

Historic Village Atlas

Keld



April 2007

Commissioned by Yorkshire Dales
National Park Authority

The Archaeological Practice Ltd.
Newcastle upon Tyne

KELD NORTH YORKSHIRE

A HERITAGE APPRAISAL OF A YORKSHIRE DALES VILLAGE



April 2007

Compiled by:
The Archaeological Practice Ltd.
Newcastle upon Tyne

Commissioned by: *The Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority*

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A large number of institutions and private individuals collaborated with The Archaeological Practice Ltd. by providing information and making images and documents available from their collections. Some provided images in digital form, others loaned images and documents for scanning under appropriate conditions elsewhere. The principal institutional and individual contributors were the following:

*North Yorkshire County Record Office,
Northallerton (NYCRO)

*West Yorkshire Archives Service, Leeds (WYAS)

*The Brotherton Library, Leeds University (LUL)

*Palace Green Library, University of Durham
(DUL)

*National Monuments Record, Swindon (NMR)

*National Register of Archives (NRA)

*Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority
(YDNPA)

*Yorkshire Archaeological Society Archives,
Leeds (YAS)

*The Dales Countryside Museum, Hawes (DCM)

*The Robinson Library, Newcastle University
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*Public Record Office at Kew (PRO)

*Yorkshire Vernacular Building Study Group
(YVBSG)

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- *Yorkshire Inquisitions I*, (Brown, W. *YAS RS 12*, (1891) 137-8)
- *Yorkshire Religious Houses*, (Baildon, W.P. (ed), *YAS RS 17*, (1894) 177)
- *Swaledale Wills and Inventories 1522-1600*, (Berry, E.K. (ed), *YAS RS 152*, (1998), 116, no 58)

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The compilation of the report has been a collaborative effort. Alan Rushworth identified and collected the source materials and wrote much of the text. Additional text was provided by Richard Carlton, Ian Roberts (sections on agriculture and mining), Peter Ryder (Section 7: Historic Buildings) and Tim Gates of Flying Past Ltd (Section 6: Aerial Photography). Richard Carlton photographed and catalogued most of the modern images. Claire MacRae prepared the illustrations, historic environment catalogues and assembled the finished reports. Mark Stephenson, Karen Griffiths and Robert White read and copy edited the reports prior to final submission. Any remaining errors or omissions, however, are the responsibility of the authors.

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

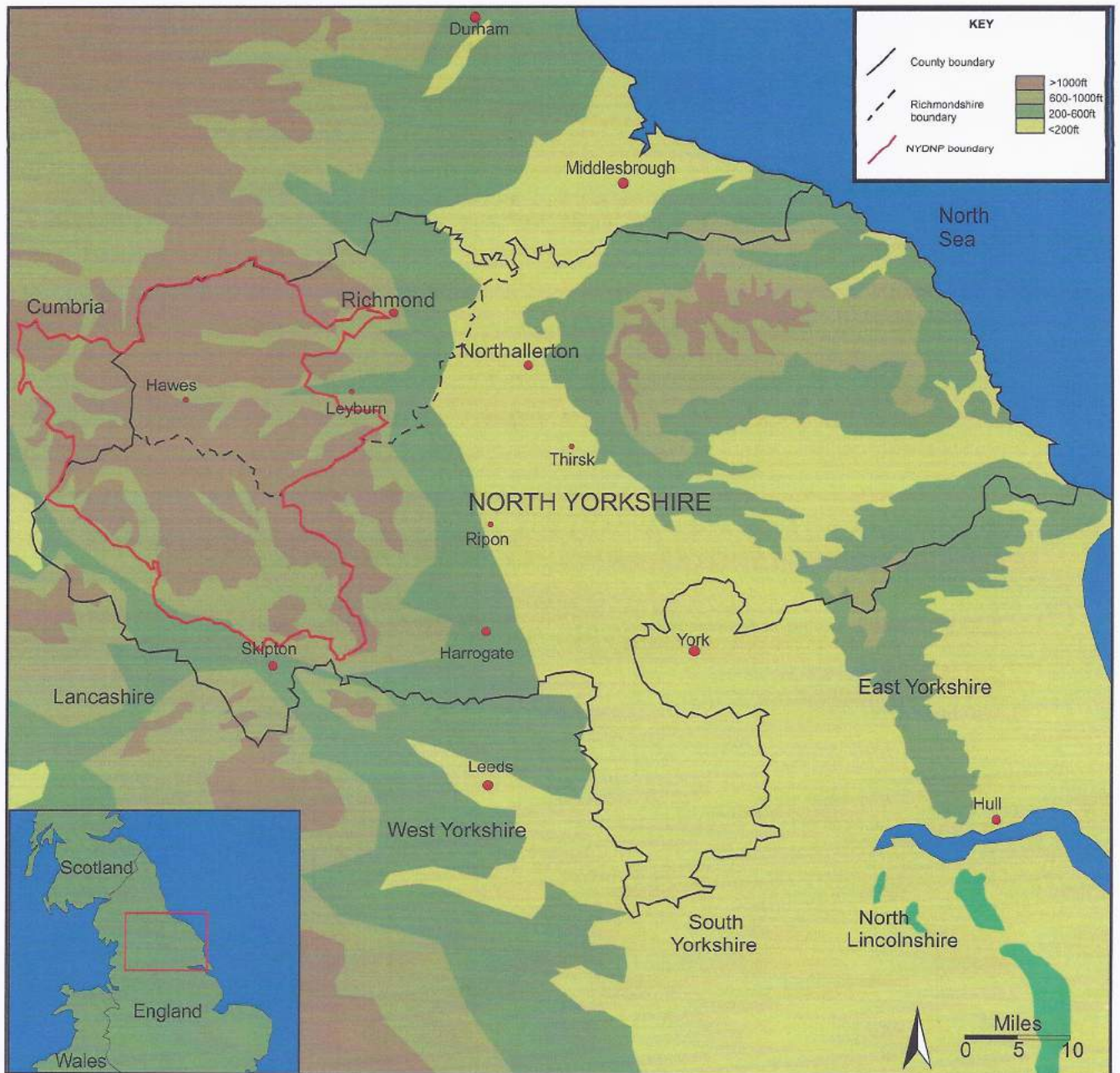


Figure 3: Location map showing North Yorkshire and the Yorkshire Dales National Park

1. BACKGROUND, AIMS AND METHODS

The Yorkshire Dales National Park Village Heritage Project is a collaborative project between the Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority (YDNPA) and local communities in Swaledale, Wensleydale and Bishoptdale. The main products of the project are a series of Appraisal Reports and Action Plans for the selected historic villages in the northern part of the Yorkshire Dales National Park (YDNP). The Archaeological Practice Ltd was commissioned to prepare the Appraisal Reports in April 2005, with overall project management being provided by the YDNPA Buildings Conservation Team.

The Yorkshire Dales, and in particular Wensleydale and Swaledale, have been the subject of extensive historical and archaeological research in recent decades, building on earlier work, in particular the profound scholarship of Arthur Raistrick who, during the course of the mid- to late 20th century, investigated virtually every aspect of Dales heritage. However, much of this recent work has focussed on the history and archaeology of entire valleys (e.g. Swaledale: Fieldhouse & Jennings 1978; Fleming 1998) or even the area of Yorkshire Dales as a whole (White 1997; 2002). Many others have studied particular industries such as railways (Hallas), agriculture (Fieldhouse 1980) and most notably lead mining (Gill 2004; Hardy 1998), and again this has generally been within the context of entire dales rather than particular settlements. Moreover most of the lead-mining infrastructure, for example, was located on the remote moors and only indirectly affected the fabric of the village settlements in the valley bottom. There has been relatively little detailed study of the development of individual villages over time. The parish histories contained in the Victoria County History for the North Riding (*VCH: NRI* (1914)) provide the basic summaries, though these are now somewhat outdated, being essentially historical accounts compiled with relatively little reference to the morphology of the village settlements or the organisation of surrounding township territories. They require revision in the light of more recent research, notably Fleming's discussion of the development and functioning of township communities in Swaledale (1998, 33-64), and White's succinct treatment of village settlements and townships in the Yorkshire Dales as a whole (2002, 62-72). McDonnell's study (1990) of a group of hamlets in upper Swaledale which originated as medieval, seigniorial cattle farms (vaccaries), and, most recently, the detailed analysis of the archaeological evidence for medieval townships in Wensleydale, provided by Moorhouse (2003b), are also vital contributions to understanding the medieval origins of the village communities in these two dales.

The increased pace of modern development within the National Park has put pressure on its cultural heritage resource, specifically its historic buildings and village settlements. The constant demand for housing coupled with decline in rural services has resulted in the conversion of many 'public' buildings such as schools, chapels, pubs and post offices, which previously formed the communal core of settlements. Similarly, many traditional agricultural buildings have been rendered redundant by changing farming patterns and the construction of functional but unsympathetic modern replacements, often resulting in the original's adaption for other uses or demolition. These pressures have led to gradual changes in the built fabric and structural character of the villages in the National Park area. One of the aims of the Village Heritage Project, therefore, is to provide additional information which the YDNPA can use to further inform its approach to the management of sites of cultural heritage importance.

Changes in the social and economic structure of the Dales, often linked to the modern developments referred to above, mean that traditional customs and practices maintained over many generations are now becoming increasingly rare or in many cases have already died out.

In particular, many traditional farming practices, plus the skills, tools and buildings used to support them, have gone out of use or are in the process of doing so, and along with these has gone a regional vocabulary of specific terms and expressions. Even the practice of haymaking, once so apparently indestructibly rooted in the landscape, is threatened by the introduction of the black silage bag (although the establishment of a system of grants for maintaining traditional farming practices in the Pennine Dales Environmentally Sensitive Area (ESA) has helped to reduce some of this pressure on hay meadows). The Dales have, however, been fortunate in that these traditions formed the focus of the dedicated programme of collecting, recording and publication sustained over several decades by Marie Hartley, Joan Ingilby and Ella Pontefract, whose artefactual collection and archive forms the basis of the Dales Countryside Museum at Hawes.

The continuing success of and determined local support for the Dales Countryside Museum is symptomatic of the considerable interest which persists within the Dales communities in the history and archaeology of their settlements. Part of the purpose of the Village Heritage Project, therefore, is to provide information and advice to facilitate not only greater understanding, but also to encourage active participation by community members in investigating and conserving aspects of their past.

The Village Heritage Project Appraisal Reports do not aim to duplicate the detailed scholarly research noted above. Those seeking an overview of the history and archaeology of the Yorkshire Dales as a whole, detailed studies of its constituent valleys and particular aspects of its past, are strongly advised to consult these and other works cited in the bibliography attached to the reports and the 'Out of Oblivion' website maintained by the YDNPA (www.outofoblivion.org.uk). Instead the reports aim to present in a structured manner a package of source material for each village, together with a short summary of the history and development of the settlement and some contextual background information. The source material comprises a catalogue of archaeological/historical monuments in and around the village derived from the YDNPA Historic Environment Record; the most important historic maps; one or two of the most informative aerial photographs; a selection of early illustrations such as prints, sketches, paintings or early photographs, and other significant documents (e.g. tithe and enclosure awards and trades directories); plus a summary of the surviving historic buildings and an appraisal of the character of the settlement, its layout and built fabric.

The main aims of the project are thus as follows:

- To further the study, understanding and enjoyment of the historic villages, both by interested individuals and community-based groups.
- To reinforce and develop the existing sense of place and belonging of individuals within the communities of the region.
- To provide a springboard for future community-led research initiatives by supplying information which community groups can use to develop their own proposals.
- To provide opportunities for communities to become more involved in the care of their local built environment and develop positive conservation and environmental schemes in their villages
- To facilitate management of the cultural heritage by the YDNPA

Most settlements within the National Park are isolated farms and hamlets. Village settlements, traditionally recognisable as clustered assemblies of houses and farmsteads larger than a farmstead or hamlet but smaller than a town, are much less common. Even so the Village Heritage Project does not encompass every village in Wensleydale and Swaledale. Some had

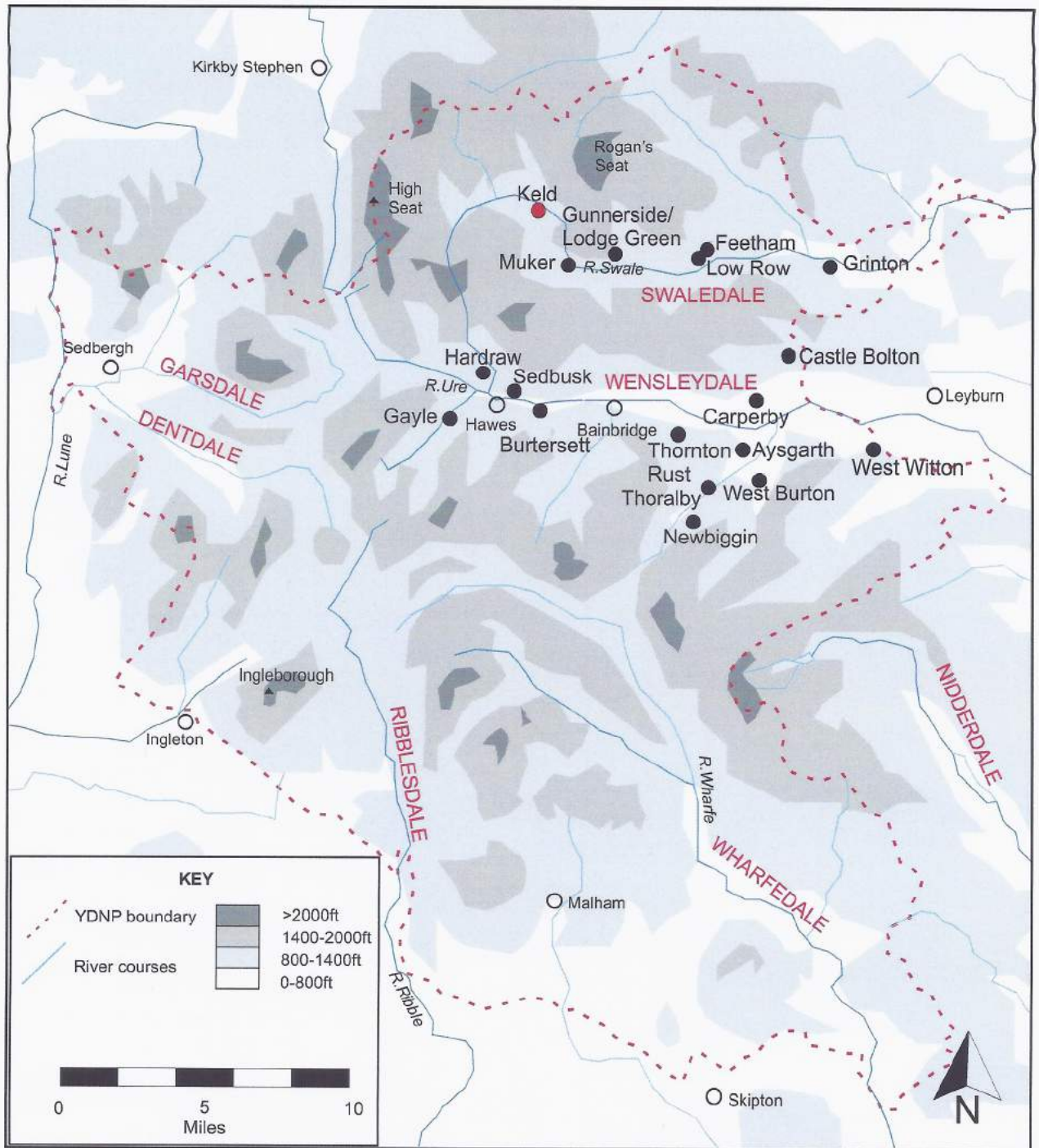


Figure 4: Location of Keld in the Yorkshire Dales

already been the subject of significant local study and did not require further research at this stage. Hawes, on the other hand, was considered too large and complex to fit easily within the parameters of this project, being more characteristic of a market town, in its size and form, than a village. Ultimately a selection of seventeen historic villages was identified by the YDNPA for study. The study of Burtersett, Gayle and West Witton was undertaken by groups within the villages themselves, the remaining fourteen were studied by the Archaeological Practice.

Aysgarth (Wensleydale)	Low Row/Feetham (Swaledale)
Burtersett (Wensleydale)	Muker (Swaledale)
Carperby (Wensleydale)	Newbiggin (Bishopdale)
Castle Bolton (Wensleydale)	Sedbusk (Wensleydale)
Gayle (Wensleydale)	Thoralby (Bishopdale)
Grinton (Swaledale)	Thornton Rust (Wensleydale)
Gunnerside (Swaledale)	West Burton/Walden (Bishopdale)
Hardraw (Wensleydale)	West Witton (Wensleydale)
Keld (Swaledale)	

It is evident that these villages fall into distinct geographic groupings, based on the two main valleys in which the settlements are situated, namely Swaledale and Wensleydale, plus the latter's tributary Bishopdale (essentially an adjunct of Wensleydale with similar settlement characteristics). Settlements within the same valley are likely to have had strong links, reflected in common origins, tenurial histories and parochial membership, for example. However communities in neighbouring valleys may also have similar histories, and the exploration of parallels and contrasts can be an illuminating process.

Villages do not exist as self-contained units, but rather as focal points within the wider landscape. It is important, therefore, in attempting an understanding of the development of villages themselves, that the study villages are investigated in the context of their wider landscapes which may be definable by bounded areas, such as parishes and townships, or by topographic features such as river valleys.

Modern villages exist within clearly demarcated territories known as civil parishes, which are generally based on the boundaries of earlier territorial units labelled townships – units of settlement with pre-Norman origins which were regarded as discrete communities within each ecclesiastical parish. The ecclesiastical parish represented a unit of land paying tithes to a parish church, and in the Yorkshire Dales, these parishes were often vast, incorporating entire dales and numerous townships. A township has its own settlement nucleus and field system and is thus an area of common agricultural unity and is often equivalent to the medieval *vill* – though the latter frequently refers to a taxation unit or administrative entity, whereas a territorial township refers to the physical fabric of the community (fields, buildings, woods and rivers). Township boundaries sometimes follow pre-Norman estate divisions and in some cases may even be earlier - it seems likely that a system of land organisation based around agricultural territories was in operation in Roman or pre-Roman times. Therefore, in some instances very ancient boundary lines may have been preserved by later land divisions. The various forms of parish and township and their development over time are discussed more extensively in Section 2.

In order to carry out a study focusing on the village core whilst attempting also to understand it within the local and regional context, a variety of approaches has been taken using information derived from a wide range of sources, including existing archaeological and historic buildings records, historic maps and documents, historic and aerial photographs and published information. Section 2 provides an overview of the various different territorial units within which the village was incorporated, and which constituted the framework for the development of that community – namely parishes, townships and manors. It also examines

the different settlement types, their terminology, characteristics and distribution. Section 3 provides a background to the sources of information used to compile the report, listing the *archives consulted* and some of the most significant maps, documents and photographs used to compile a list of cultural heritage sites. In Part 2, Section 4 describes the location of the village, together with the limits and topographical characteristics of its wider township/civil parish setting, and, in particular, provides an appraisal of the overall character of the settlement (the Character Appraisal). Section 5 contains a listing of all the historic and archaeological monuments identified within the village's territorial setting. This section is followed by selected aerial photographs, with accompanying discussion of the information they reveal (Section 6), and a summary of the historic buildings in the village, presented in the form of an itinerary (Section 7). Transcriptions of a selection of illustrative documents are included (Section 8), and the collected data is synthesized to provide a summary of the known history of the settlement (Section 9). Part 3 sets out the report's conclusions (Section 10) regarding the village's historical development, which in turn inform judgements regarding the levels of archaeological sensitivity applied to different parts of the settlement. A glossary of historical terms used and a full bibliography are also provided (Part 4: Sections 11 and 12). The appendices contain catalogues of the various categories of collected data (Section 13).

In compiling this report, the consultants have been all too conscious of barely scratching the surface and aware that many additional avenues of research could have been pursued further. It is hoped that this Village Heritage Project Appraisal Report will be used by those consulting it as a starting point not a conclusion to the exploration of this broad and fascinating field.

2. TERRITORIAL COMMUNITIES AND SETTLEMENT FORMS

2.1 Parishes, townships and manors

To understand the history of village settlement, it is necessary to distinguish and define the various different territorial units within which villages were incorporated, and which provided the framework for the development of those communities. Each of these units related to different aspects of a settlement's communal relations – religious, economic, administrative and seigneurial – and their function changed over time. The development of the institution of the civil township, in particular, was far from straightforward.

The parish was the basic unit of ecclesiastical administration and essentially represented 'a community whose spiritual needs were served by a parish priest, who was supported by tithe and other dues paid by his parishioners' (Winchester 1987, 23). It was the payment of tithes - established as a legal principle since the reign of King Edgar 959-75 (Platt 1981, 47) - which gave the parish a territorial dimension so that the boundaries of the parish came to embrace all that community's landed resources. Only the most remote areas of upland waste or 'forest' remained 'extra-parochial'. Ecclesiastical parishes in the Yorkshire Dales typically covered extensive areas, sometimes very extensive areas, the two which most concern us here – Grinton in Upper Swaledale and Aysgarth in Wensleydale – being amongst the largest parishes in the country. Together these two embraced all but one of the 14 villages included in this project, and represent the only medieval parochial centres covered by the survey. The one exception, Castle Bolton, was included in the Parish of Wensley. This parish was a more typical size, but even so probably embraced seven medieval *vills* which had been combined into five civil township communities by the early 19th century. Some of the other settlements which fall within the remit of the Village Heritage Project – Castle Bolton, Thornton Rust, Thorlby (perhaps), Hardraw, Muker and Keld – were the site of dependent chapels of ease. However many of the villages studied as part of the project contained no places of worship whatsoever during the medieval period and it is clear that the traditional, almost unconscious, English equation of village and parish church does not apply in the Yorkshire Dales.¹

It is thus clear that these large medieval parishes embraced many distinct communities and the church was often too distant to conveniently serve all the spiritual needs of the parishioners in the outlying townships. The corpse road used by those carrying bodies for burial from the communities in the upper reaches of Swaledale to the parish church of St Andrew at Grinton is a tangible symbol of this manifest inconvenience. However, there are relatively few instances of new parishes being carved out of a well-established parish and practically none after 1150. The payment of tithes created a strong disincentive to do so since creating a new parochial territory would inevitably reduce the income of the priest in the existing parish. This relatively early fossilisation of parish territories was given added impetus once ownership of parish churches was largely transferred from hereditary priests and local lay lords – whose predecessors had generally founded the churches – over to monastic communities in the 12th and 13th centuries, since the new ecclesiastical corporate proprietors strenuously defended their legal and economic rights (Lomas 1996, 111, 116-17). Instead the needs of the more distant township communities were catered for by the construction of dependent chapels of ease, which were established either by the monastic

¹ The arrival of nonconformism in the 18th century dramatically increased the density of places of worship, of course, but only indirectly impacted upon the parochial structure. By providing extra competition for souls, the spread of nonconformist preachers eventually impelled the Anglicans to subdivide the ancient parishes into smaller, more convenient units to better serve their parishioners.

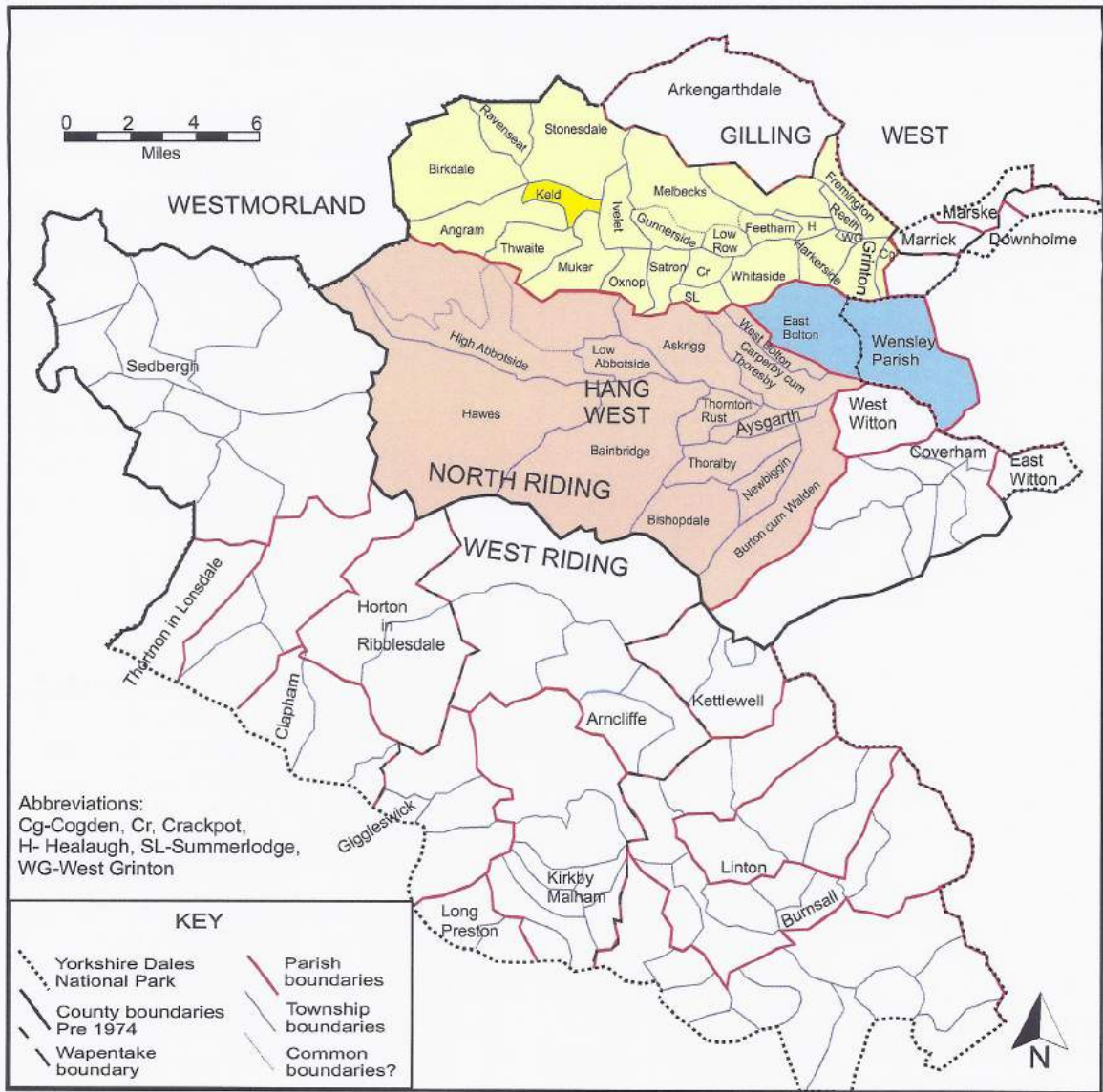
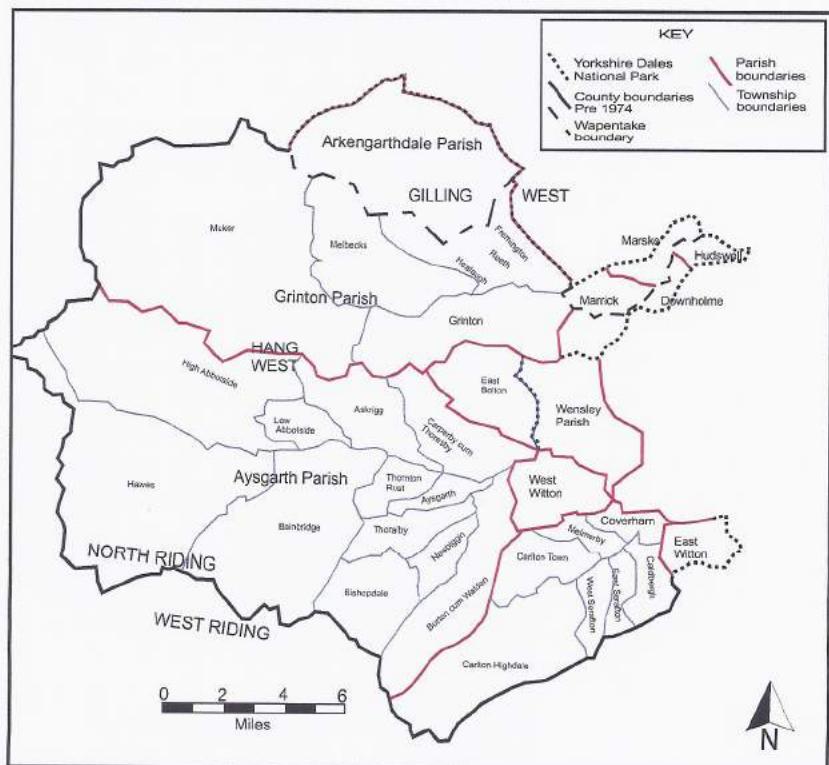


Figure 5: Keld township highlighted in Grinton Parish, Yorkshire Dales National Park, (after White 2002)



(Right) 19th century townships in Wensleydale and Swaledale (after White 1997)

institutional patrons or on the individual initiative of local lay lords. Even so many townships had neither a church nor chapel of their own (Lomas 1996, 111-14).

In the medieval era the parish was a purely ecclesiastical institution and was to remain so until the beginning of the 17th century when the Elizabethan Poor Law Act of 1601 made this territorial unit responsible for the maintenance of the poor through the appointment of overseers for the poor and the setting of a poor rate (*Statutes* 43 Eliz. I c.2; cf. Winchester 1978, 56; Charlton 1987, 98). This is in many respects typical of the history of English local government whereby 'new administrative units have generally been created by giving new functions to existing territorial divisions' (Winchester 1987, 27). Thereafter parochial administration of poor law was particularly prevalent in southern and midland England, where parishes were generally smaller and often coterminous with the civil townships. However in northern England even these additional functions tended to devolve down to the constituent townships which were a more convenient and manageable size than the extensive parishes. The modern civil parishes were established by the Local Government Act of 1889 and were substantially based on the earlier townships rather than the ecclesiastical parishes (*Statutes* 52/53 Vict. c.63).

The township or vill (in medieval Latin) was the basic territorial unit in Yorkshire, instead of the ecclesiastical parish. The term *vill* can be defined in two ways, on the one hand as a territorial community, which may be labelled the *territorial vill*, and on the other as the basic unit of civil administration in medieval England, the *administrative vill*. The two units were related and they could indeed cover identical territorial divisions, but this was not always the case and they must therefore be carefully distinguished.

The territorial vill is synonymous with the English words *town* or *township*, deriving from the Old English *tūn*, the commonest element in English placenames, i.e. a settlement with a distinct, delimited territory, the latter representing the expanse of land in which that particular community of peasants lived and practised agriculture. A township/territorial *vill* was not the same as the village itself, which was simply the nucleated settlement which commonly lay at the heart (though not necessarily the geographical centre) of the township, and where the bulk of the individuals who made up the community might reside. A classic township, centred on a nucleated village settlement, was composed of three main elements, the village itself, the cultivated arable land and meadows, and the moorland waste or common. However a township community might live scattered about in dispersed farms instead of or as well as being grouped together in a nucleated village or hamlet. Any combination of these elements was possible, but some permanent settlement was required for there had to be a community for a township to exist. Writing between 1235 and 1259, the lawyer Henry de Bracton defined the township thus (*De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*, iii, 394-5; cited by Winchester 1978, 69; Dixon 1985, 1):

"If a person should build a single edifice in the fields, there will not be a *vill*, but when in the process of time several edifices have begun to be built adjoining to or neighbouring to one another, there begins to be a *vill*."

