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SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE VALE OF PICKERING AREA 1086 - 1350 A.D.

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(Commonwealth Scholar)

A Thesis Submitted for Examination for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Durham
April, 1964.

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PREFACE

When the writer arrived in this country almost three years ago, his naive intention was to carry out a detailed analysis of the historical geography of the Vale of Pickering Area as it evolved from the date of the earliest records to the present day. After a year's research this plan was abandoned for a similar study of this same environmentally varied area of eastern Yorkshire during the early medieval period, that span of years between the Domesday Inquest and the Black Death. When all the available documents had been collected, sorted and catalogued, even this much reduced topic proved to be too large to be encompassed in the thesis and the following pages only attempt to discuss some of the most fundamental aspects of the historical geography of this rural area of north-eastern England.

The work is based upon the analysis of a wide variety of sources in both manuscript and printed form, which were gleaned from both local archives and the larger record repositories of England. The pertinent folios of Domesday Book are the starting point for several chapters but the bulk of the material comes from other sources. Most classes of other records including: cartularies, court rolls, deeds, fines, royal enrolments, tax rolls and other surveys, are moderately plentiful for the centuries before 1350, but baliff's accounts do not seem to have been preserved and details of manorialism are therefore largely derived

from the much less satisfactory inquisitions and infrequent minster accounts. All these records, which collectively number about two thousand, supply much less than a complete coverage of any subject to be discussed, partially because many items of interest were rarely, if ever, recorded, partially because record preservation has been incomplete and sometimes fragmentary and partially because the topic of research rarely coincides with the purpose for which the document was intended. These features of the source materials introduce problems of interpretation which reduce many of the conclusions to be drawn from their analysis from near certainty to probability and likelihood.

From the out-set the writer's primary problem has been to divise some method by which the numerous records to be considered could be presented in a manageable form which would provide the reader with an organized ready-reference system to the sources. The final solution was a series of appendices, of which one or more is included for most of the following chapters. These appendices, in which the raw material is organized by a system of classification or description into usable form, are the core around which many of the maps and much of the text is constructed.

In addition to searching out the documentary and survey records of early medieval date, considerable time was spent studying and abstracting later records, primarily of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, particularly maps accompanying enclosure awards, estate records and tithe awards, along with early editions of the Ordnance Survey maps. Some of these maps proved very useful in the conversion of early medieval data to

cartographic form through their inclusion of features and place-names which fail to appear on modern map sheets. However, for the most part, these records of recent centuries, although they greatly increased the writer's familiarity with the pre-enclosure landscape, are excluded from the thesis, which first and foremost is an attempt to re-construct some aspects of the early medieval scene from contemporary documents, which contain the only conclusive evidence of the existence, form and character of specific institutions or features as they appeared in the study period.

No thesis is completely the product of its author and the writer would like to acknowledge the help of many busy people in record libraries and local archives who have taken time to answer what must have seemed an unending stream of questions about records and their interpretation. Special thanks must go to two members of the Geography Department here in Durham; to Mr. J.C. Dewdney who supervised this research and to Dr. V.B. Proudfoot for his continual support, advice and useful criticism of the text. Additional thanks must be extended to Mr. M.G. Snape of the Prior's Kitchen, Durham, who has helped in almost every phase of the work and to my wife who not only lived continually with the subject of research for almost three years but who has also typed the text.

W.R.W.
Durham
March 7, 1964

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CHAPTER ONE

GEOLOGY, RELIEF, DRAINAGE AND SOILS

Introduction

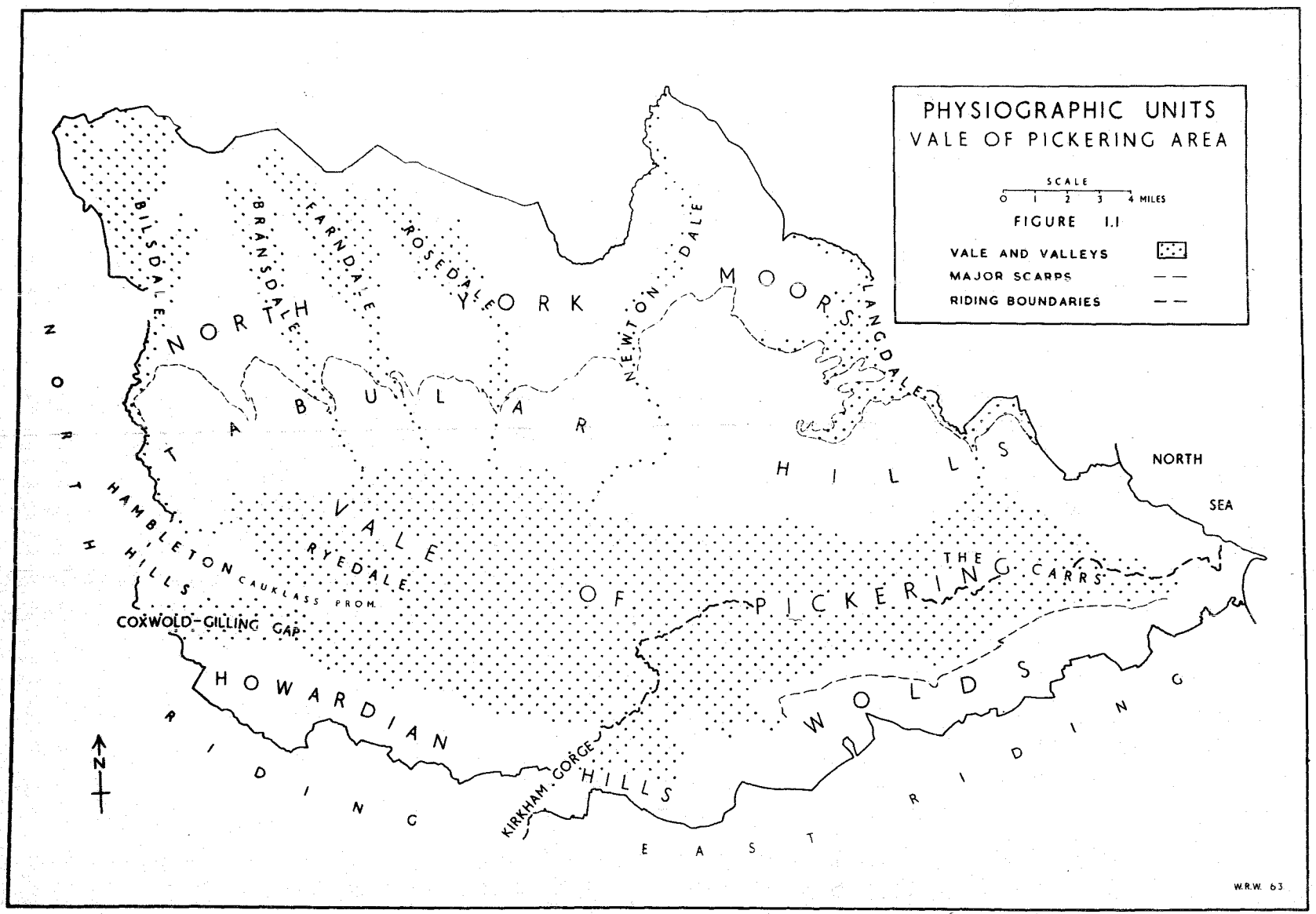
The precise limits of the area to be considered in this thesis are based on the boundaries of modern civil parishes, which are believed largely to approximate the outer limits of certain medieval ecclesiastical parishes. These strip-shaped units, radiating from the lowland of the Vale of Pickering, lay in both the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire. They included large tracts of the surrounding upland along with their common focus, the Vale of Pickering (see figure 1.1).

The Vale is an elongated trough, bounded on the north side by the Tabular Hills, beyond whose north-facing scarp lie the North York Moors, and on the south by the Howardian Hills and Yorkshire Wolds. In the west the Vale bifurcates, Ryedale being separated from the Coxwold-Gilling Gap by the Cauklass Promontory, an eastern projection of the Hambleton Hills. In the east there is a gentle rise from the Carrs to the low coastal hills which fall abruptly to the sea. From deep within the North York Moors the valleys of Bilsdale, Bransdale, Farndale, Rosedale, Newton Dale and Langdale extend south through narrow gorges in the Tabular Hills to join the Vale. This isolated lowland is connected to the Vale of York by the Coxwold-Gilling Gap and the Kirkham Gorge.

Structure

The lowland of the Vale is a faulted syncline, bounded on the north-west by the Cleveland Anticline

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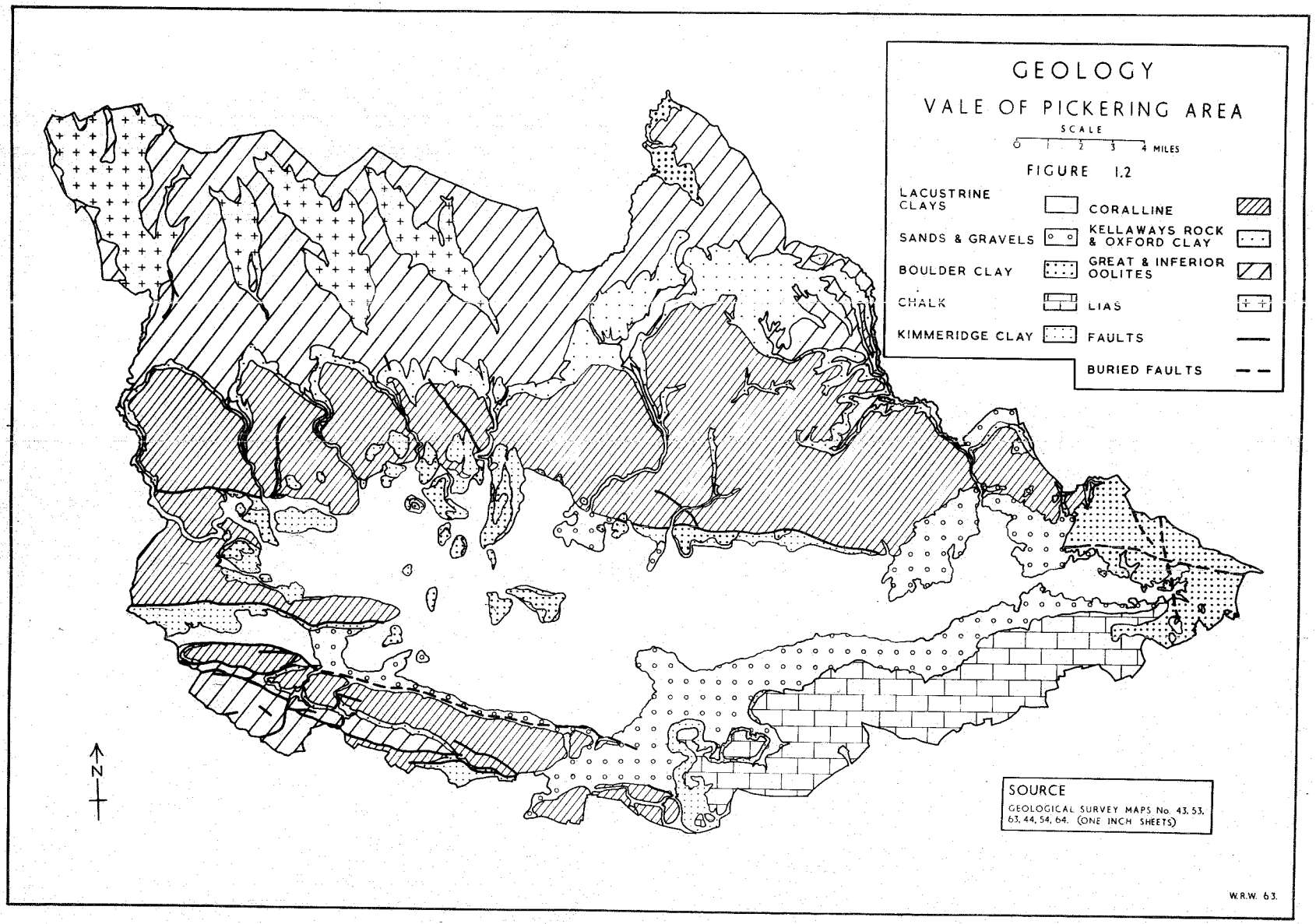

PHYSIOGRAPHIC UNITS
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 1.1
VALE AND VALLEYS
MAJOR SCARPS
RIDING BOUNDARIES
BILSDALE
BRANSDALE
FARNDALE
ROSEDALE
NEWTONDALE
LANGDALE
NORTH YORK MOORS
TABULAR HILLS
NORTH SEA
VALE OF PICKERING
RYEDALE
THE CARRS
HAMBLETON
CAUKLASS PROM.
COXWOLD-GILLING GAP
NORTH HILLS
HOWARDIAN HILLS
KIRKHAM GORGE
WOLDS
N
NORTH RIDING
EAST RIDING
W.R.W. 63

striking W.N.W., and on the north-east by the less important Eskdale Anticline trending N.N.W.[1] The former is responsible for the moderate southerly dip of the North York Moors and a gradual increase in elevation towards the north-west. The latter causes local steepening of this slope and disturbance of consequent drainage. South of the Vale of Pickering is a third anticlinal structure, parallel to the first, which appears in the Cauklass Promontory and the Howardian Hills before it plunges beneath the Wolds.

Three major faults on figure 1.2 are also of structural importance. One, which runs from Ryedale along the north side of the Vale, is thrown 500 feet to the north but has only occasional, slight surface expression. A second, which creates a scarp along the southern edge of the Cauklass Promontory, disappears eastward beneath the lacustrine lowland. The third, which bounds the northern extremes of the Howardian Hills, is thrown 700 feet to the south but has scarp expression only where it enters the area from the west. While the first greatly increases the depth of the syncline, the second and third combine to create the graben of the Coxwold-Gilling Gap. As well as being structural features and factors of local relief, these and many minor faults create springs and zones of seepage where they result in the juxtaposition of impervious clays and permeable sediments.

Stratigraphy

The area of study is composed of broad expanses of Jurassic sediments which emerge from beneath the Cretaceous Wolds, but are masked over a wide area by Quaternary deposits in the Vale. Sandstones of the Great


GEOLOGY
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 1.2
LACUSTRINE CLAYS
SANDS & GRAVELS
BOULDER CLAY
CHALK
KIMMERIDGE CLAY
CORALLINE
KELLAWAYS ROCK & OXFORD CLAY
GREAT & INFERIOR OOLITES
LIAS
FAULTS
BURIED FAULTS
N
SOURCE
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY MAPS No. 43, 53, 63, 44, 54, 64. (ONE INCH SHEETS)
W.R.W. 63.

and Inferior Oolite Series form much of the North York Moors and the interior of the Howardian Hills. Grit-stones, limestones and sandstones of the Coralline form the Tabular, Hambleton and northern portions of the Howardian Hills. Beneath the broad area of Oolites, thick clays, shales and iron-bearing beds of the Lias are exposed in upper Bilsdale, Bransdale, Farndale and Rosedale. Because the structural dip exceeds the gradi-ents of these dales, the Lias is succeeded by younger sandstones farther south. Beneath the wide expanses of the Coralline are more clays and shales; predominant-ly Kelloway Beds and Oxford Clay. While the former are responsible for minor undulations on the moors, the latter form thick, wet clay deposits at the foot of the Tabular escarpment and lesser scarps in the Howardian Hills. Like the Lias these impervious beds create springs and seepage where they contact the over-lying pervious sediments.

The Cretaceous Wolds rise abruptly from the lowland. Although the Lower Cretaceous is occasionally exposed amid the talus of the lower slopes, the thickest and most resistant beds are those of the Upper Cretaceous or true chalk. Several hundred feet of this porous material rest on beds of Kimmeridge Clay, Upper Jurassic strata which are almost completely buried in the syn-cline; and Lower Cretaceous clays. This juxtaposition of porous and impervious beds results in a spring-line at the foot of the Wolds.

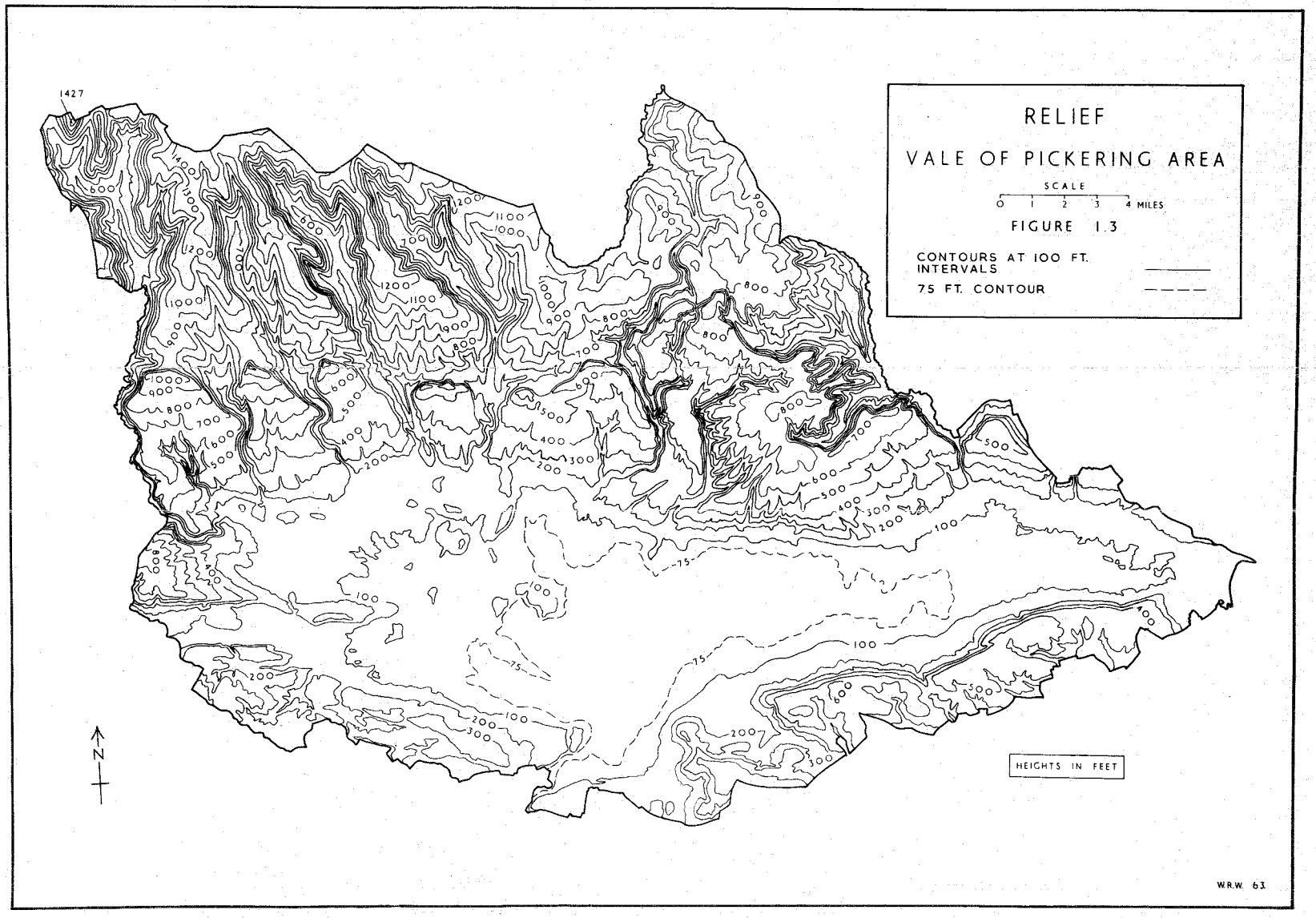
The Quaternary lacustrine deposits which blanket the central lowland are primarily clays and silts, but occasionally this fine-grained uniformity is marred by small, local concentrations of sand and gravel. Near

the margins of the lacustrine deposits, materials of widely divergent age and character protrude from beneath, or lie upon, their surface. Kimmeridge Clay outcrops with boulder clay in Ryedale and along the northern periphery of the Vale, while a great clay moraine fills the eastern end of the syncline. In contrast, gravels and sands of both glacial and post-glacial age occur in this zone and are particularly common in the east and south. These diverse deposits constitute a discontinuous band between the relatively uniform materials adjacent on either side.

Relief and Slope

The Vale of Pickering Area ranges in height from 60 to 1427 feet O.D. However, although western segments of the Tabular Hills and North York Moors sometimes rise above 1,000 feet, most of the upland area is below that height. In contrast a large part of the lowland lies below the 75 foot contour and an overwhelming proportion is below 100 feet. (see figure 1.3)

Broad areas of the upland are gently sloping, but individual geological regions are frequently separated by sharp slope discontinuities, the product of structural influence and geomorphological processes. The north-facing erosion scarp of the Coralline cuesta of the Tabular Hills and the escarpment of the Cretaceous Wolds are good examples of this feature. While the former is frequently dissected by consequent river channels, the latter runs uninterrupted for miles and loses its expression only as the Chalk sweeps south at its western end. In contrast, owing to complex torsion faulting,[2] the Coralline and Oolites of the Howardian Hills form an irregularly rolling area, but the usual


RELIEF
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 1.3
CONTOURS AT 100 FT. INTERVALS
75 FT. CONTOUR
HEIGHTS IN FEET
N
1427
W.R.W. 63

sharp discontinuity between geological regions of gentle, moderately uniform slope again applies north of the Coxwold-Gilling Gap.

On the North York Moors the large consequent valleys cut across stratigraphic boundaries, although their forms are strongly affected by structure. The wide upper reaches of the western dales have steep walls cut in soft clay or shale, which, modified by slump and interrupted by outcrops of the more resistant Middle Lias, become less extreme towards their bases. As the Lias dips beneath younger sediments these valleys are much constricted by the presence of the tough Oolites, and gorge characteristics sometimes develop. In the eastern valleys, such as upper Langdale, where erosion has not reached the underlying Lias, valley courses tend to be continually constricted. The remarkably flat bottom and steep walls of the south-draining portion of Newton Dale result from its recent history as a glacial overflow channel.[3] Just before these dales pass through the Tabular escarpment, subsequent drainage in soft clays at their bases and the excess of dip-slope over valley gradient temporarily reduce the steepness of most valley sides. Steep slopes again develop where these valleys cut through the Tabular Hills and where surface drainage of the Coralline itself has eroded deeply into the underlying clays.

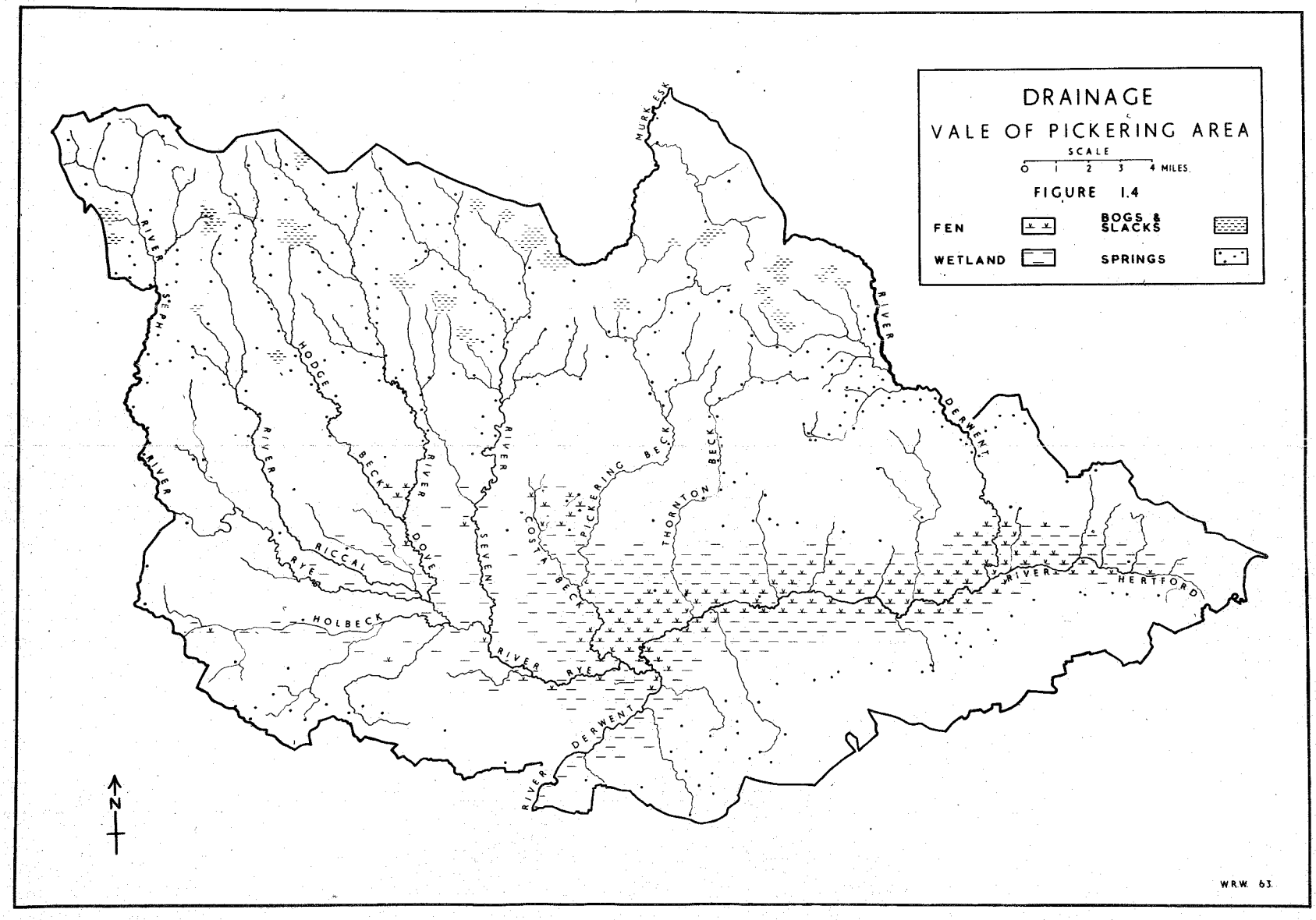
The flat or gradually sloping character of the lowland is the result of lacustrine deposition, modified on occasion by the contours of the underlying Kimmeridge Clay. Unlike the wide, flat expanses farther east, Ryedale is almost entirely above the 75 foot contour, and its slightly undulating or sloping surface

is often interrupted by bold clay outcrops which sometimes rise as much as 100 feet from their surroundings. Here, as elsewhere around the Vale, the transition from gently sloping lowland to moderate or steep upland slopes occurs with varying rapidity between 100 and 200 feet O.D. The actual inflection is often masked by local slope conditions produced by the diverse deposits around the margin of the lacustrine blanket, or by gradual merging of opposed slope conditions. However, it approximates the division between Quaternary materials and older surrounding sediments.

Drainage

Except for the Murk Esk and its tributaries in and around upper Newton Dale, the entire area of study drains into the River Derwent, which flows through the Vale of Pickering and departs by the Kirkham Gorge. As can be seen on figure 1.4, much of the water supply originates in the North York Moors, the damp surface of which is pocked with bogs and slacks. The Rye, Riccal, Hodge Beck, Seven and Dove, of which all but the second have deep valleys and receive much water from Lias springs, enter the Derwent as a single stream in Ryedale. To the east, Pickering Beck and the incipient tributaries of the Derwent collect a large proportion of their supplies from the ill-drained interfluves. All these streams are augmented by additional sub-surface sources as they pass through the Tabular Hills.

Smaller quantities of water enter the lowland through tributaries of the Holbeck in the Howardian Hills and Gilling Gap, or through the Hertford from the eastern end of the Vale. Certain streams, such as Thornton Beck, commence on the Tabular dip-slope, while Costa


DRAINAGE
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES.
FIGURE 1.4
FEN
WETLAND
BOGS & SLACKS
SPRINGS
MURK ESK
RIVER ESK
HODGE BECK
RIVER DOVE
RIVER SEVEN
RIVER DERWENT
PICKERING BECK
THORNTON BECK
COSTA BECK
RIVER RYE
RICCAL
HOLBECK
RIVER HERTFORD
N
W.R.W. 63.

Beck and lesser rivulets originate at springs around the margin of the lowland. Until the extensive engineering projects of the last two centuries, the major river courses of the lowland were little suited to the reception of the seasonably fluctuating run-off of this large catchment area.[4]

During the Tertiary the syncline drained eastward into the sea, but the Pleistocene brought a morainic plug to this outlet, a glacial lake and its thick sediments to the lowland and a new outlet at Kirkham. The Derwent, which had previously flowed directly into the sea north of the Vale, cut its present channel through the Tabular Hills, which, with Newton Dale and Bilsdale, carried melt waters to Lake Pickering from ice-dammed lakes to the north.[5]

These Pleistocene events left the Derwent and Hertford with reversed gradients, just sufficient to cause their waters to meander sluggishly eastward towards Kirkham. The rivers of Ryedale were less adversely affected by the glacial changes because their gradients were not reversed, and because their new courses across the lacustrine lowland were both shorter and had steeper gradients. The low-lying flats which bordered these post-glacial rivers continued to suffer the ill effects of a high water table and poorly developed internal drainage, inherited from the last remnants of Lake Pickering. The spring run-off pouring into these lowland courses caused them to burst their banks and flood large areas of the surrounding flats. The lack of well developed internal drainage combined with the unusual high water table to retard the drainage of the valley floor and to promote long-standing pondage

on its surface. Medieval references to spring flooding are infrequent, although these conditions prevailed into the nineteenth century, but references to marsh and ings and allusions to the dampness of the carrs are extremely common.[6]

An attempt is made on figure 1.4 to establish from map evidence the area of lowland affected by poor drainage conditions during the medieval period. All areas termed carrs or supplied with artificial surface drainage on 2½" maps are classed as wetland: damp or semi-saturated land. All areas designated as ings or distinguished by alkaline peat deposits are classed as fen: saturated or flooded land. These conditions appear to have formed a continuous core extending outward from the Derwent and Hertford to about the 75 foot contour, which they transgress only in the extreme east. In Ryedale their occurrence is limited to small sporadic patches, presumably because of better elevation and slope, a lower water table, and more vigorous drainage.

Soils

The variety of physical conditions prevalent in the Vale of Pickering Area has resulted in the development of a wide range of soil conditions. The dales of the North York Moors produce moderately fertile soils from underlying clays and coarser materials, mixed occasionally with slump. The Oolites have coarse sandy soils which, because of poor drainage and moorland burning, are particularly acid and infertile on the North York Moors where they form peat in the wettest areas. Oxford Clay and Kellaways Rock create dense cold wet soils, while the Coralline produces warm well-drained loams, particularly fertile on the lower slopes about

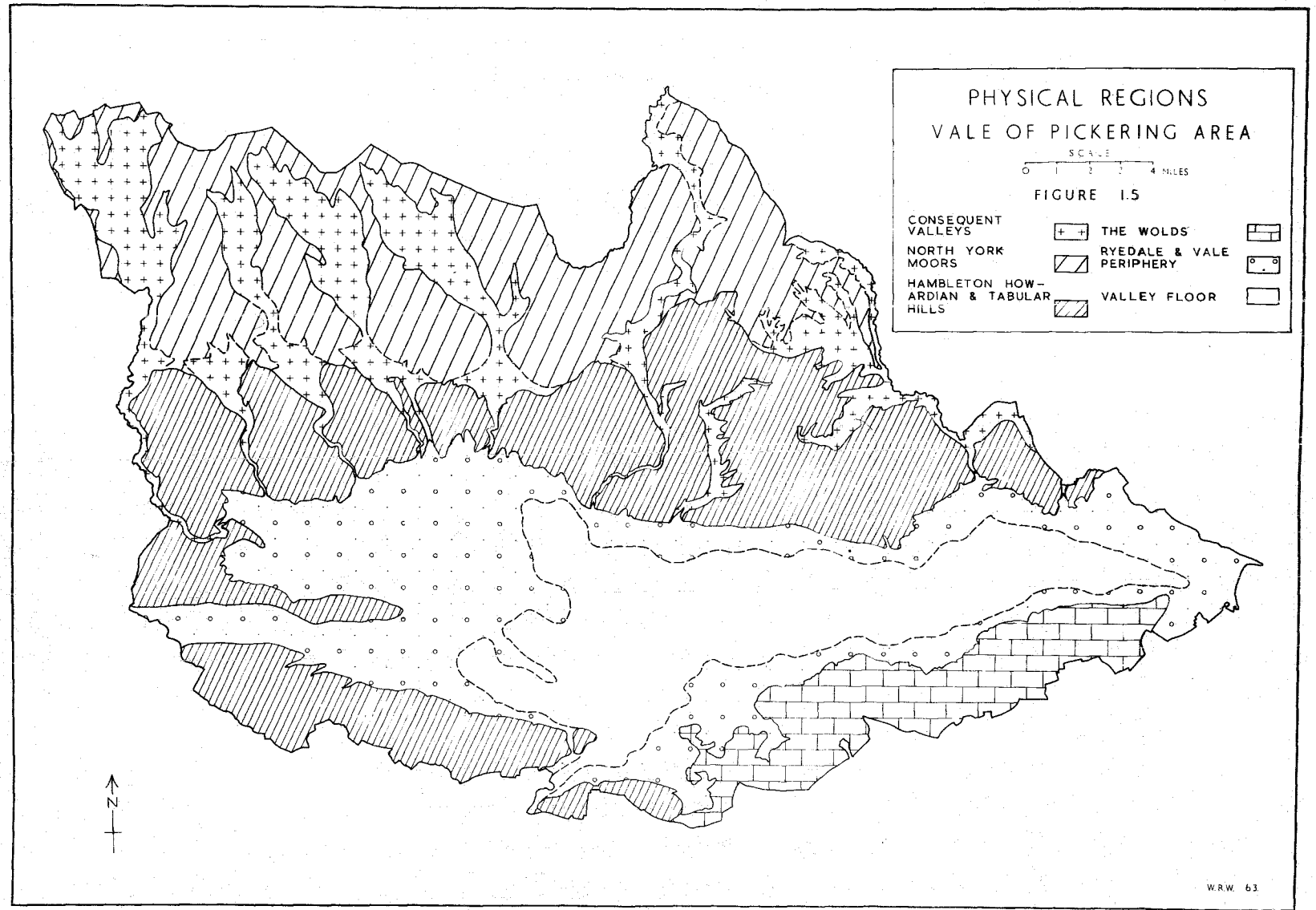
the Vale. Soils formed from the Chalk are also very fertile, although light and sometimes excessively free draining.

In the lowland of the modern Vale soil fertility is excellent, due to the recent extensive engineering work improving the natural drainage. However, in medieval time these soils must have become increasingly water-logged and alkaline as elevation decreased towards peat deposits which prevail in the deepest parts of the valley floor. As natural drainage improved in Ryedale and around the periphery of the Vale, soil fertility must have increased, although the mildly undulating expanses of Ryedale probably assumed a wide range of soil conditions. Near or at the margins of the lacustrine blanket these soils, which had improved drainage, combined with those formed from the diverse sands, gravels and clays to create a zone of mixed soil conditions and varying fertility. This zone, between the well-drained warm loams of the lower uplands and the infertile ill-drained soils of the valley floor, assumed immense human significance even before the period of study.

Conclusions

On the basis of geology, relief, drainage and soils, the Vale of Pickering Area can be divided into six physical regions. These, defined below and delimited on figure 1.5, constitute the regional nomenclature adopted as a framework to be used in succeeding chapters.

The Consequent Valleys are large dales which with one exception originate in the North York Moors, where they are cut in Lias or Oolitic sandstones, and which dissect the Coralline cuesta to reach the Vale. They are


PHYSICAL REGIONS
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 1.5
CONSEQUENT VALLEYS
THE WOLDS
NORTH YORK MOORS
RYEDALE & VALE PERIPHERY
HAMBLETON HOW-ARDIAN & TABULAR HILLS
VALLEY FLOOR
N
W.R.W. 63

delimited by steep or moderately steep sides, which become less extreme near the base, and are characterized by moderately fertile soils.

The North York Moors are high, moderately sloping expanses of wet, interfluvial upland, which are bounded by the steep margins of the consequent valleys and the Tabular escarpment. They are composed of Oolitic sandstones for the most part, but include a southern fringe of Kellaways Rock and Oxford Clay. They are characterized by infertile, acid soils sometimes degenerating to peat.

The Hambleton, Howardian and Tabular Hills are moderately sloping or rolling Jurassic uplands which usually correspond to areas of Coralline materials, but include some Oolite in the Howardian Hills. These well-drained surfaces have warm loam soils, particularly fertile around their lower margins.

The Wolds are high, slightly rolling, Cretaceous uplands which are bounded for most of their length by a steep erosion scarp and which form light fertile soils.

The Valley Floor is a continuous core of very low, flat lacustrine lowland, characterized in the medieval period by wetland and fen which frequently formed alkaline peats, and delimited by the approximate outer limits of these ill-drained, infertile conditions.

Ryedale and the Vale Periphery is a moderately elevated zone characterized by mixed geology and soil fertility, and varying local slope, which extends across the slope inflection between the valley floor and the surrounding uplands.

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CHAPTER TWO

MEDIEVAL VEGETATION

Introduction

The distribution and extent of the English woodland has undergone considerable alteration at the hands of man since he began to till the soil and tend his herds. Dense oak forest is, however, believed to have remained the dominant vegetation cover of lowland Britain at the close of the Roman period.[1] Anglo-Saxon settlement is generally accepted as the beginning of widespread woodland clearance,[2] which continued into the early modern period. Domesday, occurring between these loose dates, marks a time when "the country was beginning to assume that open look we know today".[3] The purpose of this chapter is to focus upon the evolving pattern in the Vale of Pickering Area and to catch its image in the early medieval period.

Considerable research on the prehistoric vegetation cover has been carried out in the vicinity. Erdtman's early pollen analyses on the North York Moors suggests, contrary to Elgee's beliefs, that this area of barren moor once supported a dense forest.[4] Although criticised by Godwin, Dimbleby's more recent work confirms this conclusion and postulates dense stands of oak, alder, birch and hazel here as late as the Bronze Age.[5] Results of similar analyses upon the valley floor show open "carr woodland" of alder, birch and hazel some 3,000 years ago when reed-filled Lake Pickering still covered areas of the valley.[6] The Wolds seem also to

have been wooded in distant prehistoric time, but this cover may have been destroyed at an early date through the joint effects of climatic change and Neolithic agriculture.[7] This pattern of dense stands of timber on the North York Moors, rapidly thinning woodlands on the Wolds and open thickets in the wetlands surrounding the fen, has gradually evolved into the pattern of the present day, where natural woodland areas are comparatively rare.

Darby and others have shown the value of the Domesday Survey as a source of woodland information for the eleventh century.[8] The source and technique, admirably suited to the county unit, is less useful in the study of small areas. Domesday references to woodland can only be identified as lying in the lands of specific villages, the areas of which may cover several square miles and may stretch across important geological and physiographic boundaries. Without further reference to the idiosyncrasies which plague Domesday study, this indicates the limited value of its information for the detailed study of vegetation here.

The Wooded and Unwooded Vale

A method has been devised to illustrate the distribution of woodland and its antithesis; grassland, marsh and moor; in the medieval period. The sources range from court rolls to monastic cartularies. References gleaned from manuscripts and printed documents are listed by village with date and source in appendix 2.1. All identified entries in the appendix are then transferred to a map; figure 2.1; and a generalised interpretation of this map is presented as figure 2.2.

Certain weaknesses are inherent in this method. The appendix contains only surviving references and the basic information therefore represents an unknown percentage of the whole. Although dated sources are predominately from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, undated cartulary material is probably from the twelfth, when monastic houses were rapidly accumulating land. Sources dated 1334 arise from the Forest Eyre at Pickering in that year, but refer to offences committed since the Eyre of 1217. The information available therefore refers to a period of two hundred and fifty years, rather than to a specific date; a feature which considerably reduces the accuracy of figure 2.2. Almost the entire region was in the Royal Forest of Pickering until 1200 and the north-east quarter still remained so in 1350.[9] Although Forest Law was partially designed to prevent the clearance of woodland and although Tansley believes that it was largely successful in doing so, at least some clearing occurred in the Vale before the end of the period of study.[10] The map, therefore, is not only inaccurate for any specific date between 1100 and 1350, but portrays the vegetation pattern in a fixed state over a period when it was undergoing at least minor change.

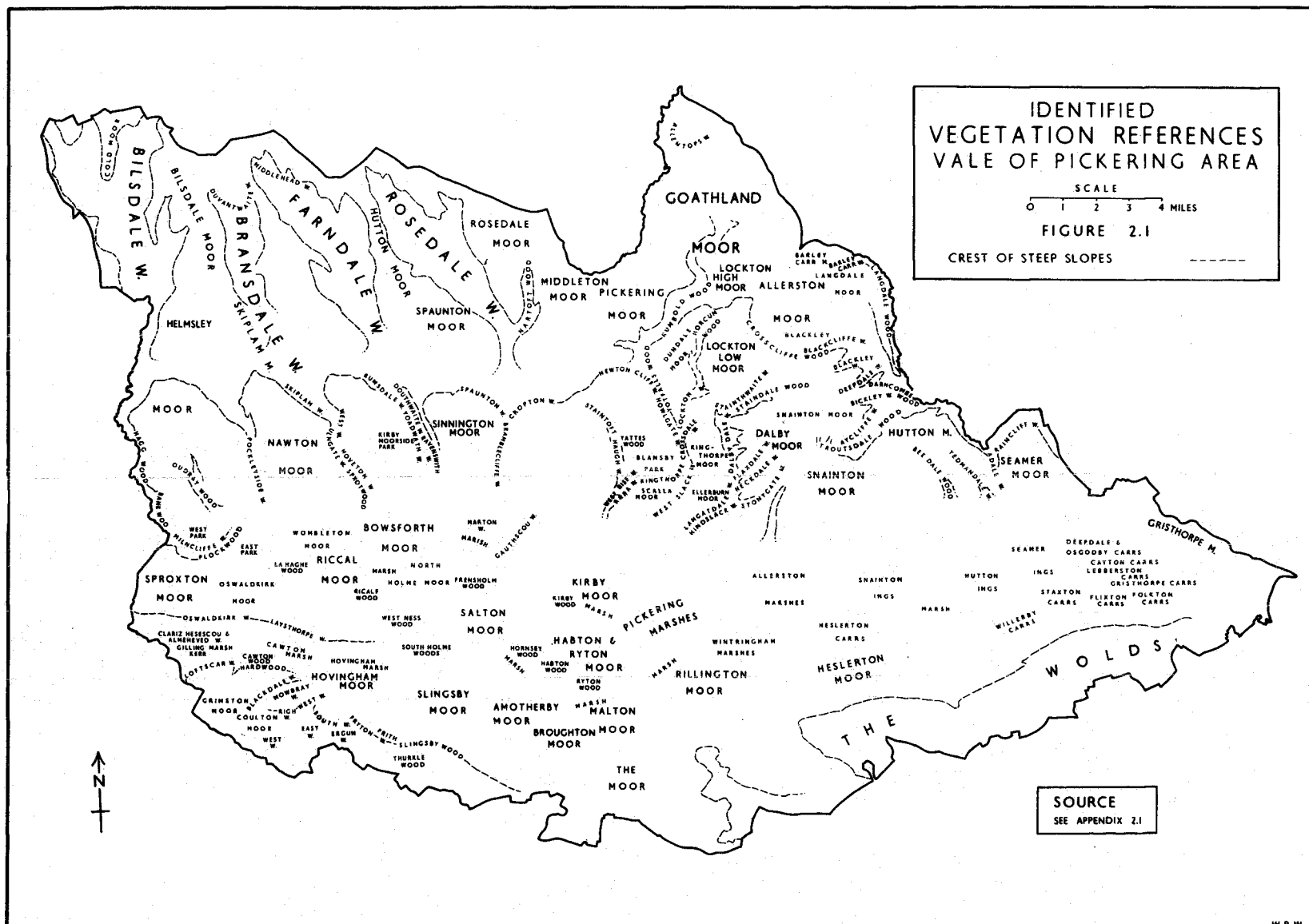
The attempt to convert source material into data which can be mapped also has weaknesses. Identifications frequently depend upon medieval place-names continuing to be preserved on maps drawn since 1700. Other identifications are made through details in documentary text. Still others depend upon names, lost from modern maps, appearing in the descriptions in yet other documents. A few features within the village lands in

Ryedale have also been plotted where information is vague but where the area of these lands is so small that mere portrayal on figure 2.1 covers most of its extent. By such means 108 wooded and 84 unwooded areas have been transferred to the map. At least some of those left in the appendix are more general references to those already plotted. As a result it is impossible to determine the quantity of material actually lost in the process of identification. To reveal the varying degree of security with which identifications are made, abbreviated details are given with each appendix entry transferred to the map.

