recut with the pattern soon after the Viking period (Lang 1976, 212). The cross also appears on the font and the Ellerburn piece and is of a type rarely found in pre-Conquest monuments. It is fairly common, however, on rustic grave-markers of the 'Saxo-Norman overlap' period and the quality of the cutting at Levisham is only marginally

PLATE 7 Levisham: window fragment, Appendix No. 7

PLATE 8 Levisham: capital, Appendix No. 8

superior to such crude carvings. Like the chequers, it is the simplest of patterns to execute.

The spiral motif is used on the lintel in the old fashioned Anglo-Scandinavian manner as a filler to cover every inch of background space. At Ellerburn the spirals run in line below the chequers. It is tempting to see the use of spiral scrolls as a continuation, or at least a copy, of the Anglo-Scandinavian monuments at Levisham. Whilst tight spirals were in use on some capitals of early Romanesque churches in eastern Yorkshire, for example on the chancel arch of Whitby parish church, there is a case for continuity from the pre-Conquest period in the impost on the south side of the chancel arch at Ellerburn. Here a Viking Age shaft has been re-used horizontally to form the impost block, its capital adorned with a spiral in the manner of the newly discovered capital which came out of the south-east corner of the chancel of St. Mary's (Pl. 8). The re-use of ornamented pieces may have prompted the Romanesque mason to adopt the motif for his decoration.

The fragment in the north wall of the nave (Pl. 7) was probably a window-head rather than a broad string-course, since it closely resembles the Ellerburn piece in the east wall of the chancel, which carries the same chequer and cross and clearly had the function of a window-cap. The plain moulding of the small Levisham piece is on a slight arc, also suggesting the context of a window, where it might have appeared as a miniature lintel to match the doorway. The capital with its tight spiral appears to be contemporary with the lintel and window-head, and from these few surviving pieces it is possible to postulate at least an external decorative scheme for the early church in which doors and windows were surmounted by embellished capping stones. The capital very probably came from the doorway, since the existing chancel arch is clearly an early one and of a piece with the east wall of the nave, now partly revealed as a result of the stripping of plaster. It is possible that the capital may have served in a tower arch but there is no standing or available evidence for a tower of early date preceding the present one.

The dating of this phase of the church is very difficult, even perilous on stylistic grounds owing to the rustic nature of the carvings. The cross shape, the use of simple

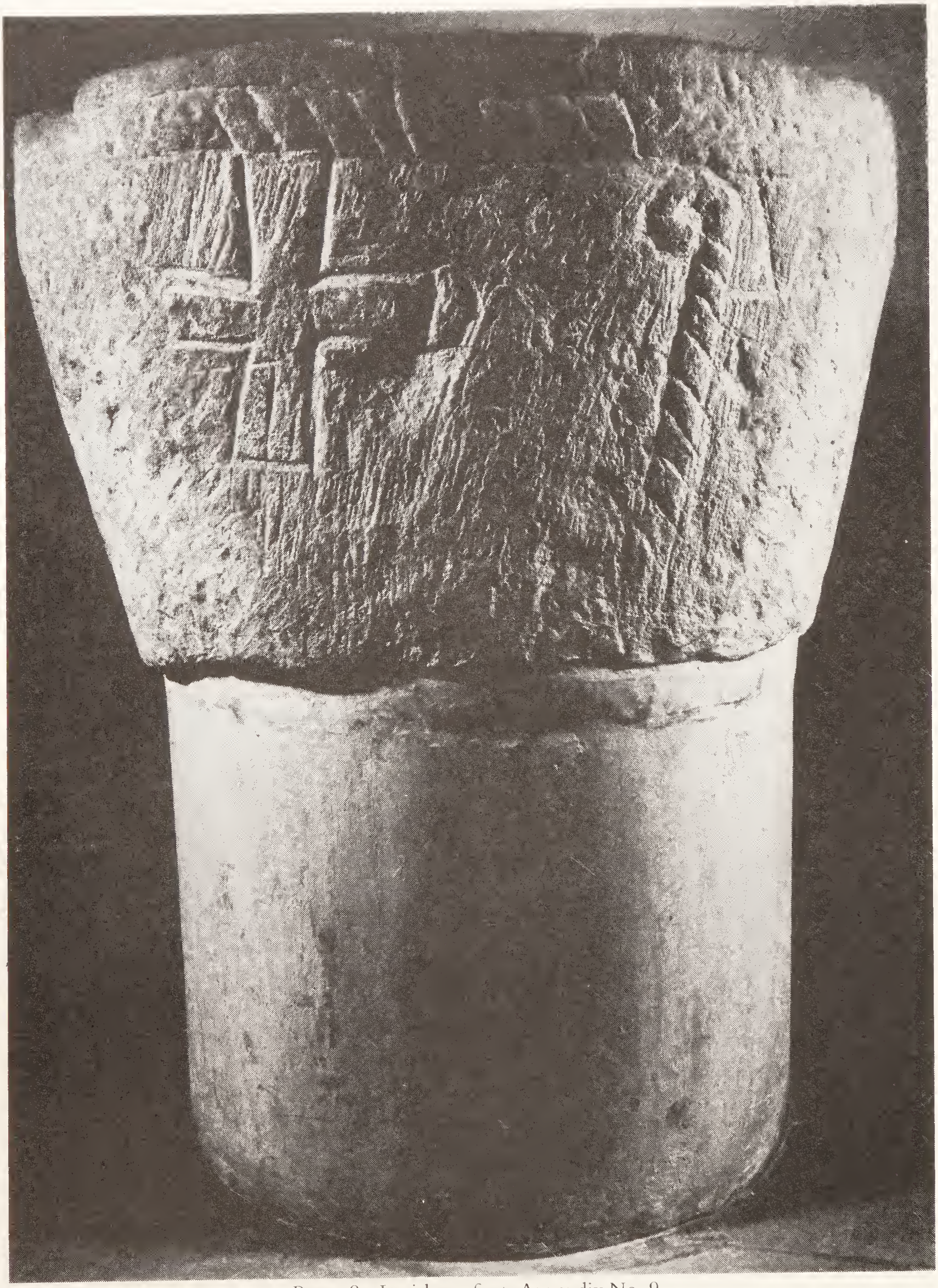

PLATE 9 Levisham: font, Appendix No. 9

PLATE 10 Levisham: capital fragment, Appendix No. 10

chequers and perhaps the form of a flat lintel with a central cross panel point to a kind of provincial form of the Romanesque found in twelfth-century Ireland rather than in Yorkshire. It is safer to regard the features as local workmanship, ambitious but unfashionable. It is just possible that the equal-armed cross may have been popular in Ryedale in the mid-eleventh century, since it occurs on the Kirkdale sundial (Collingwood 1907, 344 & 347) but parallels are few, even locally.

The discovery of the cat-mask fragment (Pl. 10) in the churchyard wall might seal the context of the spiral and chequer pieces between the mid-eleventh and mid-twelfth centuries, assuming that the fragment originated in St. Mary's church itself. The cat-mask is typical of mainstream twelfth-century Romanesque portals which were common in Yorkshire as well as on the Continent. The elliptical eyes of the beast are found on both sides of the English Channel : an early example is found on the west doorway of St. Porchaire in Poitiers, and slightly later English occurences which are broadly datable are seen at Canterbury (*c.*1120), Kilpeck (*c.*1150) and Alne (*c.*1160). Two Yorkshire analogues, at Stillingfleet and North Newbald, demonstrate that the type was current in the east of the county at that period. The cat-mask, often spewing forth foliate fronds, derives from Winchester style manuscript art but its sculptural manifestation, in Yorkshire at least, belongs to the twelfth century.

This raises problems for the notional reconstruction of the Romanesque church at Levisham, for a cat-mask capital implies a portal with a nook shaft column of at least two orders. It is possible that the doorway with the flat lintel was modified and added to in the mid-twelfth century but it was impossible to excavate externally at the west end of the south wall of the nave to determine the presence of a portal. It would be possible for the cat-mask to have come from a tower arch but certainly not the chancel arch, the existing one being early. Yet again there is no archaeological evidence at present available to show an earlier tower. The most plausible interpretation would be a first phase south door close to the location of the lintel when it was incorporated into the wall during the rebuild (the lintel is extremely heavy and would have been difficult to move any distance) whose decoration matched the window heads. A second phase would have added outer orders to that doorway in a later, more flamboyant style.

The church with the lintel and spiral motifs had a close contemporary at Ellerburn but that building too has a complicated architectural history, surviving two major rebuilds. It cannot therefore be a helpful analogue in attempts at establishing the sequences at Levisham. Though the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture demonstrates that a tenth-century burial ground very probably existed on the site, there is no architectural evidence for any pre-Conquest fabric in the present church. The chancel arch has been claimed as Anglo-Saxon (Pevsner 1966, 228) but even Morris's cautious '11th century' (1931, 239) may be

PLATE 11(a) Levisham: finial cross, Appendix No. 11: Front

PLATE 11(b) Levisham: finial cross, Appendix No. 11: Back

too early. The east wall of the nave and chancel arch consist of very primitive building and do not compare easily with other Saxon-Norman churches in the area, such as Hovingham and Middleton. The nineteenth-century additions to the east and west of the nave, and the rebuilding and resiting of the north wall make interpretation well-nigh impossible. Since the early sculpture could have been used at any date for patching the fabric its incorporation in no way indicates the date of the walls. If the Romanesque decoration is primitive, so are the architectural features and it is perhaps only safe to suggest, on sculptural evidence, two phases of a twelfth-century rustic church.

APPENDIX:

Hand-list of early sculpture at Levisham.

Pre-Conquest Sculpture

1. *Grave-slab;* gritty sandstone.

In the porch of St. John's church, Levisham village.

The slab is in two pieces (Pl. 1.).

A.	B.
Length: 61.6 cm	62.5 cm
Width at end: 42.3 cm	35.7 cm
Width at fracture: 45.7 cm	41.5 cm
Thickness: 19.0 cm	14.5 cm

Only the upper face is carved, with a single panel framed by a plain border, 4.0 cm wide. A solitary, undulating profile beast occupies the entire panel, its head on fragment A. The ribbon body has a contoured outline, 1.4 cm wide, and its width expands slightly at the bends. The head is raised with gaping jaws, each with a horizontal slit from which a fang protrudes. A circular incised eye, 2.5 cm in diameter, is placed in a domed brow, behind which an extended ear, 2.8 cm wide and medially incised, loops about the neck to end in a small volute. The beast has no legs but from its chest erupt a pair of spirals. A similar pair of spiral scrolls erupt from the crest of the rump's contouring, and a larger pair form the tail, which has a half-moon incision on the tip of each scroll.

The beast is fettered by a number of loose trailing elements, 2.0 cm to 3.0 cm wide. One of these, by the tail, is a short semicircular band with scrolled ends that meet the tail spirals. A clumsy oval ring appears to have looped the centre of the animal but the stone is broken here. Below the rump is a large scroll terminal to a band that lies adjacent to the beast. The largest fetter is a snake whose head with protruding eyes lies behind the rump and whose tail is bitten by the beast's fangs. The snake's body has an offshoot scroll at the base of the panel and, above the beast's shoulders, an erupting pair of adorsed spiral scrolls. The snake's tail passes under a ham-like element beneath the beast's jaws. Here and there are isolated pellets acting as fillers.

Some of the spiral scrolls have a transverse bar across their necks, notably the 'forelegs' and the semicircular elements by the tail, though this feature may have worn away elsewhere on the stone.

References

Collingwood (1907), 360-1, figs a, b. Brøndsted (1924), 202, 227, fig. 151. Collingwood (1927), 18, 129. Clapham (1930), 132, fig. 41. Baldwin Brown (1937), 230, Pl.LXXV 2. Kendrick (1949), 99, Pl.LXVI. Talbot Rice (1952), 126, fig. 12. Wilson (1966), 112, 123, Pl.XLII b. Stone (1972), 31-2, Pl.18c. Lang (1978a), 16, Pl.IV f. Lang (1978b), 150. Cramp & Lang (1978), no. 11. Fuglesang (1980), 92. Bailey (1980), 57, Pls. 17 & 18. Bailey (1981), 84, 90, no. F8.

2. *Cross-head fragment;* sandstone with grit.

On the window sill of the porch of St. John's church, Levisham village.

Height: 17.0 cm.
Width: 30.5 cm
Thickness: 14.3 cm

The fragment (Plate 2) consists of one arm of a wheel-head cross with parts of its wheel. The arm-pits of the cross are circular and drilled. The arm is expanded into a rectangular panel (Type 11A) contained by roll moulding, 1.2 cm wide. Within it, a modelled strand, 2.2 cm wide, forms an angular Stafford knot, the spaces filled by large single pellets. The reverse face is more worn but may have carried basket plait in a thinner band, 1.5 cm wide.

The flat tip of the arm has a rectangular decorative panel contained by roll moulding 1.3 and 1.8 cm wide. At the centre is a plain rectangular strip, 6.2 cm by 2.3 cm, surrounded by strands which lie parallel at each end and form interlace of Type C Half Pattern along the sides.

The wheel is recessed 4.5 cm from the face and is 6.0 cm wide. It carries step pattern between plain mouldings and is surmounted by a crest whose sides are decorated with low relief pendant triangles.

3. *Shaft fragment;* orange-brown, quartzy sandstone.
The piece had been built into the S exterior wall of the chancel of St. Mary's church near the SE corner, and was removed professionally by Mr. Peter Hill during the recent work on the site (Fig. 10).
Height: 58.0 cm
Width: 30.5 tapering to 25.8 cm
Thickness: 22.0 tapering to 19.8 cm
Face A. (Pl. 3a) Plain corner mouldings, each 2.0 cm wide, terminate in spiral scrolls, 9.5 cm in diameter. An inner plain moulding is incised and 3.0 cm wide. Between the inward turning spirals is a pendant arrow-headed terminal, 5.5 cm long, which may once have been zoomorphic since there are faint picked eyes upon it.
Within the panel is a standing human figure, portrayed frontally in a kirtle and belt with a horizontal sheath, except for the legs and feet which are in profile. The head and shoulders are lost. Between the legs is a pellet and another lies on the left-hand side. Flanking the legs are ziz-zag snakes, one 8.0 cm long.
Below the pendant terminal head, the stone is undecorated for 24.5 cm.
Face B. (Pl. 3b) The outer corner mouldings, 2.5 cm wide, terminate in scrolls and contain an inner arris, 1.0 cm wide, in well modelled band. Within the panel is the U-shaped rump of a profile beast with contoured edges and transverse fetter bands. Its tail is extended and a scroll serves as a filler, being a terminal of a disorganised band which meanders downwards between the arris spirals. This infill accommodates to a pendant V-shaped band in the centre which has flanking spirals that coil in a contrary direction to the scrolls above. The lower 21.0 cm of the face is uncarved. The cutting of this face is quite deep and there is some modelling.
Side 1. (Pl. 3c) There is a double arris, the outer moulding 2.0 cm and the inner 1.5 cm, terminating in scrolls. The panel contains bungled interlace in a 2.0 cm band which ends in a pendant arrow-head between the scrolls. The lower part of the face is much damaged.
Side 2. (Pl. 3d) This face has a triple arris. The plain outer moulding, 2.5 cm wide, joins with an inner strip of two-cord twist, 1.5 cm wide, to form the terminal scrolls, whilst the innermost plain moulding joins with the box-points of the closed circuit interlace within the panel. In the centre, between the scrolls, is a pendant arrow-head. The lower 24.5 cm is uncarved.
The cutting is modelled but slightly weathered as this face was exposed in the wall.
Reference. Collingwood (1907), 360-1, *c.;* Home (1905), 87.

4. *Shaft fragment;* sandstone.
It had been built into the Victorian facing of the west wall of the tower, two courses above and a little north of the apex of the pointed window head. It was removed by Mr. Hill in recent work at the site.
Height: 39.4 cm
Width: 34.0 tapering to 30.0 cm
Thickness: 23.2 cm
Face A. (Pl. 4a) A single tapering panel is flanked by a plain corner moulding, 4.5 cm wide, and contains the head and torso of a fettered profile beast. The contoured body has almost parallel edges and lies against the right-hand arris. The forelegs are lost but it is clear from the pendant head that the animal extended up the shaft. The hanging head has a domed brow containing a circular incised eye. The jaws gape and each has a horizontal slit, a coiled tongue appearing from between them. From behind the eye a pigtail forms a fetter 2.3 cm wide which passes across the neck and chest. The beast is packed densely into the panel, the fetters and the odd pellet serving as fillers.
Face B. Scabbled away.
Side 1. (Pl. 4b) A plain corner moulding, 3.5 cm wide, is damaged at one side. The single panel contains a broad, flat and undulating band with contoured edges; at the internal bends it erupts into clumsy spiral scrolls which have angular off-shoots crammed in as fillers. At the right-hand edge is a small leaf with twin berries serving a similar function. The main stem is crossed in two places, immediately after turning, by narrow bands. Though the upper part of the face is much damaged, the stem does appear to branch out into narrow fronds.
Side 2. (Pl. 4c) Only the right-hand corner moulding, 3.5-3.0 cm wide, remains. Within the panel, lying close to the arris, is the central portion of a profile beast with a contoured upper edge and a thin incised spiral joint for the lost foreleg. A fetter band with a scrolled terminal forms a complementary curve to the animal, and an angular scroll fills the intervening space.

5. *Shaft fragment;* fine grained limestone.
The piece had been built into the Victorian facing of the west wall of the tower, a little south of shaft no. 4. It was extracted by Mr. Hill.
Height: 72.3 cm
Width: 25.2 cm tapering to 21.4 cm
Thickness: 13.2 cm

Face A. (Pl. 5a) A plain corner moulding, 2.5/2.2 cm wide, hooks round at the top of the shaft to meet in the centre as two adjacent bands which are swallowed by three horizontal curving elements, each 2.2 cm wide, that rest on a plain central tapering band. Immediately below the horizontal elements is a half-moon chip and flanking fronds, but this may well be accidental damage. Between the arris moulding and the central strip is a plain band, 4.0/6.0 cm wide, at each side, terminating at the top in a small inward volute.
Face B. (Pl. 5b) Identical with Face A, though slightly better preserved and fewer accidental chips.
Side 1. (Pl. 5c) A plain corner moulding is 2.2 cm wide. At the top and fitting snugly between the arris edging is an incised circle, 7.3 cm in diameter. This side was exposed in the wall.
Side 2. (Pl. 5d) An outer plain corner moulding, 2.2 cm wide, flanks an inner arris 1.8 cm wide which loops in a U-turn at the top.
The stone is broken at each end but as the panels at the top are terminated it is clearly the upper part of a shaft. There is no indication of a cross-head. When dampened during cleaning, the roughly picked incised grooves of the carving showed faint tinges of red pigment.

Small fragment A; limestone.
An indeterminate fragment, it appears to be from a corner of a stone object as it is smoothly dressed on two adjacent sides.
Height: 2.3 cm
Width: 2.3 cm
Thickness: 0.9 cm
The largest face carries a slightly expanded incision with a V-shaped profile section.

Small fragment B; limestone.
An indeterminate fragment.
Height: 2.1 cm
Width: 2.0 cm
Thickness: 1.4 cm
Only one face is worked. Stepped inclined planes suggest a border.

Romanesque Sculpture.

6. *Lintel;* sandstone.
The piece was built into the plinth of the exterior south wall of the nave a little to the east of the present doorway (Pl. 6). It was professionally removed to the interior of the church in March 1982.
Length: 147.0 cm
Height: 30.0 cm
Depth: 30.0 cm
The front of the lintel is totally decorated in rectangular panels. In the centre a panel 24.5 cm wide contains a cross with equal splayed arms, each corner filled by a tight spiral. This central panel is flanked by longer ones containing raised and sunk chequers, each element c.4.5 cm square. At each extremity is a thin vertical panel, somewhat broken. One end has saltire crosses, the other simple upright crosses with spirals. For the length of the lintel there is a double roll moulding at top and bottom, each 1.5 cm wide.
The reverse has a rebate for a door cut into it: 101.0 cm long, 17.2 cm wide and 7.0 cm deep. The flanking edges are 19.0 and 18.0 cm wide. Some remnants of gesso and pigment remained on the reverse surface but the design was not clear.

7. *Window fragment;* sandstone.
Built into the north wall of the nave (Pl. 7).
Length: 68.5 cm
Width: 17.5 cm
Three rows of raised and sunk chequers, each c. 4.5 cm square are contained by plain border mouldings, 2.5 cm wide on the top on a slight arc at the base.

8. *Capital;* orange sandstone
Originally built into the south wall of the chancel, alongside Shaft 1.
Height: 28.2 cm
Width: 21.8 cm
Length: 43.5 cm
At the top is a plain moulding, 2.5 cm wide surmounting a cable moulding, 2.0 cm wide. The cuboid cushion capital has, above its taper, a spiral wound tightly, its cord 1.5 cm thick.

9. *Font;* sandstone.
Before 1884 it served as a cattle trough in a local farmyard (Home 1905, 75 & 87). It is now in St. John's church in Levisham village (Pl. 9).

Height: 45.3 cm
Diameter: 73.2 cm
Depth internally: 25.5 cm
Upper circumference: 228.3 cm
Lower circumference: 184.0 cm

The rim is 7.0 cm thick and undecorated.
The sides of the tub are very defaced by chisel marks. At the top a plain moulding lies above a cable, each 3.6 cm wide. The west face's decoration is lost. On the south west there may have been a frontally presented standing figure though it remains a ghost. The south face is blank. On the east face is an equal armed cross 20.5 cm high and wide, roughly incised and the arms slightly splayed. Its top touches the cable moulding. On the north east face is a 'crozier' in cable, 2.5 cm wide and approximately 23.0 cm long. The north face is blank. There are padlock slots on the rim.
Reference. Home (1905), 75 & 87.

10. *Fragment of a capital;* sandstone.
Found in the south west corner of the dry-stone churchyard wall of St. Mary's by a member of the York Excavation Group.

Length: 34.5 cm
Width: 23.4 cm
Depth: 12.3 cm

The fragment consists of the top of a cuboid capital of the kind normally surmounting a nook shaft on a portal (Pl. 10). The upper part of a cat-mask survives, the nose or beak being fragmentary but visible as it passes down the corner of the stone. It is flanked by two large elliptical eyes with incised circular pupils.

11. *Finial cross;* sandstone.
Lying loose in St. John's church (Pl. 11).

Height: 21.5 cm
Width: 24.8 cm
Depth: 7.8 cm

The cutting is very crude or lightly incised. In the centre is an awkwardly placed domed boss with a perimeter moulding 1.6 cm wide. The field around the boss is roughly incised with saltires but bungled. The lower arm has three square lozenges, each 2.8 cm, in horizontal line. The upper arm is splayed, 17.0 cm to 19.3 cm, whilst the lateral arms are straight with two grooves running across the tips. The boss is 6.3 cm in diameter and 1.2 cm high. The reverse face is similarly incised but badly hacked. There are natural protruberances on the surface and in the centre of the upper arm is a circle 3.5 cm in diameter.

12. *Fragment of abacus;* coarse sandstone.
Found in excavation.

Length: 13.8 cm
Width: 9.3 cm
Depth: 9.1 cm

The piece is a corner of an abacus of a capital comparable with the complete capital (no. 3). The upper strip is plain to a depth of 4.7 cm and surmounts a cable moulding 2.5 cm wide. The stone is plain below this and the decoration continues across both faces of the fragment.

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ALL SAINTS CHURCH, HAREWOOD

By L. A. S. Butler

Summary: conservation work on the six medieval alabaster tombs permitted a small-scale excavation in 1981; this showed the infill of three tombs included an Anglo-Danish cross fragment, some Norman architectural pieces, fourteenth-century window tracery and much late medieval glass. Another decorated stone was found in a detailed survey of the churchyard.

INTRODUCTION

Harewood church stands in an isolated position hidden within the parkland that surrounds Harewood House. The prosperous medieval village was situated east of the church, and the earthworks of it are still visible in the park. It stood at the crossing point of the Leeds to Ripon road and the York to Skipton road, and in the mid-thirteenth century possessed a borough and a market.[1] A new village was built by John Carr for Edwin Lascelles, the first Lord Harewood, from about 1760. The doric arch forming the east gateway to Harewood park aesthetically terminates the approach to Harewood village from the county's central city, York. The building of this arch in 1801-3 was the final act in half-a-century's work of landscape remodelling by the Lascelles family. In that period Edwin Lascelles had given his mansion a new site and a new parkland setting; he had reclothed the church but left it isolated from most of its worshippers and he had transformed the village housing of the decayed borough into Georgian terraces outside the park precinct and distant from the medieval castle.[2]

This castle stood on the ridge crest north of the old village overlooking the broad valley of the Wharfe; the building was constructed in the late fourteenth century by William de Aldburgh and it fell into disuse after the Civil War.[3] The ridge is formed by the erosion of the fine Millstone Grit sandstones, a slope partially accentuated by quarrying, and the low, rolling hills are of interleaved shales, grits and sandstones, capped by clays.[4]

The village of Harewood lay in the medieval hundred of Skyrack at its northern limit. The townships of Harewood, Gawthorpe, Newall, Stockton, East Keswick, Alwoodley, Weardley, Wigton and the nothern part of Wike were served by the church, and the Domesday vills of Lofthouse, Stubhouse and Brandon were also in the parish south of the Wharfe.[5] The major settlement of Harewood had 140 inhabitants paying poll-tax in 1377.[6]

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2. M. Mauchline, *Harewood House* (1974), 11-112; R. B. Wragg, 'Harewood House', *Archaeol Journ,* 125 (1968), 342-347. D. Linstrum, *West Yorkshire: Architects and Architecture* (1978), 73-6.
3. D. Black, 'Harewood Castle', *Archaeol Journ,* 125 (1968), 339-341; S. D. Kitson, 'Harewood Castle', *Yorks Arch Journ,* 22 (1912), 176-9; J. Jones, *The History and Antiquities of Harewood* (1859), 134-163.
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5. V. C. H., *Yorkshire,* II (1912), 206; A. H. Smith, *The Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire,* IV (1961), 179-184, VII (1962), 40n; Faull and Moorhouse, as note 1, II, 386-9, also 305-6 (Alwoodley), 362-3 (East Keswick), 552-3 (Weardley), 562-3 (Wigton) and 564 (Wike in Harewood); Jones, as note 3, 194-253.
6. Beresford and St. Joseph, as note 1, 60; a settlement of Bondgate may indicate a township of bond tenants, as at Otley and Knaresborough, and the distinction is with a Boroughgate of free tenants (Smith, as note 5, 182; Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages,* 223).

HISTORY

Although Harewood was held by three tenants immediately before the Norman Conquest it was transferred before 1093-4 by the king to Robert de Rumilly who also became lord of Skipton.[7] Harewood was a substantial manor with at least eight contiguous settlements south of the Wharfe and four north of it (Dunkeswick, Huby, Rigton and Weeton), together with a detached portion further west (East Carlton, Horsforth, Rawdon, Yeadon).[8] This manor passed through the female line of the Rumillys and the de Curcis until 1310. In that year Robert de Lisle of Rougemont was adjudged to be the heir of Isabel, countess of Albemarle who had died in 1292, and the crown surrendered the Harewood lands to him.[9] The de Lisles (later Lords Lisle) were the successors to the Fitzgerolds as the main family resident in the manor and the castle of Rougemont in a bend of the Wharfe (SE 296 463) was their base, probably a twelfth-century fortification. Three generations of de Lisles held Harewood during the fourteenth century (Robert: died 1344; John: died 1356; Robert: died 1399). During his lifetime the second Robert settled Harewood upon his sister Elizabeth, who was married to William, first Lord Aldburgh. William was in 1367 the builder of Harewood Castle on the ridge above the Wharfe, but from his family the lands of Harewood passed through the female line on the death in 1391 of his son, the second William.[10] The Aldburgh sisters Elizabeth and Sibilla married respectively Sir Richard Redman and Sir William Ryther, and these two families held the manor until the late sixteenth century.[11]

A third family, the Gascoignes of Gawthorpe, rose to prominence in the early fifteenth century through the career of Sir William Gascoigne, Lord Chief Justice in Henry IV's reign.[12] During the next two centuries the Gascoignes pursued an aggressive policy of land acquisition particularly in the west of Harewood but also intermarried with both Rythers and Redmans.[13]

The Gascoigne heiress Margaret (died 1592) took the Gawthorpe and other Harewood lands to the south Yorkshire family of Wentworth, later earls of Strafford. Further lands in Harewood parish were acquired from the Redmans and Rythers during the early seventeenth century and the land sales of 1656 and 1739 kept the estate intact.[14] The latter

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7. C. T. Clay, *E. Y. C.*, VII, 3-4.
8. W. Farrer, *E. Y. C.*, III, 467-9. It is likely that in the late eleventh century and early twelfth century the manor of Harewood also contained Castley, Leathley and Stainburn on the north bank of the Wharfe. The detached part of the manor (7 carucates) was held by Richard le Gramaire in 1166 (*E. Y. C.*, III, 474). For their descent see Faull and Moorhouse, as note 1, II, 360 and map 15, 338 (Carlton), 404-5 (Horsforth), 486-7 (Rawdon), 576 (Yeadon: Meschin fee).
9. *Cal Close Rolls, 1307-1313,* 273, 274, 522-3; G. E. C., *Complete Peerage,* VIII (1932), 69-78; J. Parker, 'Some Notes on the Lords of Harewood Castle', *Y. A. J.*, 22 (1913), 150-159; Jones, as note 3, 32-7; J. W. Clay, *Extinct and Dormant Peerages of the Northern Counties of England* (1913), 125-6.
10. *Inq ad quod damnum* (P. R. O. Lists and Indexes, XXII, 1906), 540; *Complete Peerage,* I (1910), 101-2; Jones, as note 3, 34-5, 37; Clay, as note 9, 2-3.
11. Jones, as note 3, 38-51, 69-71; the pedigrees of the Ryther family are given in J. Foster, *The Visitation of Yorkshire in 1584/5 and 1612* (1875), 303; J. W. Clay, *Visitations of Yorkshire* II (1907), 454-8. Those of the Redmans in F. W. Dendy (ed), 'Flower's Pedigrees, 1567', *Visitations of the North* II (Surtees Soc, CXXXIII, 1921), 131; J. Foster, *op. cit.*, 285; G. Duckett, 'Harewood evidences: Redman of Harewood and Levens', *Y. A. J.*, 4 (1877), 82-113; W. Greenwood, *The Redmans of Levens and Harewood* (Kendal, 1905) 78-114, 135-156. It is claimed that the Redmans and Rythers lived amicably in the castle for many generations: the high quality of the rooms in the north wing over the kitchens might give substance to this claim, with the second family occupying the two southern towers, and both families sharing the Hall block.
12. Jones, as note 3, 52-61, 254-262; J. Foster, as note 11, 384-5.
13. There are six intermarriages recorded: five are of Gascoigne females to Redman or Ryther males and in one case (Elizabeth) to both heirs consecutively; one Redman female marries a younger son of the Gascoigne family.
14. Jones, as note 3, 61-67, 263-279, 294-301. Deeds of sale: Leeds City Archives, Sheepscar Library: Harewood Estate Papers, Estate (Surveys), 12A;-13B.

sale was to Henry Lascelles who lived at Gawthorpe Hall but the creator of the House and Park at Harewood was his son Edwin, active from 1755 until his death in 1795. The Lascelles family still lives at Harewood House.

THE CHURCH

The earliest documentary reference to a priest at Harewood is the occurrence of Farman in the tenth century. It is not clear whether this reference implies the existence of a monastery or merely a well-endowed church. Dr. Faull's verdict is 'had there been an earlier monastery at Harewood of which a tenth-century institution would have been the descendant, some fragments of carved stone crosses or tombstones . . . might have been expected and none have yet been found in the vicinity of the church nor indeed anywhere in Harewood township.'[15] (For recent discoveries of stones see below p.). Harewood is not mentioned in the Domesday Book as possessing either church or priest; this might suggest that the revenues of the church were held by the king as an undivided unit upon whose possession no special comment needed to be made.

The patronage of the church apparently descended with the manor except for the period 1172-1209. Avice de Rumilly granted the church to the rebuilding of York Minster; it is not clear whether it was the entire advowson which was given or the revenues of a specific portion.[16] In 1209 Warin Fitzgerold claimed the right of presentation from the canons of St Mary and the Holy Angels (alias St Sepulchre) of York; in 1291 and subsequently until 1636 a pension was paid to York.[17] This division of revenue and the large size of the parish, comprising townships both south and north of the river Wharfe, could suggest a community of priests before the Conquest of the type which twelfth-century reformers assimilated to the Augustinian pattern. This did not happen at Harewood although some of its lands were given to Bolton Priory, then at Embsay, by the Rumilly family in the mid-twelfth century.[18] The large size of the parish

15. M. L. Faull in Faull and Moorhouse, as note 1, I, 191-5; *The Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels* (Surtees Soc, XLVIII, 1865), li, 173. A hoard of 30 pennies and 2 cut half-pennies of Edward the Confessor were found west of the church in 1895. (Ordnance Survey Card Index: SE 34 N W 6). The position suggests they were found near the churchyard wall and not in the road; both wall and road were removed in about 1778. For coin hoards in Yorkshire churchyards: J. D. A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards AD 600-1500* (1956), 55 (Dunsforth), 64 (Goldsborough). For coin hoards of this date of deposition in churchyards, see Thompson, 145-6 (Wedmore, Somerset) and D. M. Metcalfe, 'Some finds of medieval coins from Scotland and the North of England', *British Numismatic Journal,* 30 (1960-1), 88-123, esp 91 (Beetham, Westmorland). I am grateful to R. K. Morris for discussion of these finds.
16. J. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York,* III (Rolls Series, LXXI, 1894), 75-7; A. H. Thompson (ed), *Register of Archbishop William Greenfield* (Surtees Soc, CXLV , 1931), 9, no 30 inserted in 1306 because of the disputed position of the sacrist John Busshe; also discussed by A. H. Thompson, *Y. A. J.* XXXVI (1947), 64 (gift dated to 1177-81).
17. Jones, as note 3, 77-79. This interpretation is preferred to that of Farrer, *E. Y. C.,* III (1916), 472, who states that the advowson was not reclaimed until 1279. Certainly York were still pursuing their claim in that year: W. Brown (ed), *Register of Archbishop Walter Giffard* (Surtees Soc, CIX, 1904), 149n. However, the absence of any mention of Harewood church in the ordinance of 1258 issued by Archbishop Sewall (Raine, *Historians of Church of York,* III, 175-181) and the authority of Archbishop Gray that a payment (2 marks to the archbishop and 1 mark to dean and chapter) to the support of York Minster should be made from the tithes of Harewood church (J. Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense* (1758), 117) suggests that the advowson was regained by the lords of the manor before 1255 and probably before 1226 (the start of Gray's surviving registers). The payment of £1 to the fabric of York Minster is recorded in 1291 *(Taxatio Papae Nicholae* (Record Commission, 1802), 299, 334) and this payment or pension had been safeguarded by the archbishop in 1280 (W. Brown (ed) *Register of Archbishop William Wickwane* (Surtees Soc., CXIV, 1907), 261). This payment continued until the Civil War and its recovery was attempted by the Dean and Chapter in 1674 (York, Borthwick Institute: Causes CP, Book H, nos 2925, 2939, 4797, 4828).
18. Farrer, *E. Y. C.* III, 467-72; I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory: the economy of a northern monastery 1286-1325* (1973), 6; I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory Rentals and Minsters' Accounts 1473-1539* (Y. A. S. Rec Ser CXXXII, 1970), xiii.

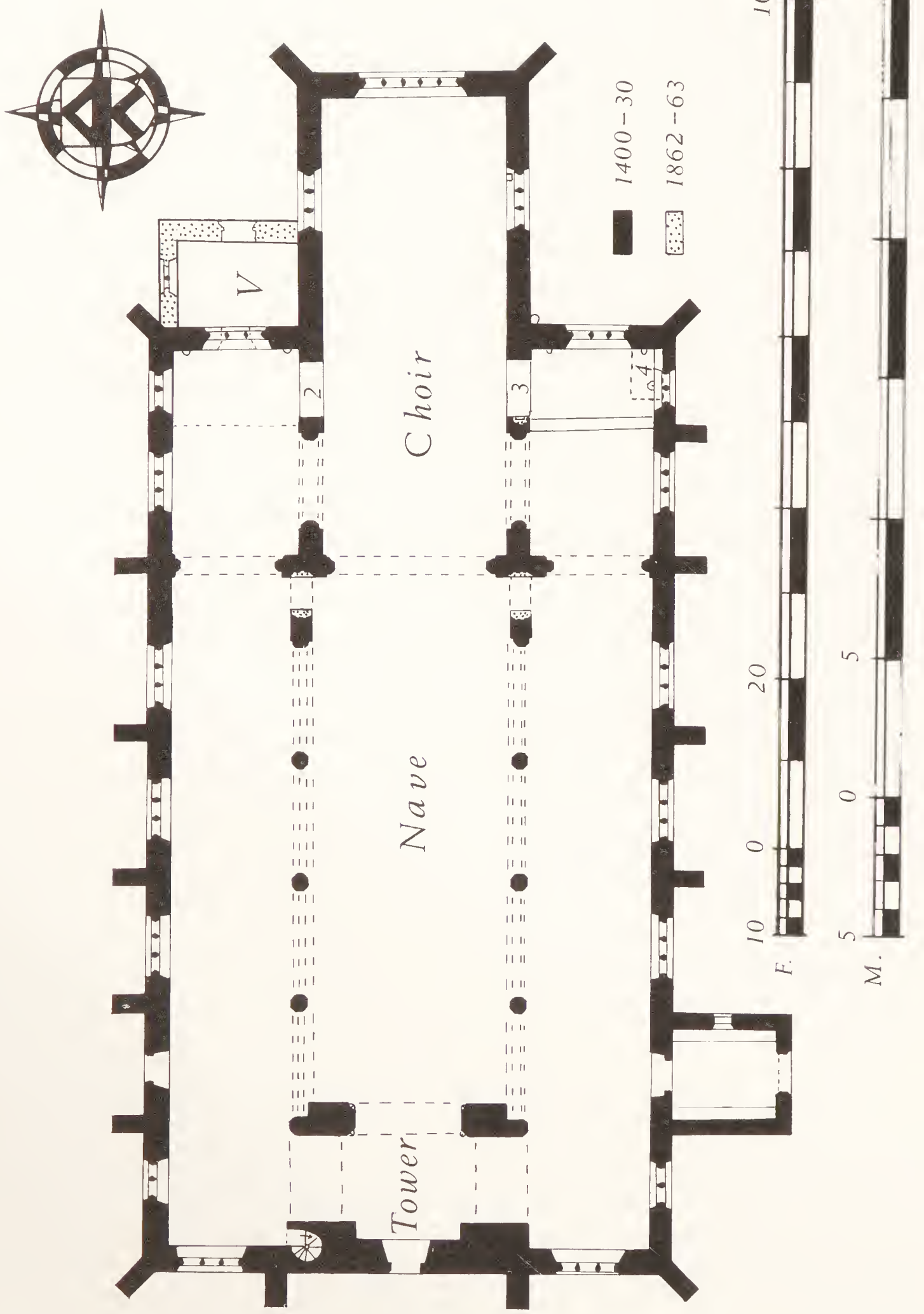

FIG. 1 Harewood Church: Ground plan

was reflected in the high tax assessment: in 1291 it was at £60 the third richest in Ainsty deanery, though it was reduced to £16 in 1318.[19]

The major change in the circumstances of Harewood church came in the mid-fourteenth century. In 1353 John de Lisle granted or regranted the church to Bolton Priory who were to establish a chantry of six chaplains to commemorate him and his father.[20] This arrangement continued in operation until the Reformation when the patronage of the rectory passed to the Fairfax family (later to the Wentworths) and the chantry was dissolved.[21]

The chantry later descended with the estate to Sir John Cutler and John Boulter but was not conveyed to the Lascelles. However this family took an active interest in Harewood church, and new churches were built at Weeton (1851-2) and East Keswick (1856-7) by the third earl of Harewood to serve the large parish.[22]

The medieval structure

There was no visible evidence of the church structure which existed before the early fifteenth-century rebuilding.[23] The recent excavation has uncovered a few architectural fragments which enable some deductions to be made.

It is clear that there was burial, and presumably worship, on this site from within the century before the Norman Conquest. The stone from the church-yard south wall is possibly ninth-century in date and the cross-shaft with Anglo-Danish carving is early eleventh-century. There is also a record of a coin hoard from the churchyard which, if taken in parallel with the coin hoards from Goldsborough and Dunsforth, suggests a structure or some other feature which encouraged the deposition of valuables with the hope of recovery.[24]

After the Norman Conquest there was a structure of which only slight remains survive; these are the tub-shaped font now in the south aisle and, recently discovered,

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19. *Taxatio Papae Nicholae* (Record Commission, 1802), 299, 323; the churches at Leeds and Spofforth were taxed at £80, Harewood at £66.13s.4d. Spofforth was reduced to £60 and Harewood to £16. York, Borthwick Institute: Register of Archbishop Thomas Melton, f.129. The reduction was of churches destroyed and wasted by the Scots in 1314-1318. For a short time (1320-1324) the priory at Bolton was dispersed.
20. The protracted negotiations (1352-1366) to establish this chantry have been given by A. H. Thompson, *Bolton Priory* (Thoresby Soc, XXX, 1928), 100-103; I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory* (1973), 179-80. *Cal Close Rolls* 1349-52, 520-22, 583-4.
21. *Val Eccles,* 33, 38; Kershaw, *Bolton Priory Rentals 1473-1539* (1970), 59-60. Lists and Indexes, Supplementary Series, *Lands of Dissolved Religious Houses,* III, no. 4 (1949), 183. The sale of Harewood church was not included in Bolton Priory lands granted to Christchurch, Oxford, but was presumably sold separately to Sir William Fairfax of Steeton or to his son Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton (York: Minster Library, Torre Ms L, 171; E. Lawton, *Collections . . . for York and Ripon* (1842), 62-3). In a tithe case of 1554/5 it is clear that Bolton Priory had appointed a proctor to collect its tithes in Harewood parish and that this arrangement was continued by the new (unnamed) owner: J. S. Purvis, *Select XVI Century Causes in Tithe* (Y. A. S. Rec. Ser., CXIV, 1949), 67-69. York, Borthwick Inst Causes C. P. Book G., nos 3427, 3428, 3440, 3457, 3488-9).

    For the chantry: *Yorkshire Chantry Certificates* (Surtees Soc, XCII, 1893) II, 222, 394. An earlier case in 1529 suggests that the Redmans appointed to three chaplaincies and presumably the Rythers to the other three: J. S. Purvis (ed): *Monastic Chancery Proceedings* (Y. A. S. Rec. Ser. LXXXVIII, 1934), 12-13; the earlier stages of this dispute may be traced in W. Brown (ed) *Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings 1485-1549* (Y. A. S. Rec. Ser. XLI, 1909), I, 73-5. There is no evidence for the chantry surviving later than 1548.
22. For the later history of the patronage, see Jones, as note 3, 87-90, 95-6; also York, Borthwick Institute, Archbishop Sharp's MS I, 107, 314, 315. For the building of new churches: Jones, 243, 252; R. V. Taylor, *Churches of Leeds* (1875), 356-8, 510.
23. Jones, as note 3, 75-133; J. Jewel, *History of Harewood* (1819), 36-50; Taylor, as note 22, 341-355 (largely repeating Jones); S. D. Kitson, 'Harewood Church', *Y. A. J.*, 22 (1912), 179-182; N. Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The West Riding* (1959), 243-4; S. E. Rigold, 'Harewood Church', *Arch Journ,* 125 (1968), 341-2. National Grid Ref SE 313 450.
24. Discussed in note 15 above.

two pieces of attached wall shaft from a doorway or a window reveal and three twelfth-century gravestones (described in detail, p.00). In the mid-fourteenth century a far more ambitious rebuilding was attempted and the fragments of window tracery suggest an east window of dimensions and appearance similar to the reticulated style in the remodelled choir and transepts at Bolton Priory.[25] However this window was destroyed by fire and new building took place involving the whole church.

The new church (1400-1430) (Fig. 1)

The entire church possesses a unity of structure and balance in design which suggests a single building campaign. The two external factors would seem to be the need to provide the six chantry chaplains with a sufficiently spacious choir and secondly the desire to provide the Aldburgh heiresses and their husbands with a suitably imposing place of burial. The Lords Lisle and Aldburgh were buried elsewhere, the latter in the Dominican Friary at York.[26]

The plan adopted was of an aisled nave of four bays, a long chancel and shorter flanking chapels. A feeling of spaciousness and light was provided by the tall octagonal piers without any capitals which separate the nave from the aisles and the tall arcade separating the choir from its chapels for one eastern bay. The choir wall is further pierced by arched openings containing alabaster monuments of the Aldburgh heiresses and their husbands. The removal of the wooden screens dividing the nave from the choir and the aisles from the two eastern chapels makes the original divisions less easy to appreciate. The use of the chapels is indicated by the image niches with canopies high on the east walls and by the piscina in the south wall of the south chapel (and formerly in the east wall of the north chapel). The position of the rood screen is marked on the south side by the recess for a candle at the level of the loft. As at Bolton Percy there was no clerestory. At the west a tall archway, also without capitals, leads into the tower. The cushion stops on the tower arch bases indicate slightly later work.[27] The uppermost stage of the tower is probably sixteenth-century work; the evidence of the stairway head suggests that the original intention was to carry the stair to the top of the tower or to provide a more generously proportioned belfry stage, as at Hampsthwaite. The earliest surviving bell may date from the first quarter of the sixteenth century.[28] The windows of the church are all similar in a pointed arched head containing Perpendicular tracery. The south porch is contemporary with, or only shortly subsequent to, the main building period, though its gable and roof are mid-eighteenth century.[29]

Three alabaster tombs were placed in the church soon after its construction; on the south side of the chancel in one tomb arch Sir William Ryther (died *c* 1426) and his wife Sibilla Aldburgh; on the north side in the corresponding tomb arch Sir Richard Redman (died 1426) and his wife Elizabeth Aldburgh. Within the south chapel is the free-standing tomb of Sir William Gascoigne (died 1419) and his wife Elizabeth Mowbray. During the

25. A. H. Thompson, *Bolton Priory,* 132, 134-5, Fig I, 144, Pl. XXVII: the agreement of 1345 mentions 'the repairs and new building of the chancel' in general terms (Burton, as note 17, 117; Jones, as note 3, 82). For glass formerly in the east window, commemorating a Lisle and possible a donation of circa 1350, see P. Routh and R. Knowles, *The Medieval Monuments of Harewood* (1983), 86-7. The only other glass where those commemorated died before 1400 was in a north window of the north aisle, presumably the westernmost two-light window, and was to members of the Frank family of Alwoodley.
26. Clay, *Extinct and Dormant Peerages,* 2-3, 125-6; for a Redman burial in the Friars Preachers at York, see Routh and Knowles, as note 25, 20 and n 3.
27. The change of level in the external plinths on the south side at the first buttress east of the porch and on the north side similarly east of the north door may mark the westward limit of an earlier church.
28. J. E. Poppleton, *Y. A. J.,* 17 (1903); the same author suggests a later date in 'Yorkshire Bells and Bellfounders' in T. M. Fallow, *Memorials of Old Yorkshire* (1909), 231-2. For the career of the first Henry Oldfield of Nottingham, see V. C. H. *Notts II* (1910) 368-9. The bell was recast in 1722.
29. The porch sundial is dated 1751; the south wall is keyed for roughcast, presumably to disguise the junction of the old walls and the new gable.

next hundred years three further alabaster tombs were placed within the south chapel (Sir William Gascoigne and his wife Margaret Clarell), within the south aisle (Sir William Gascoigne and wife) and within the north chapel (Edward Redman and wife). A detailed account of all these six tombs, the movement of these monuments within the church and the historical background of the personages commemorated has been published by Richard Knowles and Mrs. Pauline Routh.[30] The work of conservation of these monuments and the artistic detail discovered during the work of 1981-2 by John Green of Ipswich are the subject of separate research as also are the alabaster tomb fragments discovered during the dismantling of the surviving tombs. However, the stone fragments found in the Ryther tomb and the glass found in the later Gascoigne tomb are discussed below (pp 00-00).

The Georgian restoration (1793-5)

The work of designing and building Harewood House for Edwin Lascelles began in 1759 and the respective contributions to it by John Carr and Adam have not been fully resolved. While it is clear that Robert Adam worked on the interiors from 1765, he also discussed plans for the house with Carr at an earlier stage. It is clear from surviving drawings that for the church he supplied a scheme 'to add a finishing to the top of the steeple in the Gothick taste' as early as 23 April 1759 and this drawing included wafer-like pinnacles and cresting for the west gables of the adjacent aisles. A later drawing, probably of 1765-71, shows a more modest recasting of the tower and west gables with battlements and less fragile cresting.[31] Nothing major was altered then at the west end, apart from the porch repair, but soon after 1765 the monument to Sir Thomas Denison of Alwoodley was fixed to the east wall of the south (Gascoigne) chapel and an image niche recut in a less convincing Gothic style.

Finally there was a recasting at the east gable with new battlements, florid pinnacles and a quatrefoil window. This was done in 1793 when the whole church was reroofed as a single enterprise in Westmoreland slate.[32] Evidence of an earlier reroofing was found with a dedicatory inscription whose language suggests it was placed in 1516 (not 1116 as was claimed by contemporary writers).[33] The east gable does not show the delicacy of Robert Adam's work in the house and entrance gates, but it is closer to John Carr's Gothic churches at Ravenfield and Denton.[34] The west gables of the aisles were rebuilt at

30. P. Routh and R. Knowles, as note 25.
31. London, Sir John Soane Museum: Vol. 21, drawing 148 of 1759 and Vol 50, drawing 86, undated but post 1765. The latter drawing is reproduced in J. Fleming, *Robert Adam and his circle* (1962), 266 and Pl. 87. The third bell, mentioned in a Terrier of 1764 (York, Borthwick Institute), was recast or renewed in 1778 by Dalton of York. The church clock bell is dated 1759 but was transferred from Plumpton in 1781 (Jones, as note 3, 104; Leeds City Archives: Harewood Estate Papers, Correspondence Vol. I, p-7, item 4).
32. The church had previously been covered by lead roofs at a variety of shallow pitches over the nave, the western choir and the east end; these were renewed in 1715-1722 (W. Brigg, *Parish Registers of Harewood,* part 1 (1914), preface p. 2). They can be seen on the engraving of Gawthorpe Hall of 1722. There is no criticism of the condition of the roofs in the Visitation of July 1723 (York, Borthwick Institute: Y. V. Ret. 3, Ret. 1/11).
33. Jewel, as note 23, 36; repeated by Jones, as note 3, 76-77 and Taylor, as note 22, 341-2. This beam might well have been at the east gable end of the nave immediately over the rood and referring to that statue. A memorandum in the front cover of the parish register of 1767-97 describes the inscription as being on 'a stone on each side of the top of the chancel . . . which stones had the above date' of 1110.
34. The main authority for the 1793 alterations both internal and external is Jewel, as note 23, 36-40. There is no reference at all in the parish registers, the churchwarden's accounts, the estate stewards' records or the Faculty Books at York, though the last named has a gap after 28 May 1793.

    For John Carr's Gothick see R. B. Wragg, 'John Carr: Gothic Revivalist', York Institute of Adavanced Architectural History: *Studies in Architectural History,* ed W. A. Singleton, 2 (1956), 9-34. The similarities with the screen wall at Daniel Lascelles' Plumpton indicate how Harewood church was being treated as a landscape feature to excite interest and to contrast with the House. The east drive is so aligned that the east gable of the church is prominently in front of the visitor before the drive sweeps southwards to the House.

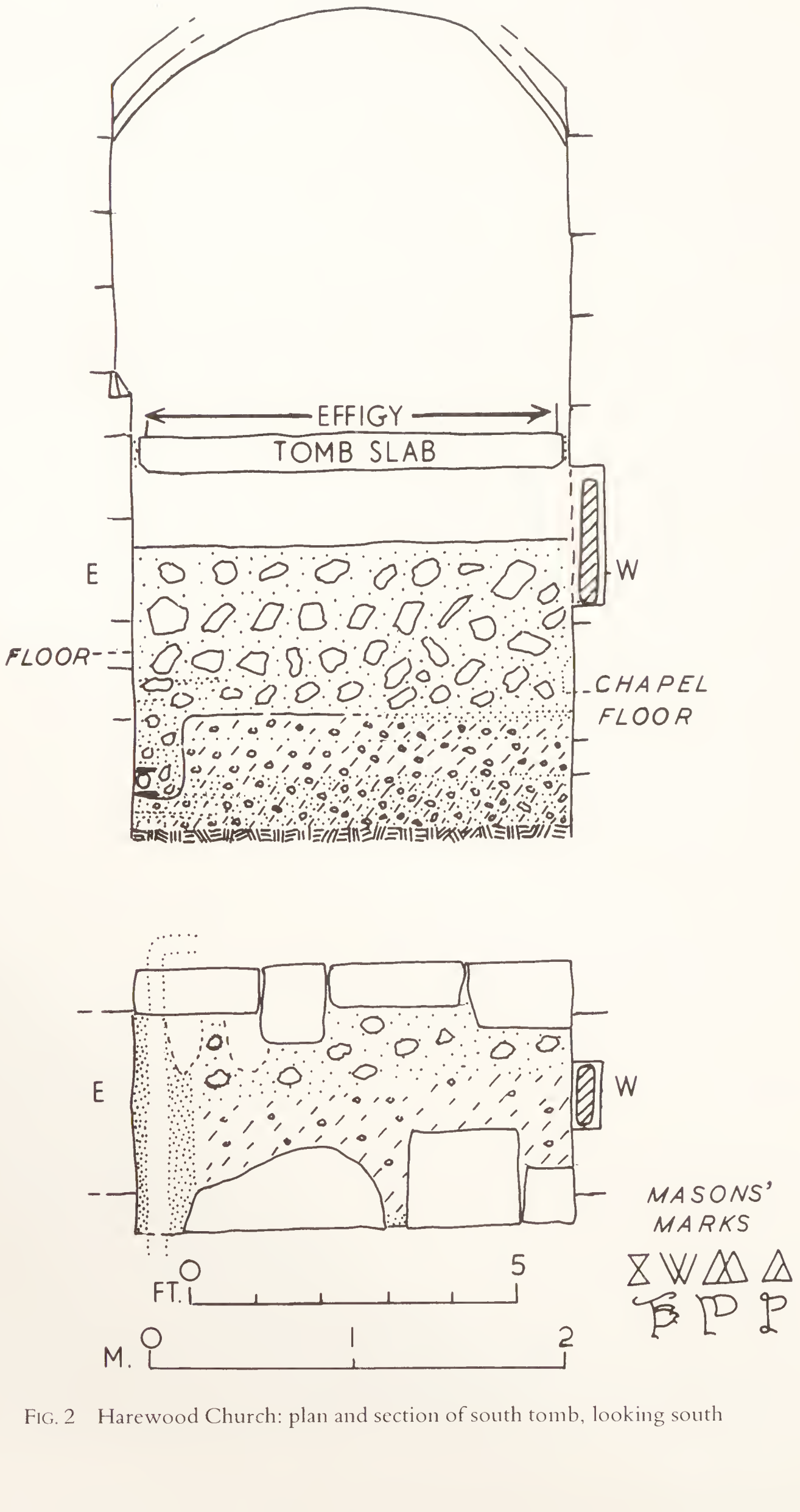

FIG. 2 Harewood Church: plan and section of south tomb, looking south

a level lower than their medieval line and the tower parapet was renewed, along with a rehanging of the bells at a higher level.