A township's consciousness of itself as a distinct community would have been reinforced by the communal agricultural labour required to work the land. This is particularly obvious in the cases where the township was centred on a nucleated village, its members living and working alongside one another, but even in townships composed of scattered hamlets or farmsteads it was just as vital to regulate access to the use of communal resources such as the upland waste or commons. Such activities would have generated a sense of communal cohesion however fragmented the framework of manorial lordship and estate management in the township might have become over time.

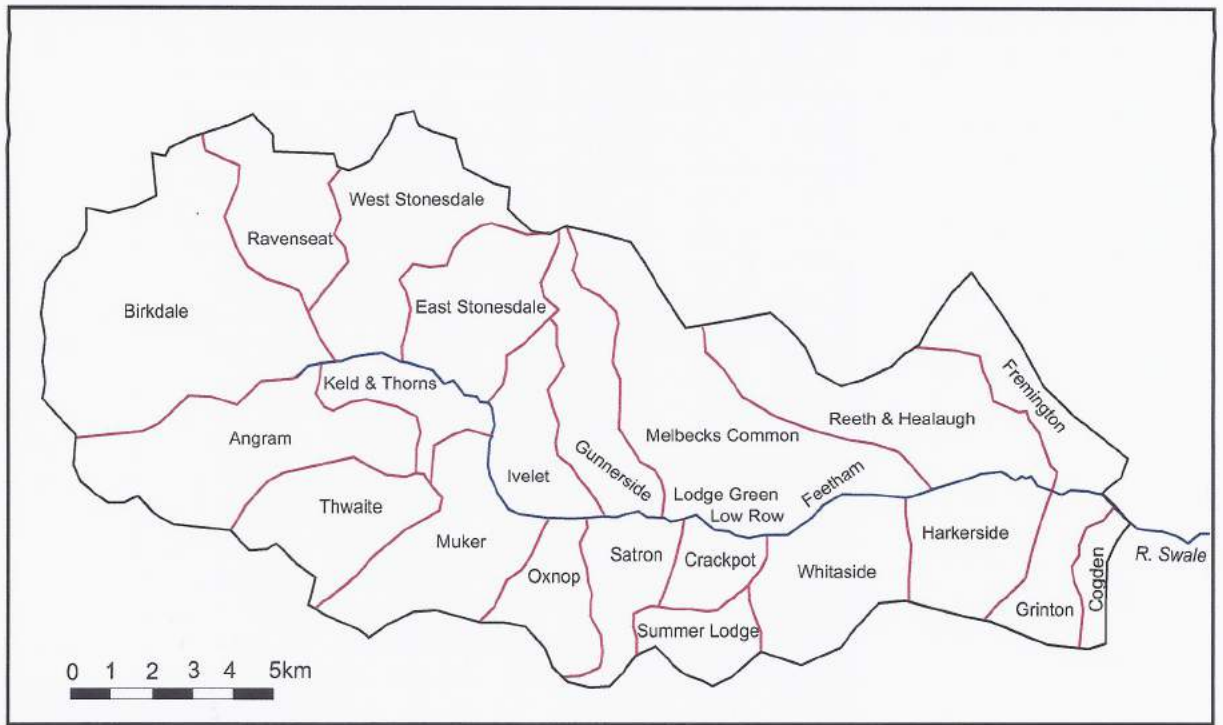


Figure 6a: Map showing the early modern hamlet territories in upper Swaledale (after Fleming 1998, p35, fig 3.1)

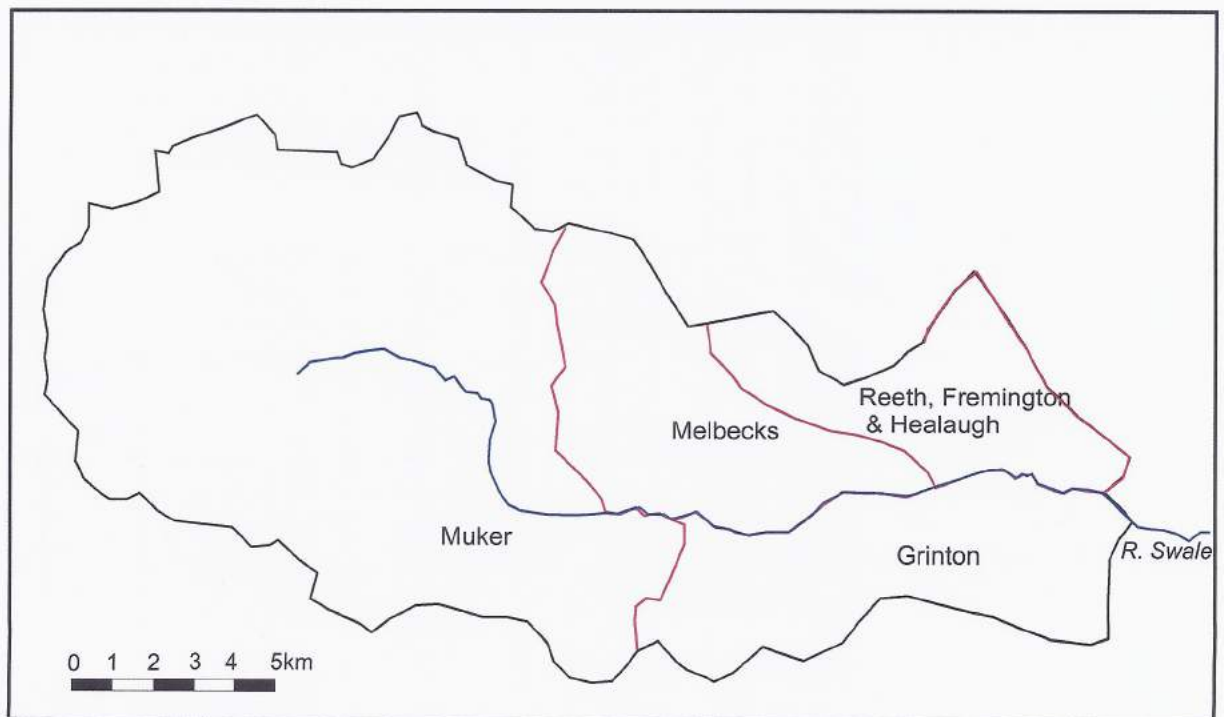


Figure 6b: Map of the 19th century Townships of upper Swaledale (after Fleming 1998, p35, fig 3.1)

The boundaries of such township communities would have become fixed when the land appropriated by one community extended up to that belonging to neighbouring settlements (Winchester 1987, 29). In the lowlands intensive cultivation had been practised for millennia prior to the medieval period, when townships are first documented. It is therefore conceivable that many of these boundaries were of considerable antiquity, particularly where obvious natural features such as rivers and streams and watersheds were followed, although such antiquity is difficult to prove conclusively. In the uplands, settlement is thought to have experienced successive cycles of expansion and contraction in response to a variety of stimuli, including environmental factors such as climatic change, but doubtless also political and economic issues. This may have resulted in periodic obscuring of the boundaries when communities were not fully exploiting the available resources and hence had less need to precisely define their limits. In all areas the definitive boundary network recorded by the first Ordnance Survey maps is obviously a composite pattern, in which precise delineation occurred in a piecemeal fashion over the centuries.

The administrative vill: The term *vill* also designated the basic unit of civil administration in medieval England, representing a village or grouping of hamlets or farmsteads which were obliged to perform a range of communal administrative duties. The latter included the delivery of evidence at inquests, the upkeep of roads and bridges, the apprehension of criminals within its bounds and the assessment and collection of taxes (Vinogradoff 1908, 475; Winchester 1978, 61; 1987, 32; Dixon 1985, 1). The most comprehensive listing of these administrative *vills* is provided by the occasional tax returns known as Lay Subsidy Rolls. The assessment units recorded therein essentially correspond to the *vills* and, although clearly incomplete, sufficient survives of the 1301 Yorkshire roll to provide a good impression of the number and distribution of the administrative units in the county (cf. YASRS 21 (1897)). In many areas these administrative *vills* correspond very closely to the territorial *vills* and with the later poor law townships (see below). This was by no means the case everywhere in the northern counties, however. In the district of Copeland in West Cumbria, where a predominantly dispersed settlement pattern of scattered 'single farmsteads, small hamlets and looser groupings of farms' prevails, Winchester has demonstrated that the administrative *vills* had a composite structure, frequently embracing several 'members' or 'hamlets' which correspond to the basic territorial townships (1978, 61-5). In many instances administrative *vills* were significantly larger than the later poor law townships. These relatively large, composite administrative *vills* correspond to what were termed *villae integrae* ('entire *vills*') elsewhere in England. Finally, Winchester also suggests that the term '*vill*' gradually acquired a more specific administrative connotation as the organisation of local government became more standardised after the Statute of Winchester in 1285, with the result that in his study area, from the end of the 13th century, the term was restricted to the administrative units and no longer applied to the basic territorial townships (1978, 66-7).

This idea of the *vill* as an area of land with defined boundaries, potentially enclosing a number of settlements, rather than a the territorial resource of a single community, is expressed in a passage by Sir John Fortescue, writing towards the end of the medieval period, and makes an interesting contrast with Bracton's description over two hundred years earlier (Fortescue, 54-55; cf. Winchester *ibid.* n.27):

Hundreds again are divided into *vills* . . . the boundaries of *vills* are not marked by walls, buildings, or streets, but by the confines of fields, by large tracts of land, by certain hamlets and by many other things such as the limits of water courses, woods and wastes . . . there is scarcely any place in England that is not contained within the ambits of *vills*

The 'Poor Law township', to use Winchester's term (1978), is the form of township community most familiar today. The boundaries of these territorial communities were mapped by the First Edition Ordnance Survey in the mid-19th century and were listed – though not mapped – within their respective parishes in the Yorkshire North Riding volume of the *Victoria County History (VCH: NRI, (1914))*, where they provide part of the geographical framework for the historical narrative of individual localities (though to a significantly lesser degree than the parish). They have generally been presumed to have had a long and largely uninterrupted history stretching back in most cases to the townships of the medieval period. The townships of the Yorkshire Dales, including all those in Swaledale and Wensleydale relevant to the Village Heritage Project, are conveniently mapped on Illustration 45 in the First Edition of Robert White's *The Yorkshire Dales* (1997, 64). A more detailed record of each township territory is provided by their respective tithe and enclosure maps and other historic maps catalogued and reproduced in the village reports.

The assumption that the medieval administrative *vill* was the direct ancestor of these post-medieval poor law townships, and hence of the modern civil parish, was a reasonable one since functionally they are somewhat similar, representing the most basic level of civil administration. However the actual line of descent is much more complex.

The administration of poor relief was originally established at parochial rather than township level, with the requirement of the Elizabethan Poor Law Act of 1601 that overseers for the poor be appointed in every ecclesiastical parish in England (*Statutes* 43 Eliz. I c.2; *cf.* Winchester 1978, 56). Following pressure in parliament to permit the subdivision of the huge ecclesiastical parishes in the northern counties into smaller, more convenient units, the 1662 Poor Law Act allowed 'every Township or Village' in northern England to become a unit for poor-rate assessment and collection with their own overseers (*Statutes* 14 Charles II c.12, s.21; *cf.* Winchester 1987, 27). Winchester has argued, on the basis of the arrangements he documented in the Copeland district of west Cumbria, that it was the territorial townships rather than the administrative *vills* which were most frequently adopted to serve as the new poor law townships. In North Yorkshire, the two valleys of Swaledale and Wensleydale present contrasting pictures. In Wensleydale the pattern is quite complex. The 43 medieval *vills* and two 'forests' included in Moorhouse's study of Wensleydale had become into 28 townships by the 1850s (see Moorhouse 2003b, 299 fig 93, and 304 fig 96). This was the result of a series of individual mergers of one, two, or at the most three *vills* into neighbouring townships during the medieval period, in what looks like a process of gradual amalgamation. Only in the upland forest of Wensleydale, embracing the western, upper-half of the dale, is a more radical remodelling observable. Here three or four townships had been absorbed into Jervaulx Abbey's grazing ranges by the mid- to late 13th century. The huge forest was subsequently divided into four large townships – High and Low Abbotside on the north side of the river (the bulk of the former Jervaulx Abbey holdings) and Hawes and Bainbridge on the south side. Whether this subdivision occurred during the late medieval era, as a result of the leasing out of former monastic and seigniorial vaccaries to tenant communities, or perhaps more likely after the dissolution of Jervaulx in 1540 or the Poor Law Act of 1662 is uncertain; but it bears some resemblance to the pattern encountered in Upper Swaledale. There, the numerous small late medieval or early modern township communities carefully mapped by Fleming and Laurie's research have been combined into just four large townships, one of which (Muker) embraced the uppermost half of the dale. This has a somewhat artificial, bureaucratic aspect to it and may reflect a remodelling of earlier township patterns implemented in the late 17th or 18th centuries to meet the demands of poor relief administration, like similar patterns encountered in other upland areas for example North Tynedale (Bellingham Chapelry) and Redesdale (Elsdon Parish) in Northumberland.

It is from these 'poor law townships', however ancient or recent their origins, rather than the medieval administrative *vill*, that the modern civil parish is directly derived in northern England. The Local Government Act of 1889, which established the civil parish, specifically

stated it was to be 'a place for which a separate poor rate is or can be made' (*Statutes 52/53 Vict. c.63 sec. 5*). Today's civil parishes largely represent the same territories as the mid 19th century townships first comprehensively mapped by the Ordnance Survey.

The manor was a territorial unit of lordship and the basic unit of seigneurial estate administration. Jurisdiction was exercised by the manorial lord over the estate, its assets, economic activities and customary and legal rights, through his manor court sometimes termed the *court baron*.

Manorial lordship thus represented only one link in the chain of feudal and tenurial relationships which extended from the lowly peasant through to the baronial superior lord and ultimately right up to the king himself. In its simplest form a township would be encapsulated within a single manor and would therefore have the same territorial limits. Fremington situated on the north side of the Swale, opposite Grinton, was an example of such a classic manor. It was a good example of subinfeudation, having been granted to Hervey, lord of Ravensworth, by the Robert de Gaunt, lord of the manor of Healaugh (which embraced the entirety of Upper Swaledale, an area equivalent to the parish of Grinton), at the end of the 12th century (Fieldhouse & Jennings 1978, 37). De Gaunt in turn held Healaugh as vassal of the Count of Brittany, who in feudal terms was the tenant-in-chief (*in capite*) of the king with respect to that land. Manorial lordship could be exercised by ecclesiastical institutions as well as lay figures. Thus by the end of the 13th century Bridlington Priory exercised what were in effect manorial rights over Grinton itself and its environs virtually independent of any interference from its nominal feudal overlords, the de Gaunts of Healaugh (Fieldhouse & Jennings 1978, 38 & 48). However such 'classic' manors, whether lay or ecclesiastical, were much rarer than primary school history lessons might have us believe. Then as now, the processes of succession and inheritance and the inevitable variability in human fortunes resulted in the amalgamation or, more often, fragmentation of estates. Most townships therefore were divided between a number of manorial landholders, although this is perhaps more true of the intensively exploited lowland manors than it is of those in the Dales hill country.

Thus a parish, township and manor could all be coterminous, with a small parish serving the spiritual needs of a single township community whose landed resources formed a single manorial estate and whose members were bound by a variety of personal and tenurial relationships to a single lord. However this simple arrangement was highly unusual in upland areas like the Yorkshire Dales, where, as we have seen, the parishes such as Grinton and Aysgarth were very large. Thus, in Wensleydale and its offshoots Bishopdale and Coverdale, the six parishes of Aysgarth, Wensley, Coverham, West and East Witton and Middleham contained as many as 36 townships plus two large tracts of upland 'forest' (Wensleydale and Coverdale) towards the end of the 13th century, when rural settlement had reached its maximum extent (Moorhouse 2003b, 298-303 & 304 fig 96). A further four *vills* had already been absorbed into the Abbey of Jervaulx's holdings in the Forest of Wensleydale by the mid-to late 13th century (*op cit*, 303). The number of manors at this period would have been even greater still.

2.2 Villages, hamlets and farmsteads

The territorial labels discussed above can all be defined with relative ease, despite the complexity caused by their changing role over time (which is especially marked in the case of the township), since they describe specific entities which figure in legislation and other formal records from the medieval period onwards. However it is a very different matter when it comes to precisely defining the terms used to describe different types of settlement, such as 'village' or 'hamlet'. As the foremost scholars of landscape and settlement studies have

admitted (e.g. Roberts 1996, 14) it is extraordinarily difficult to define these terms with precision in such a way as to impose any absolute consistency of usage upon them.

For the purposes of this study the following definitions of settlement were used, all drawn from Brian Roberts' extensive work, in particular the succinct discussion provided in *Landscapes of Settlement* (1996, 15-19):

VILLAGE: A clustered assembly of dwellings and farmsteads, larger than a hamlet, but smaller than a town
and
A rural settlement with sufficient dwellings to possess a recognisable form (Roberts 1976, 256).

HAMLET: A small cluster of farmsteads

FARMSTEAD: An assemblage of agricultural buildings from which the land is worked

TOWN: A relatively large concentration of people possessing rights and skills which separate them from direct food production.

The most substantial body of work on village morphology is that undertaken by Brian Roberts (e.g. 1972; 1976; 1977; 1990). Roberts has identified a complex series of village types based on two main forms, termed 'rows' and 'agglomerations', multiplied by a series of variable factors:

- Regular or irregular
- The presence or absence of greens
- Complexity – e.g. multiple row villages
- Building density – infilling of toft areas
- Fragmentation – 'exploded' versions of row villages and village agglomerations

This provides a useful scheme for classifying villages, but it is difficult to determine what these different morphological characteristics actually signify. Dixon (1985) is sceptical of regularity or irregularity as a significant factor, noting that irregularity does not necessarily mean that a village was not laid out in a particular order at a particular time; that the regularity of a layout is a subjective judgement; and that an irregular row may simply be a consequence of local terrain or topography. He also points out that however irregular it might appear, by its very existence the row constitutes an element of regularity. He is especially dismissive of the presence or absence of a green as a significant factor in village morphology, arguing that a green is simply an intrusion of the common waste into the settlement; if such a space is broad it is called a green, if narrow it is a street or gate. This may be overly dogmatic since broad greens could conceivably perform a different function to that of narrower streets, but it does serve to emphasise that it is possible to over-analyse village plans. In the absence of excavation, surviving earthworks or detailed topographic survey, however, such plans are the best evidence we have for the development of the settlement.

In the case of the Village Heritage Project the lack of detailed mapping earlier than c 1800 for many of the villages considered poses a significant problem. Although the First Edition Ordnance Survey and the slightly earlier tithe and enclosure maps are often the first resort in analysing settlement morphology, such early to mid-19th century maps do not provide infallible guides to the early modern or medieval form of any given village. Significant changes in layout, density and overall form could occur in the intervening centuries with

complete replanning and relocation not unknown.² Aerial photography to some extent fills the gap, preferably in combination with detailed field survey where this has been undertaken.

If Brian Roberts, using the methods of historical geography, has perhaps done more to shape current thinking on the overall pattern of village settlement than any other scholar, at the *micro level of the individual medieval village* and its components the seminal investigation has been the archaeological excavations at Wharram Percy, conducted by Maurice Beresford and John Hurst from 1948 onwards (Beresford & Hurst 1990). This work, 'a 40-year partnership which for many years led the direction of medieval archaeology' as it has been described (Moorhouse 2003a, 185), formed the model for many other important investigations in other parts of the country. No comparable excavation of village settlement has been undertaken within the northern part of the National Park, but two major studies of settlement and landscape – that of Fleming and Laurie in Swaledale (summarised in Fleming 1998) and Moorhouse in Wensleydale (2003b) – involving detailed field survey, as well as mapwork and aerial photography, have yielded a great deal of new information regarding the historical development of the village communities in these two valleys.

One broad distinction which does clearly emerge from the analysis of the village plans is that between the settlements in upper Swaledale and Wensleydale on the one hand and those in the lower parts of these two valleys on the other hand. Lomas (1996, 86), has characterised upland dales as areas of 'commons with settlements' rather than 'settlements with commons' in the medieval and early modern periods. Such districts were distinguished by a prevailing settlement pattern of dispersed farmsteads and hamlets with little or no arable land and very extensive areas of grazing – comprising moorland, hill pasture and enclosed meadows. In marked contrast, a more nucleated settlement pattern predominated further east in lower Wensleydale and Swaledale where the valleys broadened out. Although the density of village settlement there was inevitably reduced by comparison with the adjacent lowland districts of Richmondshire and the Vale of Mowbray, the same basic characteristics were present with arable cultivation in open fields representing a much more prominent component of the local economy than was the case in the upper dales. This substantial difference in land use and subsistence appear to be reflected in the different form of the settlements in these two zones (cf. Moorhouse 2003b, 305-11). To the east of Bainbridge, the villages are generally relatively regular in plan, often comprised of two rows separated by a long rectangular green or street. Grinton, at the eastern entrance to Upper Swaledale, follows the same basic pattern with two rows on either side of a street. Although such apparent regularity may conceal many vicissitudes and alterations over time (cf. Moorhouse 2003b, 305-7), it provides a marked contrast to the settlement plans encountered in the upper dales, at Gunnerside, Muker, Keld in Upper Swaledale, and Sedbusk and Hardraw in Wensleydale, for example. These take the form of irregular agglomerations often laid out around an open area (perhaps the remnant of a fold yard) which in turn has sometimes been infilled (McDonnell 1990, 33-7). Such layouts appear to be optimised for the predominantly pastoralist economy of the upland environment in which these settlements are situated.

² Outside the Yorkshire Dales, the late 18th to 19th century transformation, in north Northumberland, of formerly populous village communities into 'farm hamlets' – i.e. settlements focussed on one or two large integrated farm complexes – is a salutary case in point (see Dixon 1985).

3. SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

Accessible regional and national archives, museums, libraries and record offices consulted for documentary, cartographic and pictorial material relevant to the present study include the following:

- North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton (NYCRO)
- Yorkshire Dales National Park Historic Environment Record, Yoredale, Bainbridge (YDNPA-HER)
- West Yorkshire Archives Service, Leeds (WYAS)
- Yorkshire Archaeological Society archives, Claremont, Leeds (YAS)
- The Brotherton Library, Leeds University (LUL)
- Dales Countryside Museum, Hawes (DCM)
- Palace Green Library, University of Durham (DUL)
- Public Record Office, Kew (PRO)
- National Monuments Record (NMR)
- National Register of Archives (NRA)

3.1 Compiling the project database

Assembly of the research material required to produce the Village Heritage Project has been achieved by the following methods:

3.1.1 Aerial photographic coverage

Aerial photographic coverage of the villages selected for study, held by Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority, was consulted and the most informative examples selected for analysis and reproduction here.

3.1.2 Documentary survey

A wide range of medieval and early modern documentation, including inquisitions post mortem, ecclesiastical chartularies, royal charters and judicial proceedings, and other official correspondence, has been used to illuminate the history and development of the villages and their setting. In addition several categories of more recent archival material - maps, sketches, photographs - and local historical descriptions, have proved informative.

Documentary sources provide most of our information on certain aspects of the villages' past, notably its medieval origins and development, and its tenurial and ecclesiastical framework. A targeted approach to the analysis of data from such sources was adopted in order to maximise the amount of information gained in the available timescale. Accordingly, data gathering focussed on cartographic, pictorial and photographic evidence, whilst the Victoria County History (*VCH*) volumes and other historical syntheses covering sub-regional geographic units or settlements were used to identify particularly important documentary source material worthy of further scrutiny.

Historic Maps

All available historic maps and plans were examined and, where possible, copied. These include the successive county maps – Saxton 1577, Speed 1610, Warburton 1720, Jefferys' 1771-2, Smith 1808, Greenwood 1815-7, (figs 7-16) etc. – but more importantly the tithe (*c* 1840) and enclosure maps and Ordnance Survey editions, as well as other detailed mapping, privately commissioned during the 17th to 19th centuries (e.g. estate surveys or lead mining maps and plans). The tithe and enclosure maps for the relevant townships provide evidence for the changing layout of field patterns and, along with the First Edition Ordnance Survey, in

many instances constitute the earliest reliable and comprehensive evidence for the settlement pattern of each village. The relationship of this baseline record to the surviving earthworks revealed by aerial photography, for example, is key to understanding the dynamic processes involved in the development of the settlement. Such processes might include a shift in the position or orientation of the nucleated centre, the infilling of formerly open spaces, such as greens, or a reduction in the extent or density of occupation in a village.

Pictorial representations

Pictorial representations - prints, sketches and paintings - and early photographs, were examined and, where possible, copied. The principal source of such representations were the NYCRO and the DCM. Such photographs show the appearance of buildings shown in plan on historic maps, as well as features not included on such plans. In some cases they also provide useful information on the function of such buildings. The participation of local individuals who have made available their collections of earlier photographs, postcards or paintings, has been particularly useful and may provide a source of additional material in the future.

Published historical syntheses and collections of sources

Existing published research in a variety of works covering the historic villages has been summarised for inclusion in the historical synthesis for each village. Priority was given to the material contained in the existing Victoria County History volumes for the North Riding of Yorkshire, which treat the history of the riding, wapentake by wapentake, parish by parish and township by township. The more recent county-focussed syntheses (e.g. Hey 1986 and Butlin & Staley's seminal *Historical Atlas of North Yorkshire* (2003)) were also consulted. Also exceptionally important are the overviews of settlement history based on documentary research and archaeological fieldwork in Swaledale (Fleming 1998), whilst Fieldhouse and Jennings' document-based history of Swaledale (1978/2005) is likewise invaluable. Eric Cooper's histories of individual dales such as Swaledale (1973), plus his more localised studies (of Muker (1948), for example) are still useful. Also important are discussion of these village settlements during particular periods (McDonnell 1990), analysis of village settlement in general (e.g. Roberts 1972, 1977, 1987 and 1990); and studies of particularly relevant related themes (Fieldhouse 1980; Winchester 2000; Gill 2004).

Important published documentary sources for the medieval period include the Domesday Book, the Lay Subsidy Roll for 1301, several monastic cartularies, notably that of Rievaulx Abbey, and Inquisitions Post Mortem (IPMs) relating to baronial estates. Published synthetic histories were used to identify those documentary sources which merited consultation. Many of these have been reproduced in full in the relevant volumes of the Surtees Society and the Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series (see Bibliography: Published documentary sources), whilst the IPMs are presented in chronological order – though often in abbreviated form – in various calendar volumes published by the Public Record Office: the *Calendars of Inquisitions Post Mortem (Cal IPM)*, and the *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (CalMisc)*.

For the 16th to 17th centuries, the documentary material becomes increasingly abundant. Detailed manorial surveys for the Wharton estates provide detailed information on contemporary upland settlement patterns, including the names of the individual customary tenants and the number of tenant holdings (*Wharton Estates*). Chancery court cases between the Swaledale landlords and their tenants document the customary tenurial rights and conditions of the farming communities and the determined efforts by the Whartons and others to achieve terms more favourable to the landlord. Wills and associated inventories of goods contain a wealth of data on living conditions and social relations (see *Swaledale Wills and Inventories*). The source material relating to the more recent centuries – in particular the principal economic influences on the villages represented by agriculture, lead mining and transport improvements – is summarised in Section 9.

3.1.3 Archaeological Survey

The Yorkshire Dales National Park Historic Environment Record was consulted in order to prepare a summary gazetteer of all archaeological sites recorded in each township, including industrial archaeological monuments, find spots and communications routes. Sites newly identified during the course of the study have also been added to the gazetteer.

3.1.4 Historic Buildings Survey

All the villages were visited by a historic buildings expert. Every building of note within each village core was examined, described and photographed externally and the overall character of the built assemblage discussed (see Section 4: Character Appraisal). In addition the Listed Building Records were consulted along with published syntheses such as Harrison and Hutton's *Vernacular Houses of North Yorkshire and Cleveland* and Hatcher's *Richmondshire Architecture*. The historic buildings expert also examined any reports relating to individual buildings within the villages completed by the YVBSG and held at the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (YAS) archives. The aim of this will be to compile a gazetteer of historic buildings, including Listed Buildings as well as others of merit, in each township. Photographs of the exterior faces of each building will be incorporated in the archive gazetteer, along with a description of each building, comments on its current condition and any perceived threats. Structures which, by virtue of their importance and complexity of fabric, are considered by the project team, in consultation with the YDNPA Building Conservation Team, to merit further recording will be identified at this stage.

It is envisaged that vernacular building recording in the manner of the YVBSG is one field in which future local involvement could be inspired by the project.

3.1.5 Analysis of village environs

The wider setting of the villages have been assessed, using the territorial framework of the historic township where relevant, through a combination of aerial photographs, historic maps, documents, previous historical syntheses and site visits. Where possible the various components - infield arable and meadow, outfield pasture, etc – have been identified and evidence of different phases of activity over time has been noted in the historical synthesis. More detailed recording of the surrounding field systems could form the basis of future community-led studies.

3.1.6 Site inspections

Site visits were undertaken to examine the villages, their principal monuments, built environment and surrounding field systems. Rather than being a comprehensive field survey, this was carried out to enable the project team to characterise the built fabric, archaeological features and wider landscape setting of the village and to examine features which other data collection methods (aerial photography/documentary survey etc.) identified as being of particular importance. Photographs were taken of all the historic buildings and other sites or features of special significance.

3.1.7 Public information and involvement

With the assistance of the YDNPA Building Conservation Team, presentations of material on each of the villages under study were made over a period of two days at the Dales Countryside Museum, Hawes during 2005. Two members of the project team participated in these presentations. It was anticipated that this would help to identify knowledgeable local informants who could be interviewed further during the site visits. This proved to be the case. A more informal process of gathering such local information was also undertaken during the site visits.

A short questionnaire was also sent to all the villagers who had expressed interest in the project throughout its duration. Again the main purpose of the questionnaire was to identify conservation, restoration and environmental improvement measures which possessed

significant support amongst the village communities.

It was anticipated that these methods would also identify questions concerning the historical past of the villages, which were of particular interest to members of the local community, and conservation and environmental improvement measures which might form the basis for follow-on community-based projects. These will be set out in the Village Action Plans. It was clear from the meetings and presentations that there was a significant degree of interest amongst several communities in the past of their settlements. It is hoped that this engagement with the past can be supported through future community-led projects, aimed at facilitating more detailed, long term studies of these villages and their landscape settings.