The immediate impression gained from figure 2.1 is that the unwooded greatly exceeds the wooded land in area. This impression, although probably correct is greatly exaggerated by the mapping technique which visually implies that all areas not marked wooded are the antithesis. The map also distorts and misrepresents the vegetation pattern by jointly reflecting its density and distribution with that of identified references.

The solution to these problems to be followed here is to concentrate upon distinguishing the outline of the vegetation pattern and to add to this outline as much detail as the available information will allow. These general characteristics of the vegetation pattern can best be determined by the analysis of figure 2.1, according to its geological and physiographic units. Such analysis will produce the basic criteria for the portrayal of the vegetation pattern, divorced from the main weaknesses of this map, to be presented as figure 2.2.

South of the Derwent, the appendix lists 8 references to woodland of which none can be identified. The Wolds


IDENTIFIED
VEGETATION REFERENCES
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 2.1
CREST OF STEEP SLOPES
SOURCE
SEE APPENDIX 2.1
N
W.R.W. 63
BILSDALE W.
BILSDALE MOOR
BRANSDALE W.
FARNDALE W.
ROSEDALE W.
ROSEDALE MOOR
GOATHLAND MOOR
MIDDLETON MOOR
PICKERING MOOR
LOCKTON HIGH MOOR
LOCKTON LOW MOOR
ALLERSTON MOOR
HELMSLEY
SPAUNTON MOOR
SINNINGTON MOOR
NAWTON MOOR
DALBY MOOR
SNAINTON MOOR
HUTTON M.
SEAMER MOOR
GRISTHORPE M.
BOWSFORTH MOOR
RICCALL MOOR
SPROXTON MOOR
SALTON MOOR
KIRBY MOOR
PICKERING MARSHES
HABTON & RYTON MOOR
RILLINGTON MOOR
HESLERTON MOOR
HOVINGHAM MOOR
SLINGSBY MOOR
AMOTHERBY MOOR
MALTON
BROUGHTON MOOR
THE MOOR
THE WOLDS

have no local vegetation data, but the few charters which refer to human use deal with cultivation and sheep rearing even in the minor valleys to the south.[11] This suggests an unwooded landscape; a conclusion supported by the general pre-history of chalk-land referred to in the introduction. The most likely areas for woodland are either on the steep margins of the Wold (witness the wooded slopes of the North York Moors) or in the lowland (see Ryedale). Of the 8 references, 6 are from the area west of the major Wold massif, where sands and gravels are most common and steep slopes least pronounced. If the distribution of references here reflects the tendencies of the vegetation pattern,* then woodland appears to be scattered over the flat moors to the west of the chalk massif and adjunctive to Ryedale. This does not entirely exclude the possible existence of woodland on the steep Wold slopes farther east.

The wooded areas of the north-east quarter of the region of study appear denser than in other areas with similar geological and physiographic traits. This erroneous impression arises from the frequent and precise references to woodland in the Eyre of 1334, which dealt almost exclusively with this area. The major features of the distribution of wooded and unwooded elements, here, are to be seen less distinctly throughout the rest

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* This lack of information does not spring from a shortage of medieval source material, which in this area comes largely from cartularies, a source certain to cite any woodland rights appertaining to monastic property. All references to fuel in this area are to marshland turbary. Villages here are accused on two occasions of taking wood from the North York Moors.[12]

of this large physical unit. It is therefore likely that dense woodland, almost exclusively limited to valleys and steep slopes, separated by large tracts of unwooded land, was characteristic of the Consequent Valleys, the North York Moors and the Hambleton, Howardian and Tabular Hills regions. Out of 8 exceptions to this rule on figure 2.1, 5 are manorial parks where woodland was likely preserved under unusual circumstances.

In Ryedale, the pattern is adequately represented on figure 2.1. Small amounts of wetland appear in the wide expanses of moor; a term which implies flat areas of rough grassland. Superimposed upon this open terrain are small quantities of woodland.

Farther east upon the valley floor, wetland and fen* are the dominant documented features of the map. References to moor are scarce here, although from the details of medieval agriculture such unwooded grassland was probably common in the upper carrs. Since this chapter ignores the existence of arable agriculture, it may be assumed that a basically unwooded landscape stretched outward from the valley over the lower slopes of the surrounding upland. This general conclusion attributes a pattern of unwooded country-side to the eastern moraine; an area where reference material is very scarce.

The map criteria from this analysis are listed below.

1. Woodland is almost exclusively limited to the valleys and the steep slopes in the three Jurassic regions.

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* Since fen is consistently termed marsh in medieval documents, this latter term is used both in the appendix and on figure 2.1.

2. Woodland seems negligeable, if existent at all, on similar slopes of the Wolds.

3. Woodland is limited to small scattered areas in Ryedale.

4. Woodland, at the foot of the chalk adjunctive to Ryedale, appears similar in description to that of number 3, although on much less certain grounds.

5. Unwooded expanses are characteristic of the more moderate and frequently more elevated slopes of the three Jurassic regions and most of the region peripheral to the valley floor.

6. Unwooded land is characteristic in Ryedale and the area described in number 4, and takes the form of broad grassy moors with small wetland areas.

7. Unwooded land characterizes the valley floor east of Ryedale, dominated by marsh, bounded by grassland.

8. Unwooded land seems characteristic of the Wolds, although this conclusion is based upon limited local material supported by the general history of chalk-land elsewhere.

Vegetation

Some material referring to varieties of plants, shrubs and trees in the medieval Vale are to be found in similar sources to those used previously. References are infrequent because common-place features like marsh, meadow, moor, pasture and woodland rarely merited documentary description. The information available comes largely from the Forest Eyre of 1334. Appendix 2.2 is composed of short lists of these references, organized with date and source under specifically named wooded and unwooded areas. As in the previous appendix,

the material is but a small sample of the whole.

Abstract of Appendix 2.2 (a)

Varieties	No. Occurrences
oak	45
(elm?)	1
alder	4
ash	1
holly	1
ivy	1

The numerous references to oak in the above table arise from its high value in Medieval England, both for timber and as a source of acorns; a highly prized autumn food for swine.[13] Almost all its references come from the records of the Forest Eyre, where the destruction of this tree carried heavy penalties. The table greatly over-emphasizes the importance of oak, although it was probably the dominant species in the woodland of the Vale. In addition, ash, elm and alder, as well as beech and probably hazel, were included in the botanic complex of woodland areas. (Mast, a second valuable swine feed coming from the beech, and nuts, a common customary rent paid to manorial lords, are both mentioned in the source material, although neither beech nor the probable hazel are actually named.) The only data on woodland varieties from Ryedale are two references to alder. It is possible, although far from proven, that alder and other such water tolerant species made up a large percentage of the scattered woodland here. The only definite conclusion to be drawn from this tabulated material is that the woodland of the Vale was deciduous, dominantly oak, with elm, ash, alder, hazel and beech among its other varieties.

Abstract of Appendix 2.2 (b)

Varieties	No. Occurrences
Lowland	
thorn	3
gorse	2
bracken	1
rushes	2
Upland	
heather	8
bracken	2

This second table has been sub-divided to distinguish between references to the vegetation of the low grasslands and marsh and references to the plants of the upland moors. Rushes, mentioned both in Ryedale and Pickering Marshes, are only one species of a probable complex of plants which must have inhabited the deepest portions of the fens. These wetlands appear to merge botanically with wide expanses of grassland upon which clumps of bracken, gorse bushes and thorn thickets were probably common. It may even have borne scattered trees as does much of this flat land today.

Only two species of plants are mentioned upon the upland moors, these being the same dominant biotic elements to be found there today. The majority of information regarding heather refers to the gently sloping land of the North York Moors. Three, from Seamer, Lockton, and Levisham moors, indicate the existence of this plant upon the upper slopes of the Tabular Hills. Bracken, the second species of plant to be found on the upland, is also an element in the botany of the lowland. This plant seems to have held the same transitional position between heather moor and grassland in the medieval period as it holds now.

These general observations concerning the vegetation of the unwooded lands of the Vale will be used to

form a loose classification on figure 2.2. This classification is given below.

1. The unwooded areas, predominantly north of the Tabular Hills, will be termed heather moor; defined as an area in which heather and to a lesser extent bracken are the dominant plants.

2. The unwooded lands next to the fens and stretching over the lower slopes of the surrounding upland will be termed grassland; defined as an area in which rough grass is predominant but in which bracken, gorse and thorn are also to be found.

3. The lowest unwooded land, where seasonal or permanent flooding is common, will be termed fenland; defined as an area with reeds in its deepest portion but evolving botanically outward to merge with the coarsest elements of the grassland.

4. The Wolds, for reasons given earlier in this chapter, will be termed probable grassland.

Woodland Density

This is a problem to which there is only a general answer. Most woodlands in the Vale were not stands of virgin timber full of lush undergrowth, but what degree of despoiliation should be envisaged within them? They were exploited as seasonal pasture for swine and the far more destructive cattle, even in the Forest of Pickering.[14] Most villagers presumably held customary rights to timber, dead wood and underwood within their village lands.*[15] In addition to these forces affecting

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* In the Forest Eyre of 1334 a total of eighteen villages in the north-east quadrant of the study area were fined for removing more wood from the Forest than they had a right to.[16]

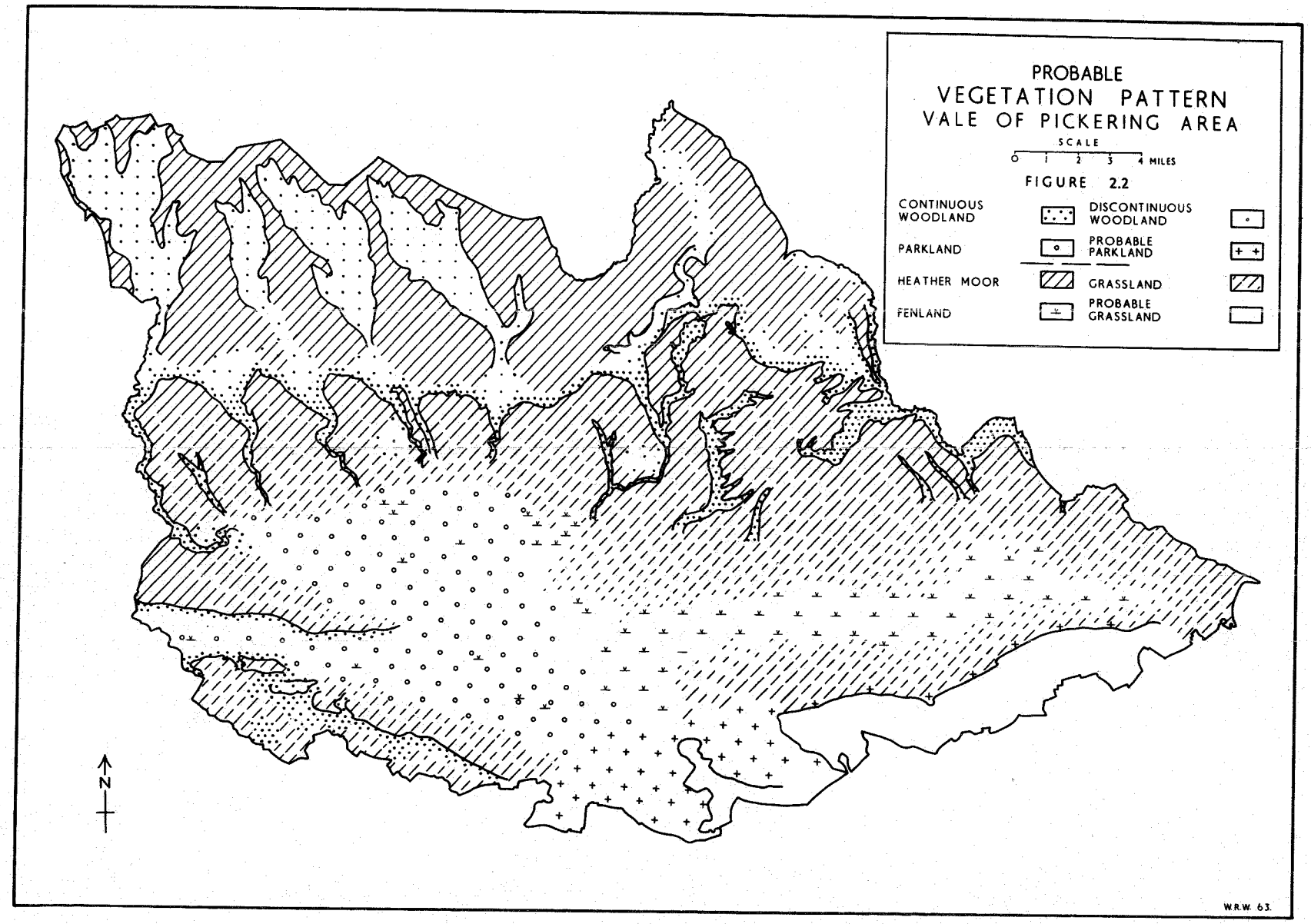
the woodland area as a whole, there are numerous references in the Vale to assarting; the clearing of plots in the woodland.[17] When studying figure 2.2, therefore, the reader should see areas of continuous woodland as something less than virgin timber but a great deal more than open parkland.

There are, however, certain divisions which can be drawn up for use as a classification of woodland on figure 2.2. Open woodland, as in Ryedale, has already been distinguished from the more continuous woodland of the Jurassic regions. This latter can be divided again into two density classes. In references to the consequent valley region the following curious phrases are used: "my woodlands in Rosedale", "woodlands throughout Bilsdale" and "pasture in the woodlands of Bransdale and Farndale".[18] These vague references seem to imply something less than a continuous woodland cover. When the medieval pattern of human use in these valleys has been discussed, it will be apparent that vegetation here must have been a mosaic of wooded and unwooded land. A similar discontinuous classification seems best to fit the woodland of manorial parks. Descriptions of these give evidence of considerable areas of open ground.[19] Contrasted to this discontinuous pattern of woodland is the more continuous one elsewhere in the Jurassic region.

The loose density classification of the woodlands to be added to figure 2.2 is presented below.

1. The woodland of Ryedale will be termed parkland; defined as an area of open countryside with occasional patches of trees.

2. The woodland of the Consequent Valleys and manorial parks will be termed discontinuous; defined as


PROBABLE
VEGETATION PATTERN
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 2.2
CONTINUOUS WOODLAND
DISCONTINUOUS WOODLAND
PARKLAND
PROBABLE PARKLAND
HEATHER MOOR
GRASSLAND
FENLAND
PROBABLE GRASSLAND
N
W.R.W. 63.

woodland in which trees are still the dominant vegetation cover, but in which there are considerable areas of unwooded land.

3. The woodland in the North York Moors and Hambleton, Howardian and Tabular Hills regions will be termed continuous; defined as an area of dense woodland affected only to a minor degree by human use.

4. The woodland at the foot of the chalk and adjunctive to Ryedale will be presented as possible parkland. A similar classification will be used to cover the seemingly negligeable, if existent, woodland of the Wolds scarp.

Conclusions

The conclusions of this chapter are part and parcel of the final map, figure 2.2. The unwooded far exceeded the wooded area of the Vale of Pickering Area, even in the early medieval period. All slopes of primary agricultural value, either for arable or for pasture, were already cleared. To some degree this in itself indicates the extent of prehistoric and historic human influence upon the vegetation pattern. In addition, all the wooded areas of the map had received some human attention and two classes actually represent stages in further clearing. The most surprising feature of the map is the similarity of the medieval pattern to that of the present. Remove the wetlands and fens from the valley floor, reduce the area of woodland, particularly continuous woodland, and the two periods are very similar.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Introduction

For almost a century the village pattern of lowland England has been commonly attributed to the colonial efforts of the Anglo-Saxons.[1] However, a recent theory, which includes a proposed connection between the village complexes of Domesday discrete estates and certain Celtic institutions, suggests that such Germanic origins may have been over-emphasized.[2] In the Vale of Pickering Area, where 81 villages were involved in such estates, Anglian colonization may therefore have commenced from a sizable core of existing settlements. Local Danish immigration during the ninth century probably augmented the number of Anglo-Saxon communities.[3] By 1086, when Domesday Book provides the first comprehensive record of vills, the study area contained more villages than in any subsequent period of its history.

Information on the village pattern of the early medieval period, that span of time between Domesday and the Black Death, is derived in this study from documentary and survey sources. Both types of records name the vill, the human community and often by implication its lands or township,[4] with which they deal. They thus provide material for the reconstruction of the settlement pattern. The surveys contain fairly comprehensive lists of villages existent at specific dates, but occur at irregular intervals in the period of study. In the Vale of Pickering Area, Domesday Book is followed by a

lapse of two hundred years before the rapid succession of Kirby's Inquest (1285-6), Nomina Villarum (1316) and the Lay Subsidies of 1297,1301 and 1334.[5] Because the roll of 1297 is preserved only for the East Riding and that of 1301 for the North Riding portion of the study area, they will be utilized as a single survey. A similar roll for 1328 is omitted because of its incomplete coverage of the study area,[6] while the Hundred Rolls must be ignored because they are not extant for the East Riding and are very incomplete for the rest of Yorkshire.[7] The documents, of which charters, deeds and fines are the most numerous, are preserved in large numbers for the study period, but are in very frugal supply before the mid twelfth century. Because they occur at a wide variety of dates for most villages, they function both as a check upon the completeness of survey lists and as a unique record of existing villages between survey dates. Together these two types of records provide a moderately continuous source of information with which to confirm the continuing existence of most villages or to suggest the abandonment of others.

However, neither type of record can be used to initiate an accurate wealth or size classification of communities under normal early medieval conditions. These documents, occurring at different dates for individual villages, are primarily concerned with lands, rights, privileges or illegalities concerning the township or territory of the village. Human communities are frequently only implied through references to chapels, churches, manors or tenements and are less often indicated by direct mention of bondsmen or "the men of the

vill". The manorial details of Domesday Book can, and will, be used to reveal certain characteristics of village size, but this survey deals with atypical conditions prevailing in the opening years of the study period. While Kirby's Inquest, a record of knights' fees, and the Nomina Villarum, a list of villages and manorial lords, are of no value in the classification process, the Lay Subsidies have sometimes been considered as potential indicators of population or wealth.[8] These records, which concern an early tax on moveable property, suffer from severe limitations upon their accuracy. Firstly, neither the combined rolls of 1297-1301 nor the roll for 1334 include all villages existent at these dates and combine some of those which they do include as single entries. Secondly, the combined rolls, although they list tax payers by village, include only those householders with assets valued above a minimum level and this level is much lower in 1301 than in 1297.[9] In short, not only does the number of tax payers in each roll represent an unknown proportion of the population of each village, but the unknown proportion varies both between the two Ridings of which the study area is composed and, more than probably, from village to village within each roll. Thirdly, the subsidy of 1334 gives only a total assessment figure for each community, which figures have recently been used by Glasscock to map relative wealth of the villages of Lincolnshire and Norfolk.[10] However, as Glasscock admits, these figures exclude ecclesiastical wealth, except the chattels of church bondsmen. Such wealth was taxed by parish on rates established in the Pope Nicholas Taxation of 1291 and revised in Yorkshire under the New Tax before 1334.[11]

Much monastic land, which was extremely plentiful in the area of study, appear, in the ecclesiastical tax schedule, to be assessed as a lump sum for each rural deanery.[12] There is no accurate method by which this church wealth can be apportioned among individual township units. Because of these inherent restrictions upon the accuracy or utility of the source material for even simple village classification, this chapter will concentrate upon the reconstruction of the village pattern and upon the numerical evolution of that pattern during the early medieval period. Throughout this chapter the term village will be used for all communities, without size connotation. To compensate for this lack of a definitive classification of inhabited villages, a later chapter in this thesis will be devoted to the development of a functional hierarchy based upon the distribution of certain institutions and privileges among the villages of the study area.

Domesday Information

The Yorkshire Domesday, like the folios for other counties, lists the assets and value of each manor, berewick and soke in the year 1066 and again in 1086. Each such feudal agrarian unit is separately described under its tenant-in-chief but preceded by the name of the vill in which it lay. Unlike the folios for other counties, those for Yorkshire are accompanied by a Summary which lists every village with the name of its tenant-in-chiefs and the carucage of its feudal units. These two corroborating sources, although they occasionally differ, provide an excellent record of Yorkshire villages existent in the opening year of the early

medieval period.

Farrer, correcting and expanding upon Skaife's earlier identifications of Domesday place-names, produced maps to accompany his translation of the Yorkshire folios which show the existence of 152 villages in the Vale of Pickering Area.[13] Most of these place-names are preserved in modern village and hamlet names or are borne by lesser map features. Some, which are now out of use, appear to be areally identified from medieval documents, materials with which Farrer as editor of three volumes of Early Yorkshire Charters was extremely familiar. However, a few seem to have been spatially located only through the analysis of the place-name meaning.

This early work has recently been reappraised by Maxwell, using a method which in essence relies upon his discovery that the place-name order of the Yorkshire Summary is geographically significant.[14] A comparison of Maxwell's maps with those of Farrer reveals that only eight significant discrepancies occur. However, whereas Farrer, after tracing the descent of land into the early medieval period, maps all modern double villages except East and West Flotmanby and Knapton as two separate entities, Maxwell portrays only those for which the Survey gives definite evidence of division.[15] Except for Flotmanby and Knapton, which vills alone are never described as two separate communities in the early medieval material, all double villages of the modern study area will here be considered as divided before 1086. The significant changes made by Maxwell include the removal of Atuntorp, Hawade, Ricstorp and Siverinctun from the study area, although his text does not reveal

their new sites. He corrects Farrer's erroneous combination of two Newtons as one village and reassigns one of these along with Preston, through place-name evidence, to sites near Hutton Buscel (see figure 3.1). He alters the Domesday Ildgrips from Farrer's identification as Hilla Green to the modern Hill Grips, a change earlier suggested by Smith.[16] He also adds the previously unidentified village of Torp near Seamer, which name has entirely disappeared from the modern map.[17]

This revised list of 150 village names, converted where possible to modern spellings, is presented alphabetically in appendix 3.1(a) with details of the actual sites to be used in this thesis. These village sites break down into three general classes. A total of 21 villages with sites established through the archaeological work of the Deserted Medieval Villages Research Group can be said to be precisely positioned upon their medieval sites.[18] Such established sites are indicated in the appendix by a grid reference preceded by the letter A. Most of this available archaeological evidence relates to villages like Grimston or Laysthorpe, which now remain only in the names of farms, granges or halls. However, in two cases it concerns modern villages. The medieval site of Ebberston has been found to lie almost a quarter of a mile from the modern village and that of Knapton was a single site, also at a considerable distance from the two modern hamlets which bear its name.

These discoveries throw considerable doubt upon the precise site accuracy of the second and by far the largest class of village sites, those based on map evidence. About 100 of these villages are presumed to lie upon the sites of modern towns, villages or hamlets and

are dismissed in the appendix with a grid reference. However, the Domesday Aschilesmare and Mersc, which have become the modern Foulbridge and Yedingham, are also accompanied by references to the authority upon which their place-name metamorphoses are based. A few Domesday village names remain only as those of farms upon which they are assumed to have been sited. At Dalby, where two farms bear the vill name, one has been arbitrarily chosen as the site of the village. In these cases brief details of identification accompany the grid references. A few other villages such as Hill Grips must be assumed to lie roughly within local areas which preserve the place-name. At Troutsdale, which remains solely as the name of a large tributary valley of Langdale, a site is arbitrarily assigned upon the valley floor as the most likely position to be assumed by a human community. These areal identifications are accompanied by brief details in lieu of grid references.

The remaining 14 villages have neither map nor archaeological evidence to indicate their former sites. Most can be roughly positioned from descriptive details in medieval documents, such as the charter which designates Kettletorp as a pasture in the territory of Lockton. The appendix in these cases gives the documentary source with the details upon which the site depends. However, the writer has been unable to find even this frugal type of evidence for Leadtorp, Scagetorp, Rodbestorp and Waleton, which are therefore sited after Farrer, since all four were confirmed in Maxwell's recent work.

All these 150 village sites are portrayed on figure 3.1. However, the reader should be warned that the visual implication of uniform nucleated village structure

in the medieval study area on this and later maps results only from the inadequate character of any available site symbol. Although nucleation is the common structure of the area in the present day and although modern structure is often assumed to have pre-Conquest origins,[19] there is no conclusive proof that all or even most medieval villages in the study area were of nucleated character.

Within broad limits, the agricultural information for the manors, berewicks and sokes of the Survey can be used to infer the general condition of village population in the opening year of the early medieval period. The entries for manors in 1086 can be divided into two agricultural classes: those which indicate at least some existent plough-teams can be classed as active, and those which are designated waste, or are believed derelict because they give no information for 1086, can be classed as inactive. Unfortunately, the berewicks and sokes which tie land in several villages to one discrete estate are only described in composite entries at the estate centres. The estates of Bridlington, Bucton Holme and Helperthorpe lay largely outside the study area and Bridlington with only $1\frac{1}{2}$ teams in 14 sokes must be considered inactive.[20] A similar inactive classification can be applied to the sokes of the tiny estates of Heslerton and Rillington, where no composite information is given in 1086. Conditions in the remaining estates, of which Falsgrave and Hunmanby also have centres outside but estates largely inside the study area, fall into one of two classes. Either, as at Hovingham, Kirbymoorside and Nunnington, they have about the same number of ploughs as in 1066, or, as at Buckton Holme, Falsgrave, Helperthorpe, Hunmanby and Pickering, the number of

ploughs has decreased considerably. For example, while Hovingham's ploughs have increased from 16 to 17,[21] Falsgrave's have declined from 47 to 17.[22] As a result all berewicks and sokes of the former three estates can be considered agriculturally active while those of the latter five must be qualified as probably active, since some may in fact have lain derelict for lack of plough-teams.

This classification of manors, berewicks and sokes of the study area is to be found in appendix 3.1(b), where the feudal agrarian units are arranged by the village to which they belong. Each berewick or soke is also accompanied by the name of its discrete estate. In addition, the labour statistics of the Survey entries, which appear only for active units, are also included in the appendix. Those for discrete estates, because of their composite nature, are given after the name of the estate centre. Such figures are, however, omitted for those estates lying largely outside the study area and are non-existent for the tiny inactive ones of Heslerton and Rillington.

Agricultural Conditions
Abstract of Appendix 3.1(a)

Class	Active	Probably Active	Inactive
Manors	34		111
Berewicks	27	4	
Sokes	6	39	5

The foregoing abstract of the agricultural classification reveals that slightly over half of all feudal agrarian units in the Vale of Pickering Area were inactive in 1086. This estimate may be conservative, since some of the probably active berewicks and sokes may also have been derelict in that year. This widespread

dereliction of land is believed to have resulted from the devastation of Northern England by William the Conqueror in 1069-70. The chronicles describe widespread destruction of crops and livestock in that year, followed by starvation and extensive depopulation.[23] The proportion of inactive units may reflect the scale of population reduction in 1086, when the surviving communities neither contained the labour necessary to operate these derelict units nor required their fruits for sustenance.

Assuming that this conclusion on population reduction is correct, the agricultural classification can be converted to indicate inhabited villages, an assumption which appears justified because only active or probably active units have labour statistics. Since some probably active berewicks and sokes may in fact have been derelict and therefore unpopulated, this agricultural class will be translated probably inhabited. All remaining inactive units, because they have neither agricultural indications of habitation nor labour statistics to show the existence of a community, must be considered uninhabited, although this assumption rests entirely upon negative evidence. Thus villages with active feudal agrarian units can be classed inhabited, regardless of agrarian conditions in accompanying manors, berewicks or sokes of the same community. Villages without active, but with probably active units, regardless of inactive conditions prevailing in the same township, can be translated probably inhabited. This leaves villages with only inactive units, which are interpreted as uninhabited. This loose classification of village conditions for the study area appears in appendix 3.1(b) and upon figure 3.1.

Village Conditions
Abstract of Appendix 3.1(b)

Class	Number
Inhabited	63
Probably Inhabited	37
Uninhabited	47

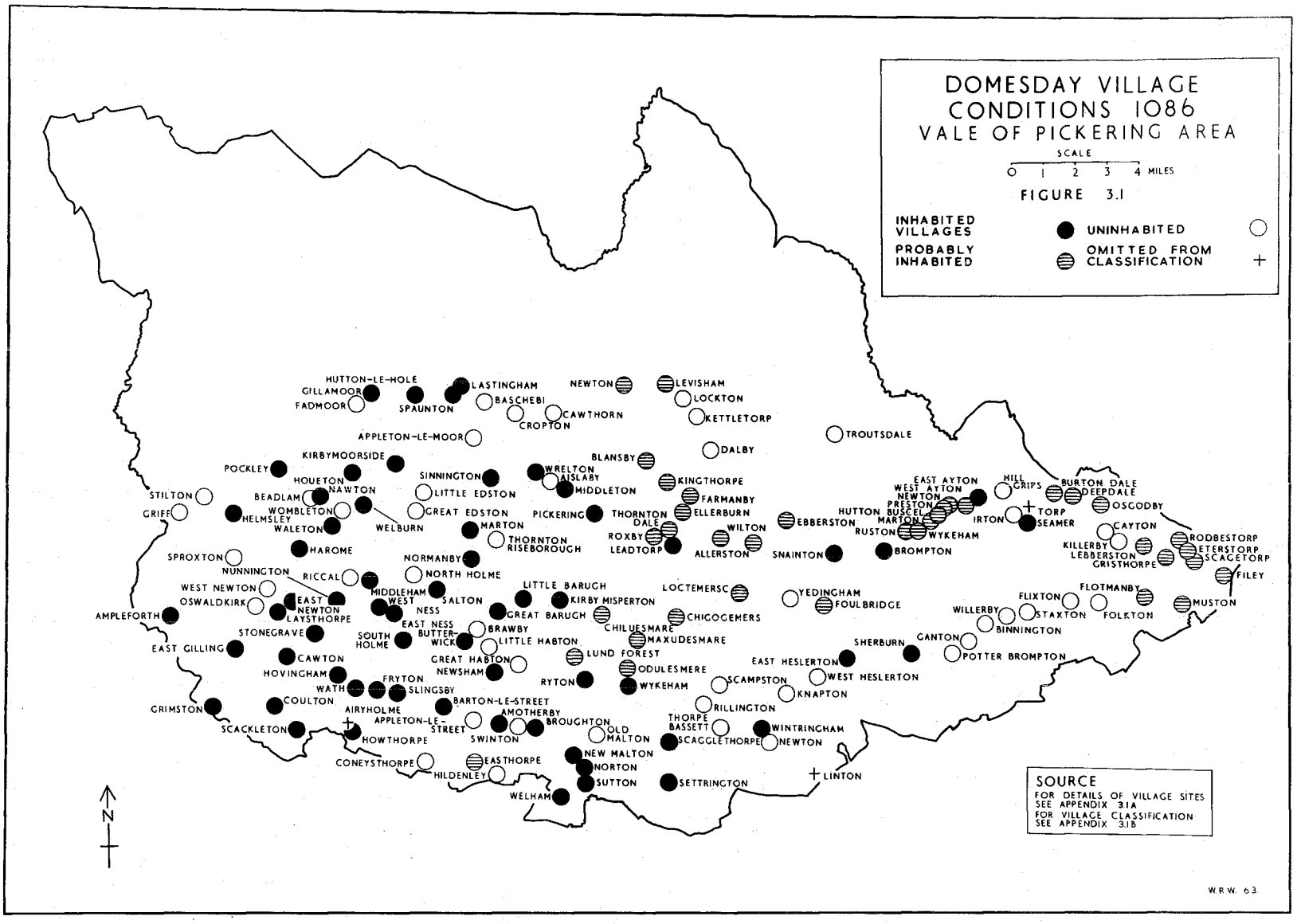
The foregoing abstract indicates that only about a third of the Domesday villages were totally uninhabited in 1086. The discrepancy between the proportion of inactive feudal units and the uninhabited villages arises from the combination of inactive, with or without probably active, manors, berewicks or sokes on 53 occasions. Thirty-seven probably inhabited villages owe their classification to the existence of discrete members of Falsgrave, Hunmanby or Pickering. In addition 33 inhabited ones depend for their classification entirely upon berewicks or sokes of Hovingham, Kirbymoorside or Nunnington. Only 30 villages therefore contain active manors and of these only Gilling, New Malton and Seamer had more than one such active unit to substantiate their inhabited classification.

Because so large a proportion of the inhabited and probably inhabited villages owe their classification to berewicks or sokes with only composite labour statistics, these statistics cannot be cartographically portrayed in any meaningful manner. However, these figures, which are believed to be only numerical approximations,[24] suggest that fewer than 450 labourers were spread among 100 villages in the study area. Even assuming that each man represents a household of four or five persons, the average community would seem to have been small. While East Ayton, Kirby Misperton, Kirbymoorside, New Malton, Norton, Pickering, Seamer, Settrington, Sinnington, Slingsby and

Wintringham each had more than 10 and Leadtorp had 31 labourers, the remaining villages with active manors had fewer than that number and several had less than 5. In addition the 33 inhabited villages in the estates of Hovingham, Kirbymoorside and Nunnington had only a total of 106 labourers, while 37 probably inhabited villages which rely for their states on sokes and berewicks of Falsgrave, Hunmanby and Pickering had only 61. Therefore, while a few inhabited villages had moderate to large populations, most living communities of the Vale of Pickering Area in 1086 appear to have been small.

Figure 3.1 differs in two ways from similar maps produced by Maxwell. The major difference results from the sub-division of Maxwell's inhabited village class into inhabited and probably inhabited villages.[25] However, there are also a few cases of difference in village classification. For example, the writer has been unable to find any evidence to justify Maxwell's inhabited classification of Stilton or his portrayal of Thornton Dale as uninhabited. Also because of the lack of textual entries the writer has omitted Airyholme, Linton and Torp from the classification, while Maxwell has mapped them as uninhabited.

The map reveals that the Domesday village pattern was largely concentrated in the lowland on the Vale of Pickering around the valley floor. The uninhabited villages were scattered over the lowland, becoming prevalent only in the south-east. The concentration of inhabited villages in and around Ryedale results largely from the discrete estate members of Hovingham, Kirbymoorside and Nunnington. Similarly the predominance of probably inhabited villages in the north-east quarter of the map


DOMESDAY VILLAGE CONDITIONS 1086
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 3.1
INHABITED VILLAGES
UNINHABITED
PROBABLY INHABITED
OMITTED FROM CLASSIFICATION
SOURCE
FOR DETAILS OF VILLAGE SITES SEE APPENDIX 31A
FOR VILLAGE CLASSIFICATION SEE APPENDIX 31B
N
W.R.W. 63
HUTTON-LE-HOLE
GILLAMOOR
FADMOOR
LASTINGHAM
SPAUNTON
BASCHEBI
CROPTON
CAWTHORN
NEWTON
LEVISHAM
LOCKTON
KETTLETORP
APPLETON-LE-MOOR
TROUTSDALE
DALBY
KIRBYMOORSIDE
POCKLEY
BLANSBY
WRELTON
AISLABY
MIDDLETON
KINGTHORPE
FARMANBY
ELLERBURN
SINNINGTON
LITTLE EDSTON
HOUETON
NAWTON
BEADLAM
STILTON
GRIFF
WOMBLETON
HELMSLEY
WALETON
WELBURN
GREAT EDSTON
PICKERING
THORNTON DALE
ROXBY
LEADTORP
WILTON
ALLERSTON
EBBERSTON
SNAINTON
BROMPTON
EAST AYTON
WEST AYTON
NEWTON PRESTON
BUSCEL
MARTON
HUTTON BUSCEL
RUSTON
WYKEHAM
HILL
GRIPS
BURTON DALE
DEEPDALE
OSGODBY
TORP
SEAMER
IRTON
CAYTON
KILLERBY
LEBBERSTON
GRISTHORPE
RODBESTORP
ETERSTORP
SCAGETORP
FILEY
MARTON
THORNTON RISEBOROUGH
HAROME
SPROXTON
NUNNINGTON
RICCAL
NORMANBY
NORTH HOLME
WEST NEWTON
OSWALDKIRK
EAST NEWTON
LAYSTHORPE
MIDDLEHAM
WEST NESS
SALTON
LITTLE BARUGH
KIRBY MISPERTON
GREAT BARUGH
LOCTEMERSC
CHICOGEMERS
CHILUESMARE
MAXUDESMARE
YEDINGHAM
FOULBRIDGE
FLIXTON
FLOTMANBY
STAXTON
FOLKTON
MUSTON
WILLERBY
BINNINGTON
AMPLEFORTH
STONEGRAVE
EAST GILLING
SOUTH HOLME
EAST NESS
BUTTER-WICK
BRAWBY
LITTLE HABTON
LUND FOREST
ODULESMERE
SHERBURN
GANTON
POTTER BROMPTON
EAST HESLERTON
WEST HESLERTON
CAWTON
HOVINGHAM
GREAT HABTON
NEWSHAM
RYTON
WYKEHAM
SCAMPSTON
KNAPTON
FRYTON
WATH
SLINGSBY
COULTON
GRIMSTON
BARTON-LE-STREET
AMOTHERBY
RILLINGTON
AIRYHOLME
APPLETON-LE-STREET
BROUGHTON
THORPE BASSETT
WINTRINGHAM
SCACKLETON
HOWTHORPE
SWINTON
OLD MALTON
SCAGGLETHORPE
NEWTON
CONEYSTHORPE
EASTHORPE
NEW MALTON
NORTON
SUTTON
SETTRINGTON
HILDENLEY
WELHAM
LINTON

arises from the existence there of the great estates of Falsgrave and Pickering. Because of possible efforts at recovery and because of population migration suspected by both Bishop and Maxwell in Yorkshire during the seventeen years preceding Domesday, it is dangerous to conclude that this pattern of village conditions represents either the original distribution or full extent of wasting in 1069.[26]

From this analysis of Domesday information it would appear that in the opening year of the early medieval period the Vale of Pickering Area was in only the early stages of recovery from William's harrying of Northern England. Its population seems to have been severely reduced from its pre-Conquest level. Most inhabited communities appear to have been small, although a few moderate to large villages did exist. However, about one-third of all villages seem likely to have been uninhabited, if the negative evidence of the Survey and the previous interpretation of Domesday agricultural information is correct. As a result of these apparent conditions it can only be assumed that the early years of the early medieval period were characterized by the gradual rehabilitation and repopulation of the Domesday settlement pattern.

Early Medieval Information

(a) Documentary Evidence

References to villages in the study area for the first two hundred years after Domesday are derived from documentary sources, which source material becomes plentiful only after the mid twelfth century. These references are preserved in varying quantities for each community

and occur at divergent dates from village to village. Appendix 3.2(a) lists all Domesday villages from the previous appendix along with 16 additional communities which first appear in early medieval documents. It also includes, where possible, both the earliest and latest documentary reference found for each village. In a few cases these documentary dates extend beyond 1350 and in several instances one or the other or both documentary dates are absent, either because the material does not exist or because positive evidence indicates the abandonment of the village. For purposes of analysis, the villages named in this appendix are divided into three classes. A total of 125 villages, initially found in Domesday Book, have documentary evidence to show their existence in the thirteenth century. Black underlining of 16 village names indicates those which did not appear in Domesday, but were similarly existent in the thirteenth century. Red underlining reveals communities existent in Domesday, which fail to appear either in documents or surveys later than the twelfth century.

The earliest dates registered for the first group and the latest dates, where they occur, for the last group reveal that the greatest proportion of the Domesday villages were inhabited, or had been re-inhabited, before the close of the twelfth century. Even the infrequent charters before 1200 are devoid of allusions to waste property or derelict feudal units. Although this negative evidence is very inconclusive proof of rapid and early agrarian recovery from the events of 1069, it is suggestive of such a possibility. However, if the conclusions, drawn from the preceding interpretation of Domesday village conditions, are valid, it is difficult

to imagine even moderate village populations being re-generated in the Domesday communities of the study area before about 1150.

The dates of the latest documentary references for the 125 Domesday villages indicate that most of them not only continued to harbour human communities in the thirteenth century but the majority continued to do so in the last half century of the study period. In actual fact the greatest proportion of these villages remain as human communities in the modern day. They will be again considered in the light of the later survey evidence.

Those 25 villages underlined in red in the appendix fall into two basic groups: those whose cause of disappearance before 1200 is only suspected and those for which the cause of abandonment is known through documentary references. Eleven villages fall into the first class. Hill Grips re-appears after Domesday only as an areal name for arable in East Ayton,[27] while Burton Dale and Torp assume similar roles in the township of Seamer.[28] Similarly Kettletorp appears as pasture in Lockton,[29] Middleham as waste in Muscoates[30] and Troutsdale as pasture and woodland appurtenant to several villages.[31] Only Burton Dale was probably inhabited and Middleham inhabited in 1086, and both Burton Dale and Torp appear in Kirby's Inquest where they are carefully designated "non sit villa".[32] It is possible that these six places were never anything as pretentious as village communities, even in 1066, but it is equally probable that they were pre-Conquest villages which succumbed directly to the wasting of 1069-70, or in the case of Middleham, to some process at work during the period of recovery.