The final piece of work was the construction of the Lascelles vault beneath the chancel in 1795. This resulted in no obvious major change to the fabric but the stones found in the excavation for the vault may have been incorporated in the fabric (eg tombstones 4-5) or been used to build the churchyard wall on the south side (eg cross fragment 2).[35]

The Victorian restoration (1862-3)

In 1858 the church was described as being 'in tolerable repair'.[36] The major addition to the fittings had been the organ, placed in the north chapel in 1804. However under the vigorous leadership of Canon Miles Atkinson new churches had been built in the outlying townships and a thorough restoration was embarked upon in 1862, guided by Sir George Gilbert Scott.[37] Windows were replaced where necessary, the wall tops were replaced and a new Gothic roof was provided. The interior was repewed, with choir seats and a steady rise in pavement level towards the east. A narrow arch was pierced between nave and aisles. A new font was given to replace a worn twelfth-century tub font and some stained glass windows inserted in place of the plain glass replacements of the medieval decorative glass with figures and heraldry. The only alteration to the ground plan was the replacement of the vestry at the east end of the north aisle. No record of this work appears in the churchwardens' accounts or Bishops Faculties; it must have been commissioned and paid for by Henry 4th Earl of Harewood.

No major work was done in this century until October 1978 when the church was vested in the Redundant Churches Fund. A programme of conservation of the monuments was undertaken in 1979 together with a small-scale excavation at the tomb chests. The church is now open to visitors to Harewood House and Park, and a historical exhibition with particular reference to the monuments has been mounted in the nave.

THE EXCAVATION

The archaeological work was relatively minor, undertaken in October 1981. It concerned the details of the construction and infill of two tombs. Both were of similar date and plan: that on the south side of the chancel commemorated Sir William Ryther and his wife Sibilla (Aldburgh) *c* 1425; that on the north side of the chancel commemorated Sir Richard Redman and his wife Elizabeth (Aldburgh) 1426; the wives were sisters. Both tomb arches are closely similar in profile though the masons' marks indicate that they were constructed by different teams.

The south tomb had two alabaster effigies, panels on both sides and a roughly made base. The interior of the tomb chest (Fig. 2) included masonry fragments, mainly tracery, and some stained glass. Below the level of the tomb base the filling (layer 2) was of light brown sandy and mortary soil with some bone (mainly human but also pig), some coffin nails and pieces of slate. At a point level with the present chancel pavement the filling (layer 3) changed to a darker brown soil of denser texture; there were more disturbed human bones, but no slate occurred except on the south of the tomb where a

35. Jewel, as note 23, 48-9; Jones, as note 3, 86. There had been some work in the church in 1781-2, including moving the font (York, Borthwick Institute: Faculty Book 1768-1793, p. 288-9; Leeds City Archives, Harewood Estate Papers, Estate (Correspondence), Bundle 4.

A plan of the vault (prepared in 1885 and updated to 1929) is in Harewood Estate (Buildings) Box 2. The boundaries of the churchyard were changed in 1778, when the site of the chantry house and school were incorporated in the park south of the church and when the churchyard was extended to the north and east (York, Borthwick Institute: Glebe Exchange 6; Harewood Estate Papers, Estate (Maps) 49 of 1813.

36. Leeds, City Archives: Bishop's Visitation RD/CB 3.

37. *Leeds Intelligencer,* October 17, 1863; Taylor, as note 22, 354-5. The design was supplied by Scott and the work carried out by George Parsons, the estate architect. A seating plan of the Victorian church is in Harewood Estate Papers, Plans Box 2; it omits the porch and vestry, though the latter occurs in Jewel, 40.

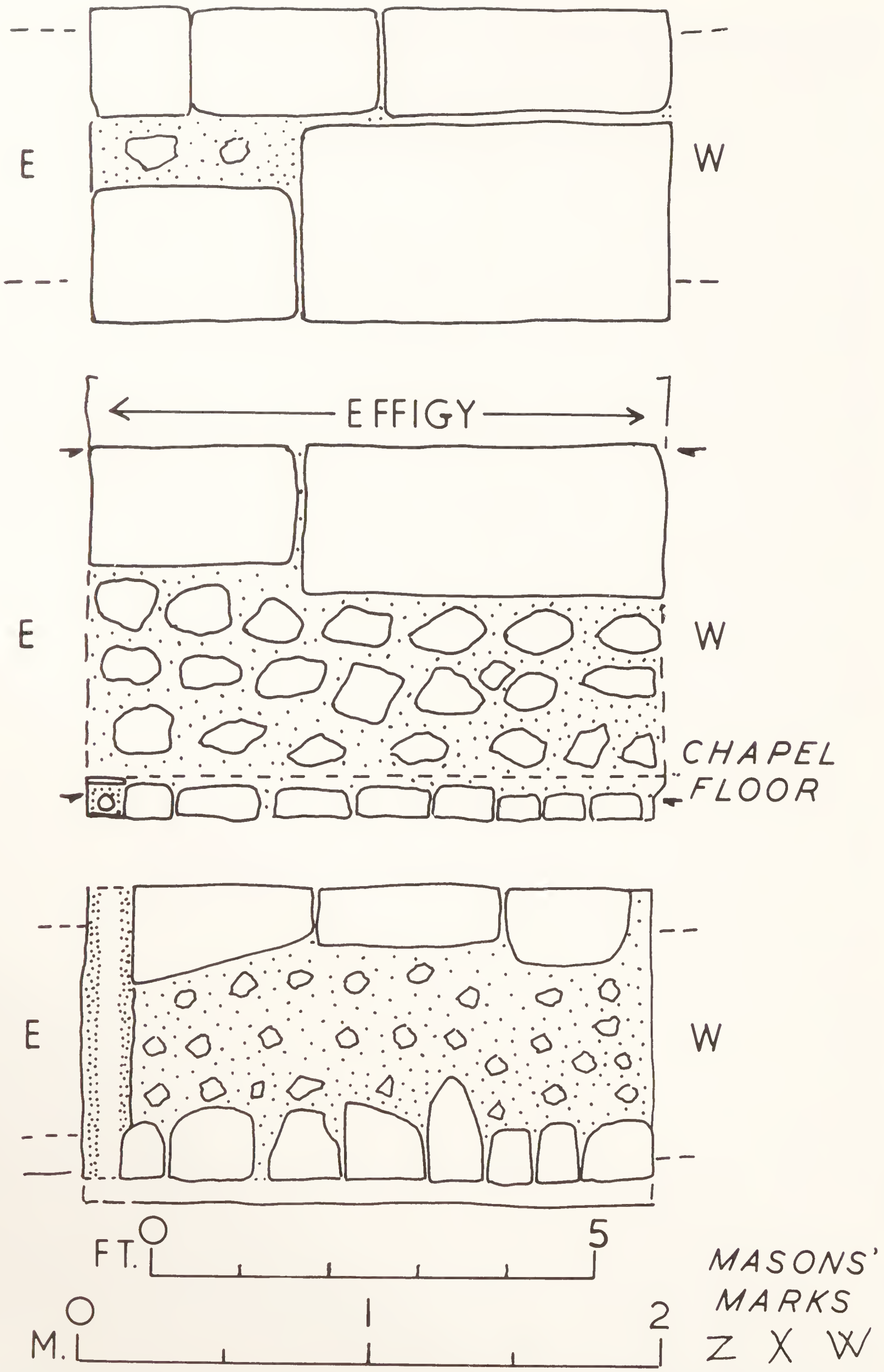

FIG. 3 Harewood Church: plans and section of north tomb, plans at floor level and at tomb level: section looking south

spread of mortar extended to near the centre line (east-west) of the tomb. Two courses of stone, including re-used tracery, on the north wall of the tomb were laid in a clayish soil (without mortar) and below this a dark brown clay soil with yellow patches (layer 4) appeared to be undisturbed.

There had been two alterations to the tomb. The first involved the insertion of a heating pipe which entered the tomb at the north-east corner, crossed the east end and ran down the exterior face of the south side below the level of the chantry chapel pavement. The second alteration was the creation of a recess in the east face of the pier at the west end of the tomb and concealed by the tomb; in this was mortared a section of an Anglo-Danish cross fragment. The insertion of the heating was a Victorian improvement of 1862-3. For it the builders had removed the effigies and the tomb chest and cleared out the interior filling. They had removed part of the chapel pavement and the south side of the tomb. In this work stone slate roofing slabs were used as a bed for the heating pipe; the pre-Conquest fragment was presumably found at this time because it bore traces of the dark brown soil filling (layer 3). After the pipe was laid and the recess had been made, the tomb was rebuilt, the filling returned and the pavement relaid. The base of the pier was given a mortared plinth on the south side; the base of the tomb was given a stone plinth and bench on the north (chancel-facing) side attached with a white mortar.

The north tomb (Fig. 3) was similarly constructed with two alabaster effigies, panels on both sides and a roughly made base. The interior of the tomb chest included a few masonry fragments and a little stained glass. Below the level of the tomb base was a platform of four substantial flat slabs. These had a slight mortared surface but were mainly set in medium brown soil. Below these the wall face on the north side was composed of three courses of small sandstone pieces and field-gathered boulders; on the south side three large blocks formed the side wall. The interior was of small stones, pebbles and clean medium brown soil though with a few flecks of lead, a pin and glass fragments. At the level of the chancel pavement the soil was compact and had no evidence of disturbance.

As with the south tomb there was a period of Victorian work; a heating pipe had been led through the eastern end, supported on thin sandstone tiles or paving stones. Both sides of the tomb had been concealed by a stone plinth with a bench on the south. One original feature which did not occur on the south tomb was that the pier to the west of the north tomb had a slight offset chamfer at pavement level on its east face; the corresponding face on the south tomb was plain though there was Victorian retooling at that level. Apart from the heating pipe there was no other disturbance in the north tomb, though the north face bore the scar of the chantry chapel paving at a level of five inches above the present (Victorian) floor.[38] There was no evidence in either tomb that the tomb recesses had been pierced through an existing wall. Instead one may assume that an earlier chancel was narrower and that the chancel was new built in the early fifteenth century. The tombs have now been re-erected and their effigies conserved and repaired.

The north chapel does not now have a piscina, though the head of a piscina or niche was found inside the north tomb. Its florid traceried head was similar to the recarved piscina in the chancel. Further evidence of its use as a chapel is the inscription on the base of the southern image niche on the east wall; it reads BEATA OPTIMA OPA DAMUS DEUS. The floor was formerly raised by one step (five inches) above the floor to the west. The altar dedication is unknown.[39]

38. The floor at the pre-Victorian level is shown in John Carter's drawing in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Routh and Knowles, 58). A piscina is shown in the east wall: this was replaced by a cupboard in 1862-3 when the east end of the chapel was used for a time as a vestry.
39. Although the tombs and glass in the north chapel strongly indicated the Redman connection, it is probable that the obiit of Cecily Ryther was celebrated at this altar: *Yorkshire Chantry Certificates* (as note 21), 394.

PLATE I Harewood Church: Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture with boar hunt.

The south chapel possesses a piscina in the south wall, recently revealed by the dismantling of the tomb of Sir William Gascoigne. It is set in a tomb recess beneath the easternmost window. The filling of the tomb included 143 fragments of stained glass, the majority of fifteenth-century date. It is likely that they were inserted during the late sixteenth century rather than at the time of the 1793 'restoration'.

PRE-CONQUEST CARVED STONE

1. Fragment of cross shaft with boar hunt on one face, interlace on back and sides. Found in wall recess in S tomb. The archaeological evidence is clear that it was placed in this position during the restoration of 1862-3 when the wall recess was specially made to house it. The assumption is that at the restoration it was decided that the slab did not bear sufficiently instructive Christian symbolism for it to merit being placed on display but that the vicar, Canon Atkinson, and the estate architect, Mr. Parsons, decided to place it in a safe concealed recess.[40]
Professor R. N. Bailey reports:

Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture (Fig. 4, Plate I).

The fragment comes from the upper part of a cross-shaft which must have had markedly slab-like proportions.[41] Though the springer for the head survives on the narrow edges of the stone it is not possible now to reconstruct the original form of the cross-head.

The main face carries a scene with three crudely drawn animals and a human figure. Dominating the lower section is a rotund quadruped, with cloven feet, whose arched back bristles with a series of diagonal cuts. Its body is further decorated with a narrow framed band of incised chevrons. The beast has two ears, a round eye, open jaws and a drooping tail. Between its front and back legs are three triangular features which may have been snake-heads or leaves. The round eye and stubby tongue of a second animal can be seen in the lower left-hand corner of the scene. A third beast stands on the arched back of the first animal. It also has four legs, two ears and a tail and stretches out its collared neck so that its three-toothed jaws can enclose the ears of the animal below. An incised tree-scroll ornament decorates its body. At the top of the fragment, and presumably lying partly within the cross-head, are the broken remains of a human figure, set at right-angles to the plane of the animal below. He holds a knife in his open palm and appears to carry a bag across his back.

The worn reverse is decorated with two panels of knotwork, executed in a broad flat strap, which are divided from each other by an incised line. The lower panel contains a triquetra terminal to knotwork whose continuation is now lost. One of the narrow edges carries an indecipherable interlace pattern whilst the other has a simple two-strand plait with rings encircling the crossing bands.

Several features of the ornament combine to show that this is work of the Viking period. Typical of Northumbrian sculpture in the tenth and early eleventh centuries are the use of encircled twist ornament, the slab-like proportions of the cross-shaft, the general lack of modelling in the carving, and knotwork formed from broad flat strands.[42] The crude free-style animals are equally familiar on insular sculptures at

40. This interpretation is questioned by Knowles and Routh (p. 66) but it must be remembered that such a crude slab would not be appreciated in the predominantly Gothic climate of the Oxford Movement. The collections of stone crosses at Durham Cathedral Museum by Canon Greenwell and the publications by Romilly Allen were not made until late in the nineteenth century. The foundation of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society was not until 1870 (as the Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association) though meetings of antiquarian clergy and gentry had begun in Huddersfield in 1863.
41. Maximum dimensions: 41 x 29 x 7.5 cm.
42. W. G. Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding', *Y.A.J.*, 23 (1915), 262, 282; R. N. Bailey, *Viking-age Sculpture in Northern England* (1980), 72, pls. 2, 14, 15, 47.

FIG. 4 Harewood Church: Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture

this time: Forcett, Barwick in Elmet, Kippax and Staveley all have carvings which offer good local parallels for these Harewood beasts.[43] The placing of animals and figures in differing planes also seems to be a Viking-period characteristic and can be seen elsewhere in Yorkshire on crosses at Middleton and Staveley;[44] as in the Isle of Man, where similar illogicality occurs, this idiosyncracy presumably reflects arrangements familiar in Scandinavian art. The knife carried by the human figure, though crudely drawn, similarly indicates a late pre-Norman date for it is probably identifiable as an example of Wheeler's group IV, the type also seen on the Middleton crosses and, in exaggerated form, on a carving from Bilton.[45]

It will be clear from the parallels cited above that this new stone from Harewood fits neatly alongside other tenth and eleventh-century carvings from Yorkshire. And it is perhaps not surprising that the closest analogues are provided by local carvings from Kippax and Staveley.[46] The latter is particularly relevant in form, style and theme; on its worn reverse there is, indeed, an animal which seems very close to the stubby proportions of the main Harewood beast.

Whilst recognising these Yorkshire links, however, it should be noted that some features of the zoomorphic ornament are best paralleled among the free-style animals of Viking-age carvings on the Isle of Man. Here also we find boar-like beasts whose bristles are marked by parallel incised cuts as well as animals with broad collars and with strips of incised ornament along the body.[47] Even the tree-scroll decoration, which probably represents a development from the stylised scrolled joints of zoomorphic art, finds parallels in the art of the island.[48] It may well be that both Harewood and Man are responding indepedently to the same stimuli but I have elsewhere noted Manx links with the sculpture of western Yorkshire and Harewood is now a possible addition to that list.[49]

Like the scenes at Middleton and Staveley, which also combine armed humans with animals, the Harewood carving presumably depicts a hunt. It is possible to argue that such a theme was symbolically significant for both the medieval Christian and for those addicted to the mythology of Scandinavia.[50] Such speculation is not, however, appropriate to this note.

2. Fragment of relief sculpture with figure among foliage. Found incorporated in south churchyard wall. All the churchyard walls were inspected for material ejected from the church in the 1793 restoration and the construction of the Lascelles vault in 1795. Furthermore the report of discoveries in making the sunk fence east of the church in 1791 and the report of the collegiate chantry house standing south of the church (Taylor 345) increased the possibility of discoveries of worked stone. Only one

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43. W. G. Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.*, 19 (1907), 320; *ibid* (1915), 138, 201, 241; M. Firby and J. Lang, 'The Pre-Conquest Sculpture at Stonegrave', *Y.A.J.*, 53 (1981), 20-23, 28-9. For other Northumbrian examples see W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses* (1927), figs. 170-2, 207.
44. J. T. Lang, 'Some Late Pre-Conquest Crosses in Ryedale, Yorkshire', *Jour. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, 36 (1973), pl. IV: G. B. Brown, *The Arts in Early England,* VI (2) (1937), pl. LXXI.
45. R. E. M. Wheeler, *London and the Saxons* (London Museum Catalogue, no. 6) (1935), pls. XIV, XV: Lang (1973), pl. IV.; Collingwood (1915), 140.
46. Collingwood (1915), 201, 241. For Staveley see also Brown (1937), pl. LXXI.
47. P. M. C. Kermode, *Manx Crosses* (1907), figs, 24, 38, 39, pls. XLVII, XLVIII, L, LIII, LV; A. M. Cubbon, *The Art of the Manx Crosses,* 2nd ed. (1977), 23, 25, 30.
48. Kermode (1907), pl. XXV, fig. 23 (3).
49. Bailey (1980), 218.
50. Contrast: A. L. Binns, 'Tenth Century Carvings from Yorkshire and the Jellinge Style', *Universitetet i Bergen Arbok* (1956), 22-24; R. N. Bailey, 'The Meaning of the Viking-age Shaft at Dacre', *Trans. Cumb. West. Antiq. Archaeol. Soc.* 77 (1977), 68-71; Firby and Lang (1981), 21-2. Note that the Staveley composition may represent a crude example of the so-called "Hart and Hound" motif discussed in Bailey (1977), 70-1.

FIG. 5 Harewood Church: sculpture of man entangled in foliage.

sculptured stone was found; it has now been removed within the church for greater protection.

The sculpture (Fig. 5) with a naked human figure entangled in foliage could be ninth-century but fits best within a twelfth-century context. Such figures may be seen in manuscript illumination, as on a Winchester Bible decorated by 'The Master of the Entangled Figures',[51] on metalwork, as on the Gloucester candlestick,[52] and on ivory carving, especially on a panel from St. Albans.[53]

Miss K. Galbraith comments:

"This sculpture may well date to the first half of the twelfth century. Scrolls with entangled human figures are generally characteristic of post-Conquest art. Three comparisons come to mind: (a) Brayton church near Selby. South door, north jamb, east face of capital next to door jamb (i.e. not the capital of the jamb itself); (b) West Marton near Skipton, cross shaft of twelfth century; (c) The 'John of Beverley' crozier: the little figure in the foliage on the back of the stem. This may well be North English work and likely to be early twelfth century".[54]

The occurrence of such a sculptured scene might suggest that a cross or grave cover has been used as building material. It is difficult to argue from a single fragment that Harewood once possessed a doorway similar to those at Brayton, Healaugh or Adel and that this door was destroyed in the fifteenth-century rebuilding.

THE FINDS

WORKED STONE

All the pieces of worked sandstone were incorporated in the filling of the two tomb chests with a few pieces of tracery being used to line the tomb walls below pavement level. All the evidence points to the filling being inserted at a single operation presumably in the decade 1420-30 and using material discarded from the previous church fabric.

1. Three fragments of attached half columns, probably from a door arch of late twelfth-century date, maximum diameter eight inches (20 cm). Two fragments in N tomb, other in S. tomb.
2. One fragment of rectangular wall shaft 32 inches long, seven inches broad, 5½ inches deep; outer face has three vertical roll mouldings, and the edge of the stone has a rounded chamfer. It would seem to be a Romanesque detail as on the intersecting blank wall arcade in the choir at Bolton Priory. Found in N tomb.
3. Twenty-three fragments of window tracery. These were from a window (or windows) with reticulated tracery, ornamented by cusping. All the fragments were in a fine grained pale fawn sandstone, some had evidence of lime wash on the interior face. The majority had a groove for glazing and there was evidence on the window mullions for iron stay bars of 1½ inch square profile set at 15 inch intervals. One fragment was of an inner window arch. Some fragments showed evidence of reddening, but it was impossible to determine whether this occurred when the window was in situ. One fragment was carved from a re-used grave-cover (see below, slab no 2). For all these tracery fragments a date of *ca* 1330-50 is likely. They could be part of a four or five light window similar to those in the choir of Bolton Priory. Three from N tomb, remainder in S tomb.

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51. G. Zarnecki, J. Holt and T. Holland, *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200* (London, Arts Council Exhibition Catalogue, 1984), 120, no. 63; C. M. Kaufmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190* (London, 1975), 107-8, no. 82, pl. 226; W. Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles* (London, 1981); T. S. R. Boase, *English Art 1100-1216* (Oxford, 1953), 89-90, 179, pls. 29-30.
52. Zarnecki, Holt and Holland, 249, no. 247 and 287, no. 308; A. Borg, 'The Gloucester Candlestick', British Arch. Assoc. *Medieval Art and Architecture at Gloucester and Tewkesbury* (1985), 84-92; A. Harris, 'A Romanesque Candlestick in London', *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* 27 (1964), 32-52; C. Oman, *The Gloucester Candlestick* (London, 1958).
53. Zarnecki, Holt and Holland, 214, no. 183 and 217, no. 189; J. Beckwith, *Ivory Carving in Early Medieval England* (London, 1972), 60-1, 67, 127-8 (no. 44), 130-1 (nos. 58, 59).
54. Brayton: G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture 1140-1210* (London, 1953), 34-8, pl. 76; West Marton: T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949), 123-4, Pls. 88-9, suggesting a date of ca. 1100; St. John of Beverley Crozier: see note 53, where Lasko and Beckwith prefer a mid-late eleventh century date.

4. Slab with raised design of cusped traceried arch head, florid terminals and a thin shaft to pinnacled finial. This is a version of the piscina niche head now in the chancel ('restored' in 1862-3) and could have been part of a similar niche in the North chapel. A date of *ca* 1350 is likely. Found in N tomb.

TOMB SLABS

1. Upper half of slab with incised cross paté in circle, broad shaft. Early 12th century. S. tomb.
2. Middle part of slab with incised cross shaft and a pair of shears on right hand side of slab. Re-used for window tracery. Mid twelfth century. S tomb.
   Other tomb slabs are visible in the walls of the church; nos. 3, 4, 6.
3. South wall of chancel, interior, above S tomb, cross head with round leaf foliage, no leaf buds, narrow shaft, incised design. Mid twelfth century.
4. South wall of S aisle, exterior face, portion of slab with step base. Twelfth-century. Said to be a repair from 1791 (Taylor 345) though it may have been inserted material from the construction of the Lascelles vault in 1795.
5. Stone coffin, tapering profile, well-formed head, later twelfth-century, now placed north of north chapel (Taylor 345).
6. East wall of N chapel, exterior face, portion of slab with deep single step base. Twelfth-century.

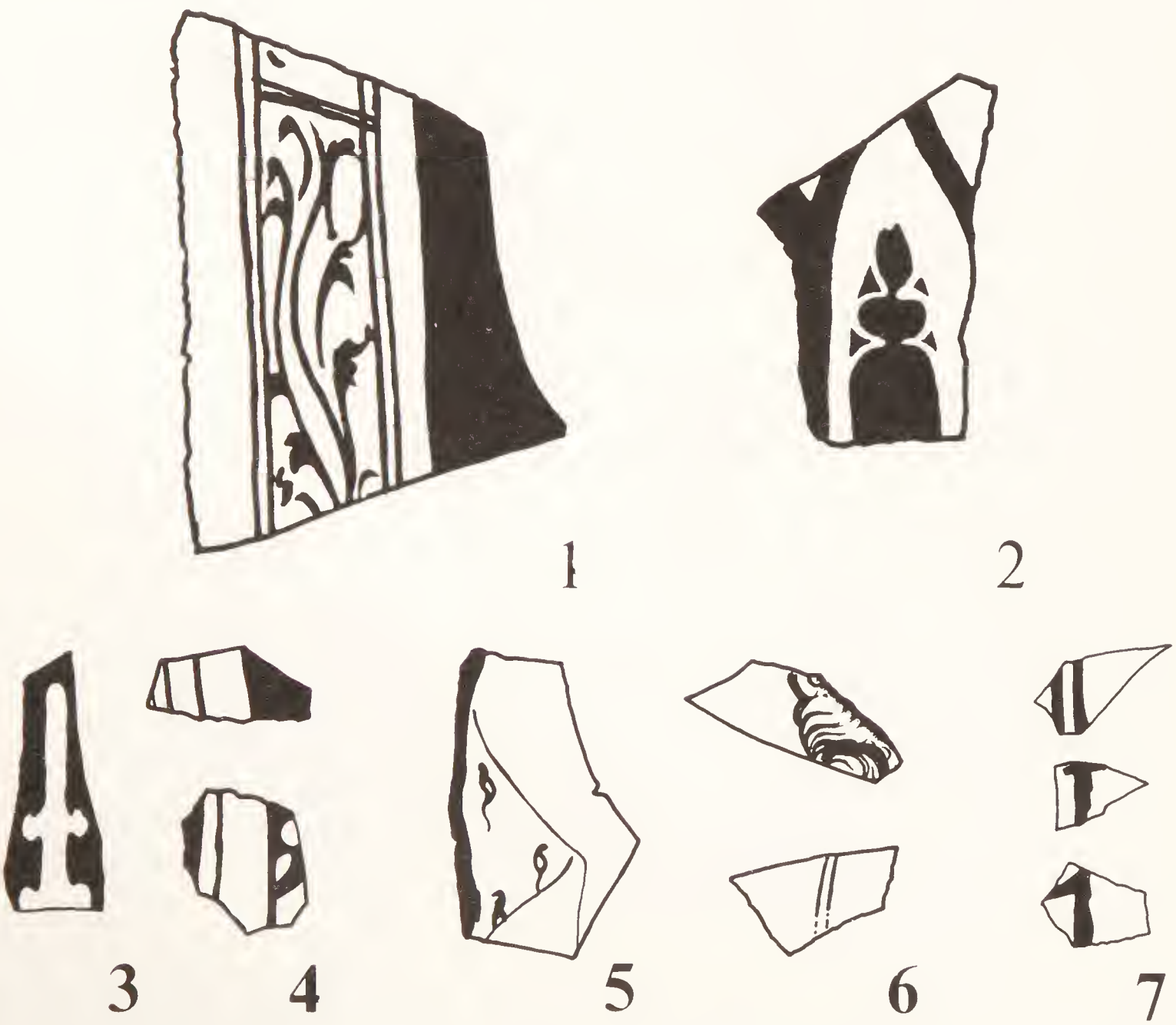

FIG. 6 Harewood Church: painted glass nos. 3 and 4 from south tomb; remainder from north tomb. nos 1 and 2 actual size; remainder ½ size.

SMALL FINDS

In the north tomb were found a wooden comb and a bronze pin. These are not illustrated.

THE PAINTED GLASS (Figs 6-12)

During the dismantling of the Gascoigne tomb (4) in 1979 there were found 143 fragments of glass, placed with a few lead cames in the rubble filling of the tomb. It is

likely that they were all derived from a single window, probably adjacent on the east or south wall of the south (Gascoigne) chapel. A further 85 fragments of glass were found when the Ryther (3) and Redman (2) tombs were dismantled and excavated in 1981. The material from the excavation will be considered first.[55]

In the south (Ryther) tomb there were four decorated fragments (Fig. 6) and 11 pieces of plain glass. The decorated fragments included two with pinnacles from canopy work, and part of a hatched background, possibly also from a canopy. They may be compared to fourteenth-century glass in All Saints, North Street, York, window II (Gee, pp 157-8, 176, plates XXII, XLa). The plain glass included part of a very thin roundel. The glass all occurred in the undisturbed material near the base of the tomb.

In the north (Redman) tomb there were 70 fragments, some very small indeed and many with pitted or weathered external surfaces. However, it was possible to establish that 18 were decorated (Fig. 6), three were of ruby glass (one undecorated), 20 were probably undecorated but were either too discoloured or weathered to be certain and 30 were plain, usually thin white or greenish glass. The decorated pieces included a finely drawn beard or lion's mane, a Decorated-style window and two with delicate tendrils of foliage. Since the interior of the tomb was undisturbed the glass should predate the erection of the tomb in or after 1426. All the decorated pieces are consistent with a date of *c* 1350 apart from one unweathered piece. This is no different in technique and in its use of yellow paint from early fifteenth-century glass; it may, therefore, be a piece contemporary with the filling of the tomb chest but broken during the glazing of an adjacent window in the north (Redman) chapel.

In the Gascoigne tomb (4) the fragments were probably part of a single window (Routh and Knowles 1983, 85-90). The tomb was of Sir William Gascoigne (died 1461) and his wife Margaret Clarell. It was placed free-standing within the Gascoigne chapel but before 1584 was moved to the south-east angle of the chapel obscuring the piscina. It was recorded in this position by Glover and in 1659 by Matthew Hutton. What is not clear is whether there was a previously existing recess in this wall before the tomb was moved: there is some hint of painting on the back of the arch and at the west end of the recess is a shield crudely outlined but with no hint of charges upon it.

The suggestion by Routh and Knowles (p.89) that the glass, which includes a Crucifixion, was destroyed at the Reformation and that the tomb was transferred to a new position between 1548 and 1584 (p.29) is entirely consistent with the evidence. It seems likely that what was inserted in the tomb were the surviving 'superstitious' fragments and that the family arms and donor figures remained intact; in some windows they survived until 1793. The fragments contained within the tomb are sufficiently random to suggest that they represent a collection of pieces from an already dismembered window.

The thickness of the glass varied between 1 mm and 5 mm; only two fragments were more than 4 mm thick and 77% (106 fragments) were between 1.5 and 3 mm. Decorated glass amounted to 93 pieces and showed a similar range of thickness (except that both of the fragments thicker than 4 mm were decorated) and occurred in much the same proportions as the plain pieces.

The colour range was limited. The majority of the fragments are on a greenish-white glass with only four pieces of ruby glass and ten pieces of a deep blue surviving. The coloured glass is used both for contrasting garments and, with background floral sprays, as space fillers around major figures or donors. This suggests that the York preference for

55. Reference throughout the discussion on painted glass is to J. A. Knowles, *Essays in the History of The York School of Glass-Painting* (London, 1936) and E. A. Gee, 'The Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street, York', *Archaeologia,* 102, (1969), 151-202. Other relevant illustrations of glass in York parish churches are R.C.H.M., *York V: The Central Area* (1981) pls. 46-7, 51, 59-60.

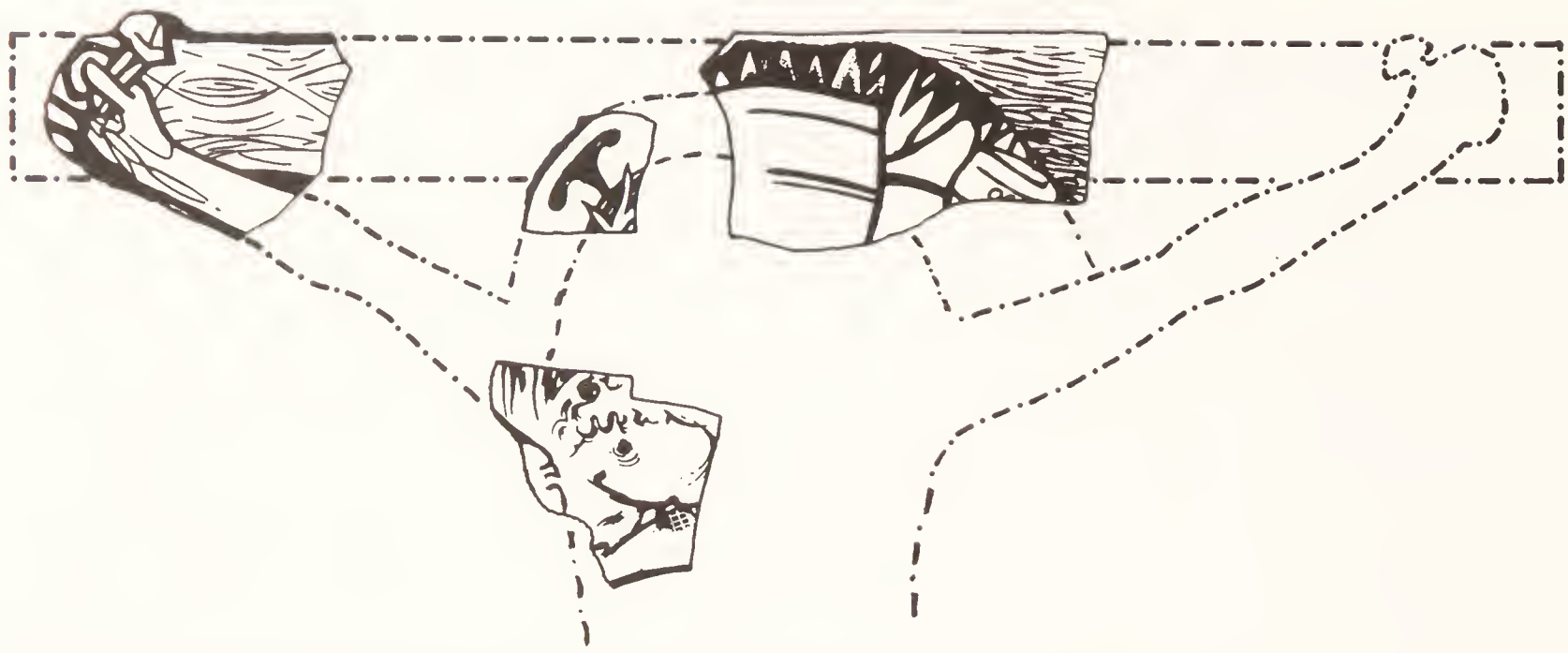

FIG. 7 Harewood Church: painted glass from Gascoigne tomb Crucifixion scene (glass: ⅓ actual size)

colour counterchange between adjacent scenes was practised at Harewood both in garments and in background diaperwork.

The shapes represented in the glass indicate that two techniques were used: major figures were set within floral backgrounds and the scenes were framed by canopies; more sparingly a scene was outlined on clear glass in brown paint with some colour wash and yellow highlights; this was set in a background of clear diamond-shaped quarries, a few with 'heraldic devices', and the whole set in a border of short rectangular strips.

The dating of the two techniques, using the evidence of York examples, suggests that the earlier work is of the period 1430-50, and that the later work, including the Crucifixion, is of the period 1470-90.

Crucifixion (Fig. 7)

Four pieces were clearly recognisable as part of a Crucifixion scene, similar to that of 1471 in Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York (RHCM, *'York,* vol. V, pl. 46). The surviving parts included Christ's right hand, the crown of thorns and part of His head within a rayed halo and with a dove. There was also a bearded face, part of a left arm with a background of wooden plank or cross, and three other pieces which might belong to the lower parts of the cross. The delicacy of painting, the sparing use of colour (yellow and brown) and the thinness of much of the glass (1.1 mm) all made the composition readily identifiable, but there could have been more than one figure or scene using this style. The fractures on the glass suggested that the head had been broken before the glass was dismantled. For such a Crucifixion scene a position in the centre light of the east window is likely: in the south chapel it would have been above St Mary's altar.

Robed figures (Fig. 8)

There are a number of human figures or attributes which cannot be precisely identified (15 fragments). There was clearly one major figure (2) with a robe outlined and shaded in black, and also part of the same or a similar robe (3, 4, 5); these pieces have regularly cut edges. Ten other fragments are parts of garments and one (7) is a small-scale shoulder and collar, possibly from a saint in a border canopy. These fragments include a hand on a black background (6) and a satchel (1). These use brown outline and tend to have irregularly cut borders as if they were fitted against colour panels. There is no evidence of donor figures unless the multangular concave-sided shape (8) is a dagger pommel rather than a pendant boss (cf Knowles, p 94, Fig 38a of 1421); warrior saints and Wise Men could also be shown with daggers.

There are seven fragments from a robe decorated with multi-foiled flowers with a yellow centre. The draperies hang delicately and the glass is generally carefully cut. It is possible that the robe was trimmed with ermine. Similar decoration can be seen in the west window of St Helen's, Stonegate, York, York (Knowles, figs 44b, 56d) and All Saints, North Street, York (Gee, pls XXXVI, XLc) or as an altar covering at All Saints (Knowles, frontispiece).

Diaper background

Floral backgrounds occur as black on blue, black on ruby or black on white as in Knowles, Fig 10d. A selection of patterns is illustrated (fig 9).

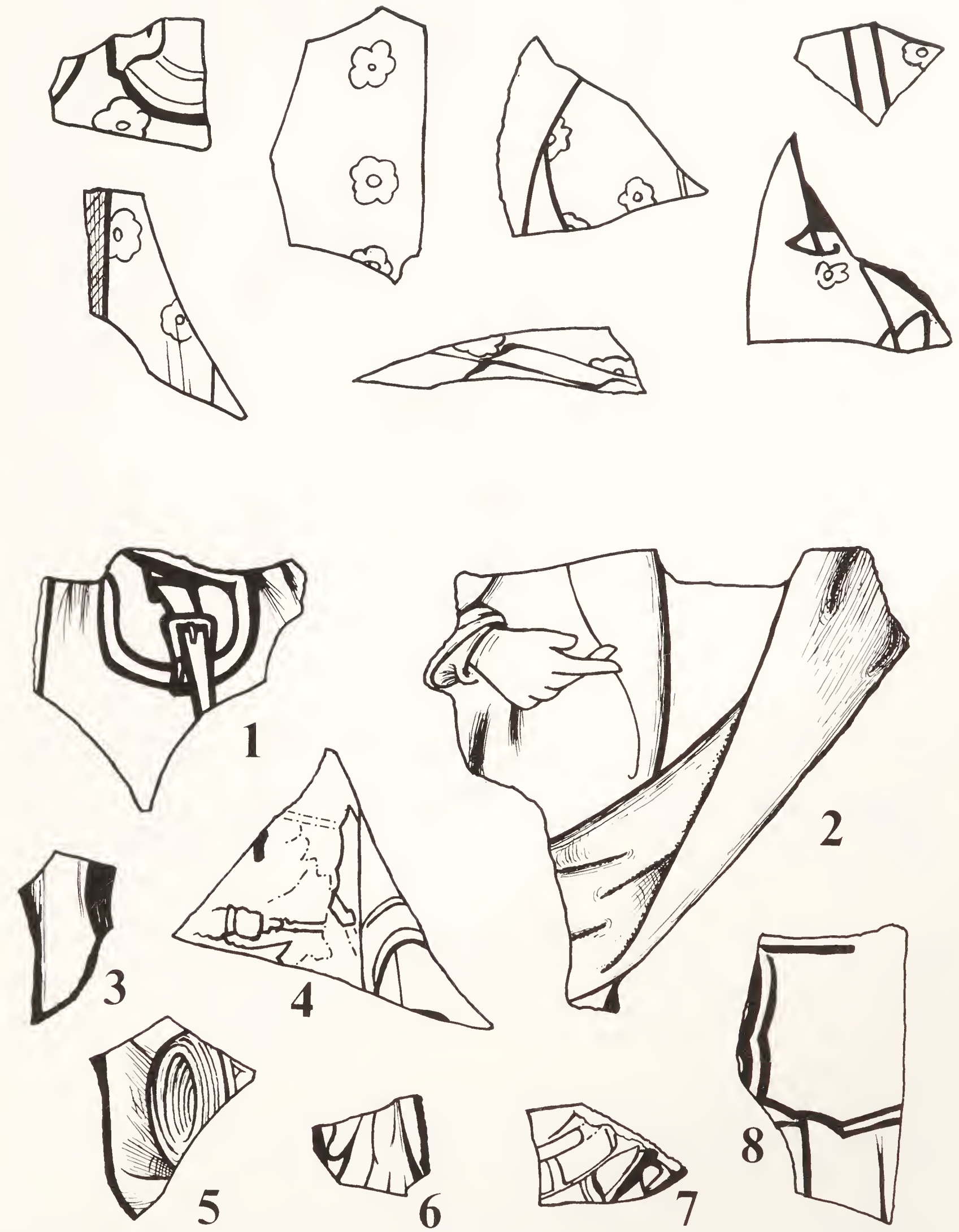

FIG. 8 Harewood Church: painted glass from Gascoigne tomb Floral robe *above;* Robed figures *below;* (glass: ½ actual size)

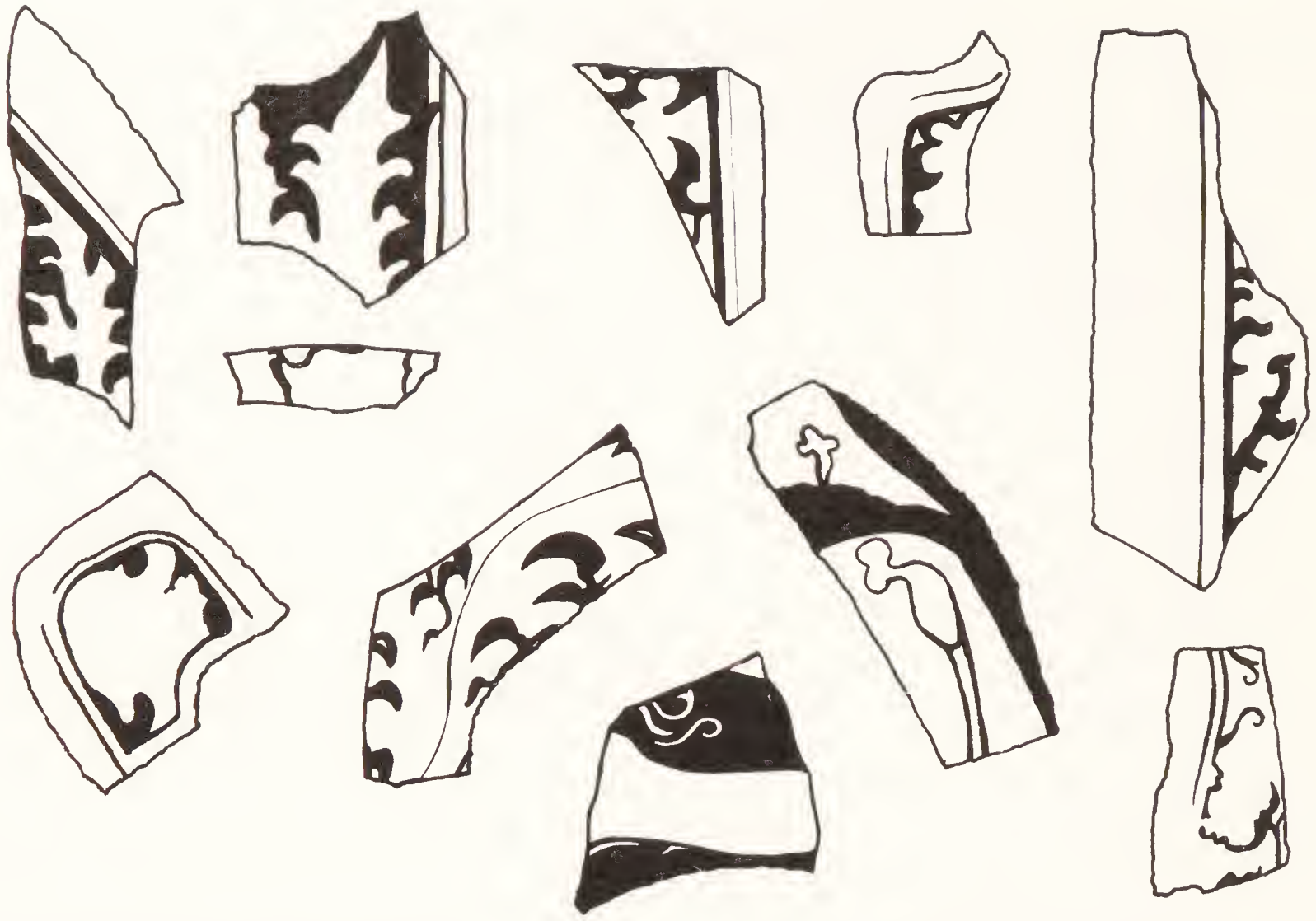

FIG. 9 Harewood Church: painted glass from Gascoigne tomb Diaper patterns on blue and on ruby glass (glass: ½ actual size)

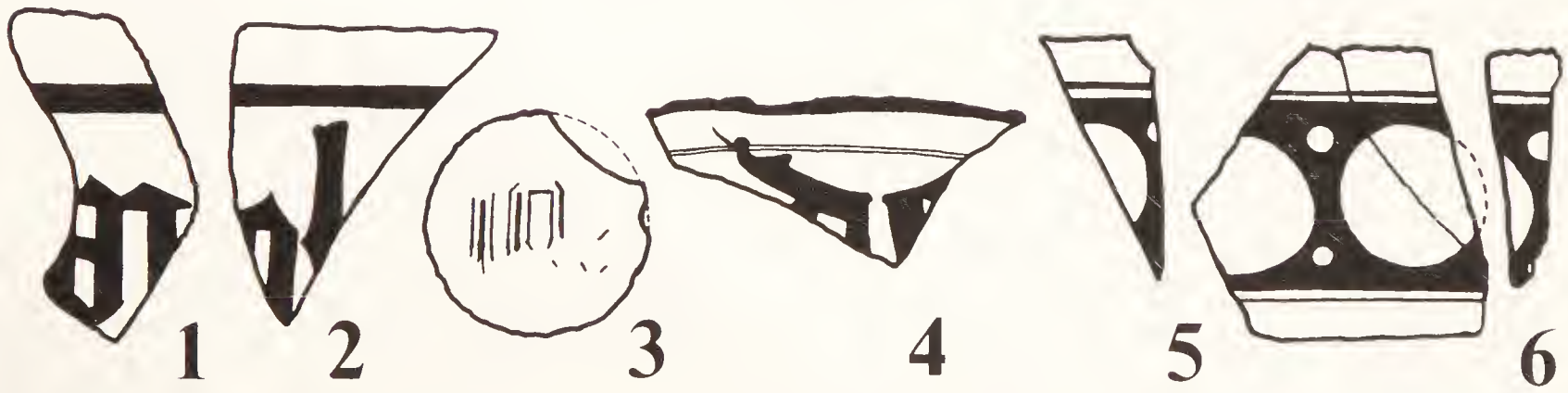

FIG. 10 Harewood Church: painted glass from Gascoigne tomb Inscriptions (nos. 1-4) and Borders (nos. 5-6) (glass: ½ actual size)

Inscriptions (Fig 10)

There are fragments from three inscriptions, all too fragmentary to hazard a reading of them. The first (1, 2) comes from a donor's or a commemorative inscription set below donor figures; the second (4) is from a scroll or halo; the third is a thin (1 mm) roundel with three letters, perhaps 'ihs' at the centre of a paten, as held by St. John the Evangelist, or held in the beak of a dove hovering over Christ at the Baptism in the river Jordan.

Borders (Fig. 10)

Portions of a thin border strip decorated with black paint with large and small white circles set within framing lines occur; three pieces are from one adjacent strip (5) and one thicker piece is from a similar strip (6). No exact York parallel has been noted but Gee illustrates a related border from St Martin's, Micklegate, York (Gee, p 178, pl XVI 1) and mentions its occurence elsewhere. A closer parallel is this motif used in the robe worn by Mary Cleopas in Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York (black circle on white). The glass surface of the Harewood fragments is very well preserved.

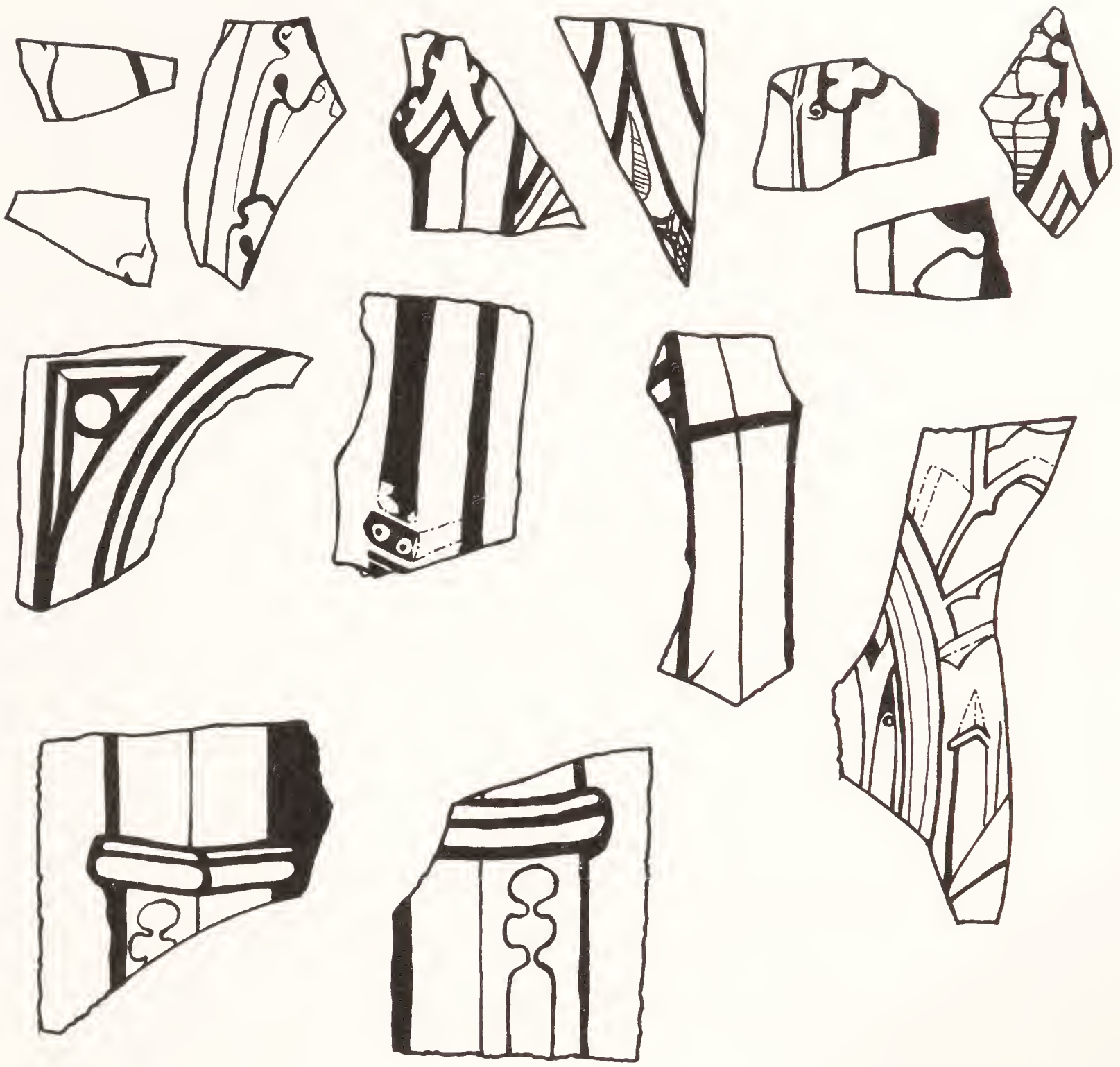

FIG. 11 Harewood Church: painted glass from Gascoigne tomb Canopies (glass: ½ actual size)

Canopies (Fig. 11)

Thirty-four fragments contained examples of canopy work and a selection of them is illustrated. The development of canopies, especially crockets and pinnacles, has been discussed by Knowles (pp 54-98, figs 7, 17-21) and by Gee (pp 178-180, pls XVII, XXIX-XL). Most correspond to the latest form of crocket in Knowles and to the canopies of type I and III in Gee. This would suggest a date in the second quarter of the fifteenth century for all these fragments.