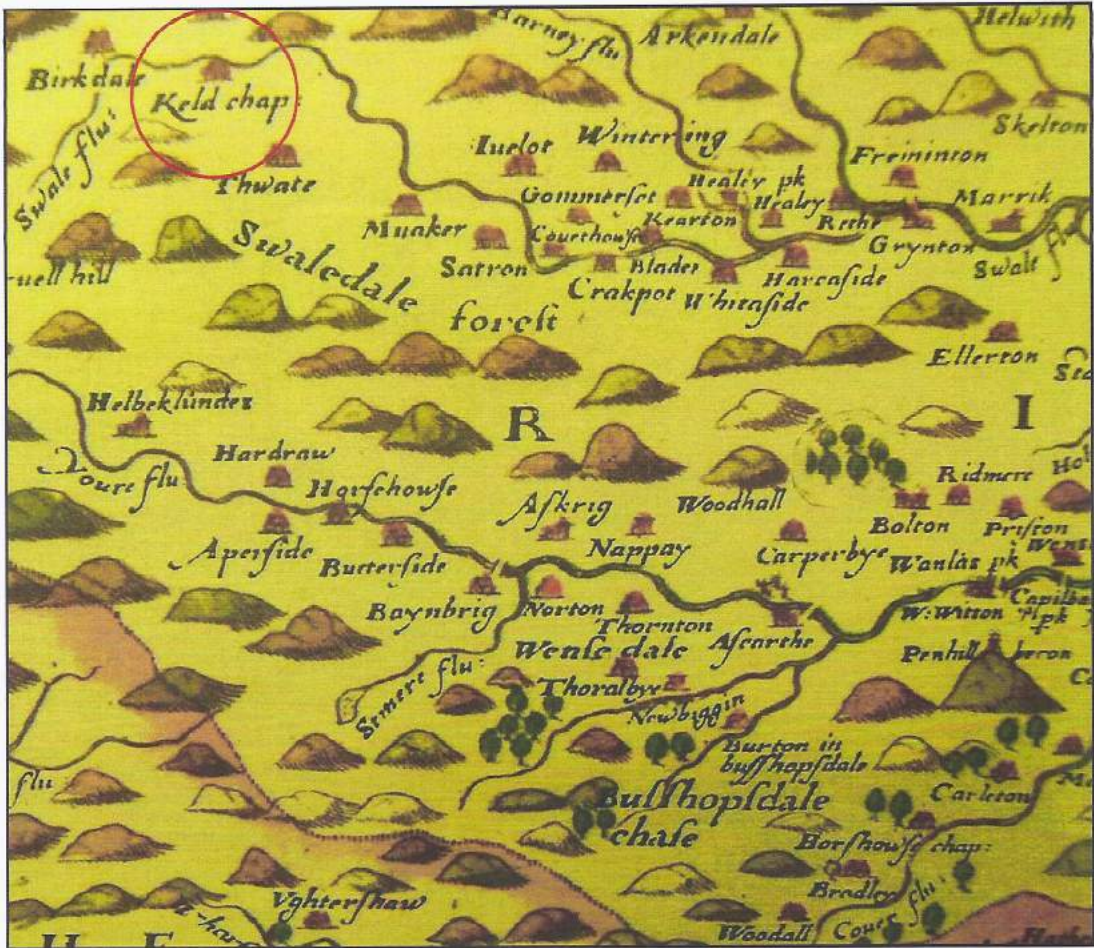


Figure 7: Extract from Saxton's map of 1577



Figure 8: Camden's map, late 16th to early 17th century



Figure 9: Extract from Morden's map of c. 1695

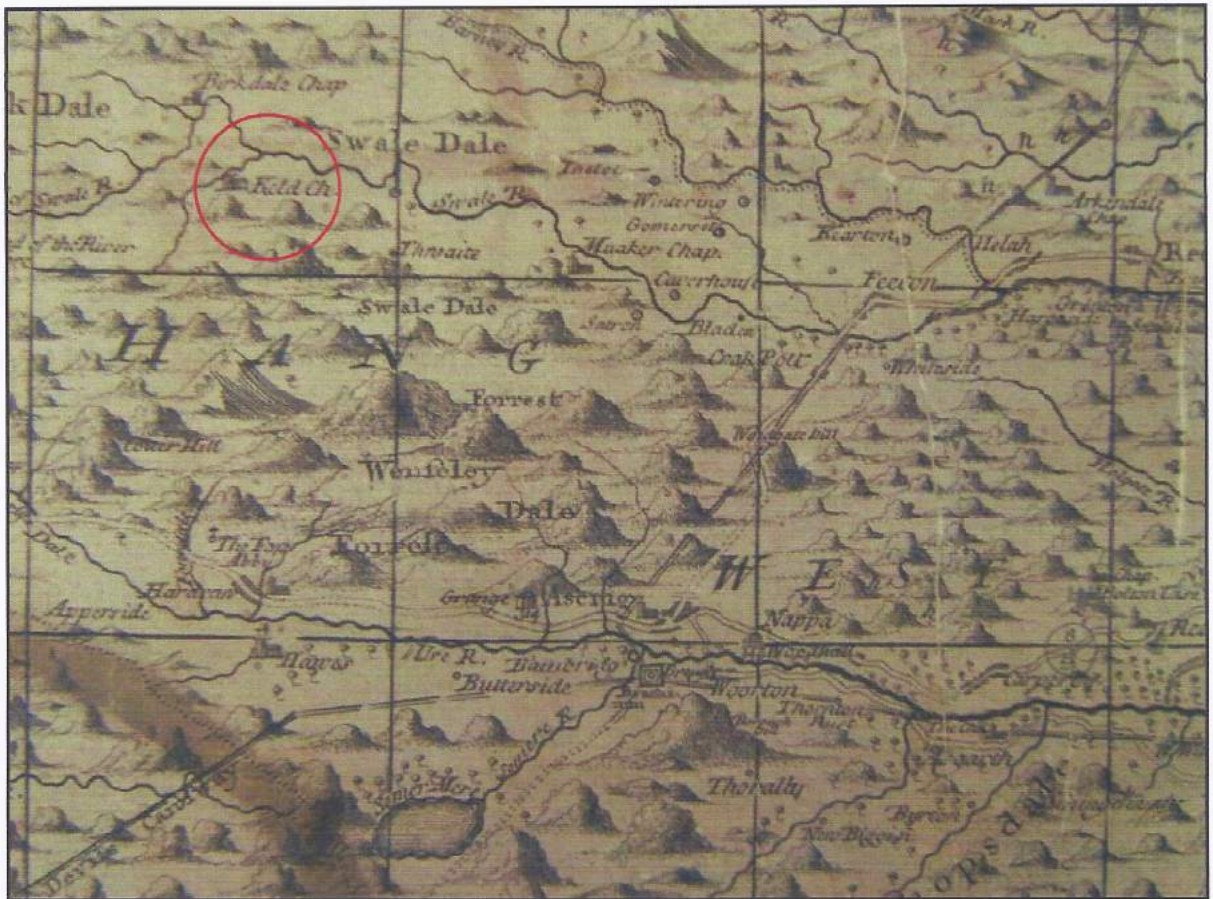


Figure 10: Extract from Warburton's map of 1716



Close up of Keld, from the above map



Figure 11: Extract from Tuke's map of 1728

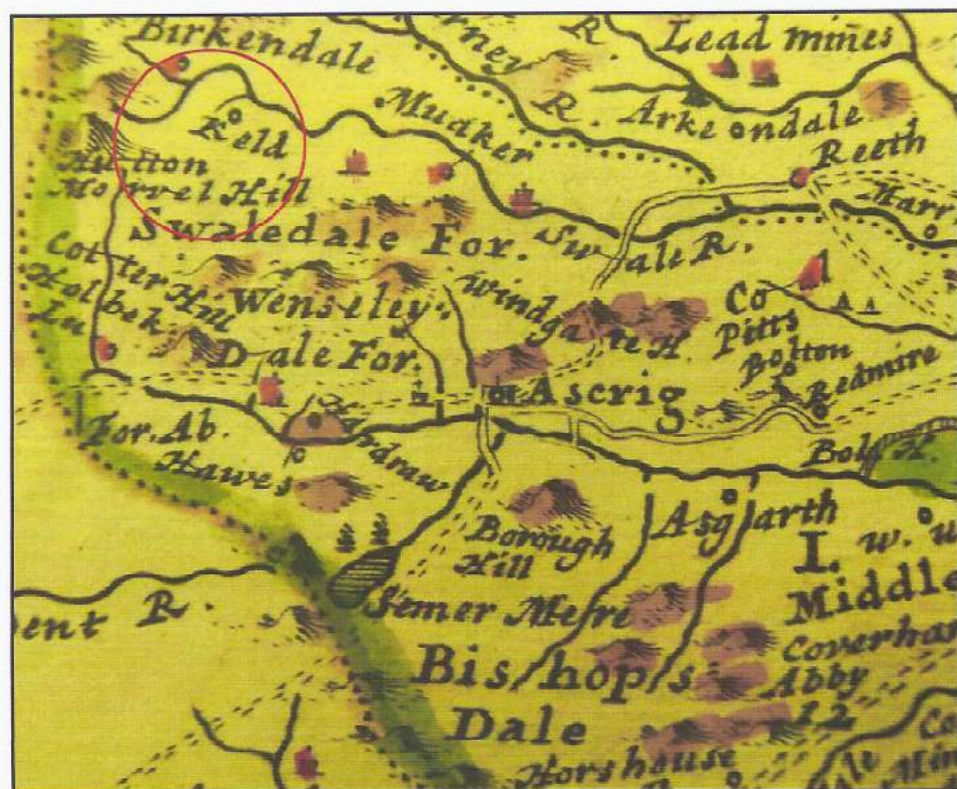


Figure 12: Extract from Moll's mid 18th century map

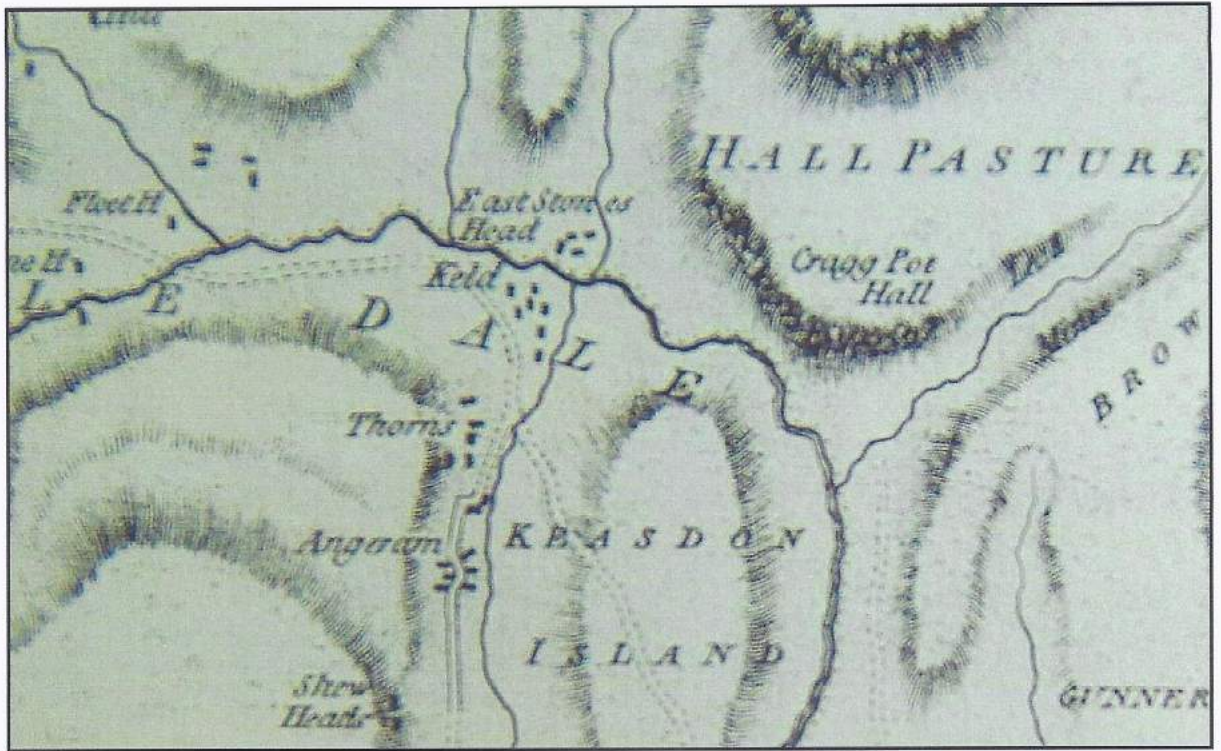


Figure 13: Extract from Jeffreys' map of 1772



Figure 14: Extract from Smith's map of 1808



Figure 15: Extract from Greenwood's map of 1817



Figure 16: Extract from Greenwood's map of 1834



Figure 17: First edition 6" Ordnance Survey plan showing Kield 1856

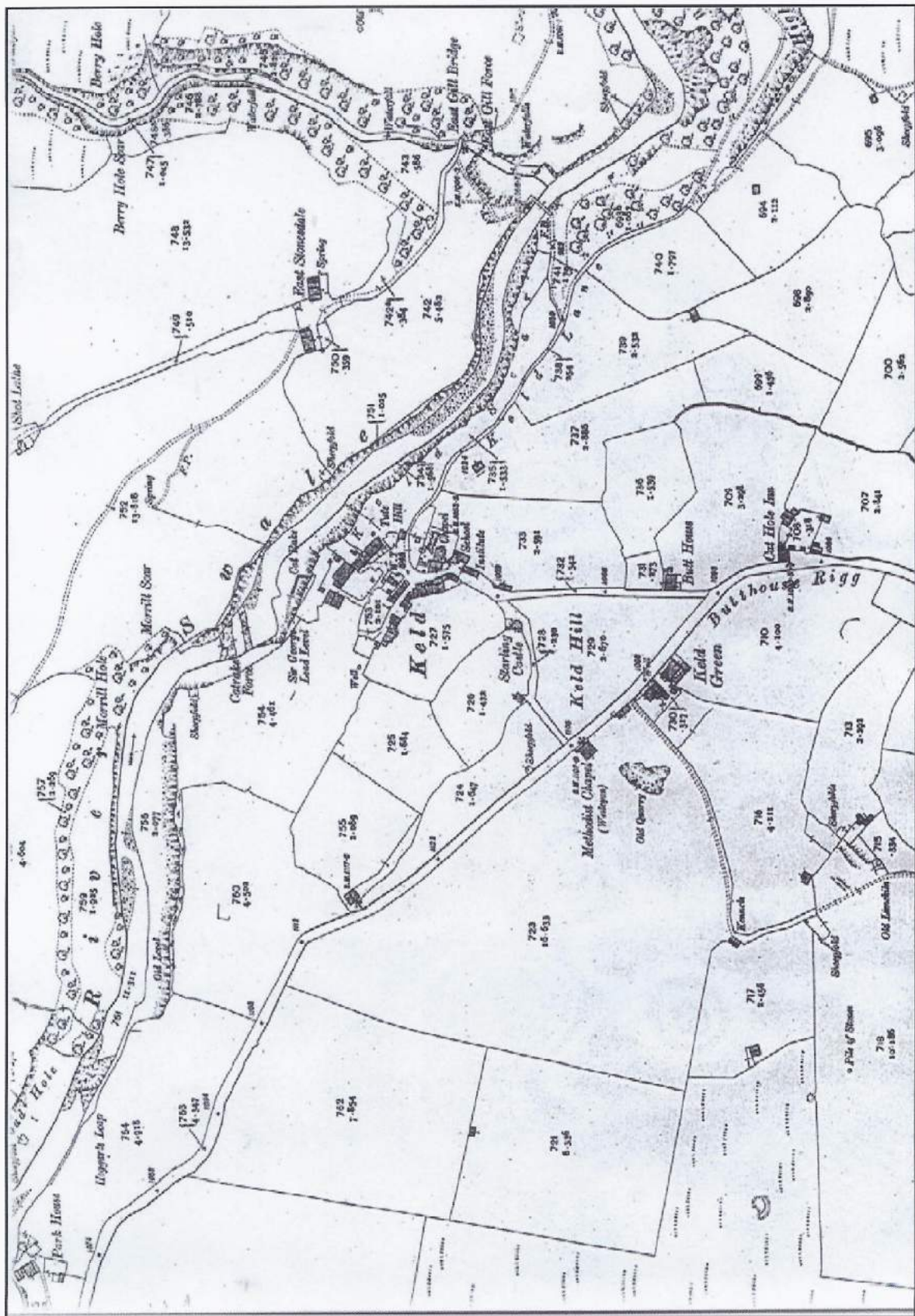


Figure 18: Third edition Ordnance Survey plan, 1912, 1:2500

HISTORIC PHOTOGRAPHS



Figure 19: Keld village, 1930s

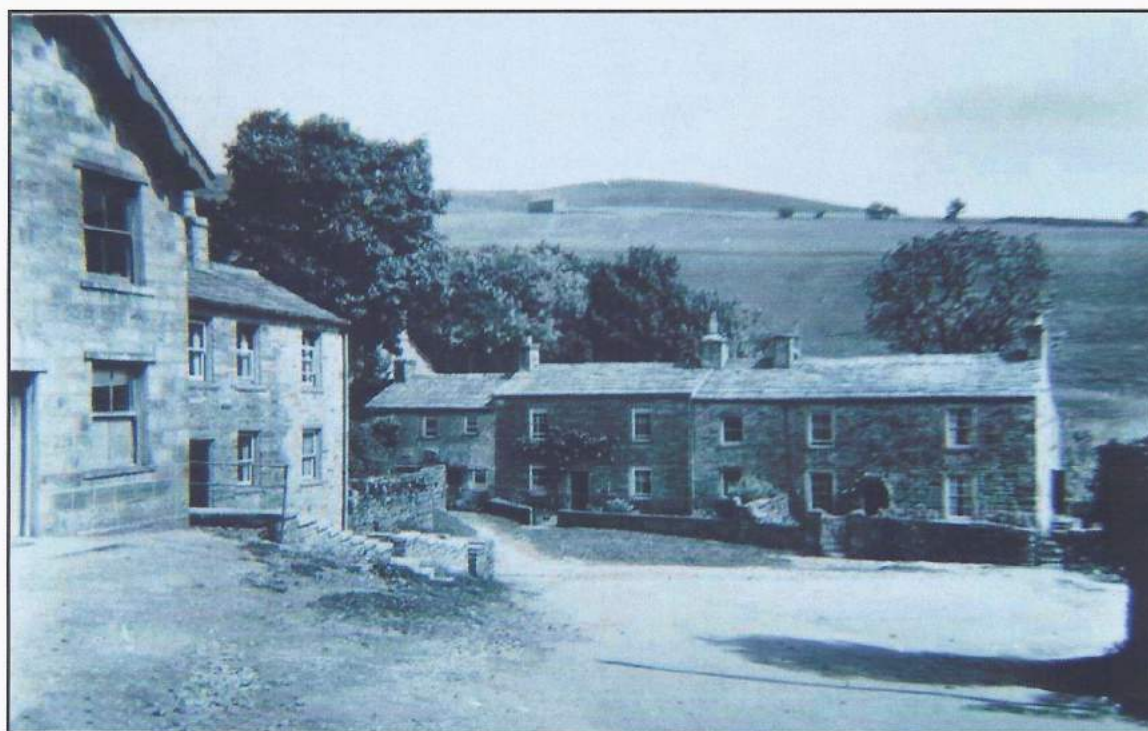


Figure 20: Keld village, 1930s

PART 2: SYNTHESIS AND ANALYSIS

4. CHARACTER APPRAISAL

4.1 Location and topography: '*a hamlet perched among the mountains*'

The village of Keld [NY 893 012] is located in upper Swaledale, towards the head of the valley, about 35 km west of the market town of Richmond. The dale forms part of the modern county of North Yorkshire and the historic North Riding and it is also incorporated in the Yorkshire Dales National Park (see figures 3-5). The village is situated on south bank of the River Swale, three miles below the point where the river is formed by the confluence of the Sleddale and Birkdale Becks. As the quotation (above) from the Victoria County History (*VCH: NR I* (1914), 238) suggests, the surrounding topography is extremely rugged. To the north, on the opposite bank of the river, the ground climbs steeply up towards Black Moor which is flanked on either side by the narrow tributary valleys of East and West Stonesdale. The village is dominated by the high ground of Black Hill and Clumpstone Hill to the south west and Kisdon to the south east, but to the south it looks down the narrow valley of the Sked Skeugh. This leads towards the villages of Angram and Thwaite and is followed by the main road down Swaledale which rejoins the main valley at Muker.

4.2 Area of Study

The main focus of the study is the village settlement itself. To understand the village's place within its surrounding landscape, however, a wider area of study has been adopted. This is represented by the territory of the late medieval/early modern township community of Keld as revealed by Fleming's programme of landscape archaeology (Fleming 1998). This territory is centred on the village, extending along the south side of the Swale from High Bridge in the west to West Arn Gill in the east, and includes the fell side pastures of Keld Side plus a further section of hillside to the south towards Thwaite Wood (on the eastern side of Angram Lane). This community territory represents only a fraction of the early 19th century township of Muker, one of four townships which then comprised the 52,046 acre ecclesiastical parish of Grinton. The parish embraced all of Upper Swaledale running for 20 miles to the upper reaches of the Swale at the border with Westmorland. Muker township itself contained 34,066 acres, of which 28,000 acres were moors and fells, and has become the modern civil parish of the same name. The village's location within the framework of the ecclesiastical parish and the earlier and later townships is shown on Figure 5. A full discussion of the development of parochial and township structures is provided in the next section.

4.3 The character of the village

The village of Keld, little more than a hamlet, huddles around a junction of tracks on a shelf above the limestone gorge of the youthful Swale, at the point at which the pre-glacial valley, which now carries the Kirkby Stephen road, reunites with the upstream section of the river before it cascades down into the narrow and geologically-recent gorge on the north and east sides of Kisdon Hill. Keld shows in microcosm the usual elements found in Swaledale villages. There are relatively fragmentary evidences of 17th and 18th century vernacular - the evidence of a cantilevered stack on Kirkbeck, the re-set datestones, both of 1687, on Birk Hill and the barn in the field to the east of the village.

Then comes the 18th century, with increasing prosperity. Park Lodge of 1760 is a good-quality farmhouse, very up-to-date for its period, using regularly-squared stone and cut dressings.

Further to the east in the same row of houses, fronting Keld's rudimentary green, Tute House ushers in the 19th century with its round-arched doorway and taller windows. From the 19th century as well come the buildings that testify to the omnipresent influence of nonconformity. At the centre of the village is the United Reform Church, an 1860 rebuilding of an Independent Chapel of 1818 which in turn replaced a predecessor of 1791 which itself stands on or near the site of the ruin of a chapel that may have dated back to around the time of the Reformation. The church is accompanied by, in addition to its attached manse, the associated school of 1842 and Village Institute of 1861, both dedicated to the betterment of the local population with good-quality – but relatively simple – architectural detail, although the school does have a little bellcote with cut-out heart-shaped panels. The Institute relies on the well-cut and almost decorative tooling of its quoins and dressings; all rely on local materials, with stone flag roofs. Methodism seems to have taken second place. Keld's second chapel, of 1841, is located on the main road at the top of the hill outside the village centre and is a humbler building.

The 20th century brought the Public Hall and Reading Room, here of 1926 - a common early 20th century addition to the suite of public buildings provided by Dales villages, which previously had been almost entirely chapel-based. It is a relatively plain but inoffensive structure, keeping up the tradition of named foundation stones often seen in chapels a decade or so either side of 1900.

Apart from relatively minor alterations to existing buildings, Keld's remote site means that it has been spared later 20th century redevelopment.

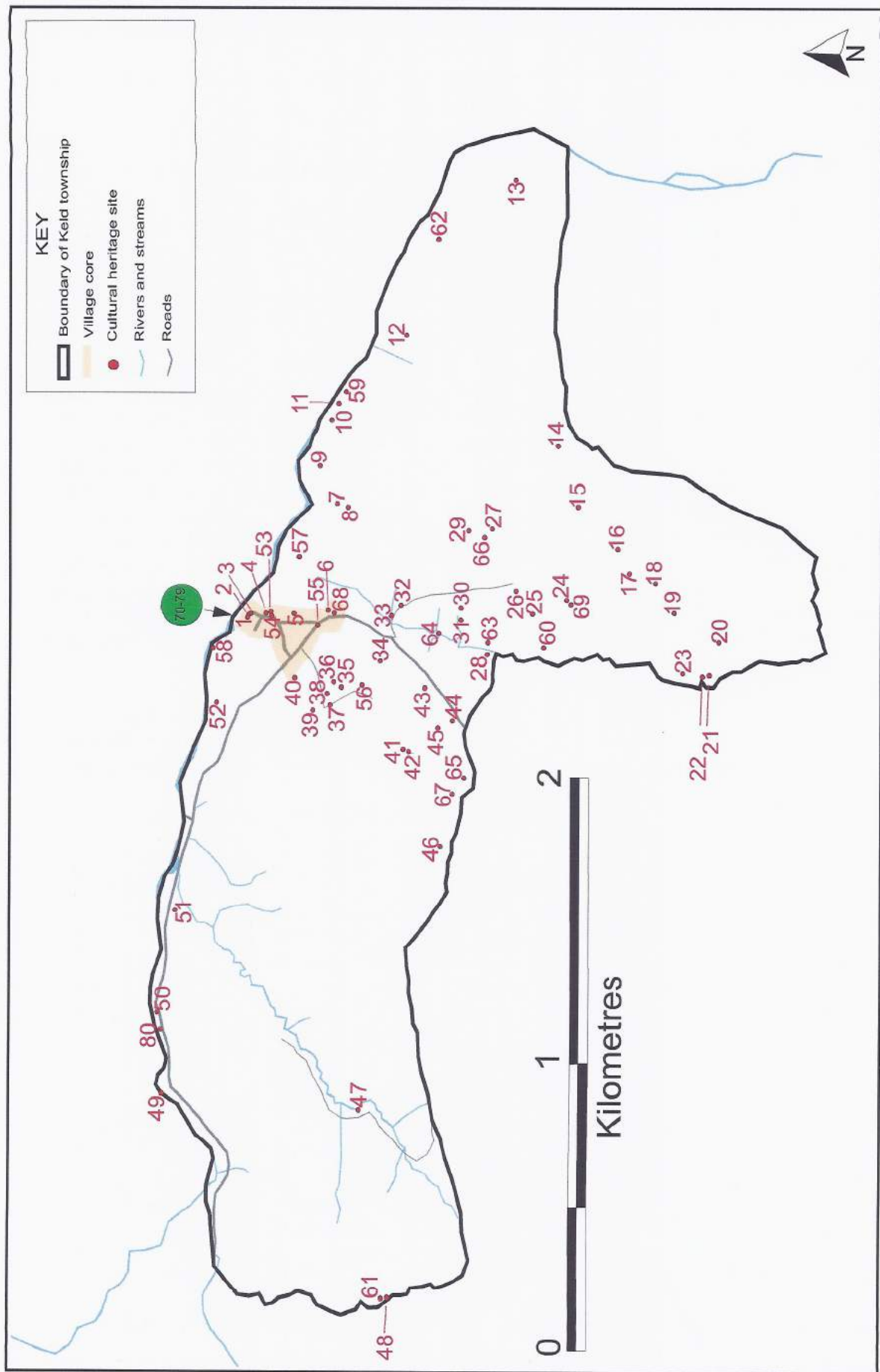


Figure 21: Cultural heritage sites in Keld township (keyed to Table 1, section 5). 70-79 are additional sites not included in HER (See Illus. 25).

5. GAZETTEER OF CULTURAL HERITAGE SITES

A summary site gazetteer is set out below. Complete entries for those sites listed in the Yorkshire Dales Historic Environment Record (YDHER) may be consulted by contacting the Yorkshire Dales Archaeological Team at Yoredale, Bainbridge, Leyburn, North Yorkshire, herinfo@yorkshiredales.org.uk. The gazetteer sites are all located on figure 21 and, in the case of those in the immediate vicinity of the village and in the village core, on figures 22 and 23 respectively. For further ease of identification the site catalogue numbers are placed between square brackets when cited in the report text. Thus catalogue number 20 would normally appear as [20], although in some cases a site may be more fully identified.

N.B. This gazetteer is based principally on the YDNP-HER and listed buildings catalogue, supplemented by sites of interest identified by the project team. The latter mostly fall within the village core, which represented primary object of the study, and predominantly consist of the historic buildings identified in Section 7. Thus the gazetteer does not represent an exhaustive survey of all the potential cultural heritage sites in the former township, based on detailed field investigation and rigorous reclassification. For example, the field barns which have been destroyed since the publication of the First Edition Ordnance Survey have been entered into the HER and hence are included here, whereas surviving field barns have not been listed in the HER and lie outside the settlement core and are therefore omitted from the gazetteer, even though they are intrinsically no less interesting than the comparable structures which have now disappeared. The barns have been the principal subject of a conservation area designation and funded accordingly through the Barns and Walls Conservation Project and the Pennine Dales Environmentally Sensitive Area.

It should be emphasised that the HER is being continuously updated and further sites may have been added since this gazetteer was compiled. It should be the first point of reference for anyone with an interest in the heritage of any part of the Yorkshire Dales National Park.