In addition to these, the Domesday Eterstorp, Leadtorp, Rodbestorp, Scagetorp and Waleton fail to reappear after Domesday in any source material discovered by the writer, either before or after 1350. All were at least probably inhabited in 1086 and Leadtorp was the largest community in the entire study area. It seems possible that these villages were either abandoned or amalgamated with neighbouring communities before the appearance of plentiful documentary material. Amalgamation or actual population migration to the adjacent Thornton Dale may account for the disappearance of Leadtorp and similar processes may have fused Waleton and Wombleton (see figure 3.1). In part contrast to this proposed process is one which may account for the disappearance of the remaining three villages along with Middleham. Among the villages not listed in Domesday Book, Muscoates lies very near the proposed site of Middleham and Newbiggin has a similar geographic relationship to Eterstorp, Rodbestorp and Scagetorp (see figure 3.2). It would seem likely in these cases that the development of a new village in the period of recovery replaced and assimilated the population of one or more adjacent communities. These 11 above-named villages will be portrayed on figure 3.2 as probably lost before 1150.

More conclusive evidence is available to substantiate the abandonment of the second group of Domesday villages which disappear before 1200. Blansby and Dalby were converted to parks of the royal manor of Pickering at least as early as the reign of John[33] and are never again alluded to other than as pasture or refuge for deer. The remaining eleven all ceased to function as villages upon the acquisition of their lands by the

Cistercian abbeys of Byland and Rievaulx. Griff and Stilton were given to Rievaulx in its foundation grant of 1136,[34] while Chigogemers, Chiluesmare, Lochemersc, Lund Forest, Maxudesmare and Odulesmare were all within the bounds of a gigantic royal grant of fenland made to Rievaulx in 1157.[35] Hoveton, Welburn and West Newton were acquired by Rievaulx before 1175[36] and Deepdale passed into the hands of Byland before 1200.[37] Later references indicate that all these lands became granges or parts of granges; the typical Cistercian agrarian estate which was worked as a unit by "conversi" or lay brothers and did not require the communal efforts of the village labour force.[38] Since this Order in particular was noted for its depopulation of villages in the creation of granges,[39] it can safely be assumed that these places rapidly ceased to function as inhabited lay communities upon their acquisition by these monks. This second group of 14 Domesday villages will be portrayed on figure 3.2 as lost before 1200.

The 16 villages distinguished by black underlining in appendix 3.2(a) are also to be found in appendix 3.2(b), where they are given with both details of the sites to be used in this thesis and their earliest documentary dates. Several, such as Carlton and Muscoates, assume sites on those of modern villages or hamlets, while others, like Newbiggin, are sited on lesser map features such as granges or halls. A few, such as Howe and Rookbarugh, have archaeological evidence to confirm their true medieval position. However, Bilsdale, Bransdale, Hartoft, Raisdale and Rosedale remain only as areal names for the huge consequent valleys of the North York Moors and the sites of these

former villages have had to be arbitrarily assigned upon the valley floors.

Maxwell lists only a few of these villages, which he suggests have early medieval origins, and proposes a village at Rievaulx where the writer can find evidence only for a Cistercian monastery during the study period.[40] A pre-Conquest plaque in the church of Bilsdale[41] would seem to indicate that at least some community was existent in this dale before 1086, although it was not named in Domesday Book. Similar pre-Conquest origins may also have been characteristic of villages such as Bowforth, Carlton, Goathland, Howe, Muscoates, Newbiggin and Sawdon, which all appear in documents before 1200. Such origins seem particularly likely for Goathland, which is documented in 1109. However, an equally probable explanation, already advanced for Muscoates and Newbiggin, is that some of these villages developed as new communities during the period of recovery from wasting, either as replacements in or additions to the existing Domesday village pattern.

The villages of Bransdale, Broadfield, Farndale, Hartoft, Raisdale, Rosedale and Urra all occur, like Bilsdale and Goathland in the valleys of the North York Moors (see figure 3.2). The earliest references to these names make no allusions to human communities, but concern either pasture and woodland rights appurtenant to villages and manors outside these dales, or large monastic land grants in these valley areas. The earliest references to human communities living in these dales come almost entirely from the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, although this fact does not preclude earlier village origins. Such references are frequently

to assarts, of which 43 were named with their owners for Rosedale and Hartoft in the Forest Eyre of 1334 covering forest offences after 1217. In Bransdale and Farndale bondsmen of the manor of Kirbymoorside are said to hold tenements in severalty, a characteristic which may denote less recent assart origins, and such several tenements are also mentioned for Broadfield and elsewhere in Bilsdale. Unfortunately, Raisdale is only referred to as a manor and Urra fails to appear in any other early medieval record but the subsidy roll of 1301. The available documentary material for these valley settlements suggests two distinct village characteristics in the early medieval period. Several tenancy would seem to indicate that communities here frequently had dispersed, rather than nucleated, structure. The frequent mention of assarts probably indicates rapid colonization of at least some of these dales during the latter half of the study period. Whatever the extent of such colonial development, the early existence of Bilsdale and Goathland negates any theories which relegate all human settlement in these dales to origins in the later years of the early medieval period. These 16 villages, which fail to appear in the Survey, will be portrayed on figure 3.2 where they will be designated non-Domesday as opposed to Domesday villages.

(b) Survey Evidence

Further confirmation of the continuing inhabited states of most of the 125 Domesday and 16 non-Domesday villages, existent at least into the thirteenth century, can be derived from combining documentary and survey information. Appendix 3.2(c) indicates by symbol the

occurrence of each village in Kirby's Inquest (1285-6), the combined subsidy rolls of 1297-1301, Nomina Villarum (1316) and the subsidy roll of 1334. Each of these surveys includes entries which combine two or more village names. To indicate this situation the name of one community is listed, with the entry for its partner, in special columns accompanying each survey. In addition to survey information the appendix also includes the latest documentary reference for each village, if it dates from 1275 or later.

Many villages occur regularly throughout this appendix, but some appear only occasionally, while others occur in only one survey. The documentary dates reveal that most villages appearing in even one column of the appendix were in existence when later surveys were compiled. For example, Howthorpe and East Newton are absent from all surveys after 1286, yet the former had a mill, a chapel and tenements in 1328 and the latter was a hamlet of bondsmen belonging to Helmsley manor in 1352. Thus the documents show the individual survey to be an incomplete list of contemporary villages.

However, except in rare cases of error, every community and its township must have been considered in each of these records. The omission of a village name from a particular survey must therefore arise from some process of taxing or assessing two or more villages under one name. Combined entries and those for double villages indicate that such joint taxation did occur, that it was usually shown by the inclusion of both names upon the survey roll and that membership in joint units was not always consistently followed from survey to survey. The inconsistent occurrence or omission of

some village names presumably results from the introduction of joint units where only one name is listed in the survey and the use of different joint units in different surveys.

The writer has discovered three of the causes for these joint units, which explain at least some of these misleading omissions among the survey lists. In Kirby's Inquest the exclusion of Ebberston, Ruston, Wykeham and Pickering results from the absence of all property of the Duchy of Lancaster, probably because these properties were accounted for with Duchy lands outside the study area. Similarly, the absence of Brawby and Salton in 1301 may arise from the fact that together these communities formed the Prebend of Salton, which belonged to Hexham Abbey[42] and which was probably taxed with other property of that monastic institution. Such joint taxation with property outside the study area may account for the total absence of Hildenley from these surveys, although it was a manor in 1287 and is again mentioned as a vill in 1328.

A second more common cause of place-name omission appears to arise when one manor controlled more than one village and superseded the individual village community as the unit of assessment. Examples of this are numerous among the combined survey entries where Brompton and Sawdon reflect the existence of the Honour of Brompton[43] and Nunnington, Stonegrave and Riccal formed the basis of an early medieval manor.[44] Similar practices are responsible for Kirbymoorside appearing "cum membris" in 1316 with the subsequent omission of its manorial members of Fadmoor, Gillamoor and possibly Bransdale and Farndale from that survey.[45]

Other omissions appear the result of joint or combined entries based solely upon the geographical juxtaposition of villages. Such a practice may explain the consistent appearance of Bilsdale in the surveys and its probable inclusion of the neighbouring villages of Broadfield, Raisdale and Urra except in 1301. It probably also accounts for the omission of Easthorpe in 1316 and 1334 when it was probably linked with Appleton-le-Street as in the Lay Subsidy of 1301.

Although these and possibly other irregular practices make the individual surveys incomplete records of existing villages, they collectively confirm the continuing existence of 138 villages in the study area around the opening of the fourteenth century. In so doing they supplement the documentary evidence for East Heslerton, Howe, Laysthorpe, Potter Brompton, Raisdale and Wykeham (par Malton) which have no other references between 1175 and 1350.

However, four Domesday villages fail to appear in these surveys and, of these, only Hildenley is known from documents to have been existent in the fourteenth century. In addition, Beresford's study of lost villages in Yorkshire reveals that Airyholme and Linton were also omitted from all the survey records after 1350.[46] Baschebi is not mentioned in this work and it may be that Beresford was unaware of its post-Domesday existence. Although Airyholme was a grange of Byland Abbey at the dissolution,[47] this abbey neither acquired property there in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, nor showed any interest in gaining property in this village before the time of the Black Death. Even such a potential cause of abandonment cannot be found to

account for the disappearance of Baschebi and Linton. The lack of both documentary and survey evidence later than the early thirteenth century may suggest that these three villages dwindled or were abandoned before the fourteenth century and they will therefore be portrayed on figure 3.2 as possibly lost before 1300.

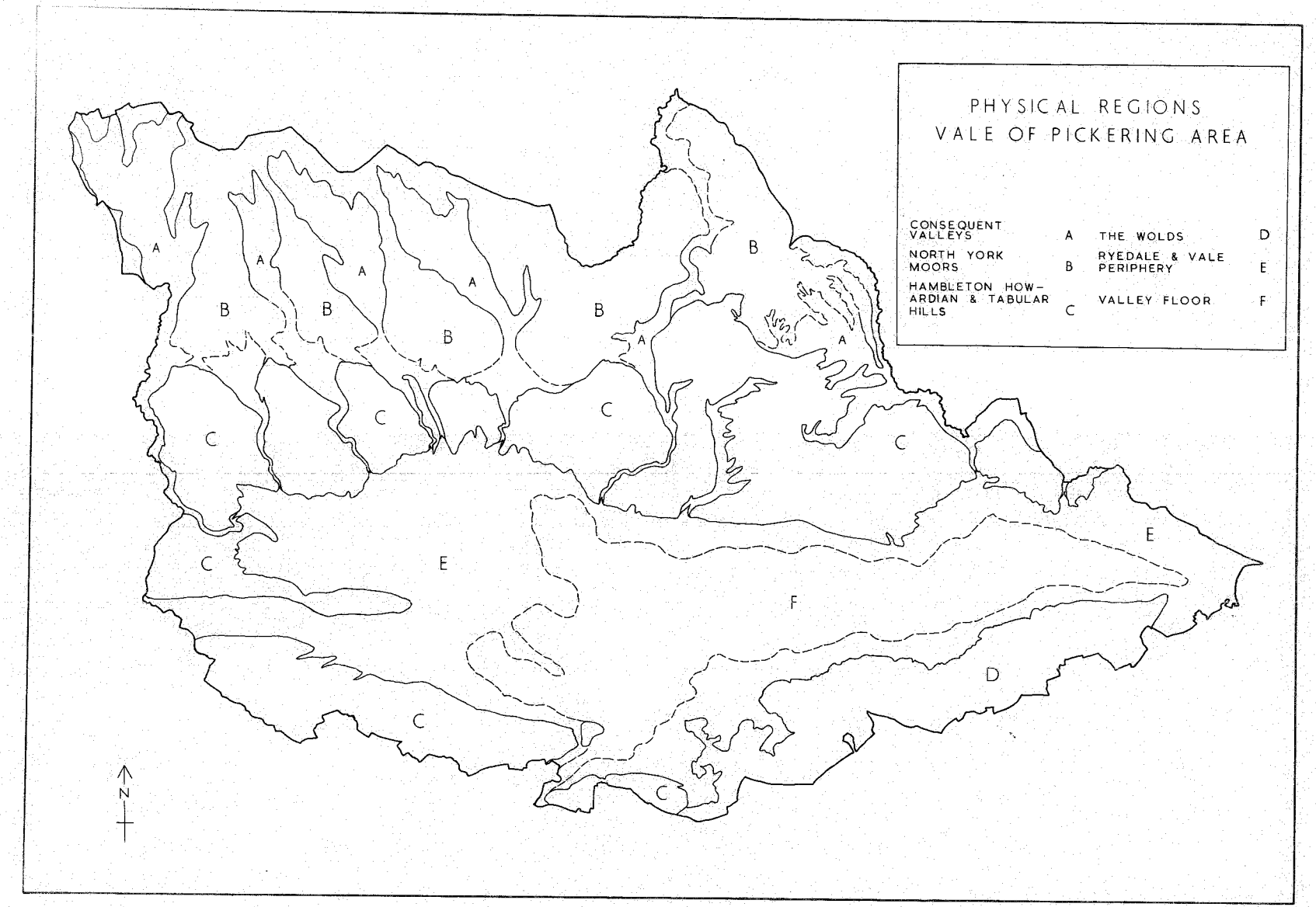
In Yorkshire the last half century of the early medieval period was marked by numerous incursions of Scottish raiders.[48] In 1322 the communities in the northern half of the study area east of Sinnington ransomed their lands from these marauders who were then camped at Malton.[49] The New Tax on ecclesiastical property, which re-assessed church assets after Scottish devastation, shows that only one parish within these bounds was re-evaluated, while those outside this area were re-taxed at substantially reduced figures.[50] Unless this same area had ransomed its land on previous occasions, it can only be assumed that the Scots entered the study area only in their raid of 1322. The parish assessment figures for the New Tax in the portion of the study area which had been devastated are frequently reduced by as much as a half from the Pope Nicholas figures. However they are never so reduced as to indicate total, or near total, wasting of parish lands. Similarly, inquisitions post mortem for the manors of Barton-le-Street, Coulton, Malton, Scagglethorpe and Sherburn before 1330 indicate extensive property damage inflicted by the Scots, but nothing on a scale approaching village annihilation.[51] Such general evidence would suggest that the Scottish devastation of the study area was insufficiently severe to cause village abandonment.

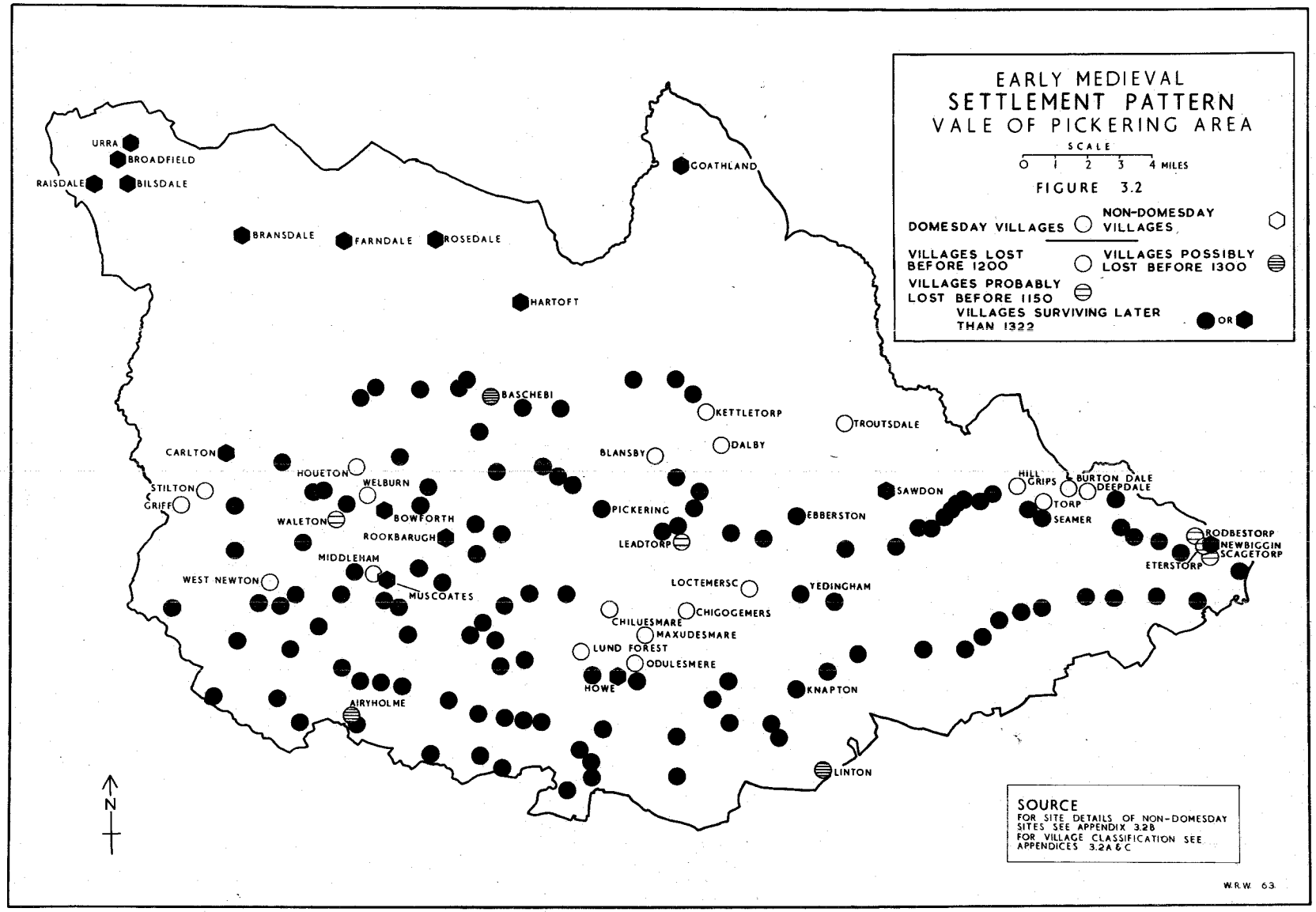
However, the documentary evidence collected for

this study does not always extend beyond 1322 and the survey of 1334 cannot be regarded as a complete list of villages. In addition, no later survey information is available until after the calamitous occurrence of the Black Death. Beresford's lists of lost Yorkshire villages, however, reveal that Bowforth, Laysthorpe, Killerby, Rookbarugh, Roxby, Thornton Riseborough and Wath appear in no surveys later than 1316.[52] Documentary dates in appendix 3.2(a) indicate that all but Laysthorpe, Roxby and Wath continued to exist between 1322 and 1350. Laysthorpe and Wath are also known to have continued to have tenants and manors at dates long after 1350,[53] and Roxby appears as a hamlet in a Tudor assize of Pickering Forest.[54] It would therefore appear that the 138 villages existent in the opening years of the fourteenth century continued as living communities at least until the Black Death of 1349-50. They are therefore portrayed on figure 3.2 as villages surviving later than 1322.

The Early Medieval Settlement Pattern

The early medieval pattern, reconstructed in appendix 3.2 and classified in the previous pages, is presented on figure 3.2. A comparison of this and the previous Domesday map reveals only two important differences in village distribution. The first is the appearance of nine communities in the valleys of the North York Moors, some of which may have developed after the Conquest. The second is the disappearance of six villages from the valley floor through Cistercian grange endeavours; a change which reduces the total number of villages here by more than half. The remaining losses tend to be scattered


PHYSICAL REGIONS
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
CONSEQUENT VALLEYS
A
THE WOLDS
D
NORTH YORK MOORS
B
RYEDALE & VALE PERIPHERY
E
HAMBLETON HOW-ARDIAN & TABULAR HILLS
C
VALLEY FLOOR
F
N


EARLY MEDIEVAL
SETTLEMENT PATTERN
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 3.2
DOMESDAY VILLAGES
NON-DOMESDAY VILLAGES
VILLAGES LOST BEFORE 1200
VILLAGES POSSIBLY LOST BEFORE 1300
VILLAGES PROBABLY LOST BEFORE 1150
VILLAGES SURVIVING LATER THAN 1322
OR
URRA
BROADFIELD
RAISDALE
BILSDALE
GOATHLAND
BRANSDALE
FARNDALE
ROSEDALE
HARTOFT
BASCHEBI
KETTLETORP
TROUTSDALE
DALBY
CARLTON
BLANSBY
HOUETON
WELBURN
STILTON
GRIFF
WALETON
BOWFORTH
ROOKBARUGH
PICKERING
LEADTORP
EBBERSTON
SAWDON
HILL
GRIPS
BURTON DALE
DEEPDALE
TORP
SEAMER
RODBESTORP
NEWBIGGIN
SCAGETORP
ETERSTORP
MIDDLEHAM
WEST NEWTON
MUSCOATES
LOCTEMERSC
YEDINGHAM
CHILUESMARE
CHIGOGEMERS
MAXUDESMARE
LUND FOREST
ODULESMERE
HOWE
KNAPTON
AIRYHOLME
LINTON
N
SOURCE
FOR SITE DETAILS OF NON-DOMESDAY SITES SEE APPENDIX 3.2B
FOR VILLAGE CLASSIFICATION SEE APPENDICES 3.2A & C
W.R.W. 63

through the settlement pattern. They are moderately numerous only in Ryedale, in the Tabular Hills and upon the moraine at the east end of the Vale of Pickering. In Ryedale they are almost equalled by the non-Domesday villages, of which Muscoates probably developed to replace Middleham. On the eastern moraine a somewhat similar process has been suggested to account for the rise of Newbiggin, but no explanation is available for the concentration of lost villages around Seamer. Except in this last instance and in the case of communities abandoned in the Tabular Hills, the distribution of lost villages does little to reduce the density of the settlement pattern or its lowland focus upon Ryedale and the peripheral zone about the valley floor.

This concentration of villages within the horseshoe of Coralline and Chalk upland can be most easily seen by using the accompanying overlay of regional boundaries, taken from figure 1.5. The high, damp and exposed surfaces of the North York Moors are virtually devoid of settlement, as are the water-deficient expanses of the Wolds. It may be that the possible loss of Linton from the latter region during the thirteenth century was partially a result of undesirable environmental features. The non-Domesday communities of the consequent valleys, although most of their sites cannot be determined, probably existed under conditions of undesirable slope confinement which characterizes this region. Such undesirable features for human settlement may explain both the relatively late colonization of some of these dales, and their possibly dispersed pattern of settlement which may have prevailed due to the lack of suitable sites for nucleated communities.

In this respect it may be significant that only Bilsdale in these valleys is ever known to have had the normal campo or common field so characteristic elsewhere in the less steeply sloping portions of the study area.

The gently sloping, well-drained surfaces of the Hambleton, Howardian and Tabular Hills region contained more villages than any of the preceding, but the pattern of communities was far from dense. Those in the south-east tended most frequently to assume sites in the valley lands or near sub-surface water sources, but many upon the porous flat surfaces of the Tabular Hills were divorced from their nearest water supplies by the steep valley sides of this dissected plateau. Several villages in this region were set high upon the crest of the cuesta scarp where their position, although valuable for defense, must have been very exposed. In contrast to the properties of village sites in this region, those of the wetlands and fens of the valley floor were characterized by attempts to escape the superfluity of dampness in this low-lying area. Villages such as Yedingham, which survived later than 1322 and which remain as modern communities, are all sited upon small, slightly elevated deposits of sand and gravel. Such sites, presumably used in medieval time when drainage in this region was much worse than today, were probably sufficiently elevated to save these villages from any but the worst flood conditions. Nevertheless the disappearance of half the villages in this region before 1200 and the conversion of much land here to Cistercian agriculture, which monks were skilled in the arts of drainage, probably reflects the undesirable nature of this area for normal agrarian practices and the support of village

communities. As will be seen in a later chapter, every community which lay in this area was largely in the hands of an ecclesiastical institution. These presumably used their wealth and agricultural knowledge to combat the physical environment and its undesirable effect upon the agricultural basis for the communities' existence.

The remaining region of Ryedale and the peripheral zone about the damp valley floor contained over 70% of all villages surviving after 1200. The density of the villages takes on two morphological forms. Where this region, roughly embracing the area between 75 feet and 200 feet O.D., is narrow, the villages take up linear concentration which is particularly pronounced in density south-east of Sawdon. The controlling factor here appears to be elevation above the damp valley floor, but this peripheral zone also contains a remarkable concentration of desirable well-drained sloping sites and easily accessible surface water supplies or springs. Villages at the foot of the Wolds, and indeed along the entire south side of the Vale, rest on sandy, well-drained sites, usually at elevations of slightly over 100 feet. In the case of the Wold-foot communities the exact position is frequently determined by the springs occurring at the base of the upper Cretaceous. Villages in the north and east frequently assume sites on outcrops of sloping clay or upon the undulating surface of the eastern moraine. However, the eight communities which are virtually juxtaposed near Sawdon rest upon gravel terraces and the town of Pickering is sited on a Pleistocene delta at the mouth of Newton Dale. Most villages in the peripheral zone, however, lie close to the upper limits of this region and the medieval archaeological

sites of Ebberston on the north and Knapton on the south lie in even more elevated positions. It is therefore possible that villages in the peripheral zone have migrated down the surrounding slopes towards the valley floor since the early medieval period.

In Ryedale, except around its outer margins where some linear village development can be seen, the pattern of villages is irregular both in the distribution of sites and in the relative density with which they occur. This again is primarily a result of the distribution of sites with desirable drainage and elevation. In the south-east of Ryedale, where the terrain is generally flat as it approaches the regional boundary at about 75 feet, all villages are sited upon gravel or sand deposits which raise them above the level of their surroundings. Elsewhere, even in the large portion of this lowland area which lies above the 100 foot contour, many villages occur upon the lower slopes of the hillocks which are characteristic of Ryedale. Great Edston is an unusual example where the modern village is sited upon the crest of a clay hillock which rises abruptly to heights of more than 100 feet above its surroundings. Such well-drained elevated sites may result from the occurrence of some spring flooding in the several rivers and streams which cross this lowland and a choice of sites determined by a natural desire to escape the inundations of such waters. There is no archaeological evidence to suggest minor site migrations to less elevated village positions in this part of the region, but this of course remains a possibility.

Possibly more important than the concentration of desirable site features in Ryedale and the periphery of

the lowland about the valley floor was the focus of certain advantages of agrarian situation upon communities located in this region. Since most medieval villages had agricultural economies and since these economies were based primarily on communal tenure and general farming, every household in the community benefited from a widely varied agricultural environment. This particular region of the study area, which within Ryedale itself had considerable environmental diversity, lay between flat land and steeper slopes, between fen and moor and between fertile arable and damp meadow or pasture. From such surroundings the villein or freeman along with the manorial lord could best accommodate his diverse economic needs; from reeds required for the thatch on his roof or turves for his fire to summer pasture for his animals upon the moors or materials from the woodlands to mend his plough. Such diversity of course occurred in other regions of the study area, for medieval agrarian life was almost dependent on its existence, but never with the various physical elements so quantitatively balanced against agricultural need or so easily accessible to the village.

Conclusions

In the opening years of the early medieval period the settlement pattern of the Vale of Pickering Area was still in the early stages of recovery from the harrying of Northern England in 1069-70, which recovery appears to have continued into the mid years of the following century. Although most Domesday villages were again re-inhabited or continued to be inhabited during the study period, wasting and other causes, of

which the most important was Cistercian grange creation, caused the abandonment, or probable abandonment, of 25 villages before 1200. The period of recovery and the succeeding centuries appear to have been marked by the rise of 16 villages not listed in Domesday, but at least one of these is believed to have existed before the Survey. Similar pre-Conquest origins may be characteristic of some others, but at least two appear to have developed to replace older adjacent communities. With the exception of 3 villages possibly abandoned before 1300, a total of 138 villages, of which 125 occurred in Domesday, continued to function in the years immediately preceding the Black Death. Many villages may have sustained considerable damage at the hands of marauding Scots in 1322, but upon the general and somewhat tenuous evidence available, none appears to have been utterly destroyed. The net result of the events of the two hundred and fifty years succeeding Domesday Book as reflected by the settlement pattern of the study area was a decrease of 12 villages. The village pattern itself remained largely unchanged in its basic features, of which the most important was the concentration of almost three-quarters of all medieval sites in Ryedale and the peripheral zone about the valley floor. This concentration appears the result not only of desirable sites in this region, but of certain agricultural advantages inherent to communities situated there.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE TOWNSHIP

Introduction

The concept of the medieval community in England as a village with its lands or township bearing one common name and functioning as one communal agrarian unit was introduced almost a century ago.[1] Seebohm, Maitland and Vinogradoff were among the early exponents responsible for the modern vision of the Anglo-Saxon and medieval landscape as a network of agricultural townships enmeshing the village pattern with their boundaries.[2] Subsequent historical research has greatly expanded our knowledge of the internal operation of the human community and its township agriculture, the subordination of the township to the manor and the obligations or responsibilities of the men of the township to Crown and judiciary.[3] However, definition of township boundaries or research into the spatial aspects of these medieval territorial units has not progressed beyond the general application of Maitland's statement that most townships of the thirteenth century were civil parishes of the nineteenth.[4] This generalization, based essentially on a small foundation of Anglo-Saxon and medieval charters revealing boundaries co-terminus with those of the modern map, has become the traditional dogma of local historian and geographer alike.[5] Beresford's recent assertion, that the boundaries of townships and parishes are the oldest feature of the Ordnance map, save Roman and prehistoric remains, is probably the most blatant expression of this ill-proven but prevalent belief.[6]

The strength of this hypothesis is not impaired so much by its lack of possible truth as by a shortage of research in medieval materials to confirm or refute it. The present study, combining and contrasting medieval information with modern boundary evidence, will examine this boundary and territorial hypothesis of Maitland's for one local area.

Medieval Material

(a) Township and Village

As in the case of the village, the existence of a township bearing a common name with its human community is indicated in the wording of most charters, deeds, fines or other classes of medieval documents except those exclusively concerned with the manor. The Pipe Roll and Forest Eyre usually name the individual "villata" or township. Other documents usually designate some agrarian features, most frequently arable land, as lying in the "territory" of a specific village. The immediate impression is that the village and township consistently lay in a one to one ratio; an impression also conveyed by many historical treatises on the village community. The first task therefore in this study must be a thorough examination of the relationship of village to township to ascertain whether this ratio held true in every instance.

The following examination of this basic relationship does not pretend to deal with townships before about 1200, except incidentally. The material for the first century after Domesday is too scant and too lacking in detail to allow even the most tentative conclusion. All that can be definitely stated is that, if Domesday

village names were also those of townships, as asserted by Round,[7] then the disappearance of several villages during the period of recovery must have caused at least some alteration in the boundary pattern. This study will concentrate upon the township pattern of the century and a half before 1350 when the village pattern of the Vale of Pickering Area appears to have been almost stable. It will assume that this stability was equally reflected in the township units existent for that span of years.

Appendix 4.1(a) lists the 141 villages of the study area which, existing after 1200, were potential nuclei for townships. In 123 cases the documents listed in the first column of the appendix reveal the existence of townships sharing village names which can therefore be assumed to be centred upon these human communities. In 8 of the remaining cases documents listed in the second column of the appendix indicate that these villages lacked their own townships. Baschebi from its earliest reference appears in the territory of Appleton-le-Moor. Similarly, the non-Domesday villages of Hartoft and Rosedale appear from the first to lie in Cropton township. Many early documents for Ruston and Marton, Preston and Newton, and Carlton have peculiar phrases or details which strongly suggest their territorial association with the adjacent townships of Wykeham, Hutton Buscel and Helmsley. An early charter for land in the territory of Hutton, for example, designates tenements appurtenant as being the villages of Hutton, Newton and Preston.[8] For Ruston and Marton suspicions are confirmed in 1334 when the two villages are said to lie in the township of Wykeham. Concrete confirmation of a similar relationship between Newton and Preston in the township

of Hutton Buscel appears only in a copy of the ancient customs of these three communities dated 1720. Similarly, Carlton cannot be definitely proven to lie in Helmsley township until 1642 when a survey reveals the two villages operating together in the same open fields and commons. Nevertheless, the peculiar characteristics found among the early charters for these three villages would suggest that, along with the previous five, they were without separate townships before the close of the early medieval period. However, it would be rash to conclude on the existing information that those which were Domesday villages had never functioned as township centres in the study period.

In the remaining 10 instances the available documentary evidence fails to mention a village-township relationship. For Foulbridge, Hildenley and Linton this situation may result entirely from scant documentary records. For the former two the existing references are all manorial and for the latter come solely from allusions in references to the adjacent township of Newton (par Wintringham). References specific to New Malton are all to its borough status, although it is believed that even quite large commercial communities such as Cambridge also had an agrarian side to their economy.[9] It is, however, impossible to discover whether this borough had a separate township or shared the agricultural system of its counterpart, Old Malton.

The other 6 are all non-Domesday villages which with the exception of Urra are moderately well documented, although none of the references to them indicates the existence or absence of accompanying township units. It is very tempting to assume that these were new villages

after Domesday, which, like Hartoft and Rosedale, failed to develop townships of their own before the close of the early medieval period. Equally as inviting is the hypothesis that they were pre-Conquest communities omitted from the Survey because they lay within the townships of adjoining villages. However, just as possible and more in keeping with the lack of evidence is the suggestion that all 10 villages may have had townships which fail to be documented in the scant reference materials of the early medieval period.

In addition to the above relationship between township and village, certain documents reveal the existence of distinct territorial units, townships in every geographic sense, which had monastic institutions rather than villages as their nuclei. The common names shared by the monastic territories with their centres are listed at the end of appendix 4.1(a) with reference sources for their unique territorial status during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Deepdale, Houeton, Skiplam, West Newton and Welburn were Cistercian granges created before 1200. All but Skiplam, which was carved from the side of Kirbymoorside township,[10] replaced village communities whose territorial limits they appear simply to have retained.

In the case of Skiplam, Keldholme and Rievaulx, of which the last two were areas within which monasteries were raised, the territorial units appear to have been completely alienated from the townships of which they had been parts in the immediate post-Domesday years. However, such complete separation of monastic lands from the township units in which they had previously lain appears the exception rather than the rule. Certainly

no other abbey or priory in the study area appears in the documents to have so completely alienated itself and its immediate lands from the township from which the property was granted. Similarly, not all Cistercian, and certainly no other monastic granges in the study area, formed distinct territorial units outside existing townships. The vast grange lands of Rievaulx on the valley floor, which caused the total disappearance of five Domesday villages, are later described not as separate territorial units, but as monastic land lying in Pickering marshes and the wetlands of several adjacent townships.[11] All monastic lands were covered by immunities obtained from the Crown and the individual manorial lords and were therefore on a somewhat different footing from the rest of the township in terms of civil and manorial responsibilities and obligations.[12] However, only these three territories along with those four which inherited their limits from former village communities appear to have been regarded as completely separate territorial entities outside the bounds of the normal township units.

The examination of the medieval townships and the correlation of their pattern with that of the villages in the Vale of Pickering Area reveals that it is unsafe to see both every village as a township nucleus and every township as a village cell. For cartographic purposes this relationship will be portrayed in terms of the township nucleus, the one feature which can be identified on modern maps and plotted as a site symbol. Four categories of relationship are defined below and the resulting classification of the material in appendix 4.1(a) provides the preliminary foundation for figure 4.1.

A. Township Centres: all village communities which had townships appurtenant with which they shared a common name.

B. Non-Township Centres: all village communities which lay within the townships of other villages.

C. Monastic Township Centres: granges and monastic buildings which lay within territorial units entirely composed of monastic property and completely alien to the surrounding townships.

D. Possible Township Centres: all village communities for which existing records neither prove nor disprove the existence of appurtenant townships.

(b) Medieval Boundary Information

Both Maitland and Finn contend that the Domesday township lacked "organization", but neither is explicit in his definition of this word.[13] If they refer to the social development of the human community, then their conclusion is at odds with Stenton's suggested township moots of the Anglo-Saxon period.[14] If they refer to the development of boundaries, surely a reflection of the degree of human organization, then their assertion contradicts the details of medieval documents sometimes dating from less than a century after the Survey. Monastic cartularies, the largest single source of land charters of the early medieval period, are full of references and allusions to township bounds.

With few exceptions, boundaries for the Vale of Pickering Area are beyond even possible map identification. They appear in charters which assume that the position of the boundaries are common knowledge and proceed to fix the location of arable, meadow or pasture relative to these metes. For example, Rievaulx held

pasture rights which ran over the moors to the boundaries of Helmsley against Cleveland.[15] Similarly, lands of Malton Priory in the fields of Amotherby extended to the limits of Swinton.[16] Meadow of Bridlington Priory in Staxton lay juxtaposed to the boundary of Flixton[17] and pasture on Folkton Wold is described as lying next to the bounds of Fordon.[18] So frequent are such references that there can be little doubt that the townships of the study area were well defined territorial units before the end, if not from the opening, of the early medieval period.

In a few cases, almost exclusive to Rievaulx Cartulary, boundaries of individual townships such as Houeton, Keldholme, Rievaulx and Welburn are set out in great detail.[19] However, because so many places, or even stream courses, named along the boundaries are either lost or are changed on modern maps, these charters only reveal that the modern boundaries may follow roughly the same axial trends and enclose approximately the same area of land. From the available documents, therefore, it is impossible to determine whether the medieval boundaries were or were not co-terminus with those of the modern day.

However, the general boundary material indicates some interesting characteristics of medieval township limits in the study area. Intercommoning; two or more townships sharing rather than dividing up a pastoral area with definite boundaries; appears to have been a fairly common procedure. The men of Houeton, Welburn, Wombleton and Bowforth all intercommoned together in Ryedale[20] as did those of Little Habton with Great Barugh[21] and Great Habton with Ryton.[22] Similar practices

were carried out between Spaunton and Lastingham[23] and Newton and Pickering[24] on the North York Moors. There were probably many more cases of intercommoning between townships which failed to be preserved in the records and such practices suggest that some territorial units of the study area were not entirely encircled by definite boundaries.

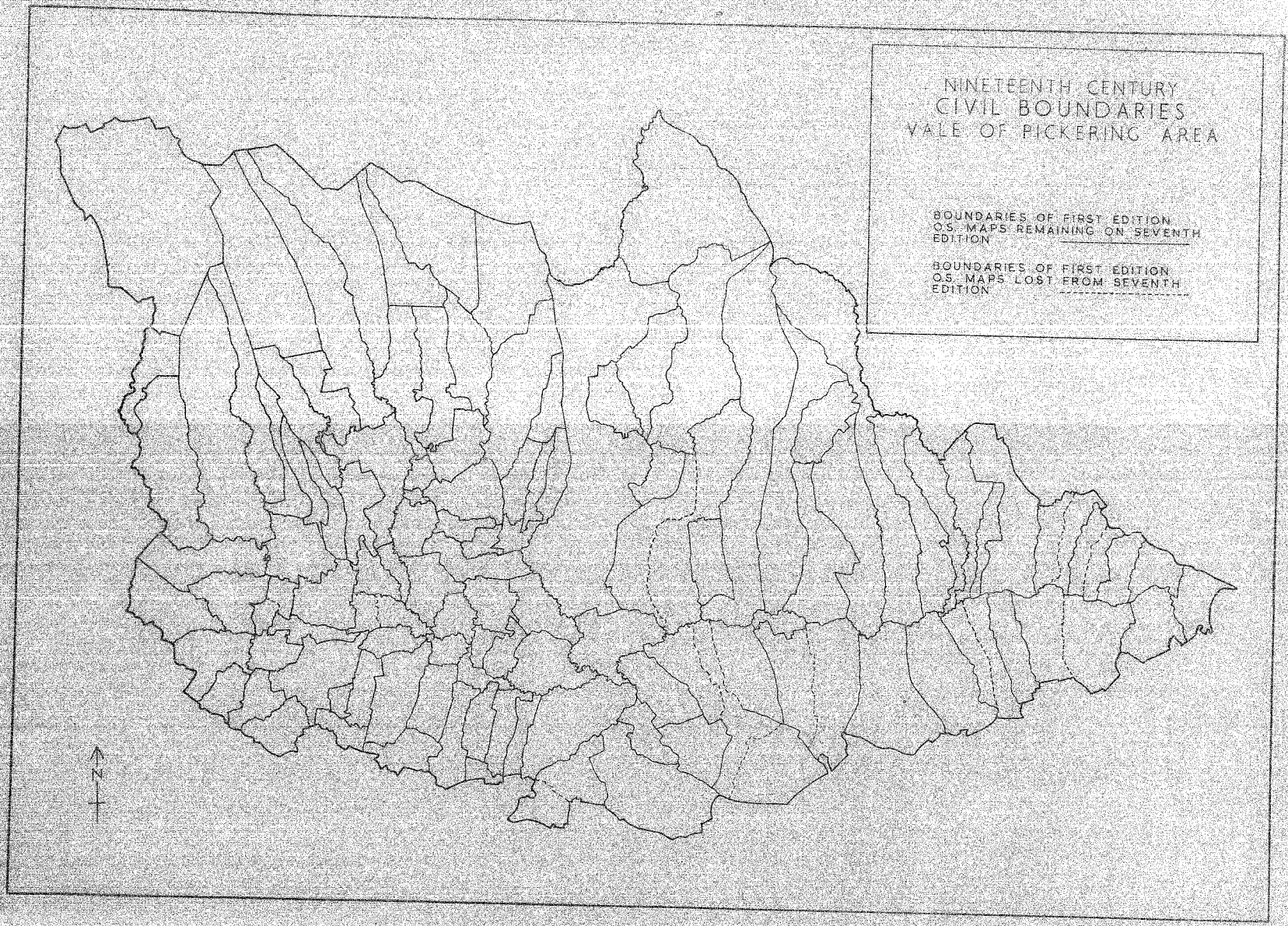
A second peculiar township feature appears in documents concerning lands upon the low-lying valley floor. The men of Folkton during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries are found pasturing their animals north of the River Hertford in the marshes of the townships of Cayton, Gristhorpe, Lebberston and Osgodby. Although there was litigation concerning their rights to pasture outside the township of Folkton, it was not due to complaint by the men of Cayton, Gristhorpe, Lebberston and Osgodby, but due to the infringement of forest law. Upon payment of the appropriate fine, the men of Folkton were allowed to continue to pasture outside their own township.[25] Although the township boundaries in this situation appear to have been defined they do not seem to have been defended against the infringement of one community upon another. From this instance the writer is inclined to wonder how rigidly other boundaries in the wetlands of the valley floor were enforced and if boundaries laid out in the marshy lowland were always as clearly defined as those in other parts of the township. Similar questions might be asked about boundaries on the Wold or high moors, but the documents give no details of their features. All that is physically known of the boundaries of the upland is that they were sometimes traced out between stones, cairns or

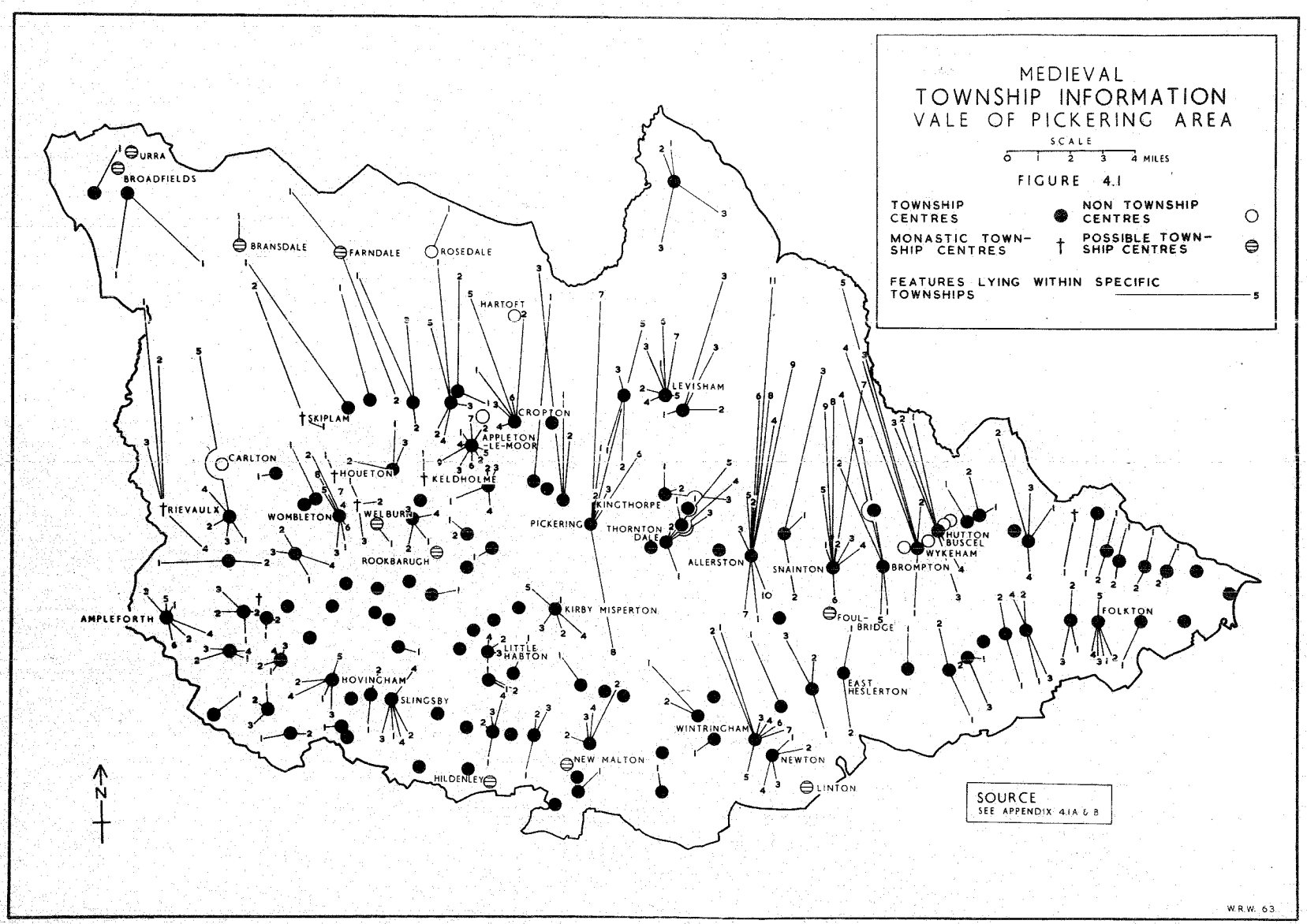
crosses,[26] markers also characteristic of modern civil parish limits. Conversely, in the lowlands references are frequently to ditches or dykes, but these features are rarely preserved beneath the pertinent modern boundaries.[27] Even on the high moors, the use of similar types of boundary markers is no secure proof that the township limits have not been altered since medieval time.