Floral quarries (Fig 12)

There are two patterns of semi-heraldic diamond-shaped quarries. Generally the patterned quarries are thicker (3-4 mm) than the plain ones (1.5-2.5 mm). The patterns were delicately drawn in brown with the subject coloured yellow. The more interesting is the circular frame or churn with a pea tendril (2 examples): while the second subject appears to be a rose stock with a grafted branch; this second pane had been broken by a blow at the centre into many pieces. The character of the quarries differs from those in All Saints North Street, York (Gee pl XVIII) and in St Martin, Micklegate, York (Knowles, fig 67). It is not clear whether a family name is punned.[56]

56. I am grateful to Dr. E. A. Gee, Dr. J. H. Harvey and Mr. R. Knowles for discussion of this possibility.

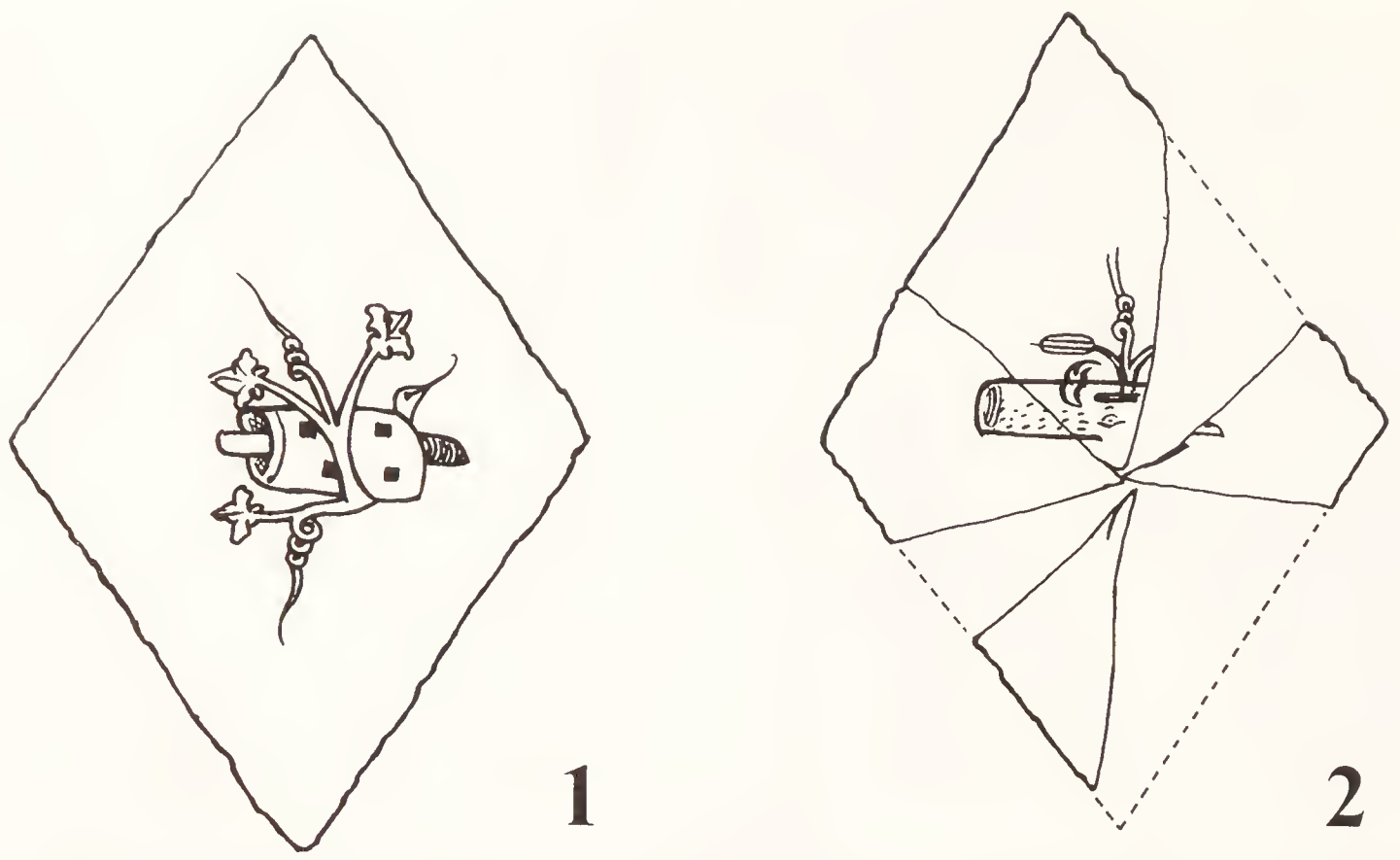

FIG. 12 Harewood Church: painted glass from Gascoigne tomb Floral quarries (glass: ½ actual size)

CONCLUSION

This work could not have been undertaken without the close co-operation of the Redundant Churches Fund, their site architect and their conservator, and of the Harewood Estate. It shows the potential of church archaeology even on a limited budget and with a limited objective. By concentrating attention upon a single church not previously fully examined, new insights can be gained and new lines of research proposed. There is no medieval church in Yorkshire which would not benefit from such a study.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank all these who have helped in this work:
John Bowles, Secretary of the Redundant Churches Fund, and Peter Hill, the architect of the project, John Green, the conservator at the church, C. Gott of the Harewood Estate Office, the Leeds University Union Archaeological Society whose members conducted the excavation, Dr. C. J. Arnold and the second-year students who conducted the church-yard survey, Professor Richard Bailey, Miss K. Galbraith and Dr. G. Hornung who contributed specialist reports, R. C. Janaway and Kevin Sheard who prepared a computer analysis of the glass fragments, Richard Knowles, R. K. Morris, Dr. J. H. Harvey and Dr. E. A. Gee who advised on specialist points, M. Stroud and A. Tosh who completed the glass illustrations.

A GIFT AND ITS GIVER: JOHN WALKER AND THE EAST WINDOW OF HOLY TRINITY, GOODRAMGATE, YORK

By PAULINE E. SHEPPARD ROUTH

The subject panels of the fifteenth-century east window of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York as they are today (Plate 1), have been described too many times to require more than a brief recapitulation here.[1]

Each of the window's five lights contains two subjects, one above the other: 1(a) St. George; (b) St. Mary Cleophas, Alphaeus and their children. 2(a) St. John Baptist wearing a camel skin under his robe;[2] (b) St. Anne, Joachim, the Virgin and Jesus. 3(a) The Trinity in the form of a Corpus Christi[3] - the head of God the Father is a replacement; (b) the Coronation of the Virgin (replacement head wearing fifteenth-century headdress) shewing the Trinity as three persons.[4] 4(a) St. John the Evangelist, with replacement head; (b) St. Mary Salome, Zebedee, and their children (one of whom is a replacement). 5(a) St. Christopher; (b) St. Ursula (one of the small figures beneath her mantle has lost its head).

The fine artistic quality of the glass apart, perhaps the most interesting aspect of the window is its direct link with its medieval origins in the person of its donor, who is not only portrayed, tonsured and clad in red, in the central panel, uttering the words 'Te adoro te glorifico o beata trinitas', but is celebrated in a five-line metrical black-letter inscription running the width of the window between the two series of subject panels:

...(w)alcar rectoris animae miserere Joh(annis)
(Q)ui deus hic istam fieri fecit atque fenestr(am)
(Hoc) cum cancello deitatis absque du(ello)
(An)no milleno C quater & septuage(no)
... tamen adjuncto rex in honore t(uo)

It is clear that John Walker, rector, gave the window to the church in, or sometime after, 1470. The first word of the last line seems to have been missing when James Torre recorded the inscription in 1691,[5] but much can be deduced from his lists of incumbents, in conjunction with testamentary records. The 'close catalogue of rectors' of Holy Trinity[6] shews John Walker's name, undated, following that of William Laverock, and

1. J. G. G(aynor), *Notes on the east window in Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York* (1905); R. B. Cook, *The old church of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York* (1906); J. E. Morris, *York* (Methuen's Little Guides) (1924); F. Harrison, *The painted glass of York* (1927); J. A. Knowles, 'The east window of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York'. *YAJ* XXVIII. (1926); P. Gibson, 'The stained and painted glass of York', in *The noble city of York,* edited by A. Stacpoole & others. (York, 1972); R. C. H. M., *An inventory of the Historical monuments in the city of York.* Vol. V. *The central area* (1981), pp. li-lii, 8-9, plates 45-46, 51, 55, 59.
2. He is similarly represented on the Griffiths alabaster monument at Burton Agnes, and on two of the six at Harewood, but follows biblical precedent in wearing a robe of camel hair in the glass of Methley church.
3. This was made from the same cartoon as the similar subject in St. Martin le Grand, Coney Street, which fortunately survived the bombing of 1942.
4. Parallel portrayals of this form of Coronation in alabaster panels of the period are documented in *Illustrated catalogue of the exhibition of English medieval alabaster work, 1910.* (Society of Antiquaries, 1913), pl. V. fig. 10d.; P. Biver, 'Some examples of English alabaster tables in France', *Archaeological Journal* LXVII (1910), pl. I.; W. L. Hildburgh, 'Further notes on English alabaster carving', *Antiquaries Journal* X (1930), pl. VII. 7.
5. York Minster Library. J. Torre, Antiquities ecclesiastical of the city of York. 1691. 'Churches parochiall in York. St. Trinity in Gotheromgate'. p. 29.
6. Ibid. p. 1.

Plate 1. Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York: the East window.

preceding Robert Hikson, who was collated in 1481 on the death of John Walker. Laverock had come to Holy Trinity in 1453 after two years as Rector of St. Cuthbert's, and it would seem that he died in 1471, as administration of his estate was granted on October 10th of that year.[8] It can be assumed therefore that John Walker's tenure of the rectory commenced in 1471, and possibly that his gift dated from that time. He also held the living of All Hallows, Barking, in London, and presumably died there, as borne out by his wishes for the disposition of his earthly remains in his will, probate of which is dated 25 June 1481. Translated, the will reads as follows:[9]

In the name of God Amen. On the 25th day of the month of April in the year of the lord 1481 and in the twentyfirst year of the reign of King Edward, the fourth after the conquest, I John Walker, clerk, being of sound mind and whole memory, praised be the Highest, constitute ordain and make my present testament in the form which follows. First I leave and recommend my soul to Almighty God my creator and saviour, and to the most blessed virgin Mary his glorious mother, and all the citizens of heaven; And my body to be buried in the churchyard of the parish church of All Saints, Berkyn by the Tower of London, namely within and near the south door of the said churchyard. Also I leave[2] (sic) to the works of the said church, 3*s*.4*d*. Also I will that, as soon as it may reasonably be done after my decease, a trental of masses be celebrated for my soul in the said church of All Saints, for the having and doing of which I leave 10*s*. Also I leave to my kinswoman Margaret Craplace, wife of Robert Craplace, my new furred gown of blue, with the hood belonging to it. Also I leave to the said Robert Craplace one ell of blue worstede and one pair of russet hose and one salet. Also I leave to John Thomson[10] my clerk my doublet of blue worstede. Also I leave to Alice Burgh, wife of William Burgh my red

7. F. Drake, Eboracum, or the history and antiquities of the city of York. 1736. p. 313 taken from Torre. op.cit. p. 505.
8. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research. Reg. 4. f.32.
9. Borthwick Inst. Reg 5. ff. 108-108v.
10. A 'John Thomson clericus' was enrolled a Freeman in 1438. (Register of the Freemen of the City of York. Vol. I. *Surtees Society* XCVI (1896), p. 154.

cloak. Also I leave to the said William Burgh my russet furred gown and one new lined cap. Also I leave to Cristina Gerard four ells of linen cloth. Also I leave to Thomas Walkar another blue gown of mine, with hood, and two and a half yards of woollen cloth of russet colour. Also I leave to Alice Massy, wife of John Massy, two ells of linen cloth. Also I leave to the said John Massy one other new cap of mine. Also I leave to Alice Barry wife of Richard Barry, two ells of linen cloth. Also I will that my executors, immediately after my decease, make provision for having a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily for my soul and for the soul of Thomas Broune in the said church of All Saints for half a year, if it may fittingly be done from my goods. And also I will that my executors provide, as soon as it may reasonably be done after my decease, for having a suitable chaplain to celebrate divine service for my soul and for the soul of the said Thomas Broune in the church of Holy Trinity in Goderumgate in the City of York for one whole year. Also I leave to the fabric of the same church of Holy Trinity 6*s*.8*d*. Also I leave to Edmund Wright[11] my new long knife called an hanger. Also I leave to Johanna Bridlington[12] my green gown with a border. Also I leave to Margaret Cure, wife of Richard Cure[13] my russet gown furred with black lambskins. Also I leave to Margaret Kirk, wife of John Kirk, 6*s*.8*d*. Also I will that Agnes Cayrok[14] widow, have 16*s*.4*d*. to make satisfaction to her for four ounces of broken silver lately received from her by me. And I remit to the same Agnes the nine shillings which she owes me, that she may pray for my soul. Also I leave to Thomas Walkar, living in Burn in Yorkeswald, father of the aforesaid Thomas Walkar, 26*s*.8*d*. to pray for my soul. Also I leave to John Hodgeson[15] weaver, one trussing doublet. Also I leave to John Walkar son of William Walkar of Cleburn a certain part of one book called I porteuse. Also I leave to the fabric of the cathedral church of blessed Peter, York, 12*d*. Also I leave to the gild of Corpus Christi in the same city of York, 12*d*. Also I leave towards the support of the holy martyrs Christopher and George in the said city of York, in which confraternity I am a brother, 12*d*. Also I leave to the abovenamed Edmund Wright another new cap of mine and a small girdle of blue silk decorated with silver. The RESIDUE truly of all my goods movable and immovable wherever they may be I give and leave to the aforesaid John Thomson, Edmund Wright and Robert Craplace, which same John, Edmund and Robert I make and ordain my executors of this my testament, that they from the same residue and from all other premises may dispose and do for me as they will that I would do for them in like case, taking in their own hands for their labours in that behalf had and retained namely to each of them 13*s*.4*d*. and all costs and expenses and all charges reasonably expended by them in that behalf. In testimony of which things I have set my seal to this my present testament, these being witnesses, Peter Caldcote, draper, William Burgh, brewer of the city of London, John Gardyner and Henry Wodcoke, notary public. Given on the day month and year abovesaid. The present testament was proved on the 25th day of June in the year of the lord 1481. And administration was granted to Edmund Wright, named executor in the same testament, and sworn in form of law; Reserving the power similarly to grant administration to the other executors named in the testament if they should come to receive it in form of law.

Perhaps the testator's surname, Walker, indicating a connection with the textile trade, accounts for the will's emphasis on bequests of clothing and cloth, and perhaps also for the priest's affluence. Particularly interesting are those of articles pertaining rather to mortal conflict than that of the spirit, his salet, his hanger and his trussing doublet. The identity of Thomas Broune, whose soul concerns the testator as much as his own, does not appear.

The book rendered here 'I porteuse' appears in the will of Richard Scrope of Bentley in 1485 as 'my grete Portosse',[16] in that of Robert Wellington, Canon of York in 1504[17] as 'a Portous, price x marc', and, much earlier, in that of John de Meaux in 1377,[18] 'unam librum vocatum portehors.' This is the portable breviary or portiforium, and as he leaves 'a certain part' of his, John Walker probably possessed one in two volumes, as did Walter Frost, whose will of 1477 bequeathes to his son Thomas, 'unum Portiforium divisum usus Ebor'[19] which, it appears, he inherited from *his* father.[20]

John Walker's admission to the Guild of Corpus Christi is somewhat ambiguous. A

11. Possibly the 'Ed. Wright parchymener', Freeman in 1464/5. ibid. p. 185.
12. Possibly the wife of Thomas Bridlington, admitted to membership of Guild of Corpus Christi 1461/2. (Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York. *Surtees Society,* LVII (1872), p. 62.
13. Members of Corpus Christi 1478. ibid. p. 103.
14. With the Kirks, member of Corpus Christi in 1471 'per dom. John Walker'. ibid. p. 82.
15. Free 1484/5. op. cit. p. 175. Corpus Christi 1457 (?) op. cit. p. 60.
16. Testamenta Eboracensia iii. *Surtees Society,* XLV. *(1864), p. 299.*
17. op. cit. iv. S.S. LIII. 1868. p. 225.
18. Borthwick Inst. Abp. Reg. 12. f. 57v.
19. Test. Ebor. iii. p. 238.
20. Ibid. p. 237n.

'Dom. Johannes Walker' was admitted under the aegis of Keeper Thomas Symson, Rector of St. John del Pike, in 1462-3,[21] but it is not clear whether he can be identified with 'Dom. Joh. Walker (nuper) capellanus paroch. de Bolton Percy,' who appears in 1467.[22] He was himself a Keeper of the Guild in 1471, the year in which he was presented to the rectory of Holy Trinity by George Neville, Archbishop of York. The latter august personage was certainly admitted to the Guild twice, once as Bishop of Exeter in 1457,[23] and again fourteen years later, as Archbishop.[24] His arms appear in the head of the central light of John Walker's window: *Azure a cross in pale or surmounted by a pallium argent charged with 4 crosses pattée fitchée sable, impaling Grandquarterly: 1 & 4, Quarterly 1 & 4 Argent 3 fusils in fess gules (Montacute), 2 & 3, Or an eagle displayed vert (Monthermer); 2 & 3 Gules a saltire argent with a label gobony argent and azure (Neville).* Below are the remains of an inscription bearing the Archbishop's name.

Bearing the pallium, the archiepiscopal arms are known as 'the See of York Ancient'[25] but there is some contradiction regarding the tincture of the field. The General Armory agrees on the azure field,[26] but Dean Purey-Cust says 'Whenever the arms of Canterbury and York have been emblazoned, the field of the former is always *azure,* of the latter *gules,*'[27] and he illustrates them accordingly.[28] They are similarly shown several times in the base of the great east window of the Minster.

At the head of the second light of the Walker window is a shield bearing *Argent a chevron sable between three mullets or.* To be heraldically correct, the mullets should not be of a metal, but some tincture. Had they been *gules* or *sable,* the arms could have represented John Sherwood, a great favourite and sometime chaplain of Archbishop Neville,[29] and collated by him Archdeacon of Richmond in 1465. He later became Bishop of Durham. He was a native of York, and was admitted to membership of the Guild of Corpus Christi in 1470.[30] There is no evidence however, that the tinctures have ever been other than as at present. It has been conjectured, and may well be so, though again without corroborative evidence, that the arms were those of the donor, John Walker, himself.

At the head of the fourth light is a third coat of arms: *Gules a garb* (now missing) *within a bordure engrailed or.* This has been said to represent Archbishop John Kempe, though usually his arms are charged with three garbs rather than one, as carved in stone below the oriel window of his gatehouse at Cawood, the episcopal palace. Alternatively his nephew, Thomas Kempe, may have been represented. He had held office as Archdeacon of the West Riding and of Richmond, and several Prebends of the Chapter at York,[31] before becoming Bishop of London, which eminence he occupied till his death in 1489.

It would be unusual to find a medieval painted glass window untouched by the passing centuries, and certainly the Walker window has not survived unscathed. For this reason if for no other, it is necessary to notice the glass of the two-light east windows of the north and south aisles. In the top of the first light of the north, there is a figure of the Virgin holding palm and sceptre, in a rayed mandorla or aureole, a scroll behind her head inscribed 'Regina Celi' (Plate 2a). The rest of the light contains fragmentary figures, the most important of which shews the pallium of an archbishop, and the inscription

21. Reg. Corpus Christi. op. cit. p. 64.
22. Ibid. p. 67.
23. Ibid. p. 59.
24. Ibid. p. 79.
25. 'Modern' bears the keys in saltire of St. Peter.
26. B. Burke, *The general armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales* (1884), p. 1150.
27. A. P. Purey-Cust, *The heraldry of York Minster.* Vol. II (1896), p. 378.
28. Ibid. pl. 7.
29. Test. Ebor. iii. p. 207n.
30. Reg. Corpus Christi. op. cit. p. 74.
31. Purey-Cust. op. cit. p. 140.

Plate 2. Holy Trinity, Goodramgate: east window of north aisle.
a) the Virgin Mary as Regina Caeli. b) the Virgin Mary as Domina Mundi, with head and right hand of an archbishop.

fragment 'Willmus'. St. William was Archbishop of York in the twelfth century. The top of the second light has the rayed figure of a seated archbishop, inclining to his right, and the right hand wearing a jewelled glove..It can be seen that his left side is not part of the same figure, and this is borne out by the scroll, 'Dna Mundi' (Plate 2b). Below this is another Virgin, this time carrying a Child - 'Sancta Maria' on the scroll.

Even in the present century this window has suffered changes. Two sources of the 1920s, Morris and Harrison, state that both representations of the Virgin were in the first light.[32] They also agree that the 'Willmus' inscription fragment was in the bottom of the same light, and that the figure of a bishop or archbishop was at the top of the second light. Possibly the 'Sancta Maria' Virgin was placed in the second light when the glass was reinstalled after the Second World War. In 1906 R. B. Cook[33] also describes the two Virgins as being in the first light, and St. William below them, 'whose head has been changed'. It is not clear whether the latter figure was more complete at that time than now. Cook also corroborates the presence of another archbishop at the top of the second light, with the scroll 'Dna Mundi', which he remarks 'probably belonged to a figure of the B.V.M.'

The east window of the south aisle is similarly filled with fragmentary imagery. The top of the first light has another seated archbishop, this time half-facing to his left; his right hand in a jewelled glove, holds a book. Behind his head is a scroll 'Scē Pau' - St. Paulinus was Archbishop of York A.D. 627 - and (not matching) 'Gaudent...' Below is a shield bearing the arms of Latimer, *gules a cross patonce or*. The head of the second light has a damaged crowned and bearded figure holding a book and stones. Usually attributed to St. Olaf, whose the head may be, indications of a dalmatic point rather to St. Stephen.[34]

32. J. E. Morris, *York*. op. cit. p. 91; F. Harrison, *The painted glass of York*. op. cit. p. 154.
33. R. B. Cook, *The old church of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate*, op. cit.
34. P. Gibson, The stained and painted glass of York. op. cit. p. 176.

Plate 3. Holy Trinity, Goodramgate. a) East window, Mary Salome panel, showing Walker's device at base. b) E. window of N. aisle: Virgin and Child as Sancta Maria, with donor's head in left border.

Inscription fragments on either side the head '...ubileto' and 'con' seem to match the previously noted 'Gaudent'. Below this is a fragmented angel figure and the bases of both lights are filled with plain glass quarries.

Many interesting and tantalizing fragments can be seen in these aisle windows. As well as figures, there are portions of animals, birds, grotesques and inscriptions, including one in the Lombardic script which antedated black-letter, and obviously much of the glass is of a period earlier than that of the chancel window.

The latter has undergone great changes too, though not all obvious. The clear glass borders to the five lights are not original, and when they were inserted, the medieval side shaftings were substantially reduced, and each of the five sections of the inscription lost a portion of its beginning and ending. Misplaced fragments can be seen on close inspection. At the head of the first light is a tiny piece of landscape with a building, possibly a church, and at the base of the St. Anne panel is a fragment of black-letter, which could be the 'ello' missing from the end of 'cum cancello deitatis absque du...' Most intriguing of all are the inserted rectangular pieces at the base of the St. Mary Salome panel, which have strange spidery devices in yellow stain on plain glass (Plate 3a). Turned upright they can be seen to be opposite halves of a single device, a trefoil slipped, with fine rays issuing from behind at the eight points of the compass. In the upper foil is a cross crosslet, and in the right-hand foil, a black-letter W - this on one fragment. On the other is a left-hand foil (though not the exact match to the first) bearing the initial I. It seems possible that this was John Walker's device. There appears to be a similar fragment right at the top of the second light within the border.

Viewed from the exterior of the church, it can be seen that the sill of the east window was originally at a lower level than now. In 1926[35] Knowles writes of the lower part of the window as being 'filled with brick instead of glass'. On the inside, this is of course

35. J. A. Knowles, The east window of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, op. cit. p. 22

obscured by the wooden reredos bearing the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments and the Creed, which was made in 1721 for £9.[36] Presumably before the bricking up; though his account was not published until 1730, Thomas Gent briefly noted the window's contents:[37] 'The window over the Altar contains St. George, St. John Baptist, our wounded Saviour, St. John the Divine, St. Christopher, Virgin Mary and Joseph; Joachim, St. Anne and Virgin Mary; who is again depicted as a Patroness of her Votaries. Three times below she is painted with divers appellations as Sancta Maria, Regina Celi etc. and then are two other effigies of S. Paulinus and S. William.'

Apparently quite unrelated to the rest of the window's contents is the manuscript note of the earliest known recorder, Roger Dodsworth, who, in the earlier part of the seventeenth century tells us that 'In the quyer window in severall stanchans men & y^{r} wives kneeling first stanchan broken in y^{e} second

2 Orate p aiabus Willmi Thorppe et Isabella ux̄ suae et omniū liberorū suorū necnon omniorū bn̄factorum.
3 Orate p aia dni Willmi de Egremond civis Ebor.
4 Gone
5 Orate p aiabus Johis Billar et ... uxoris suae ac omniū liberorū suorū necnon omnium bn̄factorum.'[38]

More than a hundred years later Francis Drake, in his vast work on the city of York, *Eboracum,* in 1736, notes the three inscriptions as being, or having been, in the church, but without saying where.[39] It would seem that he was copying the information from Dodsworth, as he presented that particular manuscript, which was in his possession, to the Bodleian Library in that same year.[40] It could certainly be proved that only fragments of the inscriptions survived more than sixty years before Drake printed them, with the coming to light in the twentieth century in the Bodleian Library, of the notes and drawings of Henry Johnston amongst the manuscripts of his more widely known brother, antiquary/ physician Dr. Nathaniel Johnston of Pontefract, at whose behest the notes were made *c.*1670.[41] Several pages of Henry's manuscript are concerned with Holy Trinity,[42] the scribbled notes interspersed with his graphic and informative little sketches, small letters in many cases indicating the colours used by the glaziers.

It was through Henry Johnston's devotion to detail that in the 1960s, the discovery of his drawing of the Nine Orders of Angels window in All Saints, North Street, York, enabled the glaziers to reconstruct it, incorporating the jigsaw of fragments remaining.[43] He made a comparable contribution to Holy Trinity, Goodramgate. Two entries relate to John Walker's east window, one a full-page though incomplete drawing of it.[44] The two rows of subjects as we know them today are easily recognizable, shewing Johnston's

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36. R. C. H. M. *York* V. op. cit. p. 9.
37. T. Gent, *The antient and modern history of the famous city of York*. 1730. p. 189.
38. Bodleian Library, Oxford. Dodsworth MS 161. f. 40v. Another 17th century antiquary, Henry Keepe, in his collections *Monumenta Eboracensia* (c.1680) (Trinity College, Cambridge. MS o.4.33.,p.165) only notices the church's heraldry in glass.
39. p. 318.
40. N. Denholm Young & H. H. E. Craster, Roger Dodsworth (1585-1654) and his circle. *YAJ* XXXII. 1936. p. 12n1.
41. Notes as to the kind of information he required were made by Nathaniel in 'Instructions for my brother Henry on his journey' (Bodleian Library, MS Top. Yorks. C18 f. 148v.
42. Bod. Lib., MS Top. Yorks. C14. ff. 133r., 173v., 174r.
43. E. A. Gee, The painted glass of All Saints Church, North Street, York. *Archaeologia* CII (1969), p. 151.; Gibson, op. cit. p. 169; R.C.H.M. *York* op. cit. *Vol. III South West of the Ouse,* (1972), p.9; It was also due to Johnston's work that so much was learnt and used in the 1979-1981 conservation of the Gascoigne, Redman and Ryther monuments at Harewood; see P. Routh & R. Knowles, The medieval monuments of Harewood. Wakefield. 1983.
44. Top. Yorks. C14. f. 133r.

Plate 4. Holy Trinity, Goodramgate: East window as drawn by Henry Johnston *c.*1670, from Bodleian MS Top. Yorks C14, f. 133r.

sketching ability at its best (Plate 4). It can be seen that John the Evangelist had lost his original head and still not acquired the replacement he now has. The Virgin of the Coronation panel is shown to have her original crowned head, and the indeterminate figure in the St. Ursula group proves to have been, not unexpectedly, a bishop. Johnston merely indicates the Walker inscription on this drawing, giving it in full on another page.[45] His transcription fills the gaps which now exist, and supplies the 'I' (uno) at the beginning of the fifth line, dating John Walker's gift with greater certainty, and enhancing the metrical form of the inscription. James Torre, the near-contemporary of Johnston - there were about twenty years between their visits - emphasized this 'poetic' feeling by describing the inscription as 'these 5 verses'. He shews the 'uno' as missing, and seems satisfied to date it to 1470.[46]

The most interesting parts of Johnston's drawing are of course the figures that were removed when the window was shortened. Gent's Virgins with 'divers appellations' are shewn to be a complete row of five: 'Dña Mundi', 'Regina Celi', 'Mater Christi', 'Mater Ecclesie' and 'Imperatrix Inferni'. The only obvious damage at that time was the loss of the head of the first Virgin, but all that now survive are the clearly identifiable Virgins of the second and third panels, and the scroll and part of the figure of the first, in the east window of the north aisle. Johnston is the only witness to the 'Mater Christi' inscription, and it has been presumed that it has been lost and the 'Sancta Maria' substituted from elsewhere in the church,[47] but as we have seen, Gent corroborates the 'Sancta Maria' appelation before it was moved to the aisle window. It is too, such an exact match to the others that one can only presume that Johnston mistranscribed his own notes.[48]

Of the bottom row of figures Johnston sketches only the first, and unfortunately this is one we already know of - St. Paulinus, now in the top of the first light of the east window of the south aisle. The other four panels are blank, apart from a faint note in Johnston's writing at the base of the second: 'W^{m} Thorppe et Isabella'. It is made clear by the second, much more carelessly rendered but no less interesting, entry on the window made by Johnston in a cramped position at the bottom of one page and overflowing to the next,[49] that the missing bottom row consisted of five donor panels, and that the three inscriptions given by Dodsworth were by Johnston's time, possibly fifty years later, reduced to a few words (Plate 5). He says: 'In the east window which still remaining

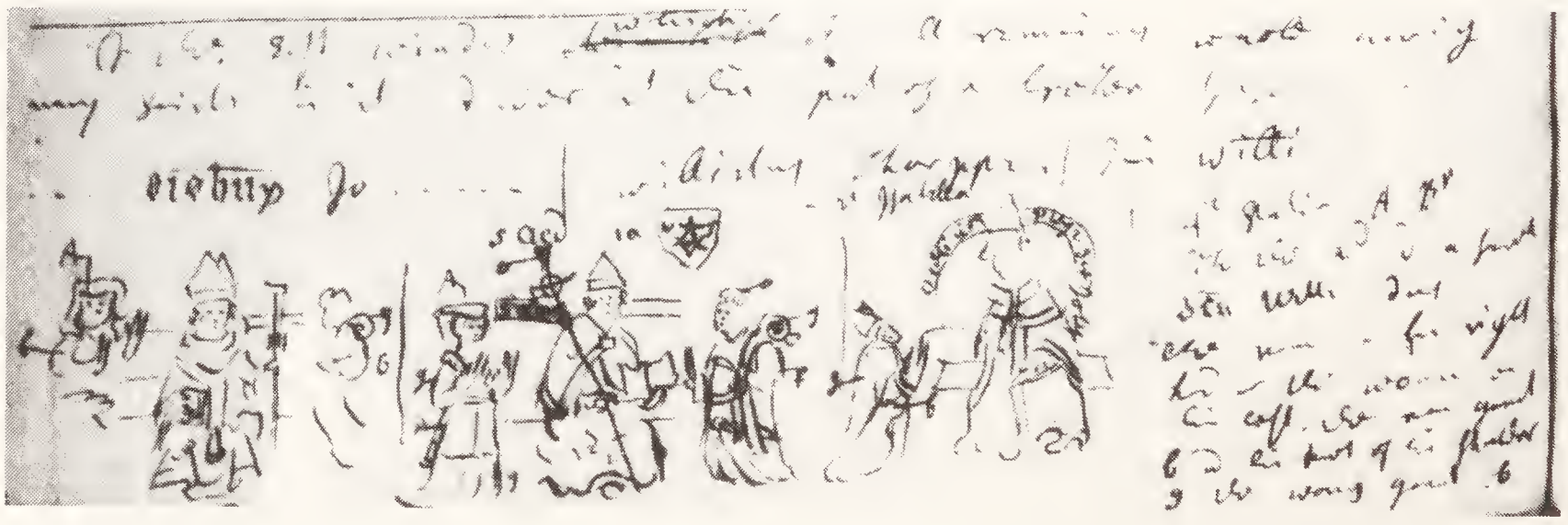

Plate 5. Holy Trinity, Goodramgate: Henry Johnston's drawing of base of E. window in Bodleian MS Top. Yorks C14, f. 173v.

45. Ibid. 174r.
46. Torre, op. cit. p. 29.
47. R.C.H.M. *York*. I. pp. li-lii, p.8.
48. This is not unknown. At Harewood he inked in a Lancastrian collar on a preliminary sketch of a knight with a Yorkist one.
49. Top. Yorks. C14. ff. 173v., 174r.

whole having many saints in it and under it wtn part of a broken inscription'. The first of these he gives as: '...aīābus Jo...' and to match this, draws a seated palled bishop with a cross staff in his left hand and a book in his right, at whose right hand is a kneeling lady, her headdress 'A'. *(argent),* her gown 'b'. *(blue),* and at his left, a man also in blue with his hat on his shoulder 'g'. *(gules)* - obviously the chaperon hat of the fifteenth century which when not on the head, was worn thus.[50] The bishop here obviously is St. Paulinus, whom Johnston has already sketched, though without the donors. To one side of the saint as we see him today in the aisle window, is the small figure of a fifteenth century lady, which may well be one of his original donors. As Dodsworth had not noted this first section of inscription except as being broken, there is no clue as to the identity of the donors.

To accompany the second inscription fragment: '...Willielmi Thorppe et Isabella...', Johnston draws another seated bishop wearing a caped vestment, and having a gold Celtic cross staff in his right hand, and a book held open in his left. Again a kneeling lady is on his right; backswept veiled headdress and gown *argent,* and what is possibly her mantle, *gules.* The hair of the man on the bishop's left seems to be marked 'o' *(or),* the hat again is *gules* and the robe possibly is 'p' *(purple).* Above these figures are the letters 'S aed ia', which presumably were on the scroll behind the bishop. Possibly this represented St. Aedan (Aidan), seventh century Bishop of Lindisfarne.[51] A small shield bears a merchant's mark and the initials W T. The inscription was of course complete in Dodsworth's day: 'Orate pro animabus Willielmi Thorppe et Isabella uxoris suae et omnium liberorum suorum necnon omniorum benefactorum.' There do not appear to be any recognizable pieces of this panel surviving, with the possible exception of a small left-facing head fragment with a short haircut, similar to the male donor, in the base of the second light of the north aisle east window (Plate 3b).

In the third panel there are only two figures, on the left what seems to be a kneeling bishop, his vestment red; on the right, another palled bishop, an arched scroll behind his head. This is unhappily more or less indecipherable, though the last portion possibly reads 'Sce Joh', which may indicate St. John of Beverley, Archbishop of York in the eighth century. Associated with this, Johnston notes 'dñi Willi' remaining of the inscription underneath. Possibly parts of this 'St. John' are incorporated in the figure now under 'Dña Mundi'.

Perhaps because he was short of space or time, Johnston unfortunately ceased to sketch at this point, and described the two final panels verbally: '4^{t} stantion A Bp like the 2d and a scroll Sce Willi dns (?) the man on his right hand and the woman on his left, the mans garm^{t} b. and his hat of (sic) his shoulder g. the womans garm^{t} b. In the 5th stantion A Bp like the 1st only cross (?) on left looking towards the middle and the man in b. and hat g. and the womans habit like the 1st and blew gown with a girdle A.'

The fourth panel thus contained the St. William whose fragments remain in the first light of the north aisle window, but we cannot identify the donors, as the inscription was already gone when Dodsworth saw them. A short-haired right-facing male head survives in the border of the second light of the same window, which may have belonged to this or the next panel.

The fifth panel portrayed an unidentified bishop and the kneeling figures identified by Dodsworth as John Billar and his wife, in an inscription exactly similar to that of the Thorpes. The bishop, by inference a saint, was possibly St. Wilfrid, the seventh century holder of the episcopacy of York. Less likely, Richard Scrope, Archbishop 1398-1405, and widely reverenced though not actually canonised, might have been represented.

50. F. M. Kelly & R. Schwabe, *A short history of costume and armour,* (1972). Vol. I, pp. 30, 31. An excellent example of the fashion can be seen on one of the weepers on the south side of the monument of Sir Ralph Fitzherbert at Norbury, Derbys. It is also well seen on the alabaster effigy in Glastonbury church, Somerset, and on the freestone effigy of William Canynge in St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.
51. I am indebted to the Editor, Dr. R. M. Butler for suggesting this transcription.

While John Walker presumably bore the brunt of the expense of the east window, these five panels at the base would be the financial responsibility of others, in commemoration of deceased persons either by provision made by them before decease, or by their successors at a later date. The panels in general terms were probably an integral part of the original design of the whole window, though each may have called for adjustment in its application to specific individuals. The saintly bishops may well have been John Walker's own choices, and their portraits were obviously designed as parts of a symmetrical whole. In the first two panels the prelate half-faced towards the right, and had the female donor on his right and the male on his left. In the last two the reverse arrangement seems to have obtained. The central panel was certainly a more individual piece of work in that the single kneeling donor was depicted as himself a bishop, though the inscription was 'Orate pro anima domini Willielmi Egremond civis Ebor.'

A 'Willelmus Egremond, shipman' became a Freeman of York in 1454-5.[52] Another William Egremond had been suffragan Bishop of Dromore since 1463, and was admitted to the Guild of Corpus Christi in 1464-5.[53] He became Rector of all Saints Pavement in 1489,[54] which he held until his death in 1502, when he was buried under the crossing of the Minster. Drake prints a drawing of his tombstone, and supplies the inscription from it.[55] It seems likely that the bishop was the son of the shipman, and gave the central donor panel in memory of his father, portraying himself as the figure kneeling before St. John of Beverley.

Of Dodsworth's third inscription, relating to the fifth panel, only the Christian name of the lady was missing: 'Orate pro animabus Johannis Billar et ...uxoris suae...' This omission appears to be made good by the Corpus Christi Register. 'Joh. Billar. Isabella uxor ejus' were admitted to membership in 1446,[56] and the 'Johannes Byller, baxter (baker)' who became a Freeman in right of his father *c.*1427-8 may be the same man.[57] The administration of the estate of John Byller of York, baker, was granted 10 Nov. 1472.[58] A 'Mr. Willelmus Biller notarius' was made Freeman of the City in right of his father 'Johannis Biller, pistoris (miller)' *c.*1478-9,[59] and with his wife had been admitted to the Guild of Corpus Christi in 1469.[60] The administration of the estate of 'William Biller, York, Notary publique' was granted 10 March, 1508.[61] It would seem that sometime after 1472, William the man of law, footed the bill for a commemorative panel for his parents.

The Thorpes are not only the only couple named by both Johnston and Dodsworth, but possibly are more fully documented than the others. 'Wm. Thorp mercator' became a Freeman of the city 20 Hen. VI (*c.*1442), and acted as one of the Chamberlains 36 Hen. VI (*c.*1458).[62] He was a Sheriff of York in 1462/3,[63] and a councillor in 1463/ 4, 1471 and 1474.[64] 'Will. Thorpe, Isab. uxor ejus' were admitted to membership of the Corpus Christi Guild in 1470.[65] William died in 1478, and his will, translated from the Latin, reads as follows:[66]

52. Reg. Freeman, op. cit. p. 174.
53. Reg. Corpus Christi, op. cit. p. 65.
54. Drake, op. cit. p. 294. (quoting Torre p. 183).
55. Ibid. pp. Appendix lxviii, 497.
56. Reg. Corpus Christi, op. cit. p. 46.
57. Reg. Freemen, op. cit. p. 141.
58. Prob. Reg. 4. f. 185-1.
59. Reg. Freeman, op. cit. p. 73.
60. Reg. Corpus Christi, op. cit. p. 73.
61. Prob. Reg. 8. f. 6.
62. Reg. Freemen, op. cit. pp. 160, 177.
63. W. Hargrove, *History and description of the ancient city of York*. (York 1818), p. 318.
64. York memorandum book. Part II. *Surtees Society* CXXV (1915), pp. 140, 206, 208, 238.
65. Reg. Corpus Christi, op. cit. p. 76.

In the name of God Amen. I William Thorp citizen and mercer of York, of my sound mind make and ordain my testament in this manner. First I leave and commend my soul to Almighty God my creator, to the Blessed Virgin Mary and to all the saints of heaven, and my body to be buried in my parish church of Holy Trinity in Goderumgate York. Also I leave to the high altar of the said church my best gown and hat as my mortuary, as the custom is. Also I leave to Sir John Edwyn chaplain of the said parish church, 12*d*. Also I leave to 12 other chaplains who shall be at my obsequies and masses on the day of my burial and on my octave day, to each of them 4*d*. Also I leave six pounds of wax to be burnt around my body, in equal parts, on the said two days. Also I leave to the high altar of the aforesaid church for tithes and offerings forgotten, 2*s*. Also to the fabric of the Cathedral Church of Blessed Peter, York, 3*s*.4*d*. Also I give and leave to Isabella my wife that messuage or tenement in Gotherumgate, York, in which I live on the day of making this present (testament), to have and to hold to the said Isabella, her heirs and assigns, freely, quietly, wholly, well and in peace, of the chief lords of that fee, by the services therein due and accustomed by law, in perpetuity. Also I further give and leave to the aforesaid Isabella, my wife all other lands and tenements with their appurtenances which I have within the county of York, to have and to hold to the said Isabella and her assigns for her life; and after the death of the said Isabella my wife I will that all the aforesaid lands and tenements in the county of York named or recited above, with all their appurtenances, shall go by remainder to William Thorp my son, to have and to hold to him, his heirs and assigns, freely, quietly, wholly, well and in peace, of chief lords of that fee, by the services therein due and accustomed by law in perpetuity. The RESIDUE truly of all my goods as concerns my own part I give and leave to Isabella my above-written wife freely and quietly. And I ordain and make the same Isabella by these presents executor of this my testament. Given at York on the 21st day of March in the year of the lord 1477 (1477/8) these being witnesses: Sir John Edwyn chaplain, Thomas Cundall 'barbour' and others. The present testament was proved on the 22nd day of April in the year of the lord 1478. And administration was granted to Isabella the relict and the executrix named in the same testament, sworn in form of law.

Thomas Cundall, William Thorpe's witness, became a Freeman of York in 1451/2, and in 1492 was a Chamberlain of that company.[67]

Torre does not name John Edwyn amongst the chantry priests of Holy Trinity, but he is shown to have been instituted Vicar of St. Helen's, Stonegate, in 1480.[68] The Corpus Christi Guild admitted 'Dom. John Edwyn et Cicilia mater ejus' to membership in 1473, and he was a Keeper of the Guild in 1479.[69] In 1477/8 'Dns. Johannes Edwyn presbiter fil. Willelmi Edwyn, bower' was made a Freeman of the City in right of his father.[70] The latter became a Freeman of the City in right of his father.[70] The latter became a Freeman in 1443/4,[71] and was probably some kin to 'Willelmus Edwyn mercator,' Freeman in 1432/3.[72] It presumably was their son William, sometime after 1478, who saw to it that a suitable inscription solicited prayers for the souls, and perpetuated the memory, of William and Isabella Thorpe.

John Walker's window thus was some years in the making, and it is evident that the bottom row of panels was not, as at first appeared from Johnston's large sketch of the window, just composed of portrayals of bishop saints, but had been 'to let' to other donors. Whether that had been John Walker's original intention cannot be determined. If he was the John Walker *'nuper* Bolton Percy' mentioned in the Corpus Christi Register, he may well have admired and imitated features of the east window in Thomas Parker's church there, built in the early fifteenth century. This latter window, having suffered badly in the intervening centuries, was completely reconstituted from whatever remained of medieval glass in the church, in 1866, at the instigation of the incumbent, Stephen Creyke,[73] but coincidentally or not, the nimbed bishops in the bottom panels of

66. Borthwick Inst. Reg. 5. 121v.
67. Reg. Freemen, op. cit. pp. 172, 218.
68. Drake, op. cit. p. 344.
69. Reg. Corpus Christi, op. cit. pp. 85, 107.
70. Reg. Freemen, op. cit. p. 200.
71. Ibid. p. 163.
72. Ibid. p. 35.
73. S. Creyke, *Bolton Percy; brief account of east window of All Saints church,* (1866).

The author is indebted to Geoffrey Wheeler for producing the prints of the Johnston drawings, and to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for permission to reproduce them; also to Mary C. O'Regan, B.A., A.L.A., who transcribed and translated the wills, and to the Editor, Dr. R. M. Butler for much helpful comment.

it, seem to have been part of the original design.

It is not perhaps surprising that membership of the Guild of Corpus Christi seems to be a linking factor between everyone connected with the Holy Trinity window, and no doubt that affiliation, as well as the church's dedication, was reflected in John Walker's approval of the Corpus Christi/Trinity as the central subject. There is a particularly strong loyalty to the Virgin also, exemplified not only in the five 'appelations' and the central Trinity/Coronation, but also in the portrayal of the Virgin's family, and those of her supposed kinswomen, St. Mary Cleophas and St. Mary Salome.

Splendid as the window still is, how much more so must it have been before it was so summarily truncated in the eighteenth century. Its 'superstitious' imagery seems to have escaped comparatively unscathed the iconoclasm of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, and, probably due to the moderating influence of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the excesses of the Protectorate in the seventeenth. Can it have been sacrificed purely to the erection of an uncompromisingly Reformed reredos?

CHAPLAINS IN THE DIOCESE OF YORK, 1480-1530: THE TESTAMENTARY EVIDENCE

By PETER MACKIE

The condition of the English clergy on the eve of the reformation has been the subject of many investigations over the years. The pioneering work of Professor Hamilton Thompson has been augmented by the work of Dr. Margaret Bowker and Mr. Peter Heath who have examined the lesser clergy of England.[1] This study follows in their footsteps to some extent, but looks at the 'underworld of the unbeneficed'.

Between 1480 and 1530 the testamentary instruments of some 98 'chaplains' were proved in the courts of the Archbishops of York.[2] The registers in which these wills are recorded are the only means by which some of these priests may be known today. This category of 'chaplains' excludes all those who held parochial or higher benefices; consequently what we actually know about the testators is little. They were priests; none were graduates; only one, Richard Toune, was wealthy enough to endow a perpetual chantry.[3] As priests, these men were not only bound to celibacy and obedience to their Ordinary, but were also bound to the daily recitation of the office or breviary. They were able to say mass and to administer the other sacraments. Despite their celibacy, they were not expected to be solitary; the saying of the mass had to be in a fitting place and the daily office was sufficiently complex to make a book necessary. Hence, unless they had their own breviary or had access to a private chapel, most chaplains must have had regular contact with a parish church to perform their individual priestly duties. Parochial chaplains were expected to say the office with the other priests of the parish, and may have been involved in sayng public masses. They were also probably expected to aid the incumbent in the discharge of his duties to his parishioners, say by hearing confessions—especially at Easter, or by helping administer the other sacraments.[4] Hence even though a priest may not have been attached to a particular parish he was most likely to be involved in the life of the parish, and in a form of communal life with his fellow priests. Chantry chaplains were priests whose responsibility was toward the dead rather than the living. Their function was to sing masses for the intention of the founder of the chantry; usually this would be for the repose of his soul and often for the souls of his kinfolk. Chantries could be benefices but many were stipendiary where the chaplain was paid a wage from property held in trust. A wealthy testator would endow a perpetual chantry, but

1. A. H. Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages*, (Oxford 1947); M. Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1495-1520*, (Cambridge 1968), subsequently referred to as Bowker, 1968;
   P. Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation*, (London 1969), subsequently referred to as Heath, 1969.
2. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Probate Registers 3 & 5-9, subsequently referred to as B.I. Prob. Reg. with number and folio. These registers are indexed in 'Index of wills in the York Registry, 1389-1514', *YAA Record Series*, Vol. VI (1888), and 'Wills in the York Registry, 1514-1553', *YAS Record Series*, Vol. XI (1891). Some of the wills have been partly printed in 'Testamenta Eboracensia', ed. J. Raine and J. Raine, *Surtees Soc.* Vols. XLV, LIII and LXXIX, subsequently referred to as TE3, TE4 and TE5 respectively.
3. B.I. Prob. Reg. 9 f470, (Toune). Identification of the unbeneficed can be difficult because many testators made no effort to identify themselves beyond describing themselves as priests. Any testators known to have been beneficed were excluded. Of the 98 testators, eight described themselves as chantry priests and five described themselves as parochial chaplains. The group included 29 testators from the city of York, the remainder being from elsewhere in the diocese.
4. Heath, 1969, pp 4-7.

chantries were frequently founded on a temporary basis for a period of months or years. Perhaps some ten per cent of perpetual chantry priests were involved in school teaching of some kind.[5] Chantry priests, like parochial chaplains, were also expected to have some kind of contact with other priests. Even if a chantry chaplain did not say his office with his fellow priests, he was still bound to share in the liturgy of the hours by singing the same psalms at the same time. Frequently, groups of chantry priests lived together. St. William's College in York was founded in 1461 to provide common habitation for the chantry priests of York Minster (numbering perhaps 20 in 1500).[6] In 1499, the four chantry chaplains of St. William's Chapel on Ousebridge, York were ordered by the mayor and council of the city to be 'at board and commonsall together in the hall within the said chapel, and they to be of good quiete, peaceable and honest conversation and demenour among them'[7].

Thus, in theory parochial chaplains and chantry priests were distinct groups whose primary responsibilities differed considerably: the parish chaplains were involved in bringing the living closer to God through the sacraments while the chantry priest's function was to call upon God's mercy for specific dead christians through the action of one of the sacraments. However, both were involved in a priestly life which brought them into regular contact with other priests; in 1525 in the East Riding of Yorkshire, there were about 200 beneficed clergy and 365 unbeneficed but employed clergy so most parishes must have supported more than one priest.[8]

The early sixteenth century appears to have been a time of clerical poverty, probably because up to the 1540s the supply of clergy outstripped demand while livings were generally underendowed.[9] A statute of 2 Henry V had fixed salaries at eight marks annually for parish priests with cure of souls and seven marks for chaplains without cure.[10] However, it is improper to overgeneralize about the poverty of livings because of the widely varying value and size of the parish unit. Dr. Claire Cross has drawn attention to the difference between towns which already existed before parish structures crystallized and towns which developed subsequently. Thus, cities like London, Norwich and York had many parishes—York had 50 in 1500, while newer towns like Leeds and Halifax in Yorkshire and Boston in Lincolnshire, had only one parish church. Halifax was the benefice of a vicar but had two dependent churches and ten chapels; the living had an annual value of £84. Over this basic structure there were many variations—some York parishes like St. Michael le Belfrey and Holy Trinity Micklegate included rural areas outside the city from which tithes were considerable.[11] The values of some York livings ranged from £1.3*s*.1½*d*. for St. Helen on the Walls to £10 for St. Mary, Bishophill Senior. The average value of 26 York livings surveyed for the Valor Ecclesiasticus in 1535 was £4.5*s*.0*d*.; ten of these livings were worth less than five marks (£3.6*s*.8*d*.).[12]

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5. K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Great Britain,* (Cambridge 1965), pp. 235, 269, subsequently referred to as Wood-Legh, 1965.
6. R. B. Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.) *A History of York Minster.* (Oxford 1977), p 97.
7. Wood-Legh, 1965, p 169.
8. M. Zell, 'Economic Problems of the Parochial Clergy in the Sixteenth Century', in R. O'Day and F. Heal (eds.) *Princes and Paupers in the English Church 1500-1800,* (Leicester 1981), p 20, subsequently referred to as Zell 1981.
9. Zell, 1981, p 20.
10. Heath, 1969, p 22.
11. M. C. Cross, 'The Incomes of Provincial Urban Clergy, 1520-1645', in R. O'Day and F. Heal (eds.), *Princes and Paupers in the English Church 1500-1800,* (Leicester 1981), pp 66-67, 73, subsequently referred to as Cross, 1981.
12. D. Palliser, 'The Reformation in York 1534-1553', *Borthwick Papers,* No. 40, (York 1971), pp 3-4, subsequently referred to as Palliser, 1971.

The chaplains of late medieval England are generally thought to have fared worse than the beneficed, as Dr. Michael Zell so vividly put it: 'to confront the question of clerical poverty (one) must look below the ranks of the incumbents to the underworld of the unbeneficed'.[13] Margaret Bowker gave averages for the diocese of Lincoln in 1526: rectors averaged £12.13*s*. 8½*d*.; vicars £9.9*s*.1¾*d*. and curates averaged £5.3*s*.2*d*. annually.[14] East Riding of Yorkshire curates could expect £4 annually in the 1520s to 1540s while Kentish curates were earning £5 or £6.[15] However, it may be that some stipendiary clergy earned more than the incumbents of very poor livings. Claire Cross has described some of the sources of income available to the sixteenth-century urban cleric: Thomas Worral was a stipendiary chaplain of St. Michael's, Spurriergate, York, from before 1518 until 1550. He obtained income from his stipend, but also from a poor chantry and from obits and received £5 a year—and later a rent-free house—from the parish in return for managing church property and drawing up accounts. His inventory of chattels worth over £20 was worth nearly three times that of the vicar of All Saints, North Street, York.[16]

Almost all of the 98 chaplains under scrutiny were able to leave more than £5 worth of goods or money and eight testators possessed land, so it does appear as though the stipend was only a part of most clerical incomes[17]. Apart from mortuary fees, themselves the target of much reforming zeal, all the other sources of income—for teaching, secretarial work and so on were available to any priest. Moreover, the stipendiary chaplain was paid directly for the work he did rather than having to collect tithes which put many overzealous beneficed clergy at odds with their parishioners. Thus while the chaplain's employment may have been insecure, it might have been better for him to be free to make his living from a number of sources rather than to be bound in conscience to the cure of the souls of a poor parochial benefice. Thus, the overall picture of the resources of the unbeneficed needs to be a little more nuanced, for the chaplains of later medieval Yorkshire may not have automatically constituted a kind of clerical proletariat.

Testamentary evidence is, however, not just a key to the economic state of the testator, but can also be of value when examining the religious mores and intellectual level of those who made their last will and testament. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, testators used their wills to proclaim their religion: they recorded their faith and their hope of salvation. In the sixteenth century, the preambles of wills became important as unambiguous statements of belief and so preambles of the reformation period can be used to show whether the testator was a catholic or a protestant. A catholic might commend his soul to 'Almighty God, Blessed Mary his mother and all the celestial court of Heaven'; a protestant could stress his hope of salvation through the merits of Christ. Preambles could also be neutral, merely commending the soul to God and leaving it at that[18]. There are, of course, problems with this kind of evidence: few people wrote their own wills; scribes often used standard formulae; wills may have been inaccurately copied into probate registers and so on. On the other hand, testators had little to fear from worldly authorities, and much to fear from God since medieval men made their wills as part of their acceptance of the nearness of death. From the Yorkshire group, 58 wills were proved in the calendar year they were made and 17 the following year; six testators mention their physical state as being ill.

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13. Zell, 1981, pp 19-20.
14. Bowker, 1968, pp 140-1, 144.
15. Zell, 1981, p 26.
16. Cross, 1981, p 74. Dr. Cross also notes that comparisons of wealth based on inventories may not be accurate because the inventory only recorded chattels and leasehold property, Cross, 1981, p 70.
17. None of the testators' executors recorded an inventory so this is an estimate based on the value of bequests.
18. M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, (Cambridge 1974), p 320; Palliser, 1971, p 19.

Professor A. G. Dickens showed that there were 'heretics' in the diocese of York in the early sixteenth century. The registers of Archbishops Bainbridge (1508-14), Wolsey (1514-30) and Lee (1531-44) record five heretics, three of whom were 'Dutchmen' who may have been in contact with European reformed ideas[19]. The preambles of these Yorkshire chaplains' wills are, however, somewhat disappointing. All but three have 'catholic' preambles while the three exceptions may best be described as 'neutral'. In 1521, Henry Gefferey left his soul to 'Almighty God my maker and redeemer' but his bequests included leaving money to the grey friars and the white friars in Nottingham, and provided for the saying of trentals.[20] The group of Yorkshire chaplains does not seem to include men of reforming ideas. This conclusion is broadly in line with that of Dr. David Palliser who has examined the preambles of the wills of York citizens between 1501 and 1600. Out of 648 wills made between 1501 and 1537, 638 are catholic and the remainder are neutral. Of 170 wills of York citizens made between 1538 and 1546, 163 were traditional and only seven were neutral, between 1547 and 1553, 88 were catholic and 12 explicitly protestant. York seems to have been religiously conservative in the first half of the sixteenth century and the lesser clergy of the diocese reinforced this conservatism.[21]

Bequests of books are usually seen as evidence of learning. However, the testamentary evidence can be misleading. Margaret Bowker has drawn attention to the fact that in the will of Nicholas Bradbridge, chancellor of Lincoln in 1512, a doctor of theology and former headmaster of Eton College, no books are mentioned.[22] Books need not appear in wills, or they may not be identified there, so that we cannot use testamentary evidence to argue much about any lack of learning. Where books are identified, however, we can gain some clues to the intellectual concerns of testators bequeathing them. From the Yorkshire group, 29 wills mention books, two of the 29 identify none of their books, while four others identify only some of their collections.