Table 1: Sites of cultural heritage importance identified within the wider study area

NO.	HER NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION	GRID REF.
1	MYD35438	Park Lodge, (Site 'H' in village characterisation map)	Farmhouse and outbuilding. Grade II listed building dated to 1760	NY8928701219
2	MYD6945	Ullion House	House	NY8935501255
3	MYD6662	East View	House	NY8935501255
4	MYD35414	Former Chapel School, (Site 'B' in village characterisation map)	School. Grade II listed building dated to 1842	NY8929801119
5	MYD20772	Barn	No longer extant	NY8930501025
6	MYD20766	Outbuilding	Outbuilding	NY8931500875
7	MYD20767	Barn	No longer extant	NY8968500835
8	MYD20768	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	NY8967500795
9	MYD20770	Undated enclosure	Remains of enclosure possibly associated with packhorse road	NY8981500915
10	MYD20769	Undated enclosure	Possibly associated with packhorse road	NY8997500865
11	MYD21625	Undated enclosure	Possibly associated with drove road	NY9003500835
12	MYD21626	Post-medieval	Limekiln	NY9027500545

		Limekiln		
13	MYD21627	Barn	Shown as roofless on 1978 OS map	NY9081500075
14	MYD26274	OS triangulation pillar	No longer extant	SD8988599895
15	MYD26273	Post-medieval Sandstone quarry	Sandstone quarry	SD8967599805
16	MYD26275	Post-medieval lead workings	Lead workings	SD8953599635
17	MYD26276	Post-medieval limekiln	Limekiln	SD8944599585
18	MYD26277	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	SD8941599475
19	MYD26278	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	SD8930599395
20	MYD26283	Barn	Depicted on 1857 OS map	SD8920599205
21	MYD26282	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	SD8908599245
22	MYD26281	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	SD8907599275
23	MYD26280	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	SD8909599355
24	MYD26271	Barn	Depicted on 1857 OS map	SD8935599855
25	MYD6947	Hog House	Field barn	NY8935500055
26	MYD20756	Post-medieval limekiln	Limekiln	NY8938500075
27	MYD20757	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	NY8960500175
28	MYD20754	Stepping stones	Shown on 1 st ED OS map 1857	NY8916500195
29	MYD20760	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	NY8959500275
30	MYD20761	Post-medieval limekiln	Limekiln	NY8932500305
31	MYD20762	Possible barn	Recorded as ruin in 1854	NY8928500305
32	MYD20764	Barn	No longer extant	NY8933500565
33	MYD20765	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	NY8929500615
34	MYD20745	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	NY8913500655
35	MYD20743	Post-medieval limekiln	Limekiln	NY8904500825
36	MYD20742	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	NY8906500855
37	MYD20740	Undated sheepfolds	Sheepfolds	NY8898500875
38	MYD20741	Barn	Shown as roofless on 1979 OS map	NY8902500885
39	MYD20739	Post-medieval limekiln	Limekiln	NY8896500945
40	MYD20738	Post-medieval limekiln	Limekiln	NY8907501025
41	MYD20746	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	NY8883500555
42	MYD20747	Barn	Shown as roofless 1979 OS map	NY8882500535
43	MYD6951	Thorns Green Farm	Farmhouse	NY8905500555
44	MYD20748	Barn with enclosure	Shown as roofless on 1979 OS map	NY8893500345
45	MYD6950	Woodside	House	NY8895500455
46	MYD20751	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	NY8849500395
47	MYD20650	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	NY8757500745
48	MYD20649	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	NY8690500605
49	MYD20667	Post-medieval smithy	Extant by 1979 OS	NY8762501585
50	MYD20728	Post-medieval smelt mill	Mill c.1837 abandoned by 1870.	NY8790501605
51	MYD35432	Limekiln	Limekiln near	NY8826801526

			Blackburn Beck	
52	MYD20734	Undated walls	Probable remains of field walling	NY8899501355
53	MYD35445	United Reform Church & former Manse with railings. (Site 'C' in village characterisation map)	United Reform Church. Mid 19 th century, Grade II listed building	NY8929901139
54	MYD35416	Former Institute. (Site 'A' in village characterisation map)	Literary Institute. 1861 Grade II listed building	NY8928701114
55	MYD35426	K6 Telephone box	Telephone box at junction with road to Keld	NY8926300914
56	MYD20744	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	NY8905500735
57	MYD6946	Field barn	Field barn	NY8955501055
58	MYD20735	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	NY8918501375
59	MYD21624	Post-medieval limekiln	Limekiln	NY9007500805
60	MYD26270	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	SD8918599955
61	MYD20689	Undated enclosure	Sheepfold	NY8690500645
62	MYD6661	Salt Pie	House	NY9065500455
63	MYD20755	Barn	No longer extant	NY8920500195
64	MYD20763	Barn	No longer extant	NY8923500405
65	MYD20749	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	NY8873500295
66	MYD20759	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	NY8957500205
67	MYD20750	Post-medieval limestone quarry	Limestone quarry	NY8867500345
68	MYD35422	House	House	NY8929800853
69	MYD26272	Undated sheepfold	Sheepfold	SD8933599845
70	Not on HER	House, (Site 'D' in village characterisation map)	House dated to 1866	NY8915001120
71	Not on HER	Kikbeck, (Site 'E' in village characterisation map)	18 th century house	NY8917001190
72	Not on HER	Public Hall and Reading Room, (Site 'F' in village characterisation map)	Public Hall dated to 1926	NY8925001200
73	Not on HER	Birk Hill View, (Site 'G' in village characterisation map)	19 th century house	NY8927001210
74	Not on HER	Farm buildings, (Site 'I' in village characterisation map)	Grade II listed buildings some dated to the late 18 th and early 19 th centuries	NY8927001220
75	Not on HER	Lilac Cottage, (Site 'J' in village characterisation map)	Cottage possibly dating to the 18 th century	NY8927501217
76	Not on HER	School House, (Site 'K' in village characterisation map)	Mid 19 th century school house	NY8927601215
77	Not on HER	Tute House, (Site 'L' in village characterisation map)	House possibly dating to the late 19 th century	NY8929001210
78	Not on HER	Outbuilding, (Site 'M' in village characterisation map)	Outbuilding	NY8929001180

79	Not on HER	Field Barn, (Site 'N' in village characterisation map)	Field barn	NY8930001100
80	MYD20726	Post-medieval lead workings	Lead workings	NY8784501595

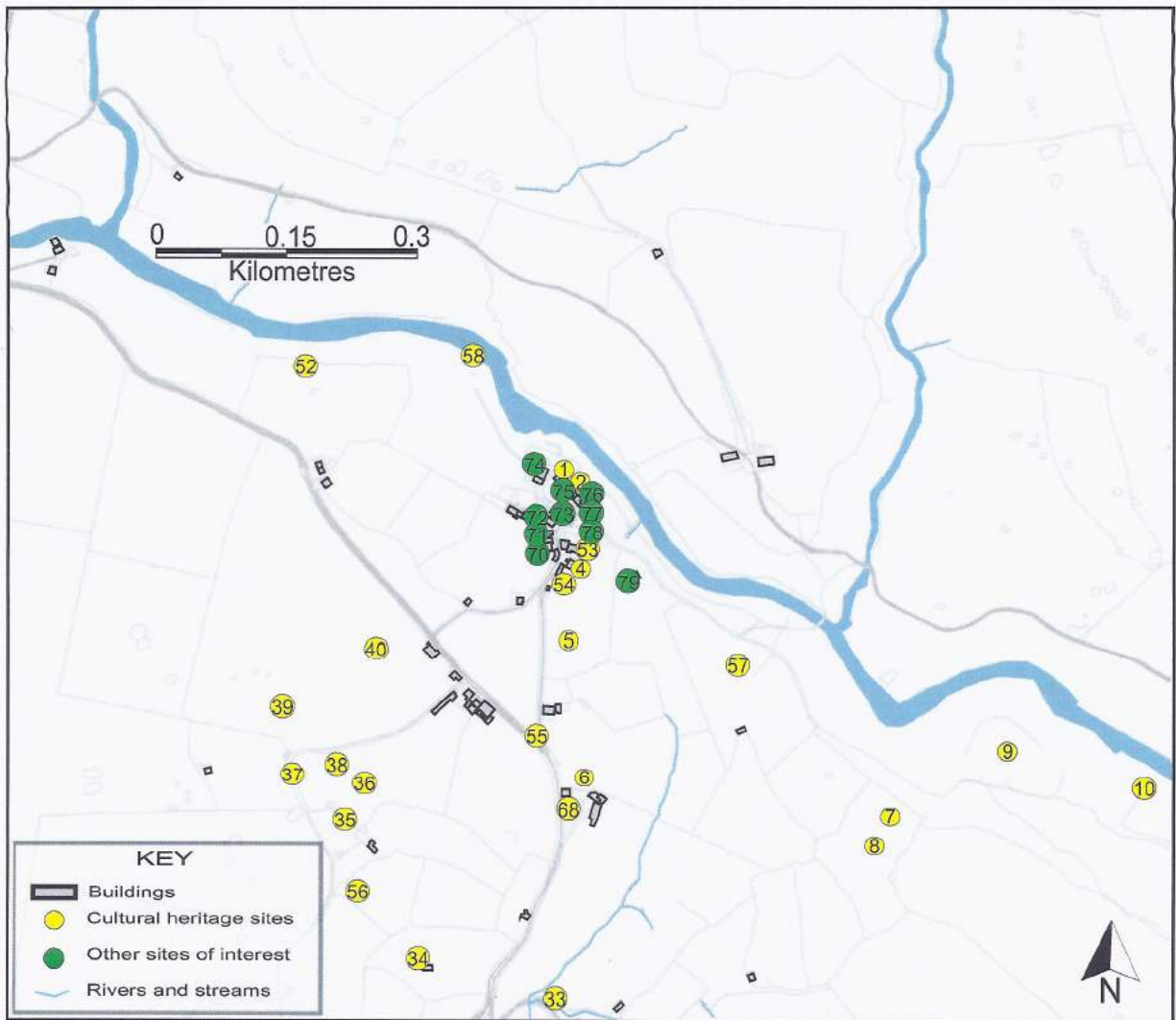


Figure 22: Cultural heritage sites at Keld (numbers keyed to Table 1, section 5).

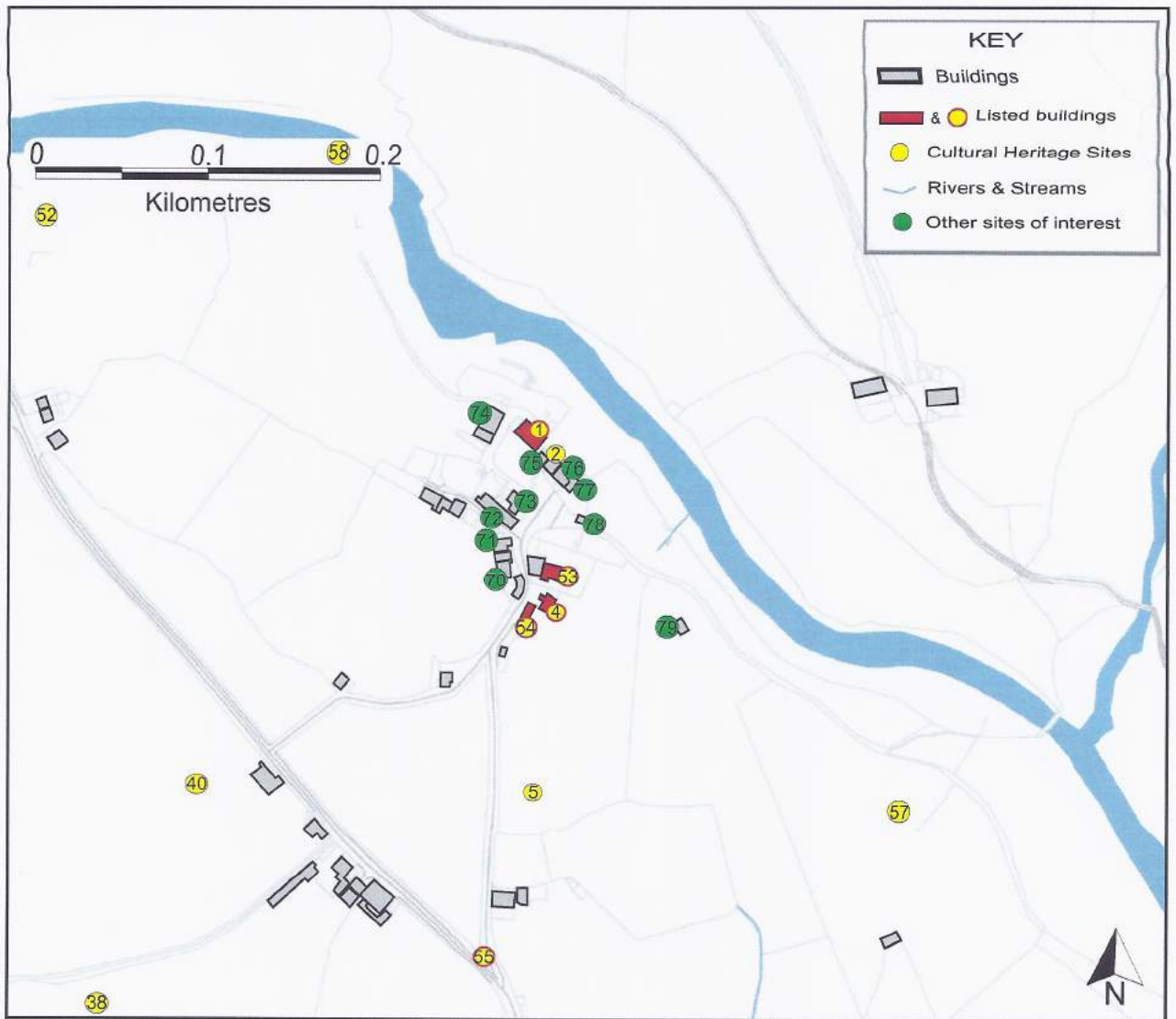


Figure 23: Sites and buildings of known cultural heritage value at Keld (numbers keyed to Table 1, Section 5).

KELD
AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH YDP 027-24



Figure 24A: Aerial photograph highlighting selected features of known or suspected cultural heritage interest (see key and accompanying text).
[Photographed 21 July 1989]

KEY	
-----	Earthworks
————	Roads/lanes
————	Boundaries
□	Known historic site

- Cat. No. 4- Chapel School 1847
- Cat. No. 53- United Reform Church and Manse 1860
- Cat. No. 54- Former Literary Institute 1861
- A- Row of cottages (possibly built for miners pre 1841)

6. AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS

Photo 027-24 (see Fig 24 A&B)

21 July 1989

Keld, from the Norse 'kelda', a spring, was formerly known as 'Apple Tree Keld'. If there had indeed been a pre-Conquest settlement here, no mention of it appears in Domesday, perhaps because of its small size, its remoteness or because it had been abandoned as a consequence of the 'Harrying of the North' (1069/70). Another reason why it may have been ignored could be that it possessed no ploughlands of its own. Certainly no ridge and furrow is evident in the vicinity of the village on any air photograph.

Robert White (1997) wonders if this tiny hamlet represents a type of dispersed settlement which pre-dates the establishment of nucleated villages hereabouts. If this is so, an exclusive reliance on pastoral farming may account for what seems to be a case of arrested development. Interestingly, Andrew Fleming (1998) draws our attention to various 'park' field and place names recorded on old maps in the vicinity of Keld which suggest the presence of enclosed land used for the communal grazing of cattle. Likewise, the term 'plain' points to the use of woodland clearings for this same purpose.

If Keld was originally a settlement dedicated to pastoral farming, in more recent times short rows of cottages were built to accommodate men who worked in nearby lead mines, such as those on Beldi Hill and Swinnersgill high above the Kisdon Gorge. Some miners also worked as part time farmers on smallholdings in the area between Keld and Muker.

According to Whittaker (1823), in the 16th century Keld possessed 'an ancient chapel' which was destroyed by the inhabitants in a riot and never rebuilt. No trace of this building survives but eventually, in 1789, its place was taken by a Congregational – later Independent Methodist – Chapel (Fieldhouse & Jennings 2005, 337), which was in turn replaced, in 1860, by a United Reform Church. This, together with the chapel school (1842), still stands.

KELD
AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH YDP 027-24



Figure 24B: *Aerial photograph of Keld without annotation, see also fig 24A
[Photographed 21 July 1989]*

7. HISTORIC BUILDINGS

Note, individual buildings mentioned are given reference letters (A,B,C etc) relating them to the attached map (Fig 25) and table 1, whilst the individual numbers relate to the photographic survey.

Descending the hill into the little village of Keld, a tight-set group of good quality mid-19th century community buildings, on the right (east) of the road, is encountered first. Alongside the road lies the former Institute (A), with beyond it, set back a little, the former Chapel School (B), and then forming the third side of a little square, the Chapel itself (now the United Reformed Church) and its attached Manse (C). All three are listed buildings (Grade II, the first two included from group value with the third).

The Institute of 1861 has its principal room on the first floor, with a window of three stepped round-arched lights in the south gable end. The opposite end has a chapel-like entrance with steps up to a gabled porch (with the date '1861' in the tympanum of the round-arched door) and a tall round-arched window on either side. The square-headed windows in the side have typical mid-19th century stone surrounds (with a single upright block for each jamb) and the angle quoins, identical to those of the United Reform Church, have distinctive pecked-and-margined finish (not 'rusticated' as in the list description). An obvious straight join midway along the rear (east) side of the building shows that earlier fabric is incorporated. (16,18,20,27,29)

The former school appears as a simple single-storied block with a porch set left-of-centre, probably an addition as a date tablet 'BUILT BY SUBSCRIPTION AD 1842' is now just above its roof. The windows at the front have simple stone surrounds. At the back the ground falls away and there is a basement. The four windows above have jambs in common walling stone, and renewed glazing. A chimney caps the south gable and an interesting little bellcote the north one, made of two slaps with heart-shaped panels cut out, bearing the inscription 'A.METCALFE AD 1847' The school was founded by James Wilkinson, minister of the chapel, and was also involved in the building of the adjacent Literary Institute (4,15,19).

The United Reform Church (1-3, 5-13) is a good example of a smaller Dales chapel, with its attached Manse. It stands on or near the site of a chapel that was in existence as early as 1540, the ruins of which were replaced by an Independent (later Congregational) chapel around 1789, rebuilt in 1818. The church itself is a rectangular block, 9.8 by 6.3 externally, set east-west, with a narrower and lower extension (with simpler quoins, so probably secondary) at the east end to accommodate the dais. The main body of the building has two round-arched windows in each side wall, with ashlar surrounds and raised keystones. The western of the two on the north is set high so as to light the western gallery, which has a panelled front and is carried on two cast-iron piers. There is a two-storied porch at the west end of the south side, responsible for such architectural display as the building provides. It has a round-arched door with an alternating surround, under a panel with a sundial dated '1840' and then a round-arched window with the inscription 'KELD CHAPEL REBUILT 1860' on a panel in its head. The gable above is capped by a bellcote. All the dressings of the porch have the same finish as the angle quoins (1,2,3,5,33,36).

Inside the chapel, the benches would appear to be original, but the panelled and carved woodwork of the dais, which has a decorative wrought-iron front, is probably of the late 19th or early 20th century. Above the dais is a plain semicircular arch, within on either side a marble memorial tablet, both of local historical significance. The gallery is gained by a stone stair within the porch (6-13). There is a small graveyard attached to the chapel, dropping down an uncomfortably steep slope to the east.

The Manse attached to the west end of the chapel is a plain but substantial house with a round-arched door and stone surrounds to its windows (1,24). A low wall and simple railings in front link with that of the adjacent church

Most of the houses of Keld village are arranged in two long rows. One begins opposite the Institute and old school, and extends to the north-west, the houses apparently turning their backs (and outshuts) to a lane, and facing the meadows to the south-west. In general they appear to be of 18th or early 19th century date, often remodelled in the later 19th and 20th centuries. The first of the southern row (D) has a gable front towards the street, and a datestone 'S.E.A. 1866' (17). The third, Kirkbeck (E), is of 18th century date and has two corbels in its north-west gable end that would have carried a cantilevered stack (23).

The lane giving access to the southern row runs to a plain gabled building with a tablet stating that it was originally a Public Hall and Reading Room (F), built by subscription in 1926. It has a series of named foundation stones, as do many nonconformist chapels of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, to afford the subscribers a small measure of immortality (21,22,32). To the north of the hall, and fronting to the east onto the small village square (actually more like a triangle) is Birk Hill View (G), a plain late 19th century house with an older door head inscribed 'MA 1687' – presumably signifying 'M. Alderson 1687' – reused in its north end (27,32).

The second row of houses face south onto the square/triangle, and turn their backs on the river gorge behind. At its west end is Park Lodge (H) (Grade II listed) which has a datestone 'J:E / G:E:A/ 1760' over its plain stone-surround door. Its windows are of typical 18th century almost square, with stone surrounds as well. In addition, those on the ground floor have simple flagstone labels or dripstones (14,30). The associated farm buildings (I) stand to the west, where a barn of late 18th or 19th century date is surrounded by 20th century sheds. To the east are three more houses, the small Lilac Cottage (J) may be 18th century as well, with rough rubble masonry and first-floor windows like those on the ground floor of Park Lodge (29). Then comes the mid-19th century School House (K), of pecked squared stone with ashlar quoins. Its stone-surround windows have the simplest of projecting dripstones (28,29). Finally comes the slightly-later Tute House (L) with similar features, but dignified by a round-arched doorway (28).

From the eastern end of the square/triangle, a footpath (the old road to Thwaite) drops towards the river, past a small barn/outbuilding (M) on the left (north). This is a typical piece of small-scale local vernacular, with an external stone stair to an upper doorway in its west end and extensive use of through stones (seen in many of the buildings in the village, including the United Reformed Church). It has clearly been heightened, and might originally have been heather thatched. (25,26,31)

One hundred metres or so to the south-west, outside the village proper, is a field barn (N) with the lintel of its north door – almost certainly re-used – inscribed '1687 IADARA' (34,35). This presumably relates to a now destroyed building erected by three individuals with the surname Alderson (all 13 tenants recorded at Keld in the 1561 survey of the manor of Muker bore that name, cf. *Wharton Estates*, 26-7).

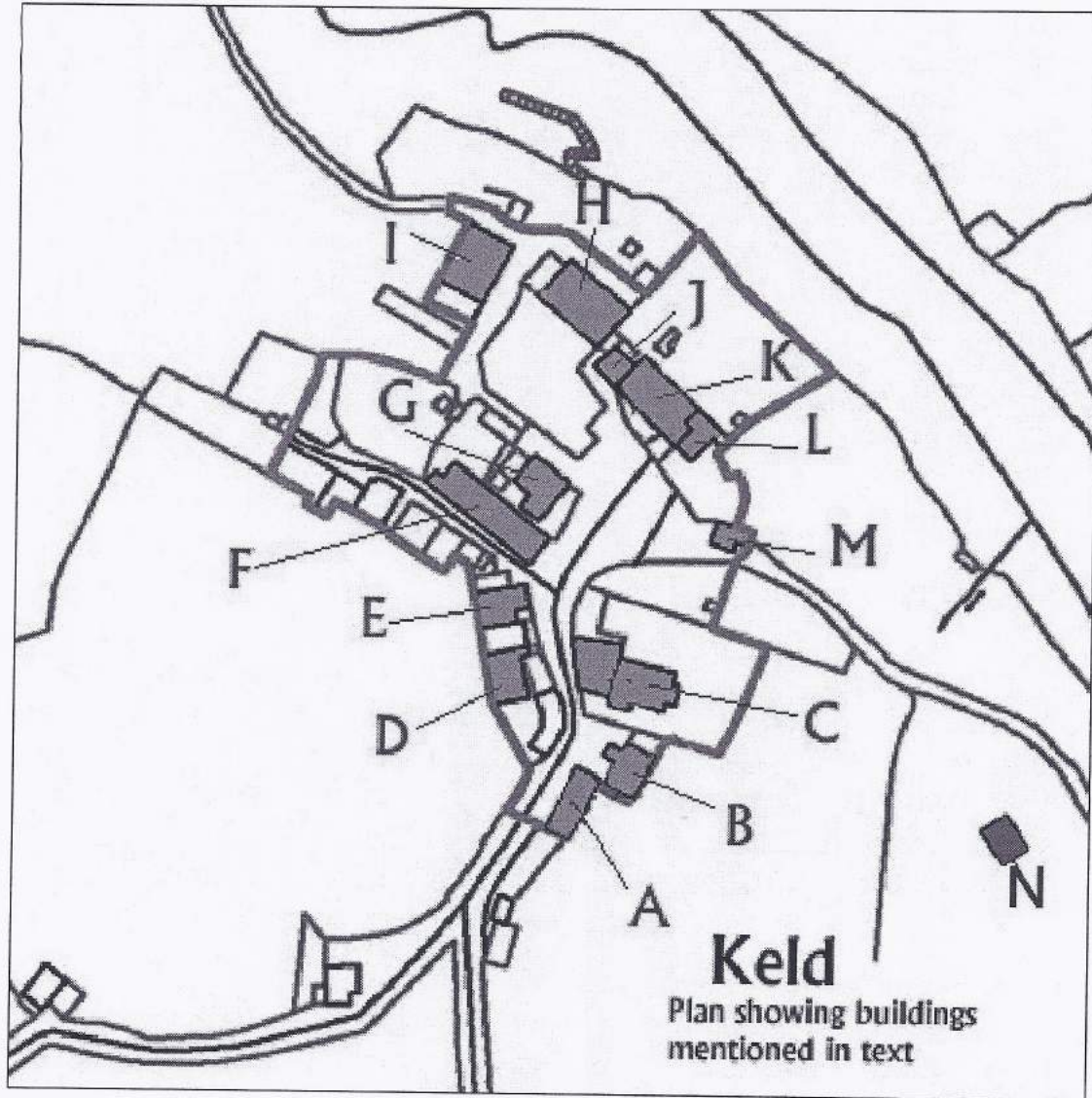


Figure 25: Plan of Keld village showing points of potential interest identified by Peter Ryder

8. SELECTED SOURCES AND SURVEYS

1. Domesday Book entry (*VCH*, 2, 1912, 236)

In Grinton [Grinton] 1 carucate for a geld, and 1 plough can be (there). Torfin had a manor there; now Bodin has (it), and it is waste. The whole (has) 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth. In the time of King Edward (i.e. in 1066 and before) it was worth 5s.

In Fremington [Fremington], 1 carucate for geld, and 1 plough can be (there). Crin had a manor there; now Count Alan has (it), and it is waste. The whole (has) 1 league in the length and half (a league) in breadth. In the time of King Edward it was worth 5s.

In Rie [Reeth], 6 carucates for geld, and 3 ploughs can be (there). Torfin had a manor there; now Bodin has (it), and it is waste. The whole (has) 1 league in length and 1 in breadth. In the time of King Edward it was worth 14s.

2. Lawsuits relating to Rievaulx Abbey's vaccaries in Swaledale (*Yorkshire Religious Houses*, W P Baildon (ed.) *YASRS* 17 (1894), 177)

AD 1252

The Abbat of Ryvall v. Gilbert de Gaunt, to permit him to have in Gilbert's wood in Swaledale dogs, horns, and all necessaries for his houses, hedges, hearths, folds and lodges [*legias* for *loggias*], and other easements in the forest, which he ought and used to have.

AD 1252

The Abbat of Ryvall v. John fil. Simon de Helawe and Hugh fil. Alice of the same; a plea wherefore they came to the Abbat's house at Apiltrekeld [i.e. Keld], and seized his dogs there, and took the Abbat's man to the manor of Helawe and delivered him to Robert Conne and William Palefrey, the serjeants of the manor; and wherefore they broke the Abbat's pound at Mewat [i.e. Muker], and took away certain beasts impounded therein. And v. the said Robert Conne and William Palefrey, wherefore they did imprison the Abbat's said man.

3. Inquisition Post Mortem for Gilbert de Gaunt (*Yorkshire Inquisitions I*, W Brown (ed.) *YASRS* 12 (1891) 137-8)

IPM for Gilbert de Gaunt. Writ dated at Westminster, 26 Jan., 2 Edw. I. (1273-5)

- ❖ Extent and Inquisition as to how much land Gilbert de Gaunt held of the King in chief, in the county of York, on the day he died, and how much of others, and by what service, and how much those lands might be worth a year, and who might be his nearest heir, and of what age, taken before the Escheator on Wednesday after the Purification of the Blessed Mary, in the 2nd year (7 Feb., 1273-4).
- ❖ He held the manor of Healaugh (*Helage*), in Swaledale, of the grant of John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond (*Richemund*), by the service of one pair of gilt spurs.
- ❖ There is in *demesne* there, a capital messuage, worth 4s.
- ❖ One hundred acres of arable land worth 100s. A meadow in a place called Fytun and Skaleflat, containing 27.5 acres, at 3s the acre. Sum, £4 2s. 6d.
- ❖ Another meadow of the sheep-fold (*partum berkarie*), containing six acres, at 16d. Sum, 8s.

- ❖ A watermill, £4.
- ❖ In bondage 24 bovates of land, each bovat, with services, being worth 5s. 9d. Sum £6 18s. Nine cottars paying 22s. 9d. with services.
- ❖ In Helage 32 cottaars holding 51 acres of arable land, and one rood with tofts, and paying £4 3s. 3d.
- ❖ Vaccaries and pastures of the forest belonging to the manor of Helage, £47 0s. 12d.
- ❖ Tenants at will of the lord, holding 12 acres of arable land, and three roods of meadow, paying 11s 10d.
- ❖ Four tenants in Ruckcroft, holding 23.5 acres with four tofts, paying 21s. 8d.
- ❖ Nine tenants in Arkengarth, holding nine tofts and 29 acres of meadow and paying 42s. 6d.

Free tenants (*liberi tenentes*)

- ❖ Hugh, son of Henry holds the village (*villam*) of Fremyngton, by the service of the fourth part of one knight's fee, and pays yearly one sporting dog (*brachettum*).
- ❖ William over Swale (*ultra Swale*), holds one catucate of land and one assart in Reeth (*Rythe*), by military service [...] Holds a bovat and a half of land in the same by the same service, and pays yearly [...] John de Ryther holds a bovat and a half of land in the same by the same service, and pays yearly 6d.
- ❖ John Ode holds one bovat of land in the same, and pays yearly 4s.
- ❖ William de Dalton holds one bovat of land in the same, by military service, and pays yearly one pound of cumin. John [...] holds three acres of land in the same, and pays yearly 2d.
- ❖ The Prior of Bridelington holds the town (*villatam*) of [Grinton] Of which the church of the said town (*ville*), is dowered in pure alms (*dotata est in pura elemosina*).
- ❖ Also the Abbot of Ryeville holds.... Called Menhaker, and pays yearly, 66s. 8d. He has no church in his gift (*in advocacione sua*).
- ❖ Sum total of the manor of Helage in Swaldale, £87 7s 7d
Gilbert, his nearest heir is of full age.

4. Survey of Lord Wharton's Swaledale estates, 1561
(*Wharton Estates*, M Y Ashcroft (ed.), 1984, 26)

Manor of Mewacre in Swawdail

Kelde:

Adam Auldersonn

Tenement and 4 ac. meadow 12s 8d

Pledges: Christofer and William Aulderson

With provision that the wife of Simon Aulderson should occupy

A third part [?] viz. 1.5 ac. during widowhood, rendering proportion of rent

William Auldersonn

Tenement and 5 ac. meadow 11s 3d

Pledges: Adam Auldersonn, Christofer Auldersonn

Christofer Auldersonn

Tenement and 6 ac. meadow 16s 8d

Pledges: Adam & William Auldersonn

saving right of widowhood of the wife of Simon Auldersonn

Reginald Auldersonn

Tenement and 2 ac. meadow 4s 0d

Pledges: Adam Auldersonn, William Aulderson		
James Auldersonn junior	Tenement and 3 ac. meadow	6s 8d
Pledges: Gilbert Aulderson, Geoffrey Auldersonn		
Giles Auldersonn	Tenement and 3 ac. meadow	6s 8d
Pledges: Gilbert Aulderson , Geoffrey Auldersonn		
George Auldersonn	Tenement and 8 ac. meadow	20s 0d
Pledges: Giles & James Aulderson		
With provision that the wife of Simon Aulderson should occupy a third Part during her widowhood		
James Auldersonn senior	Tenement and 5 ac. meadow	11s 1.5d
Pledges: Geoffrey & Renald Auldersonn		
Simon Auldersonn	Tenement and 5 ac. meadow	11s 1.5d
Pledges: James & Adam Auldersonn		
The wife of Ralph Auldersonn	Tenement and 4 ac. meadow	8s 0d
Pledges: Ranald & Christofer Auldersonn		
Gilbert Auldersonn	Tenement and 4 ac. meadow	8s 4d
Pledges: Ralph and Adam Auldersonn		
Nicholas Auldersonn	Tenement and 4 ac. meadow	8s 4d
Pledges: Gilbert and Ralph Aulderson		
John Auldersonn	Tenement and 4 ac. meadow	8s 4d
Pledges: William and Christofer Auldersonn		

5. Chancery case, Arundel and others v. Wharton and Molyneux, 1562-5
(Wharton Estates, M Y Ashcroft (ed), 1984, 26)

[A commission was issued under the great seal 20 June 1564 to Sir Christopher Danby and Sir George Bowes, knight, and Christopher Dacre and Thomas Grymston, esquires to take depositions at Richmond on 1st September and following days]

[Depositions to the interrogatories taken at Richmond the first second third and fourth days of September 1564]

Witnesses produced on the part and behalf of Galfride Metcalfe, Symonde Arundell and others tenants of the manor of Heley in Swaledale in the county of York.