(c) Medieval Townships

Although the medieval information on boundaries does not lend itself to cartographic presentation, a method has been devised using other medieval information to indicate the axial and probably the spatial trends of certain of these territorial units. All data from medieval documents which can be related to names or features of estate plans, enclosure maps, tithe awards and Ordnance Survey maps are listed with brief details of their spatial identification in appendix 4.1(b) under the name of the township in which they lay. Most of this information has already been listed for the chapter on vegetation and in these instances the details are replaced by a cross-reference. Every item in each township bears a number which corresponds to a similar digit on figure 4.1, joined to the appropriate township centre by a radial line.

This method of graphic presentation, while simple and in many instances visually effective, suffers from severe limitations because of the scarcity of identifiable material and because of the limited spatial accuracy with which references can be identified. The material listed in the appendix represents only a fragment of the data available but unidentifiable for most townships.


NINETEENTH CENTURY
CIVIL BOUNDARIES
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
BOUNDARIES OF FIRST EDITION O.S. MAPS REMAINING ON SEVENTH EDITION
BOUNDARIES OF FIRST EDITION O.S. MAPS LOST FROM SEVENTH EDITION
N


MEDIEVAL
TOWNSHIP INFORMATION
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 4.1
TOWNSHIP CENTRES
NON TOWNSHIP CENTRES
MONASTIC TOWNSHIP CENTRES
POSSIBLE TOWNSHIP CENTRES
FEATURES LYING WITHIN SPECIFIC TOWNSHIPS
SOURCE
SEE APPENDIX 4.1A & B
N
URRA
BROADFIELDS
BRANSDALE
FARNDALE
ROSEDALE
HARTOFT
SKIPLAM
CROPTON
APPLETON LE-MOOR
LEVISHAM
CARLTON
HOUETON
KELDHOLME
TRIEVAULX
WOMBLETON
WELBURN
ROOKBARUGH
PICKERING
KINGTHORPE
THORNTON DALE
ALLERSTON
SNAINTON
BRUTTON BUSCEL
WYKEHAM
BROMPTON
FOUL-BRIDGE
FOLKTON
AMPLEFORTH
KIRBY MISPERTON
LITTLE HABTON
HOVINGHAM
SLINGSBY
EAST HESLERTON
WINTRINGHAM
NEWTON
NEW MALTON
HILDENLEY
LINTON
W.R.W. 63

The identifiable information is very unevenly spread over the townships and many of these territorial units are either totally or nearly totally without references in the appendix. Even more important, much of the material included in the appendix constitutes only simple references to moor or marsh, to pasture on the Wolds or meadow near the Derwent in a specified township. As a result the validity of the precise location of many numbers on the map is open to doubt. Unfortunately this limitation on accuracy is unavoidably inherent in the available material.

Nevertheless, the map reveals some interesting spatial and axial features of the medieval townships in the study area. Most outstanding is the prevalence of townships with linear shapes. This shape appears to be characteristic around the margin of Ryedale where Slingsby, Hovingham and Rievaulx are excellent examples. It is even more continuously shown in townships centred at the foot of the Wold or on the eastern moraine. However, it is much more clearly pronounced in the north-east quarter of the map at Hutton, Wykeham, Brompton, Snainton, Allerston and Pickering where the townships appear to run from the valley floor to the northern boundary of the study area. These apparent strip townships vary tremendously in size from tiny Wombleton to the enormous expanses indicated at Allerston or Pickering. Collectively they further confirm the previous assertion that villages around the periphery of the Vale had particular environmental advantages in their agrarian situation between the uplands and lowlands of the study area.

In contrast, the available graphic data would suggest

that some townships were much more compact in their shapes. Little Habton, Kirby Misperton and Great Edston near Houeton are excellent examples of this semi-circular shape in the lowlands of Ryedale where mapable information is particularly scant. Similar shapes appear in several townships around Ampleforth which held land both above and below the southern scarp of the Cauklass Promontory. Appleton-le-Moor is an excellent example of a compact township in a densely settled area of the Tabular slopes. Levisham similarly qualifies, although its area seems unusually large, and Newton (par Wintringham) may also qualify, although its axial characteristics are less clearly discernible. Around Kingthorpe and Thornton Dale townships may also have assumed compact shapes, but even their general characteristics are too complex to be determined with the present method. It is probably significant that the map shows compact townships becoming numerous only in the western half of the study area where the pattern of township centres loses its unique linear alignment about the valley floor. In and around Ryedale these centres, assuming a dense and irregular distribution, probably prevented many individual communities from having the highly advantageous strip shape for their agricultural territories so common farther east.

Among the other village centres for which there is little available information for the shapes or size of their townships, those upon the Tabular scarp between Skiplam and Cropton are very interesting. Each appears to have had a township which stretched a considerable distance north towards Cleveland. In each case the township includes lands in the consequent valleys of

Bransdale, Farndale, Rosedale or Hartoft. The settlements of these last two valleys are definitely known to have been in Cropton township. It is inviting to assume the Bransdale and Farndale communities similarly lay within one of these other township units. Similarly the writer wonders if the settlements of Urra and Broadfields were in adjacent townships of Bilsdale or Raisdale. Perhaps such inclusion within the bounds of neighbouring townships explains their classification as only possible township centres. Unfortunately such a hypothesis must remain in the realm of pure speculation.

The concrete conclusions to be drawn from the analysis of medieval township information for the Vale of Pickering Area are as follows. While the majority of townships were in a one to one relationship with the village communities, instances where one such territorial unit contained either no village or two or more communities were not unknown. Although the medieval boundary information does not lend itself to geographic portrayal, it provides a concrete basis for the belief that definite township limits were existent during, if not before, the study period. However, evidence of intercommoning would indicate that at least some townships may not have been completely enclosed by well defined boundaries. Slender evidence and much pure speculation may suggest that boundaries in the environmental extremes of the valley floor, the high moors, and the Wolds were not as clearly defined or as rigidly defended as limits elsewhere about the individual township. Most significant of all, however, is the clear proof of both strip-shaped and compact townships in the Vale of Pickering Area during the period of study. This

feature forms a basic but concrete connection between the spatial characteristics of townships of the thirteenth and civil parishes of the nineteenth century because the latter units have long been recognized as having these shapes.

Modern Information

It would be rash to jump immediately to the conclusion that the retention of certain shape characteristics by English townships for a period of six hundred years necessarily implies that the civil parish of the nineteenth century often had boundaries co-terminus with its fore-runner, the medieval township. As already mentioned for the study area, certain boundaries may have been altered in the early medieval period itself. Monastic dissolution and the subsequent alienation of large blocks of such ecclesiastical land from the Crown may also have caused boundary alteration. The advent of Elizabethan Poor Law administration is known to have brought about boundary changes, particularly, however, in urban areas.[28] Other changes concerning the conversion of townships to modern civil parishes and the amalgamation of civil parish units have been moderately frequent since the commencement of administrative reforms in 1832.[29] They have perhaps been most common since the advent of the Local Government Act of 1894.[30] Some townships in England may have remained unaffected by these various general causes of boundary change. Others were probably changed, sub-divided or amalgamated with adjacent units, although the basic features of the township shape may remain unaltered. From the outset therefore, the civil boundaries of the modern map cannot be said categorically

to be the medieval limit.

The first comprehensive record of civil parish limits for the Vale of Pickering Area appeared on the first edition Ordnance Survey maps of 1857. They are presented on the overlay to figure 4.1, which reveals that several of the old boundaries have been lost from the map due to administrative changes of the last century. A comparison of these units with tithe awards and enclosure information usually indicates that these civil parishes were co-terminus with systems of communal agriculture, as were their medieval fore-runners. A second comparison of individual parish bounds with those of seventeenth or eighteenth century estate plans at Allerston, Lastingham, Pickering, Slingsby, Settrington and Wintringham reveals individual cases where modern limits had remained unaltered for at least a century before the Ordnance map. Neither comparison, however, provides any concrete proof that boundaries had not been altered since medieval time.

Examination of the overlay and the underlying map together provides some definite graphic evidence for the correlation of at least some thirteenth and nineteenth century boundaries in the study area. The combined map in fact reveals that many nineteenth century limits effectively enclose all identified features of individual medieval townships. However, the significance of this spatial correlation is reduced or tempered by the previously admitted weaknesses inherent in plotting the medieval material accurately. Nevertheless, every strip or compact shape identified in the medieval period assumes a similar outline in its nineteenth century boundaries. The suggested medieval concentration of

compact shapes in and around Ryedale is extremely evident from the overlay.

However, some of the nineteenth century boundary information is incompatible with medieval township information shown on the underlying map. In several cases two or more township centres of the medieval study area are enclosed by a single set of nineteenth century civil boundaries. Good examples appear in the vicinity of Thornton Dale, Folkton and Snainton as well as near Hildenley, New Malton and Urra. Such situations may reflect the occurrence of discrete medieval townships, but the writer thinks it more probable that the greatest majority result from the amalgamation of township units since the close of the early medieval period.

In contrast there are some nineteenth century townships for which there were apparently no medieval counterparts. With the exception of Marishes, a part of Pickering township in the medieval time, the remainder are mostly on the western North York Moors. The medieval township of Rievaulx appears in the nineteenth century to have been sub-divided into Rievaulx and Laskill, while medieval Cropton appears broken into Rosedale East, Rosedale West, Hartoft and Cropton. In addition, except for minor infringements between Newton and Pickering and Kingthorpe and Thornton Dale, the plotted medieval township features only cross nineteenth century boundaries in this same moorland area. Indeed, in this north-west segment of moorland and consequent valleys the modern boundaries show little relationship to the medieval information. Because of the limited spatial accuracy in plotting the medieval data this lack of correlation would be inconclusive were it not for the fact that most

boundaries in this same area, unlike limits anywhere else on the map, are obviously surveyed. Although the evidence therefore reveals that modern boundaries in this area appear to post-date the medieval period, this is not conclusive proof that they did not replace earlier possibly less well defined territorial limits.

The following conclusions can be drawn from this brief comparison of nineteenth century civil limits and the available information on the medieval townships of the Vale of Pickering Area. In all probability most of the civil metes of the nineteenth century were at least good facsimiles of their medieval predecessors. However, the exceptions to this rule are fairly numerous. Certainly they are frequent enough to invalidate any application of Beresford's extreme generalization. At least in the study area most of the post-medieval boundaries can, however, be recognized by their surveyed linear characteristics. In addition, while Maitland may be quite correct in seeing the medieval township as the modern civil parish, the corollary does not apply. Not all medieval township metes find even probable expression in the boundaries of the nineteenth century civil parish.

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CHAPTER FIVE

MANORS

Introduction

Previously, early medieval England was envisioned as being divided into stereotyped manorial units.[1] Each unit was assumed to be areally co-terminus with a township and to be the administrative, economic and organizational centre of a village community. It was an administrative unit because the manor court dispensed the customal law of the township, which law primarily concerned the operation of the communal agrarian system by manorial tenants. It was an economic unit in which the lord's farm or demesne was worked by villeins and cottars in return for their tenancies and in which the lord's revenue was further augmented by rents and services of free tenants and by remunerations from such monopolies as mills and ovens. It was an organizational unit in the system of feudal tenure in which the manorial community was subordinate to its lord, just as he was in vassalage to his feudal superiors. In essence, every manor was a focal entity, stereotyped in form and operation, for the socio-economic complex which composed the village-township unit.

Ballard, Maitland, Round and Vinogradoff were among the early critics of this concept of stereotyped manors.[2] They pointed to numerous instances where manors lacked courts or failed to be co-terminus with townships. They revealed that manors frequently had no hall, no resident lords and often no demesne. They unearthed numerous

instances where manors had no freemen, no villeins or no cottars. Maitland even suggested that the administrative, economic and organizational characteristics of individual manors were too varied to permit a simple definition of the term.[3]

Later writers found evidence to suggest that although every manor was to some extent unique, certain characteristics were more pronounced among manors in one part of England than in another. After the devastation in 1069 manors in the Vale of York were frequently mere complexes of free tenants.[4] Manors in the Danelaw were often centres of large discrete estates or soke and berewick property.[5] In Northumbrian England demesne played a minor role in the manorial economy and manors were sometimes so large that they included all townships and villages of a complete hundred.[6] Similar regional differences have been noted in Cheshire, East Anglia and Kent.[7]

This tendency to study the major characteristics of manors by region is probably the direct result of a general shortage of manorial documents for definitive work at the local areal level. Relatively few documents of the early medieval period deal with the manor, as compared with the number which deal with land or property in the township. The inability of such regional study to accurately portray the local manorial characteristics is reflected in Kosminsky's recent analysis of the Hundred Rolls where he distinguished seven sub-types of manors within the Midlands, an area often thought of as a moderately homogeneous region of stereotyped manors.[8] However, such rich Hundred Roll materials are not extant for Yorkshire.

Most manorial material for the Vale of Pickering Area in the study period is only adequate to indicate the existence of undefined entities termed manors. Few documents provide information either on the manorial characteristics or the internal operation of these feudal units. As a result the following work is largely limited to a superficial examination of the basic manorial structure of the study area as it conformed or failed to conform to the township pattern and as it reflected the general scale of manorial function vested in different villages. By using both Domesday Book and subsequent documentary records it is possible to graphically portray such structure both at the opening and towards the close of the study period and to see at least some of the changes which occurred before 1350. In addition, more explicit records, available for some few manors, can be used to qualify the general conclusions derived from the simple analysis of manorial structure.

Domesday Manorial Structure

The feudal agrarian units recorded for the study area in the Yorkshire Domesday divide into manors, berewicks and sokes. These have already been listed in appendix 3.1(b) according to the vill to which the Survey assigned them, except in the instances of Airyholme, Linton and Torp, for which Domesday gives no manorial data. In this chapter their condition will be ignored, since interest is directed at manorial structure rather than at the agrarian state of these feudal units in 1086.

The term manor, but not the institution, was a Norman innovation appearing first in the Survey as the

alternative status to berewick and soke.[9] It is probable that the Domesday manors were generally less well developed administratively, economically and organizationally than in the peak period of manorialism some two centuries later.[10] However, this may not have been true either in individual cases or in local areas. The condition of manors in Yorkshire at the time of the Survey and the poorly documented period after Domesday Book combine to negate any possibility of determining the degree of manorial development existent in the study area at the time of the Norman Conquest.

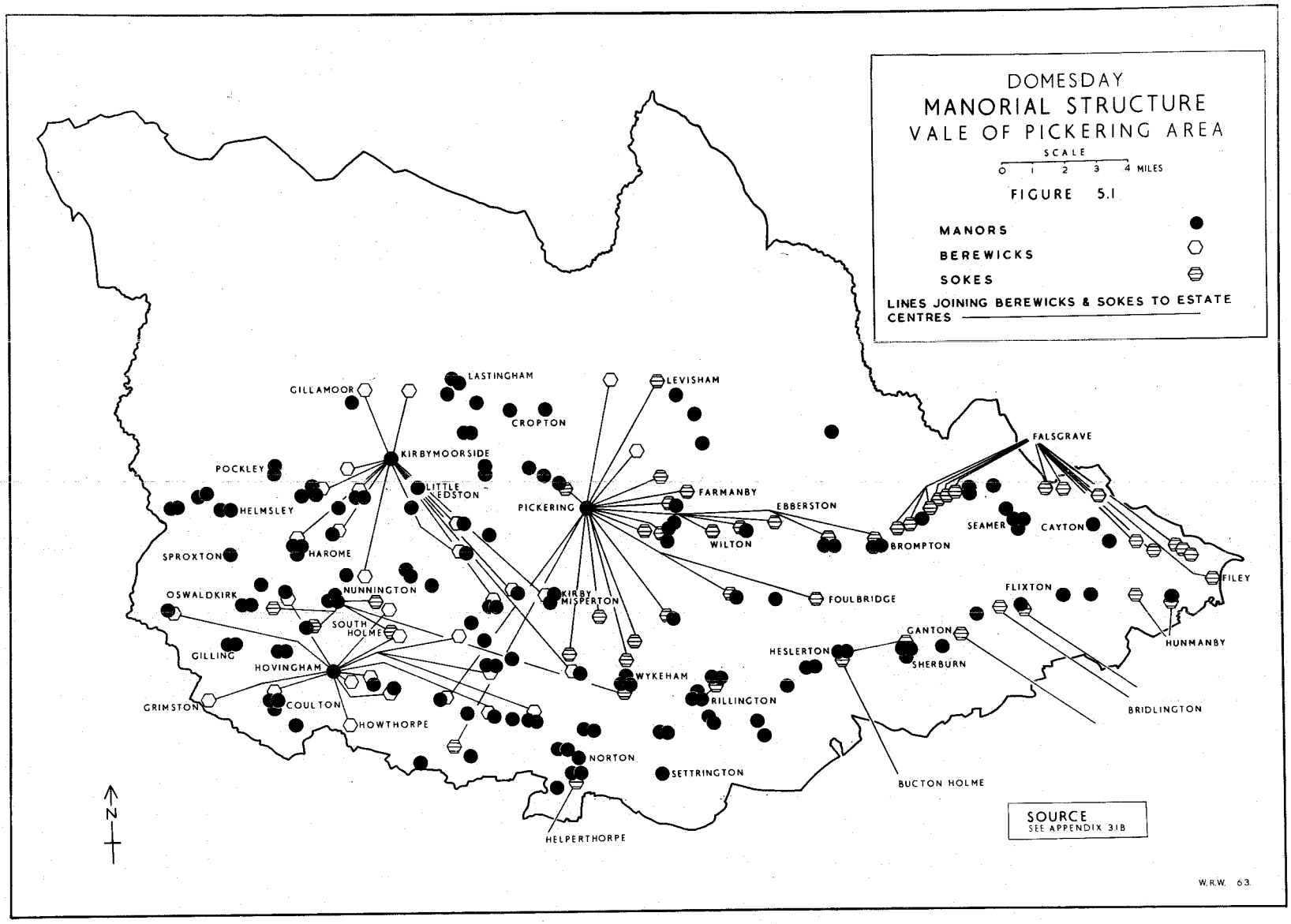
Most Domesday manors in England are believed to represent previous Anglo-Saxon agrarian units developed around a "principal dwelling".[11] Recent work has suggested, as did Seebohm's study in the last century, that some manors may have descended from Roman villas.[12] There are also arguments to suggest that at least the discrete estate had Celtic origins.[13] Conversely, both Stenton and Vinogradoff believe that some manors were purely Norman creations.[14] Such differences in age and origin, where represented in the Domesday manors of the study area, were probably reflected in the degree of development and the internal characteristics of each such feudal unit.

For those feudal units which were under active agrarian exploitation in 1086, the Survey lists such assets as churches, labourers, meadows, mills and pastures and gives the total manorial value. Such information, however, is available for only a limited number of feudal units and reveals nothing about the internal operation of the individual manor. Only the carucage or geld assessment is recorded for every feudal unit,

but this figure is believed to bear no real relationship either to total size or economic value in the mid eleventh century.[15] It is therefore impossible to construct even a reliable size or value classification of feudal agrarian units in the study area at the time of the Norman Conquest. However, it is possible to reveal the basic manorial structure and to see at least superficially its relationship to townships and villages. For this purpose the information concerning the allocation of feudal units among the Domesday vills is presented cartographically as figure 5.1.

This map shows the basic areal difference between the compact manor and the discrete estate. It reveals that more than one compact manor was often centred upon a single village with its lands in the territory of that community. Some compact manors may have held contiguous property beyond the territorial limits of their vills, but Domesday Book's basic organization of all feudal units according to the villages upon which they were centred effectively masks this very probable situation.

Conversely the discrete estate was essentially a discontinuous unit of property extending areally beyond the bounds of the township upon which it was centred, and involving the control of other villages and their territories, sometimes in part, sometimes in entirety. Estates such as Hovingham, Kirbymoorside, Pickering and Nunnington had centres and their areally widespread lands exclusively in the study area as did the tiny estates of Heslerton and Rillington. Falsgrave, which was also the centre for a large estate within the Vale of Pickering Area, lay outside its bounds. The centres of such estates as Bridlington, Bucton Holme and Hunmanby


DOMESDAY
MANORIAL STRUCTURE
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 5.1
MANORS
BEREWICKS
SOKES
LINES JOINING BEREWICKS & SOKES TO ESTATE CENTRES
GILLAMOOR
LASTINGHAM
CROPTON
LEVISHAM
FALSGRAVE
KIRBYMOORSIDE
POCKLEY
LITTLE EDSTON
PICKERING
FARMANBY
EBBERSTON
HELMSLEY
SEAMER
CAYTON
SPROXTON
HAROME
WILTON
BROMPTON
FILEY
NUNNINGTON
KIRBY MISPERTON
FOULBRIDGE
FLIXTON
OSWALDKIRK
SOUTH HOLME
GANTON
HUNMANBY
GILLING
HOVINGHAM
HESLERTON
SHERBURN
WYKEHAM
GRIMSTON
COULTON
HOWTHORPE
RILLINGTON
BRIDLINGTON
NORTON
SETTRINGTON
BUCTON HOLME
HELPERTHORPE
N
SOURCE
SEE APPENDIX 3.1B
W.R.W. 63.

also lay outside and only part of their soke lands lay within the study area. Unlike the compact manors which frequently held lands in the same vill, these estates rarely impinged either upon the same village or upon each other's rough "zones of influence". This can clearly be seen on figure 5.1. However, there are some exceptions to this general rule, which appear in Ryedale where the village of Holme was divided between two estates and where some outlying members of the estates of Hovingham, Kirbymoorside, Nunnington and Pickering were areally intermixed.

It is probably safe to assume that of all manors the discrete estates of the study area, because of their size and complexity, were most highly developed in the exercise of manorial control over their land. There was, however, an essential difference in the degree of control emanating from the centres of those estates exclusively composed of berewick properties and those exclusively or largely composed of sokes. Stenton has shown that berewicks were detached portions of the central manor while sokes were separate properties linked to the estate centre only by certain undefined responsibilities.[16] As a result, while Hovingham and Kirbymoorside were really discrete manors with all control focused upon the estate centres, the rest of the estates were more loosely organized entities with some portion of their manorial control alienated to the individual soke. This difference, though possibly slight, was probably fundamental in the administrative, economic and organizational operation of these two types of discrete units.

Disregarding these estates as composite entities,

the map also reveals some interesting variations in the relationship between village and feudal unit, both because these units varied in type and because they were spread unevenly over the settlement pattern. In villages such as Cayton, Scackleton, Settrington and Sproxton the entire territory of a village community would appear to have been co-terminus with the lands of a single manor. In other instances such as at Ebberston, Farmanby, Filey and Ganton the village community was coincident with a single soke and in yet other villages such as Gillamoor and Grimston the village and village lands lay entirely in a berewick. Common to all these examples and many other villages in the settlement pattern was a simple relationship between village township and feudal unit. However, while in the first cases manorial control was entirely generated within the community unit, the soke village had at least some control emanating from outside its territory and the berewick village had no manorial control vested within its areal limits. Nevertheless, in each instance, the village community appears to have been coincident with the community of the feudal unit.

In contrast to such simple relationships are the numerous complex manorial villages shown on the map, such as Nunnington, where two or more manors sometimes with the addition of berewick or soke properties as at Brompton, operated in a single village. In these cases, many questions might be asked concerning the manorial control of the territory of the vill; the most important centring upon the administration of the communal agrarian system. In such complexes, where manorial and village community did not coincide, did each manor hold its own

court or was the customal law administered by a single body such as a village moot? If the latter existed in communities containing different types of feudal units, did its jurisdiction conflict with that of the berewick or soke whose administration in toto or in part was directed from outside the township? To these and other related questions the available information supplies no answers. It is at least possible that the administrative arrangements of each complex manorial village had developed with the village custom and were as varied as the internal characteristics of individual feudal units.

The preceding analysis of manorial structure and its relationship to the village and village lands leads to the following general conclusions. Compact manors and the vills of Domesday Book were often not co-terminus and the basic organization of the Survey's information may mask further instances where manor and township failed to coincide. In addition the study area contained in toto or in part the lands of several discrete estates of varying size which failed to conform to the limits of their central vill and spread their manorial control over other village communities in part or in entirety. This frequent lack of co-terminance between manors and Domesday vills was presumably reflected in a frequent lack of coincidence between the manorial community and that of the village. In berewick estates all manorial control emanated from the estate centre, but in estates largely or entirely composed of soke some control was probably held by the individual discrete feudal unit. The uneven distribution of manors, berewicks and sokes over the village pattern resulted in a varying degree

of functional control being centred on different communities. The most important foci of manorial function were probably villages which were centres for berewick estates, followed closely by those which were centres of soke estates. Conversely, the least important foci of manorial function were villages entirely composed of berewick property followed by those composed exclusively of soke. However, between these two extremes lay most of the villages of the settlement pattern where one or more manors sometimes combined with a soke or berewick operated in the territory of a single community. In these instances, involving both simple and complex manorial villages, the strength of manorial function probably varied widely because of the unique characteristics of each manor, different manorial origins and peculiar administrative arrangements existing in complex villages. The only significant distributional features of villages in this hierarchy of manorial function is the concentration of discrete estate centres in Ryedale and the Vale periphery region and the predominant occurrence of berewick villages in the western half of the study area as opposed to the almost exclusive occurrence of soke villages in the east.

Early Medieval Manorial Structure

The early medieval period spanned both the development of manorialism to its peak in England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the beginning of its decline with the commutation of labour services to rents and the leasing of demesne land.[17] Until the statute of Quia Emptores in 1290 it was a period of rapid subinfeudation; the creation of new manors through the division

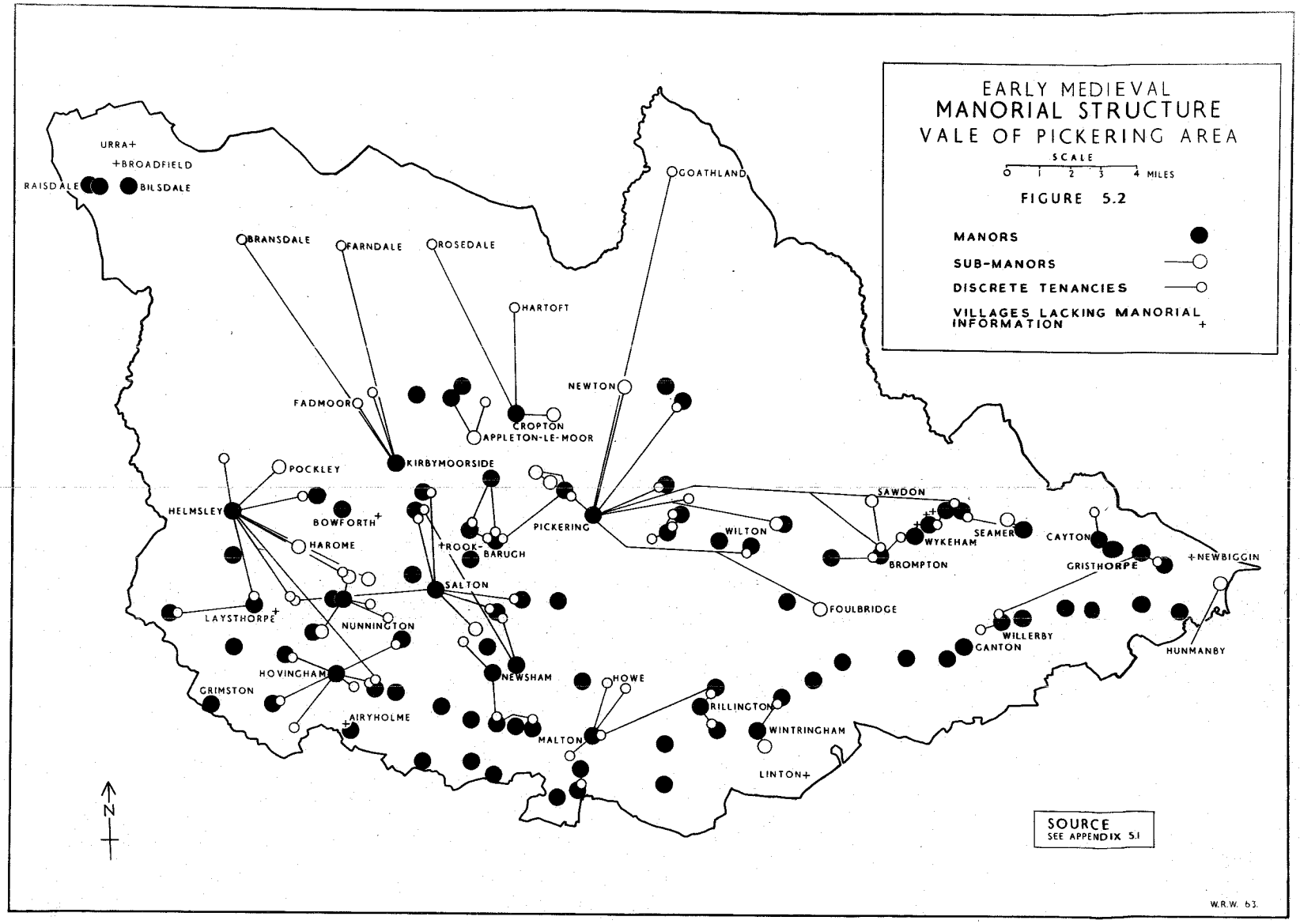
or conversion of older feudal agrarian units.[18] Peculiarly enough it was also a period of manorial amalgamation and the formation of large manorial units, sometimes discrete in structure.[19] At least in the Danelaw it was also a period during which the relationship between manor and village became less complex.[20] In short, the early medieval period would seem to have been a time of rapid and almost continuous change in manorial structure.

Unfortunately, manorial reference material for the Vale of Pickering Area is often not explicit and is, moreover, in scant supply for the study period. References to soke and berewick do not appear among the records and most available data merely indicates the existence of entities which are termed manors and which bear specific village names. Such general information appears most frequently in deeds, fines, monastic documents and royal charters. However, more detailed information in certain inquisitions, deeds and fines permits not only the identification of the manor but the distinction of two subordinate entities in the manorial structure of the study area. Some manors such as Harome and Pockley are described as being subordinate to yet other manors; in this case to Helmsley. Such entities subordinate to yet other manors in the study area will be termed sub-manors. Other manors, take for example Newsham, held lands, tenements and bondsmen in other townships; in this case Amotherby and Butterwick. While some of these units may have been sub-manors which failed to be so specified in the documents, most were probably discrete portions of manors lying outside the township upon which the manor was centred. This type of subordinate

unit in the study area will be termed a discrete tenancy. The reader should be warned from the outset that subordination in the feudal hierarchy need not have carried implications of smaller size. Although the documents provide no proof, it is at least possible, if not likely, that in individual instances such subordinate entities were areally more extensive than some of the manorial units.

Appendix 5.1 includes all direct documentary references to manors, sub-manors and discrete tenancies for the Vale of Pickering Area in the study period. These references are organized by villages existent later than 1200, in whose territory these feudal units are said to lie. At least one reference exists for all but 10 of the villages and the majority post-date the mid thirteenth century. Figure 5.2, which is based upon this appendix, is therefore largely a picture of manorial structure in the latter half of the study period. Because of the limited supply of manorial information and because of the probablxity of almost continuous change in manorial structure during the study period, this map is an incomplete portrayal of both structure and the existing structural relationships at any specific date. However, certain general conclusions can be drawn from its analysis and in some instances can be qualified from a very limited supply of yet more explicit information.

This map would suggest that manor and township and therefore the manorial community and village community frequently continued to be non-coterminus entities in the later years of the early medieval period. Many communities can be seen to have contained discrete tenancies belonging to manors in other townships. Such


EARLY MEDIEVAL
MANORIAL STRUCTURE
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 5.2
MANORS
SUB-MANORS
DISCRETE TENANCIES
VILLAGES LACKING MANORIAL INFORMATION +
URRA+
+BROADFIELD
RAISDALE
BILSDALE
BRANSDALE
FARNDALE
ROSEDALE
GOATHLAND
HARTOFT
FADMOOR
CROPTON
APPLETON-LE-MOOR
NEWTON
KIRBYMOORSIDE
POCKLEY
HELMSLEY
BOWFORTH+
HAROME
+ROOK-
BARUGH
PICKERING
SAWDON
WILTON
WYKEHAM
SEAMER
CAYTON
BROMPTON
GRISTHORPE
+NEWBIGGIN
SALTON
FOULBRIDGE
LAYSTHORPE+
NUNNINGTON
WILLERBY
GANTON
HUNMANBY
HOVINGHAM
NEWSHAM
HOWE
GRIMSTON
AIRYHOLME
RILLINGTON
WINTRINGHAM
MALTON
LINTON+
N
SOURCE
SEE APPENDIX 5.1
W.R.W. 63.

tenancies appear either to have comprised the whole of a township, a feature most pronounced in Ryedale and the large consequent valleys, or to have lain in communities which also had their own manors, as for example at Willerby. Other communities contained sub-manors either uniquely as at Harome or in combination with a manor or a discrete tenancy also belonging to a manor outside the township. Since the information upon which the map is based is admittedly incomplete, it is probable that figure 5.2 under-estimates the actual number of instances where township and manorial limits failed to coincide.

In some cases, usually where a manor had both discrete tenancies and sub-manors appurtenant, the total unit is extensive enough to be termed a discrete estate. Such estates centred at Hovingham, Kirbymoorside, Nunnington and Pickering appear to have evolved from former Domesday discrete units. However, the former estates of Bridlington, Bucton Holme, Falsgrave, Helperthorpe and Heslerton seem to have disappeared, while those of Rillington and Hunmanby remained, but are too insignificant to be of note. Of those large estates which continued to exist none either retained all its former property or failed to add at least one subordinate unit in a village community previously uninvolved in its lands (see figures 5.1 and 5.2). Nunnington appears to have lost control of the greatest part of its former discrete property, while Kirbymoorside has been bereft of all its extensive berewick lands in Ryedale but has retained Gillamoor and added Bransdale, Fadmoor and Farndale.* In each of these instances the early medieval

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* The early medieval estates of Cropton, Kirbymoorside

estate centre continued to exert control over several village communities in part or in entirety just as it did at the opening of the study period.

In addition several new discrete estates were formed during the early medieval period. The map reveals some to be small, as in the case of Brompton and Wintringham. However, those of Cropton and Malton were of moderate size and those of Helmsley and Salton rivalled in extent the estates with pre-Conquest origins. This tendency for some compact Domesday manors to become large estate units in the early medieval period has also been noted in the Midlands.[22] As in the case of estates developed from Domesday discrete entities, these new discrete manors of the study area probably initiated all or most of the manorial control for several townships or parts of townships.

Figure 5.2 would also suggest that the relationship between manor and village in the Vale of Pickering Area had undergone considerable simplification during the early medieval period. Because of the slender basis of evidence upon which this map is produced, the map may over-emphasize this apparent trend, but the existing information would at least suggest that few villages continued to be the centre for two or more manors. Some feudal units probably disappeared after Domesday, like the villages in whose lands they lay, either because of Cistercian grange development or because of

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and Pickering all included subordinate units in non-Domesday settlements of the consequent valley region. It is possible if not probable that in at least some of these cases the development of such settlements resulted from a programme of colonization of waste land directed from the centre of what Titow terms "colonizing manors".[21]

the effects of wasting of 1069. Indeed it would be interesting to know what role the devastation played in the evolution of manors in the remaining communities. Presumably this trend towards a reduction in the number of manors in the township resulted from some process of amalgamation, which process may well have been at work throughout the study period. Such amalgamation, for example, may explain the reduction of three manors to one at Seamer and of three manors and a berewick to a sub-manor at Harome. Similar trends in manorial structure have also been noted elsewhere in the Danelaw as well as in the Midlands and Northumbria.[23]

The map also reveals the apparent effect of subinfeudation upon manorial structure in the study area. This process seems to have resulted in the creation of new manors in the non-Domesday villages of Bilsdale and Raisdale and the appearance of the sub-manor of Sawdon. However, its effect on structure seems to have been most pronounced among the former members of discrete estates. Many former soke and berewick villages, such as Ganton, Grimston, Wilton and Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel), appear to have become manors. In fact such conversions of former subordinate feudal entities to manors seems largely responsible for the disappearance of or negative alteration in former Domesday discrete estates. The inevitable result of such changes seems to have been the appearance of more village communities the manorial control of which was entirely or largely generated internally.

The conclusions to be drawn from figure 5.2, in spite of alterations in manorial structure which have changed the relationship of feudal unit, township and

village, are much the same as those reached for figure 5.1. The community of the manor often remained non-coincident with the community of the village due to the frequent existence of discrete tenancies and of discrete estates. Amalgamation and the process of subinfeudation did much to simplify the manorial structure, but the three general classes of manorial function vested in the villages of the settlement pattern continued to exist. The most important foci of manorial function were probably the villages which were the centres for discrete estates, which centres had increased in number since the time of the Norman Conquest. Conversely, villages with only discrete tenancies probably had no manorial function and those few composed entirely of sub-manors probably assumed functional importance analagous to the former soke villages. Once again, between these extremes lay the greater proportion of the villages, those which contained manors with or without sub-manors and discrete tenancies operating in their townships. In these numerous cases manorial control, regardless of probable variations in its intensity from manor to manor, was largely vested within the limits of the township. The only significant features in the distribution of these various classes of the manorial hierarchy was the predominance of sub-manorial and discrete tenancy villages in Ryedale and the consequent valley region and the almost exclusive occurrence of discrete estate centres in Ryedale and about the periphery of the Vale.

Qualifications of the Map

The general conclusions reached from the analysis of figure 5.2 can be augmented and qualified by the

examination of certain additional material available for only a few manorial units of the study area. Such information as exists can but be dealt with under the three general characteristics attributed to all manors at the outset of this chapter: administrative control, economic structure and social organization.

Fundamental to the strength of the administrative control exercised by any manor was the existence or otherwise of a manorial court through which the lord or his official could dispense the agrarian custom.* Such courts are known to have been existent before the Norman Conquest but are believed to have become much more numerous with the rising tide of manorial development after 1086.[25] In the study area there are a number of vague references to courts in Kirby's Inquest and the Quo Warranto proceedings. These references indicate the existence of manorial courts both in compact manors such as Sinnington and Snainton and in discrete estate centres like Helmsley and Cropton.[26] They, however, reveal nothing about the court except its existence. Occasionally the information appearing in extents attached to inquisitions post mortem give additional details of interest. Courts at Helmsley and Pickering are found to have operated for entire estates, confirming that at least in these two cases the sub-manors and discrete tenancies had no control over the administration of their lands.[27] In addition, at Helmsley the court functioned not only for the agrarian community of the manor but

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* Because of the frequent lack of coincidence between township and manor the writer wonders, as did Maitland, whether in many cases the custom was that of the township or that of the manor.[24]

for the accompanying manorial borough.[28] Conversely, an extent for the manor of Barton-le-Street clearly states that there was no court and several other manors for which early medieval extents are given make no mention of income gained from perquisites of a court. Once again the unanswerable query arises: how was the agrarian system of the township or alternately, where township and manor failed to coincide, of the manor administered where the manor had no court? Although the available information is less than scant, it is probably safe to assume that at least some moderate proportion of the manors in the study area were without formal courts and in these cases the degree of administrative control initiated by the manor over the manorial community must have been small. Where this situation existed it would appear likely that the village community or communities must have been the predominant administrative agents of the agrarian system. While it is probably safe to assume that all discrete estate centres had courts and conversely that few if any of the sub-manorial or discrete tenancy villages had such instruments of administrative control, there must have been a fundamental but undefinable division in functional importance between those manorial villages which had strong central administration through a manor court and those which had not.