Generally, the books most likely to be owned by the chaplains of the diocese of York were portatives or breviaries which appear in 15 wills. These along with other liturgical books, form the vast majority of identifiable books. Testators left variously a mass book, a lectionary and a book of prick-song, psalters, a book of 'placebo dirige and commendation of souls and the seven (penitential) psalms and readings'. Only one testator mentioned a bible: Robert Symkyn of Barwick-in-Elmet, Yorkshire left his 'books of the sacraments' and his bible to the parish church of Barwick-in-Elmet in 1519. The destination of this bequest and Symkyn's ownership of sacramental literature would suggest that the testator is unlikely to have held reforming ideas.[23] John Bullington left a copy of the *Summa Confessorum* of Thomas of Chobham, first published in 1215.[24] Two testators mention books called 'manuells'—presumably priests's manuals. In 1486, Thomas Horneby bequeathed two books in English, one a life of St. Katherine, the other a life of Christ.[25] There are only two books which may be positively identified as theological works: one copy of a 'studii libro de incarnatione' bequeathed by William Monuceaux and a copy of the theological encyclopedia *Destructorium Viciorum* by Alexander Carpenter, which is mentioned in the 1512 will of Richard Wiles.[26] Wiles also left a book called *Brigida,* probably a life of the saint, and a copy of the *Manipulus Curatorum,* a priests' manual.

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19. A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509-1558,* (Oxford 1959), pp 16-22.
20. B. I. Prob. Reg. 9 f. 182, (Gefferey).
21. Palliser, 1971, pp 28, 38.
22. Bowker, 1968, pp 53-54.
23. B. I. Prob. Reg. 9 f. 90, (Symkyn).
24. B. I. Prob. Reg. 5 f. 96, (Bullington).
25. B. I. Prob. Reg. 5 f. 281, (Horneby); T E 3, p 165n.
26. B. I. Prob. Reg. 6 f. 139, (Mounceaux); B. I. Prob. Reg. 8 f. 107, (Wiles).

The books which are mentioned in the chaplains' wills fit very closely with the generally accepted view that there was little interest in academic theology among the clergy on the 'eve of the reformation', and that those books which the clergy owned were mainly older works, theological and liturgical along with manuals for priests, confessors and so on. This view of the lesser clergy as being poorly educated may in part have been a function of the system whereby men became priests. Pre-ordination training for many consisted of working for a parish priest as a clerk, whilst picking up sufficient theology from whatever teachers were available to satisfy the bishop's examiners. None of the Yorkshire chaplains were graduates: indeed between 1534 and 1553 only four out of 70 York parish priests are known to have been graduates,[27] so the chaplains were, perhaps, no worse educated than their beneficed superiors. It would indeed be possible to argue that theology of the academic sort was no more the concern of the lesser clergy than it was the concern of the laity. For both the laity and the lesser clergy medieval theology had to be translated from the dialecticians' latin into vices and virtues: the seven sacraments and the seven deadly sins. This attitude is exemplified by the existence of priests' manuals like John Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests,* which was a mixture of advice for the priest himself about how to administer the sacraments, especially confession, along with prayers and exemplary stories for the priest to pass on to others.[28] Thus the testamentary evidence suggests that generally the chaplains of Yorkshire owned the types of books they did for two very practical sorts of reasons: ritual and moral. Ritual works like breviaries, sacramentals and so on were very much the tools of the trade. The ritual was probably as important as it was because, for the medieval church, it was through the sacraments that God was made present to his people. Moral works include saints' lives and parts of the priest's manuals which were a stimulant to both priest and people to avoid sin and to encourage piety and charity.

An interesting light on the religious mores of the chaplains is shown in an interest in the rosary. Saying the rosary was by no means a stipulated duty for a priest but 11 testators left 12 pairs of beads. The existence of these suggests either private devotion on the part of the priest or perhaps communal recitation under clerical supervision. Of the 12 sets of beads, 11 are spoken of as being of precious materials: eight rosaries were of amber, one of agate and two of 'awine'. Thus the rosaries mentioned appear almost as items of religious jewellery, indeed four of them are spoken of as being with a ring or rings. Bequests appear scattered chronologically and go to both clerics and laypeople: in 1483 William Beverlay bequeathed 'a pair of ambre beads with all the rings hanging on them' to the wife of Richard Dawson of Hemingbrough, Yorkshire.[29] It is also interesting to note that the rosary does not seem to have been a devotional exercise particularly suitable for praying for the dead. Testators frequently ask legatees to pray for them but none of the Yorkshire chaplains asked for rosaries to be said—not even by those who received beads from them by bequest.

To the medieval church the most efficacious form of prayer for the dead was the mass, offered for the salvation of a soul. This had led to the development of the chantry,[30] the ideal form of which was perpetual but those of slender means could arrange for masses to be said for them for a period of months or years. Of the 98 Yorkshire chaplains, 33 asked for some kind of chantry provision; admittedly this is only a third of the group but it is

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27. Palliser, 1971, p 3.
28. An English, versified version was published by the Early English Texts Society.
    J. Mirk, 'Instructions for Parish Priests', *Early English Texts Society,* Original Series No. 31, Revised Edition, (London 1905), subsequently referred to as Mirk, EETS 1905.
29. B. I. Prob. Reg. 5 f. 207 (Beverlay).
30. Wood-Legh, 1965, pp 1-20.

likely that other testators may have made provision informally before drawing up their wills.[31]

Richard Toune of Cottingham, Yorkshire, was the only chaplain able to found a perpetual chantry. In his will of 1530 Toune left lands to support the chantry and pay John Wikeham, chaplain, a salary of eight marks annually; three trustees (or their heirs) were to select successors.[32] That this chantry was founded as late as 1530 seems to be testimony that Richard Toune at least did not expect the changes which were to take place in the next half-century.

Two testators augmented existing chantries in return for an annual obit. In 1511 Gilbert Legerdown of St. Mary Bishophill Senior, in York bequeathed: 'to Agnes Legerdown of Whaplode 6*s*.8*d*. and my tenement for the rest of her life and after her death it to be for the augmentation of the chantry of St. John the Baptist in the said church at Whaplode that the chantry priest say an obit annually for my soul, my parents' souls and all the faithful departed'.[33] Temporary chantries were established by Legerdown and 30 other testators. The temporary chantry was an elusive foundation; it did not need the licence that the statute of Mortmain required for a perpetual foundation and left no architectural traces in churches, indeed it involved little more than finding a willing priest and giving him a few marks for his subsistence. The wills reveal that for the chaplains of the diocese of York the temporary chantry lasted from three months to four years and was worth between three and a half marks (£2.6*s*.8*d*.) a year and £5 a year.

Of the 29 York city testators 14 founded temporary chantries, for an average of two years worth between £4 and £5 a year. The standard price for a year's masses appears to have been the seven marks (£4.13*s*.4*d*) specified by 11 chaplains. Nine of the 14 mentioned where the masses should be said, while 11 specified an 'honest and worthy' priest and three were able to name their chantry chaplain.

The chaplains from the rest of the diocese showed less interest in founding temporary chantries. Seventeen of the 70 established such chantries for an average duration of one year though their value was generally lower than the York chantries, being an average four pounds annually. Six testators mentioned where they wanted the masses to be said, seven specified an 'honest and worthy' priest but only one could name his chantry priest.

It seems to be the case that city priests were more interested in temporary chantries (48 per cent of York testators against 24 per cent from elsewhere). This may have been a matter of resources as reflected in the lower value of country work generally. Alternatively it may be an expression of different kinds of resources; city men would need and use more money since they were less likely to have land for subsistence and the cost of living may have been more expensive in the town. This apparent difference in interest in temporary chantries may also have been affected by differences in the availability of priests to perform such tasks. It is likely that unemployed clergy came into the city of York to look for work because there was probably more work available there, and so it may have been difficult for executors to find a chaplain for a poor temporary chantry in the country. However it was also the case that city foundations were on average to last twice as long. If it can be granted that city men knew more underemployed clerics than did their country colleagues, then perhaps they thought to help their clerical friends with a bequest, and if a testator bequeathed cash to a cleric he expected the recipient would pray for his soul. Perhaps for city chaplains the temporary chantry was both a way of achieving salvation and a means of helping a colleague.

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31. Professor R. B. Dobson has kindly pointed out that testators may have arranged many things before drawing up their wills, so that many temporary chantries or other arrangements for prayers may well have been organized informally.
32. B.I. Prob. Reg. 9 f. 470 (Toune).
33. B.I. Prob. Reg. 8 f. 88, (Legerdown).

Of the 31 testators who founded temporary chantries 30 laid down for whom the masses should be offered. Some 12 testators wanted the masses to be for their own souls only; 17 asked that the masses be offered for kinfolk as well as themselves; another ten brought in friends and benefactors and 13 mentioned 'all the faithful departed'. Only one chaplain, Richard Heryson, chantry priest of St. Mary, Thorne, Yorkshire, asked that his masses be offered for the souls of his parishioners as well as his own soul and the souls of kinfolk.[34] It seems therefore that these chaplains felt responsibility for their own dead kinfolk more than for the people with whom they worked, though of course the chaplain usually had no canonical responsibility for parishioners. Moreover of the eight known chantry chaplains three requested a temporary chantry but none mentioned the intention of the chantry which they had served. Perhaps then it can be argued that the chaplains of York diocese saw their priestly work as a matter of performing a function for a stipend without any residual responsibility on themselves.

Medieval testators were not only interested in their souls, they were also concerned about what would happen to their mortal remains. Medieval wills usually began with a commendation or 'bequest' of the soul to God and the second article was usually a statement of where the testator wanted his body to be buried.[35] Only three of the Yorkshire chaplains did not mention what was to be done with their bodies. Professor Joel Rosenthal has noted the requested burial places of members of the English aristocracy: in the fourteenth century 66 per cent preferred religious houses to secular churches or cathedrals, while in the fifteenth century only 53 per cent preferred a religious house.[36]

Of the group of Yorkshire chaplains 69 chose to be buried in parish churches: 38 of these specifically indicated the parish in which they lived at the time of writing their will. Nine testators chose to be buried in religious houses, usually smaller houses known to the testators, like Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York, nunneries or houses of friars. One testator asked to be buried in York Minster, ten requested burial in other secular churches and six were prepared to accept 'where God disposes'.

Kindred appears to have played a lesser role in deciding place of burial; only eight testators explicitly stated that they wished to be laid to rest near their parents' graves. One testator asked to be buried in the grave of a fellow priest. Thomas Gybson, writing in 1500 asked to be buried 'in the parish church of Leeds in the chantry of St. Katherine the virgin in the tomb of the venerable man Thomas Clovell former vicar of Leeds'.[37] If kinship did not particularly matter to these chaplains, what were the most important factors in determining burial place and what was the effect of death on kin relationships?

Of the group of Yorkshire testators, 69 chose to be buried within a church, three sought burial either in a church or its churchyard and 17 requested burial in a churchyard. In some ways these figures are no surprise—the majority might be expected to want to be buried within a church. M. Francois Lebrun has pointed out the superiority of the church over the churchyard for seventeenth-century French testators and suggests that the main motivation was to gain a share in the prayers said each day in a holy place.[38] In 1511 Leonard Wade, a chaplain of York, asked to be buried in All Saints, Pavement, York, 'before the ymage of St. Thomas of Canterbury'; he also requested that 'a priest sing by the space of a year at the St. Thomas' altar aforesaid for my soul, the souls of my father and mother and all christian souls'.[39] Wade seems to have wanted to be buried at the place

34. B. I. Prob. Reg. 6 f. 125, (Heryson).
35. This continued to be the practice in France until the revolution. P. Chaunu 'Mourir A Paris (XVI^{e}, XVII^{e}, XVIII^{e} Siècles)', *Annales ESC*, 31, No. 1, 1976, p. 43.
36. J. T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise, Gift-giving and the Aristocracy 1307-1485*, (London 1972).
37. B. I. Prob. Reg. 6 f. 39, (Gybson), TE 4, p. 161n.
38. F. Lebrun, *Les Hommes et la Mort en Anjou, au 17^{e} et 18^{e} Siècles, Essai de demographie et de psychologie historique*, (Paris 1971), p 472.
39. B. I. Prob. Reg. 8 f. 79, (Wade).

where prayers were being said for his soul. Some 15 chaplains specified where they wanted masses for their souls to be celebrated and 13 of the 15 wanted the masses to be said in the place where they sought burial. Thus some testators do seem to have wanted to be buried at the place where prayers were to be offered for them. Others chose to be buried near a particular saint's image: Leonard Wade is one example of this; so too is Thomas Robson who in 1519 sought to be buried in the priory church of Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York 'before the image of our lady of pity'.[40] Thus particular devotions may also have been involved in the choice of a burial place. Many noble testators, and a few of the chaplains in this group asked for burial in religious houses. Certainly this may have been an expression of the regard in which particular houses were held by testators, they may have sought to achieve a share in the 'way of perfection' as practiced in that particular religious house. Seeking burial in a religious house may also be an expression of the sense of 'the holy' which was revealed in requests for burial near a saint's image or in church rather than the churchyard. Perhaps 'holiness' could be localized in particular places where the heavenly power was more tangible than in other earthly places. This may not be unreasonable given the medieval emphasis on the resurrection of the dead at the Last Judgement. There was an ancient tradition of burying priests with their feet to the altar, and laymen head to the altar so that they 'rose' in the correct position on the 'day of doom'. Thus if the body was to rise up on the last day then it may have needed to be protected in the interim period, and where better than within a chaplain's own church? Moreover where better place to be found when Christ returned to earth in glory than in church, firmly within a chaplain's social context on earth, patiently awaiting judgement?

Some very tentative conclusions concerning family relationships emerge from these Yorkshire chaplains' wills. Firstly it is noteworthy that the testator was primarily concerned with arrangements for his funeral and the salvation of his soul. The testator's goods were disposed of to relatives only after a suitable funeral and obits had been arranged, and so bequests to family are of secondary importance. Testators' relatives are rarely explicitly requested for prayers; there seems not to have been an explicit arrangement in these wills for relatives to receive a bequest in return for prayers. Prayers are usually enjoined of priests or religious, as professionals, or of general social groupings: the poor, prisoners and so on rather than individuals. Perhaps the family's prayers could be taken for granted, but it may also have been that in the quest for salvation the prayers of so restricted a group as a family were simply not considered sufficient. It seems as though, once death became so imminent as to necessitate making a will, the quest for salvation came to the fore and kin relations took a second place with the rest of society being regarded as a collection of discrete groups from whom aid could be purchased.

It is also worthy of note that only three of the chaplains sought to have their name permanently recorded at their burial place. It is perhaps strange that these three were not amongst the richer of the chaplains. In 1480 John Bullington set aside 10*s*. 'for a stone for my tomb', possibly not marked, but in 1503 Thomas Hall asked to be buried 'in St. Mary's Church of the order of Carmelites where is ordained my burial, the stone to be placed over with my name studded thereon'.[41] In 1508 John Coo described poignantly in his will as 'hole of intention and mind having impediment of speeche make my testament in this forme following by evydent signs as it was entold to me' said 'I will a stone upon my grave with my name set on hyt'.[42] Perhaps then, while the burial place itself was a matter of importance, few chaplains thought it worthwhile to mark that place with their own name.

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40. B. I. Prob. Reg. 9 f. 84, (Robson).
41. B. I. Prob. Reg. 5 f. 96, (Bullington); B. I. Prob. Reg. 6 f. 93, (Hall).
42. B. I. Prob. Reg. 8 f. 21, (John Coo).

One of the final items in medieval wills is the list of executors, those men who were to put into action the testator's wishes. The examination of these Yorkshire chaplains' wills provides some insight into the way that executorship worked and how it was viewed by those involved. In 1635 Henry Swinburne, formerly of the archbishop's court in York, published *A Treatise of Testaments and Last Wills.*[43] In this he recorded the English law of wills, which was much the same as it had been a century or so earlier. The bishop or Ordinary was executor by law and any executor named in a will was answerable to him, through the episcopal probate courts. Swinburne summarized the office of an executor as being: to make an inventory of the deceased's goods; to prove the will in the bishop's court; to pay debts and legacies and finally to account to the bishop, normally within the year, who would grant letters of acquittance or final discharge if all had been done properly.[44]

The group of Yorkshire chaplains quite often chose kinfolk as executors: 33 testators chose kinsmen as executors (19 stated as kin in the will, 14 presumed to be kin by surname or other internal evidence). The number of clerical executors was higher: priests were executors in 50 cases, other laypeople were executrices in 53 cases and nuns were executrices for two testators. It would seem as though priests were more likely to choose friends or fellow priests rather than kinfolk. This may have been because they lived away from their kinfolk so that the choice of executors was partly determined by geographical factors. Clerics may also have been preferred because they would be more familiar with organising burials and obits. Thus the testator-executor relationship seems to have been born more out of practicality than a particular sense of relationship with the deceased; executors were almost always paid for their services a small sum, usually 3*s*.4*d*. or 6*s*.8*d*. In 1482 Roger Watson of York, chaplain, made his last will in which he designated Thomas Horneby, also a chaplain, as his sole executor.[45] By 1485 Horneby was thinking of his own death, he chose as his executors Richard Wakefield and Thomas Gyles.[46] In his will Horneby asked for three years masses for his own soul, the soul of Lady Elizabeth Swordby (close to whose tomb he wished to be buried) and for the soul of Roger Watson. This is the only example in the collection of Yorkshire chaplains' wills where a testator can be seen to have asked for prayers to be said for a man whose executor he had been. Richard Wakefield in 1490 chose as executors two other chaplains of York, Gilbert Salisbury and Robert Huchonson.[47] Huchonson was to say mass for two years for the souls of Wakefield, his parents and all the faithful departed. Later on in the same year, Thomas Gyles chose the same two, Gilbert Salisbury and Robert Huchonson (who was to say masses for Gyles' soul for four years), along with Richard Wakefield as executors.[48] Thus Thomas Horneby's two clerical executors seem not to have felt any need to order prayers for Horneby in their own wills. Furthermore it would also appear to have been the case that some men were quite popular as executors: Gilbert Salisbury was executor not only for Wakefield and Gyles but also for John Wrangill and was 'Supervisor' for Robert Wistow.[49] Robert Huchonson was popular as executor for Gyles, Wakefield and William Gilling and as chantry-priest for both Gyles and Wakefield.[50] Thus the executor-testator relationship does not seem to have been envisaged as a reciprocal one. Testators chose an executor, usually a trusted friend or a fellow priest as a semi-professional who could be relied upon to carry out the demands of the will. Once the will was carried out,

43. H. Swinburne, *A Treatise of Testaments and Last Wills,* (London 1635), subsequently referred to as Swinburne, 1635.
44. Swinburne, 1635, Part 6, p 30.
45. B. I. Prob. Reg. 5 f. 258, (Watson).
46. B. I. Prob. Reg. 5 f. 281, (Horneby), TE 3, p 165n.
47. B. I. Prob. Reg. 5 f. 391, (Wakefield).
48. B. I. Prob. Reg. 5 f. 387, (Gyles).
49. B. I. Prob. Reg. 5 f. 260, (Wrangill); B. I. Prob. Reg. 5 f. 221, (Wistow).
50. B. I. Prob. Reg. 6 f. 19, (Gilling).

the executor had discharged his legal and his religious duties. If by his will a testator sought to organize his affairs in order to attain salvation, then the responsibility was his own, and the executor was no more than a pair of hands to do those things the testator had laid down as his last will.

To try to draw any conclusions from the study of a restricted group of less than 100 wills may be at best foolhardy. Wills are notoriously difficult to use decisively because of their formality and because they cannot be taken as a complete guide to the ideas of any testator. For example, prayers are not usually enjoined of family by testators, yet John Myrc instructed confessors to ask penitents if they had committed the sin of not praying for the souls of dead parents.[51] Thus wills may leave out matters which testators took for granted, or perhaps any settlement of worldly goods made before the will was drawn up; informal arrangements for prayers or masses may not have needed to be mentioned. Yet at the same time, especially for such lowly people as those whose wills have been discussed here, the will may be the only surviving clue to a man's thought, even the only evidence that he existed. Hence the intention of this essay has been to find out what kinds of questions can be answered about one of the most obscure groups of clergy in the medieval church by examining their last wills.

From the testamentary evidence it would appear that the chaplains of Yorkshire were probably theologically quite conservative on the eve of the reformation. The preambles to their wills are almost exclusively orthodox catholic ones; the majority of the books they owned seem to have been essentially practical works, of value in their priestly lives. Perhaps this was simply a matter of availability. The works of the reformers seem not to have been stocked by one York stationer, Neville Mores, who died in 1538, yet since much of the reforming message was oral or in pamphlet form then it is probably not quite fair to argue that these chaplains were not interested in reform.[52] They do however seem to have been content to have their salvation organized within the pre-reformation framework. Almost a third of the testators established some form of chantry provision in their wills; possibly others had already organized chantries and obits informally. Temporary chantries are common enough foundations at the end of the middle ages, and though interest in them was at the time waning for citizens of London the relative poverty of the Yorkshire chaplains who founded them suggests that they must have considered these foundations to be an important part of their efforts for salvation.[53] Since many of the chaplains would have been chantry priests themselves it is a mark of some significance that they were willing to set aside what may have been the majority of a year's salary for themselves to fund a year's masses for their souls.

The wills of these Yorkshire chaplains also reveal that they seem to have considered the burial place to have been of importance. It appears that most testators were affected more by religious considerations than by a desire to be laid to rest near parents or other kin. Churches were generally preferred to churchyards, some testators wished to be buried near to a particular image of a saint, while others asked to be buried at the place where masses were to be said for their souls. The choice of burial place may have been affected by thoughts of the last judgement and the resurrection of the dead which were the inseparable companions of death in late medieval popular religious teaching.[54] The seeming importance of geographical proximity to holy places seems to suggest that these chaplains may have considered that 'holiness' or 'closeness' of the power of God could be both localized and institutionalized examples being perhaps the proximity of a particular saint's statue, or the holiness institutionalized in a church or religious house. Indeed the

51. Mirk, EETS, 1905, lines 909-910.
52. D. M. Palliser and D. G. Selwyn, 'The Stock of a York Stationer, 1538', *The Library,* 5th series, 27, (1972), pp 207-219.
53. J. A. F. Thomson, 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London', *JEH,* 16, (1965), p 191.
54. Eg. Mirk, EETS, 1905, lines 826-836.

overwhelming impression of the theological thought of these Yorkshire chaplains which is revealed in their wills is that the Thomistic view of sacraments as outward (or earthly) signs of inward grace (or of God's power) seems deeply embedded in their minds, giving them a thoroughly institutionalized approach to holiness and salvation.

The main purpose of the late medieval will may have been to arrange aid for the testator to reach heaven, but the Yorkshire chaplains did not ignore the kin relationships they had from birth. It does appear as though these chaplains did not consider that they had cut themselves off from their natural families by ordination of celibacy. Testators made bequests of money and goods to parents, if still living, to siblings and to nephews, nieces and godchildren. None of the Yorkshire chaplains mentioned any children of their own in their wills though these may have been hidden as *filioli* rather than *filii*. It is noteworthy that testators seem not to distinguish between siblings and brothers- or sisters-in-law: all are referred to simply as 'brother' or 'sister'.[55] Thus in the view of testators marriage seems to have made one a sibling to all of one's spouse's brothers and sisters. Deceased relatives, especially parents, are often mentioned by these Yorkshire chaplains, usually to have prayers said for them, probably because this was considered to have been a filial duty. Overall it seems as though whilst ordination made a chaplain a member of a caste of professional holy men, that holiness was institutionalized in the liturgy and celibacy, so these men did not have to leave kin behind them, but were still able to consider themselves firmly within their natural families when writing their last wills. A sense of fraternal solidarity with their fellow priests is more difficult to find in these wills: one solitary testator asked to be buried near another priest.[56] It may be, however, that fraternal feeling was being expressed by the chaplains from the city of York who were more interested in founding chantries than their country cousins, for thus they could help support a fellow priest, possibly a friend or colleague, for a year or so.

The picture that emerges from the requests for prayers in these wills suggests that as death came closer relationships with individuals faded and institutions and groups became more important in the quest for salvation. Perhaps, then, these Yorkshire chaplains expected to stand for judgement before Christ, recommended and supported by the religious institutions and the groups of people that had made up the world they had known.

Acknowledgements

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55. Eg. B. I. Prob. Reg. 9 f. 82, (Kendall); B. I. Prob. Reg. 9 f. 346, (Hetherington).
56. B. I. Prob. Reg. 6 f. 39, (Gybson), TE 4, p 161n.

THE FINDS FROM AN EXCAVATION IN THE YEW TREE, A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY AISLED HOUSE NEAR MIRFIELD

By J. A. Gilks

Limited excavation inside the Yew Tree (SE 184213), a fifteenth-century timber-framed aisled house near Mirfield, was undertaken in March 1973 by Mr. J. Middleton and the writer, of the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, in advance of extensive rebuilding. The house, aligned north-east/south-west, comprised the remains of a three bay structure which had been encased in stone in the seventeenth century. An independent survey of the standing remains was conducted by Mr. David Michelmore for the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.[1]

The Excavation

A single trench, 2.5 by 3 m, was cut on the south side of the third, or south-western, bay prior to the laying of a concrete and asphalt floor. Immediately beneath the modern flagged floor a thin layer of black ash, 100 to 150 mm thick, used as a seating, rested directly on a deposit of stiff, moist, yellow-brown clay with numerous stone inclusions, 150 to 200 mm deep. The layer had been extensively disturbed on the north-west and south-east sides of the cutting where stone foundation walls had been inserted; only a small area, 1.5 by 2.5 m, therefore remained in the centre of the trench for detailed examination. The clay was found to rest directly on the weathered surface of the bedrock, here Clifton Rock (Sandstone) of the Lower Coal Measures.

In the area examined the clay was found to contain, close to its surface, several shallow depressions; these occurred at between 40 and 80 mm below the surface of the clay, and varied from 300 to 500 mm in diameter and 30 to 60 mm in depth. Each hollow had a basal deposit of reddish-brown ash, charcoal and fragments of pottery, and a capping of brown clay. The lowest depressions contained several wall sherds from late-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century East Pennine Gritty Ware cooking pots, a storage jar and a jug, some in similar fabrics to vessels produced at the Upper Heaton kilns, 2.4 km north-east of Huddersfield.[2] The hollows closer to the surface, however, produced mainly mid-fifteenth century ceramics (Fig. 1, 1 and 2), although several residual sherds of late-fourteenth century Gritty Ware pottery were recovered from two depressions. Sixteenth-century Cistercian Ware, including part of a (?) two-handled cup (Fig. 1, 3) and a vessel, probably shaped like a tankard, decorated with applied, stamped, clay pellets (Fig. 1, 4), were associated with many small fragments of a late-sixteenth century short-stemmed wine glass (Fig. 1, 13), in clay filling a hollow close to the line of the south-east wall—here destroyed by a broad foundation trench cut to carry the footings of

1. This report was originally intended to accompany Mr. David Michelmore's article on the Yew Tree. Unfortunately almost all of his measured drawings were stolen and have not been recovered. Though it would have been far better to have published the building and the finds recovered from a partial excavation of its interior together, the archaeological evidence must now stand alone; though its value is in some way reduced, it serves to illustrate what kind of evidence may be obtained through excavating the interiors of timber-framed buildings.
2. Manby, T. G., Medieval pottery kilns at Upper Heaton, West Yorkshire, *Archaeol. J.* 121 (1964), pp. 80-81.

the present building (see above)—of the aisled house; whilst resting on the surface of the clay, particularly on the north and south-west sides of the cutting, and in the filling of the foundation trench, were many sherds from early to mid-seventeenth-century cups (Fig, 1, 5-8), part of a jug (Fig. 1, 11), and several items of glassware, including the lower part of the neck of a small (?) bottle (Fig. 1, 14), a section of rod (Fig. 1, 15) and a bead (Fig. 1, 16). The only other pottery found were sherds of late-eighteenth-century (Fig. 1, 9-12) and nineteenth-century date from the ash layer.

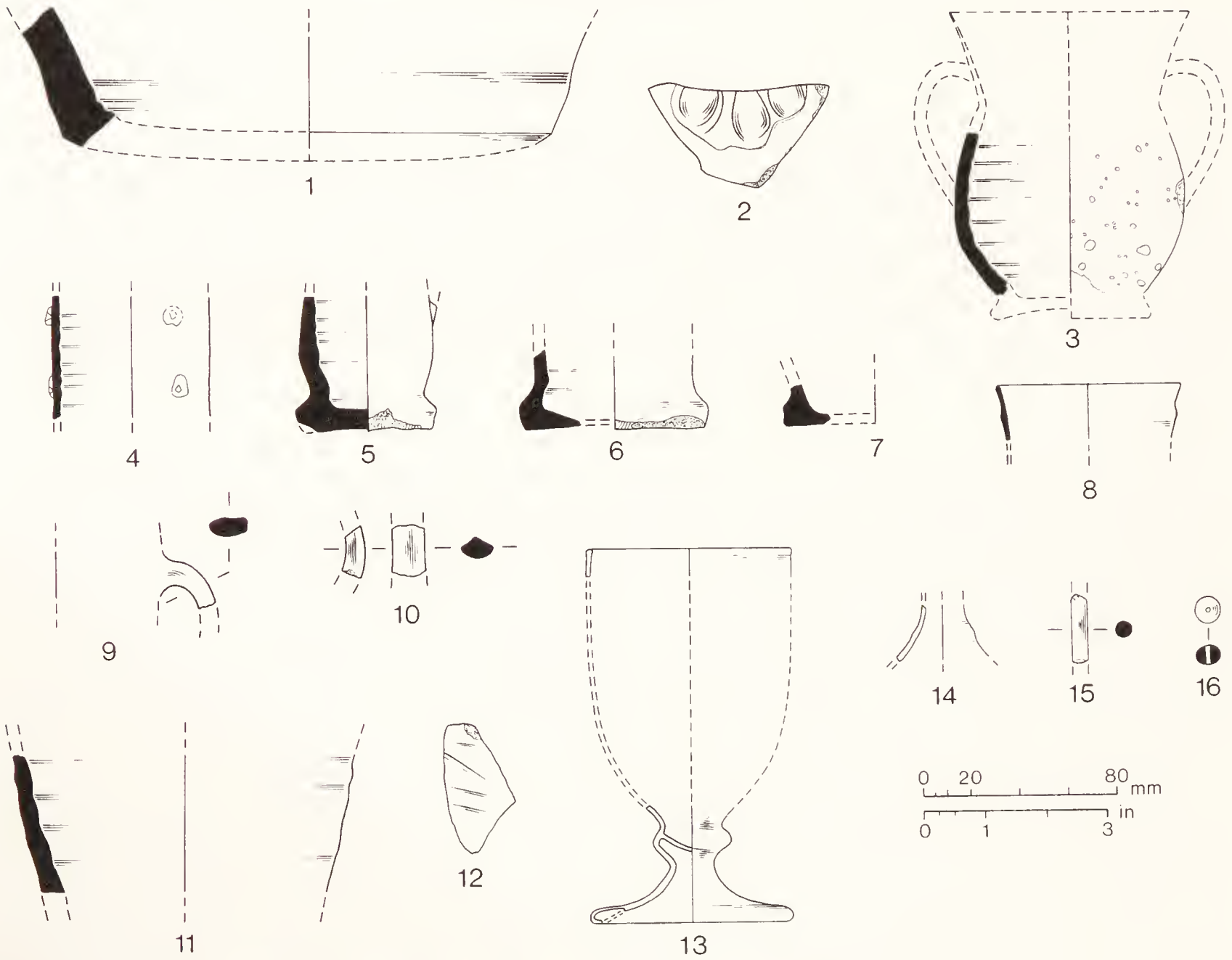

FIG. 1 Medieval and Post Medieval pottery from the Yew Tree (¼).

Comment

Apart from the ash and clay-filled depressions, no other features were found in the area examined. The thirteenth to fourteenth-century pottery found in the lowest depressions attests to there having been some occupation of the site prior to the erection of the aisled hall. No distinct floor levels attributable to the timber-framed building were recognised, and it is concluded that the surface of the natural clay also formed the floor of the aisled-house. The hollows that developed in its surface provide evidence of the general wear to which it was subjected and in which hearth sweepings and pottery accumulated; the depressions were later levelled with brown clay and finally capped with a layer of ash and sandstone flags.

THE FINDS

Pottery: introduction

All of the pottery recovered from the ash-filled depressions in the clay horizon can be classified as coarse wares. As has been noted above, some of the late-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth-century pottery from the lower depressions, which includes sherds from

cooking pots, a jar and a jug, was undoubtedly made at the Upper Heaton kilns.[3] One cannot, however, be so precise about the source or sources of the late-fourteenth to mid-seventeenth-century wares, as there were far more kilns operating during this period in West Yorkshire, the great majority producing vessels in comparable fabrics and shapes which were similarly ornamented and glazed. What one can say is that although the amount of fifteenth-century pottery recovered was small, it did much to confirm the dendrochronological date of *c.* 1455, for the erection of the timber-framed aisled-house.

CATALOGUE

Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries

Not illustrated: Wall sherd from cooking pot or jug. Exceptionally hard fabric, pale buff-orange externally, becoming more orange towards the inner face, splashes of a much decayed pale yellow glaze inside; tempered with fine sand, some shale inclusions.
Lower clay-filled depression.

Not illustrated: Two joining wall sherds, possibly from an ovoid jug. Hard fabric, grey externally, with traces of a much decayed purple glaze, becoming more grey towards the inner pale orange surface; tempered with quartz grit and particles of shale.
Lower clay-filled depression.

Not illustrated: Small wall sherd, orange fabric, pale orange-yellow glaze on external surface, darker red-orange interior; tempered with fine sand.
Lower clay-filled depression.

Not illustrated: Small wall sherd, soft fabric, deep red-brown external slip on a bright orange body becoming predominantly more buff-orange towards the internal surface; tempered with a little quartz grit.
Lower clay-filled depression.

Fifteenth to Sixteenth Centuries

Fig. 1, 1 Lower part, including angle of base, of a jug or possibly bung-hole pitcher. Hard fabric with a deep reddish-brown external slip on a light orange backing, pale grey interior, covered with a thin deep green-brown glaze, becoming darker grey towards the centre; tempered with fine sand.
Upper clay-filled depression.

2 Base of handle, with three shallow thumb-impressions, probably from a bung-hole pitcher. Deep external purple-brown glaze on a purple-brown slip, dark grey body with cream core, internal pitted dark brown glaze. Bung-hole pitchers with thumb-printing at the base of the handle are well represented on late medieval sites in West Yorkshire. A fine series comprising of about twelve vessels were found scattered around the mouth of a well in the courtyard of House X, Woolshops, Halifax. These were dated on coin evidence to the first half of the sixteenth century.[4]
Upper clay-filled depression.

Not illustrated: Wall sherd from near base of bung-hole pitcher. Hard medium grey fabric with orange streaks, external clear glaze on a pale brown wash, internal deep purple glaze; tempered with a little quartz grit, some shale inclusions.
Upper clay-filled depression

Not illustrated: Wall sherd, hard fabric, buff-orange externally, with splashes of yellow glaze, on a lighter orange backing turning to grey throughout, internal dark brown slip covered with patchy speckled purple-brown glaze; tempered with a little quartz grit.
Upper clay-filled depression

Not illustrated: Wall sherd, pale grey fabric glazed both faces, externally purple with some pitting, internally, purple-brown, much decayed; tempered with fine sand.
Upper clay-filled depression

Not illustrated: Wall sherd, hard streaky grey-orange fabric, deep external purple glaze, inner face purple-grey with some glaze; tempered with a little quartz grit.
Upper clay-filled depression

Not illustrated: Small wall sherd, hard grey fabric, deep purple-brown glaze both faces; tempered with quartz grit.
Upper clay-filled depression

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3. *Ibid.*, pp. 80–81 and 90.
4. Excavated by J. A. Gilks and now in the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield.

Not illustrated: Wall sherd, hard orange-brown fabric with external purple glaze on a pale dark brown slip, dark grey slip on interior.
Upper clay-filled depression

Early Sixteenth-Century Cistercian Wares

Fig. 1, 3 Two joining sherds from a two handled *Type 4* cup, in a smooth streaky dark grey to deep brown fabric, with an all-over external blistered black-purple glaze. Cistercian Wares were being produced from the late-fifteenth century in West Yorkshire at centres like Silcoates[5] and Potovens[6] near Wakefield and Potterton[7] near Leeds. This class of ware did not, however, reach its maximum development until early in the sixteenth century.[8]
Upper clay-filled depression

4 Body sherd from a tall cylindrical *Type 3* cup, in a hard brick-red fabric covered on both faces, but thinner on the interior, with a deep purple-brown glaze. On the exterior are two applied, stamped, clay pellets. This particular type of decoration is hard to parallel on this class of vessel, the usual motif being a stag's head; good examples carrying the latter type of decoration were found at kilns 2 and 7, Potovens,[9] at Hungate. York,[10] and in the east wing of House X, Woolshops, Halifax.[11]
Upper clay-filled depression

Not illustrated: Wall sherd from cup, unclassifiable, in a hard dark grey fabric, deep purple-brown glaze both faces.
Upper clay-filled depression

Not illustrated: Wall sherd, with stump of handle, from cup, unclassifiable, in a hard dark grey fabric, deep purple-brown glaze both faces.
Upper clay-filled depression

Late Sixteenth to Mid-Seventeenth Centuries

Fig. 1, 5 Base and three wall sherds, one with stump of handle, from a small two-handled *Type 3* cup, in a bright brick-red fabric, with an all-over external mottled brown-black glaze, splashes of glaze on interior, wire removal marks on base. Cups of this type, which belong to the late Cistercian Ware tradition, continued to be produced well into the first half of the seventeenth century.[12] The above example, however, would be quite at home in a late-sixteenth century context, and examples of comparable date, and with the pronounced footring, are recorded from Rockley Smithies,[13] Sandal Castle,[14] Halifax[15] and Thornhill Hall, Dewsbury.[16]
Resting on surface of clay

6 Base and lower part of body from a tall two-handled cylindrical cup in a deep brick-red fabric, glazed purple-brown both faces, wire removal marks on base. This particular type of tall cup, or more accurately tankard, is almost certainly derived from the Cistercian Ware *Type 3* cups; vessels of this type were being produced during the first half of the seventeenth century at Potovens.[17]
Resting on surface of clay

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5. Woodrow, K. J., Cistercian ware from Silcoates School, near Wakefield, *Post Medieval Archaeol.* 5 (1971), pp. 185-88, figs. 64 and 65.
6. Brears, P. C. D., Excavations at Potovens, near Wakefield, *Post Medieval Archaeol.* 1 (1967), pp. 18-21, fig. 6; also Bartlett, K. S., with Brears, P. C. D., and Moorhouse, S., Excavations at Protovens, near Wakefield, 1968, *Post Medieval Archaeol.* 5 (1971), pp. 11-12 and 20, fig. 8, 2 and 3.
7. LePatourel, H. E. Jean., The pottery, in Mayes, P., and Pirie, E. J. E., A Cistercian ware kiln of the early sixteenth century at Potterton, Yorkshire, *Antiq. J.* 46 (1966), 268-76.
8. LePatourel, H. E. Jean., The moated sites of Yorkshire, *Soc. Medieval Archaeol. Monograph Ser.* no. 5 (1973), p. 99.
9. Brears *op cit.* in note 6, p. 19, fig. 6, 10.
10. LePatourel, H. E. Jean., The pottery, in Richardson, K. M., Excavations in Hungate, York, *Archaeol. J.* 116 (1959), p. 99, fig, 26, 34 and 37.
11. Tolson Memorial Museum collection.
12. Brears *op. cit.* in note 6, p. 27.
13. Crossley, D. W., and Ashurst, D., Excavations at Rockley Smithies, a water-powered bloomery of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *Post Medieval Archaeol.* 2 (1968), pp. 36 and 40, fig. 11, 27-29.
14. Information kindly supplied by the excavator, P. Mayes, University of Leeds.
15. Tolson Memorial Museum collection.
16. Excavated by Messrs. T. G. Manby, D. Leak and R. A. Varley; material now in the Tolson Memorial Museum.
17. Bartlett *op cit.* in note 6, p. 24, fig. 9, 3.

7 Base angle from tankard, in a bright brick-red fabric, glazed purple-brown both faces.
Filling of foundation trench

Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Fig. 1, 8 Rim of cup, hard purple-brown fabric, thick shiny purple glaze both faces.
Resting on surface of clay

9 Handle and part of body of cup, soft orange-red fabric, deep purple glaze both faces.
Resting on surface of clay

10 Handle fragment, deep red-brown fabric, all-over deep purple glaze.
Resting on surface of clay

11 Wall sherd from jug or jar, hard reddish-brown fabric, mottled purple-brown glaze both faces.
Resting on surface of clay

12 Wall sherd from jug, hard dark purple-brown fabric, with a shiny purple-brown glaze both faces, incised line on exterior.
Resting on surface of clay

Not illustrated: Nine wall sherds from seven cups and tankards, in deep grey, brick-red and purple fabrics, all glazed both faces either brown or pruple-brown-black.
Resting on surface of clay

Not illustrated: Three wall sherds, no fragments joining, from jug in a hard orange-brown fabric, mottled dirty purple-brown glaze both faces; tempered with fine sand.
Resting on surface of clay

Not illustrated: Wall sherd from jug, heavy rilling on exterior, deep orange-brown fabric, glazed purple-brown both faces: tempered with fine sand.
Resting on surface of clay

Not illustrated: Two wall sherds from jug, hard orange fabric, decayed dark brown glaze on exterior, splashes of glaze on interior.
Resting on surface of clay

Not illustrated: Two wall sherds from jug, one fragment with base of thumb impression, hard deep-brown fabric with cream streakes, deep purple glaze both faces.
Resting on surface of clay

Not illustrated: Three sherds from large jug, deep reddish-brown fabric, purple glaze both faces.
Resting on surface of clay

Glass

Fig. 1, 13 Annular knop, part of the foot and rim of a short-stemmed wine glass. Pale olive-green metal of good quality, smooth surfaces showing little signs of weathering. Unlike the fragmentary glasses from Rosedale,[18] with mould-blown ribbing, and Hutton,[19] North Yorkshire, the example from the Yew Tree can be reconstructed with some degree of precision; the diameter of the foot and rim are known and the restored height has been calculated from the general proportions of the surviving fragments. No complete vessels of this type are known to the writer and the reconstruction of a glass with a knop of this type published by Kenyon,[21] should be viewed with caution.[22]
Upper clay-filled depression

14 Lower part of neck of small bottle in good quality pale blue-green metal.
Resting on surface of clay

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18. Charleston, R. J., The vessel glass from Rosedale and Hutton, in Crossley, D. W., and Aberg, A., Sixteenth-century glass making in Yorkshire: excavations at furnaces at Hutton and Rosedale, North Riding, 1968-1971, *Post Medieval Archaeol.* 6 (1972), p. 142, fig. 61, 6.
19. *Ibid.*, fig. 67, 122.
20. Kenyon, G. H., *The glass industry of the Weald,* p. 174, fig. 11, A. (Leicester 1967).
21. I am indebted to Mr. R. J. Charleston, Keeper of the Department of Ceramics, Victoria and Albert Museum, for advice on pushed-in-stem wine glasses.

15 Short section of rod, deep blue-green metal, with a white layer of weathering which flakes off when touched.
Resting on surface of clay

16 A small bead of turquoise coloured metal, with a white layer of weathering which scales off readily.
Resting on surface of clay

BEDERN BANK AND THE BEDERN RIPON

By the late R. GILYARD-BEER

Bedern Bank was originally called Walkmiln Bank, no doubt because it led down to the fulling mill on the banks of the Skell, later known as the Union Mill in the 19th century. The change of name appears to have taken place gradually during the middle years of the fourteenth century when both names were concurrently in use, and it was due to the establishment early in that century of the Bedern—a college of vicars-choral serving the Minster.

It had long been customary for the six prebendaries of the Minster, often non-resident, to appoint vicars to carry out their duties, and when Archbishop Walter de Gray added a seventh prebend in the thirteenth century the position was not changed substantially, for whilst the six earlier prebends of Monkton, Givendale, Nunwick, Studley, Thorpe, and Sharow lay within the parish of Ripon and their vicars performed their duties in the Minster, the seventh prebend was at Stanwick and its prebendary's vicar resided there. Up to the beginning of the fourteenth century the position of these vicars-choral was unsatisfactory in more ways than one. They were usually engaged by individual prebendaries on an annual basis, and their salaries and tenure of office were therefore at the mercy of their masters. Lodging as best they could in houses within the town, they were susceptible to the temptations of the flesh.

To protect them from this unsatisfactory state of affairs Archbishop Thomas Corbridge in 1303 ordered that each prebendary should appoint a perpetual vicar at a fixed salary of 6 marks a year, that the vicars should provide themselves as soon as possible with a house near the Minster, decently enclosed against the resort of women, where they could eat, live and sleep.[1] In response to this, Nicholas de Bondgate, chaplain, gave to the Chapter in 1304 two messuages in Ripon, one for the purpose of building houses thereon to be inhabited perpetually by the vicars, and the other for the support of their establishment.[2] As at York and Beverley this establishment was called the Bedern, the house of those engaged in prayer.

The exact position and the nature of the buildings of this fourteenth-century Bedern are not known with any accuracy. The change in the name of the street suggests that it was on or near Bedern Bank, perhaps towards its upper end as the archbishop wished it to be near the Minster, and there are one or two local traditions, of little worth in themselves, that suggest the same thing. Until its demolition in 1965 the cellars of No. 6 Bedern Bank contained a fair amount of stonework that might conceivably have been of medieval date but lacked any distinguishing features. There was also an unsound tradition attached to No. 5, which held that an underground passage had linked the Minster with Fountains Abbey (a distance of 3 miles, involving tunnelling beneath the Skell!) and that there had been a doorway into it, later blocked by a brick wall, in the north wall of the cellarage of No. 5. This tale was disproved by my father, Thomas Gilyard-Beer (1874-1940), who dismantled enough of the brick blocking to show that the real reason for its existence was that the ceiling beams of the cellar had decayed at their northern ends and that, rather than go to the expense of replacing them, his predecessors

1. J. T. Fowler, ed., 'Memorials of the Church of SS Peter & Wilfrid, Ripon', vols. i-iv *(Surtees Society,* vols. 74, 78, 81, 115) 1882-1908. Cited here as *Memorials. Memorials,* vol. i, pp.25, 44, 46.
2. *Ibid.,* pp. 19-20.

had built the brick wall in front of the original one to support the rotten beam-ends, and that no doorway existed.

It does not seem to have been appreciated hitherto, however, that a comparison of the properties held in the town during the Middle Ages by the vicars-choral and those held by the Chantry of the Holy Trinity 'supra summum altare' in the Minster provide a useful clue to the approximate position of the fourteenth-century Bedern. During the Middle Ages not only the nine chantries established in and around the Minster but also the body of vicars-choral were endowed with individual properties for their support. The vicars-choral held tenements and cottages in Agnesgate, Allhallowgate, Bedern Bank (Walkmiln Bank), Blossomgate, Bondgate, the Horse Fair (North Street), Stammergate (Stonebridgegate), Westgate, near the Lady Church (St Mary's Gate), and in the (old) Market Place.[3] The family of Ward seems to have held several properties on Bedern Bank, and around the middle years of the fourteenth century Pauline, daughter of William Ward of Ripon, made grants of tenements there to the vicars-choral. It is not always possible to distinguish between these tenements, as the grants were sometimes made direct to the vicars and sometimes to individual priests who later transferred the property to the vicars. In 1344 Pauline had acquired from John Walker a messuage on le Walkmylnbanke lying between the messuage of Henry de Plompton and a messuage held of the vicars by Symon Webster,[4] and this she granted to the vicars in 1349.[5] Pauline's obit records a tenement in Bedernebanke held of her by the vicars and in the tenure of John Darby,[6] but in addition to this there is a record that Robert de Asmonderby, chaplain, made over to the vicars in 1349 a messuage in le Walk Mylnbanke which he had of the gift of Pauline.[7] Meanwhile in 1345 William de Plompton had founded the Chantry of the Holy Trinity 'supra summum altare', and one of the endowments made to Henry de Plompton, the chantry priest, was a messuage with all buildings and appurtenances near the Bedern.[8] Fourteen years later, in 1369, Henry de Plompton granted to the vicars a messuage in le Bedernbanke also given to him by Pauline, and lying between his own messuage of the Chantry of the Holy Trinity, mentioned above, and a messuage occupied by John de Beuerlay.[9] By collating these references it can be seen that the messuage of the Holy Trinity was (a) on Bedern Bank and (b) close to the Bedern, so it is fairly certain that the Bedern itself was on the Bank as well. The way in which its presence was affecting the name of the street can be illustrated by another grant to the vicars recited in the obit of Alan Balyeman and his wife Agnes, of a tenement in Walkmylnbanke 'modo vocato Bedernebank.'[10]

In considering the property on Bedern Bank in the Middle Ages it has to be remembered that virtually nothing is known of the eastern side of the street. The building of the Hall (lately renamed Minster House) by the Oxleys *c.*1700 and the creation of its terraced gardens probably destroyed any houses that may have existed on that side, and most likely curtailed the south-western corner of the Minster precinct, to judge by the behaviour of the present boundaries there. The various messuages mentioned in the fourteenth century may therefore have been on either side of the street.

Although, as will be seen below, there was a major change in the Bedern itself during the 15th century, little is known of the other inhabitants of Bedern Bank in the later Middle Ages. The Chapter Acts record no more than the adultery of Robert Poode with

3. *Ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 13-15.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 141.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-1.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

Johanna Fawell (alias Mason) of Bedrynbanke in 1453,[11] and a matrimonial case in which Agnes Bancke of Horsefayre cited Richard Mitton, servant of John Karter of Bedrynbancke, in the following year.[12]

By the early fifteenth century it appears that the communal life of the vicars-choral in the Bedern, envisaged by Archbishop Corbridge a century before, had now broken down and that some of them, at any rate, were living dispersed. In 1408 the Chapter ordered them to provide and ordain a house in the Bedern in which they could eat and live at their common expense, and fixed a fine of 12*d* a week for absence.[13] This was the prelude to a royal charter, obtained from Henry V by Archbishop Henry Bowet in 1414, reciting that the vicars had been living dispersed and had not followed a common life in dormitory or refectory, and that they were now to have a site 140 ft. long and 67 ft wide, and were to have a provost and a common seal[14] — in other words they were to be organised formally as a corporate body. In 1415 Archbishop Bowet, reciting the terms of the royal charter, gave effect to this,[15] and his obit in 1423 refers to the vicars as having received the site of their mansion in le Nova Bederna from him, and to it having been in large part built by him.[16] This New Bedern lay in the archbishop's property north of the Minster and alongside his palace. By 1515 it was in disrepair and an indenture was made between Thomas Bakhows, canon, and the vicars by which 10 marks were to be spent on repairs to the hall and chambers then in decay.[17] It was described by John Leland *c.*1540 who said: 'The prebendaries houses be buildid in places nere the minstre, and among them the archebisshop hath a fair palace. And the vicars houses be by it in a fair quadrant of square stone buildid by Henry Bouet Archebisshop of York.'[18] Apart from this reference by Leland to an ashlar quadrangle there is almost as little information about the buildings of the New Bedern as of the old one. The repairs mentioned above show that it had a hall and chambers, and a reference of 1596 speaks of a great chamber in which it was poposed to hold theological disputations in Latin.[19] Unlike the Bedern at York[20] it does not seem to have had a chapel, for a reference of 1604 speaks of a proposal to enlarge it by adding a chapel, a hall, two libraries, a master's lodging and kitchen.[21] With only six vicars to house, it can hardly have taken the form of the long narrow lane of individual houses that forms the Vicars' Close at Wells, or those of Lichfield and Chichester, or even the Horseshoe Cloister of the vicars-choral at Windsor. It was perhaps more like a narrower version of St William's College at York.

The buildings of the New Bedern survived the vicissitudes of the Reformation, although it no longer housed an organised corporate body of priests. On the dissolution of the collegiate establishment of the Minster in 1547 the prebends were abolished, but there are still references to vicars continuing to serve the Minster in the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth I, and as late as 1551-2 six altars were still in use.[22] But it is evident that the vicars had again become non-resident and it was reported that 'the houses go to ruyne and decaie.'[23] The buildings may also have been damaged during the

11. J. T. Fowler, ed., 'Acts of Chapter of the Collegiate Church of SS Peter & Wilfrid, Ripon' *(Surtees Society,* vol. 64 1875), p. 22.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
13. *Memorials,* vol. iv, pp. 149-51.
14. *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 123-5.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-6.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
18. Lucy Toulmin Smith ed., *The Itinerary of John Leland,* vol. i, p. 81. 1964 edn.
19. Lucius Smith, *The Story of Ripon Minster,* p. 170. 1914.
20. *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, York,* vol. v, (1981), p. 57.
21. Jean Mortimer, *A University for Ripon,* p. 13.
22. Lucius Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-4.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

Plate 1. Nos. 5-10 Bedern Bank, Ripon, February 1935.

Plate 2. Nos. 5 and 6 Bedern Bank, Ripon *c*1962.

Rising of the North in 1569, when the Minster was damaged and it was proposed that two of the prebendal houses be cannibalised for its repair.[24] In 1596 it seemed likely that it might be given a new lease of life, for in that year a proposal was put forward to found a theological college or university to 'be placed and maintained in the Colledge of Ripon, and in Colledge-like manner to live and keepe together, viz: six learned divines.'[25] It is fairly certain that the New Bedern was the building intended, and it is significant that the number of resident learned divines was to have been the same as the number of the former vicars-choral. The scheme was greeted by Elizabeth I in her usual way, with fair words and no action, and it was revived again in 1604 without success despite the fact that repairs were said to have been carried out on the buildings to prepare them.[26] But instead of founding a university James I in the same year 1604 re-established the collegiate church with a dean and chapter, and the fate of the New Bedern was not long delayed. In 1625 we are told that the Mayor of Ripon, Miles Moodie, 'builded anew the Deanery or y^{e} place of residence where now y^{e} Dean liveth, which was before a Colledge of Preists,'[27] a statement supported by the discovery of groined vaulting during later alterations to the Deanery.[28]

As for Bedern Bank itself, in 1807-8 the Corporation bought land for the purpose of widening it, presumably on the eastern side since Oxley's garden wall was rebuilt at that time. Further improvements were made to the street in 1817.[29] In the 1930s plans began to be drawn up for building a new relief road that was to follow the course of Bedern Bank, and from that time no opportunity was lost of acquiring and demolishing the houses on the Bank. The first to go were Nos. 1 & 2 on the corner with Kirkgate, once used as a publisher's business by George Parker, later converted into a private hotel, and after demolition made into a small public garden. Nos. 7, 8 & 9 were destroyed in 1935; this little row of cottages was partly of half-timbered construction and may have had early origins. After the Second World War the relief road scheme was revived in 1947, and again caused much controversy as it had in 1938, involving as it would the destruction of all the houses on the Bank. All the houses below No. 9, including the stone-built King's Arms of late 17th or early 18th-century date, were acquired and demolished in 1959, and all the cottages in the three yards behind Bedern Bank and giving on to Skellgarths, known as York Yard, Skell Yard, and Mill or Millgate Yard were also pulled down. This left only Nos. 3 to 6, where matters were delayed because the Gilyard-Beers, owners of Nos. 5 & 6, appealed against the demolition of their home. A Public Enquiry was held in 1965 at which the appeal was rejected. Nos. 5 & 6 were pulled down shortly afterwards, and Nos. 3 & 4 at about the same time, completing the clearance of the whole of Bedern Bank. By this time the scheme for the eastern relief road had been abandoned and replaced by one calculated to drive a similar swathe of destruction through the western side of Ripon.[30]

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24. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
28. T. S. Gowland, 'Ripon Minster and its Precincts', *Y.A.J.* xxxv (1941), p. 285.
29. *Ripon Millenary Record*, (1892), part 2, pp. 121 & 125.
30. This scheme has now been abandoned and others are under consideration. An excavation directed by D. Perring for the Central Excavation Unit took place on Bedern Bank in 1985.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SHEFFIELD AND ITS ENVIRONS

By G. SCURFIELD

1. INTRODUCTION

The most important primary source of information bearing upon the geography of Sheffield and the surrounding countryside about the year 1640 is the *'Exact & Perfect Survey & View of the Manor of Sheffield with the Mannors of Cowley and Ecclesfield,*. Dated 29th September, 1637, it represents work carried out by John Harrison, Surveyor, for the 2nd Earl of Arundel and Surrey★. The original terrier and the associated map have not been found. However, two copies of the terrier by different hands are extant.[1] A comparative transcript of them made by J. G. Ronksley was published privately in 1908[2]. That a map was almost certainly made is indicated by the fact that Harrison refers to 'ye Plott'. It is with the reconstruction of this map and its use as a background against which to assess the information conveyed in the terrier that we will be primarily concerned.