Imprimis Edward Mylner of Mewker in Swaledale in the County of York being of the age of four score years and more sworn and examined. To the first interrogatory saith that he doth well know a dale called Swaldale in the County of York and that he hath known the same during all the time of his remembrance. To the second interrogatory this deponent saith that all the tenements in the said dale are parcel and are holden of the manor of Heley now in the tenure of Thomas Lord Wharton and John Mullyneuxe esquire except Grinton and Fremington which hath not been reputed to his knowledge to be parcel of the said manor of Heley. To the third interrogatory this deponentsaith that all the tenants inhabiting with the said dale and their ancestors and all whose estate they have time [out] of memory of man have had and enjoyed their several tenements to them and to their heirs according to the custom of

the said manor called tenant right and thus he hath known it used by the space of three score and ten years and further saith that the tenants holding their tenements after the said custom within the said dale are about the number of twelve score persons to his knowledge. To the fourth interrogatory this deponent saith that the custom there time out of mind of man hath been and is used that when any of the said customary tenants do die having divers sons that all the said sons ought by the said custom have his tenement equally divided amongst the said sons and this he knoweth for that he hath seen it so used during his remembrance. To the fifth interrogatory this deponent saith that every of the said tenants called customary tenants payeth to the lord every ten years a certain sum of money commonly called a running gruesome due for his said tenement and further this deponent saith that if the lord of the said manor be commanded in his proper person to serve in the wars every of the said tenants called customary tenants so many as shall be called on by the said lord are bound to find "an hable manne furnished with bowe and arrows or bill with Jack and Sallet" to serve the Queen and the said lord and to go with their said lord of their own costs and charges until they come unto the place appointed where they receive their conduct money and wages and further say that the said tenants called customary tenants hath during his remembrance paid the said fines called running gressomes and done the said services and this he knoweth for that he hath seen it so used during the space of three score ten years. To the sixth interrogatory this deponent saith that the said tenants called customary tenants hath paid to the said Thomas Lord Wharton since he was one of the lords of the said manor of Helay the sum of one hundred and eight pounds and odd money by the name of a running gressome according to the said custom for their said tenements but whether the said John Molynoux hath received any such sum of the said customary tenants by the way of running gressomes he knoweth now and this he knoweth by report of such of the said customary tenants as said to him they paid the same. To the seventh this deponent saith that he knoweth a pasture called Saturnside lying near a village or hamlet called Saturne and another pasture called Ivelett side near a village called Ivelett and another pasture called Gunnersett side near to a village called Gunnersett and one other pasture called Melbeckside lying near to a village called Melbecks and one other pasture called Helay Rethe side lying near a village called Helay and Reeth and that all the said villages are parcel and holden of the said manor of Helay within the said daile called Swaledaile. To the eighth interrogatory this deponent saith that the said pastures called Saturn side Ivelett side Gunnersett side Melbecks side Helay and Rethe side be and hath been commonly called cow pastures appertaining to the customary tenants and inhabitants of the said several villages as they were next adjoining that is to say Saturnside belonging to Saturn Ivelett side to Ivelett Gunnersettside to Gunnersett Melbeckside to Melbecks Helay and Rethe side to Helay and Rethe. To the ninth this deponent saith that the said several pastures called cow pastures have been severally inclosed by the customary tenants and inhabitants of the said several villages and hamlets to which they do belong and have been used by them in pasture with their cattle according to a stint made amongst them selves that is to say every tenant according to the rate of his tenement and that all the said grounds and pastures called cow pastures have been inclosed and stinted by the space of three score years and this he knoweth to be true for that he hath seen it so used during the said term. To the tenth interrogatory this deponent saith that if at any time any of the said tenants called customary tenants do keep any more cattle in any the grounds aforesaid called cow pastures more than they appointed by the stint aforesaid or contrary to the order of the bye lawes then every such tenant is and hath been used to be amerced in the lord's court holden at the said manor and payeth the said amerciamment to the said lord for the same and this he knoweth for that he hath seen it so used and knowing the said amerciamment so levied and paid. To the eleventh interrogatory this deponent saith that as to Anthony Arundells intack Geoffrey Garths Intack Simon Arundells intack he knoweth not and saith he well knoweth one little close called George Brodriggs intack and saith that about twenty years since the said close called Brodriggs intack was taken up and enclosed being parcel of one of the cow pastures aforesaid by the common consent of the said tenants called customary tenants in consideration that the residue of the said customary tenants should take up and make the like Enclosures of the said cow pastures every man according to the rate and value of his tenement. To the twelfth

interrogatory this deponent saith that he knoweth nothing. To the thirteenth this deponent saith that the non-payment of rents or gressomes to the lord and further saith that it hath been used a forfeiture of the said tenements by the custom of the said manor, and further saith that it hath been for the non-payment of the said rents or gressomes the lord did always distrain their goods to the value of six and twenty shillings eight pence for every twenty shillings rents or gressomes or after that rate, and this he knoweth because he hath seen it used. To the fourteenth this deponent saith that the said custom called tenant right hath been during all the time of his remembrance had and used by the tenants and inhabitants of Wensley daile Arkendale Dentt and Sedbire and this he knoweth that before that Thomas Lord Wharton purchased the moiety of the said manor of Helay the said Thomas Lord Wharton had and enjoyed a tenement in Swaildale aforesaid of the yearly rent of six and twenty shillings eight pence but whether the said Lord Wharton hath sold the same tenement or no he saith he cannot depose. To the sixteenth this deponent saith he cannot depose.

6. *Swaledale Wills & Inventories 1522-1600*. (Berry (ed) 1998, 116, no 58)

Ralph Anderson of West Stonesdale in Grinton

The reference to the priest ('preaste') of Keld in this will shows that there was a chapel at Keld at this date.

Will: 6 June 1561 Inventory: undated
Ref. RD AP1/1/27

In Dei nomine amen the 6 daye June in the yeire of our Lorde God a thowsande five hundrethe thre score & one I Ralph Alderson elder of West Stonesdale beinge syeke in my bodye feireinge the jeoperdye of deathe maikes this my present testament & laste will in maner & forme folowyng Firste I geve & comendde my soule to God almgtye to or Lady Sancte Mary & to all the blesseid companye of heven & my bodye to be buried in the churche of Saynt Andrew at Gronton withal duetyes acostomeid Item I will gyve to Christopher Raw of Ravensaste a whye strike Item I wyll gyve to Christopher Raw childer too yowes or gymmers & lykewyse to Nicholas Alderson childer two yowes or elles too gymmers Item to the preaste of Keld 12d to pray for my saule Item I will gyve for Goes cause to a little whence a whye strike wiche was faddered of George my my son Item I wyll gyve to the parson or veacar for tythesis neclectede & for gotton 8d Item that George my son had 14 wolled sheppe & a stote for and in consideration of this childes portions of goodes & besydies this he had two meares & ten shillings in gold Item I aw to James Mylner elder [20s] of Mueker 20s Item I will that my sones have my fermolde Item my fenerall expencis and dettes paid [I gyve] the resydew of all my goodes I gyve to Phyllis my dugter Item I will maike Agnes my wyffe & my two sones Nicholas Alderson & John Alderson my executoures of this my present testament or last wyll to se all thinges dischargeid for the halthe of my soule Item I will maike Adam Alderson the supervisor of my present testament & last will to se all thinges discharge for the hallthe of my soule These beinge wettnes hereof Francis Whittell of Westonesdaile Christopher Alderson of Kelde Giles Alderson of Thornes wth other mo

The invetorye of all the goodes wch did belonge to Ralph Aluderson elder of Westonesdaile prised by fouer men Christopher Aluderson of Kelde Francis Quittell Peter Hodson & John Aluderson of Westonesdaile

Firste 4 kye wth ther caves	£5	6s	8d
Item 10 lye [kye]	£10	10s	
Item a yonge bulle		16s	8d
Item thre olde notte	£5		
Item 14 quenters	£10	6s	8d

Item four yewinge caves		20s	
Item a younge stage of 2 yeare		13s	4d
Item 41 wedders	£6	13s	4d
Item 20 younge wedders		46s	8d
Item 15 yonge yewes or gymmres		25s	
Item 15 lamse		20s	
Item huesholde		10s	
Summa totalis	£47	8s	4d [£46 8s 4d]

Simon Harcay of Keld in Grinton (Berry (ed) 1998, 342, no 197)

Will: 11 May 1597 Proved: 6 June 1597 Inventory: 31 May 1597
Ref. RD AP 1/43/201

In Dei nomine amen the 11 day of May anon Dni 1597 I Simon Harcay of Keld in Swaildaile of the chappelrie of Mewker beinge hold in mynde & of good remembrance doe make this my last will and testamente in maner & former followinge First I give my soulle unto almightie God my maker & redeemer & my bodie to be buried in my parishe church Item I give all my tenemente or fermolde unto my sonnes Guy Harcay & Edmond Harcay to be equallie parted between them & for my goodes I give two partes therof to be []quallie parted amongste my six children Guy Harcay Edmond Harcay Agnes Harcay Elizabeth Harcay Alice Harcay & Dorothy Harcay Item I will that all my debtes & funeral expences shalbe payed out of the third parte caulled the dead parte & all the reste of the said thirde parte I will that it shalbe equallie parted & devided []e younger sonne & my thre youngeste daughters & I make my sonnes Guy Harcay & []y my executors & I ordaine & appointe Edmond Alderson and George Alderson to be super[] of this my will & testamente Witnesses hereof Edmond Alderson & George Alderson

The trew & prefect inventorie of all the goodes & chattels moveable & not moveable of Simon Harcay deceased prayesd by Edward Milner Christopher Alderson George Alderson & Edmond Alderson the last of May 1597

First 9 kyne	£13	10s	
Item 12 other neate	£13	6s	8d
Item 5 stirkes	£3	6s	8d
Item fortie weatheres	£13	6s	8d
Item 21 ewes	£5	5s	
Item 30 other shepe	£6		
Item 2 neate & 8 stone of woule	£4		
Item in grounde hay		16s	8d
Item oweinge of William Darbie		20s	
Item his apperell & beddinge wth all other husholde stufe & implementes in the house	£3		
Item in monie		38s	

Summa £65 9s 8d

Dettes oweing out

First oweing unto William Faucet wife		8s	
Item oweinge unto Robert Warhell		4s	6d
Item oweinge unto Brian Metcalfe		2s	4d
Item oweinge unto William Arundaile			6d

Item oweinge unto Agnes Hutchinson		13s	4d
Item oweinge unto Simon Harcay	£4		
Item in charges & expences at his burial		32s	
Item oweinge unto William Alderson			20d
Item unto George Alderson		2s	6d
Some	£7	4s	10d
Some remaininge	£58	5s	6d [£58 4s 10d]

9. HISTORICAL SYNTHESIS

9.1 Standard works

VCH North Riding I (1914), 236-45; Fieldhouse & Jennings 1978/2005; Fleming 1998.

9.2 Place-name

The earliest documentary references to Keld take the form *Apiltrekeld* (1252), *Appeltrekelde* (1301 Lay Subsidy), 'signifying 'spring near the appletree' from OE *æppeltréow* and the Old Norse *kelda*. Later forms truncate the name to simply *Keld(e)* (1538 *Cart Rievalle*; 1577 Saxton's map) (Smith 1928, 272).

9.3 Swaledale communities during prehistory and the Romano-British era

People were certainly living in Swaledale from the Stone Age onwards, as the evidence catalogued in the YDNPA Historic Environment Record makes clear, and these populations must have organised themselves into communities of some kind. Whether these communities were organised on the basis of kinship through family, clan and tribe, allegiance to a lineage of powerful chieftains, or more strictly territorial lines, (like the townships of the medieval and later periods), is difficult to determine with the evidence we have available. It is usually assumed that communities grew in size over time, in step with increasing social complexity, as family groups of hunter-gatherers coalesced into clans or tribes of early farmers in the Neolithic and early Bronze Age. Thereafter, during the Iron Age, authority in these tribes may have become increasingly concentrated in the hands of powerful individuals to whom the farmers of Swaledale owed allegiance. This is a plausible model involving straightforward linear progression towards increasing social complexity, although it is possible that the actual development of communities in the valley may have been rather more complicated.

Fleming has drawn attention to a number of small defended hilltop enclosures and larger hillforts in Swaledale which were probably of Iron Age date (1998, 127-31; *cf* White 2002, 31-3 & pl 6). Of the known examples, the closest to Keld is one situated on a hillock just to the east of Thwaite, but several more have been identified lower down the valley. Thus, immediately to the east of Grinton village and close to the river, a ditched enclosure surrounds the top of a small glacial moraine known as Ox Hill or How Hill. Two similar sites are found on knolls also called How Hill slightly further up the valley, one lying in Harkerside, opposite Reeth, and the other near Low Whita. Roughly in the middle of this trio is the larger hillfort of Maiden Castle, near Harkerside. Another hillfort is situated lower down the dale, occupying a strategic position on yet another hill called How Hill, which overlooks Downholme village and commands both the Walburn gap and access to Upper Swaledale. This distribution gives the impression that virtually every well-defined knoll along the valley may have been occupied by a defensible site or high status residence in the later prehistoric period, as Fleming comments (1998, 129). The location of the two larger sites, Maiden Castle and How Hill above Downholme, might reflect a division between Upper and Lower Swaledale, with the two hillforts forming the central places of chiefdoms or polities embracing, respectively, the upper and lower stretches of the valley.

It is tempting to see in these defended sites the predecessors of village settlements like Grinton. However there is no firm evidence that there was direct continuity in occupation between Ox Hill and Grinton or How Hill and Low Whita hamlet. Many centuries may have separated the abandonment of Ox Hill and the establishment of Grinton village, for example. It is uncertain how many people settlements like Ox Hill and How Hill near Low Whita,

which each enclosed about 150 square metres, could accommodate – perhaps only an extended family group. The larger hillforts, like Maiden Castle or How Hill near Downholme, were relatively few in number and may even have been used only as temporary refuges or seasonal gathering points and ceremonial centres. Most of the population of late prehistoric or Romano-British Swaledale was probably living dispersed in individual farmsteads which were often set on platforms amidst their field systems. The nucleated village or hamlet communities, which appear to be such a timeless feature of the Dales today, were probably a creation of the medieval era.

Some form of over-arching community framework is implied by the co-axial field systems still evident in the landscape lower down the valley, between Reeth and Healaugh and below Harkerside, which have been studied in detail by Fleming (1998, 133-53). They appear to be of Iron-Age date, based on C14 evidence, and incorporate a dispersed pattern of farmsteads set on terraced platforms amongst the fields. These field systems may have lasted into the Roman period when a similar pattern of dispersed settlement probably prevailed, although it should be emphasised that no direct link between Iron-Age co-axial field systems and the Romano-British settlement pattern has yet been established in Swaledale. The complexity of the field systems and apparent longevity of occupation, with successive alterations evident in the surviving remains, would suggest that the field systems could not have functioned without accompanying social systems which were capable of registering the tenure of particular fields or groups of fields by individuals or family groups, managing common resources such as upland grazing and regulating disputes between neighbouring landholders. This may have been achieved by means of some kind of council of elders or something similar to the medieval 'juries', representing the collective memory and voice of the community. However, whatever form they took, there is no indication that either the Iron-Age or subsequent Romano-British community structure required a central nucleated settlement to function.

9.4 The early medieval era: kingdoms, walls and placenames

9.4.1 Introduction

The early medieval period remains problematic for anyone trying to reconstruct past settlement. The settlement forms throughout much of this period are unclear, and the stages by which the Iron Age/Romano-British pattern involving dispersed settlement amidst coaxial field systems was replaced by the villages and hamlets of the high medieval period are even less so. It is likely that the villages which form the focus of the Village Heritage Project were established in this period, between the 8th and 11th centuries, but even this is shrouded in uncertainty. Territorial township communities bearing the same names as the present villages may have been established during this period, in most instances, and these communities may even have been centred on nucleated settlements. However such settlements were not necessarily in exactly the same location nor did they necessarily display the same underlying layout of rows and greens, etc., as the current villages. It has been argued in relation to large parts of northern England that the final form and the location of such nucleated village settlement reflects post-Conquest reorganisation by the new Norman land-owning class. In the upper part of the valley the questions are if anything even greater. Here a settlement pattern of farmsteads and hamlets still prevails, with the occasional small village, like Keld, perhaps reflecting the post-medieval growth of earlier hamlets. We are forced to rely on the evidence of place-names and the excavation of a very small number of possible settlement type-sites in adjacent areas of the Dales.

9.4.2 The Kingdom of Swaledale and the Grinton-Fremington Dykes

The most impressive evidence of the early medieval period in Upper Swaledale is provided by the Grinton-Fremington Dykes, a pair of linear earthen banks which cross the valley running roughly north-south through the townships of Grinton and Fremington, respectively south and north of the river (Fleming 1994; 1998, 18-32; White 2002, 45-7). Another

example was located a little further east at Ellerton. Each of the dykes comprises a high, broad bank with a ditch on the east side. The earthworks appear to guard the eastern approaches to Upper Swaledale and were probably erected during the centuries after the end of the Roman province by the local British population seeking to defend itself against incursion by Anglian warbands established in east Yorkshire. Fleming has argued that following the eventual Anglian takeover, Upper Swaledale formed a small, early medieval kingdom (1994; 1998, 18-30). As such it would have been one of a number of small, independent polities in northern Britain between the 5th and 7th centuries, including Elmet and Loidis in West Yorkshire, Craven in the south-west Dales and Rheged in Cumbria (*cf* Wood 1996). Most of these polities were British and it is possible that Swaledale too originated in the earlier part of the period and was simply transformed into an Anglian 'kingdom of the Swale'.

9.4.3 Place names

Place names provide a more widespread source of evidence for settlement patterns and origins. Those lower down the valley, such as Grinton, Fremington, Reeth and Healaugh, derive from Old English, names in *-tūn* for example being considered indicative of the middle phase of Anglian settlement from AD 750–950 and signifying 'settlement' or more specifically perhaps, 'town(ship)' (Fleming 1998, 21, 29-30). In contrast, place names in the upper part of the valley, such as Keld, Muker and Thwaite, are predominantly of Norse derivation. This might indicate the later arrival of Norse settlers, perhaps entering the head of the valley from the west and finding unoccupied or under-utilised pasture there which they could exploit. However, it is unclear to what extent these place names reflect the ethnic origins of the bulk of the inhabitants or simply the cultural identity of the landholding class of thegns and drengs who might have given their names to the settlements they controlled. Some degree of diversity seems likely, and the term 'Anglo-Scandinavian' does not seem unreasonable for the mixed population which may eventually have resulted.³

Control of grazing land would have become of primary importance in such marginal land. The attachment of common personal names to *erg* and *saetr* witnessed in many Dales place names may reflect an increasing effort on the part of graziers to exercise exclusive rights to grazing. Gunnerside, for example, contains the element *saetr* meaning shieling, as well as a personal name, the Old Norse *Gunnarr*. The *saetr* names have been used to suggest that the Scandinavians introduced transhumance and a summer pasture-based economy into the Pennines. However, White argues that it is equally likely that the seasonal movement of the animals was an indigenous custom and that the Scandinavians merely carried on this tradition, or perhaps adapted some of the shieling sites for permanent settlement (White 2002, 49). This distribution might imply that lower and mid-Swaledale (as far up the valley as Grinton, Reeth etc.) constituted a settled farming landscape divided up between permanent agricultural communities whereas the upper reaches of the dale were exploited less intensively, perhaps only seasonally, as grazing lands. However such a pattern of settlement and land use could also conceivably apply to the period after the Norman conquest, when the entire upper dale was turned into seigneurial 'forest' and the degree to which the valley's peasant communities were permitted to exploit the area was restricted in favour of the lord's private hunting interests (see 9.5.3 below). This in turn begs the question as to when place names containing Old Norse elements like *saetr* finally ceased to be coined.

Fleming (1998, 46), for his part, argues that Muker ('narrow acre') was the central settlement of the upper valley which (in the 10th to 11th centuries?) would have formed a single integrated Norse territorial unit, with Gunnerside, Angram, Satron and Keld, representing outlying grazing zones attached to the settlement and perhaps seasonally exploited (this

³ Margaret Gelling (cited in Fleming 1998, 46) argues that the dative case ('at ...') of certain place-names in upper Swaledale, for instance, makes it clear that Old Norse was actually spoken in that dale at the time these locations were named.

would imply a very low population density in the upper valley, but this is not impossible). These would eventually have become permanent settlements in their own right as population expanded. Muker may in turn, Fleming argues, have been based on an earlier, Anglian territory, perhaps known as Kisdon. It is further suggested that another large territory, known as Melbecks, encompassed the area immediately to the east of Muker/Kisdon, on the north side of the river, between Gunnerside Beck and Barney Beck. Although persuasively argued, this is all based principally upon a particular interpretation of the uncertain evidence of placenames and is not supported by a firm settlement chronology such as might be provided by dateable archaeological finds or historical documents.⁴

Whatever the circumstances of their origins, some impression of the form of such upland settlement and shieling sites is provided by the excavations of the 9th-century Norse settlement at Gauber High Pasture, near Ribbleshead, in Chapel-le-Dale (King 1978) and slightly earlier (8th-century) farmsteads at Simy Folds in Teesdale (Coggin *et al* 1983).

9.4.4 Upper Swaledale in the late Saxon period

Grinton, Fremington and Reeth ('Rie') were the highest territorial communities, or *vills*, in Swaledale which are recorded in the Domesday Book. Both Grinton and Reeth were held by Torfin at the time of the Norman Conquest, whilst Fremington, to the east, was held by a certain Crin. The remainder of the valley is a documentary blank until the 12th or 13th centuries. None of the present settlements further up the valley with Norse names, for example, Feetham, (Low) Row/Raw, Thwaite, Gunnerside, Keld or Muker, is mentioned by Domesday. It is conceivable that since Torfin held the highest recorded *vills* on both the north and south sides of the river he may also have held the remainder of the valley from Grinton and Reeth westwards. Certainly, when a fuller picture of medieval tenurial and ecclesiastical arrangements becomes available in the 12th and 13th centuries, Upper Swaledale displays a marked institutional unity. The whole valley formed part of Grinton parish and the manor of Healaugh, also called the manor of Reeth and the manor of Swaledale (similarly the parish church was called 'the Church of St Andrew of Swaledale' in some medieval documents). Thus Torfin's estates in Swaledale may have comprised two conventional townships and manorial centres, each with a wide tract of upland valley attached to the west. It is conceivable that Grinton encompassed the south side of the valley and Reeth the north. Following the Norman takeover, the administration of these two manors was amalgamated to form a single overall manor centred on Reeth or Healaugh. However ecclesiastical administration was centred on Grinton, the other Anglo-Saxon manorial centre, and this was perhaps already the case prior to the Conquest. The extensive upland districts attached to Torfin's manors may have been exploited in a manner similar to that employed in the later Forest of Swaledale, though lacking the highly restrictive legal framework provided by Norman forest law (cf. McDonnell 1990, 22). It is likely that pastoralism, rather than the cultivation of crops, predominated there prior to the Norman Conquest, with cattle and sheep being grazed on the extensive pastures. It is also possible that some form of seasonal transhumance was practised with stock being moved between winter pastures lower down the valley and upland summer shieling grounds (see above).

9.5 Township and parish, vaccary and manor

Before examining the medieval and modern settlement of Keld in detail, it is necessary to outline the various different territorial units within which it was incorporated, and which

⁴ The references to 'Keld in Meucar', 'Angram in Meucar' and 'Thwaite in Meucar' in the Muker Manor Court records, cited by Fleming (1998, 46-7: NYCRO MIC 144) as evidence of this ancient territorial unit, surely relate instead to the inclusion of these settlements in the manor of Muker, which derived from the former landholding of Rievaulx Abbey, or perhaps the ecclesiastical chapelry or Poor Law township centred on that settlement. There is no certainty that the land grant to Rievaulx was based on an earlier, Norse or Anglian, territorial unit, though that possibility cannot be entirely ruled out.

provided the framework for the development of the village. Each of these units related to a different aspect of the settlement's communal relations, both internal and external. More extensive definition and discussion of the different types of territorial unit and their development over time is contained in Section 1.

9.5.1 Grinton parish, Muker township and Keld village

The vast historic parish of Grinton forms the basic framework for the historical summary set out in Yorkshire North Riding volume I of the Victoria County History (*VCH North Riding I* (1914), 236-45). Before its subdivision in 1841, when Melbecks Parish was established, Grinton embraced the entirety of middle and upper Swaledale, stretching 16 or 17 miles from the church up to the head of the valley and encompassing 52,081 acres in all. In the early 19th century the parish was composed of four large townships, namely Grinton, Melbecks, Muker and Reeth (or more fully Reeth, Fremington and Healaugh). Muker township, in which Keld was located, was the largest of the four, occupying the western half of the parish. It was bounded on three sides by moorland watersheds— with the Eden valley to the west, Wensleydale to the south and Teesdale to north. To the east, Muker bordered on Grinton and Melbecks townships. The township thus included a number of hamlet settlements in addition to Muker itself, including Keld, Thwaite, Angram, Ivelet and Satron.

Poor Law townships and hamlet communities

These four townships mapped on the Ordnance Survey First Edition have essentially become the modern civil parishes of the same names. However the townships were probably not the direct descendents of individual medieval territorial communities or *vills*. It is more likely that these large units were established in the 17th or 18th century to administer poor relief. The latter role was normally performed at parish level, but it was common in the very large upland parishes in the North of England to devolve poor law administration down to more convenient township subdivisions which often embraced several medieval territorial townships (See Section 2). Muker township, for example, appears to occupy the same area as the chapelry of Muker, which was formalised when the earlier chapel-of-ease was rebuilt in 1580 and given the authority to perform burial, marital and baptismal ceremonies. It was quite common for such poor law townships to be based on ecclesiastical chapelries. The late medieval and early modern farming population of upper Swaledale was divided into much smaller territorial communities, each focussed on a hamlet (cf. Fleming 1998, 33-51). These hamlet based units were only rarely given the label of township or *vill* in medieval or early modern documents but, effectively, they functioned as distinct farming communities which managed access to and use of communal resources within a demarcated portion of the wider agricultural landscape. This pattern features clearly in the 16th and 17th century surveys of the Wharton Swaledale manors (*Wharton Estates* 13-27 (1561); 60-4 (1633), 133-41 (1676), 306-7 (1684)), where the tenants are grouped under their respective hamlet, for example Keld, and is still reflected in 19th century commentaries on the valley. The entry for Muker in Baines' trade directory of 1823 (Muker Village Report Fig 48) describes Muker township as being 'divided into ten divisions, or hamlets', whilst Bulmer's directory of 1890 still refers to the '10 hamlets forming the township', nearly 70 years later.

The territories of the ten, earlier, hamlet-focussed townships which made up the later, Poor Law township of Muker have been mapped by Fleming (1998, 35 fig 3.1 and 45 fig 3.6)⁵. One indication of the distribution of these smaller *vills* is provided by the existence of several named 'pastures' (stinted common pasture on fellsides) and moorland commons (unstinted moorland grazing) each relating to a particular settlement within the later larger township. These pastures and moors are still recorded on current Ordnance Survey maps. Thus, Keld Side pasture is bounded to the south by Angram Pasture, with Thwaite Side beyond that and Thwaite Common to the south-west, which were associated with the settlements of Angram

⁵ Compare the two versions of fig 45 in the first and second editions of White's *The Yorkshire Dales* – 1995, 64 and 2002, 64 – respectively showing the later and earlier township patterns, and see Fig. 6 here.

and Thwaite respectively, indicating that these communities had separate commoning rights, each to its own specific tract of upland. Keld lacks a named tract of moorland common, but may have had some rights in Ashgill Side and Great Sled Dale to the west where Keld Calf Pasture was located. The Chancery Court case of 1562-5 between the landowners of Swaledale, Lord Wharton and John Molyneux, on the one hand and various of their tenants on the other, makes absolutely explicit the direct association between several of these stinted cow pastures and their respective settlements (which the court documents label 'villages').

Edward Mylner of Mewker in Swaledale in the County of York being of the age of four score years and more sworn and examined ... saith that he knoweth a pasture called Saturnside lying near a village or hamlet called Saturne (Satron) and another pasture called Ivelett side near a village called Ivelett and another pasture called Gunnersett side near to a village called Gunnersett and one other pasture called Melbeckside lying near to a village called Melbecks and one other pasture called Helay Reth side lying near a village called Helay and Reeth and that all the said villages are parcel and holden of the said manor of Helay within the said daile called Swaledaile. To the eighth interrogatory this deponent saith that the said pastures called Saturn side Ivelett side Gunnersett side Melbecks side Helay and Reth side be and hath been commonly called cow pastures appertaining to the customary tenants and inhabitants of the said several villages as they were next adjoining that is to say Saturnside belonging to Saturn Ivelett side to Ivelett Gunnersett side to Gunnersett Melbeckside to Melbecks Helay and Reth side to Helay and Reth. To the ninth this deponent saith that the said several pastures called cow pastures have been severally inclosed by the customary tenants and inhabitants of the said several villages and hamlets to which they do belong and have been used by them in pasture with their cattle according to a stint made amongst them selves that is to say every tenant according to the rate of his tenement and that all the said grounds and pastures called cow pastures have been inclosed and stinted by the space of three score years and this he knoweth to be true for that he hath seen it so used during the said term.

It is these smaller, more manageable, village- or hamlet-focussed medieval units which have been used as the basis of study here rather than the later larger administrative units. The origin of these units is uncertain. Most of the settlements, including Keld itself, are first documented, in the 13th and early 14th century, as the sites of cattle farms (vaccaries) held by monasteries such as Rievaulx Abbey or the manorial lords of Swaledale, the de Gaunts. They probably evolved into hamlet communities during the late medieval period when it became normal practice for Rievaulx Abbey and the other principal landholders to lease their vaccaries out to tenants rather than manage the farms directly. It is conceivable that the hamlet territories reflect the tracts of land allocated to each vaccary. What is more uncertain is the extent to which the vaccaries relate to even earlier, pre-Conquest Norse settlements and shieling grounds. As noted above, the bulk of the placenames in the upper valley are of Old Norse derivation, suggesting that they originated, in some form, in the centuries immediately preceding the Norman Conquest (but how late was Norse spoken in upper Swaledale?).

9.5.2 The honour of Richmond and manor of Swaledale

After the Norman conquest Keld lay within the honour of Richmond, a very large feudal holding granted to Count Alan Rufus of Brittany by his kinsman, King William I. The honour embraced all of Wensleydale and Swaledale, as well as Teesdale and most of what is now Richmondshire. Keld is not mentioned in the Domesday Book, the highest settlements up the valley recorded therein being Grinton and Reeth, as discussed above.