The inquisitions post mortem for the study area give important economic and organizational information about the manor wherever they are accompanied by a full extent of the value of the manorial assets of a lord upon the day he died. Such detailed manorial extents do not accompany every inquisition but are available

for 20 manors of the study area. Kosminsky has recently examined the inquisition post mortem to establish its reliability for the study of manorial characteristics. He has come to the conclusion that the extents frequently gave conservative estimates for the value of the various manorial assets which they list. In addition he has pointed out that many of the figures are only monetary approximations of remunerations paid in kind and that the sums assigned to demesne were only approximate values based upon rentable rather than actual value. In short the details of economic structure and social organization to be gleaned from these records for individual manors cannot validly be subjected to too intensive analysis.[29]

For present purposes, five items, the value of the capital messuage or dwelling, the demesne, the free tenants, villein and cottar remunerations are each expressed as a percentage of their total monetary value, designated the false total. This is then compared with the real total value of the manor and the difference, made up of the value of miscellaneous items such as courts, mills and ovens if they occur, is also expressed as a percentage. Such percentages and total monetary figures are to be found in appendix 5.2 for each of the 20 manors with full extents. The appendix also reveals that all these extents represent the conditions of individual manors in the last century of the study period.

An examination of the real totals for these manors indicates that they varied in value, presumably a rough indicator of relative size, from £1.18.0 for Coulton to £124.10.11 for the discrete manor of Kirbymoorside.

Although the absolute difference was great, 60% of the manors in this appendix had values below £25.0.0. This would suggest that large manors were not inordinately common, if this sample of manors in the last century of the study period is representative of all manors for the study area. In addition there is a strong possibility that the large manors were more frequently subjected to inquisitions post mortem than were small ones[30] and that the appendix as a sample cross-section of manors in the study area tends to over-emphasize the occurrence of large units. It should also be noted that, while all manors valued at more than £25.0.0 had miscellaneous assets such as one or more mills, a court, a park or an oven, such assets were entirely absent from half the smaller manors and in the other half were limited to mills. It would appear that the miscellaneous frills such as parks or ovens were characteristic of only the large manorial units. It may well be that the apparent absence of courts from all extents for small manors indicates that only those of considerable size and value were characterized by strong administrative control.

The economic composition of the manors of the study area appears to have differed as widely as did their size or value. Manors at Norton, Sawdon, Sinnington, Sherburn, Sproxton and Thornton Dale seem to have had no capital messuage, which suggests that both large and small manors were sometimes without either a resident lord or manorial official. In other cases the value of the dwelling forms a relatively small proportion of the total manorial value, except at Coulton, Fryton and West Nunnington where for unknown reasons small manors

appear to have placed a disproportionately high value on their residences.

The quantity of demesne land, as roughly indicated by its percentage value, varied from 6% at Sherburn to 78% at the sub-manor of Sawdon. Most frequently however the lord's farm was from a quarter to a half of the value of the five divisions under consideration. Several unusual occurrences in these manorial extents, however, centre on the proportion of demesne land. How, for example, can 62% of the manor of Aislaby have been demesne when no cottars or villeins were existent to work this land? Conversely, how could 96% of the value of Norton come from villein and cottar services in a manor where there was no demesne? It is vaguely possible in either case that former demesne land was being rented to bondsmen and that one figure either under bondsmen or demesne represented the rented value of this property. Concerning demesne in general it can only be pointed out that the size of the demesne, if proportional to its value, varied considerably from manor to manor and these variations appear to bear no relationship to the size of the manors involved.

An examination of the three divisions of labourers in this appendix reveals some further interesting features of manorial economics and of the composition of individual manorial communities. In several cases one entire class of labourers, sometimes even two classes, are missing for individual manors. However, only at Brompton where no cottars are listed do such circumstances involve large manors. Generally the value of villeins is greater than either that of freemen or of cottars, but exceptions to this rule appear as at

Barton-le-Street or Sherburn. The value of cottars on all estates is conversely small, presumably because the rents and services which they contributed to the manor were less than either of the other two classes.[31] More important however is the fact that the appendix reveals almost continual variation in the proportion of income derived from these labouring classes from manor to manor. Although some of this variety probably reflects inconsistent amounts of labour dues or rents owed by each class of labour on a particular manor, some may also be the result of the varying size of each class within individual manorial communities. In either case these differences, along with the instances where one or more whole classes of labour are lacking, indicate variations in the internal economic structure of individual feudal units. Where these differences reflect actual numerical variations among the labourer classes of a specific manor they must indicate similar variations in the social composition of individual villages.

Conclusions

At the time of the Norman Conquest the Vale of Pickering Area contained lands of a number of discrete estates - entities which were very common in the Danelaw. It also had a large number of compact manors, often occurring in groups within individual vills and possibly sometimes extending beyond the territorial limits of the vill upon which they were centred. Since the manorial units were frequently not coincident with the townships in which they lay, it can only follow that manorial community and village community were frequently non-co-terminus entities. Little is known about the internal

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operation of Domesday manors, but it has been realized that soke and berewick were subordinate properties of which only the berewick was entirely a discrete portion of a central estate. Generally speaking, the discrete estate centres were probably the most important seats of manorial function, while the berewick and soke villages at the opposite extreme exercised little or no control over their lands. However, the greatest number of villages in the study area had their own manors which, jointly or uniquely, must have exercised administrative, economic and social control over the lands of the township to some varying and unknown degree.

In the latter years of the study period, the manorial and village community often continued to lack coincidence, although the relationship between manorial structure and village pattern would appear to have undergone considerable simplification. Although some Domesday discrete units disappeared, others remained in modified forms along with several new discrete estates. Due to such changes in discrete units and to processes of amalgamation and subinfeudation, the relationship of manorial structure to the village pattern had undergone considerable change. However, three basic divisions of village manorial function remained. At the top were villages which were the centres of discrete estates and at the bottom were communities composed of sub-manors or discrete tenancies, the functional importance of which were low or non-existent. Most villages, however, lay between these two extremes with their own manorial function often not embracing all lands in their townships and conversely frequently extending beyond the bounds of their territories.

From the limited material available with which to qualify this analysis of early medieval manorial structure it would appear that not all manors of the study area exercised strong administrative control over their territories through a formal court. The size of the manor seems likely to have been the general criterion which determined the existence of a court and many small units without such courts were probably administratively weak. As a result, among the large number of villages with manorial functions there was probably a fundamental though hidden break in functional importance between those which had manorial courts and those which did not.

The very limited sample of manors for which information on internal features exists suggests wide variations in economic and social characteristics of individual cases. Although some manors were excessively large, it would appear likely that the greater proportion of such feudal units were small or moderately small. Regardless of size, wide variations occurred in the composition and the relative value of their component elements of capital messuage, demesne, freemen, villeins and cottars. Some even lacked one or more of these basic elements in entirety. Only the large manors showed the common occurrence of mills and ovens, which would suggest that such frills upon the basic manorial institution became common only as manorial wealth increased. Large manors as well seem most usually to have contained all three classes of manorial labourers, but among the smaller units one or more of these classes was sometimes entirely absent. This feature and the marked variation in income derived on individual manors from villeins, freemen and cottars, as shown in the

appendix, probably indicates continual differences from manor to manor in internal economic structure and presumably reflects variations in social composition which made every manorial community unique.

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Quo Warranto Proceedings, Edward I, II, III, vol. 2, Record Commission Publication, (London, 1818), pp.107, 189.

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28. Yorkshire Inquisitions, vol. 3, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser., vol. 31 (1906), p.32.
Minster Account, P.R.O., SC6/1078/1.

29. Kosminsky, E.A., Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century, (Oxford, 1956), pp.46-67.

30. Ibid, p.52.

31. Lipson, E., op. cit., pp.46-49.

CHAPTER SIX

AGRICULTURE

Introduction

Interest in medieval agriculture began in the nineteenth century with scholars such as Nasse and, most important, Seebohm who saw the township as the unit of agrarian organization and of communal agrarian operation.[1] Seebohm in particular was convinced that all land within each township was highly organized along communal lines. He envisaged every property holder having lands evenly distributed over the common field and a proportional share in the meadow, as well as the rights to graze his animals on the common and to share in the products of waste land.[2] For the most part his communal concept is accepted by modern historians and all lands in the township are believed to have been turned to one of these four agrarian uses. In fact anyone familiar with medieval documents is faced with continual attestations to the validity of his communal concept, inherent in the form and wording of monastic charters, deeds and fines. These records make constant reference at least to the first three agrarian elements in any description of land holdings.

Definitive works on communal agriculture have been almost exclusively directed at the common field; the one agrarian element which appears to have varied considerably in its mode of operation. Seebohm distinguished only the open field system of cultivation, recently reviewed by Orwin, from the rundale system to which subsequent attention has been given by Grant, McCourt

and others.[3] The open field is seen to have been a collection of numerous strips or selions in bundles termed furlongs. The total arable is believed to have been divided into two or three rotational units, each containing an equal proportion of every land-holder's scattered strips. One of these sub-fields lay fallow every year and like the meadow when the hay was cut, and the rest of the arable after harvest, it reverted to pastoral use. Rundale was composed of a communal in-field, continuously cultivated with the application of all available manure, and an out-field which received no dung. A portion of this out-field was cultivated continuously until its soil was exhausted, at which time it was fallowed and another section of out-field put to the plough. Seebohm attributed the open field system of co-aration to the Anglo-Saxon, replacing the older and in his view "more primitive" rundale operation which he believed to be essentially Celtic.[4]

Writers as early as Vinogradoff questioned Seebohm's belief that most open field townships had three rotational sub-fields in the early medieval period, pointing out that authors of medieval agricultural treatises were equally as familiar with systems with only two rotational sub-fields.[5] Gray revealed that open field agriculture existed in only an elongated belt which stretched north through the Midlands to include both Durham and Yorkshire.[6] His work also indicated the existence of peculiar local systems in East Anglia and Kent as well as the concentration of rundale agriculture in western England.[7] However, more recent scholars have found both open field townships in rundale areas and rundale systems operating in Yorkshire and Norfolk.[8] Such

irregular occurrences would at least suggest that Gray's work on a national scale may not begin to cover the range of variations in field systems at the local level.

Early writers, including Seebohm, tended to accept the details of the available early modern surveys and estate maps as true and complete reflections of the extent and character of agrarian elements in the township, unchanged from Saxon times.[9] However, since the close of the nineteenth century it has been gradually realized that medieval agriculture was not a stagnant thing but underwent nearly perpetual change and evolution until its remnants largely disappeared in the last century. Gray and others have shown that the system of arable agriculture continued to evolve and to increase in its complexity as time passed and that the process of enclosure began at least as early as the Tudor period.[10] In addition it is now realized that the boundaries between arable and pastoral land-use were in constant flux not only as a result of varying local population pressure but due to changes in the price differential between corn and wool.[11] As a result the cartographic materials of the modern period, composed of estate plans, enclosure maps and tithe awards, while they supply some conception of the communal agrarian lay-out of the township, probably do not convey an accurate picture of either the extent or the distributional complexity of the agrarian elements in the early medieval period.

Most of the available early medieval material for the study area is composed of monastic land charters, deeds and fines, which documents are basically concerned with the lands of the township. Paradoxically, these and other classes of documents contain relatively little

information of agricultural interest. This undoubtedly explains why most published information on communal agriculture is based upon the more explicit records of late medieval or modern date.[12] The causes of this lack of usable information are inherent in the documents themselves. Many are little more than a catalogue outlining the elements of a communal holding; the arable with its appurtenant meadow and pasture, with the location of which as well as the operation of which the reader is assumed to be familiar. A much smaller proportion give details of the various elements in the land-holding, but because their geographic terms of reference include place-names, personal names or boundaries which can rarely be located on later maps, it is impossible to portray them cartographically.* Because of the scantiness of agricultural details and because significant information is not available for every or nearly every township, it is impossible either to construct useful appendices or to develop any system of cartographically significant township classification. However, by examining the form of the document for significant phrases and words and by collecting the incidental pieces of information which appear by chance among these records, it is possible to reveal some of the characteristics of arable, meadow, pasture and waste, their use and organization within the townships of the study area. To circumvent the lack of cartographically presentable information, two maps of typical township lay-out, taken from relatively recent records, will be

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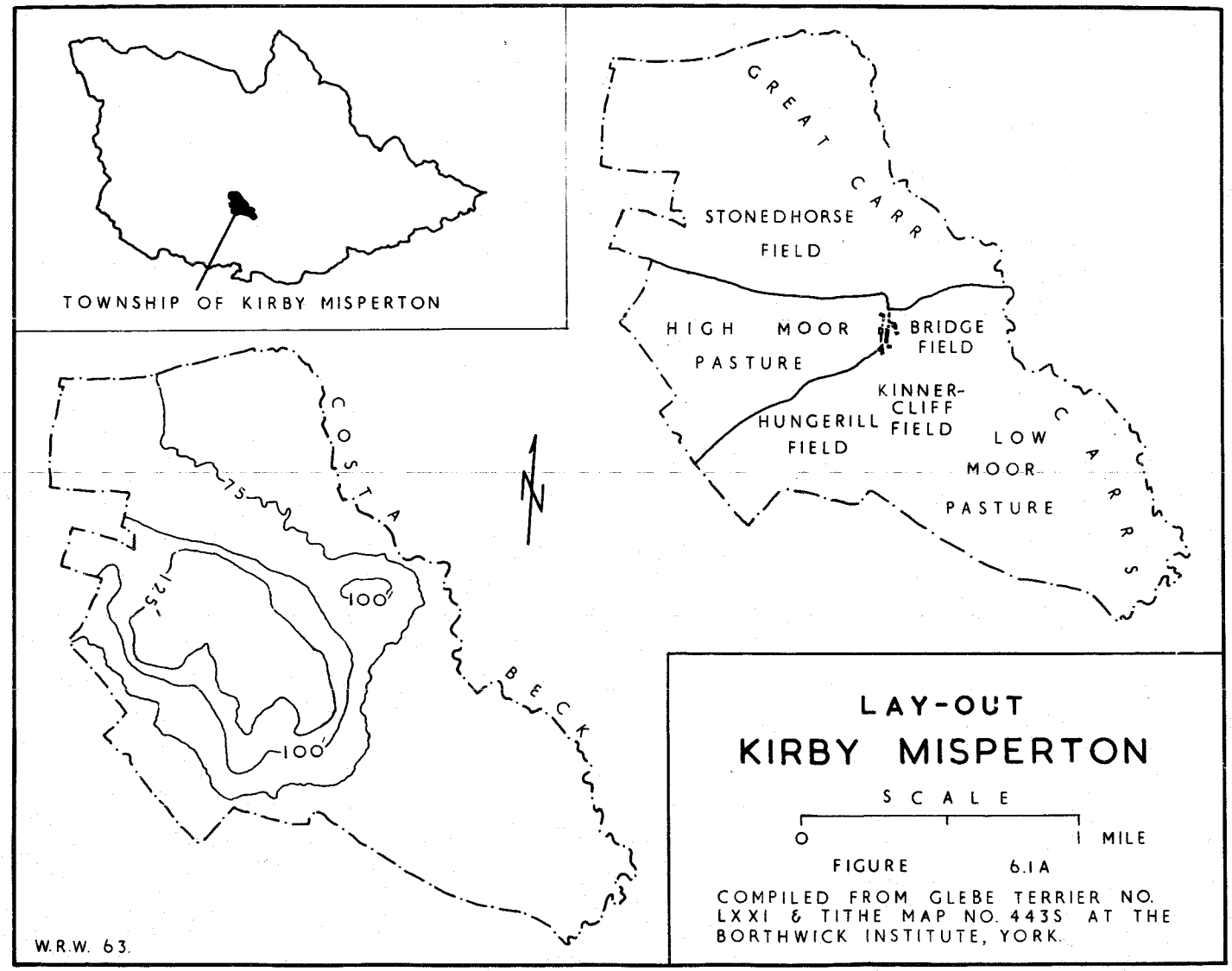
* Those for which cartographic representation is possible have been covered in chapters two and four (see appendices 2.1 and 4.1(b)).

included as a visual preface for the medieval information to follow.

The Lay-out of the Communal Township

In preparation for this thesis the writer collected all the available estate plans, glebe terriers, enclosure information and tithe maps for the townships of the study area and related this information to the first edition Ordnance Survey maps wherever these materials were not already cartographically described. Although the areal coverage of such information was far from complete, it was possible to construct at least rough maps of the distribution of communal agrarian elements for about one-third of the townships. Since these sketch-maps revealed the same basic environmental distribution of arable, meadow and pasture, only two representative examples of township lay-out have been incorporated into this chapter. Figure 6.1(a), reconstructed from a glebe terrier, a tithe award and the Ordnance Survey sheet, shows the lay-out of the agricultural elements in the typical compact township of Kirby Misperton in Ryedale. Figure 6.1(b), a simplification of an eighteenth century estate plan, supplies a similar picture for the township of Allerston, which extends north from the Derwent onto the North York Moors.

Both maps reveal very similar distribution of arable, meadow and pasture in terms of the physical environment encompassed by the township boundaries. The common field, presumably because its slope and drainage requirements were similar to those of the human settlement, lay close about the village. This juxtaposition of human community and arable-field is common to all maps found or developed by the writer and is assumed by historians



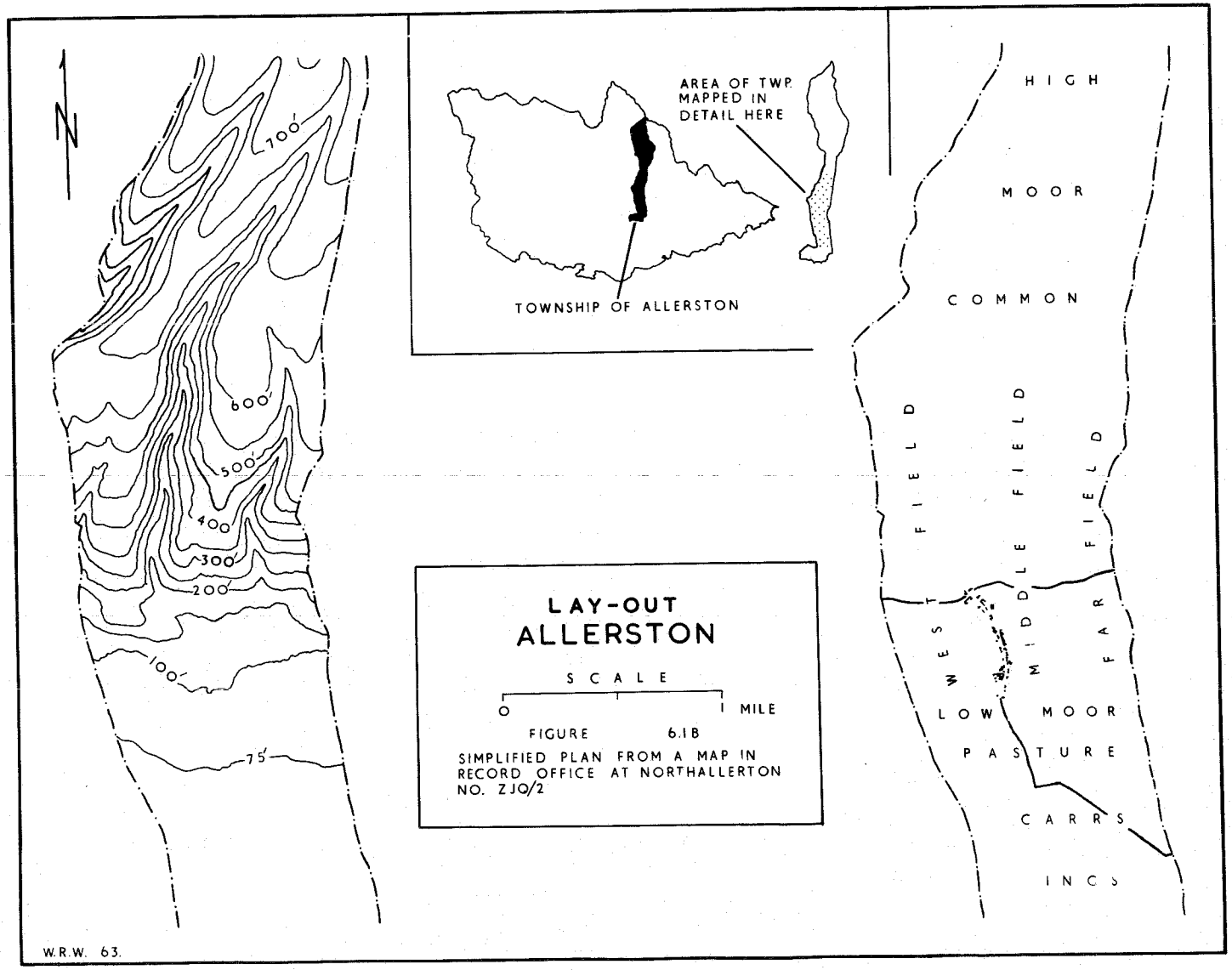
LAY-OUT
KIRBY MISPERTON

SCALE

0 1 MILE

FIGURE 6.1A

COMPILED FROM GLEBE TERRIER NO. LXXI & TITHE MAP NO. 443S AT THE BORTHWICK INSTITUTE, YORK.


N
700'
600'
500'
400'
300'
200'
100'
75'
AREA OF TWP. MAPPED IN DETAIL HERE
TOWNSHIP OF ALLERSTON
HIGH
MOOR
COMMON
WEST FIELD
MIDDLE FIELD
FAR FIELD
LOW MOOR
PASTURE
CARRS
INCS
LAY-OUT
ALLERSTON
SCALE
0
1 MILE
FIGURE 6.1B
SIMPLIFIED PLAN FROM A MAP IN RECORD OFFICE AT NORTHALLERTON NO. ZJQ/2
W.R.W. 63.

such as Bennett and Coulton to have been characteristic of medieval townships in general.[13] Common meadow, requiring low damp ground for its production of lush grass for winter fodder, on figure 6.1(a) appears concentrated in the carrs along Costa Beck and on figure 6.1(b) lies in similar wetlands of the valley floor. In both townships, although only partially shown at Allerston, pasture occurs both on high ground and upon the low land presumably too wet for arable and too dry for good meadow. Where townships lay predominately on the high ground of the North York Moors, as at Hutton-le-Hole, common pasture appears to have been largely upon upland portions of the township and conversely at Little Habton in Ryedale all pasture was on low lying moor adjacent to the meadow.[14] No area on either figure 6.1(a) or (b) can be definitely designated as waste land but it is known that waste products at Allerston were taken both from the high moors not shown on the map and probably from the fenland next to the Derwent in medieval time. Such products at Kirby Misperton may have come almost exclusively from a narrow fringe of excessively wet land along the margins of Costa Beck.

However, these two maps express what may have been a basic difference distinguishing agrarian practices in compact townships from such practices in strip units. The relatively small compact township with only limited amounts of land suitable for arable, meadow and pasture was probably pressed to use its available resources efficiently. Strip townships like Allerston, several times the size of the average compact township, so shaped as to include inordinately large tracts of fen, wetland and high moor, may never have known such pressure for

intensive use of communal resources. Both the general environmental features of agrarian lay-out and this possible distinction in the degree of intensity of land-use should be kept in mind in the following examination of the early medieval agricultural data.

Medieval Information

Arable Land

Either the phrase "in campo" or its plural "in campis" appears in the documents of the study area when referring to the common arable field of the township. In numerous townships including Knapton and Appleton-le-Moor, both singular and plural appear indiscriminately in the records.[15] Such interchangeable use within single townships seems to indicate a dichotomy in the medieval outlook upon the expanse of arable land which lay about the village. Singular use presumably reflects a tendency to regard the continuous arable area as a single cultivable entity. Plural usage appears to imply the recognition that this arable expanse was divided into lesser units, presumably rotational sub-fields. Such surmises, particularly concerning the plural usage, assume that the word always refers to an open field system of co-aration but it is equally possible that it was used, at least in the singular, to refer to the common arable of rundale townships.

References to "campo" and "campis" are so frequent among the township records of the study area that the absence of these terms in all the available documents for non-Domesday villages in the consequent valleys except Bilsdale is particularly noticeable.[16] In documents for these communities this term is replaced by

references to assarts and to land held in severalty, except at Urra for which no agrarian records are extant.[17] This situation would suggest that the arable operations at Bransdale, Broadfields, Farndale, Goathland, Hartoft, Raisdale and Rosedale were distinctly different from those of the other communities elsewhere in the study area. This apparent lack of communal arable in these dale settlements in the early medieval period is also implied on the nineteenth century tithe maps where remnants of a common field appear only at Bilsdale.[18] Although the medieval evidence is negative and the modern supporting evidence does not constitute secure proof, it would appear likely that arable agriculture in most of these communities was carried on in severalty during the early medieval period. Such severalty as opposed to the communal farming of other communities in the Vale of Pickering Area may have resulted from a shortage of flat to moderately sloping land in these valleys, required for the development of a common field. It may also have developed from the assart colonization of valley lands during the study period which may have represented the origins or early development of some of these communities.

Among the other townships of the study area where the term "campo" or "campis" prevails, lesser distinctions indicating minor features of the general distribution of arable and different field systems appear in the documents. Certain features of arable distribution are revealed in the documents for such strip-shaped townships as Sherburn, Staxton and Willerby extending up onto the Wolds, Brompton, Snainton and Wykeham running north from the Derwent and Amotherby, Broughton

and Hovingham stretching up the Howardian slopes. In each case arable strips "in campo" are described next to the field of an adjacent township.[19] Such references strongly suggest that where townships were strip-shaped and villages with their adjacent arable assumed a linear alignment about the lowland, the common fields stretched as a continuous band from township to township. No such descriptions appear in the records of compact townships, almost exclusively occurring in and around Ryedale. Here, where villages assumed a non-linear alignment, it appears probable that the arable formed a discontinuous patchwork from township to township in compliance with the locally varied environmental conditions influencing both the site of the village and the position of the field.

There is also some limited evidence in the documents which suggests that not all communally operated townships used the same system of arable organization. In a few instances, as at Flotmanby, Folkton and Little Habton, land is described as lying in the east, middle and west part of the field.[20] At Appleton-le-Moor, Kirby Misperton, Snainton and Wombleton, parts of the campo bear sub-field names, such as East, West and Bone fields at Appleton-le-Moor.[21] Since these details appear in connection with attempts to describe the distribution of arable strips, there seems little doubt that these sub-divisions were the rotational units of open field systems. Although such significant details are lacking for most townships of the study area, it is interesting to note that except at Amotherby, where only two sub-divisions appear,[22] all available references are to three-field rotation. On the scant available information

however, it would be dangerous to suppose that two-field systems of open field agriculture necessarily occurred less frequently than three-field systems in the townships of the study area.

In contrast to these references indicative of open field townships, there is some evidence to suggest the existence of rundale systems of arable operation in certain communities of the study area. At Ganton, East Heslerton, Knapton and Potter Brompton, which townships stretch up onto the Wolds, arable "plots" are described lying outside the field, "supra Wolda".[23] At Binnington and Salton in Ryedale similar "plots" are mentioned outside the field in an area termed the "forelonde".[24] These peculiar references might be dismissed as evidence of assarting except that "assartum" and its local synonym "ofnam" are studiously avoided in these instances. Moreover an eighteenth century description of Ganton's agricultural practices clearly describes a rundale system with the out-field on the Wolds.[25] This description, the consistent use of the term "plot" for these properties outside the field and the connotations of out-fields inherent in the word "forelonde" probably indicate the existence of rundale arable systems in at least these six townships of the study area. However, if this is the case, the in-field or "campo" operations, at least at Knapton where both "campo" and "campis" appear and where land is described in the east, middle and west part of the field,[26] seem to have assumed the rotational features of an open field system. If such in-field characteristics occurred in the other rundale townships this particular type of field system would appear to have adopted a peculiar hybrid form. Unfor-

tunately, because of the shortage of details concerning field systems to be gleaned from the available documents it is impossible to determine the numerical balance between open field and rundale townships in the study area.

Certain details and phrases among the documents for the study area reveal interesting features of the internal organization of the common field for the early medieval period in the Vale of Pickering Area. Most documents merely describe the arable holding as a number of carucates or bovates. There is no agreement among historians as to whether the bovate, of which eight made a carucate, was an actual measure of land within the township or whether it was only a fiscal unit made up of some quantity of land from which a standard amount of geld was due.[27] Where they are further described in acres the bovates of different communities appear to have varied in area. As few as eight acres appear in the documents for Grimston and as many as twelve are recorded for the bovates of Amotherby, Hovingham and Wombleton.[28] Most townships for which such information is available however, appear to have had bovates of nine or ten acres.

However, in this chapter it is not the definition of carucate or bovate which is important but certain qualifying phrases which appear in the documents. Frequently these units are said to lie "throughout the field", as in certain instances at Ryton, Sherburn, Sinnington and Wilton.[29] This presumably indicates that these units were dispersed in character; made up of strips or selions scattered across the field. In numerous instances, as at Helmsley, Lebberston, Normanby and

Wintringham, the position of these segments is indicated by such qualifying phrases as "between the lands of ....." or "next the lands of ..... next (or away from) the sun".*[31] Such phrases indicate that each selion which made up a bovate or a carucate lay in a definite sequence relative to the strips of other persons in the common field. This is evidence of the orderly organization of the field stressed by Seebohm in the last century.

Much less frequently the documents not only give the total quantity of land (occasionally the quantity appears in acres but is almost usually given in bovates) but also attempt to locate each strip which made up the total arable unit within the field. To do this they usually describe all selions of a land-holding as lying between the lands of two persons or next to the lands of someone near or away from the sun in a specifically named "dale", "flat" or "land" which appears to be the bundle of strips, the furlong. At least in some townships these furlongs seem to have been extremely numerous. No less than twenty-four are named in one documentary inventory of prebendary lands at Ampleforth.[32] However, not every land-holder appears to have had strips in each furlong of the field. Collectively, for example, the available documents for Appleton-le-Street name eighteen such strip-bundles but no individual holding in the village involved strips in more than twelve. It would therefore seem that each land-holding with its strips distributed in an orderly sequence across the

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* Such sun references are quite common in the study area and are believed to have common origins with similar "solskefte" references in Scandinavian common fields.[30]

common field, probably involved property units in only some of the furlongs. Here again the available evidence suggests the orderly organization of property, this time at the furlong rather than the strip level of field divisions.

However, where the details of arable land distribution extend to an account of the acreage held in each selion of every furlong a surprising feature comes to light. In most cases where this information is available, as at Appleton-le-Moor, Broughton, Ebberston and Willerby, the acreage in each selion was not standard but varied from furlong to furlong throughout the field in any particular land-holding.[33] Although it is realized that the acre was not a standardized areal measurement in medieval England, it probably had rough areal similarity from furlong to furlong at least within individual communities.[34] The documented variation from furlong to furlong rarely exceeds half an acre but at Wintringham and Wombleton differences of as much as two acres appear in the documents.[35] Such variations, either minor or major, would suggest that, although the component strips of each land-holding were laid out in orderly sequence, the actual quantity of land in a holding varied between the furlongs which composed the field.

In a few instances the implications carried by such areal variety in strip size and by the fact that each property holder did not have land in every furlong are borne out in the records. At Snainton where twenty acres are described in three fields, nine lay in West Field, four in Middle Field and seven in East Field.[36] Similarly at Flotmanby five acres of a holding lay in the east, three in the middle and two in the west part

of the field.[37] Conversely at Wombleton two charters reveal acreage differences between sub-fields which do not exceed one acre and at Appleton-le-Moor land appears in one case to have been equally distributed between such rotational units.[38] Unfortunately because such information appears but rarely in the documents it is impossible to ascertain whether even and uneven acreage distribution in single land-holdings between sub-fields occurred only in certain townships. However, there is at least some evidence for the study area to suggest that every land-holding under open field systems of arable cultivation did not always have an equal proportion of its acreage in each rotational sub-field. The tenants on such holdings of uneven distribution, whose frequency in the study area cannot be determined, must have been subjected to a continual sequence of rich and lean years in terms of the amount of land which they could crop in the open fields in any one year.

The documents concerning the lands of the township frequently indicate the existence of arable outside the common field. Such assarts or "ofnams" as they are often termed locally, appear at least once in the available references for about one-third of the townships of the study area.* Such frequent occurrence in twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth century documents would suggest that these arable properties held in severalty were a frequent feature of the early medieval townships under discussion. References such as those at Bilsdale,

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* Atkinson was first to designate "ofnam" as an alternate term for assart and this definition has more recently been accepted by Bishop in his study of medieval assarting in Yorkshire.[39]

Goathland, Scackleton, Snainton and Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel) indicate that the creation of such colonial plots sometimes involved the uprooting of trees and the destruction of woodland.[40] Conversely, numerous references such as those at Ebberston, Folkton, Gristhorpe, Hovingham and Kingthorpe reveal that many of these assarts were developed merely through the colonization of moorland.[41]

Only occasionally do assart references give any details of geographical position in the township. One at Gilling is described as lying next to the field towards the carrs and similar details of adjacency to the field appear for assarts at Amotherby, Appleton-le-Street, Great Habton, Irton, Sproxton and Willerby.[42] Conversely, at Folkton assarts are described in Camp Dale, a shallow valley in the Wolds near the southern margin of the township.[43] No less than fourty-three assarts are named in Rosedale and Hartoft, both of which were in the township of Cropton and like those at Folkton lay several miles from the township centre and its adjacent fields.[44] Unfortunately the position of most assarts mentioned in the documents remains unknown. Those which lay about the margin of the field, as Bishop has suggested, may have eventually been absorbed into the communal arable in the process of common field enlargement.[45] However, there is no documentary evidence for this procedure in the study area. Such absorption into the communal arable almost certainly never involved those assarts set at a distance from the field margins, but it is impossible to determine how numerous these were from the existing documents. In the case of Hartoft, as well as Rosedale, such assarts in

large numbers were probably responsible for the complete inauguration or at least much early development of new communities without common fields.

Two other features of assarts in the medieval documents for the study area are also of agricultural interest. Except for assarts initiated by religious foundations occurring primarily in the consequent valley region and probably upon the valley floor,* these properties held in severalty belonged to individuals. There is no evidence of communal assarting such as Bishop found elsewhere in Yorkshire.[46] In addition these assarts of the study area seem to have been only of small to moderate size. Assarts at East Ayton, Ebberston, Gilling, Irton and Wombleton contained fewer than five acres, while, with four exceptions, those in Hartoft and Rosedale were less than ten.[47] (It must be admitted, however, that numerous assarts documented in the study area are not described in acres and some of these may have been of much larger areal extent.) These separately owned properties represent individual enterprise as opposed to the more usual communal efforts of the townships' agriculturalists. As Bennett so aptly points out, the appearance of assarts probably represents a desire to escape from the agricultural restrictions on ambition inherent in the cumbersome system of communal agrarian organization.[48] As arable land units

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* Many assarts in the study area appear only in the documents of ecclesiastical foundations where their existence is documented when the laity granted them to the Church. These assarts with lay origins are included in the discussion here as opposed to additional assart colonization by the religious foundations which will be considered in chapter seven.

held in severalty outside the confines of communal custom, they were probably the earliest ramifications of the process involved in enclosure, which process eventually caused the disintegration of communal agrarian practice.

Meadow Land

Most of the available documents which deal with arable holdings in the township also mention the meadow land appurtenant. In a few cases the descriptive details extend to its general geographical position in the township. Hence in appendix 4.1(b), where an attempt was made to identify features lying within the township unit, meadow on the valley floor appears on several occasions, as at Cayton, Pickering and Wintringham. In other instances the wetland orientation of the meadow is revealed either through the meanings of old areal names now lost from the map or through documentary details too imprecise for cartographic portrayal. In Amotherby, for example, meadow is said to lie next to Merebutts and at Harome and Ness is distinguished by the term "holme" meaning low damp ground.[49] In Bilsdale meadow is described as lying in the "bottoms", while at Marton (par Sinnington) and North Holme it is designated as lying next to stream courses.[50] At Spaunton and again at Gillamoor it is described as being "below the cliff", presumably the steep Coralline margins of the dissecting consequent stream courses.[51] It is at least probable that in townships like Spaunton, largely composed of moorland, the areas of meadow, limited to the margins of streams, were small and in such communities the limited hay crop was of premium value. In Ryedale with its low undulating to rolling surface broken into numerous

compact townships, meadow and its valuable hay for winter livestock fodder must have been more plentiful. In the eastern half of the study area, where the townships stretched down from the North York Moors and the Wolds to include large areas of fen and wetland upon the valley floor, meadow was probably an abundant agrarian commodity stretching continuously from township to township.

The lowland orientation of this agrarian element brings one additional feature to light. Documents for such townships as West Ayton, Ebberston, Knapton, Sherburn and Willerby with access to meadow on the valley floor sometimes refer to "fossa", dykes or trenches, extending around or through the meadow area.[52] These references probably indicate early attempts to artificially drain portions of the wetland and fenland borders and thereby to improve their quality as meadow. In some instances such artificial drains may have been made to reclaim areas of former fenland waste for meadow use. Such medieval drainage was very common and is better documented in other low-lying areas of Yorkshire.[53]

A few documents provide some valuable information on the allotment of land within the common meadow. Orwin has suggested that the communal meadow of the medieval township was divided either into strips of which each proprietor held several in a scattered distribution or into large blocks rotated among the landholders each year.[54] In several cases in the study area, as at Aislaby, Scampston and Wintringham for example, meadow is described in strips suggesting the first method of communal organization.[55] However, at Ampleforth, Barton-le-Street, Cayton, Lebberston and

and Wombleton the acreage of meadow is given as a lump sum under an areal name.[56] Such references seem to imply that Orwin's second method of meadow organization was operating in these townships or, since an areal name is specifically given in the documents, that the meadow in these communities was allotted in blocks which were continually in the hands of specific land-holders. Certainly at least two systems of meadow allottment appear to have existed among the townships. However, because the meadows of many village communities are described only as "doles" in the available records or remain undescribed except as an appurtenance to land in the common field, it is impossible to determine how frequently these varied systems of meadow organization appeared in the townships of the study area.

On occasion, as at Scampston, a bovate or a group of selions comprising an arable holding, which are stated to lie between the lands of two other persons, are accompanied by a similar sequence of holdings in the meadow.[57] This would suggest that where the meadow was divided into strips the order of selion holdings in the field was projected into the order of meadow allotments. More frequently, however, documents which describe the position of strips in the field and in the meadow belonging to the same proprietor do not reveal the same sequence of land-holdings in both areas. Good examples of this latter situation appear at Helmsley, Thorpe Bassett and Settrington.[58] From the available information on the strip system of meadow organization it is only possible to conclude that the orderly sequence of strip-holding in the open field was only sometimes reflected in identical sequential organization of common

meadow allotments.

A further interesting feature of the communal meadow appears in the balance revealed by some documents between the area of arable and of meadow belonging to the same land-holding. The acreage of meadow usually appears to have been exceeded several times by the area of arable. At Brompton, for example, fifty acres of arable had fifteen acres of meadow appurtenant.[59] However, at Sherburn ten acres of arable were linked with three of meadow on one occasion and seven with four of meadow on another.[60] There does not appear to have been any common quantitative relationship between arable and meadow in individual land-holdings either between townships or, more important, within single townships. Unfortunately, the available information is insufficient to begin to discover whether the meadow holdings in the eastern half of the study area, where townships had access to the wetlands of the valley floor, were larger than those in other townships under consideration. Speculatively at least such a situation seems highly probable.

The early medieval documents also reveal that not all the meadow area was held in common. At Broughton, Flixton, Flotmanby, Helmsley, Kirbymoorside and Sinnington, for example, meadows held in severalty appear in the early medieval period.[61] In Helmsley and at Kirbymoorside, among other instances, such meadows belonged to the manorial demesne. These manorial meadows were not always limited to large feudal units for they also appear in demesne at Coulton and Thorpe Bassett.[62] Such manorial meadow held outside the common may have been a feature of many townships of the study area. Other

meadows held in severalty, such as those mentioned at Broughton and Flotmanby, belonged to individual tenant land-holders but in a few instances they were created by monastic institutions within their meadow allotments previously acquired in the township. The outstanding example of the creation of such enclosed meadow appears at Flotmanby where in about 1250 the entire meadow area of the township was partitioned, one part remaining in the hands of the village community, the other becoming the several property of the Prior of Bridlington.[63] All other references to meadow held in severalty, excepting manorial ones but including closes of meadow documented at Ampleforth, Great Habton and Gristhorpe,[64] appear to have been small. Where areal measurements are given these meadows rarely exceed five acres. The existence of such meadows, like the existence of assarts is the first indication of the gradual disruption of communal practices due to the growth of individual enterprise in the communal agrarian organization of the township.

Pasture Land

As in the case of meadow, the charters, deeds and fines for the study area indicate that common pasture was appurtenant to each holding in the common field of the township. However, the documents rarely qualify the pastoral rights appurtenant to a land-holding, which may well have varied quantitatively from township to township in accordance with the amount of available common. It can therefore only be assumed, in accordance with the general theory of communal agriculture, that every property holder had the right to pasture some animals on the township pasture.

This assumption, once accepted, makes certain

documents which are largely of monastic origin relevent to this discussion of pastoral rights and characteristics. It would however be erroneous to suppose that the number of animals grazed by monastic houses is directly indicative of the number grazed by individual members of the village community. Nevertheless, from examples of monastic livestock information certain general grazing principles can be ascertained. At Sproxton one charter states that the monks of Rievaulx were to be allowed to put five hundred sheep, forty oxen and eight other animals in the pasture.[65] At Easthorpe, Malton Priory could graze two hundred sheep, twelve swine, eight oxen, two cows and one horse and at Willerby the Prior of Bridlington could pasture one thousand sheep, twenty oxen, ten cows and four horses.[66] These references presumably indicate the range of animals which were pastured upon the common of every township in the study area. More important the descending numerical order, although it probably reflects the relative utility of each type of animal, is presumably indicative of a principle inherent in the communal custom of each township. Every proprietor was not only limited in the total number of beasts he could graze on the common but was also limited in the precise number of each kind of animal, of which sheep appear likely to have been numerically dominant. Both types of numerical limitations suggested above presumably arose as a means of preventing the over-grazing of the pastoral area of the township.

Again at Sproxton the documents give some indication of the mechanics involved in protecting the common grazing from increased pastoral pressure generated through the natural increase of livestock. A pasture

agreement reveals that a particular land-holder had the right to keep one hundred and eighty sheep, ten cows and ten swine on the pasture along with their off-spring until the latter were weaned. After weaning the livestock numbers were again to be reduced to the previously agreed figures for adult animals.[67] This reduction was presumably affected by slaughter or sale and it seems likely that such rights and processes were characteristic of the customs of every township.

Although it is impossible to determine even the average amount of livestock held by individual tenant farmers, a fact generally lamented by economic historians,* it is at least possible to speculate upon the density of the animals in the commons in the study period. Most peasants probably had at least one ox, a pig and probably a few sheep. Individually their grazing requirements may have been small[69] but collectively the livestock of such villagers must have required considerable quantities of common land. Manorial lords in many townships must have made use of the common pasture for their flocks and herds which like the animals of the peasantry are generally believed to have been entrusted to the township shepherd.[70] At Kirbymoorside and Pickering where some manorial livestock statistics exist, flocks of more than two thousand sheep are recorded in the early medieval period.[71] Although these feudal units were both inordinately large and although no similar stock figures are available elsewhere in the

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* Power has suggested that much wool entering the domestic and overseas trade came from the sheep flocks of the village as well as from manorial flocks and the sheep of religious foundations.[68]

study area, considerable pressure on township pasture was probably generated by manorial livestock. In addition, as the previous examples would suggest, monastic records indicate that many townships provided grazing for large numbers of animals, particularly sheep, belonging to religious foundations. Thus the available material would at least imply that pressure on the pasture of the township in the early medieval period was intense. However, among all the available records for the study area there are only three complaints of surcharging or over-grazing. Possibly strict enforcement of customal township rules and such livestock plagues as murrain, particularly devastating among sheep, may have adequately controlled the pastoral density of livestock in the townships of the study area.