As to the nature of this information, the terrier begins with a general description of the manors followed by presentation of the manorial accounts for a year. Harrison then enumerates the pieces of land held by each tenant-at-will; notes the character of some of their tenements and cottages; allocates the names of fields, woodlands, moors, commons, and greens, and assesses their areas; often specifies field use; and gives directions for the location of the enumerated items relative to one another or to some feature of landscape, such as a river, brook, hill, building, lane, street, or highway. Similar details follow of certain 'Forraine land or lands lying remote from Sheffield Manor'. The acreages of the latter are relatively small: 11 acres in Darwin Dale, 61 in Wath, 96 in Todewick, 18 in Brewell, and 46 in Ransfield, all within 25 miles of Sheffield. After a brief summary of the accounts, Harrison ends on a controversial note with a short list of 'certaine lands lying in Ecclesfield & parcell of the Manor of Sheffield but now payeth rent to Rotherham but of right these lands (as I am informed) ought to pay rent to Sheffield'.

★NOTE. The survey is of lands which, under the terms of a family settlement dated May 27th, 1627, were likely to form part of the inheritance of the heir of the Earl and Countess of Arundel and Surrey. The sequence of events leading to this state of affairs began when Gilbert, the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, died on May 8th, 1616. He left as widow, Mary countess of Shrewsbury, the daughter of Sir William Cavendish of Chatsworth, and three daughters Mary, Elizabeth, and Alethea, the last a god-daughter of Queen Elizabeth I. The two sons of Earl Gilbert having pre-deceased him, his three daughters became co-heiresses of the extensive estates which he owned in many parts of England. Of the daughters, Mary married the Earl of Pembroke, Elizabeth the Earl of Kent, and Alethea the 2nd Earl of Arundel and Surrey. However, by 1627 it became obvious that, since neither the countess of Kent nor the Countess of Pembroke had a child living, the estates would eventually devolve on the son and heir of the Countess Alethea and the Earl of Arundel. A deed of family settlement, based on this assumption, was therefore entered into by the parties concerned. Its prediction was fulfilled after the death of the dowager Countess Mary in 1632 and of the Countess Alethea in 1654. No doubt it was the former event, and the fact that the property income was divided thereafter between the co-heiresses, which prompted the commissioning of John Harrison by the Earl of Arundel to survey, and to assess the income from, his part of the Sheffield estates.

1. Harrison, J. *Exact & Perfect Survey & View of the Manor of Sheffield with the Mannors of Cowley and Ecclesfield.* S75/76. Sheffield City Library, Dept. Local History and Archives.
2. Ronksley, J. G. Transcript of the above. Published privately, 1908. Sheffield City Library, Dept. Local History and Archives.

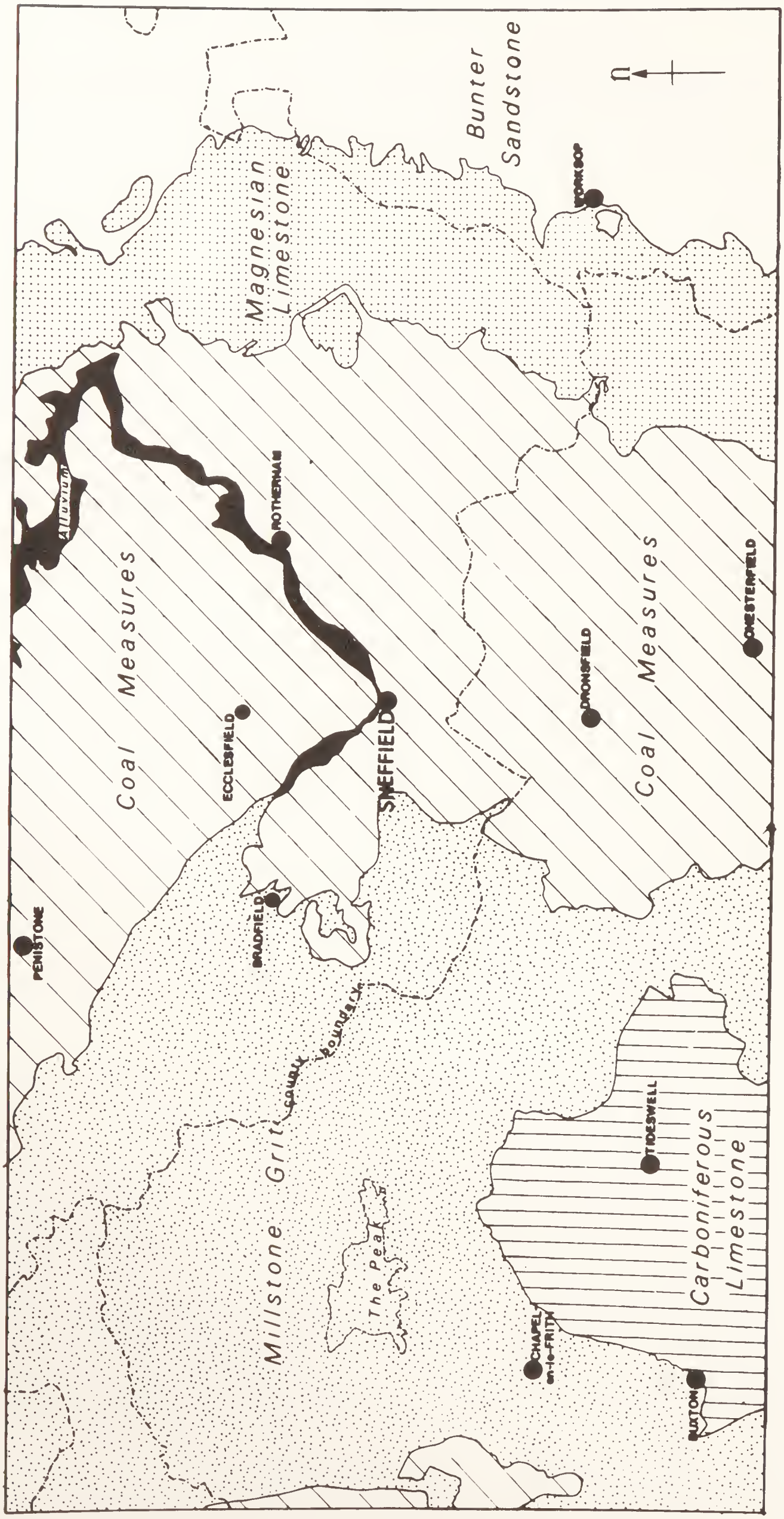

FIG. 1. Sketch map showing geology of the Sheffield district.

II. METHOD OF MAP RECONSTRUCTION

The method used to reconstruct maps of Sheffield and its environs (Figs. 2-8) showing patterns of land subdivision and use as they were known to Harrison in 1637 is fairly straightforward. It requires the use, as template, of the earliest maps of the district which match or approach the accuracy of H.M. Ordnance survey maps and for which records giving the acreages and names of the land subdivisions are available. For most of the district in question, appropriate template maps and land registers form part of the Fairbank MSS, largely the work of William Fairbank in the latter half of the eighteenth century.[3] Given a Fairbank's or similar map the procedure then is to add, subtract, or change its delineated boundaries to arrive at a map best in accord with Harrison's prescription regarding the location, name, acreage, and form of use of the items enumerated in his survey. In the case of Sheffield, for example, the map of the town in 1637 (Fig. 2) is based upon a plan engraved in 1771 by Thomas Jeffreys.[4] Luckily this was before the urban spread of the town, evident from a comparison of this plan with a map of W. Fairbank & Son published in 1795, masked features known to Harrison. On the other hand, the maps of Bradfield (Figs. 7 and 8) are more subjective since appropriate template maps are fragmentary, especially for land in the Agden and Bradfield Dale river valleys prior to their drowning by reservoirs.

A further caveat concerns the errors, omissions, and inconsistencies which occur in the two copies of the terrier. Ronksley[2] noted many of them in his transcript. However, it is only when confronted with the problem of following logically impossible or incomplete instructions in order to represent Harrison's data map-wise that the extent of the need to vary them is fully appreciated.[5] Apart from this, the question must arise as to the validity of the boundaries of the fields shown in Figs. 2-8, but not surveyed by Harrison. They are, in fact, the boundaries in the late eighteenth-century maps of Fairbank minus those between fields bearing a common name, for example, Lower, Middle, and Upper Justing Lands. This is merely an extrapolation of the experience in mapping Harrison's data using Fairbank's maps as templates. While this may give no great offence to the reality of the situation existing in 1637 in most areas, it poses a problem, mainly in Bradfield (Figs. 7 and 8). There, more frequently than elsewhere, Harrison refers to certain enclosures as 'intackes'. Taken as evidence of past, and an indication of the likelihood of future, piecemeal enclosure of common land, their existence creates doubt as to the validity of interpolating certain enclosures shown in late eighteenth-century maps into those for 1637. All that can be said is that none of the data of Harrison is inconsistent with the view that the limits of land enclosure for settled agricultural purposes had been largely, if not entirely, realised by 1637 in Bradfield, as in neighbouring districts. In the upper Derwent and Ashop valleys, for example, a map of 1808[6] shows the area of enclosed agricultural land to be little different from that in maps of William Senior dated 1627.[7] Nevertheless, the element of subjectivity, compounding that due to the sparsity of field name data and inadequacy of the template maps already mentioned, cannot be denied. The interpretation of the detail in Figs. 7 and 8 in particular should be tempered by an awareness of this.

Finally, as regards the representation of land use in Figs. 2-8, where Harrison records a field as dual-use, for example, pasture and arable, it is shown divided equally. Such an arbitrary subdivision could introduce distortion into the pattern of land use

3. Fairbank, W. Maps too numerous to cite by number. Arundel Coll. Sheffield City Library, Dept. Local History and Archives.
4. Jeffreys, T. Map of Sheffield, 1771. Sheffield City Library, Dept. Local History and Archives.
5. Scurfield, G. and Medley, I. E. Historical account of the vegetation of the Sheffield district. *Trans. Hunter Archaeol. Soc.* 7, (1954), p. 180-9.
6. Potter, P. Map of Woodlands Estate, 1808. Devonshire Collection: Chatsworth.
7. Senior W. Maps (6) of Woodlands estate, 1627. Devonshire Collection: Chatsworth.

FIG. 2. Sheffield in 1637: the town and the Crookes and Walkley area.

reconstructed from Harrison's data, should it be unrealistic. Whether it detracts from the pattern presented is doubtful for this has to be seen, in any case, as but one in the land use kaleidoscope. Nor is the accuracy of Figs. 2-8 much impugned by the finding that, on the average, Harrison's estimates of area are about 4 per cent less than those of Fairbank. Since he states that his estimates are 'according to Statute', Harrison is presumably using the statute chain of 22 yards divided into 4 perches and 100 links invented by Gunter about 1620. If the difference is real, therefore, then its variable error might suggest a computational difficulty on Harrison's part rather than dissimilar methods of field measurement.

III. THE DISTRICT LOCATION

The Manor of Sheffield (including the Manors of Ecclesfield and Cowley) lay on the Yorkshire side of the Yorkshire-Derbyshire county boundary between long. 1°25' and 1°48'W. and lat. 53°21' and 53°29'N. approximately (Figs. 1-8). This is equivalent to a distance of 9 miles from North to South and 15 ½ miles from East to West. It included the parishes of Ecclesfield (10897 acres), Bradfield (34777 acres), and Sheffield (9932 acres), a total of 55,606 acres (Ordnance survey estimate). However, probably through having access to court-rolls, Harrison found it more convenient to divide his survey not on the basis of parish, but on the 'soakes' under various court jurisdictions. Fig. 6 shows that Ecclesfield Soake comprised the northern half of the parish of Ecclesfield. Southall Soake included the southern half of that parish and parts of Sheffield parish (Figs. 4 and 6). The bounds of Bradfield Soake corresponded with those of the present-day parish, omitting Stannington, though Bradfield in 1637 was merely a Chapelry of the parish of Ecclesfield (Figs. 7 and 8). Stannington fell within Sheffield Soake as did all lands in Sheffield parish not included in Southall Soake (Fig. 5). Despite the neighbouring Manor of Han(d)sworth (Figs. 3 and 4) also being included therein, Harrison's commission did not extend to its survey.

IV. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The western margin of the Manor of Sheffield is marked by the River Derwent, its headwaters striking south in a valley overlooked on the eastern side by a massive, almost continuous escarpment or 'edge' of Millstone Grit standing out starkly against the skyline. Altitude decreases in passing south-eastwards from 'ye utter Crowstone edge' and Margery Hill ('Margery Beardeless' to Harrison), altitude 1793 ft, towards Sheffield, altitude about 250 ft. There is a parallel reduction in average rainfall from around 56 in. to 35 in.

Millstone Grit underlies much of the country above 1000 ft. (Fig. 1). Differential weathering of the beds of hard sandstone and interstratified shale or mudstone of which it is composed produces a complex scarp and dip-slope topography with ridges and hollows along the valleys deeply incised into its surface. In addition, in the upper reaches of Rivelin valley and extensively elsewhere, there are eroded sheets of periglacial solifluxion drift ('head') consisting of a matrix of clayey, sandy, or gravelly soil derived from the shale. Boulders of all sizes have become dispersed as they 'floated' down the slopes, the largest blocks stranding in depressions[8,9].

The valleys are dominated in places by rugged outcrops or craggy escarpments of gritstone. Frost-riven blocks foundered from these 'edges' litter the slopes beneath or form screes. Much wooded, especially in their lower reaches, the valleys in 1637

8. Eden, R. A., Stevenson, I. P., and Edwards, W. The geology of the country around Sheffield. *Mem. Geol. Survey Gt. Brit.*, No. 100, H.M.S.O., 1957.
9. Stevenson, I. P. and Gaunt, G. D. Geology of the country around Chesterfield. *Mem. Geol. Survey Gt. Brit.* No. 99. H.M.S.O., 1971

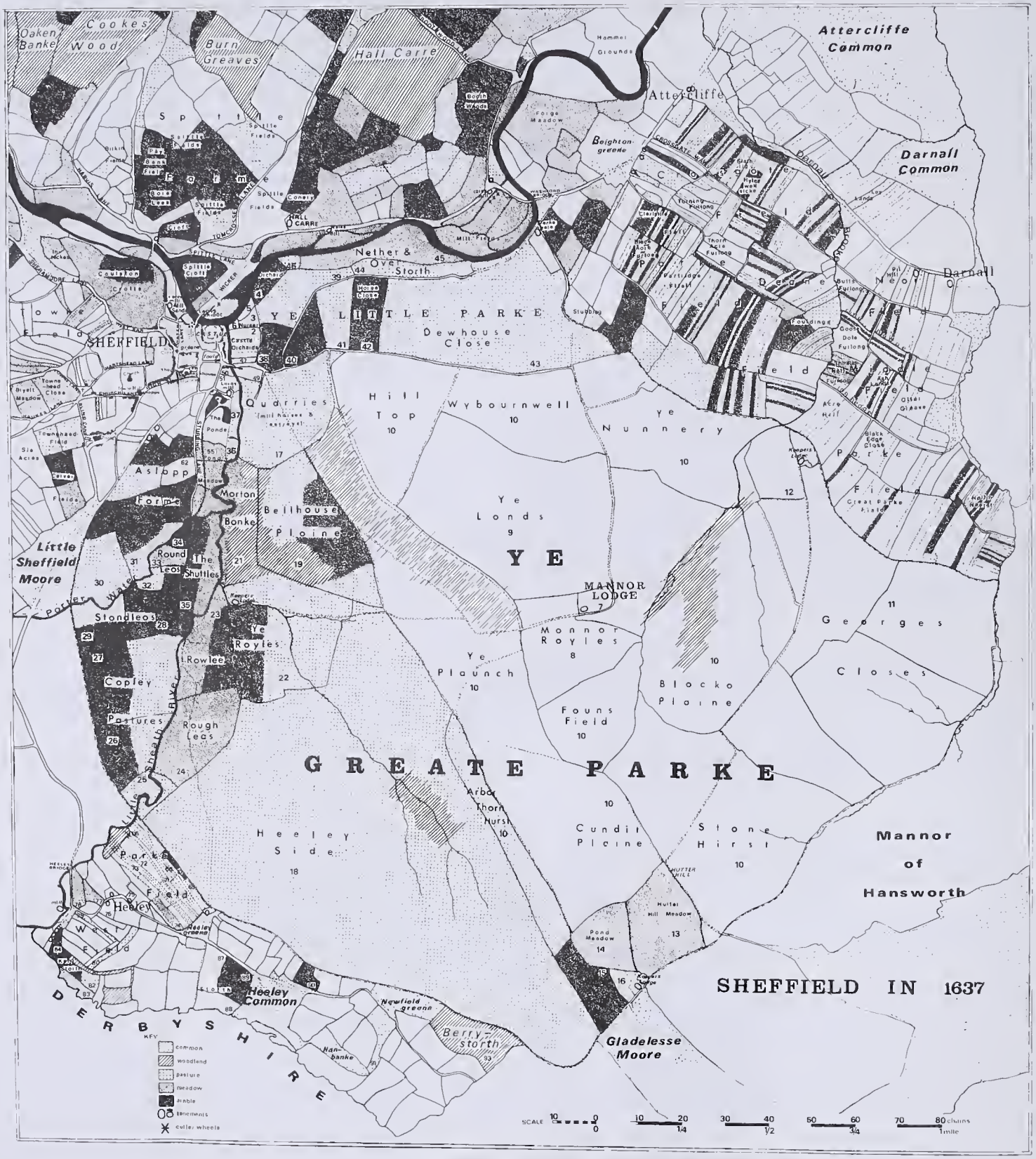

FIG. 3. Sheffield in 1637: the town and the Great Park.

constituted the Firths—Hawkesworth, Loxley, and Rivelin (Fig. 7)—rather vaguely defined by Harrison. The streams running in the valleys are formed by the union of numerous brooks or 'graines' which drain the uplands. They flow eastwards to become the Rivers Ewden, Loxley, Rivelin, Porter, and Sheaf (Little Sheath to Harrison), tributaries of the River Don as it pursues its way south to Sheffield from a source near Penistone.

Successively higher strata of the Millstone Grit, tilted at low angles, extend eastwards to dip beneath the surface of the Coal Measures which begin near Bradfield (Fig. 1). Indeed, Coal Measures underlie all that part of Sheffield manor not underlain by Millstone Grit. They consist of grey mudstones with clay-ironstone (siderite) sometimes in nodular sheets—ironstone rakes—silt-stones, sandstones of various grains, and many seams of bituminous coal. Well might Harrison, therefore, say of Sheffield Park that: 'if you look into ye bowels of this Parke you shall find ye inside correspondent to the outside, being stored with very good coales and ironstone in abundance'. In addition, sediments intervening between the coal seams include in places hard quartzitic ganister and clays suitable for making firebricks useful in building refractory hearths.

The soils derived from the rocks significantly influence land use and landscape in the area. Upland soils formed over Millstone Grit at altitudes above about 1000 ft. are peat-covered podsols, in places bog-beset and in places much leached, highly acidic, and uncultivatable. Podsols may persist on steep slopes at lower altitudes, the soils shallow, but with surface humus thick enough in places such as Crookes Moore (Fig. 2) to have been exploited as fuel in 1637. Easily leached of mineral salts by rainwash, they tend to be base-deficient and of low fertility. Their agricultural potential is much influenced by factors such as aspect, temperature, rainfall, exposure, and frost frequency, all subject to wide variation in such uneven terrain. Soils derived from the Coal Measures are generally deeper, more base-rich, less acid than podsols, and lack their profile characteristics. They tend to be most fertile on the slighter slopes. The richest soils, however, occur in valley bottoms. The flood plain of the River Don (Fig. 1), for example, is occupied by deep alluvial deposits of silty clay, sand, and fine gravel. Harrison's comment that part of Brightside Holmes (Fig. 4) were 'like fenney ground' is an expression of the sort of condition generated. Presumably there was little evidence in 1637 of the black mud of finely divided coal and industrial waste which the future would see added.

V. LAND USE

The Woodlands. The principal woodlands shown in Figs. 2-8 were oak-birchwoods in which the dominance of either oak (*Quercus petraea*) or birch (*Betula pubescens*) varied according to altitude of site.[10] Direct evidence of this is provided by a description of Peyhame banke (Fig. 2) as 'rough oake wood and some birke wood'; of Agden Wood (Fig. 8) as consisting of 'olde oake trees'; and of Loxley Wood (Fig. 8) as containing 'greate oake timber'.[11] Circumstantial evidence comes from the names of fields such as Oaken grifts, Oaken shade, Oakney, Birkin royde, Berkin doles, and Birtch field. Similarly, field names such as Ashing acres, Ash lands, Ash stile, Flatt ash, and perhaps Emlands and Withins, may be reminiscent of the fact that Ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) and Elm (*Ulmus* sp.) occurred in the damper hollows of the oakwoods, by stream-sides and flushes on the lower slopes, and on alluvial soils alongside the River Don as a component of Willow (*Salix* spp.) carr. Ash and Elm were certainly common in the district given that Richard Richmond, the lessee of 477 acres of Sheffield Park in 1699, was committed

10. Moss, C. E. *Vegetation of the Peak District*. 1913. C.U.P.
11. Rental. *Survey or an estimate of the value of the Mannor of Sheffield etc.* c. 1642. WWM. Br. P. 24. Sheffield City Library, Dept. Local History and Archives.

to 'plant or sett or cause to be planted or sett three oakes ashes or elmes upon every acre length of fences and walls'.[12] Of the other species in the woodlands, hazel (*Corylus avellana*) may have been prominent in Hesley Parke (Fig. 6). Holly or 'hollin' (*Ilex aquifolum*) was certainly significant. It occurred in 'haggs' sufficiently well-defined, locally common, and economically valuable for 25 of them to be assessed for rent in 1637. Reference to it was made in field names such as Hollin hearst and Hollin croft and its widespread distribution in Sheffield Park was suggested by the fact that 'liberty to fell all hollins, except the hollins upon Stonehurst' (Fig. 3) was another of the terms of the lease mentioned above. Much of its value apparently lay in its evergreen leaves providing year-round fodder[13] for alongside Old Laund in Rivelin Firth (Fig. 5) there were three haggs of hollin 'reserved for ye goates'.

The status of the various woodlands depended on the method of management which had been evolved in order to meet the demands for fuel, constructional timber, animal feed, and tanbark. The method, in the woods designated 'springwoods' by Harrison, was to treat them as coppice or coppice-with-standards. The age given to many of the springwoods then refers to the regrowth. In other words, it was the number of years elapsed since the parent trees were last coppiced. By deducting this number from 1637, the date of Harrison's survey, the approximate year in which this coppicing had occurred can be determined. For example, Woolley Wood, 103 acres, was coppiced in 1612; Hesley Park, 164 acres, and Cowley Park, 136 acres, were coppiced in 1624; and Grana Wood, 371 acres, was coppiced over the three years 1631-1633 (Fig. 6). In Cooke Wood (Figs. 2 and 4), on the other hand, 'some part was above 32 years growth and some part newly cut down and every yeare cut as occasion serveth'.

Selective felling of oak on occasion left older enclaves of birch within a younger oakwood. In Shirtcliffe Park (Figs 2 and 4), for example, there was 'one little part called Burkwood of 33 yeares groweth and the rest is 21 yeares growth'. However, evidence that the woodlands were being managed as coppice-with-standards rather than as coppice is tenuous. It would presume the persistence of a common-sense practice known as early as 1496[14] which required that a felled wood be 'wayverd warkmonlyke', 'wavers' being young trees left standing either as seed-parents or future timber trees. It was a requirement reaffirmed in a number of Tudor statutes for preventing the 'decaye of Tymber and woodes'. The Statute of Henry VIII, 1544, for example, decreed that twelve 'standhills or storers likely to prove and be tymber trees' were to be left standing in woodlands 'felled at xxiii yeres growinge and under'. Harrison, when assigning the age of springwoods, may have chosen to ignore the existence of such 'standills or storers'.

The paramount use of the harvested springwood probably was, and long had been, conversion to charcoal for domestic and industrial fuel. Indeed, it was the abundance of woodland as a guarantee of charcoal supply, rather availability of coal, which predicated Harrison's appraisal of the industrial future of Sheffield: 'There may be within this Manor raised iron worke which would afford unto ye Lord a thousand pounds yearly & all charges discharged & for ye maintaineing of this worke, there are two thousand acres of wood and timber (besides Sheffeild Parke) whereof there are above sixteen hundred acres of springe woods besides great store of old trees fit for no other purpose but for the makeinge of charcoale'. As to the value of charcoal, it was such that even 'windfall wood and the diging up of old roots for charcoales' could yield an annual return of £103/8/-, that is, about half the profit for the two Sheffield corn mills and the coal pits in Sheffield Park (see below). There also appears to have been a continuing demand for 'punch-wood' as support timber for the coal-mines. For example, in 1642, Burngreaves wood

12. Walter-Hall, T. *Yorkshire Descriptive catalogue of Land-Charters and Court-Rolls, etc.* 1930. Sheffield.
13. Radley, J. Holly as a winter feed. *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, (1961), p. 89-92.
14. Pegge, S. *An Historical account of Beauchief Abbey*, 1801, Sheffield.

FIG. 4. Sheffield in 1637: Attercliffe, Burngreave and Grimesthorpe.

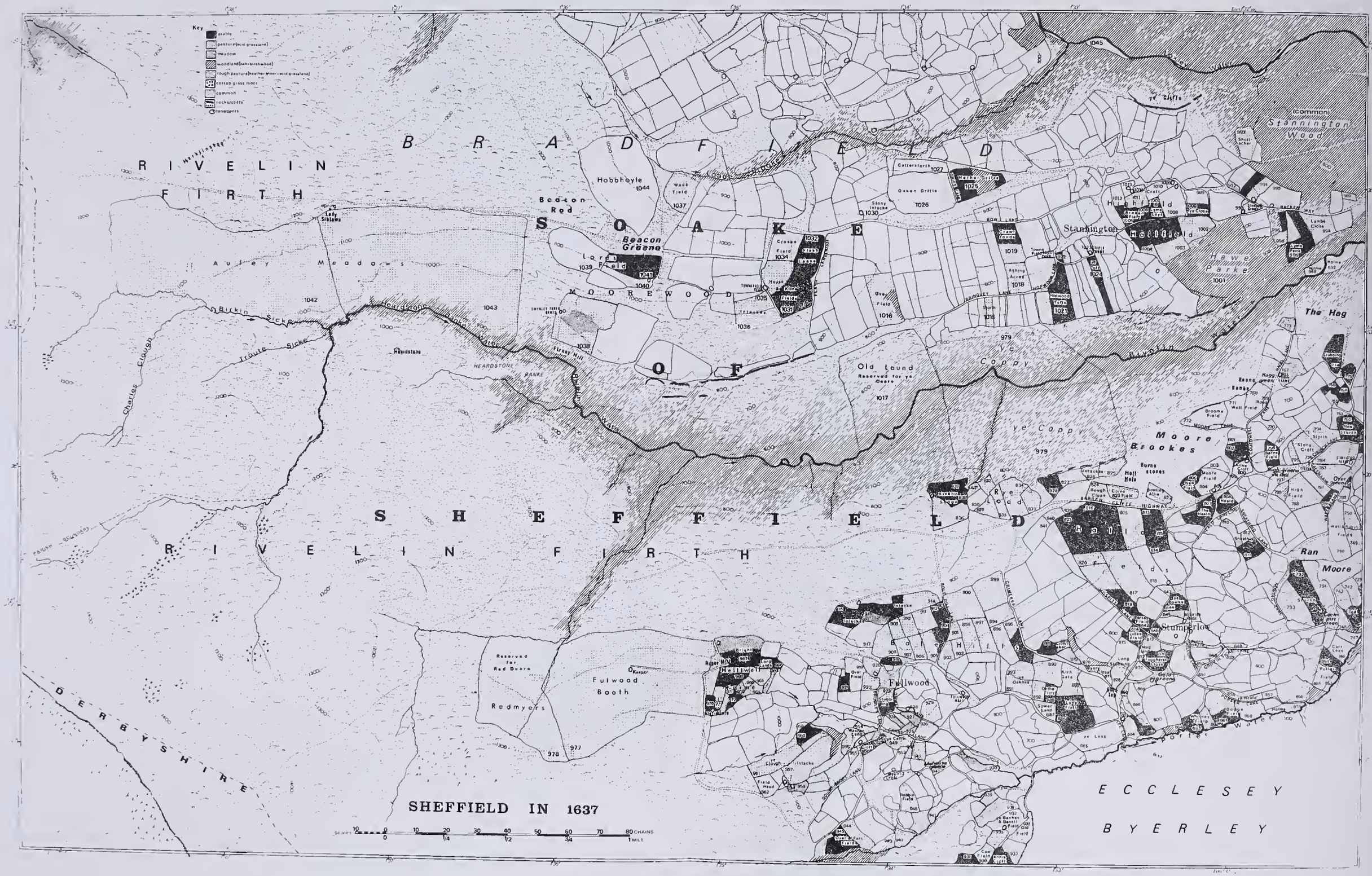

FIG. 5. Sheffield in 1637: the Rivelin valley.

was 'fellinge for punch-wood'; Wilkinson Spring wood had been 'lately cutt for punch-wood and other purposes'; Cooke wood had been 'cut 3 yeares since for punch-wood'; and the lessee of Sheffield Park coal-mines had there an 'allowance for punch-wood'[11] (Figs. 3 and 4). For this and the multitude of other purposes for which wood was utilized, such as the making of gates and stiles, mending Ye Lands rails in Sheffield Park (Fig. 3),[15] and paling the Castle orchards,[16] the eveness of age and size of the springwood poles may have been an advantage.

Larger constructional timber for purposes such as the building, repairing, and maintaining of houses,[17] repairing both ends of Brightside mill dam,[15] and making Sheath Bridge,[16] was probably being obtained by selective felling both in Sheffield Park and in those woods not designated as springwoods. The latter included Hawkesworth, Loxley, and Rivelin Firths. It was of one part of Rivelin Firth, Hawe Parke (Fig. 5), that Harrison said contained 'very stately timber ... which for both straightnesse and bignes there is not the like in any place that I can hear of beinge in length about 60 foot before you come to a knott or bowe & many of them two fathomes and some two fathome and a half about and they growe out of such a rocher of stone that you would hardly think there were earth enough to nourish the roots of the said trees', No doubt in the upper reaches of the valleys similar woods occurred (ye Rocher in Fig. 8, for example), but with the trees at the higher altitudes smaller in stature and more deformed. Altogether they probably approached, as nearly as could be achieved in 1637, the status of natural woodlands, despite selective felling and, since the herbage was common, some grazing by animals. That such animals included deer, irrespective of there being two reserves set aside for them in Rivelin valley (Fig. 5), might be anticipated from the claim of the Lords of the Manor of Sheffield to have 'free warren or chace of redd deare in and through the Liberty of Hallamshire'.[11]

Grazing of the springwoods by domestic animals was established practice. Harrison mentions that the 'herbage' of Grana and Winkoebank woods, for example, belonged to their respective tenants and that the wood of Scrath Banks (Fig. 4) 'belongeth to ye Lord but ye feed to ye tenants'. This may imply that the grazing of such woodlands was more controlled than in those which were 'fre common'. There would surely be a need, for instance, for a break in the continuity of their use as a source of animal feed in order to save 'the sprynges thereof ... from destruccion by any manner of cattell or beasts',[16] and allow of their regrowth. Appreciating that such a break might only be short under a coppicing regime may have been one of the factors leading to adoption of the practice as one best suited to meet the dual-purpose need for timber and animal fodder. Whether it was also appreciated that the productivity of coppice for wood could exceed that of plantation-grown trees[18] seems unlikely. Coupled with private ownership, controlled access, and the oversight of Keepers in some places, it certainly succeeded as a means for securing the long-term survival of most springwoods. This is evident from a comparison of Figs. 2-4 with the Sheffield Ordnance Survey map of 1843. However, it is not to say that in 1637 there would not be evidence in them of the effects of continual treading, manuring, and grazing by animals: the destruction and crippling of tree seedlings; the inhibition of seedling establishment; alteration in the character of the natural ground vegetation by the introduction of plants more characteristic of pasture and meadow; and a changing incidence of species such as bracken in relation to their palatability and

15. Rental. A rental of all the Rents in Hallamshire, etc. 1641-2. WWM. Br. P. 27. Sheffield City Library, Dept. Local History and Archives.
16. Hunter, J. *Hallamshire*. 1819, London, p. 103.
17. Statutes of the Realm, 35 Henry VIII c.17. 1543-4.
18. Einspahr, D. W. and Benson, M. K. Management of aspen on a ten- or twenty-year rotation. *J. Forestry*, 66, 1968, p. 557-60.

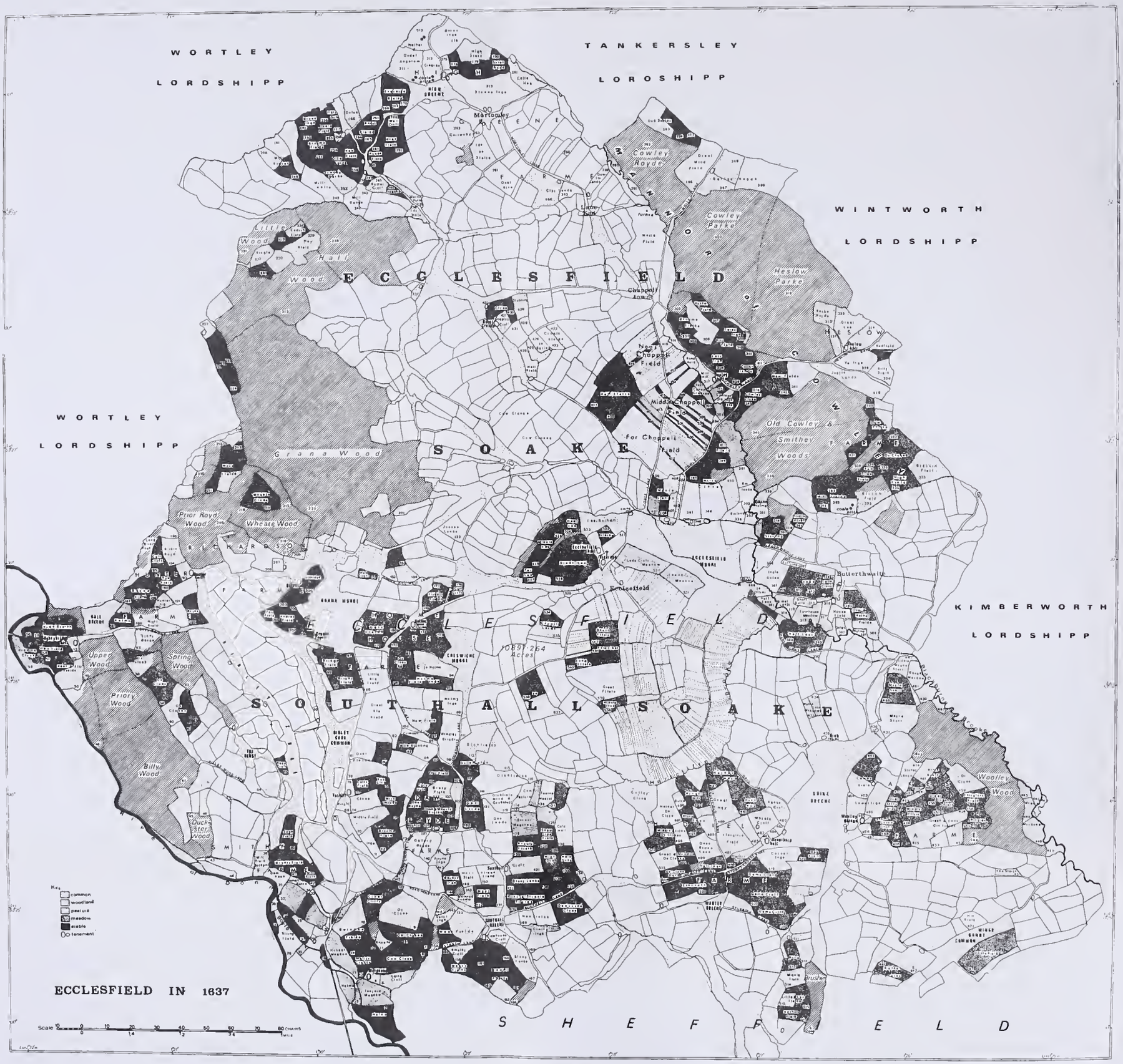

FIG. 6. Ecclesfield in 1637.

response to repeated destruction of the tree canopy and grazing pressure. Over-grazing and over-exploitation would lead, of course, to woodland deterioration. Stages in this process may have been evident in Stannington wood, a 'common' of 'rough timber and some spring wood;' Peyhame Banke which consisted of 'rough oake wood and some birke wood' (Figs. 2 and 5); Starling Bushes, a 'shrogg wood' (Fig. 6); Tofts, a 'shrogg wood', and Stubbing wood, 2 acres, half of it owned by four local men, at Crookes (Fig. 2).

The agricultural land. Just over half of the area shown in Figs. 2-8 consisted of agricultural land. Natural pasture, more or less permanent and partaking of the character of heather moor/acid grassland from which it had been secured by enclosure, occurred at altitudes between about 1000-1200 ft. In Bradfield, for example, there was Agden sheep pasture (347 acres, Figs. 7 and 8) and in Rivelin Firth, Auley Meadows (429 acres) and the enclosures reserved for red deer - Redmyers (73 acres) and Fullwood Booth (125 acres) (Fig. 5). To the extent that haymaking might have been integrated into the management of such pastures, they could be regarded as meadows also. The fact that Auley Meadows, for example, were listed as pasture by Harrison in 1637, if not indicative of a past abandonment of meadow for pasture as an expression of the realisation that tall-growing unpalatable herbage did not constitute meadow, might suggest such an integration.

'Intackes', more often pasture than arable in 1637, occurred at altitudes around 1000 ft., particularly in Bradfield, as witnesses to past probing of the marginal upland 'heathey ground' for agricultural purposes.* However, the bulk of agricultural land lay at lower altitudes. It consisted of fields won mainly from cleared woodland on soils drived from Coal Measures (Fig. 1). Harrison records many facts indicative of this: Wheat Close, a clearing in Wheat Wood, was arable; two Wood Fields environed by Prior Royd Wood were respectively, arable and (pasture + arable); within Hall Wood there were 6 fields of which 3 were pasture, 2 were arable, and 1 (Eadish field) was (pasture + arable) (Fig. 6); part of Taglands Wood (Fig. 8) was arable; and no less than eight arable fields adjacent to Hall Carre Wood were referred to as being 'parte of Booth Wood' (Fig. 4). In addition, there were several fields described as being either 'pasture and wood' or 'arable and wood' and many with names reminiscent of woodland. The name Stubbing, for example, was widely used for fields, usually arable, presumably in recollection of the clearance from them of tree-stumps and roots (Figs. 2 and 3). Names such as Coney Greaves, Oaken Grifts, and Storth also prompted memory of woodland and there were names such as Brackin Flatt, Fearne Hirst, Ferneley, and Foxglove field to recall species typical of the gound flora of the oak-birchwoods. Indeed, as regards their quality and composition, the pastures probably showed various stages in the transformation of grazed woodland herbage to the more permanent *Agrostis-Festuca* grassland characteristic of the Coal Measures. On the other hand, fields with names such as Bryery field, Broome field, and Whinney Knowle may have been those where ill-use had determined take-over by thorny species. The same might be said of 'a close of arable and bushes called Cockland Bushes' (Fig. 6).

Natural meadows characteristically ocurred at low altitudes alongside the rivers, especially the rivers Don and Little Sheath, and streams such as Blackburn Brooke (Figs. 3 and 6). Their character and location were indicated by the frequent incorporation of the word 'Carre' in their names. Cleared of trees and regularly mown for hay with the aftermath grazed, their permanence could be more or less guaranteed by the resultant manuring, by the influx of leachate from the slopes, fresh alluvium in times of flooding, and constant aeration due to the fluctuating water-table. Harrison labels a few such meadows, usually small, as 'intackes'. The most notable lay next to the low-lying Shera

*NOTE. One cannot refrain from mentioning Little Haggas croft (Fig. No. 231, Fig. 8) 'wherein is ye foundaccion of an house or cottage where Robin Hood was borne'.

Moore between Sheffield 'towne fields' (with which they were probably once organisationally associated) and the River Don (Fig. 2). Not all meadows, however, were located alongside streams and rivers. Two were described as 'meadow and wood', the implication being that they had been derived by woodland clearance. Lady Croft and Lawnd Meadows (Fig. 6), on the other hand, probably originated as 'intackes' of Ecclesfield Moore. In such cases, mowing would certainly have been a way to eliminate undesirable species, prevent regeneration of relict floras, and reduce the amount of acid humus in the soil, especially if coupled with liming. Mowing may also have been integrated with grazing, for there were fields of 'meadow and pasture', or have been precursor to arable, since there were dual-use fields of 'meadow and arable'. Thus, of six fields said to have been 'parte of ye Moore' (nos. 403-9, Fig. 6) in Ecclesfield, four were pasture, one was arable, and one was arable + meadow. Conversions of this sort would account for meadows so-called having a form of use in 1637 not implied by their names: Pond Meadow (Fig. 4), for example, was listed as being 'pasture and arable'.

The existence of 'pasture and arable' fields poses the question as to the degree of permanence of the arable fields and pastures. The very frequency with which such fields are mentioned tends to suggest that an established practice of alternate husbandry existed. Apart from this, all that can be said is that in 1637 fields with names such as Wheat Field and Pease field were pastures; that pastures interpolated into furlongs otherwise arable in the 'towne fields' (see below) must have been sown pastures; and that a pasture in Darnall was uniquely referred to as 'lay land' (Fig. 3) while the terms 'lee', 'lease', 'leys' and, most often, 'leas', were widely used in the names of arable fields.

As to the importance of arable as opposed to pastoral farming, even if it could be assessed merely on the basis of the relative extents of arable and grassland, and Harrison had provided all the information necessary respecting these, any conclusion would be confounded by the occurrence of extensive areas of pastureable commons and woodland. The upland Helliwell Farm, for example, at an altitude of around 1000 ft. and with its 21 acres in no less than 13 small fields in which the ratio of arable:pasture:meadow was 4:2:1, presumably had access to the abundant free common of Rivelin Firth (Fig. 5). Similarly, the 69 acres of pasture and 271 acres of pastureable woodland more than counterbalanced the 53 acres of arable at Heslow Farm (Fig. 6) Apart from this, it will be apparent from Figs. 2-8 that Harrison's survey was but a sample of the contryside. In Ecclesfield parish (Fig. 6), for example, Harrison dealt with 3862 acres, only 35 per cent of the whole, and in that part of Southall soake between Ecclesfield and the River Don (Fig. 5) with 1590 acres, 56 per cent of the total acreage. However, the form of use of some of the fields was omitted and there was no indication of the relative areas of the forms of use in dual-use fields. It could certainly be said that, if dual-use fields were halved, the ratio of the areas of arable, pasture, and meadow would be 1.7:1:1 on the basis of this sample. Whether this adds anything to the picture of landscape presented in Fig. 4 is doubtful. Indeed, it tends to distract attention from its underlying heterogeneity and the factors by which this is determined. Hall Carre (Fig. 4), for example, differed from Heslow Farm in that no less than 34 of its 40 acres of grassland were meadow, a reflection no doubt of its location close by the River Don.

The common land. Harrison classified 21363 acres of 38.4 per cent of the parishes of Sheffield, Ecclesfield, and Bradfield as common or 'fre common' in 1637. Above an altitude of about 1100 ft., Wiggtwissle, Cowell, Westnall, and Agden Commons accounted for some 3000 acres. The Firths of Hawkesworth (7917 acres with Dungworth common), Loxley (1518 acres with Loxley Wood), and Rivelin (1332 acres with Stannington wood) totalled 10767 acres. The remainder, lying at altitudes between about 200 and 1100 ft., consisted of land designated 'moore', 'common', or 'greene'. They included Ranmoore, Crookes Moore, Little Sheffield Moore, Sheramoore, and the Hag

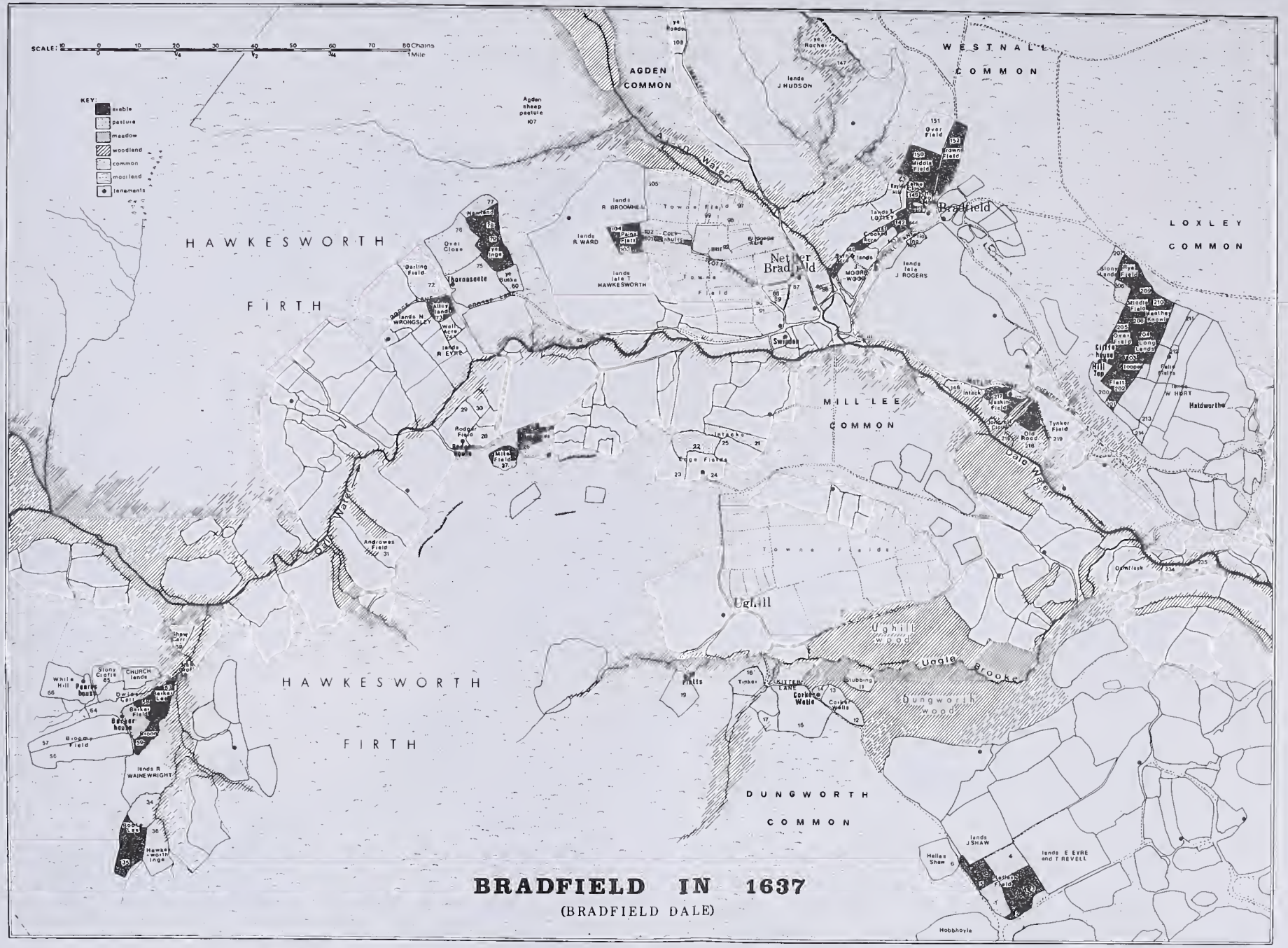

FIG. 7. Bradfield in 1637: Bradfield Dale.

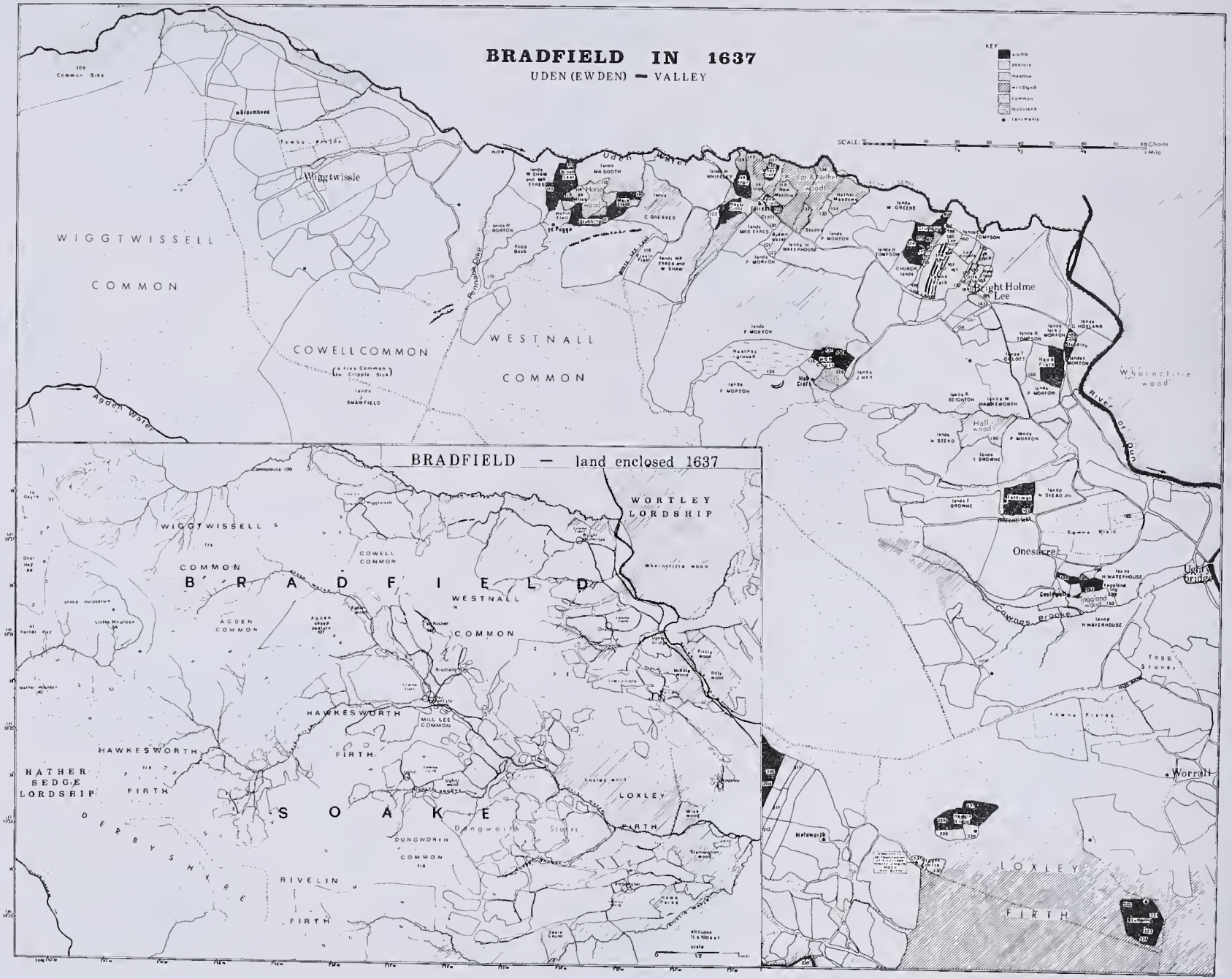

FIG. 8. Bradfield in 1637: Ewden valley.

and Peyhame Banke Commons west of Sheffield; commons in the vicinity of Attercliffe, Darnall, Heeley, and Bradfield; Grana Moore, Ecclesfield Moore, Creswicke Moore, Pitts Moore, and Birley Edge, Birley Carr, Winkoebank, and smaller commons north of the River Don; and over 40 greens of which Shire Greene in the parish of Ecclesfield was the largest and Beacon Greene, at an altitude over 1000 ft., the most elevated (Figs. 2-8).

The commons lying about 1100 ft. were heather moors, patchily patterned with cotton-grass in the wetter places and with bilberry on the drier scree and rock-strewn slopes [10, 19]. Bleaker perhaps, less trodden and well-known than now, and more lonely, free from the effects of air pollution, the heather taller and older: there was probably no large evidence of overgrazing, systematic and periodic burning, and human interference. Not that the opportunity for exploitation did not exist since all the commons were 'fre' or, in the case of Cowall Common, 'free common to ye Cripple Sick' (Fig. 8).

Harrison made no clear distinction between 'commons' and 'moores' lying at altitudes less than 1100 ft. - between, for example, Crookes Moore, Pitts Moore, Attercliffe Common, and Darnall Common (Figs. 2-4) or, more nearly together in Ecclesfield, Birley Carr common and Grana Moore (Fig. 6). Nor was any difference indicated between 'moore' and 'greene' or 'common' and 'greene' - between, for example, Shire greene, Ecclesfield Moore, and Winckoebanke common (Fig. 6). One can only assume, bearing in mind the variations in altitude, soil, slope, and other factors, that with diminishing altitude and distance from centres of population the character of the moors and commons shifted in the direction of grazed heath and intermingled acid grassland. No doubt Harrison was thinking both of them and the upland commons when he said that the Manor was 'furnished with red deare and fallow, with hares and some rowes, with Phesants and great store of Partridges, & moore Game in abundance both black and red, as moore cockes, moore hens & young Pootes upon ye moores'.