By the early 12th century Upper Swaledale formed a single manorial holding, usually described as the manor of Healaugh (Fieldhouse & Jennings 2005, 37-8), but sometimes called the manor of Swaledale (and occasionally the manor of Reeth). This manor comprised the entire valley from Grinton and Fremington right up to the head of the dale and was therefore essentially coterminous with the parish of Grinton. The manor was granted to Walter de Gaunt (or Gant) by Count Stephen of Brittany on the occasion of Walter's marriage to Stephen's daughter Maud. This process of creating subordinate manorial lordships within

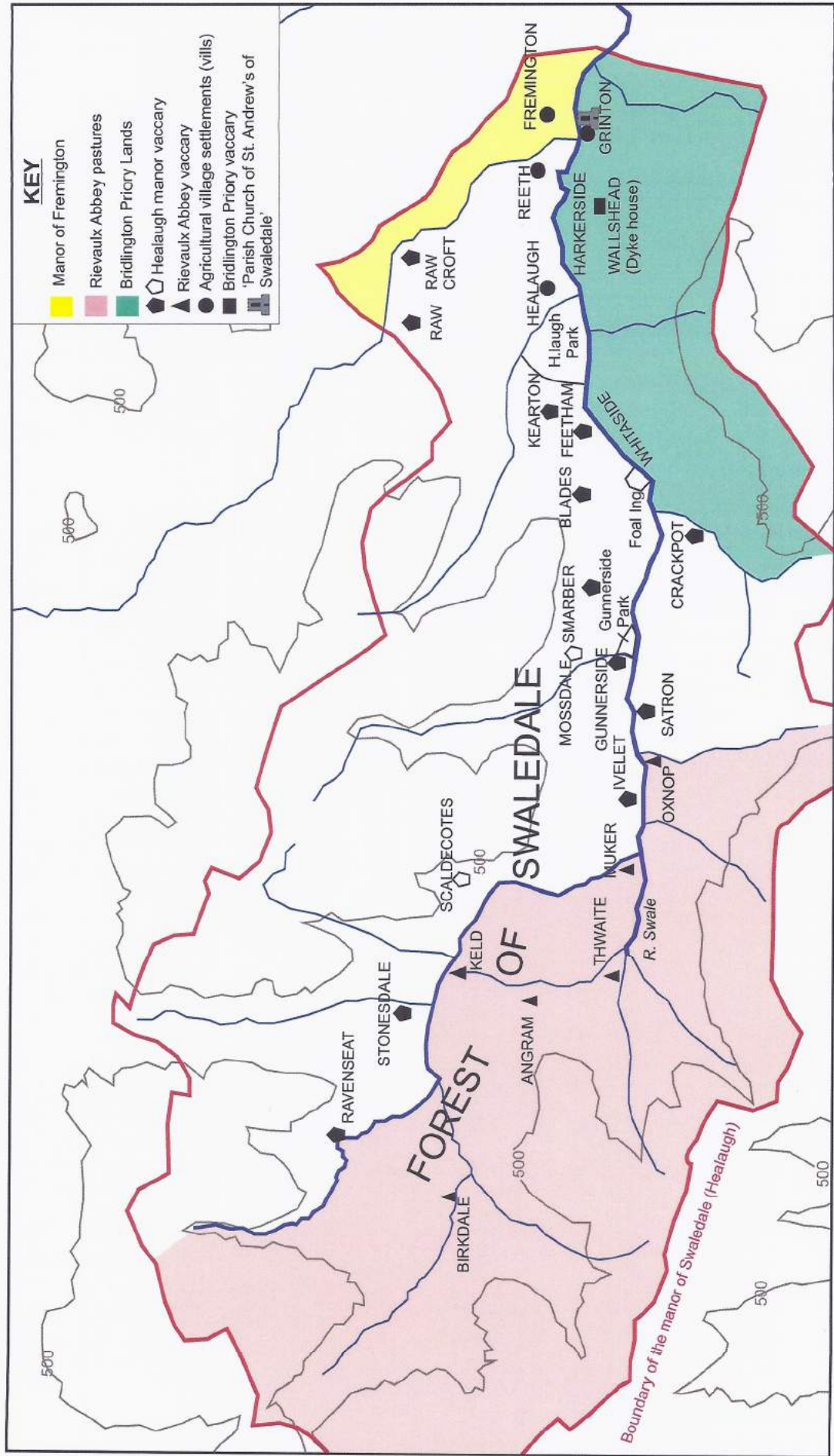


Figure 26: Map showing the organisation of settlement and landholding in the De Gaunt's Manor of Swaledale, including village sites, seigniorial and monastic cattle farms (vaccaries), and sub manors and monastic land grants. Vaccaries which cannot be precisely located are shown as open symbols.

superior baronial lordships (or tenancies in chief), like the Honour of Richmond, is known as subinfeudation. Despite a number of counter claims, the de Gaunts continued to hold the Swaledale manor until the male line died out in 1298, when it was divided between two heiresses. Much of the manor was 'forest', i.e. a district subjected to special laws and regulations to ensure the preservation of game, and the manorial district was sometimes labelled 'the forest of Swaledale'. The forest was not entirely reserved for the lord's hunting pleasures, however. In addition to the activities of their own tenants, the de Gaunts granted pasture rights throughout large tracts of the forest to two Yorkshire monasteries, Rievaulx Abbey and Bridlington Priory, which then made substantial investments in the pastoral economy of Swaledale over the course of the next four and a half centuries. Bridlington Priory's holdings lay on the south side of upper Swaledale, centring on Grinton, where they held the parish church ('the Church of St Andrew of Swaledale') with its tithes as well as the settlement and territory of the township itself, and including extensive lands and pasture rights in Harkerside and Whitaside to the west. Of much greater significance for the development of the settlements at the head of the valley, however, was the granting of exclusive and unlimited pasture rights to Rievaulx Abbey by Gilbert de Gaunt in the early 13th century.⁶

9.5.3 Rievaulx Abbey and the monastic exploitation of upper Swaledale

Gilbert's grant to the Cistercian monks of Rievaulx covered all the land to the west of the Whitsundale Beck, the Swale and the Oxnop Gill. It included the right to make hay, enclose meadows, build houses for the lay brothers (*conversi*), make folds and lodges for the stock, cut evergreen branches for winter fodder and kill wolves (Fieldhouse & Jennings 2005, 39; *Cartularium Rievallae*, 304-5). The terms of the grant make it clear that the rearing of livestock was the main activity which the monastery was involved in. A little arable cultivation may also have been undertaken since the abbey was recorded as paying £3 6s 8d to the lord of the manor of Healaugh for these lands in 1274 and, as no such payment is mentioned in the terms of the original grant, it is likely that this was in return for the additional right to cultivate arable land (Fieldhouse & Jennings 2005, 48). This would probably have been limited to the growing of oats for subsistence by the resident population of the abbey's holdings. To develop their pastoralist exploitation of upper Swaledale the monks maintained several vaccaries, or cattle farms, which were the precursors of the present-day hamlets in this part of the valley. In the 1301 Lay Subsidy, or tax assessment, the Abbot of Rievaulx is listed as paying tax for five Swaledale vaccaries – Muker, Birkdale, Keld, Oxnop and 'Waylle' (Thwaite). The survey of the monastery's holdings undertaken at its dissolution in 1539/40, which includes a list of the 'dependencies' of 'Mewacre in Swaldale', adds another two possible vaccary sites – Angram and Kisdon – to the five named in 1301 (Fieldhouse & Jennings 2005, 48, 60; McDonnell 1990, 23, n 11; *Cartularium Rievallae*, 328-30).

Vaccaries, bercaries and granges

Cattle farms (*vaccaries* – *vaccariae*) or sheep farms (*bercaries* – *bercariae*) were usually established by manorial lords in the upper reaches of the dales and their tributary side valleys or 'hopes'. Monasteries had their own equivalent of such demesne farms, the more elaborate of which were known as granges.

The workings of the Swaledale vaccaries have been studied by McDonnell (1990; 1988, 8-9). Additional information is provided by examples known in other upland areas of northern England, which have also been studied in detail, for example Calderdale in West Yorkshire or the Forests of Bowland and Rossendale (*cf.* Faull & Moorhouse 1981, iii, 758-61; Hey 1986, 73-4; Winchester 2000, 10-5).

⁶ The precise date of the grant to Rievaulx abbey is not known, but it must precede Gilbert's death in 1241.

McDonnell suggests a typical farm of this kind would comprise a fairly large foldyard for harbouring stock surrounded by byres, haybarns, a *domus* or *aula* for the farm bailiff or granger and any other administrative staff and bothies for the herdsmen (1990, 27). A milking shed and a cheese-house would also be essential, particularly for bercaries. The number of beasts run on such farms typically ranged between 20 and 80 cattle, or 200 to 300 sheep, on each farm (McDonnell 1990, 28; Hanson 1949, 50-55). A system of sharecropping was apparently employed in the Warene vaccaries in Calderdale and by the Lacys in the Forests of Bowland and Rossendale, with each cow-keeper or 'boothman' provided with up to 80 head of cattle by the lord's *instaurator*, to whom annual accounts were rendered (McDonnell 1988, 8-9; Faull & Moorhouse 1981, iii, 759).

These vaccary or bercary systems could involve significant transhumance. The vast manor of Wakefield held by the Warennes embraced both low-lying meadows alongside the River Calder and upland summer pastures on the moors of Sowerby graveship (roughly equivalent to the present-day local government district of Calderdale), with livestock being moved on a seasonal basis to exploit these complementary resources. Several upland hamlets in Calderdale have placenames ending in *-stall* (OE.: cattle shed) which betray their origin as vaccaries, e.g. Heptonstall, Saltonstall and Wainstalls.

9.5.4 The Keld vaccary

The transfer of such a large tract of the valley to the Church and the consequent exclusion of local laymen and their livestock from an area they had doubtless previously exploited is initially likely to have caused considerable friction between the monks and their neighbours. Thus, in 1252, it was alleged that two men of Healaugh went to 'the Abbot's house at Apiltrekeld' (Keld) and seized his dogs and the person of the granger of that lodge. They then broke into the Abbot's pound at 'Mewat' (Muker) and 'took away certain beasts impounded therein', handing the granger of Keld over to the sergeants of Healaugh manor to be imprisoned (Fieldhouse & Jennings 2005, 39; McDonnell 1990, 23; *YASRS* 17 (1895), 127). As McDonnell notes, the Healaugh stock had evidently strayed onto the Keld pastures recently granted to the abbey by the de Gaunts and had been sternly confiscated by the keeper of the vaccary there (*ibid.*). This dispute provides the earliest documentary reference to Keld. It is also clear that Keld was a less significant establishment than Muker. The fact that the confiscated stock were impounded at Muker, rather than at Keld, where they had probably first been seized suggests Muker was the principal centre of Rievaulx's operations in upper Swaledale. In the 1301 Lay Subsidy Muker's assessment, at £2 2s 10d, was the largest of the five vaccaries by some measure, whereas Keld was assessed at 17s 5½d. Of the others only Birkdale, was rated at more than one pound (£1 10s 5¾d). By the end of the medieval period, when a survey was made of the monastery's property at its dissolution in 1539, Rievaulx's holdings in Swaledale were known as the Manor of Muker (Fieldhouse & Jennings 2005, 48, 60, 62; McDonnell 1990, 21; *Cartularium Rievallie*, 328-30) and continued to be so designated throughout the 16th and 17th centuries after they had passed into the hands of the Whartons. However, by the time they passed into the hands of these new lay landowners in the mid-16th century, the character of Keld and the other settlements of the manor had already changed fundamentally.

9.5.5 From vaccary to hamlet: Keld in the late medieval era

From the early to mid-14th century monastic economic expansion slowed and monasteries began lease off their more distant granges, transforming directly managed vaccaries into tenanted hamlets. This formed part of a wider trend as landlords everywhere abandoned direct management of their demesne in favour of leasing the lands out for rents in cash, confronted by declining population (due principally to repeated outbreaks of the Black Death) and consequent rising wages and falling prices, which undermined the earlier profitability of demesne farming (Fieldhouse & Jennings 2005, 60; Lomas 1996, 82-3; Winchester 2000; Bailey 2002, 17). The dissolution survey noted above shows that the Rievaulx lands in upper Swaledale had been entirely tenanted for many years previously, with 56 tenants being named

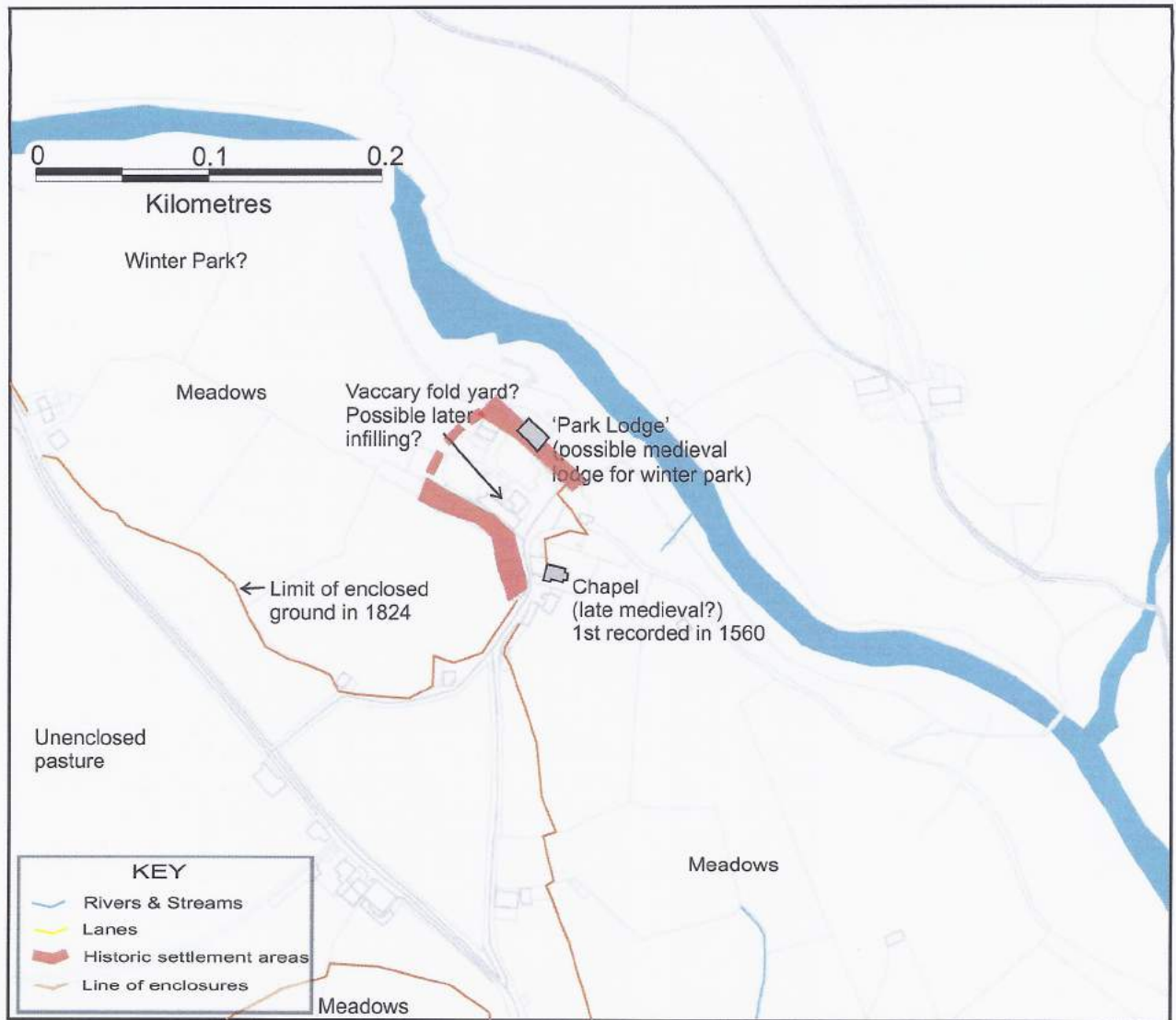


Figure 27: Map showing the components of the Medieval village of Keld

in 1539/40 (Fieldhouse & Jennings 2005, 60-2; McDonnell 1990, 28-32). McDonnell notes there is evidence that this process of leasing out the monastery's pastures had already started to a limited extent at Oxnop by the beginning of the 14th century (1990, 23-40).

The park, identified at Keld on the basis of place name evidence, may form part of this process, perhaps initially being established by Rievaulx Abbey to provide enclosed grazing land for the overwintering of its livestock. Grazing rights in the park could later have been leased out to tenants.

On the basis of the tenant names given in the Dissolution survey, which show that each of the ex-vaccary hamlets was occupied by tenant communities with predominantly just one or two surnames, McDonnell has reconstructed the process by which the vaccaries evolved into hamlets (McDonnell 1990, 28-32; cf. *Cartularium Rievallae*, 328-30). He suggests that when leasing out began in the 14th century the monastery initially replaced the lay brothers (*conversi*) who had previously run the stock farms with paid managers or grangers. The latter subsequently took over the vaccaries on their own account paying a fixed annual sum or 'farm' to the monastery. In some instances the vaccary may have been subdivided into two such 'farms'. At a time of declining receipts and escalating wage costs such fixed 'farms' would have been attractive to monastic landowners, and was presumably sufficient to induce the abbey to, in effect, give its managers hereditary tenure. However, the local custom of partible inheritance, common throughout the upland regions of northern England from the Pennines of West Yorkshire to Redesdale and North Tynedale in Northumberland, meant these leased out farms did not continue as single holdings, but tended to be subdivided equally between male heirs of the original farm holder with the passing of each generation. This resulted in the creation of settlements of close-knit, mutually supportive kinfolk. Thus the Aldersons predominated at Keld⁷ and Angram and also featured strongly at Birkdale, whilst the Coates and Harkers were the principal lineages at Thwaite and the Milners and Metcalfes at Muker. By this means places like Keld evolved from directly-managed stock farms into the equivalent of hamlet-centred townships, inhabited by kinship-based communities of little clans or lineages.

9.6 The medieval and early modern settlement

9.6.1 Layout – the settlement

A perceptive analysis of the layout of the settlements in the Rievaulx manor of Muker, including Keld, has been provided by McDonnell (1990, 33-7). He notes these former vaccary sites all appear to have been disposed around a central open space of half an acre or so, although the pattern can be somewhat obscured by later infilling of this green. McDonnell suggests this open space may 'preserve the lineaments of the original vaccary fold-yard and its surrounding buildings'. At Keld the morphology of the settlement might suggest that the enclosed space was originally somewhat larger than it now appears with the buildings along the west side perhaps having encroached forward into the yard. A further characteristic of these settlements, highlighted by McDonnell, is the way the 'green' and its ring of buildings are offset from the line of the road or roads serving them. This is particularly clear at Keld where the main road bypasses the settlement to the south. The more usual pattern, McDonnell argues, 'is for such roads to thread through such greens like the beads of necklace', arguing this offset sitting is more typical of monastic and especially of Cistercian, granges. Moorhouse has sounded a slight note of caution pointing out that the triangular green bases can be found over much of the upland Dales (2003, 344). Nevertheless, even if not all such greens are indicative of vaccary fold-yards, this does not undermine the essential

⁷ The surname Alderson was born by all eight named tenants recorded at Keld in 1539, following the dissolution of Rievaulx, and all thirteen listed in the Wharton estate survey of 1561 (*Cartularium Rievallae*, 329; *Wharton Estates*, 26-7; see Section 8, no.4).

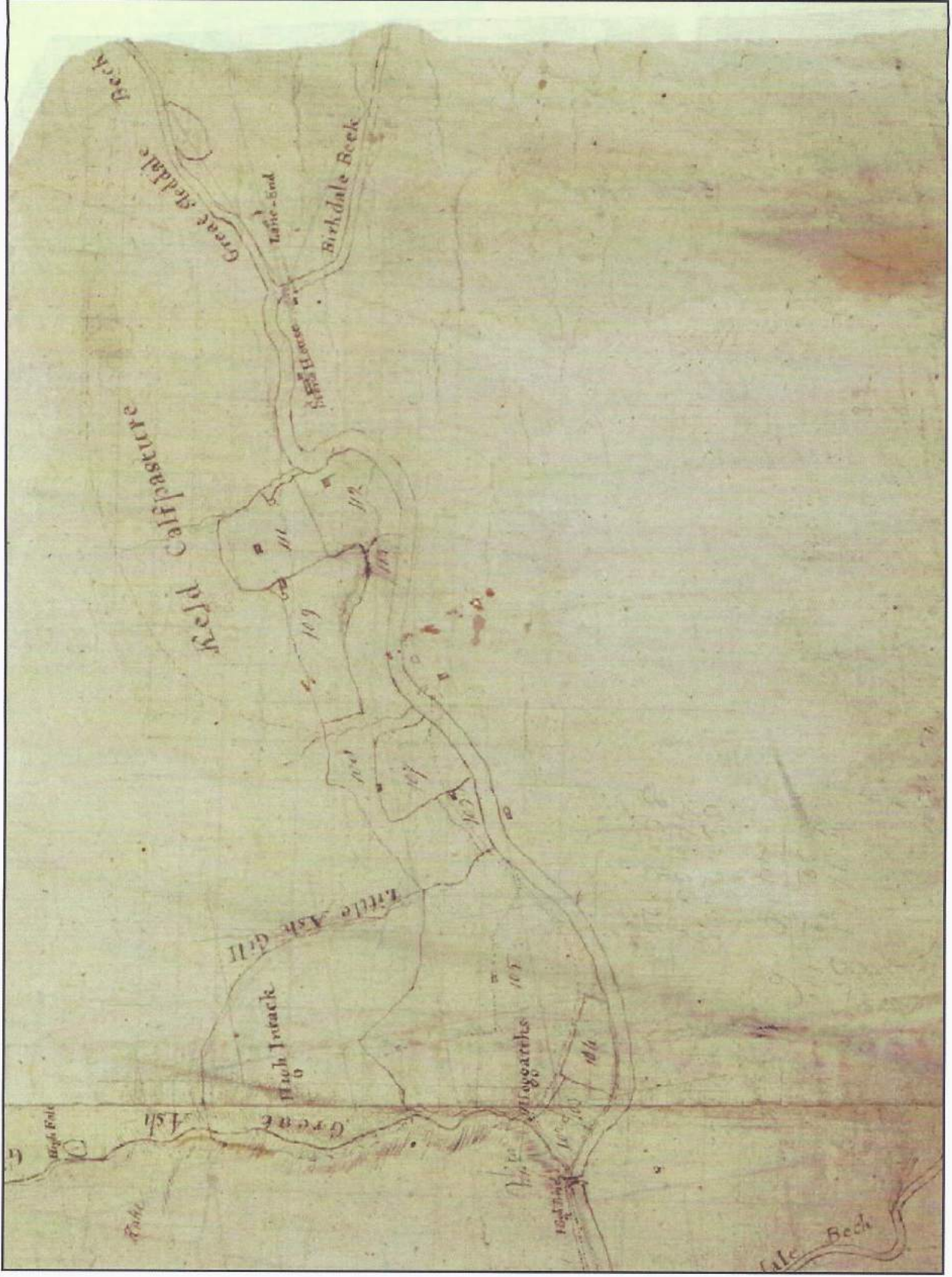


Figure 28: Enclosure map pre-1824 (NYCRO ZCL)

plausibility of McDonnell's suggestion that they do so in the case of the Muker manor settlements. Moreover these valley-head hamlets are clearly very different in their morphology from the regular row villages evident lower down the valley and in Wensleydale.

The layout of the settlement is discussed further in Section 6 where the evidence provided by the aerial photographs is summarised.

9.6.2 The park

There is evidence for the existence of a park beside the settlement of Keld in the medieval period. Park Lodge, built in 1760 in the north-west corner of the village, presumably stands on the site of the lodge associated with this park, whilst Park House and Park Bridge to the west of the village may mark the other end of the park. On this basis the park probably occupied the meadowland extending along the south bank of the Swale immediately to the west of the village, between Park Lodge and Park Bridge which carries Stonesdale Lane across the Swale. The southern limit of the park may correspond to the limit of ancient enclosed ground shown on the 1824 enclosure map, just north of the B6270, although it is not certain whether the fields to the south-west of the village were included in the park's limits. The park probably functioned as a winter cattle park, rather than a seigneurial deer park, similar to Gunnersett Park which is mentioned in late 14th century documents lower down the valley on the lush meadows of Gunnerside Bottoms. Moorhouse notes that, as the Middle Ages progressed, deer formed an ever decreasing feature of such parks, which ended up as reserves for the winter grazing of cattle by the late medieval period (2003b, 329, 332).

9.6.3 The chapel

There was probably a chapel at Keld during the medieval period although there is no firm documentary evidence before the mid-16th century (Fieldhouse & Jennings 2005, 72; *VCH NR I* (1914), 245). In 1560 Ralph Alderson of West Stonedale left a shilling for the priest of Keld in his will and a diocesan survey of 1563 notes there were 40 families living in Keld chapelry. This chapel is named on Saxton's map of Yorkshire (1577) and thereafter figures on numerous county maps. This does not provide evidence that the chapel was still in use, however, as most of 17th and 18th century county maps largely copied Saxton with only limited incorporation of new evidence until Jefferys' map of 1772 (see for example Warburton's map of 1720 – Figure 10). The construction of a new church at neighbouring Muker in 1580, only three years after the publication of Saxton's map, resulted in the absorption of the chapelry of Keld into that of Muker. The inhabitants of Keld were required to contribute to the maintenance of a curate and the upkeep of the church at Muker, where they could now be baptised, married and buried without resort to the parish church at Grinton. The old redundant chapel at Keld was not demolished, however. Churchwardens accounts for 1695 record the walling up of the chapel door and a survey of the Archdeaconry of Richmond undertaken about 30 years later reports there was still a chapel at Keld, 11 yards long and seven yards wide, although long disused. The site was later taken over by an Independent (later Congregational) chapel in 1791, which was rebuilt in 1818 and replaced by the present United Reform Church in 1860.

9.7 Keld in the modern era (1600 to the present)

The following sections summarise some of the major influences on the development of Keld and the other settlements of upper Swaledale in the 17th to 20th centuries, namely the growth of lead mining, changing patterns in farming and the growth of the nonconformist movement. The resultant impact of these social and economic changes on the fabric of the village, over this period, can be gauged from the description of the surviving historic buildings provided in Section 7.



Figure 29: Enclosure Map 1824 (NYCRO ZCL)

9.7.1 Manorial lordship

Following the dissolution of Rievaulx Abbey, the manor of Muker was acquired by the Crown and subsequently granted to Lord Wharton in 1544, along with half the adjoining manor of Healaugh, in an attempt to boost his standing as deputy warden of the West Marches. Wharton thus became the principal landowner in the valley along with the Crown, which retained the remainder of Healaugh manor (as part of the Honour of Richmond) and Grinton manor (acquired from the dissolved Bridlington Priory). As the most powerful landowners in the valley, the Whartons were to have an important influence on the valley, exemplified in their energetic development of lead mining from the 1670s onwards.

9.7.2 Layout of the village

The village takes the form of an agglomeration of buildings clustered around a small green and is very different in form from the linear villages encountered in the arable-farming zone lower down the dale, which exhibit some degree of regularity and planning. At Keld and its counterparts in the upper dale there are no remains of tofts and crofts nor any significant expanses of ridge-and-furrow signifying earlier phases of arable cultivation. Indeed there are significant earthworks of any kind in the immediate vicinity of the settlement. Changes to the overall layout of the village during this period are difficult to plot since Keld was not mapped in detail before the early to mid-19th century and both the 1824 Enclosure map and 1841 Tithe map show the settlement laid out in a very similar pattern to that of the present day (see Figs 29-31). Some clues to the dating of this development can be gauged by consulting the description of the surviving historic buildings provided in Section 7, which provides a general guide to the way the fabric of the village altered over this period. Most of the houses in the settlement appear to be of 18th or early 19th century date, often remodelled in the later 19th and 20th centuries.

The chapel-of-ease at the south-east corner of the settlement, which was in use in the mid-16th century, was rendered redundant by the upgrading of Muker chapel as the principal place of worship at the upper end of the dale. It was not demolished immediately, however, and may even have continued to hold some services, but was left to slowly decay and by the end of the 17th century its doorway had been walled up, presumably to block access to the crumbling structure. The two datestones of 1687, reused in later structures, demonstrate that new buildings were being erected in the vicinity of Keld during the late 17th century, but since neither stone was *in situ* there is no way of identifying exactly what impact this might have had on the layout of the village. Park Lodge, which stands on the site of the lodge of the medieval winter park, has a datestone of 1760 and is associated with a barn of late 18th century or 19th century date, but the most significant building of the 18th century was the nonconformist chapel built on the site of the earlier chapel-of-ease, in the wake of the Rev. Edward Stillman's preaching in the neighbourhood towards the end of the century. The single-storied chapel school was built by subscription, as an inscribed plaque informs the onlooker, just to the south of the chapel itself in 1842. A little bellcote was added to the north gable by A Metcalfe in 1847. The school was founded by James Wilkinson, minister of the chapel, who was also involved in the building of the adjacent Literary Institute of 1861. This last building formed the south side of small square, bounded to the north by the chapel – itself rebuilt again to become a United Reform Church in the previous year – and to the east by the school. On the south side of the main green or square, the Public Hall and Reading Room was built by subscription in 1926, the final public building of significance to be erected in the village.

It was tentatively suggested, above, that some buildings may have encroached on the central open area, particularly on the west side. This can only be a speculative inference at present, however. The central area was perhaps no longer required for penning stock once the managed monastic vaccary was replaced by several individual tenancies, but the clan-like kinship structure of the late medieval and early modern community implies that a good deal of collective and cooperative endeavour could have persisted, perhaps even as late as the 17th

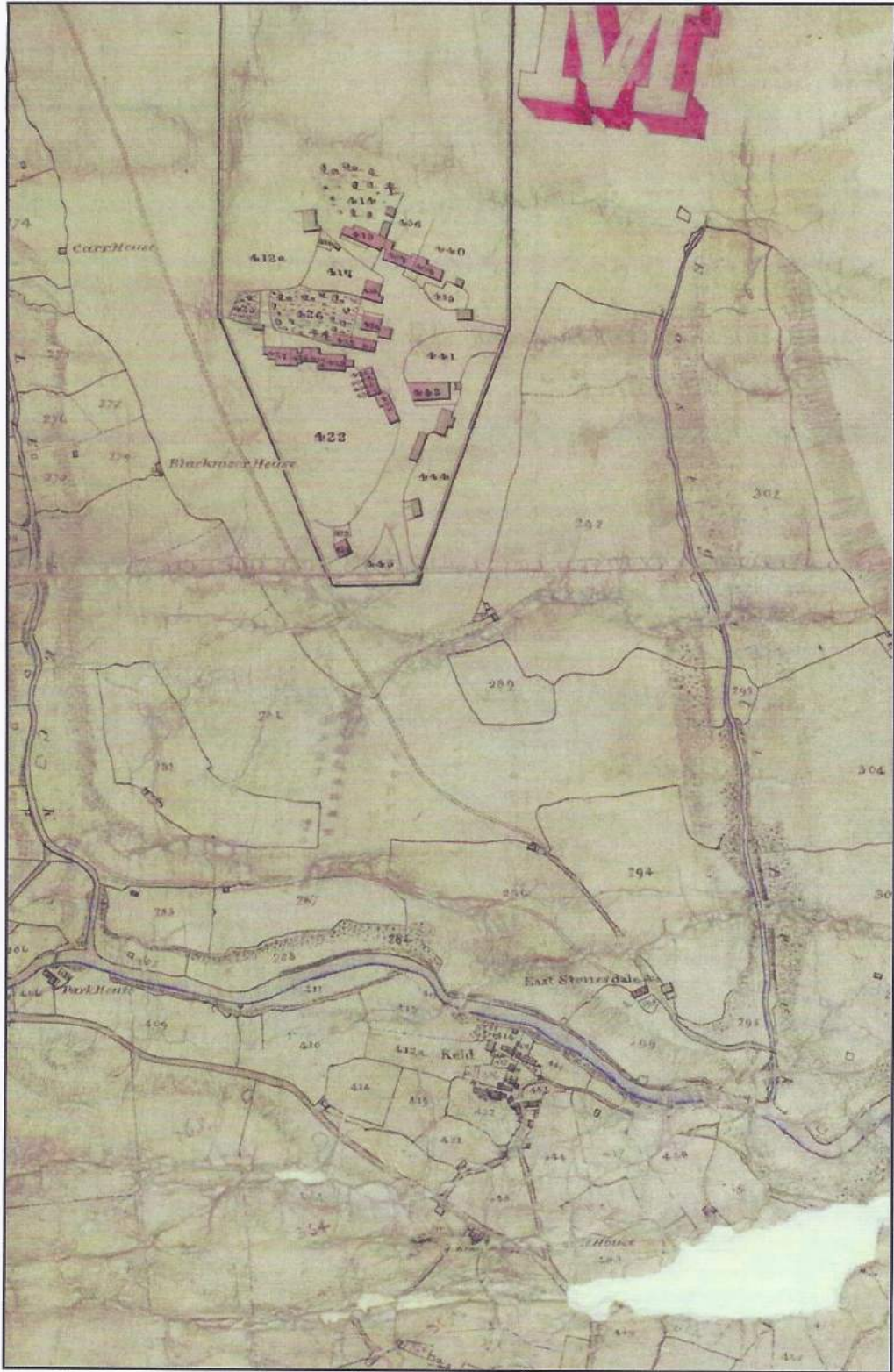


Figure 30: Mid- 19th century tithe map (NYCRO)

century (cf. McDonnell 1990, 28-32). The meadow and pasture surrounding the settlement was clearly very important to the members of community in all periods. Rather than expanding outwards and encroaching upon the meadowland, settlement growth – to provide a workforce for the lead mines, for example – was perhaps achieved by constructing new farmsteads and dwellings alongside the access corridors.