For the most part the pastures upon which these seemingly large numbers of animals were grazed are not geographically specified within the township. However, in several cases, including Beadlam, Bilsdale, Brompton, Ebberston and Goathland, references indicate common pasturage of livestock upon the North York Moors.[72] Similar upland grazing on the Wolds is indicated at such townships as East Heslerton, Potter Brompton and Sherburn.[73] Conversely as at Allerston and Knapton common pasture is described on the lowland of the valley floor and in Folkton township is recorded in the marshes along the Derwent.[74] In Pickering and Staxton as well as in several other townships the documents indicate both upland and lowland grazing,[75] a feature which the early modern agricultural information would suggest was common to many communities of the Vale of Pickering. Much pastoral use also appears to have been made of the

consequent valleys of the North York Moors.[76] Extensive rights of common in these dales appear in connection with such adjacent villages as Cropton, Hutton-le-Hole, Lastingham and Spaunton.[77] Geographically speaking, pastoral use seems to have been made of almost every environmental condition existing in the study area during the early medieval period.

One special type of pasture, that of the woodland, appears with moderate frequency in the documents. Presumably, although never directly specified in the available records, such pasturage was limited to the autumn when beech mast, acorns and nuts made excellent fodder.* Rights to woodland pasture in the consequent valleys appear in connection with monastic pasturage in these dales.[79] Woodland pasture also appears in the documents of several townships elsewhere in the study area as at Brompton, Helmsley, Hovingham, Scackleton and Seamer for example.[80] Except at Brompton, a common feature of charters dealing with woodland pasture is the specified exclusion of goats, presumably because of their destructive foraging habits. In an unusual document for Gilling the specification is made that the community may pasture its goats in their lord's woodland only if their lord does so and if he withdraws his goats then the villagers must do the same.[81] All other animals appear to have been allowed to graze in the woodland areas. At Helmsley, for instance, sheep, cattle, oxen and swine were so pastured, while at Pickering this list was augmented by the mention of horses.[82] Regardless

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* Such pasturage limited to the autumn has been noted as a general characteristic of medieval woodland grazing in England.[78]

of presumed seasonal control and the prevalent exclusion of goats, such pastoral use must have had some harmful effect upon the continuing existence of woodland in the township.

Two other features of pastoral land-use appear infrequently in the documents but are worthy of mention. Firstly, as noted in connection with township boundaries, some communities of the study area during the early medieval period intercommoned their animals on joint pasture lands. The townships of Welburn, Wombleton and Bowsforth held one common pasture in Ryedale as did Great Barugh with Little Habton and Great Habton with Ryton.[83] Similarly Spaunton and Lastingham, as well as Newton and Pickering, intercommoned on the North York Moors.[84] Such practices may have involved many other townships but if so they fail to be recorded in the existing documents. None of the available references give any indication of how such joint pasturage was regulated but it seems at least likely that some customal control accepted by all communities concerned must have been involved.

Secondly, except among manorial records such as at Helmsley, Hovingham, Sinnington and Sherburn, there is no indication of the existence of pasture held in severalty.[85] Even in these manorial instances where such pastures were part of the demesne there is no indication of their areal extent. On the existing evidence for the study area it can only be concluded that pastoral holdings in severalty, unlike similar private tenure in meadow or arable holdings, occurred only in the manorial demesne. The writer is unable to suggest any reason for this apparent lack of enclosed pasture

among the lesser land-holders who so often appear to have developed privately worked arable and meadow in the townships of the study area.

Waste Land

The term "waste" as used here refers to the miscellaneous uses to which land was put or more precisely to various products taken from specific areas of the township. In the study area references to such products themselves are infrequent, although the rights to them like the rights to meadow or pasture are commonly implied by the wording of the documents. The more specific references indicate that such products came from moorland, fenland or woodland areas and the existing information can best be dealt with under these headings.

Moorland products are mentioned in several townships with territory on the North York Moors, including Allerston, Lockton, Levisham and Middleton.[86] Charters for these townships usually involve the rights of their respective inhabitants to take bracken and heather from the moorlands but none of the references indicate the use to which these products were put. However, a unique reference at Pickering indicates that bracken was used for the thatching of a barn[87] and it may have been for this purpose or possibly as livestock bedding that it was required by the villagers. Moreover both bracken and heather may have been used in those communities with access to the high moors as a form of winter livestock fodder along with hay. Certainly as late as Tudor times even plants such as holly are known to have constituted part of the winter livestock diet.[88]

A second type of moorland product which appears at

Rievaulx and Hutton Buscel was turbary or turves used for fuel.[89] Such peat-cutting rights may have been a common appurtenance to land-holdings in townships stretching over the ill-drained peaty expanses of the North York Moors. Presumably such turves were cut in specific areas of the township where the peat layer was particularly thick or well formed. Such common rights to turbary lingered to appear occasionally in the parliamentary enclosure awards for the townships with access to this moorland area.[90]

Marshland products are as poorly documented as those of the moorland but references to them are more frequent. References to "thatching materials" appear at Normanby in connection with the marshy areas of the valley floor and at Kirby Misperton and Pickering such products as rushes or reeds for thatching appear.[91] Rights to such thatching materials were probably of particular importance in townships without access to moorland, such as those in Ryedale or those running up onto the Wolds. More frequent than references to thatch are those to marshland turbary. Mention of common turbary "in the marsh" appears at Butterwick, Gilling, Hovingham and Normanby in Ryedale and at Pickering and Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel) but are particularly frequent in connection with Wold-foot communities.[92] In townships such as Flixton, Flotmanby, Staxton and Willerby the Canons of Bridlington were allowed as many as fifty cartloads of turbary each year.[93] At Folkton one reference indicates that such turves of fenland peat, when cut, were stacked in the turbary area to dry before being transported to the village.[94] The very common appearance of references to turbary in these Wold

townships, as noted in the earlier chapter on vegetation, may well reflect a general shortage of woodland fuels in this portion of the Vale of Pickering Area.

References to rights of woodland appear with moderate frequency among the documents of the study area. Rights to hedging materials, timber for building and wood for burning appear at Helmsley, Hovingham, Pickering, Scackleton and Brompton among other townships and probably such rights were held by every land-holder in communities where woodland existed.[95] However, the men of Pickering were only to have dead wood and branches which they could pull down with hooks or crooks.[96] Rievaulx incurred the displeasure of manorial lords at Helmsley because the monks of the house cut live timber in the woods of Helmsley.[97] Similarly at Hovingham the forester of the manor might have only trees blown down or dead branches.[98] Two important principles of woodland use appear in these examples. First, regardless of how much wood the individual holder had right to share with his fellows, it did not include the cutting of living timber. Second, such limitations on the nature of woodland products implies a strict form of woodland conservation; a feature only likely to be enforced if, as was suggested in the conclusions to chapter two, woodland was already scarce.

In addition to the general woodland products outlined above, such areas were sometimes the source of more specialized products mentioned in the records. Bark, presumably for tanning was granted to the Abbey of Rosedale throughout all woodland in the valley of the same name.[99] Such rights to bark may have been a common woodland appurtenance to land in the common field but

if so it fails to be mentioned in any of the existing documents. More frequently mentioned are rights to make charcoal, which appear in connection with the manor of Cropton and in woodland rights of Rievaulx and other monastic houses in Helmsley, Bilsdale, Bransdale, Farndale and Rosedale.[100] Although never specified in the documents, it seems likely that such charcoal was used in the smelting of iron by the medieval bloomerie process.[101] Iron working, presumably of the Middle Lias iron-stones, appears in monastic documents for Bilsdale, Bransdale, Farndale and Rosedale as well as in records for the manors of Cropton and Levisham.[102] The few existing references to charcoal making, to iron mining and possibly to bark gathering would suggest that, unlike other woodland rights appurtenant to arable property, those three were granted only to such institutions as monasteries and were otherwise retained solely by the manorial lord.

Conclusions

From the limited medieval information on agriculture reviewed in the previous pages it is only possible to draw certain general conclusions. While the agrarian organization of all consequent valley settlements, except Bilsdale, appear to have been in severalty, such organization in the townships of the rest of the study area appears communal. However, this communalism in the operation of the arable field seems to have been of two types. Some townships operated open field systems, while others seem characterised by the in-field and out-field of a rundale agriculture. While the existing evidence suggests a high degree of property organization in the sequential lay-out of strips within the common

field, the available areal measurements of these strips reveals that the acreage of holdings was unevenly distributed through the campus. There is even some evidence to suggest that in open field townships the acreage of at least some holdings was not equally distributed between the rotational sub-fields and in such circumstances it can only be assumed that individual land-holders were subjected to a continuing sequence of rich and lean years in terms of their communal cultivable property.

There appears to have been at least two systems of communal meadow organization existing in the study area. Organization into scattered strips has been noted elsewhere in England by Orwin but block organization which may not have operated in a system of rotation also appears among the townships under study. Some evidence in townships with strip organization indicates that the sequential order of strips in the field was repeated in the meadow but more often the sequence of property owners is different between field and meadow. More important, the available information suggests that the area of meadow appurtenant to a specific acreage in the field differed not only from township to township but within the township itself. As in the case of arable, such arbitrary areal inequalities in meadow acreage appurtenant to open field holdings suggest a basic flaw in the communal organization of the early medieval townships of the study area.

The documents reveal nothing concerning the quantitative rights to common pasture appurtenant to arable holdings in the townships. However, it can be inferred from monastic charters that each holder was not only limited in the total number of animals but in the number

by type which he could graze in the common. Of the density of livestock upon the pasture it can only be suggested that the animals of the commonalty along with those of manorial lords and monastic houses probably put considerable pressure on the existing pasture. From the extant figures which are almost all monastic it appears likely that much of the livestock population was composed of sheep. Pasture not only appears on the open areas of the township but at least seasonally within woodlands where all animals with the exception of goats were normally grazed.

Not all lands of the township in the study area were operated communally. Arable assarts and meadows held in severalty appear to have occurred with moderate regularity. Similar privately controlled pastures, however, are not documented, except in manorial demesne. This tendency towards individual enterprise probably marks the earliest attempts of the agricultural population of the township to escape the cumbersome communal system. It probably also is the first ramification of the development of enclosure practices which centuries later resulted in the final disintegration of communal agriculture.

Geographically speaking the medieval documents reflect but a vague general picture. The arable, presumably in the immediate vicinity of the village, appears to have stretched continually from township to township in the eastern half of the study area about the valley floor. In and about Ryedale it can at least be suggested that such common arable took on a patchwork pattern of distribution in accordance with local environmental conditions and the scattered village pattern. Meadow

land with its lowland orientation was again probably continuous from township to township upon the valley floor. However, in Ryedale it presumably lay irregularly distributed in the low-lying areas of this undulating region. Townships lying largely within the uplands seem to have had meadow only within the confines of valley lands along stream courses and here at least meadow may have assumed particular value. In contrast to the somewhat orderly distribution of arable and meadow, pasture land appears under almost every imaginable environmental condition. It appears to have been a major use of the North York Moors and Wold but also characterized the wetlands, areas of Ryedale, the consequent valleys and even the fens of the valley floor. In addition waste products such as thatch and turbary seem to have been collected from both environmental extremes of fen and moor. Equally important however were products collected from the woodlands of the study area such as fuel and building materials. Less frequent and presumably more closely guarded were rights to bark for tanning and wood for making charcoal with which to smelt local iron.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS

Introduction

Land forming the endowments of ecclesiastical foundations, not only of monasteries but also of hospitals and cathedral churches, was a common element in the agrarian landscape of the medieval period. Some of this property, particularly that of cathedral churches, had been acquired before the Norman Conquest and small amounts of land sometimes fell into ecclesiastical hands by special licence after the Statute of Mortmain in 1279.[1] However, the greatest proportion was acquired by religious institutions in the first century and a half after Domesday Book, during a period of religious enthusiasm which found its zenith in the first Crusade.[2] Few counties can boast more ecclesiastical land or a wider array of religious foundations than Yorkshire, where Benedictine enterprise during the tenth and eleventh centuries was eclipsed by that of such reforming orders as the Augustinians, Cistercians and Gilbertines in the twelfth and thirteenth.[3] Few areas of the county were more affected by the rise of widespread ecclesiastical estates than the north-east.[4]

The existing ecclesiastical records for Yorkshire have already received much scholarly attention and few of the themes followed in this study are either new or revolutionary. However, until recently academic interest has been directed either at the study of specific orders or at features of monastic land-use in general. Waites'

studies of monastic settlement in North-East Yorkshire mark the first real attempt to approach the ecclesiastical estates of the county geographically.[5] Unfortunately for the writer, these articles on the north-east portion of Yorkshire including the study area were published before the completion of this thesis and to some extent the conclusions drawn in the following pages are redundant. Such redundancy, however, is felt to be of minor importance since this chapter deals in greater detail with a smaller area than did Waites and incorporates some facets of medieval ecclesiastical land management which Waites did not cover. The purpose of this work is not only to reveal the distribution of ecclesiastical property but as far as possible to do so quantitatively, a task not attempted by Waites, and to examine as closely as the records will allow the special arable and pastoral features of the estates of religious foundations involved in the Vale of Pickering Area.

The Distribution of Land

No less than twenty-six religious foundations held property in the area under consideration before the close of the early medieval period and fourteen of these institutions had their centres there. Of these twenty-six, eight were hospitals of which seven were local and the eighth, St. Lennard's of York, had the largest estate of any similar foundation in England.[6] All the remaining eighteen institutions, except the cathedral church of St. Peter's York, were monastic. St. Mary's of York, like St. Peter's, existed before 1086 and had most of its lands in the study area described in Domesday Book.[7] Whitby, including the hermitage of Goathland, was established soon after the Conquest as the successor

of Streoneshalh,[8] while Lastingham, refounded in about 1078, was absorbed by St. Mary's some ten years later and is here considered part of that abbey.[9] Along with the nunneries of Yedingham (centred in the study area), Ellerton and St. Clement's, the houses of St. Mary's and Whitby were Benedictine.[10] The monasteries of Byland and Rievaulx, in contrast, belonged to the Cistercian Order as did the nunneries of Keldholme, Rosedale and Wykeham.[11] With the exception of Byland Abbey north-east of Gilling, these institutions had their centres in the area of study. These frequent local colonies of Cistercian monks and nuns, of which Rievaulx was the second earliest foundation in England, were all established in the first half of the twelfth century and both Byland and Rievaulx were existent before 1140.[12] The Augustinian priories of Bridlington, Guisborough, Kirkham and Newburgh were actively acquiring property in the Vale of Pickering by 1160, although none of their centres lay within this area.[13] (Bridlington was centred several miles south; Guisborough lay north of Cleveland and both Kirkham and Newburgh were established in the Howardian Hills outside the bounds of this study.) Malton Priory, founded in 1150 and centred upon the village of Old Malton within the Vale, is the only Gilbertine institution to be considered in this work.[14] The Templars with a preceptory in the bottom of the Vale[15] and the alien priory of Holy Trinity alone fail to have been members of one of these four monastic orders.[16]

Cartularies, the records of land accumulation for individual foundations, are preserved in part or in toto for many of these religious institutions and much of the material to be considered is derived from such records.

However, these sources are not available for the local hospitals, for the nunneries, for the Templars or for the alien priory of Holy Trinity. Even allusions to the local hospitals of Broughton, Flixton, Malton, Norton, Pickering, Seamer and Staxton are very rare. Such institutions were probably small, limited in endowment to the community in which they lay and possibly more numerous than existing records would suggest.[17] Some information for those monastic institutions without cartularies appears among the numerous available deeds and fines but of more value are royal charters of varying date which confirm the extent of their lands and compendiums of their available records in Monasticum Eboracensis. Confirmation charters are also available for most of the better documented foundations. Along with fragmentary information in early lay subsidies and in Kirby's Inquest and occasionally references in miscellaneous documents, these various types of records supply a comprehensive if sometimes incomplete picture of the ecclesiastical property to be discussed.

The lands of these religious foundations, excepting the property of local hospitals for which no definitive information is preserved, are detailed in four distinct ways in the documentary sources. Most are designated in carucates or bovates and are only sometimes further described in acres. (As seen in the last chapter, a bovate in the study area appears to have contained from 8 to 12 acres.) In other instances such property in the open field is described in acres or in selions without reference to the carucage. In addition to such communal lands centring on open field acquisition, religious houses were sometimes given assarts which on occasion

are described in acres and in yet other instances monasteries were granted large tracts, the areal descriptions of which are limited to a delineation of boundaries. In considering the material the reader should remember that land in the common field, as opposed to assarts or block grants, carried with it both a village tenement and appurtenant rights of common meadow and pasture. Also noteworthy, regardless of the type of property, is the fact that most ecclesiastical lands were granted "in frankalmoin", free of all service normally due to king and manorial lord.[18] Such freedom undoubtedly made ecclesiastical property a distinct and somewhat alien element in the early medieval township.

Appendix 7.1 summarizes the available information on the lands of religious foundations in the Vale of Pickering Area and distinguishes between properties held in bovates, in acres or selions, in assarts and in block grants. These various units of land description along with allusions to local hospitals are presented by religious foundation according to specific townships or possible medieval township units. Only total figures for each class of property and for each foundation are included for the townships and wherever possible the information represents the result of cross-checks between total cartulary figures and statistics in confirmation charters. Occasional small discrepancies were noted in this cross-checking and in these few instances the larger figure was consistently employed. Such small and infrequent discrepancies, however, are of minor importance when it is realized that neither the bovate nor probably the acre were of consistent areal dimension and that the appendix is only a rough statistical compilation

of the available documentary data.

The information in the appendix, limited in accuracy and probably in its completeness, is presented cartographically as figure 7.1. On this map the prevalent carucage figures are represented quantitatively at the township centres along with the acreage or selion data shown by site symbols. Unless the position of an assart can be roughly determined from its documentary description, as in the case of Rievaulx's at Folkton, this information is also represented as a site symbol at the township nucleus. Conversely, the block grants, all of which were Cistercian, are shown areally according to roughly reconstructed boundaries gleaned from their descriptions.*

Although complex, the map clearly reveals that the lands of religious foundations with their general freedom from secular service occurred remarkably frequently in the village communities. Few townships failed to contain at least some religious land, although it sometimes amounted to only a few acres or bovates of a single institution. As many as five religious bodies occasionally held land in the same township. (In the frequent instances where foundations held less than 5 bovates, the map, to circumvent the problems of cartographic reduction, over-represents the relative size of property units.) The few townships not involved in ecclesiastical estates were largely concentrated in Ryedale and the Howardian Hills. Conceivably ecclesiastical land may have existed

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* The large grant around Rosedale Abbey presents a curious situation. The document clearly described it as "all of Rosedale" yet the writer has found evidence of early medieval lay colonization in this valley.

in some of these townships but if so, its record fails to have been preserved in the available documents. Conversely, all names shown on the map indicate instances where documents or surveys suggest that the entire township was under the control of a single religious foundation. These occur most frequently in the western half of figure 7.1. However, Foulbridge and Yedingham, revealed in Kirby's Inquest to be totally in monastic hands,[19] along with Rievaulx's large fenland grant and Malton's acquisitions in Howe and Wykeham, placed much of the valley floor and a predominant portion of its settlement under ecclesiastical control.

Probably the most surprising characteristic of the ecclesiastical estates of the study area is the tremendous number of property units of less than 10 bovates, very roughly 100 acres. Such a maximum figure, which far exceeds the areal dimensions of many such land units, would also appear likely to cover all properties described in acres and selions and most assarts for which acreage measurements are available. These prevalent small sized properties were least numerous in the estates of St. Mary's and St. Peter's but made up most of the lands of such nunneries as Ellerton, Keldholme, Rosedale, Wykeham and Yedingham, as well as the hospital of St. Lennard's and probably its local counterparts. They were also quite common to such monastic estates as Bridlington, Kirkham, Newburgh, the Templars and Whitby and made up no inconsiderable proportion of the great estates of Malton and Rievaulx.

The numerical superiority of such small units on the map emphasizes the relative infrequency of large land holdings which consisted of part of or all of single

townships as well as large tracts of "waste" land. In addition to the obvious prevalence of such units on the valley floor, in and around Ryedale and as block grants in the consequent valleys, certain assarts made by religious foundations in the last region were of unusual size. Whitby's assart at Goathland in Newton Dale amounted to 190 acres, while another in Rosedale belonging to the nunnery in that valley ran to 300. Rievaulx's assart in Farndale is also described in terms suggestive of large size and similarly large scale colonization may have characterised the development of Skiplam and of lower Bilsdale. In addition to assarts granted in Bransdale and Farndale the nuns of Keldholme were given the right to create further arable land in these valleys.[20] It seems probable that religious institutions, possibly even more than the laity, were responsible for much of the colonization in these dales during the early medieval period. The areal extent of their efforts in the consequent valley region is only partially conveyed by the map.

The extent of individual ecclesiastical estates also varied considerably. The accompanying table reveals

Estate Size
(Abstract of Appendix 7.1)

Institution	No. of Bovates
St. Mary's	394
Malton	380
Rievaulx	274
St. Peter's	177
Bridlington	174
Byland	70
Kirkham	65
Yedingham	64
Whitby	42

that only about one third of the religious foundations counted more than 7 carucates or 56 bovates (something around 500 acres) in their estates in the study area.

Of these Byland, Kirkham, Whitby and Yedingham were all close to the minimum limit. However, because the table omits acres and selions, assarts and block grants, it undoubtedly under-estimates considerably the total size of those large estates which it includes. It also excludes many apparently smaller estates whose carucage statistics alone total something less than the pre-stated minimum limit. Nevertheless, the table omits many units with centres outside the area, such as Holy Trinity, Guisborough and the hospital of St. Lennard's. More surprising it includes only Malton, Rievaulx and Yedingham with centres in the Vale of Pickering. Although it lists the estates of several houses of monks and canons, it ignores the lands of all but one nunnery and this is probably an expression of the generally small size of nunnery estates here as in the rest of England.[21] However, while the largest quantities of land, according to the table, belonged to St. Mary's of York and to Malton, it is probable that with its block grants of Skiplam, Bilsdale and the fenlands Rievaulx's property at least rivalled the size of these estates. These three foundations along with St. Peter's and Bridlington appear to have been the five largest ecclesiastical landlords of the Vale of Pickering Area.

The property of the various religious estates involved reveals some interesting if diverse distributional features. All the local religious foundations show a strong affinity towards the concentration of most or all their property units around their centres. Hence the small estate of Wykeham is largely concentrated in the north-east, while similar loose assemblages of property can also be seen around the centres of Keldholme,

Rosedale, the Templars (Foulbridge) and Yedingham. This tendency is even more visually marked in the more areally extensive and larger estates of Malton and Rievaulx, both of which held the major portion of their lands in the study area. The property of the former stretched like a great fan to the east, north and west of the priory, while the lands of the latter were largely concentrated in Ryedale and the north-west quadrant of the map but also included some out-lying units in the south-east. Waites has noted similar concentration with occasional out-lying property in the estates of Whitby and Guisborough but has inappropriately likened the area covered by the estate properties to "spheres of influence".[22]

Because he did not examine all the material on the areal extent of ecclesiastical estates on one map, Waites failed to see the amount to which his "spheres of influence" impinged upon and absorbed one another as in the curious admixture of ecclesiastical property shown on figure 7.1. Such intermixing of estate units is evident even among the large estates of Malton and Rievaulx, along with the smaller local nunnery properties and the lands of the Templars. This feature becomes much more complex and noticeable with the addition of the property held by foundations centred outside the study area. Such institutions as Guisborough, Holy Trinity, St. Clement's and St. Lennard's held either one large property or several small units apparently distributed at random, while Ellerton had its small units concentrated in Ryedale. Similarly, the estate of St. Mary's, which lay largely in the Vale of York, and that of St. Peter's included several large units admixed

with those of other institutions in and about Ryedale. The former, however, also held small units of land farther east. Other foundations like Byland, Kirkham and Newburgh whose major estates and estate centres were more closely adjacent to the study area held only occasional property units in the Vale which, with the exception of Byland's, were predominantly in the western half of figure 7.1. Probably these properties were in fact outliers of estates concentrated largely in other parts of Yorkshire, similar to the out-lying units of Rievaulx's estate in the south-east of the map, although sometimes more distant from their centres. In contrast, however, to the occurrence of these out-lying properties, is the distinct concentration of Whitby lands in the north-east and of Bridlington in the south-east. These Whitby lands represent the terminal portion of a great concentrated band of properties which stretched south along the coast from the estate centre.[23] Similarly, although much of Bridlington's property lay in Holderness, a long arm of its estate reached north to include some Wold-foot communities of the study area.[24] In these instances parts of the Vale of Pickering Area fell within the fringes of the concentrated portion of estates belonging to two foundations with centres outside the study's limits.

Three immeasurable forces were probably at work in the development of this somewhat confused distribution of ecclesiastical property ownership and in the prevalent occurrence of small sized units in the religious estates. The first of these; the probable tendency for the local laity to endow local institutions, should not be under-estimated in its importance. However, in a

feudal society where the fees of the local landlord were likely to be areally dispersed, his grants tended both to promote the concentration of property close to the foundation's centre and to provide the institution with areally far-flung land units. Such granting can usually be seen in foundation charters as for example in Kirkham's foundation grant from L'Epec which included property in Bilsdale and Helmsley as well as lands nearer the priory site.[25] The second force was closely related to the first in its effect upon the distribution of ecclesiastical property. It was the indiscriminate granting of small, often areally widespread lands to religious foundations by the enthusiastic but socially less prominent and less wealthy lay populi. Examples of such grants, including some which appear to come from peasant donors, are a common element in most of the cartularies. Over such granting the institutions probably had little or no control, and at least in the formative years such property was likely accepted with the same degree of enthusiasm with which it was given. In all probability these two forces were largely responsible both for the widespread outliers of property which so confuse figure 7.1 and for the overwhelming proportion of ecclesiastical land made up of small sized units. In addition they may also account for much of the property accumulated by foundations about their central institution.

The third force at work in the development of the ecclesiastical estate was the initiation of planned land acquisition by the religious body itself. Such planned development probably began at some time after an institution's foundation and the degree to which it

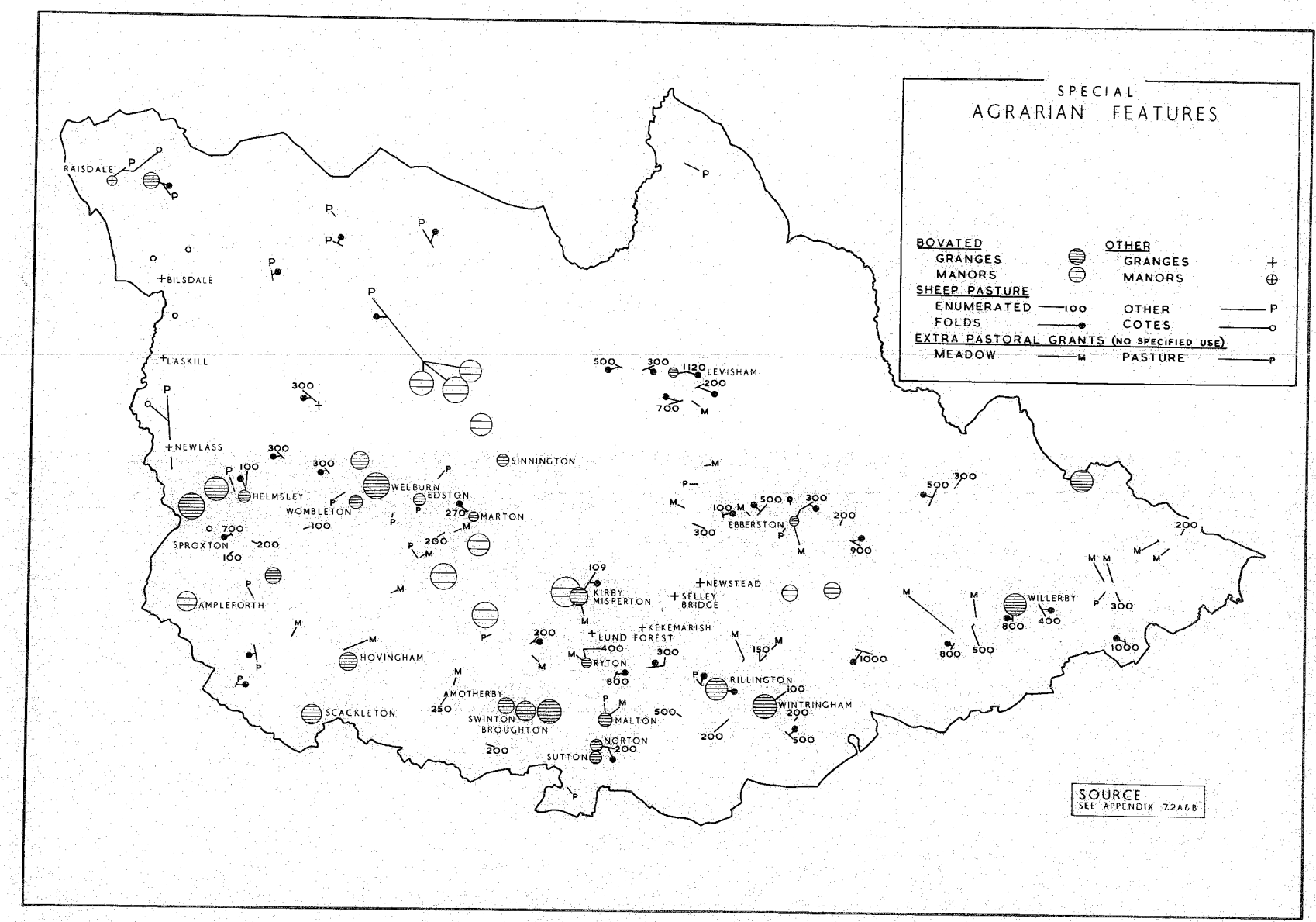
existed may have varied from order to order and from house to house. There is some evidence of its operation among the available documents of the study area. Byland and Rievaulx came to an agreement about 1170 over the acquisition of future property by the former in Ryedale. Similar agreements are on record between Kirkham and Rievaulx (1208) over Bilsdale, between Kirkham and Malton (1215) and between Bridlington and Whitby (1230).[27] In each of these agreements the underlying theme is the careful delineation of areas in which a particular house will or will not acquire rights or land in future. Such charters, which are in fact clear evidence of attempts to develop "spheres of influence", however, postdate the foundation of these institutions by as much as a century. By the time they were made much of the land acquired through the first two forces of estate development was already in religious hands and the proverbial barn door must often have been closed after, if soon after, the horse had escaped.

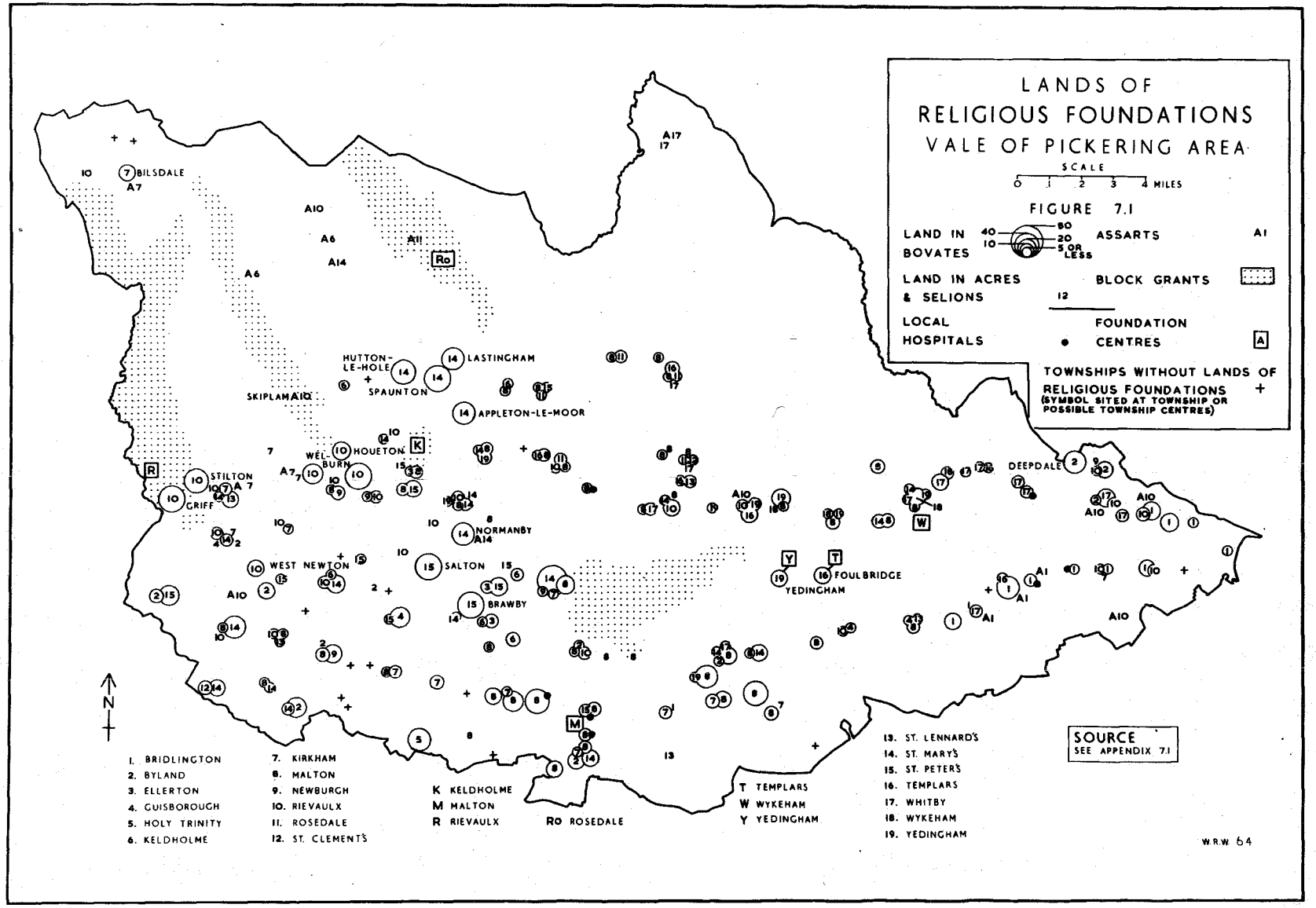
More important than these charters as evidence of planned estate development are infrequent references to ecclesiastical land purchase. Rievaulx is known to have bought its arable property in Sproxton with cash received from the sale of land in Willerby to Bridlington.[28] Fragmentary financial records for Malton Priory reveal that in the early thirteenth century this house was spending considerable amounts annually on property acquisition, although the source does not specify in what area.[29] It is probable that money and other forms of persuasion were being used by most ecclesiastical foundations in the development of their estates. Although it is impossible to determine the extent to which

planned development influenced the size and distribution of the property units, it is hard to imagine that Rievaulx acquired several whole townships and village communities in the immediate vicinity of its abbey, as well as its block grants, without planning and probably financial persuasion. It is equally difficult to account for the concentration of Malton's largest units near the priory without accepting at least some planned persuasion, probably with a financial basis. Similar planned acquisition seems probably to have lain behind the continuous areal nature of Bridlington's estate within the study area and may have played at least some part in many other visually less obvious instances on the map. Probably the initial lay grant of land in certain communities was followed by additional "grants" obtained through purchase.

Regardless of the forces behind their development, these ecclesiastical estates came into existence with great rapidity.[30] Only the property of St. Mary's and St. Peter's existed in the Vale in 1086 but in less than one hundred years of that date all the other religious foundations were established and quickly accumulating their land endowment. Rievaulx's estate was in fact largely developed before 1175, less than fifty years after the abbey's foundation.[31] Most of the rest of the ecclesiastical estates would appear to have been existent before 1200, although several like Malton, continued to acquire land in the first few decades of the thirteenth century.[32]

To the laity such widespread and extensive land acquisition must have seemed a virtual revolution and the rapidity with which it occurred, along with the resulting


SPECIAL
AGRARIAN FEATURES
BOVATED
GRANGES
MANORS
SHEEP PASTURE
ENUMERATED
FOLDS
OTHER
GRANGES
MANORS
OTHER
COTES
EXTRA PASTORAL GRANTS (NO SPECIFIED USE)
MEADOW
PASTURE
SOURCE
SEE APPENDIX 7.2A&B
RAISDALE
BILSDALE
LASKILL
NEWLASS
SPROXTON
HELMSLEY
WOMBLETON
WELBURN
EDSTON
MARTON
SINNINGTON
LEVISHAM
EBBERSTON
NEWSTEAD
SELLEY BRIDGE
KIRBY MISPERTON
KEKEMARISH
LUND FOREST
RYTON
AMPLEFORTH
HOVINGHAM
SCACKLETON
AMOTHERBY
SWINTON
BROUGHTON
MALTON
NORTON
SUTTON
RILLINGTON
WINTRINGHAM
WILLERBY


LANDS OF
RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 7.1
LAND IN BOVATES
40
10
80
20
5 OR LESS
ASSARTS
A1
LAND IN ACRES & SELIONS
12
BLOCK GRANTS
LOCAL HOSPITALS
FOUNDATION CENTRES
A
TOWNSHIPS WITHOUT LANDS OF RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS (SYMBOL SITED AT TOWNSHIP OR POSSIBLE TOWNSHIP CENTRES)
+
SOURCE
SEE APPENDIX 7.1
N
1. BRIDLINGTON
2. BYLAND
3. ELLERTON
4. GUISBOROUGH
5. HOLY TRINITY
6. KELDHOLME
7. KIRKHAM
8. MALTON
9. NEWBURGH
10. RIEVAULX
11. ROSEDALE
12. ST. CLEMENT'S
K KELDHOLME
M MALTON
R RIEVAULX
Ro ROSEDALE
T TEMPLARS
W WYKEHAM
Y YEDINGHAM
13. ST. LENNARD'S
14. ST. MARY'S
15. ST. PETER'S
16. TEMPLARS
17. WHITBY
18. WYKEHAM
19. YEDINGHAM
W.R.W. 64
BILSDALE
A7
A10
A6
A11
A14
Ro
A17
17
HUTTON-LE-HOLE
SPAUNTON
LASTINGHAM
SKIPLAM
APPLETON-LE-MOOR
WEL-BURN
HOUETON
K
R
STILTON
GRIFF
A7
NORMANBY
WEST NEWTON
SALTON
BRAWBY
YEDINGHAM
FOULBRIDGE
T
Y
W
DEEPDALE
A1
A10

wealth and power which it fostered in religious hands, generated at least some ill-will.[33] Local trouble is known to have developed as a result between Malton Priory and its founder and chief benefactor, the de Vescy family[34] and between several large donors and Rievaulx Abbey. In the latter case a number of local families, presumably envious of the wealthy neighbour which they had helped to create, attempted to repossess much of the abbey's extensive lands in Ryedale and upon the valley floor. Rievaulx's grasp over these lands again became secure only after a grant of royal protection to the monks and a Papal Bull threatening the excommunication of the families involved.[35] Such ill-will, generated by the rapid development of ecclesiastical estates and other features such as the Cistercian tendency to depopulate village communities, may also have been common at lower levels of society. Here the freedom of so much land from secular service among the townships and manors of the study area must have increased the burden of service and responsibilities borne by the lay members of village communities. Hypothetically at least, the gradual decline of granting to religious foundations in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century may have resulted as much from the growing ill-will of the laity as from a monastic state of land satiety. It is interesting to note that this near cessation of land donation appears to have developed in the Vale of Pickering Area several years before the Statute of Mortmain made grants to religious bodies an expensive undertaking for the donor.

Agricultural Features

Although the available source material reveals a

great deal about the quantity and distribution of ecclesiastical land, it discloses very little concerning the agrarian operation of the religious estate. The details of agricultural operation do not appear in the land books of the religious institutions. All that remains for the study of ecclesiastical agriculture are vague details incorporated in the wording of land charters and occasional fragments of information preserved in surveys or other early medieval documents. However, such scant source material can be used to outline at least some of the major features of the ecclesiastical agrarian economy, the revenue from which made monastic houses like Malton and Rievaulx extremely prosperous in the study period.

For most property under discussion references to internal agrarian operation and the economic relationship between foundation and estate unit are totally non-existent. It can only be supposed that the passage of much property from lay to ecclesiastical hands caused little or no change in the physical operation of many tenement units in village communities. Probably the customary services to the lay lords were replaced by food, and later, by money rents paid to the religious foundation.[36] Such rents presumably formed no inconsiderable proportion of estate income accruing to houses with large proportions of their lands farmed in this manner. The very collection of the revenue and the supervision of the agrarian operation of such units in large widespread estates must have been an expensive and time consuming part of administration.

At least as early as 1227 some property units of Whitby's distant holdings in Cayton and Irton passed

into what was probably a new phase in their economic evolution.[37] These lands were re-rented by the abbey at set annual sums, thus removing from this religious house the onerous burden of agrarian administration in at least some parts of its far-flung estate. The major proportion of Templar lands in the study area was similarly re-rented before the suppression of that Order in 1311 and the subsequent acquisition of their lands by the Hospitallers.[38] Such re-renting, particularly of small or far-flung property units may have been a common feature on most ecclesiastical estates of the study area during the thirteenth century, but the documentary evidence to substantiate this hypothesis fails to exist.

For a certain small proportion of the ecclesiastical properties under discussion the available evidence indicates much more direct and sometimes more intensive agrarian interest. Such evidence concerns the existence of manors and granges in the hands of ecclesiastical institutions. References to such organizational units occurs spasmodically, often by chance, in the cartularies and only at Malton does the land book set out to list all the existing granges of a religious institution. In contrast, several Rievaulx granges first appear in the Lay Subsidy of 1301. It seems highly probable that the available records fail to indicate the existence of all such granges and manors. Waites has postulated the existence of several "possible granges" but on re-examining the evidence the writer has been unable to discover any particular reasons to justify this classification of specific units.[39] As a result the following discussion will be limited to the consideration of those granges and manors for which early medieval documentary

references remain.

While it is probably safe to assume that the revenue of most ecclesiastical manors was largely derived from the farming of the demesne, the grange as a uniquely monastic form of agrarian enterprise requires further discussion. Its safest definition is probably farm, for, as Bishop and more particularly Waites has pointed out, its economy was sometimes arable, sometimes pastoral, often both.* In form it usually was an enclosure divided into large fields like a modern agricultural unit and as such was in diametric contrast to the normal open field system.[41] Like some assarts, pastures held in severalty and closes of meadow, but often on a much larger scale, these granges must represent one of the earliest forms of enclosure within formerly communal township land.