As for the 'greenes' and wayside 'commons', they were generally small pieces of land, a sort of intercellular cement between blocks of fields, often conveying the impression of being the residuum of land left by chance when the latter were roughly carved out by unsighted survey from woodland. Traversed by lanes and highways, greens were the social rendezvous of the people who lived on and around them (especially Sembly and Castle greens; Figs. 2-4) and the venues for their outdoor sports (Cockpit green and Newboulde Allie, for example; Fig. 2). It might be supposed that they were much-trodden, often rutted by the wheels of carts, and manured and overgrazed by tethered animals, and by geese (Goose Turd green, for example; Fig. 4). However, this anticipation might have not been realised at Shire Green (Fig. 6) and Beacon Green (Fig. 5), for example, the former perhaps not unlike Ecclesfield Moore and the latter not unlike Dungworth and other upland commons.

VI. AGRICULTURAL LAND SUBDIVISION

There were three major subdivisions of the agricultural land: (i) land described as demesne or 'late parcell of the demesnes'; (ii) 'towne fields'; and (iii) farms and small-holdings.

(i) *Demesne*. Sheffield Manor demesne in 1637 (Fig. 3) included the Great Parke; the Little Parke; fields (nos. 25-34) separated from the Great Parke by the Little Sheath River; 'the Ponds' (no. 45), 'a piece of wast near the horse pit', and the Quarries (nos. 36 and 37); Berrystorth wood (no. 93) and a nearby 8-acre meadow 'in the occupacon of the Widdow Skelton which she hath for wages in regard she is one of the Parke Keepers'; and Redmyers (no. 978, Fig. 5), an outlying reserve for red deer. Despite being listed as demesne, 971 acres of this land were let to tenants-at-will. Why they were not regarded as 'late parcell of the demesnes' by Harrison, therefore, is not quite clear. The latter

19. Tansley, A. G. *The British Isles and their Vegetation*. 1939. C.U.P.

included Coulston Crofts (nos. 496 and 500, Fig. 2) between Sheffield town and the River Don and, across the river, Spittle Farm (nos. 260-267); Aslopp Farm (nos. 58-65) and Pond Meadows west of the Little Sheath River; the Stubbings (nos. 147-151) adjacent to Attercliffe 'towne fields'; and, further on, Forge Meadows (nos. 244-247) beside the River Don (Fig. 3). It also included Fullwood Booth (no. 977, Fig. 5) where the Keeper of Redmyers deer-reserve had his house; Auley Meadows (nos. 1042 and 1043, Fig. 5) in Rivelin Firth, and Holden Farm distant in the upper Derwent valley (inset, Fig. 8). Evidently alienation of parts of the demesne and their subdivision for rent had been in progress for a considerable time. Such parts were chiefly those peripheral to the Great Park, though even there about 650 acres had been let. Despite this, however, one of the main features of the Great Park which continued to set it apart from surrounding land was the large size of its relatively few subdivisions. It was a feature which time would progressively transform.

A radical transformation had already overtaken the demesne and glebe of Ecclesfield Manor and Rectory. Much of it must have been leased if, as Fig. 6 suggests, the distribution of the disconnected pieces of demesne, then in the hands of tenants-at-will, were an indication of them once having been part of a larger demesne which encompassed Ecclesfield town fields. The pieces included land in the vicinity of Ecclesfield Hall and Vicarage (nos. 521-531); Coppin Lands (nos. 534-535) Ye Greaves (nos. 536-537); 'flatts' in the town fields (nos. 538-542); Grub farm (nos. 433-435); land adjacent to Blackburn Brooke (nos. 385-390); and Hadfield farm, a 'late parcell of the demesnes'. The distant Prior and Prior Royd Woods, also included, had no doubt been 'parte of ye demesnes priorry' mentioned in Harrison's rental. About the foundation and fate of Ecclesfield Priory little is known.

(ii) *'Towne fields'*. Differing markedly from their neighbours in the degree and manner of their subdivision, certain fields adjacent to Sheffield, Crookes, Heeley, and Stannington in Sheffield Soake (Figs. 2 and 3), Attercliffe and Darnall in Southall Soake (Figs. 3 and 4) and Bradfield, Brightholme Lee, and Onesacre in Bradfield Soake (Figs. 7 and 8) were designated 'towne fields' by Harrison. Judging from eighteenth-century maps, similar fields would also have existed at Wiggtwissle, Worrall, Wadsley, Ughill, and possibly Dungworth in Bradfield Soake (Figs. 7 and 8). There were three such fields at Attercliffe (Crossgate, Deane, and Parke Fields), Darnall (Near, Middle, and Parke Fields), Chapeltown (Near, Middle, and Far Chappell Fields), and Crookes (North, Thruswell, and Lydgate Fields), but only two at Heeley (Parke and West Fields). There was a three-field system at Ecclesfield, Fairbank referring to St. Michael's, Tunhill, and Shawsick Fields in his survey of 1785.[20] There may have been only one field adjacent to smaller centres of population such as Onesacre and Brightholme Lee. Harrison mentions that Middle Field at Darnall had a 'ring hedge' about it, but apart from this gives no indication as to whether similar fields elsewhere were also enclosed.

After the usual manner of ridge-and-furrow fields, the town fields were demarcated in whole or part into allotments or strips. The arrangement of these varied from the relatively simple at Chapeltown (Fig. 6) to the complex at places like Attercliffe (Figs. 3 and 4). At Attercliffe, the allotments were organised into furlongs, such as Black Acre Furlong, Thorn Acre Furlong, and Turneing furlong, or into 'flatts' such as Partridge Flatt and Claristile Flatt. Any expectancy that the allotments within a furlong of flatt here or elsewhere would be more or less equal in area, unenclosed, and given over to use solely as arable would often have been disappointed in 1637. Indeed, there was widespread evidence that a trend towards the amalgamation of allotments into larger units and their enclosure had been operating for some time. What differed from place to

20. Fairbank, W. general survey of the Manor and Township of Ecclesfield, 1785-6. M. B. 160. Arundel Coll. Sheffield City Library, Dept. Local History and Archives.

place was not its direction, but its pace and extent. At Attercliffe, for example, a pasture called New Close, about 2 acres, lay alongside pieces of arable varying in size from 1/2 - 1 1/4 acres in Black Acre Furlong; New Close, 1 1/2 acres of pasture, and an adjacent piece of pasture, had as neighbours in Claristile Flatt pieces of arable varying between 1/4 and 1 acre in area; a 3 1/4-acre close of arable was part of Thorn Acre Furlong in Parke Field; and Hall Orchard (2 acres) and Hyleywell sick (1 acre) were closes of pasture in Crosgate Field. At Ecclesfield and Chapeltown (Fig. 6) the large arable 'flatts' presumably once bound, like those at Attercliffe, into the three-field systems, must have been enclosed and lost to those systems since they were rented by individuals as single fields. The conversion of Sheffield town fields (Fig. 2) to a system of enclosed fields was more complete. Bespeaking their origin, a few of the latter were still partitioned into allotments let to different tenants. A similar situation existed at Butterthwaite (Fig. 6), but there the linearity of the field boundaries, arrangement of the fields, and persistence of field names such as Ye Furlong, Ingle Doles, Ye Doles, and Short Butts, were all that remained to indicate the location of town fields no longer recognised as such in 1637. Whether places like Mortomley and Lane End, 'townes' in Harrison's parlance, once had towne fields was by no means clear.

The converse of this situation is to seek the site of a town no longer in existence knowing something of the location of its town fields. The original location of the town of Hallun of the Domesday survey is particularly relevant. It was the focus of the district (Hallamshire) believed to have been devastated in a punitive expedition by the Normans. The appearance of certain fields (nos. 813-821) in Fig. 5 attracts attention to a site near Stumperlow. Given the name of Hallam Fields by Harrison, they stand out from surrounding fields by virtue of their relatively large sizes and linearity of their boundaries. Together with similar fields to the west (bounded by Crimeker Lane) from which are separated by a blind field-lane (Mospitt Lane), characteristic of the town fields at Attercliffe and elsewhere, they could well have been Hallam town fields. They stand in the same relationship to Stumperlow and Gold Green that such fields generally did to the towns and greens elsewhere in the manor. They remind one, not only of the situation at Butterthwaite, but also of that (to be discussed elsewhere) at Nether Radford, 18 miles south-east of Sheffield and adjacent to Worksop (Fig. 1) where enclosure of the town fields followed the dissolution of Worksop Priory in 1539.[21] Note also the local names of Burnt Stones and Hell Hole, evocative perhaps of mayhem and destruction; Rivelin Lodge which might have borne the same relationship to a Hallam Park (including parts of Rivelin Firth and Hawe Park) as Manor Lodge did to Sheffield Park (Fig. 3); and the possibility that the Hallam bloomeries occupied the Bole Hills to the west with Ye Coppy in Rivelin valley being the coppice resulting from exploitation of the wood which fuelled them.

There is one further point of interest. Harrison refers certain pieces of land in Darnall to 'Old Towne'. Perhaps the site of Darnall had indeed been moved upstream from an earlier location near Sheffield Park (Fig. 4).

(iii) *Farms and small-holdings*. Distinguishable from Sheffield Park with its relatively few, large subdivisions, and from the 'towne fields' with their multitude of small allotments, most of the agricultural land consisted of fields few of which exceeded 15 acres. Some were between 10 and 15 acres, but most were less than 10 acres (Figs. 2-8). They were mainly grouped into farms or tenements. As to property size, out of 63 such groupings each larger than 20 acres, 26 consisted of between 20 and 50, 22 0f between 50

21. Harrison, J. *Survey of the Mannors of Worksoppe and the Priory*. 1636, W. 26. Sheffield City Library, Dept. Local History and Archives.

and 100, 9 of between 100 and 200, and only 6 of more than 200 acres.* Those exceeding 200 acres, with the exception of Hadfield Farm (Fig. 6), did so by virtue of the inclusion within them of extensive areas of pastureable woodland. With few exceptions, tenements were let to single individuals. On the other hand, 19 of the 27 farms named by Harrison were multiple-tenancies. That some of the latter were the result of a continuing trend towards increasing land subdivision was indicated by the fact that in 1637 they still bore names - Richardson's Farm, Hunter Farm, Horner Farm, and Sikes Farm, for example - recalling only one previous occupant. Tenements too had been partitioned: the 231 acres of Renathorpe Hall amongst 10 tenants to give Hadfield Farme; the 297 acres of Woolley Grange amongst 10 tenants to give Oakes Farm; and the 414 acres of Heslow Hall between 2 tenants to give Heslow Farm. Comparison of the maps presented here with the late 18th century ones by Fairbank shows that after 1637 this trend would continue to be more intensive in tenant-held properties than in those held in the perhaps more-conservative, less-immediately-exploitative hands of freeholders and copyholders. However, in 1637, freehold and copyhold properties such as Broome Hall, Endcliffe Hall, Lydgate Hall, and Fullwood Hall in Sheffield Soake, and Broomehead Hall in the Ewden Valley, were probably little different from one-tenant properties of similar size such as Ecclesfield Hall, Shirtcliffe Hall, Ughtybridge Hall, Southall, and Hall Carre (Figs. 4 and 6).

Apart from fields consolidated into countryside farms and tenements, there were others appendant to such properties, though separated from them and perhaps in different places. In addition, there were fields let to individuals who lived in the towns. The result was a pattern of land occupancy based on the field as a unit in many ways not unlike that existing in the town fields where a person's allotments lay scattered. There were even echoes of the latter system in multiple-tenant farms where the fields allocated to an individual might not be conjoined. It would not be surprising, therefore, to have found in the countryside the same tendency to rationalisation of land occupancy by engrossment, that was then proceeding in the town fields.

The holding of a 'towne' resident could be substantial. Nicholas Staniforth, for example, sharing a tenement and 39 allotments in Darnall town fields (in all about 30 acres) also held in whole or part 20 acres of meadow either side of the River Don. Harrison, however, mentions some 200 individuals with less than 20, 70 of them with less than 5, acres out of a total of 330 tenants. Somewhat arbitrarily, therefore, they could be classified as small-holders though there were some outlying tenements, notably in Bradfield, of less than 20 acres. Small-holdings, however, usually consisted of grassland, meadow more often than pasture, or a field or fields classified by Harrison as (meadow and arable) or (pasture and arable), rarely arable alone. Their occupants, in other words, were largely concerned with stock- rather than arable-husbandry.

VII. THE INDUSTRIES

The industrial future of Sheffield was stamped upon it well before 1637. It had been fashioned out of the abundance of woodland convertible to charcoal and timber; the motive power generated by the fall and vigour of the waters of the River Don and its tributaries; accessible subsurface coal and vicinal ironstone; rocks which provided 'good stones for building and slate stones for tyling and slateing of houses, and course grinding stones for knives and scithes, and also very good Millnstones ... hewen out in Rivelin or stone edge'; 'very good clay for pots and bricks'; and sources of limestone not too far distant.

The method of harnessing the motive power of the River Don and its tributaries to

*NOTE. Holden Farme, its 3245 acres largely outpasture for sheep (inset, Fig. 8), will be considered elsewhere along with other farms in the upper Derwent and Ashop Valleys.

industrial use had little novelty in 1637. Water-wheel power was being manipulated to rotate the grindstones in at least nine corn mills (sometimes called water-mills or greist water-mills by Harrison) and 29 cutlers' works, as well as to raise the hammers in the two forges making wrought-iron. They were but a foretaste of a future which would see the number of wheels increase to 111 by 1794 as a source of power for cotton, paper, glass, snuff, and lead mills, rolling mills and forges.[22] Their effect upon the 'great store of salmon, trouts, chevens, eles, and other small fish' in the river waters in 1637 and upon their tumult, fluctuating flow rates, and quality can only be conjectured.

The wheels, according to Harrison, were 'imployed for the grinding of knives by four or five hundred master workmen'. The products, however, were more diverse since the Act which established the Company of Cutlers in 1624 was 'An Act for the good order and government of the makers of knives, sickles, shears, scissors, and other cutlery wares in Hallamshire'.[1] There must have been wide variation in the size of the operations in view of the fact that the annual rental varied from £2/8*s* p.a., for a cutler wheel in Rivelin Valley to as much as £8/10*s* for one in the Wicker by Lady's Bridge (Fig. 2).

The corn mills were strategically located to act as the focal points for receiving and converting the grain produced in their immediate neighbourhoods: Bradfield, Danflaske (Loxley Valley), Rivelin, Owlerton, Brightside, Attercliffe, Ecclesfield, and two within sight of Sheffield Castle (Fig. 2). Here also the size of the operation must have differed from mill to mill judging from the variation in rent from £6.13*s*.4d. p.a. for Rivelin Mill to £20 p.a. for Attercliffe Mill.

Bloomeries and coal mines had operated in the Sheffield district long before 1637. A charter dated May 1st, 1161,[21] for example, granted permission for the monks of Kirkstede Abbey, to erect and operate four 'forges' on land in Ecclesfield, two for smelting and two for fabricating iron, as well as to dig ore and collect deadwood as fuel to maintain them. The sites of such forges, given their reliance on prevailing winds to secure a forced draught, tended to be exposed hillsides as near as possible to a supply of ore and wood. Such 'bole hills' occurred at Fullwood (Fig. 5), elsewhere in the vicinity of Sheffield (Ecclesall, for example) and throughout N. Derbyshire (near Chatsworth, for example[23]). However, by 1637 the bloomery and its associated string-hearth had been, or were being, replaced by the charcoal blast furnace and the forge producing wrought- or bar-iron. This was some 50 years after the first report that this dual process was operating in Derbyshire, and some 25 years after its existence at six locations in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire had been noted.[24] As evidence of its siting near Sheffield, Harrison mentions the 'White Field where the Furnas stands' near Chapeltown (Fig. 6), and records in the rental that Gilbert Oates paid £4.10*s*. 'for a wheele at Wadsley bridge in Mr. Copley's Iron workes', and that Robert Carr and Humfrey Twigge paid £18 'for the forge wheele put in the Iron Works of Coll. Copleyes'. Hammer grounds and Forge Meadow were names given to fields alongside the River Don (Fig. 4), but Harrison gives no indication that these were 'grounds about Attercliffe Forge' noted in a rental of 1642.[11] Chapeltown furnace may have supplied the Sheffield forges with pig- and sow-iron. If so, then the increased production of iron resulting from the conversion from the bloomery to the blast furnace/forge process would have had to offset the cost of carriage as well as the higher capital expenditure, increased cost of labour, and enhanced charcoal requirement involved.[24] Certainly, between the time of its introduction and the early 18th century when charcoal was replaced successfully by coke in iron-making, the change-over must have accelerated woodland exploitation.

22. Walter-Hall, T. Water-mills and cutlers' wheels on the River Don, Sheffield. *Yorkshire. Descriptive catalogue of Land-Charters and Court-Rolls, etc.* 1930. Sheffield.
23. Senior, W. Map of Edensore and Lees. 1617. Devonshire Collection: Chatsworth.
24. Mott, R. A. Abraham Darby (I and II) and the coal-iron industry. *Trans. Newcomen, Soc.* 31, (1957-8), p. 49-93.

Turning to coal mining, apart from there being Pitts Moore, a Pitt Hill near Darnall, and a close called Pitt Holes in Attercliffe town fields (Fig. 4), Harrison names three adjacent closes at High Greene and one close at Butterthwaite 'wherein there are coale-pits' (Fig. 6). Output from such mines was perhaps too small to warrant them being separately listed as assets contributing to 'ye profitts of Hallamshire'. Not so the coal-pits in White Lane, Cowley, for which Zachary Parkin was paying £10 p.a. and at Mortomley, for which Edward Wingfield and Thomas Ragge were paying £40 p.a. However, the coal-pits in Sheffield Park were even more important. An account book for them over the 3 ½-year period July 1579 to December 1582 shows that an average of 1200-1300 tons of coal per annum had been raised for a nett profit of £239.15*s*.1½*d*. One of the pits, being well-established in 1579, must have been worked long before that.[25] Possibly these coal-pits were the same as those which Harrison locates in Heeley side (Fig. 3). However, prospecting to find workable seams elsewhere in the Park must have been active, a steward's account dated 1636[26] recording £8.19*s*.6*d*. being allowed 'for moneys disbursed about the newe cole mine in the Parke Hill Topp and thereabouts, more than the profitts of the coales there came this last yeare'. That production was on the increase in 1637 and later might account for the vigour with which the woodlands were being exploited for 'punch-wood' (see above). It was certainly sufficient for Francis More in 1642 to be paying £200 p.a. for 'colepitts in Sheffield Parke' which yielded an annual profit of only £166.14*s*.5*d*. in 1637.[11]

How far coal had gone to replacing peat, turf, wood, and charcoal as the major source of domestic and industrial heat in 1637 is unknown. Since there were peat pits on Crookes Moore (Fig. 2), and a 'peate house' or 'turfe house' was an appurtenance of tenements in Stannington and Bradfield, coal use was probably confined to Sheffield town and other points close to the centres of production. As examples of such local use, Stephen Bright, bailiff, and his subordinate, John Staniforth, each received '8 loads of coale' as a supplement to his annual income. Francis More, one-time supervisor and then tenant-in-possession of the pits in Sheffield Park, was paid £8.16*s*. in 1642 for 'coles to ye Castle and Mannor and for the kilnes in Sheffield'.[15] Apart from the kilns (drying or lime-kilns), coal may have been used in the six tannery operations mentioned by Harrison, the walke mill by the River Don (Fig. 3), and in baking, brewing, brick- and tile-making, dyeing, and perhaps glass making. Its traditional use, however, was as coke. There were six smithies in Sheffield and at least twenty others not far distant on the hearths of which coal might have been 'blowid and waterid'[27] to produce coke, coke being coal 'corrected for the sulphury nature'.[28]

VIII. HOUSING AND SOCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

Sheffield in 1637 was a market-town sufficiently large and important to hold a market twice a week and a fair twice a year; to have a Court Barron meet one every three weeks and a Court Leet twice a year; to be the centre where juries were impanelled for the town, Handsworth, and for the soakes of Sheffield, Southall, Ecclesfield, and Bradfield; and to see assembled on Sembly Green every Easter (Sembly) Tuesday 'at ye least one hundred thirty nine horsemen, with horse and harnesse provided by ye free Holders, Coppy Holders & other tenants, & to appeare before the Lord of this Mannor or ye Steward of his courts to be viewed by them, & for ye confirmeing of ye Peace of our Soveraigne Lord the King'. As participants in and witness of these events there were probably around 3500 townsfolk, that is, about ten times the number of individuals Harrison

25. Stone, L. An Elizabethan coal-mine (Sheffield Park, Yorks). *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd Ser. III, 1 (1950-51).
26. Hunter, J. *Hallamshire*. 1819. p. 117.
27. Leland, J. *Itinerary Wales*. 1536-9. Ed. L. T. Smith. London. 1906. p. 60.
28. Patent grant to J. Thornborough, *Cal. S.P. Dom., 1581-90* p. 682.

identifies by name as living in or near the town. This figure is not inconsistent with there being 2207 residents listed in a survey made in 1615.[29]

The town itself was dominated by 'an ancient faire castle ... mounted upon a little hill' overlooking the confluence of the rivers Don and Little Sheath (Fig. 2). To be laid in ruins in 1648 by Cromwell's edict, the castle was then 'fairly built of stone and very capacious', contained 'divers buildings and lodgings about an inward court', and had on the south side 'an outward court or fould builded round with divers houses of office as an armoury, a granary, barnes, stables, and divers lodgings'. Castle green, an Irish cross upon it, was separated from the Castle by a 'great ditch'. In the adjoining market-place there were the stalls and standings of the Butchers' Shambles, the Bull Stake,[30] the town Bakehouse, and at least 17 shops. The shops were let at between 6*s*8*d* and 18*s*, but usually at more than 13*s*4*d*, a year. The longest-established may have been the five in the hands of members of the Skargell family, one member a mercer and one a butcher.[26] Taverns there were likely to have been, but Harrison merely mentions a 'parlour' as being near Lady's bridge, as were the Almshouses accommodating 'four poore women'. All were within sight and sound of the water-wheel powering the corn mill at Mill Sands. The town's second corn mill operated beside the Little Sheath River. Three houses with tan-offices and tanyards stood further downstream no doubt drawing water from, and discharging tannery effluent into, that river. Within the town itself, the Town Hall fronting High Street (Prior Bar Gate re-named), and the Church set well back from Church Lane, were the most prominent buildings. Under the Town Hall there were 11 shops, larger perhaps than those in the Shambles since their rents were somewhat higher (14*s* to 28*s*). The Free School House, close to the outskirts of the town, lay near the junction of five lane-ends marked by an Irish cross.

Harrison refers to some 20 of the houses in the town as dwelling houses and to about 100 as cottages, but gives little indication of their variety. Proximity to Sheffield Park quarries might suggest that some, if not all, were largely or partly stone-built possibly with slate or tile roofs. However, since the cottages were let for sums varying from 6*d* to 40*s* a year, they must have differed in size and condition. This is borne out by the fact that there were 'little cottages'; that some were free-standing, but there were instances of 2, 3 or 4 cottages being 'under one roofe'; that some had a 'backside', one a 'stable backside', built at the rear; that 6 of the 18 cottages let in High Street, and 3 others elsewhere in the town, had a smithy attached; and that a barn, hayhouse, cowhouse, stable, or swine hull might be included in the cottage rent. Cottages under one roof were either let separately (three such at 2*s*, 12*s*4*d*, and 16*s*, a year, for example) or let to (and presumably sub-let by) one person only. Overcrowding was probably more widespread than is indicated by the fact that one cottage was let in the names of 3, and another of 4, tenants. The cottages were most likely one-, perhaps two-, at best three-roomed. Some, but not all, had gardens next to them. However, there were also gardens let at between 8*d* and 3*s*4*d* a year at various places apart from cottages. At Mill Sands (Fig. 2), for example, there were more than 20, and on the far side of the River Don, alongside the Wicker highway and Sembly green, as many more. Richard Webster, no doubt a market-gardener, held 7 of the latter, plus 3 other gardens by Barker's Pool in the town. Not only gardens, but midden steads were let: there were two at Mill Sands and one in High Street. As for dwelling houses, as distinct from cottages, there were one or two which Harrison regards as 'fairely built' or well-built. He says little else save that 2 tenements included a dwelling house and 3 cottages, and that 1 had a smithy, 1 a malthouse, 1 a 'kitchin', and 1 a beasthouse.

Beyond Sheffield town, the most substantial buildings were the Manor Lodge (Fig. 3),

29. Hunter, J. *Hallamshire*. London, 1819. p. 117.
30. Everitt, A. *Agrarian History of England and Wales*. Vol. IV, Chapt. VIII. p. 481. C.U.P. 1967.

'fairely built with stone and timber with an inward and outer court, 2 gardens, and 3 yards' and the churches and vicarages at Ecclesfield and Bradfield. Harrison noted the 'scite of the Spittle with a barne onely' as being in Spittle Croft behind Sembly green though it was not until 1666, on another site, that 'an hospitall ... for perpetuall maintenance of twenty poore persons' was founded under the will of the Earl of Shrewsbury, made in 1616.[31] However, he makes no mention of Attercliffe Chapel (founded in 1629, dedicated in 1636, and the focus of a chapelry of about 250 families by 1649)[32], nor of a school house in Ecclesfield parish despite there being a Schoolhouse Lane (Fig. 6).

Concerning houses, there were many towns smaller than Sheffield; Ecclesfield, Chapeltown, Mortomley, Potter Hill, and Butterthwaite in Ecclesfield Soake (Fig. 6); Grimesthorpe, Brightside, Bridgehouses, Attercliffe, and Darnall in Southall Soake (Fig. 4); Crookes, Owlerton (Fig. 2), Stumperlow, Fullwood (fig. 5), and Heeley (Fig. 3) in Sheffield Soake; and, in Bradfield Soake, Wigtwissle, Brightholme Lee, Onesacre, Worrall, Wadsley, Ughill, Nether Bradfield, and Bradfield itself (Figs. 7 and 8). Most houses noted by Harrison, however, were scattered about the countryside, the cottages often on or about the many greens. There were, for example, 17 cottages at Goose Turd green next to Darnall Brooke (Fig. 4) for which the annual rents varied from 6d for one newly built to between 12d and 11s for the others. Unlike most of the cottages, the majority of the tenements or farm houses had 2 or 3 rooms, though in Ecclesfield parish there were a number (Ughtybridge Hall, Southall, and Foxhill, for example; Fig. 6) with 4. For a house to have more than 4 rooms was exceptional: one in Bradfield had 8, while Heslow Hall, 'moated round', and Wardsend had 5 and 7 respectively. Harrison gives no indication as to the size of Ecclesfield Hall (Fig. 6) and Shirtcliffe Hall (Fig. 4) which one might have expected to be amongst the largest houses in the district: Shirtcliffe Hall merely had an 'ancient chappell', barn, oxhouse, orchard, and yards, while Ecclesfield Hall, apart from orchard, garden, and yards, had outhouses 'some in decaye and some fallin down'. Such a phrase conjures up a picture of dereliction not dispelled by the fact that the 'scite of ye Mannor of Couley called Couley Hall (Fig. 6) was occupied by a 2-roomed house, a cowhouse, and a hayhouse. The crowding of families into farmhouses divided into tenements, commented upon by Arthur Young[33] at a much later date, was not uncommon judging from the fact that the buildings of Renathorp Hall were let to 4 tenants as were those of Woolley Grange (Fig. 6). Holme House farm (Fig. 6) and Helliwell farm (Fig. 5) buildings were also shared and, in Bradfield, those of the farms called Fairest (Fig. 8) and Corker Walls (Fig. 7).

The list of outbuildings and additions to various tenement dwelling houses was extensive: barn, hayhouse, wainhouse, cowhouse, beasthouse, exhouse, stable, malthouse, smithy, tann office or tannhouse, backhouse, kitchen, parlour, peathouse, turfhouse, woodhouse, kiln, and shop. As a pointer to widely differing living conditions, one might compare Ughtybridge Hall (Fig. 6) with upland tenements such as Lingfield west of Sheffield (Fig. 5). The former, one of the several more substantial tenements in Ecclesfield and Southall Scakes, comprised 'dwelling house (4 bayes), beasthouse (2 bayes), barne (3 bayes), oxehouse (3 bayes), heyhouse (1 baye), wainehouse (2 bayes), kilne (1 baye), fould, two orchards, and a garden'. Lingfield tenement, on the other hand, consisted of a dwelling house and hayhouse 'under one roofe' held by one tenant and a dwelling house, two hayhouses, and a stable let to another tenant. Nearby farms with dwelling house and barn and/or hayhouse, perhaps even a cowhouse, under the same roof, were not unusual Of outhouses, the possession of an

31. Hunter, J. *Hallamshire*. London, 1819. p. 76.
32. Hunter, J. *Hallamshire*, London, 1819. p. 240-1.
33. Young, A. *Annals of Agriculture*. (1784-1815). Vol. 36, p. 115.

oxhouse (and, therefore, presumably a plough-team) and wainhouse were reserved to relatively large, fairly widely separated, properties. To have a barn and/or hayhouse was well-nigh general and there were at least 14 tenements with smithies. Not unexpectedly there were more tenements with cowhouses than beasthouses, and not a few with a stable. Harrison makes some mention of kitchen, parlour, and backhouse being parts of houses in Southall and Ecclesfield Soakes. Fuel stores under cover of a peat- or turf-house were pecular to tenements in Stannington and Bradfield; the woodhouse mentioned was part of the tannery complex at Wardsend (Fig. 6); and, of the four shops, one was in Ecclesfield while the other three were included in the buildings of the widely separated tenements of Thornseate in Bradfield (Fig. 7), Clowfield near Crookes (fig. 2), and Crosse House by Grana Moor (Fig. 6).

Given the above background, one must return to Sheffield for a comment on the social circumstances existing. Over a year, the income being received into the Castle from the Manors of Sheffield, Ecclesfield, and Cowley was £3778 derived almost entirely from rents, local taxes, and fines. The bulk (£3048) came from land and house rents, only £108 of it from freeholders and copyholders. The remainder came from rents paid by the operators of the cutler wheels and corn mills; 'hollin rents'; commutation of tithes; sale of windfall wood and tree roots for charcoal; sale of coal from Sheffield Park and rent for agistment of animals therein; 'delph hire'; heriots; charges on owners to repossess strays; fines imposed by the courts for misdemeanours; and charges relating to the holding of markets and fairs. Outgoings (£244) included payments to 'his Majestyes Receiver' at York and Nottingham, the Vicar of Sheffield, the Clerk of the church, annuities to two individuals and allowances to four others, a contribution to the almshouses, and the wages of the bailiff, his man, the sub-bailiff, the keeper of Sheffield Park Lodge, the Castle armourer, the supervisor of the Lord's mills and coal pits, and the 9 keepers of the various woodlands and game reserves. As background to the scenario conjured up by this balance sheet, one must imagine the circumstances of townspeople who, in 1615,[29] were classified as:

725 which are not able to live without the charity of neighbours. These are all begging poore.

100 householders which relieve others. These (though the best sorts) are but poore artificers: among them there is not one which can keepe a teame on his own land, and not above tenn who have grounds of their owne that will keepe a cowe.

160 householders, not able to relieve others. These are such (though they beg not) as are not able to abide the storm of one fortnight's sickness, but would be thereby driven to beggary.

1222 children and servants of the said householders: the greatest part of which are such as live on small wages, and are constrained to worke sore, to provide them necessaries'.

Sheffield in 1637, one might suppose, was not very different.

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TEMPERANCE AND CLASS IN BRADFORD: 1830-1860

By
LILIAN LEWIS SHIMAN

It is no historical accident that the temperance movement arose in the nineteenth century. It was one of many social reforming causes such as anti-slavery, evangelical religion, factory reform and public education-which were contemporaneous and overlapping: many members of one were also members of others. It was, like the others, a movement that was concerned with the welfare of the emerging working classes, attempting to mitigate the social dislocation caused by the industrial development of Britain. Temperance was a middle-class movement in those early days, supporting missionary work among the lower classes and sponsoring learned lectures on topics related to the evils of intemperance. They saw no wrong in the drinking of wines and ales in moderation; it was spirituous liquor that was proscribed. So temperate was this early movement towards drink, that many wine merchants and maltsters were members of their local temperance societies.

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The first temperance society to be founded in England was established in Bradford by a local merchant, Henry Forbes, who on a visit to his native city of Glasgow had been introduced to a temperance society and its work. Impressed by what he had seen, the merchant on his return home called a meeting to organize a temperance society. To this meeting only five persons came, but by its second year the Bradford Temperance Society had pledged 580 members.[1]

Much of the initial success of the Bradford Temperance Society was due to the support it was given by citizens of the commercial and professional classes. Chaired by a prominent Justice of the Peace, the Society's governing committee could boast of a number of religious ministers, of all denominations, as well as medical doctors and merchants as members.[2] Many of these early supporters of the Bradford Temperance Society would later become well-known in philanthropic and political circles. Henry Forbes, the Scottish founder was not the only member to become Mayor of Bradford.

The Society devoted much of its resources to sponsoring publications that supported the temperance reforms.[3] Regular meetings were also held to promote the principles of temperance and, with so many medical doctors on its committee, it is not surprising that there were many attempts by the Society to get the local medical community to desist from prescribing spirits to their patients. A visiting committee was also formed to "wait" on shopkeepers, to persuade them to stop giving spirits to their customers.[4] In 1837 the Society built its own hall, the first Temperance Hall in England, which became a centre for the anti-drink movement in the area.

Other temperance societies quickly appeared all over England, but despite their increasing numbers, the movement did not seem effective in stemming the rising tide of

1. Bradford Temperance Society, *Annual Report*, June, 1832.
2. Burns, Dawson, *Temperance History*, Volume I, pp. 41-42, and "Historical Survey of the Bradford Temperance Society" lecture given by George Field, December 19, 1897, and published as a tract.
3. In the first year 122,150 copies of 20 different anti-drink tracts were circulated by the Society. (Field).
4. Burns, p. 42.

drunkenness. Many temperance supporters reexamined the premises on which their movement was based and found them wanting. A new demand arose for the elimination of all intoxicating drinks from the diet of the temperance supporters. This new principle, called teetotalism, was introduced and supported by Lancashire working men in the 1830's. After bitter conflicts throughout England between middle-class moderation supporters and working-class teetotalers, the teetotal pledge eventually superseded the old moderation pledge in all the established temperance societies, with the result that the majority of societies lost much of their middle-class support.

Teetotal temperance societies differed not only in principles from their middle class predecessors but also in activities. For the working-class teetotalers the movement was a vehicle for the realization of their self help aspirations: in the 1840's the coming together of temperance and labor spawned a myriad of working-class self-help groups throughout England. Some were simply working men's teetotal societies but there were others that joined the principles of total abstinence to political, economic or religious principles.

Bradford did not escape from this conflict, though there was not at first an open breach between the moderationists and the teetotalers. In fact an attempt was made to make a compromise that would allow all members to coexist within the one society; the members choosing which pledge to support but both, moderation and teetotal, being treated with equal merit. But the Bradford teetotalers were unhappy with this situation and agitated for a complete commitment to teetotalism by all members of the Bradford Temperance Society. Eventually this was done but it led to a number of the middle-class members leaving the society claiming they wanted to get away from 'chartists, socialists and catholics.'[5] However, enough of the old leaders and members remained within the Society to allow a continuity in its leadership which retained its ties to the Bradford establishment.

Just when it seemd that the battles were over and the movement could settle down and concentrate on its fight against intemperance, a new demand arose that required a still more radical revision of principles. The original teetotal pledge rejected the use of any alcoholic beverages, but now this was not enough: a further commitment to neither take nor offer nor use any intoxicants for medicinal or religious purposes was demanded. This new pledge, called the long-pledge, quickly found favour in working-class circles while the original teetotal pledge, now called the short-pledge, remained popular with the middle-class reformers.

Bradford again, like many other societies, was projected into this pledge battle, but unlike some societies the Bradford Temperance Society retained the short pledge and also its middle-class control. The Bradford working class teetotalers, seeking a medium for their own ambitions, were forced to create their own organization.

The Bradford Long Pledge Teetotal Association

In 1843 a group of teetotal woolcombers left the Bradford Temperance Society and founded a new association which they called the Bradford Long Pledge Teetotal Association.[6] Woolcombers were originally the aristocrats of the textile working force in Bradford. A highly skilled trade, learned after many years of apprenticeship and practise, woolcombing harboured an elite class of workers. But by the 1840's their skills were replaced by machines and the wool-combers were reduced to being mere machine operators, no different from any other mill worker. They were mostly ambitious men who had raised themselves up the economic and social ladder through their own efforts. Now they sought another outlet for their talents, one that would give them some

5. Field and Bradford Temperance Society, *14th Annual Report*, 1848.
6. Copy of the Mortgage with the names and occupations of the mortgages has been preserved.

standing in their community to help replace their lost position in the textile world.

In the beginning the Bradford Long Pledge Teetotal Association's relations with the Bradford Temperance Society were very cool. The long-pledged teetotalers could not use the Temperance Hall because the hall was strictly for "nonpolitical, nonsectarian and noncontroversial"[7] purposes and hence "unavailable" for the many working class activities popular in the 1840's. Nor would chapels and churches at this time allow nonsectarian temperance meetings on their premises.[8] After much effort a room was found in the middle of the town which proved to be a good centre for the group. Within two years the new organization claimed a membership of 2,500, some of whom were said to be reclaimed drunkards.[9]

The Bradford Long Pledge teetotalers strongly identified themselves with working-class life. 'We must not forget those of our own Class, those who have hard to Labour, and some at very unremunerative branches of industry', recorded the official historian of the group.[10] They were aggressive, supporting fully the principle of self-help for the working classes. Perhaps it was this forceful independence that caused the growth of hostility towards them from other segments of the population. Eventually this antagonism led to their eviction from their meeting room and forced a search for a new home. This experience made these teetotalers anxious to have a more secure base, less dependent on the mercy of landlords who were responsive to popular pressures. Therefore, the Bradford Long Pledge Teetotal Association decided to build their own hall.

After much hard and difficult fund raising efforts these reformers managed to raise the money to build a large plain stone building in the centre of the town. A substantial mortgage was raised to supplement the £1 shares sold to members who could afford them. The opening of this hall on 9 December, 1846, was a great occasion for the Bradford working men, who now had a centre for their activities, both temperance and nontemperance. (No drink was ever allowed on its premises.)[11]

As a regular part of the activities at the Teetotal Hall (as it was called—Temperance Hall being the name of the other temperance centre)—public meetings were held on Sunday and Monday evenings. Sometimes these gatherings would include talks on temperance and allied topics but often subjects of general working-class interest would predominate. Among the temperance groups that met at the hall was a Rechabite tent, a teetotal friendly and benefit society. A branch of the Band of Hope, the juvenile temperance organization, was established but it did not prosper and was disbanded. Perhaps its failure was due to the lack of females in the Bradford teetotal association: women played an important part in the activities of the Band of Hope and their absence would be felt particularly among younger children.[12]

While the Long Pledge Teetotal Association does not appear to have formally excluded women, none were members. Neither does there seem to have been any

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7. Dominated by middle-class men who were active in the political and religious life of the town, the Society had to avoid any taint of favouring controversial causes, and most working-class activities in the 1840's were suspect.
8. Field.
9. "History of the Bradford Long Pledged Association" anonymous and handwritten. Sheets from this history were inserted into one of the minute books and there preserved until the present day. They were written by a member and tell of the early experiences of the group. (Unfortunately in the last ten years the first few sheets have disappeared but now the rest have been firmly attached to the minute book.)
10. *Ibid.*
11. See "Proceedings at the Opening of the Long Pledged Teetotal Hall, December 9, 1846" printed as a tract. See also reports in the *Bradford and Wakefield Observer,* 10 December, 1846.
12. For more information about this juvenile organization, see L. L. Shiman "The Band of Hope Movement: Respectable Recreation for Working Class Children", *Victorian Studies,* Volume XVII, No. 1, September, 1974.

women's auxiliary (which were quite common in temperance circles at this time). The only mention of women in their records is a brief note regarding the setting up of a Female Educational Institute in the 1850's.[13]

Among the non-temperance groups utilizing the facilities of Teetotal Hall was a Ragged School. Organized and supported by Quakers in Bradford, this school claimed an attendance of 120 children. Another school renting space at Teetotal Hall was a dancing school. It was more controversial. Along with a religious group who rented space for "Christian worship", it caused dissension among the teetotalers and eventually both were denied a place at the Hall.

Although nontemperance, the politically active Chartists used the Hall for their activities, sponsoring lectures and entertainments to raise funds. The Long Pledgers also donated money to the Chartists Defence Fund, and in 1851 they hired a leading local Chartist as their temperance agent.[14] Two sick societies arranged to make the Hall their headquarters, as did the woolcombers, along with other nontemperance groups. Space was also rented for occasional lectures and meetings of different kinds. Robert Owen, the millowner and socialist, and William Booth, the missionary, both gave lectures at the Hall, as did G. T. Holyoake, the secularist. But one great coup for the Long Pledgers was getting Charles Dickens to give a reading of his works under their sponsorship. So impressed was the writer by the teetotalers and the audience that he not only returned their fee, but also paid his own expenses.[15] Phrenology, spiritualism, phonography and memory were only some of the topics featured at the Hall.

From the beginning the Long Pledge teetotalers' major focus was on the expansion of learning among the working classes. As soon as their Hall opened, a Free Thought Reading Room was established for the use of members and non-members alike. In 1849 a Reading Room Discussion Society was formed which met every Monday evening to discuss topics of general interest. Four years later, after much discussion, the teetotalers decided to organize an adult Educational Institute, to offer courses in reading, writing, arithmetic and history as well as classes in literature, poetry, and choral music. The skills taught by the institute were intended to improve not only the vocational position of its members but also the quality of their lives. It was for men only. While this venture did have some prominent sponsors, the organization and operation of the Institute, like that of the Association itself, was kept in the hands of its working-class leaders.[16] They believed working men could control their own fate and, in order to ameliorate their position in society, they needed *self* improvement. Like many other working-class temperance organizations, the Bradford Long Pledge Association enjoyed the long-time loyalty of a few dedicated members.

Managing money was a problem for the Bradford teetotalers, as it was for many other working-class organizations. Whether due to incompetence or to outright larceny, many of these groups suffered financial losses. In Bradford the treasurer of the Educational Institute disappeared owing money and could not be traced.[17] Other agents appointed to solicit funds for the association did not turn over the monies collected to the Association. But balancing out some of these difficulties was the great generosity shown the

13. *Minutes* of the Educational Institute. The "females" had their own class that met every Thursday evening and later had their own Female Committee. Little information has survived regarding this group, but it does not appear to have been very successful.
14. *Minute Book* and *Treasurers Book*.
15. "Charles Dickens Helps the Teetotalers" by A. H. Robinson, *Band of Hope Chronicle*, November-December, 1974. (The visit took place 27 December, 1854.)
16. The Educational Institute was admitted into membership of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics Institutes in 1854. Malcolm Collins, *Drink, Temperance and Prostitution in Victorian Bradford*, (M.A. thesis University of Leeds).
17. *Treasurers Book*, 1855.

Association and its Institute by their own members. When times were bad they dug into their own slender pockets and helped tide them over.[18]

One very important source of funds for all temperance societies in Bradford in the late 1840s and early 1850s was the annual Whitsuntide Gala, organized and supported by all the anti-drink groups in the town. Originally established to offer inexpensive drink-free entertainment for all the family, it proved to be very popular and the small admission fees charged accumulated into considerable sums which were then divided among the sponsoring societies. In 1850 30,000 visitors to the Gala enriched the temperance movement in Bradford by £265, of which £85 went to the Long Pledge Association.[19] Eventually the success of these galas caused them to be noticed by other organizations who took them over and ran them for their own benefit. Consequently, the temperance movement in Bradford suddenly lost this valuable source of funds.

However, by the time the Bradford temperance societies were faced with this great financial loss they were suffering another, far graver, setback. The temperance movement throughout England was experiencing a great decline in popular interest. Both the Bradford Temperance Society and the Bradford Long Pledge Association were suffering from a loss of support both in membership and in other finances apart from the gala. The second half of the 1850s was a time of great crisis for both organizations and joint meetings between the two were held to see if some amalgamation between them could be worked out. In the early 1850s meetings between officials of the two groups had taken place to deal with matters of mutual interest—such as the organization of a national temperance conference in Bradford in 1856. Now with both their situations being undermined through this lack of popular support it was felt that one healthy non-sectarian temperance society in the town was better than two ailing ones.[20] But nothing came of these meetings. The work and ideology of the middle-class Temperance Society was not compatible with the views and styles of the working-class Long Pledge Association. There was a wide class difference in both outlook and activities that could not be bridged.

In 1860 the British Temperance Association, the national northern-based teetotal association, of which both Bradford organizations were members, was so disturbed by the low ebb of the cause in the birth-place of the English movement that it sent one of its most successful agents to the town to see if he could revive its enthusiasm for temperance.[21] Nothing came of his efforts. The Long Pledgers earlier looking for support outside their association had looked not to the other Bradford society but to other working-class teetotal organizations in the county. (In 1847 they had called a meeting to form a British Long Pledged Teetotal League and while many representatives from working-class teetotal groups throughout the north had attended, nothing permanent had been attained.)[22]

By 1860 neither Bradford societies could pay the mortgages on their halls. The Bradford Temperance Hall, the first in the nation, was saved for the cause through a large donation by a local brewer. But Teetotal Hall had no such reprieve and had to be sold. Both societies were formally dissolved in 1860 and the Bradford United Temperance Society organized to take their place.

We do not know how enthusiastic the Long Pledge teetotalers were about this new Bradford Temperance Union; they do not mention it in their books. But we do know

18. *Treasurers Book,* September, 1859.
19. *Annual Report,* Bradford Long Pledge Association, 1850.
20. Other temperance societies had been formed that were connected to churches and chapels in Bradford. Most of them were locally orientated and were not connected with any larger body but some were affiliated with the various "unions" that abounded at this time.
21. *Minutes,* General Purposes Committee, British Temperance Association, 27 November, 1860.
22. *Peoples Temperance Journal,* January, 1847.

that the union did not last very long. In 1867 the working-class teetotalers decided to set up once again their own association and with the help of a prominent Quaker philanthropic family, the Priestmans, The Bradford Working Men's Teetotal Association was formed and acquired a new Teetotal Hall in a cheaper part of town.[23] The following year, 1868, the Bradford Temperance Union was dissolved and the original Bradford Temperance Society revived.

After two decades of decline, the temperance movement in England, and in Bradford, began to revive but this time the middle class was once again in charge. Gospel temperance, as it was called, linked religion with total abstinence, and the ultimate goal was the salvation of the souls of its members.[24]

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The temperance movement of the 1840s and 1850s, viewed from a historical perspective, was a deviation from the major flow of anti-drink reform, contrasting with the earlier and later movement. When ambitious, upwardly mobile working men 'captured' the movement, they caused the disaffection of most of the religious and middle-class support for temperance. One question we ask here is why the temperance movement became the umbrella under which so many educational and self help activities sheltered in the 1840s, and then was rejected in the 1880s and 1890s. The answer to this can be found in the changed attitudes of the working class between these two periods. In the earlier decade many workers, believing it was possible to work their way up the ladder of success, found that temperance societies provided the type of support they needed. Emphasizing self control and individual betterment, not only in the matter of drink but also in other related endeavours (thrift, reliability, cleanliness, etc.) the teetotal movement drew together like-minded individuals and linked them in a value system compatible with their beliefs and ambitions. But for the greatest number of workers success proved to be elusive. Publicizing the achievements of the few only served to remind the many of their failure. Most were no farther ahead than when they joined the movement. Thus disillusion set in. Both drinkers and teetotalers among the working class came to realize that the individual working man could not attain the success he sought through his own efforts. Slowly it came to be recognized that what was needed was a change in the system, not in the individual. Individual self-improvement, that great doctrine of the mid-nineteenth century English industrial classes, of which the Bradford Long Pledge Teetotal Association was a good example, was pushed aside and replaced with the tenets of Collectivism. Bradford working men in the 1880s made Bradford 'the leading centre of labour politics in the industrial north.'[25] In 1891 the Bradford Labour Union was established and two years later the Independent Labour Party, a thoroughly working-class organization, whose leaders were committed to teetotalism as well as to collectivism, was organized in Bradford.

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23. Field.
24. For more about this movement, see L. L. Shiman, "The Blue Ribbon Army: Gospel Temperance in England", *The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Volume 1, No. 4, December, 1981.
25. Ensor, Robert, *England 1870-1914*, The Oxford History of England (1936), pp. 221-222.

WEST RIDING AMUSEMENT PARKS AND GARDENS

By the late DOUGLAS TAYLOR

One of the features of West Riding leisure life which has virtually ceased to exist is the Amusement Park, popular in late Victorian and Edwardian times and even up to the outbreak of the Second World War. Only three remain out of a former twelve, and they are far from being typical of the genre. Roundhay Park, Leeds, and Lister Park, Bradford, are municipally owned, and Shipley Glen is more of a complex made up of several businesses and attractions owned by different people. The typical pleasure park, such as Sunny Vale, Hipperholme, was owned by an individual, a family, or a company. Usual features were helter-skelters, fun palaces, miniature railways, halls of mirrors giving distorted images, band concerts, dancing, and firework displays. The roller skating craze was at its zenith during the vogue of the amusement park, and most had a rink. Balloon ascents on special occasions were very popular, with parachute descents as a bonus. A lake was an almost guaranteed passport to success, the common formula being rowing boats and a pleasure launch making circumnavigations with fare-paying passengers. If the lake was stocked with fish for angling to take place, so much the better.

Two establishments have not been included owing to paucity of information about them. Gibson Mill, deep in the heart of the Hardcastle Crags Valley near Hebden Bridge, was built about 1800. When textile production ceased in 1902 it was converted for catering and amusements, one floor being made into a restaurant with roller skating in the weaving shed and dancing elsewhere in the building. Some of these features continued until the 1950s and catering continues on a very limited scale in a cottage hard by the mill. At one time there was also boating on the adjoining mill dam. Golden Acre Park, the last amusement park in the West Riding, was on the Otley Road at the former Leeds city boundary just past the Parkway Hotel, and flourished for a time before the Second World War. The park closed as a commercial venture in *c.* 1937. There was a lake and a pagoda. It is now a municipal park and the lake is approximately 2½ acres in extent.

It is not difficult to advance reasons for the demise of the pleasure park—more and more individual transport with greater affluence and extended outings, changing social habits, and foreign holidays with consequent wider horizons. Nevertheless, those of us who can recall Hope Bank, Sunny Vale, Halifax Zoo, or Lofthouse Park do so with nostalgic pleasure. Our enjoyment was probably heightened because we visited them in childhood or adolescence when judgment is not too sophisticated or matured by experience. Distance—in time—too, probably lends enchantment.

LEEDS ZOOLOGICAL AND BOTANICAL GARDENS, LEEDS

The Leeds Zoological and Botanical Gardens, designed in 1838 by William Billington, an engineer and architect, opened on 8th July, 1840 with the object of "providing recreation for the people" and to provide "elevated pastimes for the operative classes and to wean them from the grosser pursuits and offer an inducement to spend their hours of leisure in the pure breeze of the country air"—typically smug, improving Victorian sentiments. The gardens were originated by a company of shareholders and the site was part of what had been the Earl of Cardigan's estate.

On the opening day the band of the 4th Royal Irish Dragoon Guards played selections of music and there was to have been a balloon ascent, a popular Victorian spectacle, but

this did not materialise owing to a failure of gas supply and unfortunate rents in the fabric. Despite this disappointment, some 2,000 people visited the Gardens on the inaugural day.

The design for the Gardens by William Billington, assisted in groundwork by Edward Davies, Botanist and Landscape Gardener, a copy of which survives in the Leeds Reference Library, shows the following projected features.

1.	Principal entrance from Leeds.
2.	Orangery.
3. & 4.	Greenhouses.
5. & 6.	Conservatories.
7.	Large fountain.
8, 9, & 10.	Large conservatory appropriated to temperate climate plants with birds intermixed.
11. & 12.	Conservatories appropriated to tropical fruiting plants.
13.	Zoological Department.
14.	Lake with island and rustic bridge.
15.	Rosary.
16.	Herbaceous plants in natural order.
17.	Lake with islands for water fowl with fountain on largest one.
18.	Entrance.

It is not possible to say categorically how much of this scheme came to fruition, but certain it is that there was a lake and a Zoo. The scheme did not prove popular or successful financially and, costs exceeding income, the gardens were closed after six years and sold by public auction on 18 December, 1848, the purchaser being a banker named James Smith who paid £6,010 for the estate. He then sold to Henry Cowper Marshall who reopened the gardens under the management of Thomas, or Tommy Clapham, who leased the gardens, changing the name to Leeds Royal Gardens.

In the *Leeds Clothing District Directory* for 1853 the following advertisement appears setting out the attractions of the gardens:—

> These Magnificent and Princely Gardens are the most beautiful Public Gardens in England. In addition to the Talented Band, there are many other attractions: they include near 25 Acres of Ground, presenting a rich and varied prospect of graceful hill and dale; are most beautifully ornamented with Lawns, Walks, Lakes, Trees, Plants, Flowers; aquatic and curious Birds, costly statues; and other curiosities. Open every Day. Charges for Admission—on Gala Days 3*d* or 6*d*—other weekdays and on Sundays, 2*d* each. Schools are admitted at low rates, by special agreement. Regular Trains go from Wellington Station, Leeds, to the Gardens and back, several times every afternoon, which are advertised in the Leeds Northern time bills. Fares to the gardens and back 3*d* third class and 6*d* first. Passengers can stop at the Gardens every afternoon from Ripon, Harrogate, Arthington, and all other places on the line. There are also Omnibuses from Leeds to the Gardens and back, every hour. The Gardens are only one mile and a half from Leeds; persons preferring to walk will enjoy the most beautiful scenery. Tea and other excellent Refreshments can be had in the Gardens for small or large numbers, without previous notice. Gentlemen and proprietors of public gardens (where gas can be obtained) supplied with a beautiful Balloon and intrepid Aeronaut, splendid fireworks, and other attractions, at reasonable charges. Address to Mr. Thomas Clapham, Leeds Excursion Manager; or Leeds Royal Gardens.

Again the gardens were a failure and lasted only two years under the new management, finally closing in June, 1858 and being dismantled. Clapham then opened the Royal Park and Horticultural Gardens near Woodhouse Moor, the story of which follows in the next section.