9.7.3 The township territory

The overall layout of the wider township territory which evolved in the late medieval period can also be restored by examining the historic map evidence, notably the Enclosure and tithe maps and the First Edition Ordnance Survey (fig 17), and can still be traced in very broad terms on current 1:25,000 Ordnance Survey, for example. On the lower ground, around the settlement and stretching along the south and west bank of the river, lie the tenants' individual holdings of meadowland, the field parcels being distinguished by their almost organic globular forms. Separating these old enclosures were relatively wide corridors of common land leading out towards the stinted 'pastures' on the fell-sides immediately above the settlement (especially evident to the south of the village). The point where this main corridor southward opened out was known as Keld Green whilst a similar area further south, around the cluster of farmsteads at Thorns, was known as Thorns Green. The stinted pastures extending outward from these 'greens' are now divided up by later enclosure walls, which were constructed following the 1824 Enclosure Award. Beyond the head-dyke, which marks the limit of the stinted pastures, the extensive unstinted and still undivided commons spread out over a sweeping expanse of moorland to the south and west. Most of this seems to have formed part of Angram Common, but Keld clearly had rights to a portion of fell-side known as Keld Calf Pasture which lay close to the river to the west of the community's main stinted pasture (Fig 29).

Stinted pastures and unstinted commons

The most straightforward means of exploiting upland grazing available to medieval communities was the use of extensive moorland common surrounding a settlement's enclosed arable land or meadows. The short flush of grass growth on such commons would provide grazing during late spring and summer and its exploitation would generally involve relatively short distance movement of stock from the valley bottom up on to the adjacent hillsides and moors. Various mechanisms were used to regulate the use of these common pastures and prevent overgrazing, these being enforced through the proceedings of the manor court (Winchester 2000, 78-84). The right to graze livestock on the fellside pastures – Low Row Pasture and Feetham or Kearton Pasture for example – was not unlimited. Each farmer held a number of 'cattlegates' or 'beastgates', roughly related to the size of his farmholding, which in turn determined how many stock he or she was entitled to graze on the pastures, a process known as stinting (Fleming 1998, 56, 60; Winchester 2000, 68-73). Each gate represented the right to graze one horned beast, with common rates of exchange for other types of livestock being one horse for two cattlegates and between five and ten sheep for one 'cow's grass'. These gates were inherited along with farmholding. In contrast the grazing rights on the moorland commons was in theory unlimited and these grounds are therefore said to be unstinted.

9.7.4 Nonconformism

In addition to the economic forces of lead mining and agriculture discussed below one other general factor in the development of communities in Upper Swaledale should be noted, namely the influence of the nonconformist religious movement. This was particularly marked in Swaledale as a result of a strong following amongst the lead miners in the dale.

The earliest independent chapel in Swaledale was built lower down the valley, at Smarber, in 1690, by Philip, the fourth Lord Wharton (1613-96), himself a dissenter, for the benefit of his lead miners (Hatcher 1990, 152). Its ruins can still be seen there today. However the first

Inventories	Origins	Amounts & Remarks	State & Culture	Number of Articles	Annual Distribution of the amount to the several States		Remarks
					By the State	By the several States	
West India	George, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Michael, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Richard, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Henry, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Jacob, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
West Indies	James, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	John, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	William, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Thomas, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Richard, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Henry, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	James, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	John, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	William, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Thomas, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
West Indies	George, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Michael, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Richard, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Henry, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	James, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	John, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	William, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Thomas, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Richard, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Henry, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	James, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	John, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	William, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados
	Thomas, Barbados	1000	Barbados	1	1	1	Barbados

Figure 31: Apportionment to tithe map (fig 30) (NYCRO)

nonconformist chapel at Keld was not begun until 1789, when the Rev. Edward Stillman settled at Keld, having preached in a barn at Muker and then various private dwellings (Fieldhouse & Jennings 2005, 337). *Stillman's preaching formed part of an upsurge in Congregationalism in the dale towards the end of the 18th century.* The chapel was erected on the site of the old chapel-of-ease and was rebuilt in 1818 and rebuilt again, in 1860, to become a United Reform Church. Methodism seems to have played a less significant role at Keld than it did in most Upper Swaledale communities, but a Methodist chapel was built in 1841, outside the main village centre, on the main road at the top of the hill.

In an attempt to counter this growth of nonconformism and provide a more accessible place of Anglican worship than the old Grinton parish church, Muker was elevated to the status of a parish church (Pevsner 1966, 231; Hatcher 1990, 149).

9.7.5 Aspects of the lead mining industry and their effects on Keld

The Dales were created by massive forces within the earth uplifting beds of carboniferous limestone and forming a chain of hills and mountains. As this process was taking place, volcanic pressure within the earth forced molten minerals through the fissures in the rocks and created the lead deposits later worked by people (Fieldhouse & Jennings 2005, 1). Swaledale is the area in which this phenomenon is most marked and which has the largest lead deposits in the Dales. While humans made their settlements close to the alluvial floor of the dale, the lead deposits were most accessible on the upper fells. This explains why the homes of the miners were often removed some way from the mines they worked.

Keld is at the very western end of Swaledale and its remoteness explains why its relationship with lead mining was later than that of other settlements. Raistrick states that there is no documentary evidence of lead mining before 1700 (Gill 2002, 34). Raistrick reports that some of these mines were about two miles from the village near the point at which Sleddale merged with Birkdale, but there are few records. More important were the Keldside mines which were opened by the Company of Mine Adventurers of England in the 1740s and from which a significant quantity of lead was removed (Gill 2002, 34). As this company employed a number of miners, it is likely that this led to the construction of a number of cottages for their accommodation in Keld village (White 2002, 86).

The Mine Adventurers withdrew from Keldside before 1760, but they were succeeded by other companies. Efforts to secure lead in the Keld area were always complicated by the geology of the lead veins which were subject to flooding. It proved very difficult to construct levels to drain the mines and water or steam powered pumps were required to remove the water. At the same time, the distance from the village to the mine meant that many of the miners chose to live on small farms closer to the mines so that the village remained small.

As Gill and Raistrick demonstrate, the most successful period in the Keld area was from 1829 to around 1840 when the lease on all three Keld mines was taken by Henry Jackson and Company.⁸ Jackson introduced comprehensive measures to drain the mines including the use of a steam engine. Under these circumstances, production improved to the extent that a smelting mill was built at Keldside for the processing of the ore taken from the mines, which exceeded 200 tons (Gill 2002, 34).

For reasons which are not entirely clear but probably are connected to flooding, Jackson ceased to operate the mines from around 1840 and the leases were taken over by a succession of other companies. Lead was produced, but difficulties continued to arise over draining the mines. Eventually, in the 1860s, the Keldside mines were taken over by the Kisdon Mining Company headed by Sir George Denys. Sir George attempted to drive a major level that

⁸ Gill 2002, 33-4 and Raistrick 1975b, 107-8. The three mines were the Keldside mine, the Lane End Mine and the Little Moor Foot mine.

would cure the drainage difficulties and find new deposits of ore but this was ultimately unsuccessful and was abandoned in 1868.⁹

Mining around Keld was not attempted after this date. The village never seems to have expanded to the degree that others did as a consequence of the short-lived nature of the mining operations. Miners whose employment was uncertain tended to favour occupation of a small holding or moving on to better mines than staying in the village.

9.8 Agriculture in Swaledale in the post-medieval period

9.8.1 Sources for the study of agriculture

The following parts of this section provide brief outlines of the topography of the Dale, the way in which the occupancy of the agricultural land was organised and the types of farming that took place. Not only would it require a considerable book to cover the agricultural history of all the settlements in the project, but it would be against the purpose of encouraging the residents of the Dale to explore their own history. Hence the purpose of this part of the section is to provide an introduction to some of the principal primary and secondary sources that can be used for the study of agriculture in the settlement areas that form part of the Village Heritage Project.

The books and articles given below contain substantial bibliographies to a wealth of material that is to be found in the North Yorkshire Record Office in Northallerton and elsewhere about land and farming in Swaledale. However, there are several key sources that cannot be ignored.

Primary sources.

1. Tuke, J., *General View of the Agriculture of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, (1794) is one of a series of volumes commissioned by Sir John Sinclair, the President of the Board of Agriculture. After the Board was set up in 1793, Sir John decided that a countrywide survey of the practice of agriculture on a county basis should be carried out. Tuke's volume is the one dealing with agriculture in the Dales. A general scheme for the whole series had been drawn up so it is possible to find out not just what was happening to farming in the Dales, but to compare it with agriculture in the remainder of the county as well as in the rest of the country.
2. Enclosure documents. Enclosure is the process of turning open fields or common land into enclosed fields usually farmed by individuals rather than as part of a collective enterprise under control of a manorial court or local committee. The process could be carried out by private initiative or by Parliamentary means. Maps of the enclosure were created together with documentation dealing with the rights of individuals, the costs of the process and the rights of landowners and tenants. Most enclosure records are found in County Record Offices although estate records of large landowners may also hold enclosure materials particularly if the enclosure has been carried out by private arrangement.
3. Tithe records. Tithes, or taxes on farm produce to support the church had been collected during the middle ages and were continued after the Reformation by the Church of England. Nominally one tenth of all produce, they had originally been collected in kind and given to the local minister for his support and the upkeep of the church. Where extant, the notebooks of the tithe collectors can provide a useful source of information on the type of farming in a parish and enable historians to say something about its productivity. However, by the 19th century, the system of tithe collection had almost broken down. In some places it was nearly impossible to collect tithe through opposition and non-co-operation, in others, collection in kind was almost logistically impossible

⁹ See Gill 2002, 36-7 for an account of the developments of the 1860s.

while, where financial accommodations had been reached with tithe payers, parishes had arranged rates of payment which differed widely across the country and varied from the miserly to the extortionate. Thus, in 1836, a Tithe Commutation Act was passed through Parliament which set up a review of the whole system and the means to create a uniform system of payment for all. The files of the tithe commissioners who carried out the local surveys contain considerable information about the nature of farming in each parish and are in the National Archives. The maps that they created which show landholdings within parishes and have attached schedules showing sizes of holdings and the names of the owners and tenants are to be found in County Record Offices.

4. Milburn, M. M., On the Farming of the North Riding of Yorkshire, *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, XXVI, (1848). An important and useful mid-century survey of farming practice in the North Riding.
5. Agricultural Statistics: Parish Summaries. The Board of Trade started an annual collection of agricultural returns in 1866. The returns of acreage and livestock were made by proprietors under the provisions of various Acts of Parliament, including the Agriculture Act of 1889, which set up the Board of Agriculture. The new Board and its successors thereafter took charge of this annual census. Until 1917 the returns were made on a voluntary basis, but then they were made compulsory. This makes them more complete and probably more accurate although evidence suggests that pre-1917 returns provide very good evidence of the state of agriculture before that date. All the original returns have been destroyed, but almost all the parish summaries collected for each county have survived. The Summaries contain few gaps and record the numbers of livestock and the acreage of crops in each parish, becoming more detailed as they move forward in time. They do not record names of owners or details of individual farms. The Summaries are in the National Archives under the classification MAF 68.
6. British Parliamentary Papers, 1876, LXXX, Accounts and Papers, Owners of Land (Great Britain). These papers, the result of an inquiry prompted by the Earl of Derby into land ownership in Great Britain, provide a county by county list of landowners. John Bateman in his book, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (various dates, but reprinted Leicester, 1971) gives a breakdown of the larger holdings and their owners, but County Record Offices and major libraries hold local county lists.
7. Finance (1901-10) Act, 1910 – Duties on Land Values. This piece of legislation, arising from proposals made by the Chancellor, Lloyd George, was designed to set a tax on increases in the value of landed property. A national survey of all properties was carried out and the details were entered in ledgers and maps showing the locations of properties created. These records have been sent to the appropriate County Record Offices and give a comprehensive picture of land ownership in 1910.
8. Records of War Agricultural Committees. These may be found in County Record Offices and contain the minutes of committee meetings as well as lists of farm visitations. They give a picture of the changes required to be made to farm cultivation as a result of the problems of food supply in the Second World War.
9. Stamp, L. Dudley, (ed.), *The Land of Britain – Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain* (1945). This was a report made by the survey of its work throughout the country. It was issued in the form of a volume for each county and shows the results of the war on the farming industry. The same form was followed for each county and thus permits comparisons to be drawn.

Secondary sources.

1. Thirsk, J., (General Editor), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, (Cambridge, various dates). Volumes IV to VIII cover the period from 1500 to 1939 and contain the most comprehensive history of agriculture with many references to individual areas such as the Dales.
2. Long, W. H. and Davies, G. M., *Farm Life in a Yorkshire Dale: An Economic Study of Swaledale*, (Clapham, 1948).
3. Long, W.H., *A Survey of the Agriculture of Yorkshire*, (1969).

4. Fieldhouse, R.T. and Jennings, B., *A History of Richmond and Swaledale*, (2005).
5. Raistrick, A., *The Pennine Dales*, (1968).
6. Hallas, C. S., Supply Responsiveness in Dairy Farming: Some Regional Considerations, *Agricultural History Review*, 39, Part 1, (1991).
7. Hartley, M. and Ingilby, J., *Life and Tradition in the Yorkshire Dales*, (Otley, 1997). An important study of traditional farming practice in the Dales.
8. Hallas, C., *Rural Responses to Industrialisation-The Yorkshire Pennines 1790-1914*, (Bern, 1999).

9.8.2 Topographical background

Swaledale is the valley of the northernmost river that eventually joins the River Ouse and is the narrowest of the Yorkshire Dales. It is usually described as beginning near Richmond and continuing to a point just to the north and west of Keld where it breaks up into a collection of small valleys each containing a beck or stream that forms part of the river. The valley is about twenty miles long and is lined with hills on both sides that regularly exceed 400 metres in height and at the very top of the valley exceed 600 metres in places. Unlike Wensleydale, which has a number of tributary dales, Swaledale has only one, Arkengarthdale, which is as narrow as the main dale, but the hills are not as steep or as high. The hills in both dales are mainly composed of Carboniferous Limestone, but there are also some outcrops of Millstone Grit and the overlaying soil is usually boulder clay. Swaledale has also had extensive deposits of lead which have been heavily mined at certain times in the past.

The narrowness of the dale means that the valley has only a limited floor area which restricted opportunities for the growth of crops or hay making. In consequence the agricultural conditions were harsher than in the neighbouring Wensleydale and restricted the farmers in Upper Swaledale to pastoral husbandry.¹⁰ It is also the case that the eastern end of the dale is narrower than the western end. The proportion of meadow land to rough grazing land is small throughout the dale so that the number of cattle that could be carried on each holding was also limited. The villages in Swaledale were small and all five Swaledale settlements in the Village Heritage Project, Keld, Muker, Gunnerside, Low Row and Feetham and Grinton are located in the main dale.

9.8.3 Land division and occupation in Swaledale

The most comprehensive survey of post-medieval land division in Swaledale is to be found in the study by Fieldhouse and Jennings (2005, Chapters 6 and 15). They describe very fully the way in which the great majority of land in the dale had been vested in the hands of ecclesiastical institutions in the medieval period and how these properties passed into the hands of the Crown as a result of the Dissolution of the monasteries in the 16th century. Once in the hands of the Crown, this property was frequently transferred into the hands of lay proprietors. The process took place for a variety of reasons including the expense of war with Scotland, the need to reward Royal officials and the problems arising in government finances as a result of inflation in the 16th century.

The new lay proprietors were faced with a multitude of difficulties arising from the complexity of tenurial rights throughout the dale. Many of these were related to customary rights that had been granted as part of the necessity to raise troops for defence against the Scots and involved military service rather than monetary payment. The new landowners wished to increase their income from their estates and as this entailed extinguishing or adapting the existing arrangements, they met with stiff resistance from the tenants. The

¹⁰ There is evidence, in the form of surviving ridge-and-furrow earthworks, for medieval arable cultivation around Reeth, Grinton, Fremington, Healaugh and Harkerside, and even around Dyke Heads in Gunnerside township and Booze in Arkengarthdale, in addition to the very widespread traces lower down the valley (cf. Fleming 1998, 69-71). Arable cultivation undoubtedly declined after the Middle Ages, however, as evinced by the survival of the ridge-and-furrow.

resulting disputes took a considerable time to resolve and in some cases it was not until the 19th century that landlord and tenant relations resembled normal tenurial arrangements elsewhere in England.

The difficulties over tenure were further complicated by other practices in the dale. By the 16th century almost all evidence of open field agriculture had disappeared from Swaledale. Some common arrangements relating to the cow pastures, which were controlled through stinting had survived, but in general the open fields had been replaced by a patchwork of smaller enclosures, most of which were farmed by individuals although some continued to be farmed collectively. In order to provide all farmers with a share of good and poor land, an individual's plots might be located in a number places. In addition to this land, the farmer might have rights in a cow pasture as well as other common grazing rights on the upper fells. On the death of the holder, the common practice in the dale was for the deceased's property to be shared among the descendants through partible inheritance. This resulted, in some cases, in extensive division of property and the creation of tiny, uneconomic holdings. It was not until the late 18th century that many of these practices were abandoned and more efficient ways of apportioning land replaced them.

The presence of lead in Swaledale mitigated some of the effects of the difficulties arising from such small, scattered farms (Hallas 1999, 151-90). The tradition of free mining meant that many farmers had additional sources of revenue from mining and processing lead during the 16th and 17th centuries. Even when the manorial lords began to exert their rights to control the exploitation of the mineral resources there was still the availability of work as an employee or contracted worker in the mines, dressing floors and smelt mills to augment the meagre returns from farming. Such dual employment explains the survival of many small farms in the dale well into the 19th century. Only when lead mining ceased in the last decades of the century did the picture change. The loss of alternative employment drove many people from the dale and it became possible to amalgamate farms into larger, more economic holdings that provided a proper living for their owners and tenants in the 20th century (Long & Davies 1948, 53-62).¹¹

9.8.4 Farming in Swaledale

The absence of large areas of cultivatable land together with the virtual disappearance of open field farming by the beginning of the 17th century meant that there was very little arable cultivation in Swaledale. Grain growing was certainly rarely undertaken except during the Second World War at the behest of the War Agricultural Committee. This did not mean that milling ceased in the dale as corn was imported and this, together with some oats provided work for a number of mills until the end of the 18th century.

Under the circumstances outlined above, almost all farming activity in Swaledale centred on pastoral husbandry. Research by Fieldhouse and Jennings revealed that there was a consistent emphasis on the importance of cattle farming in the period from 1540 to 1750. There was a general depression in the price of wool for much of this period and the poor quality of the wool sheared in the dale would have exacerbated the effects of the poor returns possible. Cattle in Swaledale were reared for both beef and milk production. The favoured breed in the 16th and 17th centuries were probably longhorns, but these were replaced by shorthorns in the 18th century. More cattle tended to be kept in the lower part of the dale where there was more meadow land available for winter feed. At the western end of the dale, in the area around Keld and Muker, more sheep were kept as the land was often too poor for cattle grazing. The flocks tended to consist not only of ewes but also a large proportion of castrated wethers that were being fattened for the meat trade.

¹¹ However land prices did rise towards the end of the 19th century as people endeavoured to remain in the dale.

From the middle of the 18th century, the number of sheep increased as the market for wool and meat improved. The favoured breed was the black-faced Linton which originated in Scotland but was kept widely in the Dales by the 18th century. In time, as a result of selective cross-breeding, a type of sheep was evolved that was particularly suited to the local farming conditions. This was the origin of the Swaledale breed which was perfected in the 19th century and became a registered breed with its own Flock Book in the 1920s (Fraser & Stamp 1961, 108-10).

Despite this, Swaledale farming was considered to be backward in comparison with the neighbouring Wensleydale. In part this was due to the presence of the alternative employment opportunities available from hand-knitting and the lead mines as well as the small size of the farms. When the mines closed and the population decreased, the profits from farming grew as the holdings expanded in size. The absence of railway transport in the 19th century meant that Swaledale farmers could not benefit in the way that their neighbours in Wensleydale did from the presence of a market for liquid milk. This encouraged cattle farmers to concentrate on beef production until the advent of motor transport in the 20th century meant that some milk production was possible in some of the lower parts of the dale.

Information provided by Hallas, and Fieldhouse and Jennings together with the study by Long and Davies indicates that the slight predominance of sheep over cattle persisted until later 20th century, although the balance between cattle and sheep farming changed in response to market forces. According to Fieldhouse and Jennings, this had begun to swing back in favour of cattle by the 1970s, but it is clear that the future of Swaledale farming depends on its ability to compete within the evolving framework of the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy.

Keld, in the parish of Grinton, wap. of Gilling West, and liberty of Richmondshire; 8 miles NW. of Askrigg.— Here is a Calvinist chapel, erected in the year 1745, of which the Rev. Edward Stillman is minister. About one mile SE. of Keld is Kisdan Force, a most beautiful waterfall: the fall is from twelve to fifteen yards high, the rocks that surround it forming a complete amphitheatre, beautifully fringed with underwood, which has a fine effect when contrasted with the barren hills and uncultivated wastes by which this place is surrounded.

Baines 1823

About three miles W. of Muker is the hamlet of *Keld* where there are an Independent Chapel erected in 1745, a school, and a flourishing Literary Institute, with a library containing 700 volumes. The following are also hamlets in this township, viz.: *Angram, Birkdale, Calvert Houses, Firth, Inlet, Ornop, Rash, Ravenseat, Satron, Stonesdale, and Thwaite.*

Bulmers 1890

Figure 32: Information from Baines' 1823 and Bulmer's 1890 trade directories

KELD is a small but ancient village at the head of Swaledale, about 3 miles north-north-west of Muker.

There is a Congregational chapel, erected in 1815, seating 240 persons, and a Wesleyan chapel, built in 1843 and a Literary Institution, with a library of 700 volumes, and reading rooms. Near the village is a cascade, called "Cataract Force," about 3 miles distant is a copper mine, and about a quarter of a mile south-east of Keld is Kisdon Force, a beautiful waterfall, from 30 to 40 feet high, surrounded by rocks forming a complete amphitheatre, beautifully fringed with underwood, and contrasting finely with the barren hills and uncultivated wastes by which it is encompassed, and amid which the river Swale takes its rise: in the neighbourhood are several other waterfalls.

Post, M. O., T. & Telephone Call Office, Keld.—James Waggett, sub-postmaster. Letters arrive through Richmond, via Reeth
Carriers.—Thomas Metcalfe & Sons, to Hawes, Tues. & Richmond, Sat

KELD.

Vasey Rev. Henry (Congregational)
COMMERCIAL.
Hutchinson William Robinson, Cat
Hole P.H
Literary Institute
Metcalf Christopher, gamekeeper to
Brig.-Gen. Sir J. F. Laycock
K.C.M.G., D.S.O., T.D
Metcalf Thos. shopkeeper, Keld grn
Parrington Thos. shoe ma. Bridge end
Rukin James, farmer
Waggett James, shopkeeper
Wilson Thomas, gamekeeper to Brig.-
Gen. Sir J. F. Laycock K.C.M.G.,
D.S.O., T.D. Keld Green lodge

Figure 33: Extracts from Kelly's 1925 trade directory

PART 3: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

10. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

10.1 Character

The village of Keld is little more than a hamlet and huddles around a junction of tracks on a shelf above the limestone gorge of the River Swale. It shows in microcosm the usual elements found in Swaledale villages. There is fragmentary evidence of 17th century vernacular construction, followed by signs of increasing prosperity in the 18th century, exemplified by the well-built farmhouse, Park House. Most of the houses are of 18th or 19th century date. The main cluster of public buildings associated with the United Reform Church is located towards the south end of the settlement, arranged around a small square beside the main road into the village.

10.2 Origins and early history

The place name Keld is of Old Norse derivation, which suggests the settlement may have originated as seasonal shieling site associated with pastoral transhumance in the 10th or 11th centuries. The Domesday Book lists no permanent township communities in Upper Swaledale, above Grinton, Reeth and Fremington. This would imply that the upper dale was exploited by pastoralist farming, involving rearing cattle and sheep, much as it was later in the medieval period. It is reasonable to suppose that the upland zone was attached to manorial lordships of Grinton and Reeth, in a manner not dissimilar to the post Conquest arrangements, when the entire upper dale was classed as 'forest' and included in the manor of Swaledale. Certainly there is no evidence for arable cultivation on a significant scale in the upper dale around Keld in this period or later in the Middle Ages.

However first definite reference to Keld in the documentary record dates to the mid-13th century, when it appears as a 'vaccary' (cattle farm) belonging to Rievaulx Abbey, one of several the abbey possessed at the head of the dale. These vaccaries evolved into tenanted hamlets in the late medieval period, following the profound socio-economic changes wrought by the Black Death which undermined the profitability of directly managed demesne farms like vaccaries. As a result, Rievaulx Abbey adopted a policy of leasing out its stock farms in Upper Swaledale to tenants. The tenancies were repeatedly subdivided over the generations, following the local custom of partible inheritance resulting in the emergence of communities of kinsfolk. Thus, at Keld, all the tenants bore the surname Alderson in the 16th century.

10.3 The layout of the village (see Fig. 27)

The village takes the form of an agglomeration of buildings clustered around a small green. In this it is fairly typical of such settlements, located at the upper end of dales like Swaledale or Wensleydale. The layout is very different from that exhibited by the linear villages encountered in the arable-farming zone lower down the dale. These latter display some degree of regularity and planning, generally featuring two main rows of buildings set in toft and croft enclosures on either side of a street or green. In contrast tofts and croft enclosures are entirely absent at Keld and its counterparts in the upper dale and there is little sign of regularity. However the buildings do appear to be arranged around a small rectangular green which may have originated as the fold-yard of Rievaulx Abbey's vaccary. This fold-yard would have been surrounded by domestic and farm buildings.

A chapel-of-ease is recorded at Keld in the mid-16th century and may have originated in the late Middle Ages. It was located towards the southern end of the village, on the site of the present United Reform Church. The meadowland immediately to the west of the village, extending along the south side of the River Swale as far as Park Bridge, was probably occupied by a medieval park providing enclosed winter grazing for cattle and perhaps sheep. The mid-18th century farmhouse, Park Lodge, presumably stands on the site of the lodge associated with this medieval park.

10.4 Social and economic influences of the modern era

The dominant economic influences on the community of Keld during the 18th and 19th centuries were pastoralist farming and lead mining. The stunted pastures on the hillside to the west and south-west of the village were divided and enclosed in 1824. The larger scale and regular form of the fields in this area can readily be distinguished from the older enclosed meadows immediately to the east and west of the settlement and to the south around Thorns. Abundant traces of lead mining and processing are evident in the wider environs of the village, notably the remains of the Keldside mines and associated smelting mill, to the west next to Blackburn Beck, and the Beldi Hill mine on the opposite side of the valley. However this activity does not seem to have resulted in a significant expansion of the village. The distance from the settlement to the mines meant that many of the miners chose to live on small farms closer to their work. The intermittent and short-lived nature of many of the mining operations also meant that the miners tend to prefer occupation of a small holding which could supplement their income and continue to provide a livelihood when a particular mine ceased operation. As a result the village remained small.

The growth of nonconformist worship had a powerful impact on the social fabric and built environment of the village community. There were two chapels, one located to the south of the village, beside the B6270, which was built in 1841 to serve the Methodists, and, more significantly, the Congregational chapel, built on the site of the ancient Anglican chapel-of-ease in 1791 and rebuilt as a United Reform Church in 1860. This provided the focus of a small group of public buildings, including the chapel school of 1842 and the Institute, built in 1861.

The bulk of the buildings in the village belong to the 18th and 19th centuries and reflect the modest prosperity engendered by the farming and mining. The 20th century has seen a growth in tourism, fostered in part by the village's proximity to the Pennine Way and by the establishment of the Yorkshire Dales National Park. However, the remoteness of Keld's location means it did not witness any significant degree of later 20th century redevelopment, apart from relatively minor alterations to existing buildings.

PART 4: APPENDICES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

11. GLOSSARY

Advowson	the legal right to appoint a priest to a parish church.
Agistment	the grazing of livestock on pasture belonging to someone else.
Alienate	to grant land to someone else or to an institution.
Assart	land cleared for cultivation.
Assize	a legal procedure
Barony	the estate of a major feudal lord, normally held of the Crown by military tenure.
Borough	a town characterised by the presence of burgage tenure and some trading privileges for certain tenants.
Bovate	measure of arable land, normally equivalent to approx. 12-15 acres (but the size of an acre could vary considerably between different areas). This measurement especially popular in eastern and northern counties of England.
Burgage	A form of property within a borough
Capital Messuage	A messuage containing a high status dwelling house, often the manor house itself.
Cartulary	a book containing copies of deeds, charters, and other legal records.
Carucate	a unit of taxation in northern and eastern counties of England, equivalent to eight bovates or one hide (120 acres).
Charter	a legal document recording the grant of land or privileges.
Chattels	movable personal property.
Common land	land over which tenants and perhaps villagers possessed certain rights, for example to graze animals, collect fuel etc.
Common law	a body of laws that overrode local custom.
Copyhold	a tenure in which land was held by copy of an entry recording admittance made in the record of the manor court.
Cotland	a smallholding held on customary tenure .
Cottar	an unfree smallholder.
Croft	an enclosed plot of land, often adjacent to a dwelling house.
Custom	a framework of local practices, rules and/or expectations pertaining to various economic or social activities.