Cistercian granges, which appear the earliest to evolve in the study area, were usually developed through the acquisition of waste land or the depopulation of village communities.[42] This characteristic may have been due to the strict observance of the Order's rules of isolation from the lay community[43] but is as likely to have been motivated by the complete freedom from communal agrarian interference so obtained.[44] Such granges with their own buildings and often an oratory were operated by permanent colonies of "conversi" or lay brothers under the supervision of the abbey's cellarer.[45]

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* In Bilsdale Waites has suggested that Rievaulx granges played some role in monastic iron mining, as well as in agriculture, and elsewhere in Yorkshire that they were involved in salt panning.[40]

Augustinian and Gilbertine granges differed in certain respects from those of the Cistercians. They were usually created within the open field of the township by the acquisition of adjacent strips of arable and the conversion of the resulting blocks into large fields.[46] To such arable land was attached the appurtenant meadow and pasture rights. Such village property consolidation, sometimes involving the trading of arable strips with the laity, is well documented for such communities as Willerby, Wintringham and Amotherby where it appears to have occurred as late as 1257.[47] These canons are also believed to have recruited their labour supply from the village itself in the form of the various tenement holders whose lands they had acquired and this native labour force was presumably directed by some resident monastic official.[48]

The Benedictines of the study area may also have been involved in grange agriculture. Certainly granges are mentioned in connection with Benedictine estates elsewhere in England before 1300[49] but locally only Yedingham, sometimes styled a manor and once termed a grange in the study period, may have fallen into this class.[50] While granges sometimes are recorded on Benedictine estates in Yorkshire,[51] the writer has found only a tax roll of Richard II which terms as granges several properties of St. Mary's described as manors in its cartulary.[52] While it is possible that the Benedictines could have enclosed and operated their manorial demesnes in these instances as something approximating granges, it is equally likely that the term grange, as used in this tax record, had a very general definition embracing manors in ecclesiastical hands.

Since this is equally as likely in the case of the Yedingham reference, it, along with other properties so designated, will be classed as manors.

All ecclesiastical manors and granges recorded in the early medieval documents of the Vale of Pickering Area are listed by township and institution in appendix 7.1(a) and shown on the overlay to figure 7.1. For most of the 12 manors and 35 granges the bovate figures for the particular institution's holding in the township can be used to represent relative size. However, for certain Rievaulx granges founded in the waste and the manor of Raisdale such quantitative representation is impossible. Such units are shown as site symbols and where these were located outside village communities the sites used on the map are described in the appendix.

Most of these granges and manors lay within the lowland of the study area and occurred most frequently in and about Ryedale. However, this general distribution is neither enlightening nor surprising. The majority of the religious houses involved held most of their property in this western half of the map and most granges were founded in villages or former villages, the distribution pattern of which was primarily oriented towards the lowland. Such properties, of which a few belonged to Bridlington, Byland, Kirkham, Newburgh, the Templars and Yedingham, were mostly in the hands of Malton, Rievaulx, St. Mary's and St. Peter's, the largest estate holders in the study area. It is at least possible that other granges may have been developed among the estate units of such small Cistercian nunneries as Keldholme, Rosedale and Wykeham but of this there is no documentary proof. Similarly, Rievaulx's manor of

Raisdale may have been a grange as may its assart in Folkton or its lands in Sproxton. Byland may at this time have been operating a grange at Laysthorpe as it did at the Dissolution[53] and Bridlington may have converted one or more of its large holdings near Filey to grange agriculture. There is, however, no early medieval evidence to support these conjectures.

The known ecclesiastical manors were primarily large and for the most part in the hands of the cathedral church of St. Peter's or the Benedictine house of St. Mary's. In the former case these manors were prebendal properties which appear to have been used primarily as a source of rent revenue. To this end the Prebend of Salton, including the manor of Brawby and small amounts of property elsewhere in Ryedale (see figure 5.2) was re-rented to Hexham Abbey before 1300.[54] The writer found no evidence of such renting or re-renting for the six large manors of St. Mary's in Ryedale and upon the Tabular dip-slope. Benedictine interests here probably centred around the production of normal villein operated demesnes. Similar direct interest in the food and livestock production of the manorial demesne may have characterised the curious central manor-grange of the nuns of Yedingham. However, at Foulbridge where the Templars probably employed their peculiar conversi class instead of villein manorial labour, the operation of the demesne may have borne some closer affinity to grange agriculture.[55] At Raisdale, where Rievaulx held a manor, this affinity to grange operation may have been even more marked or, as Waites has suggested, the manor may have been converted completely to a grange.[56] In short, a whole scale of variations between grange and normal

manorial operation, closely paralleling that of lay estates, may have existed among these ecclesiastical manors during early medieval times.

With the exception of Scackleton, which appears to have developed in the open fields of a village community, the granges of Byland and Rievaulx assumed the normal Cistercian characteristics of isolation, sometimes through the acquisition of whole townships, sometimes due to granges development in their block grants. This latter technique was followed at Skiplam, in Bilsdale and upon the valley floor. In the fenland grant, however, Kekemarish and Lund Forest appear to have been established on previous Domesday village sites which the monks either depopulated or obtained in waste condition in 1153. The same process may have been followed at either Selley Bridge or Newstead but if so it is masked by the early medieval alteration of a Domesday village name (see figure 3.1). At Skiplam the monks acquired lands where assarts had already been developed and although not proven, a similar acquisition of land already put to lay arable use may have characterized grange sites in Bilsdale. In most cases acquisition was probably followed by more intensive colonization of the waste. This tendency to acquire for grange development land which had already received some colonial attention from laymen has been noted as characteristic of other granges of this Order in England.[57] While the granges of Bilsdale may have been largely oriented towards pastoralism, Skiplam had at least some arable, as did Kekemarish where 300 acres of arable and a similar amount of pasture are specified in the Hundred Rolls.[58] In fact Skiplam and probably all of the fenland units,

which appear as the most valuable of the Rievaulx granges included in the subsidy of 1301, were probably mixed farms. Although drainage here is less well documented than in other low-lying areas of Yorkshire,[59] the occurrence of references to ditches and dykes probably indicates at least some colonization of the waste through land improvement and reclamation by Rievaulx in this fenland grant.[60] However, it is impossible to determine whether this improvement was primarily directed at arable cultivation or at pastoral pursuits. Similar wetland improvement may have marked the agricultural activities of Yedingham and the Templars on the central valley floor but if so, such improvement fails to be documented.

Those Cistercian granges for which carucage figures are available, including Griff, Houeton, West Newton, Stilton and Welburn in the hands of Rievaulx and Byland's grange of Deepdale, are all believed to have been created through the depopulation of village communities or the acquisition along with their land of such villages when in wasted condition after 1069. Waites has suggested that many of these "township granges", most of which have correspondingly large bovate figures, were predominantly arable and this view of the Cistercian grange in general is also held by Donkin.[61] However, while their quantitative representation would visually imply that this was the case, the fact that they represent whole townships or former township units must indicate that these granges also included extensive pastoral area. It seems highly probable that their conversion to granges resulted in the creation of huge general farms, the pastoral aspects of which lie hidden in the

documents because the available land charters centre interest upon the acquisition of common field lands to which all pasture and meadow were merely an appurtenant right.

The Augustinian and Gilbertine granges also follow the general grange characteristics of these Orders. Unlike the Cistercian ones they show no tendency towards colonization of waste land nor existence outside the common field community. Their carucage figures suggest that they were generally smaller than Cistercian granges, a feature which Bishop has noted for Yorkshire as a whole.[62] All these granges, with their nuclei in blocks of former common field land, were to some extent arable but since these cultivable lands are documented with appurtenant meadow and pasture, most must have formed balanced general farming units. Some, such as Ebberston, Edston, Levisham, Marton, Norton and Ryton in Malton's estate were formed around arable properties of less than 10 bovates or roughly 100 acres. Others including Kirkham's granges at Bilsdale and Helmsley and Newburgh's at Hovingham and Wombleton, were of slightly larger proportions. Most other Malton granges, along with Bridlington's at Willerby, were large farms sometimes roughly totalling 300 to 400 acres of arable.

Although the general distribution of known granges and ecclesiastical manors is not in itself particularly informative, an examination of the distributional relationship between such units and their foundation centres brings some interesting features to light. The granges of both Malton and Rievaulx, the only major foundations with centres in the study area, show a distinct tendency towards the concentration of much grange activity and

most of the largest units in the immediate vicinity of the estate centre. The six major granges of Malton, including Kirby Misperton, were all within six miles of the priory and with the exception of the fenland grant those of Rievaulx were almost totally within a range of ten miles of that abbey. Similarly the only known manors of Yedingham and the Templars were either at or adjacent to the estate centre. It is probably also worthy of note that the nunnery institutions of Keldholme and Rosedale lay within the bounds of block grants, which tracts, although largely undocumented, they presumably developed with much agricultural intensity. In at least most of these instances, this tendency to concentrate large property units of particular ecclesiastical interest and in Rievaulx's case the largest proportion of all its granges, close to the estate centre must reflect monastic planning in the agricultural development of the ecclesiastical estate. The agricultural production of these large concentrated units was immediately available to the institution without undue inconvenience or cost of carriage.

Conversely, however, the map indicates that granges and manors were often established at much greater distances from foundation centres. Bridlington's grange at Willerby, Byland's at Deepdale, Kirkham's in Bilsdale, as well as the manors of St. Mary's and St. Peter's in the study area, are the most extreme cases of this phenomenon. Although the more distant granges of Malton appear to have been extremely small, this tendency is not reflected in the above instances or at Helmsley, Hovingham and Wombleton. Distant grange holdings were possibly least characteristic of the Cistercians on whose estates no grange was ordained to lie more than a day's

travel from its abbey.[63] However, another ordinance of this Order specified at least two leagues between granges[64] and Rievaulx was clearly flouting this rule in the immediate vicinity of its abbey. It is believed that members of this Order often ignored both these rules in the agricultural development of their estates.[65] It is interesting however, to note that no two granges on the map appear within the same village community and only at Kirby Misperton did a grange and manor occur coincidentally. This feature of the map, remembering the extreme admixture of the properties of the various ecclesiastical institutions, would suggest a considerable amount of co-operation between foundations in the agricultural development of their estates.

In some instances the out-lying grange or manorial units of monastic estates may have been of administrative as well as agricultural value to the central foundation. It is at least possible, though not proven, that such granges as Willerby were local administrative centres in this instance for the large quantity of Bridlington lands in the immediate vicinity. Similarly such out-lying granges as Levisham, Sinnington or Ebberston may have been local centres of supervision for Malton's estate units on the north side of the Vale. A reference to St. Mary's manorial hall at Spaunton[66] may indicate that this one manor was the local headquarters from which the agrarian operations of the other five were supervised. All were, however, essentially developed for direct ecclesiastical agrarian pursuits and in most cases local administrative responsibilities, if existent, were probably of secondary importance in their location

and operation.

In addition to references to granges and ecclesiastical manors the records reveal that certain monasteries with lands in the study area had important pastoral economies which were a prominant element in the agricultural organization of their estates. There is, however, no evidence of particular pastoral development in the lands of the cathedral church of St. Peter's, any of the hospitals, the Templars' estate or those of several monastic foundations with only occasional properties in the Vale of Pickering Area.

Although the emphasis on animal husbandry was overwhelmingly concentrated on sheep, there is some local evidence to suggest the lesser importance of other livestock on the estates of religious institutions. Swine are mentioned in the records of several houses but appear only prominently at Seamer where the Abbot of Whitby had 100 pigs and a piggery.[67] It is probable that such animals as a source of meat were kept on all ecclesiastical estates. Similarly cattle in small or unspecified numbers appear in the records of Malton and Rievaulx but the only sizable herd is documented at Goathland where Whitby had a cow stable.[68] As well as being a source of meat, such beasts are believed to have supplied both hides and dairy products for the needs at least of the religious foundation which owned them.[69] (The much more prevalent sheep must have provided similar products probably in much greater quantity, essential to the domestic operation of religious houses.)

In addition to such food oriented livestock, the records make frequent mention of oxen, the basic and essential plough beast of medieval England. Such animals

belonging directly to ecclesiastical houses or as chattels to their bondsmen must have been pastured on the common of most of the townships. These beasts along with horses, which appear but occasionally in early medieval ecclesiastical records, were probably also used as draught animals to distribute and collect the goods of religious foundations among the granges, manors and lesser estate units. Occasional indirect references to such haulage, primarily concerned with the movement of timber and turbary,[70] indicate that carriage was largely done with carts and wagons. Such food oriented and draught livestock was probably of slight revenue importance to the religious institution with the possible exception of the hides, natural derivatives of any such animal husbandry. Essentially this livestock was a capital asset necessary for the domestic existence of the religious houses.

The prevalent occurrence of sheep in early medieval ecclesiastical documents which make reference to animal husbandry is a direct reflection of monastic involvement in the flourishing wool trade with Flanders and Italy in the period of study.[71] This overseas woollen industry which reached its zenith about 1300[72] received much of its raw materials from England, even during the rise to prominence of the domestic wool economy in the thirteenth century.[73] This export trade in raw wool is believed to have absorbed much, if not all, monastic production and, at least in Cistercian instances, there is little evidence that the monastic producers were ever particularly large contributers to the home textile industry.[74] It is, however, important to remember that such religious foundations were but one source of raw

materials for woollen textile enterprise at home and overseas[75] and that poorly documented lay production, which may have far exceeded monastic output, was also going on in the study area.

In the early years of the fourteenth century when ecclesiastical wool production had long since reached its maximum and may well have been past its prime in the study area, Pegalotti, an Italian wool merchant of the house of Bardi, drew up his famous index of approximate annual wool production for the sheep raising monasteries of England.[76] The following tabular abstraction from this index gives the annual production by the number of sacks for all the ecclesiastical institutions with estates lying within, partially within, or only impinging upon the Vale of Pickering Area. Each sack is believed

Pegalotti Production Index*

Institution	Yearly Production in Sacks
Rievaulx	60
Bridlington	50
Malton	50
Byland	35
Kirkham	30
Whitby	30
St. Mary's	30
Guisborough	20
Newburgh	13
Keldholme	12
Ellerton	10
Rosedale	10
Wykeham	4
Yedingham	some

to have weighed about 26 stone or 364 lb.[77] Unfortunately the figures refer to the production of whole estates, and, except for Keldholme, Rosedale, Wykeham, Yedingham

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* Wroot has summarized these figures for Yorkshire but the full index has previously been printed by Cunningham.[78]

and to a lesser extent for Malton and Rievaulx, they must include large quantities of wool derived from sheep pastured outside the study area.

Rievaulx, Bridlington and Malton, three of the five ecclesiastical estates with the most extensive lands in the study area, top this list of wool production and in Yorkshire as a whole were only equalled or exceeded in the number of annual sacks by Fountain Abbey (76) and Jervaulx (60).[79] Even St. Mary's with 30 sacks or about 5 tons of raw wool was among the twelve largest monastic wool raisers in the county. However, the Benedictines, in comparison with some Augustinian, Cistercian and Gilbertine houses, were only medium sized producers. Local nunneries, whose estates have already been suggested to have been comparatively small, produced very limited amounts and several houses whose estates lay largely outside the study area, including Byland, Kirkham, Guisborough and Newburgh, were only medium to small wool producers. The table, ~~in~~regardless of its inaccuracy as a direct indicator of production in the Vale of Pickering Area, reveals the tremendous quantities of wool derived from some of the ecclesiastical estates with greater or lesser property rights within the bounds of this study.

The available local records of sheep rearing come from the land books and land charters rather than from financial records like those available for Crowland Abbey (1258-1322).[80] These sources are limited and almost certainly incomplete records of the extensive sheep husbandry carried on by the religious institutions under consideration. References to sheep fall into two major classes. Most valuable are the references to

specific numbers of sheep for which common rights were granted in the township. These are most common in Augustinian and Gilbertine cartularies but also sometimes occur in other land books and in deeds and fines. In most cases in the cartularies these enumerated rights were granted in addition to the normal appurtenances of meadow and pasture land and therefore may not always indicate the total number of ecclesiastical sheep on the common. Of less value but of equal importance are references to pasture for an unspecified number of sheep, often in conjunction with grants of pasturage for "other animals". In these cases the predominance of the sheep is often indicated by the fact that it is the only animal actually named in the charter. In addition to these frequent indicators of sheep husbandry are references to folds and less commonly to more permanent structures believed often to have been built of stone, sheep cotes.[81] These usually appear in documents pertaining to townships where sheep references occur but this is not always the case, so that in some instances the fold or cote is the only evidence of ecclesiastical sheep pasturage. It is at least probable that such references to sheep, sheep pasture and sheep folding only begin to cover the actual extent of the wool raising economy on many monastic estates. Much of the common pasture rights obtained with small and large units of property, even granges and manors, remain unaccounted for. While some of this appurtenant pasture must have been used for draught animals and livestock other than sheep, it is quite probable that much at least partially, was utilized in the very remunerative production of wool.

In addition to direct references to sheep or the

sheep economy, the cartularies contain certain documents directed at the acquisition of extra grants of meadow or less frequently of pasture. Such grants, which when given in acres are sometimes small, were not the appurtenances of ecclesiastical arable land but additional property always acquired in townships where the particular institution already held some arable with its pasture and meadow allotment. Nothing is known about the reason for such extra specialized land procurement but it seems suspiciously likely to the writer that it bore some relationship to the wool raising economy. This suspicion receives some confirmation from the fact that such peculiar acquisition appears entirely in the records of monastic institutions known to have been in the wool trade. All such references along with those to folds, to sheep pasture and to sheep are included in appendix 7.2(b) by township and institution. This information appropriately designated by institution is presented on an overlay to figure 7.1.

The map reveals heavy numerical concentrations of sheep in townships in the south-east with access to Wold pasture and in those townships of the north-east half of the map whose elongated strip shape provided large sheep runs on the North York Moors. In this eastern half of the study area where numerical statistics are most common, monasteries can be seen often to have pastured from 100 to 500 sheep and in less frequent cases 1,000 or more. As pointed out previously, because much of the appurtenant common in these townships remains unaccounted for, it is possible that these figures for grazed sheep may represent less than the actual total pastured either by the designated house or other

coincident religious estate units in these townships. It is indeed unfortunate that similar enumeration figures for sheep run further west in the consequent valley region and, presumably, also pastured on the interfluvial moorlands are not available. Probably, considering the size of this upland area of the north-western quadrant of the map, the extensive tract included in monastic block grants and the frequency of fold and cote references, this area supported as many if not more monastic sheep than the eastern half of the study area. To the west and south, Sproxton with its access to the fringes of the Hambleton moorland contained at least 1,000 monastic sheep but in contrast the townships with access to the Howardian Hills show few sheep and little evidence of ecclesiastical sheep pasture in the form of folds. Although possibly over-emphasized, this probably reflects the apparent infrequency of monastic property units in this area. Similarly, although the impression may be erroneous, the small townships of Ryedale with limited pastoral areas appear to have been largely free of monastic sheep. Where such animals were involved the figure never exceeds 300. Only Malton's sheep are definitely known to have been run upon the valley floor but it is at least possible that other wool producers such as Rievaulx and Yedingham may have used their fenland and wetland properties for wool raising. However, as might be expected, the greatest number of sheep appear likely to have been pastured in the consequent valleys and on the upland moors and the Wolds around the lowland of the Vale.

To convey some idea of the numbers of sheep involved on the wool producing monastic estates of the study

area, the following table has been constructed to show the available sheep statistics for the five institutions for which such figures are most frequently given. Rievaulx is omitted from the table because much of its sheep pasturage is documented without the specific enumeration of flock size. It is, however, important to realize that even the figures for houses included in the table almost certainly under-estimate the total flocks of these foundations, which were pastured in the township under study. It is also important to realize that the "hundreds" appearing in the records may as easily be the long hundreds of 120 animals as the short hundred, the standard measure of modern times.[82]

Available Sheep Statistics
(Abstract of Appendix 7.2(b))

Institution	No. of Sheep
Malton	5,949
Bridlington	4,300
Kirkham	1,500
Wykeham	800
Rosedale	500

The two small nunneries, as could have been predicted, had only small numbers of animals but Kirkham with its infrequent out-lying property units in the area of study appears to have pastured a surprising number of sheep here, particularly since this priory was only a medium sized producer of wool in Pegalotti's index. Malton, with the greatest proportion of its estate in the study area, held flocks of at least 5,949 animals but more spectacular are the tremendous number of sheep in the hands of Bridlington, considering the relatively few townships involved in its estate. The appendix, although it gives a large number of Rievaulx's sheep pastures without statistical enumeration, still lists well over 3,000 sheep for this house and probably, in the

light of the fourteenth century sackage, Rievaulx's flocks in the area of study rivalled or exceeded Malton's in size.

The existing references to sheep show that they were by no means always attached to granges or manorial units where the monastic institutions appear to have concentrated their direct agricultural interest. The upland granges of Kirkham at Bilsdale and Rievaulx's in lower Bilsdale may well have been largely directed at sheep farming. So may Malton's granges of Ebberston, Levisham, Marton and Ryton, where the bovate size was small and the number of sheep attached, in at least one instance, excessively large. At other granges, such as Helmsley, Kirby Misperton, Levisham, Skiplam, Willerby and Wintringham, some sheep are enumerated but often, as at Wintringham, the number is surprisingly low in comparison to the size of the arable unit. In more numerous cases, as at Deepdale, Hovingham and Welburn, no livestock figures are given. This is also true of three of the manors of St. Mary's and of Yedingham's peculiar central unit. While it is just conceivable that small Augustinian or Gilbertine granges like Hovingham or Amotherby may have used all their common for draught and other domestic animals, it is unbelievable that township granges like Welburn or Deepdale, manors such as Kirby Misperton and most of the large non-Cistercian granges were not partially oriented towards the sheep economy. It is highly probable, though unproven, that the pastoral portions of such grange and manorial units played a most important role in this highly remunerative pastoral pursuit.

However, a surprising number of sheep and of sheep

pastures were attached to property units of ecclesiastical estates which are neither referred to as granges nor manors. Of all sheep enumerated for Malton's estate, almost two-thirds were pastured on non-grange properties and this proportion was even higher for Bridlington and seems almost exclusively true for Kirkham. Indeed some nunneries like Wykeham, with no known grange units, may have run all their sheep in this manner. Such features of the sheep economy on monastic estates appear, on the available evidence, to have been least characteristic on Benedictine properties where such pasturage is indicated only at Grimston and Gilling.

The awkward question now arises as to how these sheep, sometimes numbering as many as a thousand, were tended in townships in which the monasteries seem likely to have had only rent paying tenants. On Cistercian estates the rent-payer may have been replaced by a lay brother and the property unit converted largely into a sheep station. References to local persons responsible for the priory's goods appear occasionally in documents pertaining to Bridlington's lands in the Vale and may indicate the existence on this Augustinian estate of local administrators possibly responsible for flock management.[83] In some instances sheep may have been run entirely by the village shepherd and their care committed to local renting tenants. However, sometimes flock administration was probably directed from neighbouring grange units. This last would seem likely, for example, at Malton's grange of Levisham which may have been responsible for the 500 priory sheep in the adjacent Newton. Some or all of these methods were possibly used in the local administrative operation of the sheep

flocks on these ecclesiastical estates.

Although only two references to stock movement exist, one involving the transfer of sheep from Skiplam to Rievaulx,[84] the other with animal movement from Spaunton to Normanby,[85] such migration must have been characteristic of the monastic livestock economy.[86] In the autumn moorland flocks must have been removed from the high moors and the Wolds to lowland pasture or at least into the consequent valleys where Rievaulx's sheep cotes of lower Bilsdale may have provided a nucleus for winter stock shelter. In the spring when the other sheep returned to the uplands, the ewes and new lambs must have been maintained until slightly later upon lowland pasturage.

Such transhumance which was presumably characteristic of the lay flocks of village communities as well, must have involved much lowland space for sheep and vast quantities of winter fodder, presumably hay. Probably the arable portions of granges, other monastic arable, lowland pasture and common meadow areas were all used in the winter running of livestock. Where large sheep runs exclusive of the normal holdings of arable, meadow and pasture were granted in townships, the need for winter fodder must have been particularly acute.

The additional meadow lands shown on the overlay were acquired presumably because of this deficiency in winter feed, which may sometimes have been coupled with a shortage of pasture space. Such meadow allotments, where figures are available, appear to have varied from 12 to 50 acres. These meadows are least frequently recorded for Rievaulx whose vast tract of fenland must have supplied most of its fodder requirements and are

most common for monasteries pasturing sheep in Woldfoot communities. In several instances, as at Ryton, the specific pasturage of a large number of sheep is accompanied by the acquisition of extra meadow and in such cases the relationship is both obvious and direct. In other instances the meadow lies in a community where there is no evidence of extra sheep pasturage. These probably indicate situations where meadow land could not be obtained in townships with particularly large grazing rights and was acquired elsewhere to prevent a fodder shortage. The particular hay once cut, may have been transported to the needy sheep or conversely the sheep may have been driven from one township to the other to feed on the hay while being run on the meadow area.

It is equally as possible and equally as unproven from existing local records of the early medieval period that the less frequent acquisitions of additional pasture rights by monastic institutions was connected with sheep husbandry. These acquisitions, which existing figures show to have varied in size from 5 to 48 acres, are much less easily accounted for than the meadow lands. Some may have been used as transient folding areas for flocks of old or surplus sheep being driven from distant sheep runs to market or to the estate centre. Others may have served as temporary folding stations in the re-distribution of sheep over the estate, an event which probably occurred annually. In still other instances they may have been areas where lambs and ewes were kept at lambing time and for the first few weeks of spring before their transfer to upland pasture. None of these temporary uses, however, are really satisfactory reasons

for the acquisition of such pasture allotments. It may be that they merely represent a monastic attempt to increase their available common land in the township and if so, these small pastoral grants may not always bear a relationship to monastic sheep raising.

This pastoral economy in sheep, believed to have been the major source of wealth on many monastic estates, was also the source of at least some of their financial trouble before the close of the study period. Attacks of murrain, which swept the Vale of Pickering Area and destroyed many animals, including deer in Pickering Forest, took their toll of monastic livestock and in particular of sheep.[87] It may be that monastic flocks, because of their widespread distribution, were less affected in local outbreaks of this pestilence than was lay livestock,[88] but this disease so depleted the sheep of Rievaulx Abbey that in 1276 it had to be taken into the financial custody of the King.[89] The ravages of this disease must have severely depleted the livestock wealth of most, if not all, of the other sheep producing monasteries with estates in the study area. Probably as a result of the inroads made by this pestilence in flocks of Cistercian houses and probably of most other orders, the emphasis on sheep raising was beginning to wane before 1350.[90]

In addition to the effects of murrain two other forces caused the decline of monastic wealth. The thirteenth century was a time of grandoise experiment in monastic finance which often led to ruin.[91] Monasteries frequently mortgaged future wool production to the large Flemish and Florentine wool houses, sometimes for several years in advance.[92] Such mortgaging,

presumably because of the decreased production after severe attacks of murrain, caused Malton Priory to fall into financial difficulty and in 1289 also caused the temporary bankruptcy of Rievaulx.[93] Subsequent Scottish raiding in 1322 resulted in the plundering of Rievaulx Abbey, and probably partial property devastation and widespread livestock depletion on most ecclesiastical estate lands in the west and south of the study area.[94] Certainly the revision of ecclesiastical taxation in Yorkshire after this period of Scottish incursions reveals marked decreases in property value for most of the religious foundations.[95] This series of disastrous events in the last century of the early medieval period, particularly pronounced or well documented in the case of Rievaulx, brought to a close the unprecedented period of wealth and agricultural activity in the estates of religious foundations in the Vale of Pickering Area.

Conclusions

No less than twenty-six religious foundations held property in the Vale of Pickering Area and of these the estates of Bridlington, Malton, Rievaulx, St. Mary's and St. Peter's are known to have been particularly extensive. Some of these institutions, including seven local hospitals, the nunneries of Keldholme, Rosedale, Wykeham and Yedingham and the Templars, which along with Malton and Rievaulx had centres in the study area, held only scattered or relatively small amounts of land. Collectively these twenty-six foundations controlled large quantities of property and few townships failed to contain land of at least one such religious body. The peculiar distributional admixture of their property units, the predominance of small sized land-holdings

and the coincidence of central property concentrations of estates with estate outliers as seen on figure 7.1, result from the operation of three forces. These forces were: the granting by local lords of both central and far-flung lands from within their feudal fees; the areally indiscriminate granting of small amounts of property by the lesser laity and the attempts at planned acquisition through purchase or persuasion by the foundations themselves. The first two probably account for most of the prevalent small sized property units, most of the out-lying land and much of the property concentrated about the estate centre. The last seems likely to have been largely directed at the further accumulation of property near the foundation centre, and probably in the case of Malton and Rievaulx, the development of numerous large grange units in the immediate vicinity of the abbey or priory and in the latter instance with the acquisition of particular property in the fens.

Many property units in the estates of religious foundations of the study area probably functioned solely as a source of food or money rent and in such cases their transfer to religious hands probably caused little change in the operation of the village community beyond the alienating of these lands from secular service. Even this possibly widespread re-renting in the thirteenth century, which in many instances may have released the foundations from the onerous task of agrarian supervision on parts of their large and widespread estates, is likely to have had little or no effect on the agrarian operations of the township. However, some properties, either granges or manors, which appear to have been often close but sometimes at great distances from the

estate centre, received more direct ecclesiastical agrarian interest. Prebendary manors of St. Peter's seem to have been used as a source of rent revenue but it seems likely that the interest taken by St. Mary's in her six large manorial units centred around the agrarian production of the demesne worked in normal fashion by lay villiens. Other smaller manors, through the use of monastic labour, may have assumed some or complete grange characteristics in the farming of the demesne. Granges, frequently large but sometimes small, appear much more commonly than manors in the study area. Some of these monastic enclosures involved whole townships obtained in waste condition or depopulated by the monks. Others were developed through the acquisition and further colonization of lay units in the waste. These appear exclusively Cistercian. Other granges, developed through the acquisition of adjacent strips in the common field to form blocks along with appurtenant meadow and pasture were characteristically Augustinian and Gilbertine. Cistercian granges often replaced entire communal systems, while Augustinian and Gilbertine units must at least have had a disruptive effect upon the open field. Along with other colonization of the waste, both on the valley floor and in the consequent valleys, these granges probably represent the greatest changes wrought by ecclesiastical agricultural practice in the study area. Although some of these granges may have been put to predominantly arable or pastoral use, the writer believes that the greatest majority were general farms, the pastoral phase of which was probably largely directed towards the lucrative raising of sheep. The out-lying granges, which only on Malton's estate appear peculiarly

small, may also have acted as focal points for the supervision of surrounding presumably rent-paying property, the pasture of which was also sometimes involved in sheep raising.

Although other animals were included on the pasture lands of these estates in the Vale of Pickering Area, sheep were the most prevalent. Several of the monastic houses are known from the Pegalotti index to have been important wool producers but within the bounds of this study only Bridlington, Malton and Rievaulx appear to have run outstanding numbers of sheep, although Kirkham is worthy of note. Some of these sheep, probably more than the records designate, were run on grange pasture but in many instances, including Malton where almost two-thirds of those enumerated were not attached to granges, sheep were pastured on other estate properties. It would seem likely that such flocks were locally supervised, sometimes at least from neighbouring granges. Most monastic flocks were probably pastured on the high moor and the Wold and in the consequent valleys in the summer but although, as in Rievaulx's case, some may have wintered at sheep cotes in the dales, the majority must have been driven to the lowland to run on arable, meadow and lowland pasture. Because many enumerated grants of sheep pasturage were made exclusive of meadow or arable it is not unlikely that these huge monastic flocks were sometimes short of winter fodder. It is probably because of this situation that meadow lands were acquired not always in townships known to have borne monastic sheep. However, it is much less easy to account for the relatively infrequent monastic accumulation of extra pasture. Although such property may have

been required in the transient movement of sheep and for special purposes connected with sheep husbandry, it is at least possible that these acquisitions merely represent the extension of existing pasture rights in specific townships for uses with no special connection to the wool trade. This may be one of the many facets of the local agricultural operation of the estates of religious foundations which existing records fail to explain or indeed to cover.

Of all the religious foundations in this study only St. Mary's and St. Peter's held property in the Vale of Pickering Area as early as 1086. However, the rest of the estates developed very soon after Domesday Book and their propensity to acquire land seems to have dwindled to a virtual close in the early decades of the thirteenth century, probably as much a result of lay ill-will as of ecclesiastical land satiety. In many instances, as for example Rievaulx, the estates were complete or largely complete before 1200. For most of a century following that date these ecclesiastical foundations prospered and grew wealthy on the agricultural returns of their extensive estates inside and outside the study area. However, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries a series of disasters, including severe attacks of murrain, the harvest of ill-conceived monastic finance centred on wool mortgaging and Scottish raiding caused financial trouble which brought Rievaulx at least to near ruin. Such events which overtook these religious institutions as much as seventy-five years before the Black Death marked their decline from their early medieval position of wealth and agrarian activity.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

MILLS

Introduction

The mill as a mechanical application of inanimate energy seems a product of relatively recent times in England. The earliest documentary reference appears only in the mid Anglo-Saxon period.[1] Archaeological evidence indicates that previous to the rise of mills grain had been ground in the family quern,[2] a procedure which continued into the medieval period despite a harsh penalty for such hand grinding.*[3] It would appear that the medieval monopoly of the manorial mill, where tenants were forced to grind to the commercial advantage of their lord,[5] must have developed simultaneously with the repression of the family quern during the centuries before the study period.

Two facets of the milling industry at the time of the Domesday Survey remain major enigmas. Treatises generally assume without real concrete proof that all Domesday mills were water powered.[6] Granting this as a probable assumption, scholars have yet to agree upon the technological characteristics of these mills at the time of Domesday. Hodgen assumes they were the rudimentary Norse type, in which a horizontal paddle-wheel applied drive directly to the mill stone through an ungeared shaft.[7] Curwen is convinced that the Norse mill was never introduced into England and that the more complex

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* Several recently excavated archaeological sites of medieval date have produced querns.[4]

Vitruvian type, with vertical wheel receiving water from above, below or at breast height and with gearing to speed the rotation of the stones, was the mill of Domesday Book.[8] It remains at least possible that both types were common in Domesday and early medieval England.

The second enigma concerns the essential accuracy of Domesday Book as a record of eleventh century mills. The Survey is the earliest composite record of the social and commercial revolution resulting from the supplanting of family querns by communal grinding at manorial mills in later Anglo-Saxon England. In many folios the manorial mill is so common that some historians have envisaged one in almost every eleventh century village.[9] However, in Yorkshire entries for almost two thousand villages reveal the existence of less than one hundred mills of which only twelve were listed in the Vale of Pickering Area. Maxwell, when dealing with the Yorkshire Domesday, is forced to admit that the folios for this county may omit many existing mills.[10] Conversely, Lennard has tentatively suggested that the small number of mills recorded in parts of south-west England may reflect the continuing dominance of the hand quern.[11] This hypothesis presumably could also apply in Yorkshire, although numerically the medieval evidence for mills in the study area is in strong contrast to the Domesday information. However, the numerical contrast cannot be regarded as concrete evidence of gross omissions of mills in the Yorkshire folios and may in fact strengthen Lennard's hesitant suggestion. The formal development of the manor under Norman feudalism could have resulted in the sudden rise of many mills and in the strict suppression of hand querns in the study

area during the period of recovery from the events of 1069. In short, the picture presented in the following pages may only be characteristic of the Vale of Pickering Area in the post-Domesday study period, that span of two hundred years beginning about the middle of the twelfth century when documentary evidence becomes increasingly available.

Medieval Mills

References to mills in the early medieval Vale of Pickering Area are relatively infrequent but occur in all classes of available documents. They appear most frequently in extents where the mill is sometimes listed along with a complete or much abbreviated presentation of other manorial assets but also occur in deeds, fines, court rolls and monastic cartularies. Some of the references give valuable details about the individual mill. Others only allude to its existence. The available information can be broken down into two classes for the purposes of this chapter. In the documents certain features of individual mills are described frequently enough to allow both general classification and geographic portrayal. Certain other information is restricted to too few mills of the Vale to be presented on the map. It can however be used to qualify the general picture presented on figure 8.1 and will be reserved until the basic features of the map have been discussed.

All references to mills are listed in appendix 8.1 after the name of the village community in whose records they appear. While some mills have several references, others are mentioned in only one document. In the former instances it is assumed that all information in the records of a specific village pertains to a single

mill unless definite documentary evidence proves otherwise. This assumption may result in some degree of under-estimation of the actual number of existing mills. In addition, the appendix must be regarded as numerically conservative since documentary references may not have survived for all mills operating in the study area in the early medieval period. With these reservations in mind the appendix shows that at least 90 mills, distributed among 77 villages, were operating in the study area before 1350 (One additional mill lay in the central grant to Keldholme Priory).

These mills are portrayed on figure 8.1 along with the drainage system and settlement pattern of the early medieval period. Many are plotted on the sites of modern or disused mills as shown on the Ordnance Survey map. A few, for which no map information is available, have been roughly positioned near the village in whose records they occur. In neither situation is there any solid proof that the sites assumed on figure 8.1 bear any real relationship to those of actual medieval mills, a fact which may considerably detract from the geographical significance of the map.

Power Source

The Latin of medieval charters sometimes indicates the source of the inanimate energy which drove the mill. Where the general term "molendinum" is qualified by the words "ad ventum" it indicates a windmill. Such mills are believed to have been a twelfth century innovation in western Europe and appear in documents of the study area only in the closing years of the early medieval period.[12] These early windmills are generally believed to have been of the post type; Vitruvian machinery

mounted and rotated upon a column which was implanted in the ground.[13]

Most frequently, however, the term "molendinum" appears unqualified in early medieval references and the traditional view appears to be that by corollary such mills were water driven as opposed to wind powered.[14] There is no concrete proof that this logical assumption is always correct. Some of these medieval mills could have been powered by the animate energy of horses or oxen. One such ancient horse-mill continued to operate in Farndale into the early years of the present century, although there is no documentary evidence of its existence in the early medieval period.[15]

In a special column of the appendix each mill has been classified according to the existing information as to its power source. General references to "molendinum" as opposed to "molendinum ad ventum" have been subdivided into two groups: those for which supplementary evidence for water power is available in the appendix and those for which no such qualifying information seems to exist. Water power is indicated in several documentary forms. For example, at Ampleforth and Normanby reference is made to the tithe of mill and mill pond; at Goathland and Pickering mention is made of repairs to mill dams; at Heslerton and Salton there are references to fisheries in the mill pond and at Ayton and Fryton documents deal with increase in the size of the mill pond. References of a similar nature are available for a considerable number of the other unqualified molendina.

The following abstract shows the numerical breakdown according to power and source. Clearly water power

was by far the most common source of energy among those mills which appear as unqualified molendina. In addition no documentary evidence exists in the study area for animal powered mills in the early medieval period. As

Power Source
(Abstract of Appendix 8.1)

Source	Number
Wind	11
Water	55
Unproven Source	25

a result the unproven class of the abstract and appendix is presented as probably water powered on figure 8.1, distinct from those proven to have been driven by wind or water.

Types of Mills

In distinguishing the function carried out by the medieval mills of the Vale of Pickering Area it is necessary only to follow the same basic steps as used in the classification of power sources. Once again the problem concerns the term "molendinum" as opposed to its qualification by a Latin term for specific functions of which only "molendinum fulonicum" or fulling mill appears in the documents of the study area. Fulling mills, like windmills, appeared only in the later years of the early medieval period and are generally believed to reflect a revolution in the woollen industry along with its migration from urban to rural communities.[16]

Bennett and Elton, among others, seem to assume that "molendinum", when functionally unqualified as a fulling, stamping, crushing, tanning or saw mill, represents a corn mill.[17] In appendix 8.1 an attempt is made to check the validity of this assumption among the unqualified molendina of the study area. Fulling

mills are distinguished from general references to molendina which are then subdivided into two groups as in the previous section: those for which supplementary evidence for corn grinding exists and those for which no functionally definitive evidence is available. Evidence of corn grinding appears in many references included in the appendix. For example, the men of Fryton, like those of many other villages, owed suit, that is were obliged to grind their corn at specifically named mills. Tenants of several manors including Middleton are said to owe multure, that is a specific quantity of grain in payment for the miller's work, at other specific mills. Certain persons at Wintringham and other villages are said to have the right to grind first after the mill owner. The millers of both Gilling and Hutton Buscel are reported to have suffered severe injury from their mill stones, while the miller of Great Habton was granted the right to obtain grinding stones from a quarry in Amotherby. These and similar references definitely designate a large number of functionally unqualified molendina as corn mills.

The following abstract, similar to the last, breaks down the mills according to their function or type.

Types of Mills
(Abstract of Appendix 8.1)

Type	Number
Fulling Mills	4
Corn Mills	55
Unproven Type	32

Again all the available qualifying documents for molendina which were not termed "fulonicum" indicates that such mills had corn grinding functions. Such corn mills were by far the most common and probably the most necessary type in the early medieval period. Therefore those

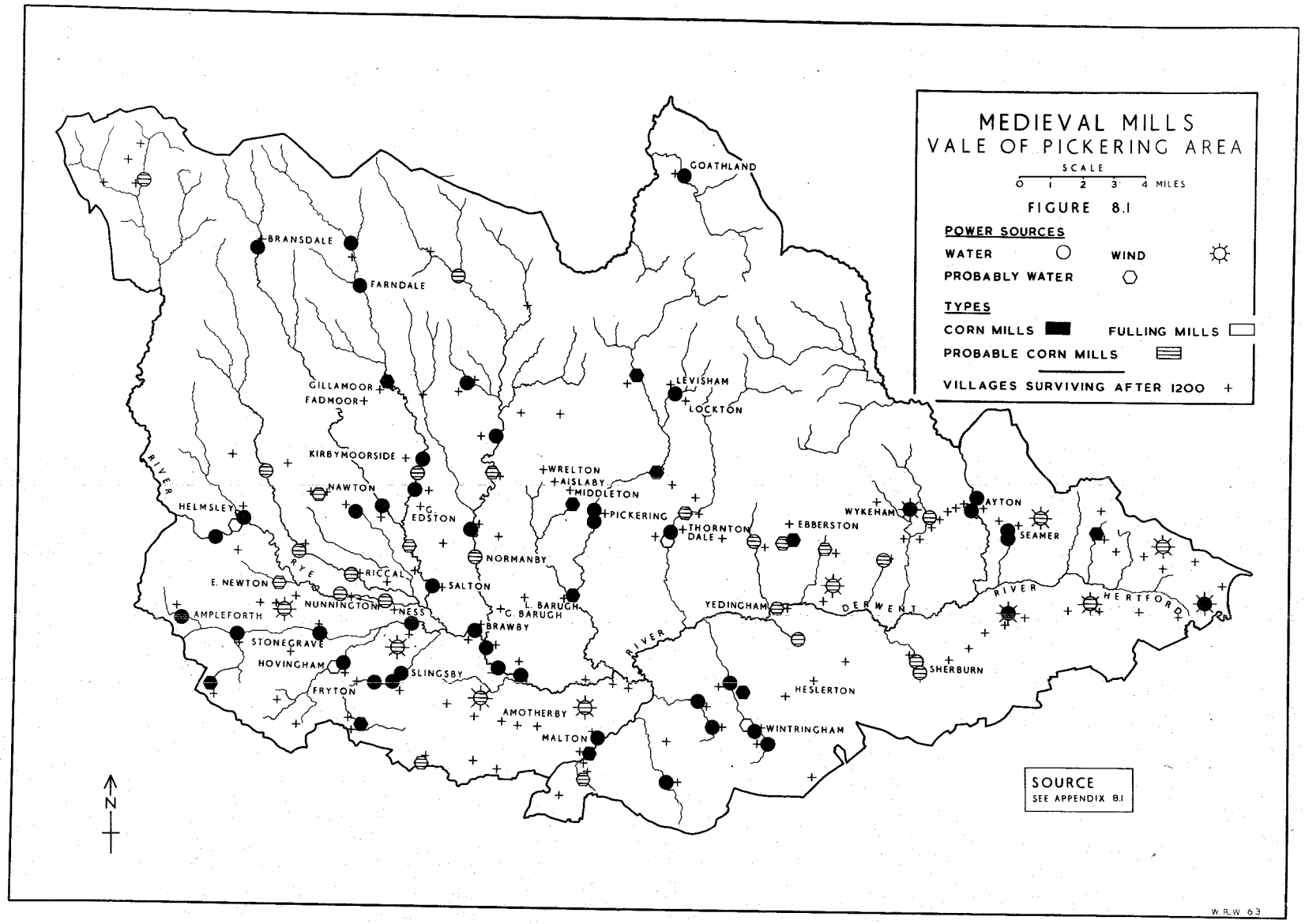
molendina which have no evidence to indicate their function are presented as probable corn mills on figure 8.1 as distinct from those proven to have functioned for corn grinding or cloth fulling.