The gardens stretched from the bottom of Bainbrigge Road along Cardigan Road to what is now Brudenell Road, and were one-twelfth to one-eighth of a mile in depth. In 1858 the site was sold for house building, the lake was filled in and Cardigan Road made . . . The Bear Pits in Cardigan Road are the only remaining physical reminder of "Tommy Clapham's Park" as it came to be known. In 1966 the Bear Pits, which had been listed as a building of architectural interest, were purchased for £128 and presented to

Leeds Civic Trust. A sum in the region of £1000 was spent on renovating the stonework and designing and installing new iron gates. Behind the centre gate is a large stone with a plaque bearing this inscription:

> The Bear Pits.
> Built in 1840 as part of the Leeds Zoological and Botanical Gardens. Bears were exhibited in the circular pit and viewed from the turrets. Acquired and restored in 1966 by Leeds Civic Trust.

ROYAL PARK AND HORTICULTURAL GARDENS, LEEDS

When the Zoological and Botanical Gardens, Leeds closed and the site was sold in 1858, the last lessee, Thomas Clapham, opened another pleasure garden near Woodhouse Moor. A plan of the Royal Park Estate dated November 1868 and executed by James Fox, surveyor, lists twenty-nine features of the grounds. Numbers 24 to 29 are listed as "additional recreation grounds" while another eight may be described as service facilities. Three separate residences are listed—no doubt for proprietor and senior staff. The features available for public enjoyment were as follows:—Entrance Hall and Refreshment Bar; Conservatory; Vinehouse, Aviary and Menagerie; Picture Gallery; Music Pavilion; another Menagerie, Fountain, Cricket Ground. Within the demesne of the Park was the Volunteer Parade Ground. There were also a Brew House and Forcing House. Entrance to the Gardens was from Hyde Park Road across this road from Woodhouse Moor. In front of the Music Pavilion was erected a large platform for open air dancing which was claimed to be "the largest dancing platform in the world".

The Royal Park Gardens failed to meet with success and did not last as long even as the Zoological and Botanical Gardens. On 4 September, 1873 the Leeds Royal Park was disposed of by public auction for £16,500. The land consisted of 20 acres and 4 perches, or 96,920 square yards. The estate changed hands again on 18 March, 1874 when it was purchased "by a number of gentlemen who intend to devote it to horticultural and floral purpose", but the property was up for sale yet again in September, 1874. In the Leeds Reference Library there is a "Plan of property in Clapham Road, Leeds, being formerly portion of the Royal Park Estate belonging to Messrs. Grimston laid out in lots for sale". Clapham Road, which one can conjecture was named after Tommy Clapham, ran from the Royal Park to Woodhouse Moor.

Tommy Clapham, following the closure, moved to London where he continued in the field of showmanship.

The land occupied by the Royal Park is now taken up by surburban housing and there are several nominal reminders in the district: Royal Park Terrace, Avenue and Grove lead off from Royal Park Road in parallel rows, and on the opposite side of Royal Park Road are Royal Park Middle School and the Royal Park Hotel. The Park is gone but not quite forgotten.

LISTER PARK, MANNINGHAM, BRADFORD

In 1870 when Samuel Cunliffe Lister, the future Lord Masham of Swinton, millmaster of the famous Manningham Mills, Bradford removed to Farfield Hall, Addingham, he sold his former home, Manningham Hall, and its estate to the City of Bradford for £40,000. This was a public-spirited action as the property was considered to be worth £60,000. A condition was that 40 acres should be devoted to public use and the remainder was to be sold for building purposes. On 8 August, 1870 the Park was open to the Public for the first time on the occasion of the Manningham Floral and Horticultural Society Annual Show. On 22 October, Bradford Corporation obtained the sanction of the Lords of the Treasury to borrow the £40,000 for the purchase, the money to be repaid within 30

years. Six days later on the 28th the transfer was effected. The Mayor planted an oak sapling in the Home Park and cut the first sod. Mr. Lister planted an elm tree in the Deer Park where there had been a herd of deer. It was decided that the park would be called Lister's Park. Including a later purchase of land and deducting a strip of land for the improvement of Keighley Road which runs along the bottom of the park, the area comprised 55 acres including the three acres of the ornamental lake which was adapted for boating with a fleet of rowing boats and a motor launch. Two lodges were erected, one at the main entrance and the other near the North Park Road entrance. At the Frizinghall and the entrance was built in the form of a reproduction Norman arched gateway using stone from the Old Christ Church which stood at the top of Darley Street.

A marble statue of Lord Masham, unveiled on 15 May 1875 by the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P. for Bradford, stands near the main entrance, and to the rear of the Norman Arch is a statue of Sir Titus Salt, Bart. which used to stand in front of the Town Hall.

Late in his life Lord Masham felt the need and desire to acknowledge tangibly the debt he owed to Edmund Cartwright, the inventor of the power loom. He offered the Corporation the sum of £40,000 which later grew to £47,500 to build the Cartwright Memorial Hall as an Art Gallery and Museum for Bradford. The foundation stone was laid on 24 May, 1900 by Lord Masham. The four huge corner stones which had formed the bed for the old engine at Manningham Mills were placed at the corners of the foundations. The Hall was building from 1900 until 1904 and eventually cost £70,000, the building being declared open on 13 April, 1904 by Lord Masham, then in his ninetieth year.

To celebrate the creation of this Art Gallery an 'Inaugural Exhibition of Art Treasures, Industrial Displays, and Machinery in Motion' was held in the Park from May to October 1904, and the Bradford Exhibition, as it came to be called, was opened on 4 May, 1904 by the Princess of Wales. After opening the exhibition, the royal couple went in procession to Victoria Square to unveil the monument of Queen Victoria. The exhibition lasted throughout a glorious summer and was a tremendous success, drawing huge crowds from the West Riding and adjacent counties. Over 2,400,000 people passed through the gates and there was a profit of £15,000, of which £10,000 was allocated for the purchase of works of art and furnishings for Cartwright Hall.

The impressive catalogue, copies of which are preserved in the Bradford Central Library, runs to 334 pages—for 6*d*! It lists all the officials and exhibitors, descriptions of the industrial exhibits, advertisements by names of the trade exhibitors, as well as comprehensively listing all the artistic exhibits—pictures, furniture and pottery and porcelain.

We are here concerned with the entertainment side and this was amply catered for. There was a Palace of Illusions effected by electric lighting and reflecting mirrors, a Crystal Maze with distorting mirrors, a shooting range, captive balloon, Gravity Railway from the Cork Exhibition, and fireworks once a week. On the lake were trips by motor boat and a Venetian Gondola; a Water Chute ran down into the lake, and twice daily there was a Naval Spectacle depicting action between the Russian and Japanese Fleets which had formed part of the Naval Show at Earl's Court. The lake, trees, bridge over the lake, terraces and grounds were illuminated by night with coloured lamps and Chinese lanterns, whilst an Illuminated Fountain in the centre of Cartwright Hall was demonstrated when the programme permitted. An unusual feature attracting much attention was a Somali Village where about a hundred Somalis were housed after a successful continental tour. "Native customs, pastimes, occupations and ceremonies" were shown as well as metal working, weaving and other handicrafts. Unfortunately on August 30th some of the native huts caught fire and caused the death of some of the Somalis. They were buried at Scholemoor Cemetery.

The musical side was catered for in the Concert Hall by the engagement for the duration of the Exhibition of the Bradford Police Band and Wilhelm Morgan's "Blue Hungarian Band". Visits were paid to the Exhibition by various Regimental Guards Bands. A contributor to *The Bradford Bystander* wrote that "The cloudless blue skies and brilliant sunshine which prevailed that year helped to make this famous Bradford Exhibition a resounding success".

Returning to Lister Park and its history, a Botanical Garden was created, with a stream running through, which at one point was diverted to reproduce in miniature the Yorkshire waterfall "Thornton Force". The garden was inaugurated on 28 April, 1903 and was popular with Bradford Schools for open air botanical lessons. An open-air swimming pool, now known as The Lido, was opened in the north-west of the Park in 1915 and is extremely popular on hot summer days, as I know to my pleasure over the years from personal experience.

In front of the Cartwright Hall are very fine herbaceous flower beds which are a riot of colour in summer and will stand comparison with any park displays in West Yorkshire. The conservatories nearby are well worth a visit and the Floral Clock is always a focal point. Two stone lions stand in different parts of Lister Park. With two others they were formerly at the four corners of Manningham Hall. Boating still continues on the Lake, there are bowling greens and tennis courts, and a Fair is held each year in the Spring.

What has Lister Park meant to Bradfordians for more than a hundred years? It has been Bradford's most popular park—an open air lung for city dwellers providing artistic, cultural, horticultural and physical enrichment to life.

ROUNDHAY PARK

Undoubtedly the West Riding playground which has given pleasure to most people is Roundhay Park, Leeds, to which people have been flocking on special occasions for over a century, and which remains much as it was when it was opened.

The estate, once a royal hunting forest, had been in the hands of Henry, Duke of Lancaster and afterwards of his daughter John of Gaunt's first wife. It came into the possession of the Nicholson family in 1804, the first owner being Thomas Nicholson, a London banker. The Mansion House was built as The Hall in 1811. The large lake of about 33 acres and a depth of up to about 60 feet was constructed by blocking up a valley forming part of the estate. It took ten years to make, cost £15,000 and was completed in 1815, hence the name Waterloo Lake. An overspill at one end formed the waterfall leading down into the rocky gorge.

The last owner, William Nicholson, died in 1868, and the estate was put up for public auction by order of the Court of Chancery because the family could not agree to the division of the estate. John Barran, a Leeds City Councillor later Lord Mayor and M.P. for Leeds, felt that the estate should be purchased as a public amenity for Leeds, but because the Council was not allowed by law to spend more than £40,000 on such a venture, he and some friends who thought as he did put up the money to buy the estate, later to sell it to the City. There was much local opposition to this purchase and after wrangling and public debate, eventually the issue found its way in the shape of the Leeds Improvement Bill to a Committee of the House of Lords which unanimously declared the preamble to the Bill to be proved on 21 June, 1872 thereby ensuring that Roundhay Park was purchased, by Leeds Corporation. The mansion and the grounds, including the lake, were purchased for £32,000 to enable an entrance to be made half a mile nearer the city. Eventually Barran's foresight was recognized. He subsequently presented the Barran Fountain, erected in the Park in 1882 to provide drinking water for visitors.

The grand opening day was 19 September, 1872 when Prince Arthur, later the Duke of Connaught, performed the ceremony. Travelling from Harewood House with the Earl

of Harewood he was received at the Town Hall and given an address from the Corporation. At 12.30 p.m. the procession moved off to Roundhay Park, altogether "a scene of elegance rarely beheld" to quote one account of the proceedings. The uniforms of the escort of the Yorkshire Hussars added colour to the procession and the garb of a Burmese delegation visiting the City gave a touch of Oriental splendour. At the Park the Bishop offered an appropriate prayer and after a second address had been presented to the Prince he formally declared the Park open. A newspaper account of the opening ceremony waxed lyrical in its description—"The Park at the opening ceremony was a sight to be remembered. The glorious expanse of the Waterloo Lake glistened in the bright sunshine till it looked like one vast sheet of burnished silver . . ." The crowd was estimated to be over 100,000.

On 23 September, 1871 the grounds were open for the first time for the public of Leeds to inspect the estate, and thousands took advantage of the opportunity. Again at Whitsuntide 1872 the park was open to the public. In 1873 the Leeds City Council offered three prizes amounting to 450 guineas for a competition for designs to lay out the Roundhay Park Estate, and on 29 January, 1874 the Property Committee announced the first prize winner of 100 guineas was George Corson of Leeds. Two of the three prizewinners were Leeds men. At first it was not outstandingly popular because of its distance from the city, but after the tramway was laid to the Mansion House in 1894 and public access was made easy, the Park came into its own and won universal public approval.

The lake has always been popular for fishing and boating. There was a fatality in the year after the opening when a boat overturned and two men were drowned, though the boy who was with them was saved. The first passenger launch on the lake was the *Mary Gordon,* electrically driven, launched in 1899 by the Lady Mayoress of Leeds, after whom she was named. The launch took eleven minutes to circumnavigate the lake. After some years' service the *Mary Gordon* was transported to the River Calder to begin a new career giving pleasure trips on the Calder and on the Ouse at York. She was succeeded in time by the pleasure launch *Mayflower.*

In 1884 a young inventor named Charles Parsons tested on the lake a torpedo he was perfecting. In 1896 Charles Blondin crossed on a wire suspended across the lake several times, once blindfolded. On one crossing he halted, cooked himself an omelette and then ate it. This took place at the Hospital Gala of 1896. The following year in Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee a Venetian-style fete took place on Waterloo Lake. Skating has been a popular pastime when the weather has been severe enough for the lake to be sufficiently frozen over.

The smaller upper lake is five acres in extent and nearby the Nicholson family built a summerhouse—now known as The Castle—a typical Victorian folly though built before the Victorian Age at the same time as the lake was constructed. It is now in a ruinous crumbling state.

Sport has always been a prominent feature of Roundhay Park activities. There are 22 soccer pitches and four rugby pitches which convert in summer to eleven cricket pitches, and there is a popular municipal golf course. A sports arena was laid out in 1894 with a cycle track around its edge. The open-air swimming pool or lido was constructed in 1907 and in suitable warm weather has always been popular.

One of the most successful annual events at Roundhay Park was Children's Day, held from 1920 to 1963 inclusively, when the Queen of Leeds schoolgirls was crowned, supported by a retinue of maids of honour and pages. Thousands of children took part in the mass displays organised and rehearsed by the Leeds Schools' Sports Association, and watched by numerous proud relatives. A continuous downpour of rain in 1963—an inch and a half of rain fell in Leeds that day—ruined the last Children's Day. A Primary School

Children's Day was organised in succession.

Many Yorkshire people will remember with nostalgic pleasure the pre-war Northern Command Tattoo held in 1937 and 1938, the arena making an ideal setting for the event. I still remember the episode in 1937 when the 1st Battalion the Border Regiment paraded and trooped the French drums and Drum Major's Staff captured at the battle of Arroyo des Molinos in 1811, and the skill and dexterity of the Drum Major of the Massed Bands in 1938 and the height to which he threw his staff for it to perform a slow somersault and return safely to hand. The tattoos were resumed in 1954 with the first large military Tattoo in the country after the war. The programme has an interesting note regarding the finale by all troops taking part:—"The Mascot of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment will march in his traditional place at the head of the Band". The mascot was "Bobby", the Black Buck Antelope. The following year the Tattoo moved to York Racecourse.

During the last war on most summer Sunday afternoons there was a cricket match by the Jack Appleyard Charity Cricketers with many leading county cricketers then playing in the Bradford League taking part. Considerable sums were raised for wartime charities. The Leeds Flower Show held on two mid-week days in high summer used to attract large crowds. The National Rose Society's show was successfully incorporated into this event and for some years there was also a large Dog Show. The Show was discontinued for a good number of years but has now been revived as a weekend event.

The Mansion has been licensed for catering since the 1800s and for the whole of this period the concession has been held by the well-known Gilpin family, the firm now being styled the Gilpin Group.

The *Yorkshire Evening Post* Centenary special publication issued in 1972, to which this account is much indebted, summed up the Park by saying: "Today the park is one of the finest in Britain, certainly one of the most beautiful in the North." (A more detailed account of the park's development, bringing its history to 1983, has recently been written by Mr. Steven Burt. (Ed.).

SPRING GARDENS, OVENDEN WOOD, HALIFAX

Spring Gardens, now called Lea House, is a fine eighteenth-century building, successor to an earlier house which is originally belonged to John Bairstow who sold it to James Murgatroyd. His son, Henry, rebuilt the house and his initials and the date 1625 are carved on a large stone over the porch.

In the *Halifax Guardian* for 26 August, 1876 there appears this notice:

Spring Gardens.
The well known public resort. Open daily.
Admission free. Museum. Swings and other
amusements.

The first licensee was Richard Wright Horsfall and there was a bowling green—crown green, of course—tennis court and a large upstairs room in the house for dancing. The museum comprised cases of birds, animals, butterflies, shells, eggs, fossils and minerals. The grounds included flower beds, and trees, among them apple and pear trees, with a conservatory. There was a lake with rowing boats for hire.

The house changed hands in 1911, Percy Hood from the Tyneside district purchasing "The Spring Gardens Hotel" and grounds from Clement Lloyd. *The Halifax Guardian* for 30 August, 1911 stated that the temporary transfer of the licence had been granted. The grounds, which had become somewhat neglected, were refurbished, the bowling green being re-turfed and the tennis court enclosed as a children's corner. A large shelter was erected for catering purposes and swings and roundabouts installed.

Spring Gardens continued for some eight years more as a pleasure garden, but the end came in 1919 when the licence lapsed and the house reverted to being a private residence, being known first as Lea Gardens and then by its present name, Lea House.

SUNNY VALE, HIPPERHOLME

Joseph Bunce, born in 1850 at Totteridge in Buckinghamshire, came from a family connected for many years with the land. His father, a cow-keeper, earned 14*s* a week and had five children. The family moved to Halifax in 1874 to become market gardeners. On May 1880 Joseph Bunce leased the 40-acre site of Lightcliffe Wood Bottom Farm from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; two acres of which were known as Sunny Vale Nurseries. After three years at the nurseries he established the pleasure gardens, Sunny Vale, in the pleasant lower Shibden or Walterclough Valley. His first intention was to operate both nurseries and pleasure garden, but the latter was so successful that he decided to concentrate on this venture solely. In the first season between 200 and 300 people visited the grounds, and at the end of the first year he constructed a small lake. In 1883 the lake was enlarged to three times its size and increasing popularity of the undertaking caused him in 1892 to add another 20 acres to the grounds. After five more years another lake, the upper one, was made, necessitating further expansion by two more acres. The upper lake was four acres in extent, the dimensions being 280 yards long by 60 to 80 yards wide, and the promenade round the lake was said to be capable of accommodating 8,000 visitors. Construction of this lake took two years and it is still there to this day. An open-air dancing stage was built in 1904 using timber from the old Theatre Royal in Halifax. Dancing took place on Saturdays and public holidays when brass bands were in attendance. Structural work from the Bradford Exhibition held in 1904, known as the Palace of Illusions, was purchased in 1906 and erected for various purposes in the grounds. A maze which had been created was enlarged and remodelled in 1907.

A leaflet advertising Sunny Vale Gardens, "the favourite pleasure resort", preserved at Calderdale Central Library, Halifax, lists the following attractions—Maple roller rink, ballroom, steamer, ponies, donkeys, children's swings, chute railway, distorting mirrors, two fine lakes (6 acres of water), 36 boats, maze, large swings, miniature shooting range, cycle track and hall of laughter. The leaflet also advertised "Unlimited catering facilities and exceptional accommodation for demonstrations, conferences, and friendly and kindred societies' excursions." Other attractions in addition to those mentioned in the leaflet were flying boats, a concert hall, open air pierrots, and a helter skelter. There were also handbell ringing concerts and firework displays on special occasions.

The gardens were extremely popular at the Easter and Whitsuntide holidays. The Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway used to run excursions regularly to Hipperholme station not too far away from Sunny Vale. During its heyday Sunny Vale used to have 100,000 visitors a season, even during wartime. During severe winters when there were keen frosts and the lakes froze over, there was ice skating. I remember one winter afternoon unsuccessfully trying to learn to ice skate. Hired skates which strapped on to one's shoes with leather straps and buckles were not exactly helpful to a beginner.

When the Halifax Zoo closed in 1916 most of the attractions other than the animals were acquired for Sunny Vale, including the miniature railway.

Joseph Bunce, who served on Brighouse Town Council and Brighouse Joint Hospital Board, died on 15 October, 1918 aged 67. He was succeeded in business by his sons, James, F. Bunce and G. P. Bunce, who also served on Brighouse Town Council and became Mayor. Sunny Vale was equally well-known as "Sunny Bunce's" from the family name and it used to be a joke when people who were not going away for a holiday were asked where they were going would reply "Sunny Bunce's".

Wider horizons, changing social customs and universal transport, coupled with the disruption of the war, spelled the end for Sunny Vale, and at the end of 1945 the gardens were offered for sale to Brighouse Town Council which turned down the offer. In 1946

Sunny Vale estate was offered for sale at £20,000.

Since the war the buildings were used for a period as a Country Club from 1958, but not without local dissension owing to cars departing noisily in the early hours of the morning. Noise is still the order of the day on occasions at Sunny Vale as a Go Kart Club was established in 1965 with 50 members and meetings on Sunday afternoons. This was followed in 1970 by Stock Car Racing, the club having a membership of 130. The racing track is on the site of the small lake which had been filled in. A prosperous looking Squash Club, with licensed premises, now occupies the buildings and appears to have a winning formula for success.

HOPE BANK, HONLEY, HUDDERSFIELD

Hope Bank Pleasure Gardens, or Honley Lake as it was also popularly known, opened in the early 1890s. John William Mellor, an insurance salesman, bought the land and created the gardens. Two lakes were dug out, trees were planted and flower beds created. It was said that the terrain was swamp land and Mellor made it stable by filling it up with ash and clinker from the Honley Gas Works. Hope Bank was originally two old cottages at Banks Mill which were renovated. Carved over the doorway was the date 1616.

By Easter 1894 Hope Bank was well established with a fleet of 20 to 30 non-capsizable rowing boats. In 1902 and 1903 Brass Band Concerts were held there, and in 1904 a steamer named *Nil Desperandum* joined the fleet on the lake. A "Sing" was held in 1909.

From Huddersfield a tram ride to Honley followed by a walk led to the inland "resort" which was advertised as follows:

"New Blackpool—Music for dancing on Saturdays, swings, donkey rides, aerial flights, boating, good stabling for horses, all kinds of temperance beverages—the favourite resort for enjoyment in summer, the most beautiful valley in the district."

In addition to the amenities already mentioned, roller skating commenced in 1906 and the switchback opened in 1910 together with the "Hotchkiss Bicycle Railway". I seem to remember travelling on this contrivance when visiting Hope Bank with my cousins annually in the late 1920s. Special bicycles were mounted on a continuous track encircling part of the gardens and on mounting the bicycle which had conventional handlebars, pedals and saddle, one pedalled round the track which was a few feet off the ground. The advantage was that the bicycle permanently upright and thus one did not need a sense of balance to ride the track. Children who could not yet ride a bicycle were thus enabled to ride round to their heart's content. Other features of the Gardens were donkey rides, wagonette rides, a dance band at weekends and holidays, swings, a miniature railway, a maze, a hall of mirrors, a museum and a helter skelter. There were tearooms and greenhouses selling exotic fruit and pot plants, crown green bowling and "impressive ornamental displays of flowers". In the grounds there was a boarding house for teetotal patrons.

Children could buy jam jars and nets for ½*d* to fish in the lake for tiddlers, and the larger of the two lakes was used for long-distance swimming events. Harriers used to race round the lake. Special trains were run at holiday times to Brockholes, the nearest station, and visitors came from all over Yorkshire. Admission was 2*d* on Saturdays and 1*d* on other days. Boating was 6*d* an hour. On special occasions there were Brass Band Concerts and "pyrotechnics on a lavish scale". At Easter and Whitsuntide, Hope Bank was an outstanding local attraction.

In 1928 a Water Carnival was held in aid of Huddersfield Royal Infirmary when some 20,000 people were present. A sum of £381 6*s* 6*d* was raised.

Hope Bank remained popular until the 1930s, but the Second World War sounded its death knell. During the war the army was in occupation for six years. The owner, E. Mellor, having died during the war, Hope Bank was put up for sale in 1946 and

purchased by a Mr. Fred Thompson and a struggle was made to revive public interest, without avail. Finally in 1955 the land was sold to Brook Motors Ltd., the lakes were filled in, and industrial premises occupied the site. A *Huddersfield Examiner* account states that "by 1958 a few paths, the animal cage, the bowls hut and the graceful poplars planted by William Mellor were all that remained of the previous splendour."

SHIPLEY GLEN

The late A. J. Brown in his book *Moorland Tramping in West Yorkshire,* published in 1931 and still one of the best books on walking in Yorkshire, wrote "Who does not remember his first walk over Shipley Glen to Dick Hudson's—that half-way inn whose ham and egg teas have been famous throughout the West Riding these forty years?"

Some there are who say that Shipley Glen is really Eldwick Glen, and William Cudworth wrote in *Round about Bradford* "And now we come to Shipley Glen, as it is wrongfully called, no part of the Glen being within a mile of any part of the township of Shipley". Despite the fact that it was in Baildon and all the signs from that place now point to "The Glen" and not "Shipley Glen", nevertheless to all right-minded folk—we will excuse Baildonians—it has been, is, and always will be Shipley Glen. Up to Local Government Reorganization it did in fact belong to Shipley Urban District Council who purchased it several years ago. Now, of course, the whole area, including Baildon, is in Bradford Metropolitan District.

The traditional way to Shipley Glen is by bus from Bradford to Saltaire and then on foot down Victoria Road past Sir Titus Salt's monumental Saltaire Mills, over the River Aire by the iron bridge, now no longer safe for heavy traffic, up the road past Roberts Park, then bearing left to the footpath at the side of the Glen Tramway in Glen Wood or Walker's Wood.

The Glen Tramway was built in 1895 by two Baildon men, Samuel Wilson and H. Wilkinson. Colonel Maude, Lord of the Manor of Baildon, the landowner, developed the estate as an amusement park and accepted an offer by the two men to construct the tramway. Work began in 1895 and the line opened the day after the official Ministry inspection on May 17th. The line is 386 yards long with double track of 1 foot 8 inches gauge and a maximum gradient of 1 in 12. An iron railing divides the track from the path up through the wood. The original rolling stock consisted of four open cars of the "toast rack" variety seating twelve people in six double seats and a luggage truck, all made locally in Baildon. Later the capacity of each car was increased to 21 per car. The original power was provided by an 8 h.p. gas engine. In 1928 the gas engine was replaced by two electric motors. The original cars were used until the end of the 1955 season. The following year four new cars were put in service, and for a time were named Charles and Anne after the Royal children. Charles ran on the left-hand side going down and Anne on the right. The fares were 1*d* up and ½*d* down, and the journey took about a minute.

The Glen Tramway has proved to be one of the most popular features of Shipley Glen, and on many a fine weekend 10,000 passengers have been carried. Once, 17,000 people made the journey in a single day. The most unusual passengers on the line over the years were a bride; a donkey; and a funeral party comprising the coffin and mourners who were taken down the tramway to a hearse waiting in the old Coach Road.

On 31 May 1966 the first serious accident occurred on the tramway when two carriages overshot the usual stopping place, and six people were slightly injured. They were treated for minor bruises at Bradford Infirmary and all allowed to go home. Later in 1966 the Tramway closed down owing to the depredations of vandals. There may also have been a psychological effect on passengers from the accident. The line remained derelict with battered huts, electric motors vandalised, and track and cables damaged throughout 1967, 1968 and 1969, and it was not until Easter 1970 that the line was put

back into commission and reopened. It is pleasing to record that the line continued in operation during the season and remains so to this day.

At the terminus of the tramway on the left-hand side of Prod Lane is Vulcan House with swings, roundabout and other amusements for children.

For years a chief attraction was the Japanese Gardens laid out by Thomas Hartley, said to be the most unusual miniature Japanese gardens in the country. Hartley was born in Bradford where he lived for the early part of his life and followed the trade of a printer with the aid of a partner. He went to live at Shipley Glen for the sake of his wife, whose health was indifferent. The young Titus Salt encouraged this move by allowing Tom Hartley to go through the lodge gates of his estate by Trench Farm, thus saving a long journey round by way of Baildon. The gardens were built partly to interest Mrs. Hartley, who became bed-ridden soon after the move to Shipley Glen. Hartley described his gardens as follows:—

> In the grounds were eight or nine big arches, through which people could easily walk. I built four large greenhouses, full of plants and flowers. Inside were the same big arches. All the walls were built up with clinkers and cement pockets for all kinds of ferns and plants.
>
> There was a castle built on a little island, surrounded by a moat. The castle was large enough for six or seven persons to go into it. It could only be reached across the water, which was wide enough for a little boat to sail round, with twelve to fifteen children in it.
>
> I fitted up a chime of bells inside the castle, worked with a penny-in-the-slot mechanism.
>
> In the centre of the gardens was a large fountain, and surrounding it were lily-ponds, a watercress pond, rose beds and numerous other flower beds. There was a beautiful studio, and a rose garden with three or four hundred rose trees, and an orchard filled with fruit trees.

The charge for being punted round the moat was twice round for a penny. In a large room were slot machines and cases full of old curiosities, butterflies from India and other exhibits. An aviary housed brilliant coloured birds and a talking parrot.

Inside one of the greenhouses was a grotto containing a polyphon which played tunes or bells, and a fluctuating water jet supporting a table tennis ball (or ping pong ball as it would be called then). A phonograph worked with a water wheel for a penny and a full-sized figure of an Italian turned the handle of an organ and made it play a tune, also for a penny. In the studio a plate camera was set up for portrait photography. At the back of the gardens was a tea room with swings, see saws, poles, model railway and other amusements. In a cellar workshop Tom Hartley made bird tables with thatched roofs, rustic furniture and dove-cotes, all of which were for sale. It must have been quite a set up and well worth seeing. There is still a relic—a small arch of clinker and cement—in the grounds where Japanese Gardens were, now given over to a roundabout and other amusements for tiny tots.

Further along Prod Lane, the Glen Nurseries, another popular feature of Shipley Glen, and still functioning, was started by W. Eastell after a long career with a local mill. Visits to Shipley Glen would often end with a bunch of flowers, a plant or tomatoes to take home from the Nurseries which are still in the hands of the Eastell family.

Across Prod Lane further along is The Old Glen House which has now been a catering establishment for generations. Beyond it is the Green, a roughly flat expanse of grass dotted with boulders—a picnic and parking area, very popular on fine summer days. From here there is a good view from the edge where the escarpment falls away down into the Glen proper and the Load Pit Beck, known as the Glen Beck. There used to be an aerial glide down from the Green to the Beck, but all that remains now are a few rusted brackets still embedded in rocks. There was also a toboggan ride down the Baildon side of the Glen on a twin runway with buffers at the end after an incline to reduce the speed of the cars, but after an accident on Whit Tuesday, 1900, the proprietor closed down the slide.

An old building with oak crucks, now no longer standing, was the Shipley Glen

Temperance Tea and Coffee Rooms, demolished towards the end of last century.

Easter and Whitsuntide were the most popular times at Shipley Glen where there were visiting fairs with roundabouts, boxing booths, shooting galleries, side shows etc.

Some of the boulders on the Green used to have cup markings on them, but these boulders are no longer there and may have been moved when the road was made. There used to be a rock on the Green known as No. 9 owing to this figure being carved on it. A comedian named Reg Bolton, who appeared in a concert party in Manningham, used to sing a song about Shipla' Glen, the chorus of which went as follows, recalled by a correspondent to *The Dalesman,* to which periodical this account is much indebted.

Meet me Gwen, on Shipla' Glen, on Sunday afternoon.
Near No. 9, we'll have a good time,
It's just the place for a spoon.
When you're up there you get salt-air,
You fancy yourself by the sea.
And if you are willing, and I have a shilling,
We'll call at Dick Hudson's for tea.

One wonders just how many myriads have "had a good time" at Shipley Glen.

LOFTHOUSE PARK, WAKEFIELD

Before 1908 Lofthouse Park, between Wakefield and Leeds, was a private estate of about 58 acres with a large residence known at The Mansion at the top of the hill on the northern boundary of the estate. It was owned for some time by the Charlesworth family, then occupied by a Mr. Percy Cradock and later by Captain Metcalfe, the Chief Constable of the West Riding. The estate included the site of an old farmhouse, and the grounds were once cultivated cornfields.

Lofthouse Park Ltd. purchased the estate to create a pleasure park. Certain shareholders of the Company were also shareholders of the Wakefield and District Light Railway Company which ran trams to the grounds, a siding being created for arrival and departure. Admission to the Park was free to holders of tram tickets. Including the purchase money a sum of the order of £30,000 was spent on creating the amusement park.

The Wakefield Herald of 30 May, 1908 announced the opening on Wednesday, 3 June, 1908, and made a grandiloquent claim in this extract "And already the place has been metamorphosed from a gentleman's park to a White City of imposing dimensions". There was the special engagement of the Yorkshire Hussars Band and a Grand Gala during Whit Week with three firework displays and a "continuous round of entertainments daily from 11 a.m. to 10 p.m."

The entrance to the Park was where the entrance drive leads to the West Yorkshire Metropolitan Directorate of Planning, Engineering and Transport Depot at Lofthouse Gate. A decorative arch spanned the Park's entrance, illuminated at night by coloured bulbs. There was a shale-covered drive, a brick bandstand, flower beds, an alpine rockery and an amusement sector on the southern side of the Park. Here there were a wooden Helter Skelter 40 feet high, two aerial flights, a House of Mirrors providing distorted images, a "Kelly's Cottage" where all sorts of weird things happend, and a Maze of privet hedge, 6 or 7 feet tall. There was a pavilion capable of seating 1000 persons. At each corner was a square tower surmounted by gilded domes. The Pavilion housed shops and a dance floor with stage and cinema screens. Films were shown here to orchestral accompaniment. A large structure of glass and ironwork on one side of the Pavilion was known as the Winter Gardens containing palm trees and exotic plants and where refreshments were available. On the opposite side of the Pavilion was the inevitable and popular roller skating rink. A native village was peopled by Abyssinians in

huts of straw or rattan. A spectacular feature was a ramp with buffers at the bottom. An open touring car with several men in it was released to career down the ramp and crash into the buffers when it performed a complete somersault and landed on its wheels on a large mattress.

Catering at the Park was in the hands of Spiers and Pond of London and the impressive fireworks displays on special occasions were pyro-technical experts Brocks. *The Wakefield Herald* stated that "the whole place is electrically illuminated upon an unimagined scale of profuseness, some 40,000 to 50,000 lights being already installed". A permanent attraction was "a highly efficient military band" under Signor G. D. La Camera, late of Brighton.

Variety entertainments took place in the Pavilion and there were also Pierrots and Bioscope pictures. Other features mentioned by *The Wakefield Herald* in describing the Park after the opening were "sundry scientific marvels, particularly a luniscription writing and art exhibition, music, variety artistes and other things too numerous to mention". The mind boggles! There was a suggestion to construct a lake but this was never achieved. On the sporting side provision was made for bowls, tennis, cricket, football and other games.

The Blackburn Aeroplane Company built a large hangar at the lower end of the Park and flights were made by the Blackburn brothers. The aircraft flown were mainly monoplanes. Late on in the life of the Park a small Zoo was established, several brick cages being built to house lions, tigers, bears and other wild animals.

During the First World War the estate was commandeered by the Government and used as an internment camp for enemy aliens. After the war Lofthouse Park became more or less derelict and the pleasure grounds were never re-established. The Pavilion was eventually destroyed by fire.

HALIFAX ZOO AND AMUSEMENT PARK

The Halifax Zoo opened at Whitsuntide 1909 heralded by this announcement in the local newspaper: "Halifax Zoo! Most up-to-date amusement park in England! Great attraction for Whit Monday and Tuesday! Admission 6d."

Some 41,000 people were "attracted" that Whitsuntide weekend. The venture was undertaken by a group of businessmen who formed a limited company in 1909 and issued a prospectus published in *The Halifax Guardian* of 22 May, 1909 which stated "the Company has been formed for the purpose of providing in the populous district of Halifax a permanent institution, on the lines of the White City, and Earl's Court, London, which shall cater for the healthy recreation, amusement and instruction of the public." Five aims were identified in the prospectus—to purchase a suitable site, to provide various forms of entertainments and amusements, establishing a skating rink, establishment of a Zoological Garden stocked with "a numerous and varied collection of animals and birds" and the provision of high class catering at reasonable prices.

The directors of the company were C. F. Spencer of Halifax, A. E. Wynn of the Cairn Hydro, Harrogate, A. R. McKill and P. A. Millward, with Herbert Halliday as secretary manager, and a working capital of £17,000. The venue selected was The County Hotel and Pleasure Gardens at Exley. This building was formerly Chevinedge, a substantial mansion with extensive grounds at the top of Exley Bank, a steep hill leading from the Huddersfield Road, served by trams from Halifax some two miles away on the Huddersfield route. The advantage of this site was that a thriving catering business was already in operation there. A. R. McKill was to be appointed Managing Director at a salary of £300 per annum, and the Company purchased The County Hotel from him for the amount he had paid for it. McKill, of Ashfield Lodge, Thorner, Leeds, was the driving force in the project. He had hoped to establish a "Yorkshire Jungle" on land at

Roundhay but after difficulties over the site he transferred his interest to the Halifax Zoo. He owned a pet camel called 'Stanley' which he took for a walk down the main street of Thorner every day. The camel eventually came to the Zoo, as did an African elephant ('Nigger') which McKill bought from Bostock's Zoo in Glasgow when it was sold up in 1908.

Interest had built up during the weeks prior to the opening as all manner of animals were arriving comprising lions and tigers, bears, a llama, two jackels, wolves from Russia, dingoes, arctic foxes, hyenas, a zebra pony, monkeys and numerous species of birds—altogether a collection of close upon 1000 animals, birds and reptiles. North of the mansion was an enclosure for a herd of deer—nine selected deer having been brought from an estate in Durham to form a nucleus. Near the mansion a small lake was created, with black and white swans on it, while seals and sea lions occupied a special tank, part of the lake. A popular feature of the Zoo was a pigmy farm housing tiny sheep, Brahmin cattle, pigs, poultry and a Welsh pony, dubbed by a local wag "Lloyd George". Among the birds were an eagle and a vulture. A major attraction on the opening day was an Indian calf born 48 hours before the opening.

The camel 'Stanley' was a stubborn character and has been known to lie down in the road for an hour refusing to move. Quite the most popular animal in the Zoo was the 17-year old elephant 'Nigger' which gave rides to children. Her keeper had come with her from Glasgow to work at the Zoo. 'Nigger's' misdemeanours included running amok when upset by a passing tram, covering herself all over with dry cement, wandering through the grounds trampling in the flower beds. On this occasion when she broke loose it was fortunate that she was found asleep on the lawn in front of the mansion. She had an enormous appetite for buns which was good for sales in the tea gardens. She paraded round Halifax streets with King Cross Band advertising the opening of the Zoo.

Most of the animals were given names—some have already been mentioned—and in addition there were 'Wallace' and 'Alice', the lions; 'Jack' and 'Jill', the Rocky Mountain bears; and other bears named 'Gertrude', 'Tyzer', 'Whaler' and 'Bruno'.

A miniature railway encircled the grounds and other attractions were a figure-of-eight switchback, open-air roller skating rink, a Cake Walk, Hall of Laughter and Fun Factory. In the Alfresco Pavilion were performances by Pierrot troupes from seaside resorts. In the Mansion itself there was an Orchestron, or mechanical orchestra, originally owned by the Holden family of Bradford and obtained from the son of Sir Isaac Holden. The orchestron had 277 pipes and could impersonate 20 performers, effects including reed instruments and kettle drums.

The Electric Theatre was situated between the Fun Factory and the Hall of Mirrors. At first it housed "Poole's Myriorama", producing a panoramic effect by means of painted scenes moving on rollers. The Theatre was then occupied by "Hale's Tours of the World". A cinematograph projected travel scenes and the audience sat inside the rocking representation of a railway coach giving the illusion of movement. This novelty was first introduced in Oxford Street in London in 1906. Finally the Electric Cinema became an orthodox cinema showing silent black and white films.

The Zoo grounds were extended by buying a field from a farmer reached by crossing a bridge over the cutting of the miniature railway. Here there was a rifle range with .22 Winchester rifles, a sideshow and the Alfresco Pavilion for the pierrots. An ornamental bandstand for musical performances by visiting brass bands and a refreshment conservatory completed the amenities of the Zoo.

At first the Zoo was well supported and the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway ran excursions to Greetland station from Rochdale and Ashton-under-Lyne. At one time a lift was mooted to obviate the 1 in 7 steep climb up Exley Bank from the tram stop, but this never materialised, nor did the suggested Somali Village.

The centre of the Zoo was reserved for balloon ascents by Captain Spencer on Bank Holidays and special occasions which were big crowd pullers. His daughter also made balloon ascents but they rarely managed to land closer to the Zoo than a quarter or half a mile away. Captain Spencer made a good number of ascents and a prize of £5 was offered to the first person to touch him on landing. The firm of Spencer Brothers—with which he was connected—brought an airship to the Zoo which had a 40,000 cubic feet capacity of gas. It made several flights over Halifax and this too was a great drawer of crowds.

On 15 July 1909 the Board of Guardians organised an outing for the people in the workhouse transporting them in nine special trams for a day of festivities at the Zoo. On 11 June 1910 the aviator, Claude Graham White, made the first aeroplane flight from the old Halifax Racecourse and the following day flew from there to the Zoo and back which attracted many people to the Zoo.

On 11 July 1912 King George V and Queen Mary visited Dean Clough Carpet Mills in Halifax. The Zoo arranged a special programme of events which included music by Black Dyke Mills Band, horse leaping, gymnasts and a Tattoo by the Yorkshire Hussars. After dark numerous fairy lights were lit and the day concluded with a grand display of fireworks. A record number of 25,000 visitors paid for admission on the day.

A sensation occurred in 1913 when two bears escaped from their quarters. One was recaptured before it could leave the grounds but the other one got away making towards Halifax. It was turned back in the Siddal district and made off to Elland Wood where it was recaptured and returned to the Zoo, but not without difficulty. It had finally to be transported back in a cage drawn on a dray, having refused to walk.

The miniature railway of 15in gauge was purchased from Blackpool where it had not been successful owing to sand obstruction. The engine was the first one built of a series called Little Giants by W. J. Bassett-Lowke.

Prior to the First World War the Zoo began to suffer from strong competition. Belle Vue, Manchester, was a much larger Zoo with many other attractions and a local rival was Sunny Vale Gardens which was developing fast. The war brought other difficulties, particularly with regard to feeding stuff prices. The death of "Nigger', the Zoo's main attraction, was a large factor in the decline of its popularity. The Company ran into financial difficulties and after the 1915 season the animals were disposed of, some to Belle Vue and the rest to other zoos. Some of the amusements survived until 1916 and then most of the effects including the miniature railway were sold to Sunny Vale Gardens, Hipperholme. The orchestron went to Blackpool Tower Aquarium.

Some 60 postcard views of the Zoo were published at 1*d* each. They may still be acquired with difficulty at stiff prices: four changed hands in 1978 at a postcard convention in Bradford for £7.

There are still evidences of the Zoo on the site now occupied by Chevin Edge Crescent and the adjoining field around which the miniature railway ran was used for a time after the war by Halifax Town Association Football Club. It is now the ground of Siddal Amateur Rugby League Club. In one corner of the field may still be seen the remains of part of the railway embankment.

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I am much indebted to the local history libraries and their staffs at Bradford, Calderdale, Kirklees, Leeds and Wakefield Metropolitan District Public Libraries, firstly for having preserved documents, souvenirs, printed ephemera and information about the pleasure parks, and secondly for making this information so readily available.

Further Information on the Cleave Dyke System

By D. A. Spratt and R. F. White

Since the publication in 1982 of a report on the Cleave Dyke System (Spratt 1982a), further air photographs of the area have been taken. Cropmarks recorded in July 1984 yielded information which bears upon the building of the Cleave Dyke as follows:—

1. More pits are shown on the line of the dyke itself.
   (a) ANY 169/04, 180/22 near High Barn Farm, Boltby (Dyke I in Spratt 1982a, Fig. 3).
   (b) ANY 169/05-08, 180/23-24 on Hambleton Moor (Dyke K).
   (c) ANY 169/10 on Hambleton Down (Spur L).

   The photographs support the previous observations of pit alignments on these and other parts of the Cleave Dyke.

   ANY 169/06, 169/08, 180/24 (Dyke K) also show the cropmark of a short double pit alignment, consisting of two parallel rows of five pits each. This lies to the west of the main section of the Cleave Dyke and is adjacent to, but not quite aligned upon, the round barrow at SE 51128507. (Plate 1). Similar short lengths of pit alignment survive as earthworks elsewhere on the North York Moors (gazetteer in Spratt 1982b, Table 30).

2. Two new lengths of pit alignment have been photographed in the vicinity of High

Plate 1. Cropmark of pit alignment, round barrow and section of the Cleave Dyke on Hambleton Moor, Boltby.

Plate 2. Pit alignment S. of High Paradise Farm, Boltby. The Cleave Dyke runs along the far side of the Hambleton Street across the centre/top of the photograph.

Paradise Farm, parallel to the northern part of the Cleave Dyke, but some 100-250m toward the western scarp of the Hambleton Hills

(a) ANY 169/03, 180/19, 180/21. Pit alignment (600m) from SE 50758811 to SE 50478858 with more or less regularly sized and spaced near-rectangular pits. Two apparent missing pits or gaps might be explained by geological variations rather than as representing entrances. The alignment curves between a round barrow at SE 50648832 and a smaller circular cropmark at SE 50648837, the course apparently determined by a need to avoid the round barrow (Plate 2).

(b) ANY 169/20, Pit alignment (320m) just north of High Paradise Farm from SE 50328882 to SE 50128907.

It is likely that further investigation would show that these two sections (2a and 2b) were originally continuous. The southern end of '2a' can also be projected to link with the north end of Section I of Cleave Dyke at Sneck Yat, some 580m to the south.

The cropmarks produced as a result of the stress imposed by the 1984 drought, when this area received approximately 50% of the average April-August rainfall (YWA 1985, Map II), indicate that some lengths of dyke, such as the northern termination of Dyke K, were constructed as pit alignments rather than as ditches as had been indicated by cropmarks recorded in less extreme conditions. Parts of Dyke K, particularly near the junction with Spur L were still observed as linear ditches.

The new alignments show that the Cleave Dyke must have been constructed in a minimum of two phases of operations, the first phase being with at least long sections, and possibly the whole, as pit alignments, with at a later stage the pits replaced by a continuous dyke, usually on, but in the case of 2a and 2b above, off the original

alignment. Two or more phases of construction can also be detected in some of the major dykes in the eastern part of the Tabular Hills (Drummond and Spratt, forthcoming).

The photographs were taken with Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission grant aid for the North Yorkshire County Archaeology Section and are published by permission of North Yorkshire County Council.

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THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REGISTER: 1985

PREHISTORIC

DANBY, DANBY RIGG (NZ 7005, 7006, 7106) A. F. Harding reports that plotting of the surface remains, begun in 1984, was completed; a 1:1250 plan of the entire area is now available. Two cairns and two stretches of field wall were excavated, revealing a rubble construction directly on the leached soil. It is hoped to complete work on this site in 1986, including the excavation of an area of the triple dykes and some of the newly discovered structures on the central plateau.

EAST GILLING, LONG BARROW (SE 60187417) P. R. Wilson reports that the S. part of the area outside the E. end of the mound was threatened by development. Two small areas were excavated: the S. one produced no features; however, the N. area contained five certain and three possible small pits, as well as a shallow linear 'scoop'. None of the features produced any dating evidence and they cannot therefore be associated with the barrow with any certainty. A levelled survey of the barrow was also carried out.

ESTON, ESTON NAB HILLFORT (NZ 567182) Cleveland County Archaeology Section (S. Sherlock, H. Swain and B. E. Vyner) continued its project on later prehistoric settlement and land use on the Eston Hills. Excavation revealed further evidence for the position and structure of the (presumed early) timber palisade. An investigation of a length of the main defences revealed further details of the wall, its facing bank and the counter-scarp bank. The rampart proved to contain burnt timber revetting material. A programme of fieldwalking was also carried out.

INGLETON, RAVEN SCAR CAVE (SD 730757) The excavation of this site by B. Danson and B. Dickinson, assisted by T. C. Lord and advised by J. A. Gilks, has been completed. As reported in *Y.A.J.* 54 (1982), p.171, a passage was found to run back from the rear of the chamber in a S. direction. Subsequent excavation proved that its length exceeds 23 m. It was 0.7-2.5 m wide and 1-4.7 m high. The floor was a carpet of calcite below which was a series of shallow water-eroded basins, filled with alternating bands of fine/coarse silt. In the silts were the incomplete remains of two children, an adolescent and two adults. An unroofed slab-and-boulder-built cist, the third found on this site, was discovered at the rear of the passage; it was roughly rectangular, 1.8 by approx. 1.6 m. It contained a much disturbed adult inhumation and an Early Bronze Age copper alloy disc-headed pin. From outside the cist came a Romano-British bone spindle whorl. The bones of ox, sheep/goat and pig occurred throughout.

At a lower level, often resting on the natural floor of the passage, were the bones of three adult and two young bears. Close by was a broken-backed flint blade of late Upper Palaeolithic type.

LOFTUS, STREET HOUSE (NZ 739189) Cleveland County Archaeology Section excavated a previously unrecorded and unexcavated round barrow at Street House Farm. Removal of the remaining lower levels of the capping stones revealed the careful construction of the barrow—the clay from an external gully had been used to form a horseshoe-shaped bank, the terminals of which coincided with a possible gap in the gully. This makes an access to a central feature of stone, separated by another bank of clay from an internal ring of stones. The details of the construction will be examined when the excavation continues next year. Finds include a V-perforated jet button, the head of a broken stone battle axe and several cup-marked stones. A small amount of pottery was found, including fragments of collared urn and Food Vessel.

MARRICK, MARRICK MOOR (SE 0599) A. Fleming and T. Laurie report that in July 1985 a large walled field system, orientated roughly N.-S. was planned at a scale of 1:2000. The system is located to the NE. of Fremington Edge, on Copperthwaite Allotment. It covers a large area and is almost certainly the same system as one on Skelton Moor, about 2 km to the NE.

NORLAND TOWN (SE 056213) J. A. Gilks reports that in November 1984 Mr. J. P. Whitaker of Norland discovered an Early Bronze Age flat axe. It is 92 mm long, 58 mm wide at the cutting edge, one corner of which had been broken off in antiquity, and 8.5 mm thick at the waist. One face exhibits recent scratches, some of which have penetrated the thick, dark green patina to reveal the underlying metal; all surfaces are heavily pitted. Retained by the finder.

REETH, FREMINGTON AND HEALAUGH (NZ 013003) A. Fleming and T. Laurie report that walled field systems, small cairns, enclosures and settlement sites E., S. and SW of Calver Hill were mapped at a scale of 1:2000 during July 1984 and 1985. The field systems reach an altitude of about 400 m and are mainly coaxial in type. On Riddings Rigg (NZ 020000) two systems of this type intersect at an oblique angle; clearance of a critical junction produced clear evidence that the system orientated N.-S. is later than that orientated NW.-SE.

Further W. (SE 008999) a small excavation produced abundant charcoal from beside a major field wall and some beneath it; there was also a stake hole beneath the wall. The charcoal has been submitted for radiocarbon assay.

SEAMER, SEAMER CARR (TA 034823) T. Schadla-Hall reports that the ninth season of excavations took place in advance of waste disposal operations. Approximately 1,000 sq. metres of early mesolithic land surface were exposed, and the total extent of an early mesolithic activity area, first located in 1981, was finally completed. A limited quantity of faunal material, which included part of a dog's skeleton, was recovered in the wet deposits adjacent to the mesolithic site.

Stratified beneath this early mesolithic site, sealed by a cover sand some 5 cm in depth, was a late Upper Palaeolithic site, previously noted in 1984. This site produced several hundred worked flints, some poorly preserved faunal remains, and a stone-lined hearth. The full extent of the site was not established, but it does appear to represent the first stratified open late Upper Palaeolithic site recovered in the North of England.

SHERIFF HUTTON (no grid ref.). An Early Bronze Age thin butted flat copper alloy axe of unusual size (Length: 265mm; max. breadth: 155mm; weight: 1½kg) was found during ploughing. Axes of such size are usually considered ritual rather than of practical use. Reported by P. V. Addyman, York Archaeological Trust.

STAMFORD BRIDGE (area SE 714558). J. R. Watkin reports a Middle Bronze Age dirk, length 252 mm, has been brought into the Yorkshire Museum for identification. The finder stated that it was found September 1984 in the river Derwent, about 200 metres upstream from the weir north of Stamford Bridge. The dirk has been retained by the finder.

ROMANO-BRITISH

ALDBOROUGH (SE 4166) Mrs. R. Hartley reports that a photograph appeared in a local paper of a short stretch of Roman masonry on the bank of the Ure, hitherto unknown and said to be part of a wharf.

BEVERLEY *see* Medieval Section.

COULTON (SE 6273)
Four copper alloy toes, evidently part of a twice life-size human statue, were found during ploughing. The find spot was at the centre of an extensive cropmark complex from which surface walking has produced tiles limestone and pottery of the 3rd-4th century. The toes stylistically and in terms of their metallurgy seem likely to belong to the Roman period. Reported by P. V. Addyman, York Archaeological Trust.

HOLME UPON SPALDING MOOR Dr M. Millett reports that survey and excavation continued with the discovery of further settlements and industrial sites. For previous work, see *Britannia* XVI (1985), p. 280. The project was directed for Durham University by Dr Millet and the survey by Mrs P. Halkon.

BURSEA FARM (SE 808336) Small-scale excavation supervised by Mr Halkon investigated a round-house known from aerial photography, but the site proved to have been all but ploughed out.

WELHAMBRIDGE FARM (SE 793342) A substantial iron slag heap was investigated by Mr. P. N. Stephens prior to destruction. This was shown to relate to large-scale iron production, almost certainly during the Roman period. Drainage gullies beneath were probably Iron Age.

INGLETON *see* Prehistoric Section.

LOTHERSDALE, CROSS GREEN (SD 962474) D. Haigh reports that Professor J. K. S. St. Joseph has cast doubt on the identification of this earthwork as a marching camp by Bradford Grammar School Archaeological Society (*YAJ* 54 (1982), p. 178 and *Britannia* 13 (1982), p. 348 and 14 (1983), pp. 293-4).

SHIPTONTHORPE (SE 851425) Detailed survey and excavation directed for Durham University by Dr M. Millett continued on the site of a small town, thought to be *Delgovicia* (for previous work, see Britannia XVI (1985), p. 281). Geophysical survey and fieldwalking suggest that the site comprised a linear spread along the road from Brough to York. York-scale excavation examined the road and structures on either side. The road seems to have been laid down after land clearance in the early second century. A series of road-side ditches dating from the first to fourth centuries was examined, and the structural sequence was shown to continue to at least the end of the fourth century.

TADCASTER—Westgate (SE 48543)
Three trial trenches (by York Achaeological Trust for North Yorkshire County Council and Bass North plc) in a yard and garden behind The Old Fleece revealed ditches, pits, postholes and occupation layers some of which produced pottery ranging from the 2nd to the 4th century. Small finds included a gritstone beehive quern uper stone. These discoveries, perhaps part of the settlement of *Calcaria,* suggest substantial Roman occupation on the SW bank of the River Wharfe, upstream from the present bridge and SW of the chirch, an area where extensive redevelopment is expected shortly.

WOODHOUSE, ANCHOR PIT (SE 157217) J. A. Gilks reports that in February 1984 Mr. B. Maplebeck of Brighouse discovered a Roman pennanular bracelet on the surface of a ploughed field. It measures 48 by 38 mm and has been made from two strands of copper alloy wire twisted together; the ends are soldered. According to the HBMC Ancient Monuments Laboratory, London, it was originally gilded. Retained by the finder.