Customary tenure	an unfree tenure in which land was held “at the will of the lord, according to the custom of the manor”. In practice usually a copyhold of inheritance in Cumbria by the sixteenth century.
Deanery	unit of ecclesiastical administration consisting of a group of parishes under the oversight of a rural dean.
Demesne	land within a manor allocated to the lord for his own use.
Domain	all the land pertaining to a manor.
Dower	widow’s right to hold a proportion (normally one-third) of her deceased husband’s land for the rest of her life.
Dowry	land or money handed over with the bride at marriage.
Enfeoff	to grant land as a fief .
Engross	to amalgamate holdings or farms.
Farm	in medieval usage, a fixed sum paid for leasing land, a farmer therefore being the lessee.
Fealty	an oath of fidelity sworn by a new tenant to the lord in recognition of his obligations.
Fee/Fief	hereditary land held from a superior lord in return for homage and often, military service.
Fine	money payment to the lord to obtain a specific concession
Forest	a Crown or Palatinate hunting preserve consisting of land subject to Forest Law, which aimed to preserve game.
Free chase	a forest belonging to a private landholder.
Freehold	a tenure by which property is held “for ever”, in that it is free to descend to the tenant’s heirs or assigns without being subject to the will of the lord or the customs of the manor.
Free tenure	tenure or status that denoted greater freedom of time and action than, say, customary tenure or status, a freeman was entitled to use the royal courts, and the title to free tenure was defensible there.
Free warren	a royal franchise granted to a manorial lord allowing the holder to hunt small game, especially rabbit, hare, pheasant and partridge, within a designated vill .
Furlong	a subdivision of open arable fields.
Glebe	the landed endowment of a parish church.
Headland	a ridge of unploughed land at the head of arable strips in open fields providing access to each strip and a turning place for the plough.

Heriot	a death duty, normally the best beast, levied by the manorial lord on the estate of the deceased tenant.
Hide, hideage	Anglo-Saxon land measurement, notionally 120 acres, used for calculating liability for geld. <i>See carucate.</i>
Homage	act by which a vassal acknowledges a superior lord.
Knight's fee	land held from a superior lord for the service of a knight.
Labour services	the duty to work for the lord, often on the <i>demesne</i> land, as part of the tenant's rent package.
Leet	the court of a <i>vill</i> whose view of frankpledge had been franchised to a local lord by the Crown.
Manor	estate over which the owner ("lord") had jurisdiction, exercised through a manor court.
Mark	sum of money equivalent to two-thirds of a pound, i.e., 13s. 4d.
Merchet	a fine paid by villein tenants.
Messuage	a plot of land containing a dwelling house and outbuildings.
Moot	a meeting.
Multure	a fee for grinding corn, normally paid in kind: multure can also refer to the corn thus rendered.
Neif	a hereditary serf by blood.
Pannage	payment for the fattening of domestic pigs on acorns etc. in woodland.
Perch	a linear measure of 16½ feet and a square measure equivalent to one fortieth of a rood .
Quitclaim	a charter formally renouncing a claim to land.
Relief	payment made by a free tenant on entering a holding.
Rood	measure of land equivalent to one quarter of an acre; and forty perches.
Serf	an unfree peasant characterised by onerous personal servility.
Severalty	land in separate ownership, that is not subject to common rights, divided into hedged etc., fields.
Sheriff	official responsible for the administration of a county by the Crown.
Shieling	temporary hut on summer pasture at a distance from farmstead.
Socage	a form of tenure of peasant land, normally free.

Stint	limited right, especially on pasture.
Subinfeudate	the grant of land by on a lord to another to hold as a knight's fee or fief .
Subinfeudation	the process of granting land in a lordship to be held as fiefs
Suit of court	the right and obligation to attend a court; the individual so attending is a suitor .
Tenant in chief	a tenant holding land directly from the king, normally termed a baron.
Tenement	a land holding.
Tenementum	a land holding (Latin).
Tithe	a tenth of all issue and profit, mainly grain, fruit, livestock and game, owed by parishioners to their church.
Toft	an enclosure for a homestead.
Unfree tenure	see customary tenure .
Vaccary	a dairy farm.
Vassal	a tenant, often of lordly status.
Vill	the local unit of civil administration, also used to designate a territorial township community (prior to the 14 th century)
Villein	peasant whose freedom of time and action is constrained by his lord; a villein was not able to use the royal courts.
Villeinage	see customary tenure and unfree tenure .
Virgate	a quarter of a hide ; a standardised villein holding of around 30 acres. Also known as a yardland .
Wapentake	administrative division concerned with the raising of armies, levying of taxes, the maintenance of law and order and property transactions; wapentake was a Scandinavian word which derived from the symbolic raising of weapons to confirm agreement with the decisions of open-air public assemblies. Wapentakes were large administrative subdivisions of the ridings and already figure in the Domesday Book for the North Riding, although some wapentake boundaries changed over time. They were formed by the amalgamation of smaller administrative units known as hundreds.

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Secondary Bibliography

Journal, Corpora and Series Abbreviations

- BAR British Archaeological Reports
- Corpus *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture. Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*. J Lang (2001), Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy.
- CW² *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Second Series etc.*
- NYCRO pub. North Yorkshire County Record Office publication
- VCH *The Victoria History of the County of York*
- YAJ *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*
- YASRS *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*

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13. APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: CATALOGUE OF MODERN PHOTOGRAPHS

APPENDIX 2: PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE CATALOGUE (PRO)

APPENDIX 3: RECORDS HELD AT NORTH YORKSHIRE COUNTY RECORD OFFICE (NYCRO) AND DURHAM RECORD OFFICE (DRO)

APPENDIX 4: KELD UNITED REFORM CHURCH INSCRIPTIONS AND PLAN (YAS)

APPENDIX 1: Catalogue of modern photographs

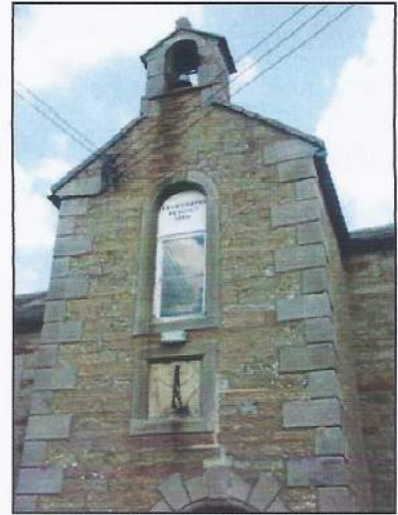
Photographs taken September-December 2005 by Peter Ryder and Richard Carlton

No.	Description
1	United Reform Church and Manse viewed from south
2	United Reform Church Porch
3	United Reform Church viewed from the east
4	Chapel School viewed from north east
5	United Reform Church viewed from the north
6	United Reform Church benches
7	United Reform Church looking east
8	United Reform Church looking west
9	United Reform Church dais
10	United Reform Church Memorial 1
11	United Reform Church Memorial 2
12	United Reform Church gallery stairs
13	United Reform Church from gallery
14	Park Lodge south side
15	Chapel School bellcote
16	Institute viewed from south
17	House at east end south row
18	Institute west side
19	Chapel School west side
20	Institute north end
21	Public Hall east end
22	Public Hall foundation stones
23	Kirkbeck stack
24	Manse and United Reform Church from north west
25	Outbuilding looking north east
26	Outbuilding looking north west
27	Birk Hall View datestone
28	School House and Tute House
29	Lilac Cottage and School House
30	Park Lodge
31	Outbuilding
32	Public Hall and Birk Hill View
33	Distant view from east of United Reform Church etc
34	Barn east of village
35	Barn east of village datestone
36	Village viewed from east
37	Institute east side
38	Distant east view of village
39	Institute viewed from north west
40	Methodist Chapel
41	Modern shepherding near Keld.
42	View of the south side of the valley near Keld (Kisdon).
43	View of the south side of the valley near Keld (Kisdon), incl. barns and

	industrial structures on high ground)
44	View of the village from west side (above car park).
45	View from west of the village (above) of barn outline on hillside near the village.
46	View of the north side of the village from the west.
47	South row of the village viewed from the west.
48	North row of the village from the west side.
49	North row of the village from the east side.
50	View westwards from barn at the east end of the village.
51	Barn (above) at the beginning of the path to Muker.
52	View north from chapel building of 1861.
53	View northwards from public toilets, past the chapel building of 1861 to the chapel rebuilt 1860.
54	United Reform Church and 1861 chapel building viewed from the north.
55	View of the village from the south, past the public toilets.
56	View of the village from the south, including waller at work rebuilding drystone walls.
57	Stands for milk churns on either side of the road at village centre.
58	Shed, public seat and house on the main valley road.
59	War memorial on the main valley road, with YHA beyond to the west.
60	Telephone box and the village beyond, viewed from the main valley road.
61	View to the north-east from the main valley road outside the village.
62	View to the south from house (above) on main valley road outside (south-east of) Keld.
63	View of the valley (north side) between Keld and Thwaite/Muker.



1. United Reform Church & Manse viewed from south



2. United Reform Church Porch



3. United Reform Church viewed from the east



4. Chapel School viewed from north east



5. United Reform Church viewed from north



6. United Reform Church benches



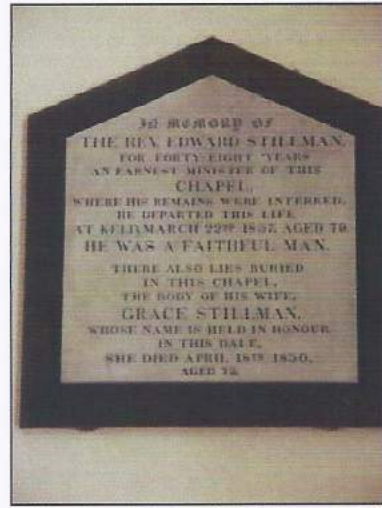
7. United Reform Church looking east



8. United Reform Church looking west



9. United Reform Church dais



10. United Reform Church memorial 1



11. United Reform Church memorial 2



12. United Reform Church gallery stairs



13. United Reform Church from gallery



14. Park Lodge south side



15. Chapel school bellcote



16. Institute viewed from the south



17. House at east end south row



18. Institute west side



19. Chapel school west side



20. Institute north end



21. Public Hall east end



22. Public Hall foundation stones



23. Kirkbeck stack



24. Manse & United Reform Church viewed from north west



25. Outbuilding looking north east



26. Outbuilding looking north west



27. Birk Hill View datestone



28. School House and Tute House



29. Lilac Cottage and School House



30. Park Lodge



31. Outbuilding



32. Public Hall and Birk Hill View



33. Distant view from east of United Reform Church



34. Barn east of village



35. Barn east of village - datestone



36. Village viewed from the east



37. Institute east side



38. Distant east view



39. Institute viewed from north west



40. Methodist Chapel



41. Modern shepherding near Keld



42. View of the south side of the valley near Keld



43. View of the south side of the valley near Keld



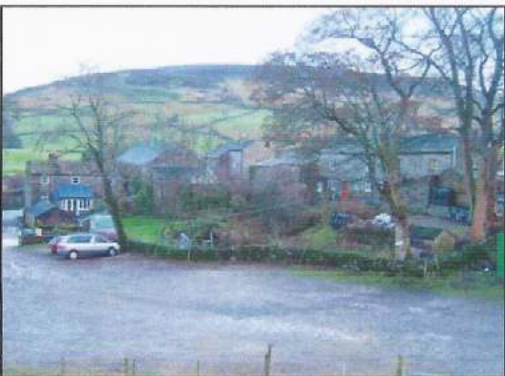
44. View of the village from west side



45. View from west of the village of barn outline on hillside



46. View of the north side of the village from the west



47. North row of the village from the west side



48. North row of the village from the east side



49. North row of the village from the east side



50. View westwards from barn at east end of village



51. Barn at the beginning of path to Muker



52. View north from Chapel building of 1861



53. View northwards from public toilets



54. United Reform Church and chapel building viewed from the north



55. View of the village from the south, past the public toilets



56. View of village from the south including a waller rebuilding drystone wall



57. Stands for milk churns on either side of the road at village centre



58. Shed, public seat and house on the main valley road



59. War memorial on main valley road with YHA beyond to the west



60. Telephone box and the village beyond, viewed from the main valley road



61. View to the north east from the main valley road outside the village



62. View to the south from main valley road outside (south east of) Keld



63. View of the valley (north side) between Keld and Thwaite/Muker

APPENDIX 2: Public Records Office catalogue (PRO)

A catalogue of documents held in the PRO collection relating to Keld.

PRO REFERENCE	TITLE/SCOPE & CONTENT	COVERING DATES	NO. OF DOCUMENTS
OS	Records of the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain		1
OS 29/275	<i>i</i> <u>Keld Holme, Yorkshire (North Riding)</u>	1852	
IR	Records of the Boards of Stamps, Taxes, Excise, Stamps and Taxes, and Inland Revenue		4
IR 29/37/33	<i>i</i> <u>Hardendale, Mardale, Swindale, Taillert, Rayside, Thornshap, Keld, Toathman and Wet Sleddale in Shap</u>		
IR 30/37/33	<i>i</i> <u>Hardendale, Mardale, Swindale, Taillert, Rayside, Thornshap, Keld, Toathman and Wet Sleddale in Shap</u>		
IR 90/37/33	<i>i</i> <u>Hardendale, Mardale, Swindale, Taillert, and Rayside, Thornshap and Keld, Toathman and Wetsteddale in Shap parish</u>		
IR 94/37/33	<i>i</i> <u>Hardendale, Mardale, Swindale, Taillert, and Rayside, Thornshap and Keld, Toathman and Wetsteddale in Shap parish</u>		
ED	Records created or inherited by the Department of Education and Science, and of related bodies		4
ED 21/43411	<i>i</i> <u>Muker, Keld School</u>	1922-1934	
ED 21/64276	<i>i</i> <u>Muker, Keld Congregational School (formerly known as Keld School)</u>	1937-1943	
ED 21/19570	<i>i</i> <u>Keld School (formerly known as British School)</u>	1875-1914	
ED 162/2439	<i>i</i> <u>Langbaurgh (Formerly Keld House)</u>	1952-1972	
HO	Records created or inherited by the Home Office, Ministry of Home Security, and related bodies		4
HO 107/1162	<i>i</i> <u>PARISH: Shap, TOWNSHIP: Brackenber, Hardendale, Hegdale, Keld, Raceit, Rosegill, Tailbert, Thornship, Toathmain, Wet-Sleddale, Mardale (part)</u>	1841	
HO 107/1246	<i>i</i> <u>WAPENTAKE: West Gilling PARISH: Grinton (part) HAMLET: Keld & Thorns</u>	1841	
HO 107/2380	<i>i</i> <u>Registration District: 538. REETH Registration Sub-District: 1 Muker ff.224-322 Parish: Grinton (pt) Hamlet: Muker with Angram, Birkdale, Calvert-House, Frith, Ivet, Keld & Thorns, Muker, Oxnop, Rampsholme, Rash, Ravenseat, Satron, Spring-End, Stonesdale, Thwaite & Tan Hill (part)</u>	1851	

HO 107/2387	<i>i</i> <u>Registration District: 543. TEESDALE Registration Sub-District: 2 Barnard Castle ff.192-492 Parish: Bowes(Yorks NR) Hamlet: Bowes with Bowes Cross, Gallow Hill, Low Field, Mellwater, Sleightholme, Stoney Keld, Applegarth Forest & Tan Hill(part)</u>	1851	
RG	Records of the General Register Office, Government Social Survey Department, and Office of Population Censuses and Surveys		6
RG 4/3232	<i>i</i> <u>YORKSHIRE: Keld in Sweldale (sic), Richmond (Independent): Births & Baptisms</u>	1790-1836	
RG 10/4872	<i>i</i> <u>Civil Parish, Township or Place: Muker: Keld, Thwaites, Satrow, Oxnop</u>	1871	
RG 11/4877	<i>i</i> <u>Civil Parish, Township or Place: Keld and Thorne</u>	1881	
RG 12/4034	<i>i</i> <u>Civil Parish, Township or Place: Keld</u>	1891	
RG 13/4607	<i>i</i> <u>Registration Sub-District: Muker Civil Parish, Township or Place: Angram Birkdale East and West Stonesdale Feetham Gunnerside Kearton Keld Lodge Green Low Row Melbecks Muker Oxhop Pot Ing Ravenseat Satron Thwaite</u>	1901	
RG 13/4905	<i>i</i> <u>Registration Sub-District: Morland Civil Parish, Township or Place: Bolton Cliburn Crosby Ravensworth Great Strickland Keld Kings Meaburn Little Strickland Maulds Meaburn Morland Newby Reagill Rosgill Shap Sleagill Swindale Thornship Thrimby Towcet Wickerslack</u>	1901	
COU	Records of the National Parks Commission and the Countryside Commission		1
COU 1/854	<i>i</i> <u>Overhead electricity lines north and west of Keld</u>	1962 Jan. - 1965 Oct.	
BT	Records of the Board of Trade and of successor and related bodies		1
BT 372/1144/7	<i>i</i> <u>R418741 MALLINSON F 23/05/1918 KELD</u>	1913 - 1972	

APPENDIX 3: Records held at North Yorkshire
Record Offices, (NYCRO) and Durham Record Office (DRO)

Guide 1: Calendars, Transcripts & Microfilms in the North Yorkshire County Record
Office

Reference	Description	Microfilm #
CRONT 126	Keld (11) 1573-1705	
NG/V	Under the provisions of the Finance (1909-1910) Act, the Commissioners of the Inland Revenue were instructed to 'cause a valuation to be made of all land in the United Kingdom'. The valuation books for North Yorkshire, also known as 'Domesday Books' after their only comparable precedent, are deposited at the Records Office. They include the names of the owners & occupiers of land, a description of the property and its situation, a reference to the series of valuation maps [these maps are not available at the North Yorkshire County Records Office but are held by the Public Records Office, Kew], the original gross value with deductions for buildings and other structures and the original full site value with deductions for public rights of way, rights of common, easements etc.	1546

Guide 2: Parish registers, Census returns, Land Tax returns, Tithe Apportionments,
Enclosure Awards in the North Yorkshire County Record Office

Key:

- *+ Records available in NYCRO
- B Burials
- Bn Banns
- C Christenings
- Cl Place formerly in North Riding, now in Cleveland county
- Crm Cremations
- D Place formerly in North Riding, now in Durham county
- f Fiche available
- Grv Grave register
- I Index available
- LT Land Tax Assessment
- M Marriages
- m Enclosure map available
- Sp Sponsors
- t Transcript available

Parish registers			Census	LT	Tithe	Enclosure
t	C	1638-1855	462 t I	*	+1797 & 2015 t	1832m
t	M	1638-1839	(1841 t)			
t	B	1638-1880	(1891 fl)			
63	C	1638-1855				
	M	1638-1841				
	B	1638-1880				
	Bn	1823-1894				
826	M	1837-1954				
3511	CB	1752-1778				
4350	C	1855-2002				

Guide 7: List of Non-Conformist Church and Chapel Registers and of Monumental Inscriptions in the North Yorkshire County record Office

Denomination	Description	Year	Microfilm number
United Reformed Church	Births	1890-1999	transcript

Guide 9: List of mining plans available at NYCRO

Reference	Description	Year	Microfilm #
ZLB 41/1	Crack Pott Hall farm and adjoining commons. Engraved plan by Thomad Jefferys, geographer to the King. Shows Swinnergill mines and quarries and Beldi Hill mines and "Hall Moor called by Mr Smith Crack Pott Out Pasture being the ground in question". This map evidently relates to the Beldi Hill case in Chancery for which despositions appear elsewhere in ZLB no scale but approx. 9inches to 1 mile	1772	MIC 1438/214- 215
ZLB 41/2	Crackpot Hall and East Stonesdale farms, extending westwards to West Stonedale. Engraved plan. Marks lead mine, two smithies, hush and cross cut at Beldi Hill and North Vein, Middle Vein, Sun Vein, Sun String, Trustees Level, Mr Parks Level and smithy and storehouse at Swinnergill. Most of the	n.d. [c. 1772]	MIC 1438/216- 219

	top right hand corner inc. title has been torn away. 7 chains to 1 inch		
ZLB 41/3	Beldi Hill and Swinnergill. Pen and ink plan. Shows Beldi Hill Low Level, Main Level, North Vein Level, Beldi Hill Low Level, T.Raw's Cross Cut, Level for the Craw Chirt, hall Level, Milner's Level, East Coates Cross Cut, R. Scot's Drift, George Calvert's Level, Pounders Old Level, Calvert's Level, Sandy Level, Parks Level, White Wallace Level, new Level, smithy near Crack Pott Hall and smelt mill and peat house on different hands and inks are apparent and the plan may have been added to over a period of years. Scale 2 chains to 1 inch	n.d. [c.1800]	MIC 1438/220-225
NG/MP	Plan of Beldi Hill Lead Mines... 2 chains to 1 inch	?1845	MIC 2472/417-428
ZLB 41/25	Pen and ink plan of Keldside and Little Moor mines with unfinished? Extension to Lane End. Marks High Level, Low Level, High Crosscut, Rumble Pool Level, Richardson's Level, Sun Crosscut and various drifts, veins, sumps, shafts and other features. Middle Vein and Middle Level marked in pencil. 2 chains to 1 inch	n.d. [2 nd half 19 th cent.]	MIC 1438/361-368
ZLB 41/27	Tracing of the ground to be leased in West Swaledale, Yorkshire Pen and ink plan, marks Keldside Smelt Mill, Lane End Mine, proposed Crosscut level from Stockdale Beck, Sun Vein and other veins. 6.625 inches to 1 mile	n.d. [late 19 th cent]	MIC 1438/369 & DN 192

A catalogue of documents held in the DRO collection relating to Keld.

Descent of the Manors of Healaugh to the Smiths

[n.d. early 19th century]

Reference	Description	Year
Ref No. D/HH 6/1/1	Office copy of grant by Henry VIII to Sir Thomas Wharton, 1st Baron Wharton and the heirs male of his body of the manor and rectory	2 December 1544

	<p>of Trymdon tithes in Thornanby and Barwyke in Yorkshire and lands in the tenure of persons specified in Ayresome, Yorks., Middelboroughe, Leventhorp, Yorks., Trymdon, Seton Carike, Aslebye, Elton, Edmundbyers with all attendant rights and jurisdictions, the Manor of Mewacre in Swaledale and Broughton Magna and Broughton Parva formerly the property of the monastery of Ryvall', Yorkshire with lands and tenements there as specified in Ophope in Swaldale, Twate in Swaldale, Angram in Swaldale, Keylde in Swaldale, Byrkedale in Swaldale, Keysdow in Swaldale, Great Broughton and Little Broughton, Kyrkeby, Yarome, Carleton, Newton, Pynchethorpe, Fawsby, Redkarre, Thornaby; the Manor of Shappe, Westmoreland and demesne lands of the late Monastery of Shappe and lands and tenements as specified in Shappe and in Ranegill Grange, annual rents specified, lands and tenements in Kelde and Thorneshappe, Talebrugh, Racett and Rosegill, Carehullen in the parish of Bampton, Knype, Preston in Kendale, Hutton Yatte and Farleton, Crowforthe, Great Asbye, Maldesmeburne, Wynnandmere, Helton Dale, Hardling, Beggerthwatt, Terrell, Trostormouthe, Bolton, Ellerker, Sandforthe, Salkelwaythe, rents from lands in Whayle, Knyppe, Roseland, Bowlton/Boulton/Bolton, Bramptom, payments of free alms as specified, The Almes Come, lands and tenements in Appulby, the former Hospital of Saint Nicholas near Appulby with its lands and possessions, all the above property being in Westmorland and farming property of the dissolved monastery at Shap, Reserves Sledall Grange, Rent: £41 11s. p.a. to the Court of Augmentations (1 file)</p>	
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Leases

Reference	Description	Year
Ref No. D/HH 6/5/5	<p>(1) Thomas Smith, Rector of Bobbing' worth and Ottiwell Tomlin of Richmond, gentleman (2) Arthur Cope of Allsop Terrace, Regent's park, Middlesex, Esquire Counterpart sporting lease to (2) over moors in the Manors of Healaugh and Muker (from Keld Green, northward by the road leading to Tan Hill, along the Westmorland boundary, southward and eastward to the Muker to Hawes Road, down the road to Thwaite thence to Keld Green) being Stonesdale, Slatepit Moss, Tarn Moss, Brunt Moor, Lodgerside, Long Canny, Ashgill Side, Great Sleddle Pasture, Thwaite Pasture, Angram Pasture and Keld Pasture, and gamekeeper's cottage, for a term of 7 years Rent: £200 p.a. and 12 brace of grouse (parchment, 2 membranes)</p>	8 August 1838
Ref No. D/HH 6/5/48	<p>(1) Francis Homer Lyell (2) Brigadier General Sir Joseph Frederick Laycock, K.C.M.G., D.S.O. Counterpart lease by (1) to (2) of Keld Lodge, Gunnerside Lodge and Gunnerside and Keld Moors as D/HH 6/5/46 and 47 above, from 1 January 1923 to 1 January 1924 Rent: £2,200 and 72 brace of grouse</p>	19 July 1923

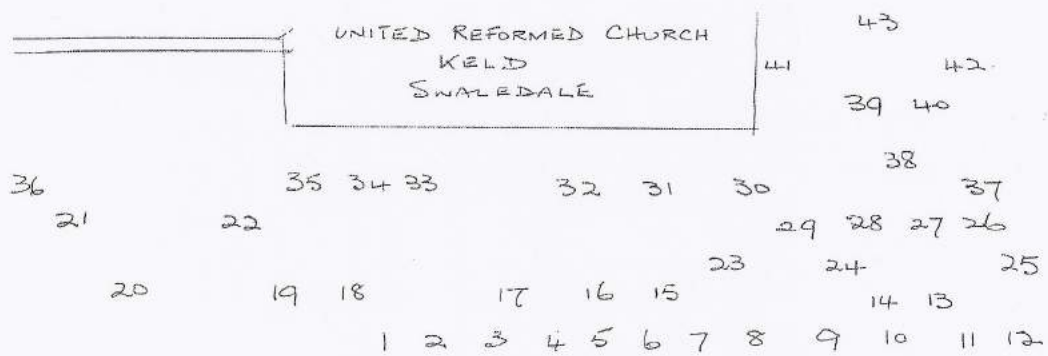
APPENDIX 4: Keld United Reform Church inscriptions and plan (YAS)

TRIAL INSCRIPTIONS AT KELD UNITED REFORMED CHURCH, SCALDSDALE: detailed card index held by Mrs. B. Nicholson, Healaugh, June 1990. - now kept by Family History Section YAS Sept '91

Interior: W.A.I: Richard ALDERSON; Thomas CLARKSON; William Waller HUTCHINSON; Robert Alderson
 " Edmund Alderson KNOWLES (benefactor)
 " Rev. Edward STILLMAN, 1837(79) and wife GRACE 1830(73)

N.B. Sited "10", nothing now visible.

- 2 John ALDERSON, Angram 1986(75)
- 1 Mary Amelia ALDERSON 1989(77)
- 4 Richard ALDERSON, Keld 1984(84)
- 12 Robert ALDERSON, west Stonesdale, 1890 (76)
- 11 James ARIBY(sic), west Stonesdale, 1890 (31)
- 7 Christopher CALVERT, Hoggarth's, 1940 (24)
- 6 Mary CALVERT, " 1947(62) Christopher, 1953 (74)
- 38 Agnes Ann COATES, dau. of Jarvis and Ann, Keld. 1855(22)
- 42 Betty, wife of Simon FAUCETT, Angram, 1899(71); Simon 1897 (85)
- 13 George FAUCETT, Thwaite, 1909 (67) Mary (wife) 1919 (70)
- 30 Phyllis Elizabeth FAUCETT, Angram, 1907 (60); husband JOHN 1909 (69)
- 9 Simon FAUCETT, Angram, 1903 (61)
- 23 Simon FAUCETT, Skeugh Head, 1930 (48); wife Mary Ann 1940 (51)
- 33 James HANKER, west Stonesdale, 1893 (63); wife Mary 1895 (67); son Ambrose 1888 (21)
- 35 Margaret Elizabeth Alderson HALL, Keld Green, 1925 (52)
- 17 Miriam Jane LIND 1964 (77)
- 43 John Mcraith, late of Lancaster, draper, 1839 (35)
- 26 Christopher METCALFE, Keld 1937 (74); wife Eleanor 190x (42)
- 36 Cooper METCALFE 1953 (77); wife Alice 1929 (47)
- 32 Jane METCALFE, Keld 1978 (78); Sarah ALDERSON, sister, 1916 (26)
- 20 John METCALFE, Keld, 1977 (73)
- 18 John Clarkson METCALFE 1959 (70); wife Eleanor 1974 (77)
- 22 Mary Ann Clarkson METCALFE of Pickering, 1957 (77); Thomas Alderson METCALFE 1962(77)
- 25 Thomas METCALFE, Keld (191x) (69); wife Alice 1925(73); son George 1925(52) - Nelson.
- 34 Thomas METCALFE, Keld Green 1938 (77) wife Annie 1924 (72)
- 27 Thomas METCALFE 1957 (88) wife Jane Alderson W. 1967 (89)
- 8 Susan BRADOCK, Tan Hill 1937 (61); Richard BRADINGTON, Tan Hill, 1968; Michael BRADOCK 1951 (74); Edna dau. of Susan & Richard, 1980(Low k)
- 18 John RUKIN, Keld 1959 (75); wife Elizabeth 1973 (86)
- 16 Michael RUKIN, late Natchy, 1963 (&); wife Barbara Isabella 1967 (77)
- 41 William RUKIN, Angram 1827 (58); wife Betty 1860 (84); Michael 1902 (84); wife Mary Ann 1885(64); Thomas Alderson Rukin, son 1860 (4); William, s.o. Michael, 1886(32); Margaret, s. William 1936 (75)
- 40 Alice SCOTT, Keldside, 1860(17) -wife of Edward Alderson Scott
- 24 Anthony Alderson SCOTT, 1920 (82); wife Annas 1917 (74)
- 39 George Scott west Stonesdale 1905 (61); wife Elizabeth 1895 (43)
- 39 John SCOTT 1855(27); father John, Park House, 1856(6x); mother Jane 1881(80)
- 31 Mary Scott, 1898(60); husband Richard A. 1925(94); daughter Hannah 1879(5)
- 38 Richard Alderson SCOTT Keld, 1954(70); wife Jane Ann 1954(70)
- 5 Joseph SINCLAIR, Keld 1961 (69)
- 14 Henry VASEY, Minister, 1933(83); wife Elizabeth 1939(79)
- 21 James WAGGETT, Keld 1961(80); wife Mary Jane 1951 (71)
- 3 John Clarkson WHITEHEAD 1984 (60)
- 37 Ann wife of Francis WISEMAN, Brierfield, 1903 (47)
- 15 Albert Edward WIGGIE 1956(66). Edith 1972 (82)



WALL:

Plot 10: NOTHING LEGIBLE

Plan relating to gravestone inscriptions, recorded by Nicholson (WYAS/MI)