YORK—7-9 Aldwark (SE 606522)
An exploratory trench cut by the developers of this housing site located the legionary fortress wall, and a piled foundation system was designed for the new buildings, largely to avoid damage to the wall.

A further small trench (P. J. Ottaway for York Arcchaeological Trust) near the east angle tower of the fortress revealed information on the sequence of defences and confirmed the results of S. N. Miller's 1925 Hawarden Place investigation.

Overlying a pre-Roman soil deposit were the remains of a first century turf and clay rampart based on close set horizontal timbers.

Two phases of wall footing were indicated probably dating to the early second and early third centuries. The upstanding wall had been heavily robbed in the Anglo-Scandinavian period.

The work was sponsored by HBMC.

YORK, TADCASTER ROAD (SE 589 502) Mr. E. King reports that by courtesy of the new owners of the Voltigeur Hotel, 230 Tadcaster Road, the York Excavation Group has been able to continue its examination of the Roman road from Tadcaster to York. The site lies between that dug by the Group at No. 304 and that on the N edge of the Hob Moor allotments explored by Mr. L. P. Wenham in the 1950s. A narrow trench along the S. side of the drive revealed only 4 m surviving of the width of the road. This was at the extreme W. edge of the metalling and plunged into a ditch. A clay foundation between the road material and the sandy subsoil recalled the W. edge of the road in No. 304, and the position of the W. ditch can be safely located at 56.9 m from the present garden wall on Tadcaster Road.

ROMAN ROAD ALIGNMENTS
Ilkley to Manchester (M720a) D. Haigh reports that Bradford Grammar School Archaeological Society has thoroughly investigated the accepted line between Longbottom Mills (SE 042240), Warley Township, Halifax Parish, and the approaches to Blackstone Edge near Newgate End Bridge (SD 990184), Soyland Township, Halifax Parish, and found no physical indications whatsoever in 1985.

Successful excavations proving the line of the road at Morton Banks, East Riddlesden Hall (SE 079420) and at Hainworth Shaw (SE 068391), both in Bingley Parish, and at Denholme Gate (SE 070332) in Bradford Parish, are in *Britannia* 14 (1983), p.295 and 15 (1984), p.283. Unsuccessful searches for a ford and for the road at Longbottom Mills (SE 042240) are in *Britannia* 16 (1985), p.280.

Ripponden to Rastrick (M720aa) Traces of a road-like terrace were noted in 1985 alongside the modern B6113 at Heath Lea, Barkisland Township, Halifax Parish (SE 058206-060207). The length was *c.* 256 m, the width 4-4.6 m and the height up to 0.3 m. A geophysical survey by A. Aspinall and J. G. B. Haigh of Bradford University was not followed up by excavation due to bad weather. This feature may possibly be one of those 'indicia of ancient construction . . . visible (in the mid-nineteenth century (F. A. Leyland, 'Roman Roads in the Parish of Halifax', *J Brit Archaeol Ass* 20 (1864), p. 214).

Wheeldale Moor (SE 8096) Mrs. R. Hartley reports that the culverts, which were largely water-logged, have been redug and rye grass encroaching on the road surface treated with weed-killer. The road now stands out well and is a very fine monument.

ANGLO-SAXON

RICCALL (SE 609373)
23 or more burials were recorded in limited excavations by York Archaeological Trust (D. A. Brinklow) following Yorkshire Water Authority flood defence operations of the known cemetery at Riccall landing., This burial ground is thought to have been a war cemetery relating to a skirmish following the Battle of Stamford Bridge in September 1066. The burials, all extended ihumations, produced no further evidence of date than had been obtained in excavations in 1956-8 (*Yorks. Archaeol. J.* 1960, 301-7). Substantial parts of the cemetery still evidently remain.

YORK, REDFEARN'S GLASS FACTORY, FISHERGATE (SE 606511) Excavation on the former factory site for the York Archaeological Trust, directed by Richard Kemp, revealed a series of Anglian features beneath plough soil of the period of the Gilbertine Priory (see Medieval Section). These included about 30 pits containing Anglian finds including three mid-eighth century silver coins, along with evidence for palisades, structures and roads. Anglo-Saxon finds occur over an area of several acres. Excavation continues.

The work was sponsored by HBMC and York City Council.

YORK—7-9 Aldwark (SE 606522)

Excavations (P. J. Ottaway for York Archaeological Trust) showed that two post-Roman pits had been cut close up against the Roman legionary fortress wall before the wall itself had been heavily robbed of its stonework between the tenth and twelfth centuries. The work was sponsored by HBMC.

MEDIEVAL

BEVERLEY. Two excavations were directed by Peter Armstrong and supervised by Justin Hughes for the County Architect's Department, Humberside County Council, and the Manpower Services Commission.

CONSTITUTIONAL HALL, FLEMINGATE (TA 038392)

A trench 12m x 3m excavated to the north east of the Lurk Lane excavation site (1979-82) found evidence of a buried land surface into which were cut four narrow slots stratified beneath levels containing Saxo-Norman pottery. The slots were aligned east to west and parallel with Flemingate. Similar features of eighth century AD date or earlier were recorded at Lurk Lane but on north-to-south alignments.

Two east-to-west wall foundations of chalk, the larger 1.6m wide and 2.2m deep, were of late medieval date. They do not appear to be house walls and so may be evidence for an exceptionally substantial property or precinct boundary pertaining to the collegiate church.

Finds from the site were limited in quantity but included a bone skate and a glass linen smoother from twelfth/thirteenth-century deposits.

WYLIES ROAD (TA 030399)

Three trenches were opened to investigate the nature of the boundary ditch, or Bar Dyke, on the north side of the town. The flat-bottomed ditch was only partially excavated but was found to be 2.5m deep and cut through chalk gravel, a totally different subsoil type to the water-holding boulder clay and alluvium of the Minster area in the southern part of the town. There was no evidence of an upcast bank, suggesting the feature may have been a natural line of drainage adopted to define the limits of the town on the north side.

In an early period of management, perhaps in the thirteenth century, the face of the ditch was revetted to prevent erosion. This was indicated by a line of stake holes possibly designed to hold in place bundles of faggots, for which there is documentary evidence in the later context of the Bar Dyke's maintenance in the fifteenth century. The ditch was not kept in good repair throughout the medieval period however. After the collapse of the revetment, the ditch silted and it was only recut once to a shallower depth before it was abandoned. A number of pits of late fifteenth and sixteenth-century date were cut in the immediate area indicating encroachment of activity onto the boundary sector at this time.

Evidence of Romano-British occupation was also recovered from the site in the form of a north-to-south aligned ditch, 1.25m wide and 0.75m deep, containing pottery of third-century AD date. Some later 4th century material was also present. Although a small number of stray finds of the first and third century AD have been recorded from Beverley in the past, this is the first positive evidence for Romano-British settlement within the area later occupied by the medieval town. Significantly, it comes from the higher and well-drained gravels to the north.

BIRSTALL, OAKWELL HALL (SE 217271) A rescue excavation undertaken by J. A. Gilks for Kirklees Museums to the east of Oakwell Hall (a moated site dating from the mid-fourteenth century) has revealed the complete plan of a fourteenth to sixteenth-century sunken building. It was roughly rectangular, 6.8 m long by 2.0-2.4 m wide and 0.7-1.1 m deep (it was built into a slope), and had walls of wattle and stake/post construction. Resting on the floor and set at right angles to the side walls were a number of widely spaced timbers; these supported contiguous members of square and rectangular section, which ran the full length of the building. Some had tenons, peg and/or mortice holes, suggesting that they were derived from a timber-framed building. The timbers were sealed by an organically rich deposit, which produced a whetstone, a small fragment of East Pennine Gritty Ware (attributable to the fourteenth century), a quantity of animal bones (mostly sheep/goat), and leather offcuts and fragments, some quite large, of shoes. From a slightly higher level came many sherds of a fifteenth/sixteenth-century avoid bodied cistern.

This building is probably best interpreted as an outbuilding of Oakwell Hall and, from the large amounts of

animal hair found in the bottom and higher up in the fill, it seems reasonable to conclude that its main function was a shelter for animals. Late in its history, however, it had also served as a workshop for the repair of leather shoes, as a store (numerous concentrations of seeds were found), and finally, following the raising of the floor level almost to that of the contemporary ground surface and with some reconstruction of the side walls, as a dwelling.

BROTTON; KILTON CASTLE (NZ 703175) Cleveland County Archaeology Section carried out extensive scrub clearance and a structural survey of the inner keep of the largely ruinous thirteenth-century castle at Kilton. The work was undertaken to ascertain the structural integrity of the surviving masonry and to make proposals for the future management of the site, which has been extensively excavated by A. Aberg. A further programme of work on the outer keep is planned for 1986.

FERRY FRYSTON, ST ANDREW'S CHURCHYARD (SE 478250) L. Mills and M. L. Faull report that the Countryside Unit of West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council is undertaking the landscaping and excavation of the previous site of St Andrew's Church, which was moved into Ferry Fryston in 1952-4. The work includes the laying flat and mortaring into place of the gravestones. As at 12 November 1985 the remaining courses of walls from the church indicate that the north aisle was added and the chancel enlarged at a date as yet unknown. The west wall was strengthened to accommodate the addition of a tower, the other three walls of which were free-standing within the church.

In the chancel a tiled floor (Minton Hollins, Stoke-on-Trent, 1875-90) was lifted to reveal *c.*30 cm build-up of rubble to form a step up from the nave; this rubble had covered an earlier step. An early twentieth-century underground heating system has been removed. Immediately outside the church three brick-lined burial vaults have been discovered, one presumably being that of the family of Lord Houghton (formerly Monckton-Milnes). It seems likely that the church was renovated and the graveyard landscaped in the early nineteenth century.

HELMSLEY, HELMSLEY CASTLE (SE 611837) P. R. Wilson reports that rescue excavation by HBMC's Central Excavation Unit, prior to the construction of a car park to the north of the Guardianship area, demonstrated that most of this area was devoid of archaeological features. However, a trench cut through the major earthwork on the W. side of the site demonstrated that the area had been occupied by a leat serving at least the outer ditch around the castle, showing that it had been a wet moat. Excavation revealed that the clay-lined channel was 7.60 m wide and 1.18 m deep in the area of the trench. The extant bank was 2.86 m high and, despite modern disturbance, had clearly originally joined the earthworks surrounding the castle. Local people confirm the former existence of a second bank on the W. side of the leat to within living memory; no trace was found of this. The filling of the leat contained much roughly worked stone, probably a dump of material from the partial demolition of the castle.

JERVAULX ABBEY (SE 172858)
As part of a programme of conservation York Archaeological Trust (A. P. Davison) recorded the standing structure of the chapter house and carried out limited excavations. Work is in progress on recording the rest of the standing structure in elevation and plan. The work is sponsored by HBMC and the owner Mr W. R. Burdon.

RIPON, BEDERN BANK (SE 313710) D. Perring for the Central Excavation Unit reports that the site covered an area mostly occupied in the early medieval period by a braided meander of the River Skell. In the late twelfth or thirteenth century the river bank had been reinforced by stakes and a terrace wall built; two stone-lined hearths were set in an open area between bank and wall. On the upper terrace, 3-4 m above the stream and opposite the W. front of the Minster, no occupation levels survived.

During the thirteenth century the water was drained off the lower terrace, probably by the construction of the Mill Stream, which in the post-medieval period ran alongside Skellgarths (the S. boundary of the site). Reclamation dumps extending across the stream beds were rich in well preserved organic materials, including several shoes and a wooden bowl, and prepared the area for use as a garden or orchard.

By the end of the fifteenth century the site had been divided into a number of separate properties, with houses built against Bedern Bank and tan-yards against the Mill Stream. The tanning industry was represented by liming pits, waste horn cores, and clay-floored buildings with stone wall footings. The earliest of these may have been of the fourteenth century.

SKELTON, ORCHARD FIELD (SE 565569) Tony Tolhurst of the York Excavation Group reports that excavation began in May, aimed at trying to establish the previous use of the area, which is in the older part of the village. A preliminary investigation by Dr D. A. Spratt had indicated the presence of buildings with clay foundations, perhaps of sixteenth-century date.

Excavation was begun in the N.E. corner of the field, where a footpath was to be constructed. To date, evidence for buildings is inconclusive, but a line of stone and cobble may indicate the remains of a wall. Much pottery has been found, ranging from the twelfth century through the mid and late medieval periods. Only one Roman potsherd has so far been recovered. These finds, together with pieces of slag and lead, strongly suggest occupation and industrial activity nearby. A seventeenth-century trade token originating from Wirksworth in Derbyshire has been found, together with a Victorian penny.

YORK, REDFEARN'S FACTORY, FISHERGATE (SE 606511) Excavation for the York Archaeological Trust revealed walling identified as parts of the church, cloister and refectory of the Gilbertine Priory of St Andrew, founded *c.* 1202. A quantity of painted medieval window glass of high quality was found within the supposed church. Graves were also found in the area. See also Anglo-Saxon Section. The excavations will continue into 1986. The work was sponsored by HBMC.

YORK David Brinklow of the York Archaeological Trust writes that the implementation of Part 2 of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 has resulted in a vast increase in the number of observations made of contractors' excavations in the city. Since October 1984 over 140 operations notices have been served by developers: the great majority of these have resulted in a watching brief being carried out by the Trust. Many, when viewed singly, have not produced particularly startling results, but our overall knowledge of the depth and extent of preservation of archaeological levels in widely spaced locations within the city has been greatly enhanced by these observations. Others have produced signifcant results: a thirteenth-century building in Coppergate, stratified Roman levels in Coney Street, the abbey precinct wall in the Museum Gardens, stratified medieval levels in North Street, and a Roman building in Bishophill Senior are among these.

The amount of work generated in York by Part 2 of the Act greatly exceeds that in any of the other cities in which areas have been designated. We are unsure whether this represents a true difference in the degree of redevelopment taking place or a greater awareness by developers here of their legal responsibilities. The least satisfactory aspects of the situation is a complete lack of funding of the project by either HBMC or DoE. The Act carried no funding provision and the Trust is thus forced to dig deep into its own resources to produce the necessary financial support to ensure that the legislation can use the teeth it has been given.

YORK—St. Mary's Abbey
Four excavations/watching briefs were carried out by York Archaeological Trust:

(SE 600521) An emergency sewer trench cut by North Yorkshire County Council destroyed parts of St Mary's Abbey, including 11m running length of the buried precinct wall of the abbey. The sections were subsequently recorded for the Trust by D A Brinklow.

(SE 59785204) The Trust (N Oakey) cut a key-trench, in connection with the Yorkshire Water Authority flood defence scheme, as it approached the abbey precinct wall. The present wall proved to be a rebuild but on medieval foundations. Deposits nearby had been largely destroyed by a now-filled nineteenth-century swimming pool, but the course of the precinct wall was established below the pool.

(SE 59825204) The Trust (N. Oakey) excavated on the site of the Yorkshire Water Authority's flood defences between the Abbey Hospitium and the River Ouse. The abbey precinct wall was uncovered, together with an apparently original entrance from the riverside and several buildings set against the inner face of the precinct wall.

(SE 599521) The Trust excavated in advance of the construction of a temporary pavilion for an IBM international exhibition in Museum Gardens. The abbey building here proved to be deeply masked by nineteenth century levelling layers but a resistivity survey established their layout.

YORK, NUNNERY LANE (SE 600513) As a preliminary to consolidation and conservation of Tower 8 by York City Council, the York Archaeological Trust (R. L. Kemp) undertook two short excavations, within the tower and under its outer face. Much of the superstructure proved to be a nineteenth-century rebuild, but the core of the medieval wall was uncovered. The wall was set here in to the top of a pre-existing bank containing Roman pottery, presumably residual in this position. The lower part of the outer face of the tower was also evidently medieval. It leans our precariously and the conformation of the layers beneath suggests that the tower is breaking its back over some hidden obstruction within the bank, perhaps a pre-existing stone structure. The tower has now been set on a concrete frame. The work was sponsored by HBMC.

YORK, QUEEN STREET (SE 597515) York Archaeological Trust (B. Barber), excavating in advance of consolidation of Tower 13 (Tofts Tower) by York City Council, revealed an earlier, presumably medieval, tower below the present seventeenth-century structure (*see* Post-Medieval Section). The work sponsored by HBMC.

YORK FOSS ISLANDS ROAD (SE 611515 and 611514) Two trenches (B. Barber for York Archaeological Trust and HBMC) in advance of conservation of the city walls provided the first archaeological investigation of the defences E. of the River Foss. Into old ground surfaces and pre-existing Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian structures (*see* Anglo-Saxon Section) were cut two pits, one containing a post ghost and both backfilled with material containing twelfth-century pottery. Above these there were four phases of bank construction, the present city wall being added in the fourth phase, probably in the fourteenth century. A cobble and tile foundation along the outer front of the bank and a nearby shallow bedding trench suggest that earlier there may have been a frontal revetment or breastwork, possibly of timber, probably in the thirteenth century. Considerable groups of pottery from the various bank phases should provide a reliable date for the development of the defences, though it can already be said that they do not pre-date the twelfth century.

YORK, 48-50 STONEGATE (SE 602521) A watching brief (D.A. Brinklow for York Archaeological Trust) during alterations revealed a late fourteenth-century open hall of two bays with an arch brace and a crown-post truss and timbers reused from a scissors-truss building. The hall had been altered in the late fifteenth or sixteenth century, when an intermediate floor and ceiling were inserted. The building is being restored for use.

POST-MEDIEVAL

CAWOOD, CAWOOD CASTLE (SE 575376) Demolition of farm buildings in front of the medieval archbishops' palace was watched by D. A. Brinklow and M. R. Stockwell for York Archaeological Trust. The buildings proved to be largely of nineteenth-century date and have been recorded photographically. The work was sponsored by the Landmark Trust, which is restoring the palace buildings.

YORK, TOFTS TOWER (SE 597515) B. Barber, excavating inside and behind the seventeenth-century tower for York Archaeological Trust, prior to conservation work by York City Council, showed that much of the inner face of the tower and adjacent city wall is a nineteenth-century rebuild, but details of the brick tower chamber and occupation levels within it were recroded, as well as foundations of a preceding tower (*see* Medieval Section). The work was sponsored by HBMC.

YORK, SKELDERGATE (SE 602516) M. Whyman for York Archaeological Trust excavated five trial holes on an Ouse riverfront site between Skeldergate and Queen's Staith. River silts and timber riverside installations were found near the Queen's Staith frontage. In the centre of the site an alleyway was found flanked by stone post-medieval buildings. Elsewhere there wre deep deposits relating to post-medieval commercial use.

YORK, 26 COPPERGATE (SE 604517) York Archaeological Trust (D. A. Brinklow) recorded the well-preserved superstructure of this jettied sixteenth-century building, not fully investigated by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, during reconstruction.

YORK, 46-54 FISHERGATE (SE 606511) Remains of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century glassworks on the Redfearn National Glass Factory site were recorded during demolition.

BOOK REVIEWS

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE HISTORICAL MONUMENTS OF ENGLAND, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. II: The Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux*. Derek Phillips. London, HMSO 1985; pp. xxii+228, figs 46, pls 150. £45.

The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments has paid for the excavations at York Minster and administered them from the beginning. I was sent by Geoffrey Webb to open the York Office of the Commission in June 1950 and was in charge of it for over twenty years while most of the investigation for the York volumes was done; consequently I am well qualified to understand the difficulties against which Derek Phillips had to fight to produce this volume. In June 1965 Bernard Fielden was appointed Surveyor of the Fabric of York Minster, and in July 1966 he, Dennis King, John Harvey, Tom French and myself met to form a preliminary Minster Advisory Committee. Lord Scarborough was appointed High Steward in 1967 and asked Sir Mortimer Wheeler to set up an Archaeological Advisory Committee which included David Dowrick, representing the engineers, and Bernard Fielden; subsequently Mr Phillips was added when he took over as Director of Excavations. There is no doubt that his excavation was first rate, that his conclusions are in general sound, and that his drawings are excellent.

Professor Richard Atkinson's Foreword as chairman of the York Minster Excavation Committee, explains that this volume will eventually be preceded by a study of the Roman Legionary Fortress. The *Author's Preface* gives a very good account of the difficulties encountered, the problems of the situation and the invaluable assistance of the Engineers. The enquiry revealed that the Norman builders possessed an engineering proficiency that was quite unexpected. *The Historical Background* summarizes knowledge at the beginning of the excavation chiefly based on Professors Rosalind Hill and Christopher Brooke's chapter in *A History of York Minster* (ed. Aylmer and Cant (1977) pp. 1-43).

Excavation During the Nineteenth Century. The first archaeological investigations were the result of Jonathan Martin's fire in 1829 when John Browne was allowed to excavate. He produced very good drawings but he sometimes misunderstood his discoveries, for he recognised Archbishop Roger's work as that of Archbishop Thomas, and he hung his observations on the wrong historical pegs. After the fire of 1840 he was allowed to look for the Norman nave, but concluded that it had aisles. P. F. Robinson, Poole & Hugall, and Willis all agreed, but I have argued against this since 1972. The apsidal end to the east was discovered by Jesse Green, Clerk of the Works, who also discovered the timber grillage. In 1912 Dr. Hamilton Thompson considered counter-pitched or herringbone stonework found in the Minster foundations to be post-Conquest, as did Baldwin Brown in 1925, and Melmore, Harrison, Gee and Miller all agreed. This was constantly reiterated, but consistently ignored by the Commission. "It is unfortunate that just over thirty years before the excavation of 1963-73 began, evidence had been found which, had it been made public, could have thrown much light upon the unusual ground plan of the Anglo-Norman church and settled the question before the restoration programme began" (p.26).

An ingenious theory is developed that siting of the new church may depend on the original grant made to the church in the time of Paulinus, when Edwin was King in 627 (Bede, Hist. Eccles. II XV) (p. 47). Jesse Green's discovery of the peg for laying out the cathedral seems to represent the position of King Edwin's skull in 'porticu Sancti Papae Gregorij' in the centre of the apse at the east end, which has a logical relationship to the Romanesque towers built at the west end in 1180-1200.

The land to the west front and the adjoining wall was granted to the Cathedral by William II (1089-1095 *E.Y.C.* 1, 117) and thus the towers added on it could not have been built before *c.*1090; they were probably added to the Chapel of St. Mary and All Angels, which had been erected for Archbishop Roger Pont L'Evèque above the gate to the precinct, for the north wall of the north west tower was intentionally prolonged to fit against the oblique wall (Y.M. 3280) and yet the footings themselves had twelfth-century chevron and other worked stones in them. At the south end four stones of the first course of the wall remain with fine diagonal axeing of late twelfth-century type (Y.M. 3174), and there was no claw tooling in the tower complex, confirming a pre-1200 date.

There is a possibility that the west front had a great arch at the west end like those at Tewkesbury and Durham. An interesting plan is given of the underlying Roman Fortress (Fig. 12) with a Roman culvert which was discovered by the Norman builders and is still preserved.

The Substructure (Chapter 4) There is good academic reasoning for the determining of the true east, and a clear definition of the 'grillage', which to me is a new term; there are two pages of drawings showing the character of wall footings from the preliminary trench to the construction of the walls—always accompanied by telling

photographs. An excellent drawing of the northern transeptal apse entails careful observation and correct deductions and is a valuable study of the grillage (Fig. 15) which is accompanied by a lovely series of photographs of reused stones. (Plates 46-52) Figure 43, plan of the substructure of the church of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux, shows the actual chases of the timber grillage which were so valuable for providing the plan of the east end. Figure 44, showing the remains of this church revealed by excavation in 1829-1971, is probably the finest of all the drawings.

The Superstructure (Chapter 5) Very little of the superstructure has survived but there is some in the area occupied by later crypts. The timber grillage suggests the size and position of the walls above, which were approximately 7 feet 3 inches wide. The internal width of the apse was slightly less than the distance between the inner walls further west. There is no archaeological evidence for the width of the entrance and it is uncertain whether the apse was stilted. To the west stood a pair of parallel walls, the broader to the outside and the narrower to the inside, with 4 feet 3 inches between them. Browne described the inner walls as faced with herring-bone masonry and when in 1970 a twelfth-century doorway was removed (at the west end of the choir) it allowed masoncraft of Thomas and Roger to be compared. An addition to the inner walls at the entrance of the Anglo-Norman eastern arm was probably a pulpitum, like one known to have existed at Beverley. At York, if the transept was not isolated, there must have been a screen on its east side.

The Transept and Crossing (p. 96) The central tower is the largest in England above an Anglo-Norman crossing, and eleventh-century masonry was suspected and found in the core of the pillars. The length of the transept remained unknown until 1968-9, when the transept walls were found to stand some 5 feet above the substructure. Figure 17 gives very good drawings of the masoncraft of Thomas' builders. One of the aims of the excavations was to expose the entire Anglo-Norman transept, and the best external face was seen under the present transept's western arcades. (Plate 71). The rubble masonry was rendered with off-white plaster, lined-out in red haemic ochre. The apses did not remain long and Plate 77 shows the squaring of the south transept apse. Between the transeptal apses and the outer walls of the eastern arm were newel stairs 6 feet 8 inches in diameter. The discovery of an arch under the south newel was useful as a check on the one that Browne discovered, and the drawing of the south entrance is valuable (Fig 18).

The Nave (p.113)

The description of the nave is rather involved, but it is illustrated in Figure 42. It was aisleless, but had a narrower eastern bay and was delineated by pilasters 11 feet 1 inch apart; double orders were formed by these pilasters and their flanking niches, and they were covered by lined plaster. The walls remained about 5 feet above the substructure externally and the northern inner face was the better preserved. A good example of eleventh-century masonry is illustrated at the juncture of the nave and transept in the roof space above the north aisle (Fig. 19) and also in the base of a column there (Fig. 20) There is a good record of the west front substructure and some true buttresses which probably supported newel stairs, with a doorway between them.

The floors of Thomas' cathedral were raised and, as found at the west front, in 1270 lay only 2 feet below the nave floor of 1291. At the east end of the nave the coffin of William FitzHerbert, who died on 8th. June 1154 and later was canonized, continued to be revered even after his remains were translated in 1284. There is a careful study of the contents of the lead box, which was put back there after the Reformation and opened on 30th. December 1973; it is now in the crypt. Derek Phillips has complicated arguments which skilfully work out the position of St. William's coffin and its later history prior to its modern movements. The case for the raised floors in the transepts and crossing is carefully argued and is borne out by the section left in the centre between the inner walls of the eastern arm to the west of the wall bench of Archbishop Roger's crypt.

The drawing showing the probable arrangement of the crypt of *c.*1100 (Fig. 23) is very good. There are inner and outer walls across the west side of the apse probably leading to a chamber with a vaulted roof. Roger's eastern arm was of the same width as a structure added to the west front to accommodate a west doorway within a recess.

The External Appearance of the Cathedral (p.141)

An excellent drawing here is derived from one by John Miller, based upon deductions made by himself and me (Fig. 25). The best illustration of a lot of Derek Phillips's theories is embodied in an isometric projection (Fig. 44) in which the upper substructure is shown in its entirety, with walls surviving to a height of 5 feet. Plates 10 and 83 showing the eleventh-century capital still surviving in the east wall of the south transept are particularly important. The inner order of each pilaster became a niche below the upper windows, as in the abbey church of St. Etienne at Caen, in the western wall of Selby north transept, and in a good example at Beaulieu les Loches. (Conant (1978) 270 & 274) All must have had further delineation with string courses.

The nave walls may have been 65 feet high with pilaster spacing as estimated in Figure 29; the nave and transepts must have been of much the same height. There is no similar guide for the east end, but there were small embrasures to light the crypt and the chamber below the apse. The roofing material may have been lead: there are guesses at the span of the original church roof; the width of the choir was perhaps 27 feet and it probably had a continuous barrel vault.

The Interior (p.151)

General comparisons are made with Richmond, Ripon and Nun Monkton. Two-zone capitals reused in a pier of the south arcade of the Lady Chapel (Plate 124 and Figs. 34a & 34b) and some capitals and bases reused in a pier at the west end of the nave give a good indication of the character of the late eleventh-century form of decoration. Derek Phillips provides some scale drawings and photographs of voussoirs and mouldings of the same date (Figs. 20, 26, 27, 28, & 34). Five pieces of blue window glass found to the north of the north transept wall were carefully examined at York University; they are very interesting, but do not make much impact as a frontispiece!

In *Aspects of Technology of the Anglo-Norman Church* there are three essays: in the first examples of the use of timber in contemporary building are given; the second reports essays on building stones, for Alec Clifton Taylor has discussed local use of magnesium limestone and I have recently published *'Stone from the Medieval Quarries of South Yorkshire'* in *Collecteanea Historica: Essays in Memory of Stuart Rigold* (Maidstone 1981); the third is an interesting academic exercise on the Norman basic unit of measurement. It would be interesting to assess how much of the Archaeological Committee's ideas have been grafted on to the author's interpretation of his dig: the study of the Norman dimensions does not add anything fundamental and the idea needs developing further, for it must be seen in relation to some other important church, such as Durham. The ultimate conclusion is that the late eleventh-century architecture was exceptionally good and could have been based on a master plan, as suggested by Dr. John Harvey. Modern trouble in the structure was due to later factors.

There is a useful glossary, the index is reliable, but the Bibliography could be fuller; the last figure (46) with the National Grid superimposed acts as a general key. I have constantly referred to the quality of the photography but perhaps an extra tribute should be paid to the late John Bassham, for most of the exceptional photographs of the upper parts taken from the scaffold were by him.

This book is of a high standard both of scholarship and production, and should be welcomed by archaeologists and architectural historians.

ERIC A. GEE

York

BRIAN DYSON (ed) *A Guide to Local Studies in East Yorkshire,* Hutton Press Ltd., Cherry Burton, 1985; pp. 250, figs 56. £5·95.

This collection of studies on aspects of local history aims 'to provide a scholarly introduction to the study of local history in East Yorkshire'. It covers a great deal of ground from Domesday Book to the decline of the Hull fishing industry. With such experienced researchers as David Neave writing on the history of houses and Barbara English on medieval history, it should prove a reliable guide both to amateurs and scholars. The use of records, maps and, to some extent, of structures as sources for ecclesiastical, agricultural and social history is clearly explained. Family history, population, urban history, education and public health are all covered, while teachers will find helpful the chapter by Jane Lancaster on Local History in the classroom, and all will profit from those by Jill Crowther and Geoffrey Oxley explaining the functions and uses of a local history library and a record office (both with Hull in mind).

Nearly every chapter ends with a case study to show how material is assembled, whether to trace a family tree (the Wittys of Middleton), to see how Great Driffield grew and declined, to follow the fate of the collegiate church of Lowthorpe, to study the enclosure of Cherry Burton or how the care of the mentally ill developed in the East Riding. There is a full and up-to-date bibliography, though surprisingly omitting the study of Beverley by Miller, Robinson and others of 1982.

The illustrations could have been better reproduced and the captions to 16 and 18 have been transposed, but the satelite photograph of the area on the cover is revealing. The notes, index and list of useful address will provide anyone embarking on a local history project in East Yorkshire with the equivalent of a small library. If he uses it as much as it deserves, however, the tight binding is likely to split and the book disintegrate.

ALEXANDER FENTON. *The Shape of the Past, Volume 2: Essays in Scottish Ethnology*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh 1986; pp.vii+184, figs 57. £12.

Many readers of this journal will probably be familiar with at least some of Alexander Fenton's published contributions towards a history of rural life in Scotland. Extending over many years and presented in numerous books and articles, they afford collectively both a record and an interpretation of ways of life that have either disappeared for ever or are threatened with extinction. Sometimes, as in the author's *The Northern Isles,* a comparatively small area provides the focus of study: elsewhere, as in *Scottish Country Life,* Alexander Fenton addresses himself to themes which are common to a much larger district. Whatever the scale of the investigation, the author's approach combines, characteristically, an account of surviving material remains with a discussion which draws by way of explanation on a combination of documents, old photographs and oral testimony, as well as the evidence provided by the landscape itself.

In *The Shape of the Past* five articles in this vein published between 1964 and 1974 have been brought together, and, following some modifications, appear as the six chapters which make up the book. Of these, two are devoted, to a discussion of draught oxen and their equipment in Britain (and thus range geographically beyond Scotland); two are concerned with the use of seaweed as manure and with the practice of paring and burning respectively; and two with the cutting of turf or peat in different parts of Scotland. It may not prove too difficult to track down the originals of some of the book's chapters, though this is hardly likely to be true of all. 'Peat in Fetlar in the 1960s' first appeared in *Folk Life* during 1964, whilst the accounts of paring and burning and the cutting of turf and peat were contributed to *The Spade in Northern and Atlantic Europe,* edited by Alan Gailey and Alexander Fenton and published in Belfast by the Ulster Folk Museum and the Institute of Irish Studies in 1970. 'Draught Oxen in Britain', 'Early Yoke Types in Britain' and 'Seaweed Manure' were first published in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Portugal respectively, and were previously unknown to this reviewer. Like the other chapters of this book, all three contain much of interest and their appearance in circumstances which are likely to bring them before a wider audience is to be welcomed.

Despite their largely Scottish context, many of the observations recorded in *The Shape of the Past* are clearly relevant to a wider geographical setting. As the author points out, an examination of the ways in which rural communities exploit their natural resources may be expected to provide valuable insights into the changing character of the community itself. For this reason 'Peat in Fetlar' deserves to be widely read. Nearer home, the book invites comparison with Yorkshire experience as described, for example, by Marie Hartley and Joan Ingilby in *Life and Tradition in the Yorkshire Dales* (1968), or in Bertram Frank's contribution to *The Spade in Northern and Atlantic Europe* ('Peat and turf in Ryedale in the early twentieth century'). At the same time *The Shape of the Past* serves as a reminder of the wealth of interesting material which still awaits detailed study in our own part of the country, for peat was widely exploited in lowland Yorkshire as well as in the uplands, and paring and burning attracted the attention of the county's agricultural writers both before and after 1800. The use of draught oxen would similarly repay attention. When in 1796 Francis White embellished a map of Castle Howard with a representation of a plough team consisting of a single horse and a pair of oxen, we wonder whether he did so because such a sight might have been common at the time or because it was unusual.

The book will also be read with interest by those who recall the character and appearance of some of the more remote parts of Britain 30 or so years ago. This reviewer has vivid memories of an extended visit to the Shetland island of Unst in 1950. Frequently, or so it seemed to an outsider, many of the processes of change familiar in the South had there been suspended. One of the virtues of *The Shape of the Past* is that it allows us to place such recollections in their appropriate historical and cultural context without encouraging us to indulge in a misplaced sense of loss.

University of Hull A. HARRIS

J. HATCHER, *The Industrial Architecture of Yorkshire,* Phillimore 1985; pp. 178, ills. 264. £12.50.

This is a very disappointing book, the contents of which do not do justice to its subject. It provides an oddly disjointed and unbalanced account of the development of the industries of Yorkshire. Indeed, a reader who knows nothing about the county might be forgiven for coming to the conclusion that the industrial heartland of Yorkshire is located in the north and east, rather than in the south and west. South Yorkshire is particularly badly covered, only a passing mention being made to its once great iron and steel industries. There are photographs of the Abbeydale Industrial Hamlet and of Low Mill Furnace, Silkstone, but none of Wortley Top Forge, not to mention the steel works of the Don Valley. Coal mining fares no better, the entire industry being written off in two paragraphs.

Similarly, the section on textiles understates their historical importance to the development of the county, only 18 of the book's 278 pages being given over to the architecture of the industry. In contrast, no less than 47 pages are devoted to a treatise on power sources. In a book which has so much ground to cover and a limited amount of space to do it in, it is hard to justify spending 11 pages on an account of the development of the water-wheel (including an illustration of a Norse wheel, none of which survives in Yorkshire, to the best of my knowledge).

Of all the subjects covered it is transport which fares best, no less than 59 pages being allocated to it. The section on roads is, in fact, primarily concerned with bridges, little information being given about the development of the county's road network. The section on railways shares the same peculiar bias towards the north and east of the county found elsewhere in the book. Brief mention is made of the Middleton Railway and of the Leeds and Selby line, but the author then plunges into a detailed description of the Whitby and Pickering line. This imbalance is also to be found in the choice of plates for this section, for 20 of the 22 are of railway buildings in the north and east of Yorkshire, including no less than eight of Pocklington Station. Important structures and buildings, including the impressive engineering works on the Settle and Carlisle line, and the Leeds Central Station wagon lifts and nearby roundhouse, are, on the other hand, ignored completely.

The quality of the illustrations leaves much to be desired, the photographs giving the impression that they were taken for record purposes rather than with a view to publication. I was surprised by the absence of acknowledgements and foonotes. It is not clear whether this is intended to be a serious academic offering or simply a coffee table book; in the event it fails to be either.

ROBIN THORNES
RCHM, London

PEGGY HEWITT, *These Lonely Mountains, a biography of the Brontë Moors,* Springfield Books Ltd, Denby Dale, 1985; pp. 154, pls 40, figs 50. £7·95.

This is a collection of anecdotes about people and places in and around Haworth 'gleaned over a lifetime lived in the Worth valley'. Although only one chapter is devoted to the family which has made the area famous—a portrait of Patrick Brunty—they are naturally mentioned in others about the parish church, chapels and schools. Recollections of local personalities, details of transport by road (The Passing of the Brontë Bus) or rail (Steam up in the Worth Valley) jostle with portraits of villages, such as Wycoller and Pondon, and accounts of accidents. Lilly Cove the 'liberated lady' parachutist, who fell to her death in 1906, finds a place together with Timmy Feather (1825-1910) and William Grimshaw, Vicar of Haworth, a pioneer Methodist in the 1740s.

The photographs and sketches are an attractive feature, but the book's lack of documentation betrays its origin as a series of magazine articles. However, even if the writing is at time a bit too folksy, it will surely attract and charm visitors to the area rather than repel them, as some of the more solemn literature on the shrine of the Brontës is apt to do.

P. R. NEWMAN, *Royalist Officers in England and Wales, 1642-1660: A Biographical Dictionary,* Garland Publishing Inc., London and New York 1981; pp. xxii + 429. $90.
P. R. NEWMAN, *An Atlas of the English Civil War,* Croom Helm 1985; pp. 126. £12·95.

The compiler of these sturdy works of reference is well known for his studies of northern, mainly Yorkshire, military history during the period of the Civil War, and he has made important contributions to our knowledge of Civil War armies, notably the Royalists, and of Civil War battles and encounters, notably that at Marston Moor. In his massive dictionary, *Royalist Officers,* Dr Newman provides short biographical notes on more than 1600 men commissioned as field officers by Charles I or Charles II. He aims to provide information about dates of birth and death, family background, education, pre-war military experience, and military and civil offices held, together with details of military engagements and of religion, wealth and landownership. Despite clearly exhaustive research the entries inevitably vary markedly in length, for many of the officers have left too few traces behind them. Moreover, because of the nature of Dr Newman's original researches there seem to be gaps in the coverage of Royalist officers in the south—about one quarter of the entries are derived from the northern counties. Although one wishes that the compiler had included a comprehensive, analytical introduction he has provided an important dictionary which will be used—and not only by military historians—for many years to come.

Dr Newman's *Atlas* is an altogether more modest affair. It comprises fifty-six maps which set out major and minor military campaigns, or which provide background information. Each map is accompanied by a page of explanatory text, and there is a meaty but short general introduction. The maps, none of which is in colour, exclude contours, and each one occupies only one page. These are real disadvantages, because some maps depict the whole country, or a larger region, others illustrate a small local campaign or the dispositions of troops on a battlefield. It can, therefore, be difficult to gain an idea of the lie of the land, or even of the exact location of one sizeable town in relation to another or to a river; indeed rivers are not always shown, and the main highways seldom (though that perhaps matters less). Nevertheless the maps are clear and uncluttered, and the texts do elucidate them, although explorers of battlefields will require larger-scale and more detailed maps than are provided here. Dr Newman has drawn on the latest literature and his own researches for the information included in this modest but useful work, which will assist the teacher in the classroom as well as the reader in the armchair.

G. C. F. FORSTER
University of Leeds

E. ROYLE, *Nonconformity in Nineteenth-century York,* Borthwick Paper No. 68; York, The Borthwick Institute, 1985; pp. 40, maps 1. £1·80 + 20p p. & p.

Numerous Nonconformist bodies rose from humble beginnings in the late seventeenth century to rival the Church of England in one of its primatial sees, reaching their greatest numbers and influence in 1851. Of the 45 chapels built between 1674 and 1910 only a few now survive in use. Such personalities as James Meek or such issues as temperance caused splits, especially among the Methodists, whose Centenary Chapel in St Saviourgate of 1840 was built to rival the Congregationalists' Salem Chapel of 1839. The rapid decline of most sects since 1905 contrasts sharply with the period, chronicled in this pamphlet, when confident Nonconformists dominated the city's council, press and institutions.

C. Cross, *Urban Magistrates and Ministers: Religion in Hull and Leeds from the Reformation to the Civil War;* York, Borthwick Paper No. 67 1985; pp. 30. £1.80 + 20p p. & p.

From wills and other contemporary sources Dr Cross traces the attitude of the laity in the two towns towards changes in church doctrine and discipline. Melchior Smith, Vicar of Hessle and Hull from 1561, and his less outspoken colleague, Griffith Briskin, Hull town preacher, made a 'somewhat frenetic attempt to compel the inhabitants of Hull into the ways of godliness'. At Leeds changes were more gradual, with no protestant preachers until the 1590s, fewer philanthropists and chapels in the outer townships becoming disused. However, by 1642 both the magistrates and the ministers in both towns had 'gone far towards realising their ideal of a godly commonwealth'.

Barbara English, *Yorkshire Enclosure Awards;* Hull, Dept. of Adult Education, University of Hull, 1985; pp. xiv + 184, map. £3.50 incl. p. & p.

All known awards and maps are listed by Dr English together with their dates, areas covered, names of commissioners and present location. This guide covers the whole historic county, 821 parishes from Abbotside to Youlthorpe. It is surprising to read that 'no list was made available' of the collection in the North Yorkshire County Record Office and that 'no access to office lists was permitted', but twenty other archives in the county cooperated. The list is not restricted to Parliamentary enclosures and it is encouraging to find that for some townships as many as five copies exist. Local historians will be very grateful that they can now find details of awards and maps for all the Ridings in one clear, comprehensive and up-to-date book. The work involved in its compilation must have been formidable and the result is impressive, despite the difficulties encountered in Northallerton and the splitting of Yorkshire between ten counties. The handsome cover shows part of the map of Snaith, Cowick and Rawcliffe.

Colin Hayfield and Tony Slater, *The Medieval Town of Hedon, Excavations 1975-76;* Hull, Humberside Leisure Services, 1984; pp. vi + 90, figs. 32. £3.50 + 59p p. & p. from Central Library, Albion Street, Hull.

The first section of this book is an analysis of the town plan of Hedon by Dr Slater, very similar to that published in *YAJ* Vol. 57. Then follows a short account by Colin Hayfield of the excavations in Middle Lane. The rest is a finds report, almost entirely devoted to pottery, since otherwise only twenty metal, stone and bone objects were found. This pottery is illustrated, analysed and discussed in detail, though little seems to have come to the port from much further afield than Beverley or Scarborough. Out of 8,000 vessels, 700 of which are illustrated, only sixteen came from France or the Rhineland. This thorough study will be useful to enthusiasts for medieval pots.

N. A. H. Lawrance (ed.), *Fasti Parochiales Vol. V: Deanery of Buckrose:* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol. 143 for 1983, Leeds 1985; pp. xvi + 96, map. £20.

The sequence of clergy from the first known institutions to just after 1660 is detailed for 27 East Riding parishes. Although this information, so carefully compiled by the late Canon Lawrance and edited by Dr Smith, will be useful to local historians, they may wonder if it merited a hard cover and a price which reflects its lack of general appeal.

Robin Place, *The Vikings: Fact and Fiction,* Cambridge University Press 1985; pp. 32, numerous ills. £2.25 p/b; £4.25 h/c.

A story of the adventures of Toki and Bard, Viking children in York, with colourful illustrations by Chris Ryley, is interspersed with pages on the archaeological evidence for various details of life in 11th-century York found in the Coppergate excavations. Clearly a lot of work has gone into the illustration and layout, but the price seems rather high for a short book for children.

G. R. Price (ed.), *A transcript of the Court Rolls of Yeadon 1361-1476;* Maple-Bowes Publishers, The Manor House, Draughton, 1984; pp. x + 284, maps 2. £16 incl. p. & p.

The transcript (and translation) of the court rolls of Esholt and Yeadon covers over a century and is followed by an appendix containing many other documents relating to Yeadon from 678 to 1621, mostly in translation, though summaries of Calverley charters are left in Latin. There are indices of personal and field names. It must have been a laborious task for Mr. Whittle to transcribe so many rolls, repetitive in their record of encroachments and fines, but claimed to be 'the most complete run of medieval court rolls published in one volume for any Yorkshire township'. The reproduction from reduced typescript is generally easy enough to read.

P. Rahtz, *Invitation to Archaeology;* Oxford, Basil Blackwell 1985; pp. 184, figs 8. £4.95 p/b; £14.50 h/c.

An unusual treatment, reflecting the varied interests of its author, should make archaeology interesting to the enquirer. The chapters on who archaeologists are, what they do, on British archaeology and case-studies of Sutton Hoo and Wharram Percy, are clear and straightforward. Less expected are a survey of political pressures on the study throughout the world and on fringe archaeology, which covers ley-liners and their like, showing that archaeologists can make infantile and laboured jokes as well as anyone. Ethnoarchaeology offers an interesting diversion for holidaymakers in remote rural locations, where they can note disappearing customs and carry off archaic artefacts. Among a hotch-potch of topics, there is something on York (Coppergate and Jewbury) and a short autobiography of Professor Rahtz. Perhaps this book is more for students already taking an interest in archaeology who will appreciate the jokes and allusions; it might repel the outsider rather than attract him to mix with the odd characters revealed within.

Sessions of York and their printing forbears; York, The Ebor Press 1985; pp. x + 70; ills. 91. £5.30 + 50p p. & p.

This second, enlarged edition of a history which first appeared in 1965 takes the firm's story from its origins in Castlegate in 1811, through moves to Low Ousegate, Coney Street, North Street and in 1920 to its present site on the Huntington Road in York. The managers, all Quakers, have since 1865 been four generations of the Sessions family. Although well known for its books on York and Friends' history, with some 80 current titles, Sessions's chief business is now in the printing of labels. Enterprise during the two World Wars in producing such items as sugar bag labels with details of government regulations to gas mask cases kept the company going, so that it now employs 162 staff and has acquired two subsidiaries. The book is generously illustrated with portraits of individuals, engravings of offices, photographs of products and machinery.

Sylvia Thomas. *Guide to the Archive Collections of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society 1931-1983 and to Collections deposited with the Society;* Wakefield, Archive Advisory Service for West Yorkshire 1985; pp. viii + 244, ills 6, £6.50 + 75p p. & p.

Local historians using the Society's archives will be grateful to Sylvia Thomas for bringing up to date E. W. Crossley's catalogue by this valuable supplement. Some 1450 items are listed, ranging from single letters or maps to huge collections like those of Bradfer-Lawrence, the Dukes of Leeds or the Slingsbys of Scriven. Lists of court rolls, of transcripts of parish or nonconformist registers reveal the wealth of material housed at Claremont, yet little known to many members of the Society. Although most of the archives listed relate to West Yorkshire, the rest of the historic county and some neighbouring areas are also represented. The reproduction typescript text is beautifully clear and the price, thanks to the West Yorkshire Archives Service, compares favourably with those of some other archival material reviewed here.

Borthwick Institute Bulletin 3.3, 1985; York, The Borthwick Institute for Historical Research, St. Anthony's Hall, York YO1 2PW; pp. 42. £1 + 20p p. & p.

In addition to the usual report on accessions and use of the records, this issue contains a guide by Dr Smith to the varied sources for the medieval clergy of the York diocese and an account, with a transcript, by Janet Burton of inventories made in 1297/8 of the property of the former Treasurer of York, Giovanni Colonna. This was not only at York but on his manors at Acomb, Newthorpe and Wilton; it included furniture, farm implements and even military equipment.

Barbara English, *Richard III and the North of England;* Hull, University of Hull 1985; pp. v + 22, loose in folder: facsimiles and transcripts of documents, illustrations of monuments and introduction.

Mary O'Regan and Arthur Cockerill, *A Gazetteer of Yorkshire in the 15th Century;* Wakefield, Rosalba Press 1985; pp. vi + 20. £1.

This is a collection of short notes on 98 places in the county with 15th-century associations. The selection omits some buildings of the period, as Driffield, Tadcaster and Thirsk churches, as well as York Guildhall, thus limiting its usefulness.

OBITUARIES

MISS JANTJE ELISABETH UYTENHOUDT EXWOOD
(1936-1983)

By the untimely death of Miss Elisabeth Exwood at Christmastide, 1983, the Yorkshire Archaeological Society lost one of its most active and enterprising members. A Midlander by birth, and a History graduate of Southampton University, Elisabeth Exwood taught at Broadstairs for seven years before coming north in 1966 to take up an appointment as tutor in history at the City of Leeds College of Education.

Elisabeth at once threw herself into the study of local history, archaeology and topography and became an enthusiastic member of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and the Thoresby Society. To some extent her work and leisure went together, for at the College she developed a course on local sources and taught the use of local history in schools, but her activities went far beyond the utilitarian demands of her professional career. She became a regular member of the 'Tuesday evening group' at Claremont, studying palaeography and documents; she transcribed records with enthusiasm and method; she was a keen participant in archaeological field-walking; she took part in excavations and in recording ancient buildings; for a time she served on the Society's Council.

When an opportunity for sabbatical leave occurred 'Lis' became a member of the first group of students to read for the M.A. degree in Education and Local History at Leeds University. There she rapidly made her mark, adapting overnight to the role of student rather than teacher, yet modestly putting her (by now) extensive knowledge of local history and topography at the disposal of the entire class. She was (as the writer can testify) a pleasure to teach and, as the only locally-resident member of the group—known affectionately to all of us as 'The Gang'—'Lis' became its lynch-pin, a forthright and questioning contributor to seminars, a fount of information about local maps and landscape history, and the organiser of some very agreeable little parties. Her contribution as a student to the successful launching of that new degree scheme was inestimable.

Unfortunately, the re-organisation of the College as part of Leeds Polytechnic meant new, and by no means welcome, calls on Elisabeth as an administrator and admissions tutor. She worked with determination at her new responsibilities, although they inevitably took her away from history and archaeology. Moreover she was increasingly beset by ill-health, which she faced with courage and hope, pursuing her historical interests when she could and attending a Thoresby Society meeting and social just a few days before submitting to the surgical treatment from which she did not recover.

Happily, Elisabeth was able to publish some of her work, notably her edition for the Parish Register Series of the register of Collingham, 1579-1837, her sets of documents for use in schools, and her contributions to the collections of documents and notes published by Leeds University Institute of Education. Moreover, in her memory members of her family have generously founded and endowed the Elisabeth Exwood Memorial Fund. The proceeds of the trust fund will be shared between the Y.A.S. Library and the Record Series, thus perpetuating her name in a way that reflects her interests in the history and archaeology of Yorkshire and recalls her contribution to the Society's work..

G. C. F. FORSTER
Past-President.

E. T. COWLING

Eric Cowling, a retired grocer from Otley, was a member of the Society and of the Prehistory Research Section: he was a dedicated and often lone worker in his hobby of searching for prehistoric sites, particularly Mesolithic, also in recording rock carvings. Anyone wishing to study rock carving in Yorkshire must first become acquainted with his book *Rombalds Way,* a wide-ranging account published in 1946, covering a vast period from Mesolithic to historical and a far wider area than Rombalds Way.

As a Scoutmaster Eric was able to imbue his boys with an interest in their heritage and would reward any boy who found e.g. a collapsed wall or hut foundation or carved boulder in the heather on their moorland exercises—some of the sites illustrated in the book were found in this way.

An important site in Wharfedale—the Sandbeds at Otley—was worked by four generations of the Cowling family, who collected over 5000 artifacts and a vast number of wasters, the largest number obtained (1970s) in the North of England from a Mesolithic site at such a low altitude. Dr. Paul Mellars took a great interest in this site, now largely obliterated. Eric also recovered cutting tools, gravers and scorers, with a Mesolithic influence, from Neolithic and Bronze Age sites in mid-Wharfedale and concluded that these should be expected on similar sites over a much wider area.

A literary work *The Extent of Otley 1307* was published in 1965 and various reports have appeared in the Society's Journal, Vols. 33, 36, 45 and 48. Eric was on the Museum Committee of the Otley Archaeological & Historical Society and had donated and displayed a large proportion of their prehistoric exhibits. I remember him as a quiet, kindly man, loving to talk and on one occasion incredibly overjoyed when shown an isolated rock carving he had not previously known.

ROSA HARTLEY

ROSA MABEL HARTLEY

It is with a deep sense of loss that I have to record the sudden death on the 3rd January 1986 of Rosa Hartley, the Society's Honorary Secretary for Ancient Monuments, and Vice-President of the Harrogate Group. For the past three decades Rosa Hartley has been a prominent figure in the life of this Society and its branches. It would be most difficult to bring together a summary of the manifold projects and activities that were initiated and organised with her support, advice and generosity. Her contribution was always positive, active and forthright, with the advancement of the Society and archaeology in Yorkshire as the objective. Rosa became Honorary Secretary of the Prehistory Research Section in 1962, a time when the Section's fortunes were at a very low ebb. During her thirteen years of Secretaryship the section was transformed with characteristic vigour; quarterly meetings were established along with an annual excursion and Bulletin. The Section's membership rose and an annual series of excavation was sponsored at the Kilham long barrow, the Grindale Barrow Group and Thwing. A keen and dedicated excavator, Rosa worked as a volunteer on many sites, Roman, Medieval and Preshistoric. Amongst the latter was the Thwing project, where she dug every season, including the last during September 1985.

Devotion to investigating Yorkshire's prehistoric past was only part of a very busy and adventurous life that included yeoman service to the Harrogate Group as its Excursion Secretary for twenty years. Also in her home town there was an active participation in the Harrogate Literary Society and the Yorkshire Horticultural Society. Perhaps the most lasting monument to Rosa will be the Harrogate Museum, established in the old Pump Room after the Second World War. The Borough Librarian had titular responsibility for this institution until 1974, but the museum was built up by voluntary work. The formation of the collections in this period, their cataloguing and display were undertaken by Rosa Hartley with whatever financial and other assistance could be mustered. Thus the basis was laid for the present Museum Service in Harrogate.

The death of Cecil Hartley in an aviation incident in 1973 was a sad and grievous blow; with great spirit Rosa took up his office of Ancient Monuments Secretary and continued her late husband's work in this arduous and demanding position. Other ventures also enjoyed her support: particular mention must be made of the Aerial Archaeology Committee in whose founding Rosa played an outstanding part. To all activities Rosa Hartley contributed a spirit of enthusiasm and adventure that enriched the Society and the scientific and cultural life of Yorkshire.

T. G. MANBY.

All communications relative to the Editorial side of the **Journal** should be addressed to the Hon. Editor, R. M. BUTLER, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A., Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, The White House, Clifton, York, from whom lists of conventions should be obtained by intending contributors.

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