The Map

Figure 8.1, constructed from the foregoing information, reveals some interesting features of milling in the Vale of Pickering Area in the early medieval period. Clearly the distribution of mills roughly reflects the density of village distribution, although the mill was not a common feature of every village community. This basic numerical discrepency between the pattern of villages and of mills will be discussed more thoroughly in the next section of this chapter.

Fulling mills and windmills appear only in the lowland of the Vale of Pickering. The interesting feature in the distribution of fulling mills, beyond their occurrence in areas with easily accessible water power, is their appearance in certain specific villages. Except at Wintringham they were established in communities with early medieval markets through which their woollen cloth could presumably be sold.

There seems no direct environmental reason for the existence of most windmills since they usually lie in communities with access to water power. Such access is particularly pronounced at Wykeham, Seamer and the four communities with windmills in Ryedale. Possibly, as Bennett and Elton suggest, such mills in the early medieval period were more often a manorial novelty than a necessity.[18] Such conclusions seem particularly likely at Seamer and Slingsby where manors also boast the existence of water mills. However, other communities,


MEDIEVAL MILLS
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 8.1
POWER SOURCES
WATER
WIND
PROBABLY WATER
TYPES
CORN MILLS
FULLING MILLS
PROBABLE CORN MILLS
VILLAGES SURVIVING AFTER 1200 +
SOURCE
SEE APPENDIX 8.1
N
GOATHLAND
BRANSDALE
FARNDALE
GILLAMOOR
FADMOOR
KIRBYMOORSIDE
NAWTON
HELMSLEY
RIVER RYE
EDSTON
RICCALL
E. NEWTON
NUNNINGTON
INESS
SALTON
NORMANBY
AMPLEFORTH
STONEGRAVE
HOVINGHAM
SLINGSBY
FRYTON
L. BARUGH
G. BARUGH
BRAWBY
AMOTHERBY
MALTON
LEVISHAM
LOCKTON
WRELTON
AISLABY
MIDDLETON
PICKERING
THORNTON DALE
EBBERSTON
WYKEHAM
AYTON
SEAMER
YEDINGHAM
DERWENT
RIVER HERTFORD
SHERBURN
HESLERTON
WINTRINGHAM
RIVER
W.R.W. 63

particularly on the eastern moraine and at the foot of the Wolds, may have used wind power because they lacked convenient or desirable sites for water mills on easily accessible streams.

Assuming all mill sites to be approximately correct, the map reveals the concentration of those driven by or probably powered by water along the smaller courses of the drainage pattern. Only at Ebberston and perhaps Nawton does the map fail to indicate streams in close proximity to mills classed as probably water powered. In these two instances, at least, it is possible that the molendinum was driven by the energy of horses or oxen.

A considerable number of water mills appear along the confined courses of streams in the consequent valleys of the North York Moors and in the Tabular and Howardian Hills. However, the majority of such mills are distributed along the rivers of Ryedale or other streams around the periphery of the valley floor. Only at Ayton, Yedingham, Malton and Norton do mills seem to have been driven by the ~~voluminal~~ ample waters of the Derwent. This affinity for smaller river and stream courses is probably largely a reflection of the concentration of settlement outside the region of the valley floor. However, it may also reflect the unsuitability of the marshy flat borders of the lowland course of the Derwent for the erection of mills and the creation of mill ponds.

References to dams and ponds are frequent enough in the early medieval records to suggest that they were a common feature of many if not all water mills in the area of study. The erection of dams along the lowland

water courses of Ryedale and in particular the valley floor may have adversely affected a drainage system little suited to its task even under natural conditions. A dam at Malton would reduce the gradient of the Derwent even beyond its already ill-graded condition. Similar dams on the rivers of Ryedale would effectively reduce their slightly better gradient characteristics. In either case the effects were probably felt in the amount of spring flooding which occurred both in Ryedale and on the valley floor. As recently as the last century the continuing existence of mill dams at Malton is believed responsible for considerable flooding upstream along the course of the Derwent.[19]

Surprisingly enough only one complaint of flooding due to pondage of water behind mill dams appears in the early medieval records of the study area. It occurs at Ayton and centres not on flooding due to the existence of a mill dam but upon the alleged increase in the area of pondage due to an alteration in the height of the dam.[20] This one example may suggest that communities accepted a certain area as the natural flood plain of the mill but that increases in the size of the mill pond were not to be tolerated. This in turn suggests that once the mill was built and once its dam level had been established there was likely to be strong opposition to any changes in its height when the dam was repaired or replaced.

As the combined abstracts have already suggested, the water driven corn mill is the most common feature of the map of early medieval mills in the study area. In addition all windmills were at least probably used to grind corn. However, Bennett and Elton suggest that

the corn mills of each manor were of two distinct types; those which ground bread flour and those which dealt with malt.[21] In the area of study only one document which refers to Slingsby supports this alleged subdivision of corn grinding between a flour mill and a malt mill, which in this case were under one roof.[22] Presumably, where two corn mills are recorded on the map as at Ebberston, Sherburn and Seamer, one may have been used exclusively for malt but if the map is at all accurate as a record of the number of existing corn mills, some mills must have been used indiscriminately for grinding both flour and malt.

Map Qualifications

Two important features of milling in the medieval study area are too infrequently documented to be portrayed graphically on figure 8.1: the value and the relation of the mill to the village community. Information on the first of these features is derived exclusively from manorial extents. Such documents sometimes include a figure for the value of the molendinum to the lord of the manor or to the holder of the community mill. As mentioned in a previous chapter, Kosminsky believes that the values of various manorial assets listed in extents are likely to be conservative. In addition, he points out that the value of the mill is quoted as a sum of money, although the remuneration of the miller to his lord was usually in kind.[23] However, even if these figures are only a conservative approximation of the real value of the mill, they probably reflect the quantity of grain ground or cloth fulled and can therefore be regarded as crude indicators of the size of the mill.

The following table includes figures for the value of only 35 mills, which sample may or may not be representative of the scale or frequency of size variations. It excludes several extents where two or more mills are valued under one lump sum as in the case of the two mills at Pickering or five mills in the manor of Kirby-moorside.[24] The table would suggest that fulling mills

Value of Certain Mills
(Taken from extents listed in appendix 8.1)

Type	£-2	£2-4	£4-8	£8-16	£16-32
Fulling Mills	4	0	0	0	0
Windmills	3	0	0	0	0
Corn Water Mills	14	7	3	2	2

and windmills were of modest value in comparison with some of the water driven corn mills. However, exactly half of the latter type also appear with values under £2. Conversely, some corn mills were worth much more than this figure. Helmsley mill at £21 was the most valuable in the study area.[25] However, a moderate proportion of the corn mills were worth from £2 to £16 but more than half of these were valued at less than £4. If the sample is at all representative for the study area, most mills were probably quite small, some were of more moderate size and a few such as Helmsley were extremely large.

The second feature of the milling industry which cannot be portrayed geographically for the entire study area is the relationship of the individual community to the pattern of early medieval mills. Unfortunately, the available information on this relationship cannot be reduced to a simple table and discussion must proceed by using documented examples.

The mill was a commercial manorial monopoly, not a

commercial institution belonging to the commonalty of the townships in which it lay. As previously concluded, the boundaries of manor and township did not always coincide. Manorial tenants were bound to grind at their lord's mill and were also obliged to labour towards its repair although the lord usually supplied the materials and the miller was responsible for the up-keep of his mill.[26] An excellent example of this relationship between the tenant and the mill where he owed suit appears in the documents of Salton. All tenants of this prebendary manor were charged to do suit at Salton mill, to keep it thatched, to repair its dam and to keep the mill race and pond clean, but the miller could take materials for this work from the lord's wood at Spaunton.[27] In short, each mill was the focus for those who held suit there but this community of persons being manorial did not always coincide with the community of the township or individual village.

The village community or commonalty of the township appear in one of two basic relationships to the mills in the documents of the early medieval study area. At Fryton all men of the township owed suit at the mill.[28] An inquisition at Levisham reveals that all men of the manors of Levisham and Lockton owed suit at Levisham mill, jointly owned by the two manorial lords.[29] All men in Aislaby, Wrelton and Middleton were in one manor and were forced to grind at Middleton mill.[30] In these cases one or more townships appear to have been co-terminus with the manor and owed suit at a single manorial mill or a mill shared by two manors.

In other cases where manors were spread over several townships they contained more than one mill. Hence the

manor of Nunnington with lands in East and West Ness, Rical and Stonegrave had a separate mill in each village except East Ness.[31] Similarly the manor of Kirbymoorside with lands in Bransdale, Farndale, Fadmoor and Gillamoor had mills in every community except Fadmoor.[32] Here again, regardless of the lack of coincidence between manor and township all members of one or more village communities probably owed suit at a single manorial mill.

However, the relationship of village community to the mills was sometimes more complex. The prebendary manor of Salton had some tenants in the villages of Barugh, Edston and East Newton, as well as controlling all villagers of Brawby and Salton. All except the men of Brawby, if their mill was operating, owed suit at the mill of Salton.[33] Also, certain tenants of one manor in Knapton did suit at the mill of that village but those of another were forced to grind at Wintringham.[34] As in the case of Barugh, Edston and East Newton, the members of the village community of Knapton were divided by manorial bounds. As a result, while some owed suit at one mill, others ground their grain elsewhere. Unlike the previous cases the village community and the community owing suit at a particular mill were not co-terminous entities in these instances.

This limited information on suit of mill indicates that while many villages ground as a unit at a single mill inside or outside their own township, others were divided in their obligations between two mills. Unfortunately the exact relationship between mills and villages cannot be established for the greater part of the study area in the early medieval period. In examining the map, however, the reader would probably be wise to see the

basic numerical discrepancy between mills and villages as more the result of these milling relationships than as a result of the existence of undocumented mills. In addition he should probably see each village with a mill as the focus for corn grinding in part or the whole of its township or even of several adjacent townships.

Conclusions

The documents of the Vale of Pickering Area for the period between the mid twelfth and mid fourteenth centuries indicate the existence of 91 mills as opposed to 12 recorded in Domesday Book. The majority seem to have been water driven corn mills predominately distributed along the lesser water courses of the upland and lowland drainage system. At least in the lowland the dams of such mills may have further adversely affected an already poor natural drainage system. A few mills appearing in records towards the close of the study period were driven by the wind, in some cases apparently a more convenient form of grinding power. Only four mills in the study area, all of which were fulling mills, appear to have been involved in fuctions other than corn grinding and all these seem likely to have been water powered. These four mills appear first in documents towards the close of the study period and tend to be located in communities with market functions for the sale and distribution of their woollen goods.

These mills of the early medieval period varied both in size and in their relationship to the individual village community. Many water driven or wind powered corn mills and all fulling mills appear to have been small units, but some corn mills were in comparison very large, while others appear to have been of moderate size.

The relationship of the village community to the mill appears to have varied from two or more complete villages doing suit at a single manorial mill to two or more mills serving single villages divided by manorial boundaries. Because mills were manorial monopolies and because of the varying relationship between village and mill, every corn mill was an enforced commercial focus for at least part of one village community. The village which had a corn mill was therefore a grinding centre, sometimes for an area of several townships.

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CHAPTER NINE

THE CHURCH

Introduction

As early as the eighth century in England parochial and diocesan organization is thought to have been replacing the minster system of collegiate churches, the itinerant clergy of which had formerly administered to the spiritual needs of large rural areas.[1] Parish church construction seems usually to have been carried out by the local lord who is often assumed to have used the limits of his estate as the bounds of the parish.[2] Although consecrated by a bishop, these churches along with the parochial revenues and the rights to present the clergy remained under the control of lay lords. The appropriation of parish funds and the sale of the rights of lay lordship over churches was decried by writers as early as the tenth century.[3] The rise of the chapel, which occurred subsequently to the formation of the "parochia", took place only at the discretion of the layman holding the church, who, although he might permit chapelries to be delimited within the territory of his parish, usually guarded against any resulting infringements on his rights to all parochial revenues.[4] Like the construction of churches and definition of parishes, the erection of chapels and the development of chapelries is believed to have occurred rapidly during the Anglo-Saxon period.

However, remnants of the old minster system are known to have continued to operate simultaneously with

the parochial organization during the early eleventh century and into medieval time.[5] Page has argued that this collegiate system was largely swept away in areas like the Vale of Pickering by the invasion of pagan Danes, their subsequent conversion to Christianity and their enthusiastic support of parochial development.[6] Stenton has suggested that this same pagan invasion, because it disrupted diocesan administration in Northern England, delayed the rise of the parish until the late years of Anglo-Saxon times.[7] Whatever the truth of this matter, it is possible that minor parochial adjustments occurred in the study area, as elsewhere in England, after the arrival of the Normans but probably parish development was largely complete before 1086.[8]

Unfortunately, only in Huntingdonshire and Suffolk do the Domesday Commissioners appear to have made an attempt to list all the existing churches of mid eleventh century England.[9] In the Survey's folios for Yorkshire only about one hundred and fifty churches are included among almost two thousand villages and of these only nine were in the study area.[10] As elsewhere in Domesday Book, these churches were clearly considered to be manorial appurtenances, as much a part of the manor assets as the mill or the salt-pan.[11] While it is believed that the Survey often ignores the existence of churches, scholars appear ignorant about the reason behind their haphazard inclusion for most counties of Norman England. Since pre-Conquest churches are believed often to have been constructed of wood,[12] it is at least possible that some were omitted in Northern England because they had been destroyed by fire in 1069.

The descriptions of church architecture included

in the Victoria County History volumes devoted to the North Riding of Yorkshire supply some valuable information on the early medieval churches of the study area.[13] Out of twenty-five buildings discussed, eight contain at least some pre-Conquest architecture including the churches of Appleton-le-Street, Kirkdale, Lastingham, Levisham, Middleton and Pickering which were not recorded in Domesday. With few exceptions all these twenty-five present day churches date partially or almost totally from the study period, including the churches of Brompton, Hutton Buscel, Kirbymoorside, Malton, Nunnington, Seamer and Slingsby which were listed in the Survey. In short, while at least six pre-Conquest churches were ignored by the commissioners in 1086, at least seven of those which they did record were completely rebuilt before 1350, many before the close of the twelfth century. These architectural features of church buildings in the North Riding portion of the study area probably indicate the scale of the omission of churches from the Domesday folios and also give some insight into the scale of re-building and alteration undertaken during the early medieval period. Although it seems highly likely that most, if not all, of the parish churches under study were represented in pre-Conquest time, even Domesday Book combined with the available architectural information fails to provide secure proof of this hypothesis. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the available early medieval information to develop as complete a picture as possible of the Church and parochial organization in the study area during the three centuries after the Domesday Inquest.

Early Medieval Churches and Chapels

As noted in earlier chapters the existing records of early medieval date begin to become numerous only after a lapse of almost half a century following 1086. These documents, however, contain frequent references to churches and to the lesser parochial units, chapels. Often, as at Gilling or Helmsley, the earliest reference concerns the acquisition of a church or chapel by a religious foundation.[14] Sometimes, as at Ganton, references concern the right to present a priest or the payment of tithe as in the case of the chapel of West Ness.[15] Sometimes the first documented existence of a church or chapel appears in a description of land in the common field where arable strips are designated as lying next to the lands of the church, as at Amotherby and Filey.[16] Occasionally the advowson or right of presentation is mentioned in a manorial extent as at Settrington, while at Cawton the first documentation concerns one John Ingemunt who fell on the ice in the church yard.[17] However, the parish church of Nunnington, recorded in Domesday and architecturally represented by a thirteenth century building, appears first after 1086 in the Pope Nicholas Taxation of 1291. Although this survey contains a reference to every early medieval parish in the study area, it does not list their chapelries. As a result it is quite possible that the available records do not indicate the existence of all early medieval chapels.*

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* Several documented chapels fail to be represented either by chapelries or even the remnants of their buildings in the present day. The writer suggests that many early medieval chapels whose chapelries were later disbanded were erected in wood and have therefore failed to stand the test of time.

Because the records use the terms "ecclesia" and "capella" interchangeably, it is often impossible to distinguish between parish church and chapel. Frequently however, as at Raisdale where the tithes are said to belong to Helmsley church, both church or chapel status, and the fact that a specific chapel lay in the parish of a particular church, can be determined from the documents.[18] Much less frequently, as in the case of Rillington and its chapelry at Scampston, both the chapel-church relationship and their relative status is directly stated in a single record.[19] In one unusual case an early episcopal register designates Allerston, Ebberston, Ellerburn and Wrelton as chapelries in the parish of Pickering.[20] Frequently however, the question of parochial status remains in doubt until 1291 when the names of all parishes were listed for tax purposes. The Pope Nicholas Taxation not only provides the first concrete proof of parish church status for several of the thirty-nine medieval parishes of the study area but by omission designates as chapels eleven ecclesiae or capellae for which neither status nor parochial relationship can be determined from other available records.

All references to churches and chapels discovered by the writer in the available early medieval records are listed in appendix 9.1(a) according to the community in which they lay and with the earliest documentary date. In addition each is designated a church or chapel and where possible the latter are given with the name of the parish in which they lay. The dates included in this appendix definitely show that all parish churches, with the exception of Nunnington which is known to have existed in 1086 and Settrington which is poorly documented,

were existent at least by about 1200. However, the church of Ampleforth was actually a chapel in Cotswold parish until the twelfth century when this chapelry was raised to parochial status.[21] While it is highly likely that this change at Ampleforth, where the canons of St. Peter's York desired parish status for the church of their prebendary manor, is an unusual instance and although there is no concrete evidence to support the hypothesis that other parishes of the study pre-date the Conquest, it is highly likely. As a result appendix 9.1(a) can be definitely stated to portray the correct status for all parish churches and known chapels no earlier than 1291.

The information on the medieval Church in this appendix is cartographically portrayed on figure 9.1. Wherever possible the symbols for parish churches and chapels are sited on the present-day church buildings. Such representation was impossible for those chapels whose former sites have been lost from the modern village and from the Ordnance map. In these instances the symbol is positioned on the site of the community in which it is said to have lain. While some existing churches and chapels now lie in the nuclei of village communities, others are sited in the out-skirts or completely outside modern villages. At Levisham the eleventh century church is positioned in a valley tributary of Thornton Dale with its modern community high above on the crest of the Coralline and at Wintringham the church lies about one-eighth mile south of the present village. While the frequent difference between the community centre and the site of the church may in some instances be evidence of village migration since the medieval

period, it may also be the result of other factors. In some instances for example, the manorial lord who erected the present building may have specifically chosen a site outside the existing village nucleus, possibly in relation to the manorial hall rather than the village community.* However, the pre-Conquest church of Kirkdale, which served a parish containing Wombleton and Rievaulx's granges of Houeton, Skiplam and Welburn,[23] is sited several miles from any modern community but close to the medieval archeological remains of Houeton, depopulated before 1200. This is probably a unique example of a parish church divested of its village which has continued for over eight hundred years to serve its parochia.

The map reveals the concentration of parish centres (villages with parish churches) in the lowlands. Only the churches of Kirkdale, Lastingham, Levisham and Yedingham lay outside the region composed of Ryedale and the periphery of the valley floor. However, this distributional tendency is less marked among the known chapelry centres (villages with medieval chapels). Several such as Bilsdale and Goathland were in the consequent valleys of the North York Moors and others in the parishes of Hovingham, Gilling, Lastingham, Kirby-moorside and Middleton were sited in upland communities of the Howardian and Tabular Hills. Only the chapelry of Muston lay in a parish with its centre outside the study area. Five chapels lay in the same communities as parish churches. At Helmsley and Pickering these were

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* This is certainly the inference in Bilsdale where a chapel of pre-Conquest date appears to have been rebuilt before 1200 on land described as being "next the hall".[22]

established in manorial castles and at Seamer within the manorial hall. All were private and probably made small donations to the parish church. But at Sinnington and Wykeham these private chapels were extra-parochial.[24*] However, perhaps the most interesting feature of figure 9.1 is the relatively large number of villages without either church or known chapel, which appear most frequently in and about Ryedale but also occur elsewhere as in Bransdale, Farndale and the eastern end of the lowland. These communities, many of which had their own townships, must have lain within the parish and frequently the chapel bounds of churches centred in neighbouring villages to which their inhabitants journeyed weekly for divine service.

While only one change, the evolution of Ampleforth from chapel to church, is known to have occurred among the parishes after 1086, several of the chapels on figure 9.1 seem to date from after the Conquest. The chapel at Osgodby in Seamer parish appears to have been erected after 1322 when its existence is not recorded in an extent of that parish.[25] While the chapel of Pockley may date also from the fourteenth century, at least Welham's was erected between 1175 and 1200 and some of those in the parish of Pickering may date from the early years after the Conquest.[26] A royal decree of 1128 specifically states that any new churches erected within the bounds of Pickering parish since the time of Edward the Confessor were to be chapels of Pickering church.[27]

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* Such extra-parochial status probably applied to the altars of all major and minor religious foundations with centres in the study area and to the oratories of Cistercian granges.

Possibly some of the other chapelries were carved from within parish boundaries during medieval times but at least the chapelry of Bilsdale and probably many others developed before the Conquest. In most instances the date of chapelry formation cannot be determined from the existing records but the development of chapelries, like the evolution of Ampleforth from chapelry to parish, is unlikely to have altered the pre-existent parochial limits.

Although there is no evidence from which to reconstruct parish or chapelry boundaries in the early medieval period, there can be little doubt that such limits were existent and defended by the holders of chapel or church against alteration or infringement. Such limits marked the perimeter of the territorial units from which the church or chapel received its revenue and over which it exercised its episcopal rights. Conversely, these bounds indicated to the commonalty where they owed their tithe and other church dues and where they could receive even such sacraments as baptism, marriage and burial.[28]

In some instances the relationship shown on figure 9.1 between churches and chapels known to have been within their parish limits, give some concept of the shape and extent of the parishes in the study area. Gilling, Helmsley, Hovingham, Lastingham, Malton, Middleton and Seamer are moderate to good examples of this, while Kirbymoorside and Pickering are visually less interpretable. Certainly in the case of Helmsley and probably also of Middleton, the map implies strip-shaped parishes. The parish of Helmsley appears to have been of enormous size and such large extent also seems likely

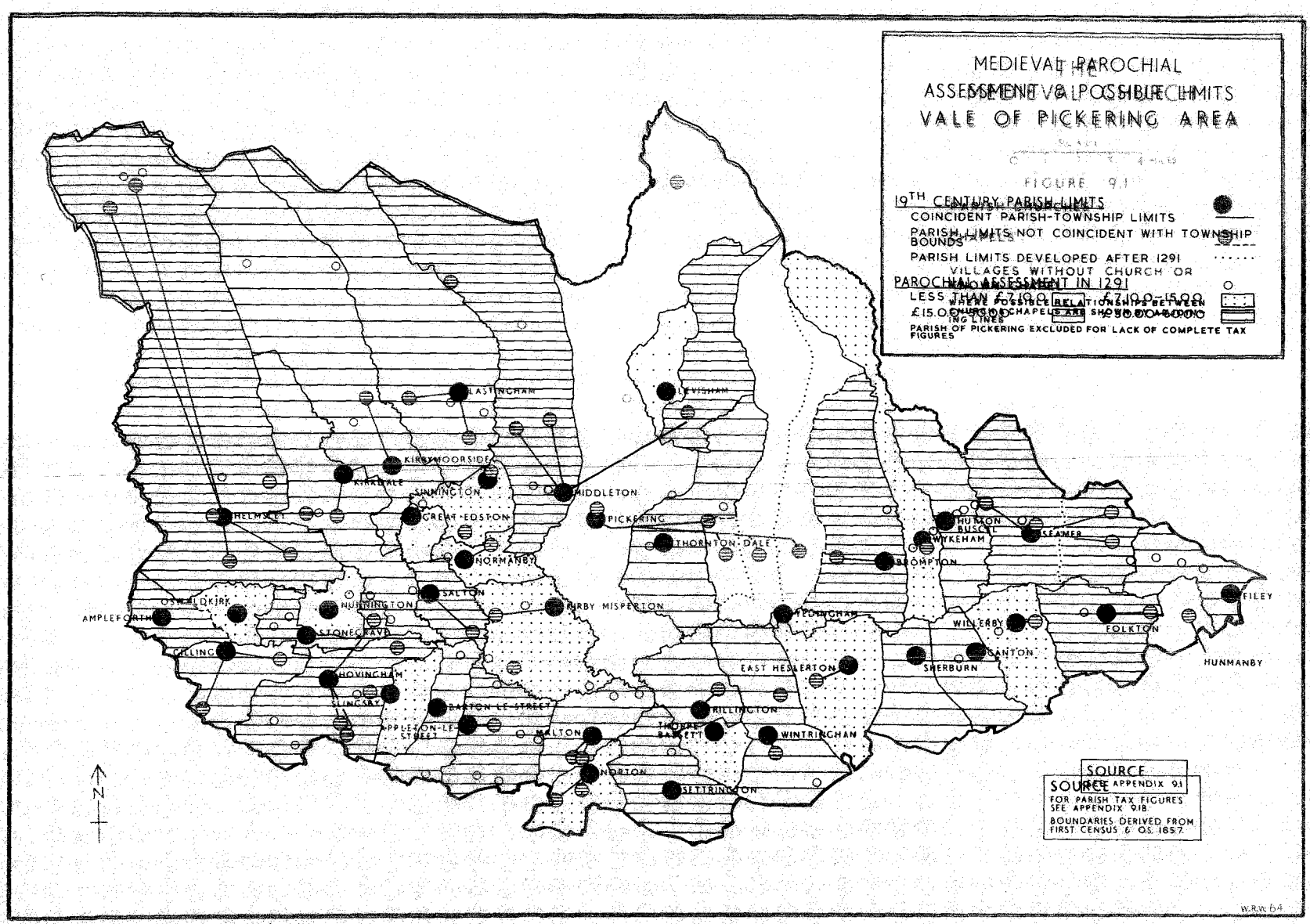
for Pickering. Similar strip shapes appear at Hovingham and are at least suggested in the documents of Kirby-moorside, Lastingham and Kirkdale where the former two both claimed the tithe of Farndale Head during the twelfth century,[29] and where the latter is said to include Skiplam whose known elongated shape can be seen on figure 7.1.[30] Conversely, some parishes appear to have had more compact shapes. Although most pronounced at Seamer, this trend also appears at Gilling, Malton and Norton. At Seamer this visual impression is further supported by documentary evidence. In 1322 that parish is known to have included the grange of Deepdale, the villages of Irton and Killerby along with the three chapelry centres on the map, all of which were in the vicinity of the parish centre.[31] In general the density of parish churches in Ryedale would suggest that the parochial units here were likely to be small. The parish churches in linearly aligned centres in the east of the study area and the large tracts of empty upland and extreme lowland territory adjacent would suggest that parishes here were likely to be larger and very probably of elongated shape. There can be little doubt that every village and all the lands of every township lay within the bounds of some parish.

This seeming tendency for parishes to assume strip or compact shape, so characteristic of the townships in the study area, may well reflect a medieval proclivity for parochial limits to follow the boundaries of one or several village communities. Such implied coincidence of parish and possibly chapelry limits with those of the township in medieval times finds credence at least in the normal parish-township relationship of the nineteenth

century. However, the traditional view is that the parish or chapelry initially received its bounds from the limits of the estate of the lord who created it.

At least one author appears to believe that the boundaries of manor, parish and township or townships were at some date coincident and that such coincidence at the time of parochial organization explains the subsequent parish-township boundary relationship of the last century.[32] While this hypothesis may or may not hold true for some pre-Conquest date, the coincidence of manorial and township limits was not common in the study area at the time of Domesday Book and the same lack of coincidence with manors was a feature of the parish. The Domesday church of Helmsley, assuming that the shape and size of its parish in medieval time were characteristic in 1086, included at least five vills which collectively contained ten manors and an alien berewick of the manor of Kirbymoorside. While large estates like Hovingham or Pickering shown on figure 5.1 may have some areal reflection in the apparent extent of their medieval parishes, much of their property lay beyond the possible limits of their Domesday parochial units. Pickering, for example, held property in Brompton and Barton-le-Street where the survey records parish churches. Conversely, in a few instances such as at Settrington it is possible that the parish church had parochial limits coincident both with the bounds of a manor and a township. Possibly at Kirby Misperton where half a church is recorded in the Survey the other half belonged to the second manor in that vill and with the exception of a berewick these two feudal units jointly made up a parish co-terminus with a township.

The processes of amalgamation and subinfeudation which appear to have so altered the structure of medieval manors before 1350 (see figure 5.2) in some instances may have established the coincidence of manor and township as at Gilling or Levisham and in so doing may have established a similar relationship between manor and parish. The estate of Kirbymoorside, for example, possibly came to coincide with the limits of the several townships which may have made up a strip parish. With at least equal frequency, however, parish and manor appear to have continued to lack co-terminus limits. At Helmsley the manor lay partially within the parish and partially outside. At Seamer the manorial territory may have been much smaller than the parish and at Salton the manor seems likely to have embraced the whole parish and spread into several surrounding parishes. Some chapelries like Grimston may have conformed to the bounds of a single manor and township but at Cropton, a chapelry of Middleton, or Scampston chapelry in Rillington parish, the manors extend beyond the bounds of the township and into other chapelries or parishes. While it seems possible from the scant early medieval evidence that a parish-township or chapel-township boundary relationship may have existed in the study period, the coincidence of these limits with the more changeable manorial boundaries does not appear to have been usual. As a result, regardless of manorial ownership of church or chapel, the human community of the parish or chapelry was frequently not the community of the specific manor. It must sometimes have been composed of several complete manors which were parochially subservient to one of their number. Alternately it sometimes must have included


MEDIEVAL PAROCHIAL ASSESSMENT VS POSSIBLE LIMITS
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 4 miles
FIGURE 9.1
19TH CENTURY PARISH LIMITS
COINCIDENT PARISH-TOWNSHIP LIMITS
PARISH LIMITS NOT COINCIDENT WITH TOWNSHIP BOUNDS
PARISH LIMITS DEVELOPED AFTER 1291
VILLAGES WITHOUT CHURCH OR CHAPEL IN 1291
PAROCHIAL ASSESSMENT IN 1291
LESS THAN £7.10.0
£7.10.0–15.0.0
£15.0.0–30.0.0
WHERE POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CHURCHES AND CHAPELS ARE SHOWN BY CONNECTING LINES
PARISH OF PICKERING EXCLUDED FOR LACK OF COMPLETE TAX FIGURES
SOURCE
SOURCE SEE APPENDIX 9.1
FOR PARISH TAX FIGURES SEE APPENDIX 9.1B
BOUNDARIES DERIVED FROM FIRST CENSUS & O.S. 1857
N
LASTINGHAM
LEVISHAM
KIRKBYMOORSIDE
KIRKDALE
SINNINGTON
MIDDLETON
HELMSLEY
GREAT EDSTON
PICKERING
THORNTON-DALE
NORMANBY
HUTTON BUSCEL
WYKEHAM
SEAMER
BROMPTON
SALTON
OSWALDKIRK
NUNNINGTON
KIRBY MISPERTON
AMPLEFORTH
STONEGRAVE
FILEY
FOLKTON
WILLERBY
GILLING
HOVINGHAM
EAST HESLERTON
SHERBURN
SANTON
HUNMANBY
BARTON LE STREET
APPLETON-LE-STREET
THORPE BASSETT
WINTRINGHAM
NORTON
SETTRINGTON
W.R.W. 64

whole manors, parts of manors or a combination of complete and partial manorial communities. In short, like the township bounds the parochial limits, whether they were coincident with township limits or not and such coincidence is quite probable, frequently appear to cut across the ever-evolving pattern of manorial boundaries. As a result, the parochial revenue accruing to the lord who held the church need not have been derived only from his own tenants, or alternately from all the tenants who worked his land.

Possible Early Medieval Parish Boundaries

In 1800 the census records for England were organized by civil parish and by the townships which composed each parochial unit at that date.[33] While occasionally a village community appears in two parishes, by using the township boundaries as they appear on the Ordnance Survey sheets of 1857, most of the parochial limits can be reproduced as they were at the opening of the nineteenth century. However, as in the case of the township limits previously discussed, there is no concrete proof that these parochial boundaries of the last century did not undergo alteration during the four hundred and fifty year interval after the close of the study period. These boundaries of near modern date are cartographically portrayed for the Vale of Pickering Area on the overlay to figure 9.1.

This overlay reveals that several chapelries of the thirteenth century had attained parish status at dates after 1291. Three of these had belonged to Pickering church in early medieval time but such changes also caused the sub-division of Seamer parish and the alienation of the former chapelry of Muston from the

parochial control of Hunmanby. Their coincidence, except at Ebberston, with the territory of one or more townships may well indicate that the chapelry boundaries of medieval date frequently bore a direct relationship to those of early medieval townships.

The known medieval relationships between a church and its chapel or chapels, shown on figure 9.1, usually indicates at least possible conformity between the parochial boundaries of the study period and those of the overlay. No parish listed in 1291 had subsequently disappeared and certainly the parochial limits of the nineteenth century take on the strip and compact shapes suggested in the discussion of figure 9.1. As well as revealing the possible bisection of the parish of Pickering by other parochial units, these nineteenth century limits often enclose areas containing one or more villages with no known medieval chapels and sometimes include chapels with no known parochial relationship in the early medieval period, as at Helmsley, Hovingham or Wintringham. Probably in most cases the nineteenth century parishes give a picture of the villages which composed individual medieval parochial communities. Some of these parishes, such as Appleton-le-Street, Helmsley, Hovingham, Kirby Misperton, Middleton and Seamer, contain an unusual number of medieval village communities within their bounds, while in other instances, as at Ampleforth, Sherburn or Yedingham, the entire parochial community appears to have resided in a single village.

There are, however, several exceptions to the general hypothesis of both coincidence between parochial and township boundaries in the study period and accuracy of

the nineteenth century limits as indicators of early medieval bounds. In some instances on the overlay the parochial boundaries of the last century, as between the parishes of Gilling and Oswaldkirk and between Brompton parish and the former chapelries of Pickering, do not follow existing township boundaries. These may represent unusual instances in which medieval township and parish limits never conformed and where the boundaries of the parish crystallized along ancient manorial bounds which bore no relationship to those of the village community. Although comparatively rare on the overlay, there is no evidence to preclude the more frequent occurrence of such parochial limits before 1350 and their subsequent alteration, possibly with the advent of Poor Law administration, to conform with township limits. At least in the few instances appearing in 1800, such boundaries reflect the existence of parochial communities which did not include all persons living in particular villages.

Definite evidence of alteration in parish limits between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries appears in some instances on the map and in the documents. Hovingham's medieval chapel of West Ness lay within a township belonging to both the parishes of Stonegrave and Kirkdale in 1800. While the chapelry of Lockton was a detached portion of Middleton parish in the last century, there is no medieval evidence either to support or refute such a relationship before 1350 when it may as easily have been a chapelry in the adjacent parish of Levisham. The northern limits of Kirkdale parish which included Skiplam grange are known to have been altered before the nineteenth century, because in medieval times

the monastic township of Kirkham stretched north almost to the limits of the study area (see figure 7.1). Similarly the boundary between Kirbymoorside and Lastingham was changed between 1260 and the date of the overlay. The parish of early medieval Lastingham included "all of Farndale", while its nineteenth century limits follow the stream in the bottom of this valley.[34] The only other boundaries known to have developed subsequent to 1350 are the lowland limits of Thornton Dale which on the overlay cut across the fenland grant to Rievaulx, the granges of which paid tithe in Pickering parish. However the high moorland boundaries of such parishes as Helmsley, Kirbymoorside, Lastingham and Middleton in the nineteenth century follow township limits which do not appear to have existed in the study period. At Helmsley these limits show the comparatively modern linear characteristics of surveyed boundaries. Possibly the parochial bounds of the high moorland and those of the fenland on the valley floor were not precisely defined in the study period. With these relatively few known exceptions the civil parish limits of the nineteenth century may well have been at least facsimiles of early medieval parochial bounds in the Vale of Pickering Area.

Parish and Chapelry Revenues

Whatever the exact extent of the parochial territory or the areal relationship between manor and chapelry or parish in the study period, the finances which supported the parish church or chapel were derived from within these territorial units. This revenue was obtained from three major sources: the glebe or agricultural land belonging to the church, the tithes or tenths of the

produce of the parishioners and miscellaneous dues such as church scot and burial fees. Glebe is recorded for several of the churches and chapels. At the chapel of Amotherby it included a house and two bovates of land; at Scampston chapel two houses and two bovates and in the chapelry of Staxton a tenement and one bovate.[35] Parish churches seem usually to have been more generously endowed. The priest of Salton held two carucates and a tenement, while at Great Edston the glebe included five tenements and ten bovates.[36] However, some parish churches, such as East Heslerton and Willerby, held as little as four bovates for the support of their priest.[37] Among the chapelries the glebe frequently appears to have been the only source of income allowed to the chaplain who probably worked his small holding like any other peasant proprietor in the community.[38] Certainly at most other known chapels, such as Appleton-le-Moor, Harome, Howthorpe and Wombleton, the other sources of revenue in the chapelry were due to the parish church.[39] Like the chaplain many priests in medieval England are believed to have worked their own glebe lands. However, the documents for Appleton-le-Street, Great Edston and Rillington indicate the existence of church bondsmen.[40] At least some of the other parish priests may also have had the servile agricultural work done by bondsmen who presumably reciprocated with either a food or money rent.

Tithes, probably the most important source of revenue to the parish church, are mentioned only infrequently in regard to the items taxed. At Ampleforth they were levied on the hall and demesne, on the produce of freemen and bondsmen, as well as on the mill.[41] Both mills and halls are mentioned in other parishes, as are

tithes of wool, of livestock and of corn.[42] Only at Cawthorn where two parts of the chapelry tithe were retained is this valuable source of revenue known to have been shared between chapel and parish church.[43] In all other documented instances, including references for the chapels of Bilsdale, West Ness, Sproxton and Welham, all tithes are said to belong to the parish church.[44]

Miscellaneous dues owed by medieval parishioners rarely appear in the documents. The scot is recorded only for Salton where it was due to the parish church not only from the inhabitants of that village but from the chapel community of Brawby.[45] Like the scot, mortuary fees are generally believed to have accrued to the parish church.[46] However, at Welham they were retained by the chaplain and a similar procedure appears likely at East Ayton and Knapton chapels which are both recorded with cemeteries.[47] In comparison with the tithe such revenues, which may often have been retained by chaplains in the study area, seem likely to have been of limited value.

As well as being smaller units within the parish, and less well endowed with lands and revenues than the parish church, the chapel is believed to have been an administratively subordinate entity. The chaplain, usually a man of minor orders, swore obedience to the parish priest when he took office. In addition the community of the chapel was expected to attend divine service at the parish church on at least one religious day each year.[48] (Both these common medieval parochial customs are recorded for Welham chapel about 1173.[49]) As a result of their smaller area and presumably smaller congregations, their administrative subordination and

their comparative financial poverty, it seems safe to assume that the religious function of the chapelry centre was less important than that of the parish church centre.

The revenues of parish or chapelry were a source of trouble between bishop and church holders even before the Norman Conquest, because they were frequently appropriated by the laity as a source of income. Priests and chaplains who lacked any security of tenure were appointed by the holders of advowsons on small and often insufficient stipends. The remainder of parish or chapelry revenues not spent on church repair or charity were used to augment the wealth of the church owner. While this practice is believed to have been widely observed in England during the first century of the study period, the architectural evidence would suggest that much of this parochial revenue was immediately invested in new church buildings in the parishes under study. However, during the twelfth century the practice of appropriating church revenues found its worst abuse when churches and their chapels in England were often given by the laity to religious foundations. Although there is no documentary confirmation in the area of study, these foundations are generally believed not only to have appropriated the tithe and other sources of income, but to have replaced the resident cleric with a member of their own body who might minister to several parishes in an itinerant manner. Such abuse of parochial organization not only alienated the revenues of the individual parish from their intended purposes, but also deprived the parishioners or chapel attender of direct and continuous religious guidance.[50]

The following table lists the religious foundations which held churches in the study area before the close of the twelfth century and is, in terms of the number of parishes held by each, an abstract of a parish by parish list included as part of appendix 9.1(b). The existing documents indicate that where a religious body was granted the church it usually also obtained the control of all chapels in the parish, as for example at Helmsley where Kirkham held the church and all four chapelries.[51] Only at Cawthorn did a religious body obtain the advowson of a chapel in a parish where it did not hold the church and the unusual retention by the nuns of Rosedale of half the tithes here is probably indicative of the primary interest taken by most religious foundations in acquiring churches for the sake of their revenues.[52] While some church advowsons in the study area were later traded about among religious foundations there is no indication in the records that once obtained, these sources of revenue ever returned to lay control.

Parishes Held by Religious Foundations - 1200
(Abstract of Appendix 9.1(b))

Foundation	No. of Parishes
Byland	1
Bridlington	4
Guisborough	3
Holy Trinity	1
Kirkham	2
Malton	4
Newburgh	3
St. Alban's	2
St. Mary's	4
St. Peter's	3
Whitby	3
Yedingham	1

The table indicates that with the exception of the canons of St. Peter's cathedral all the ecclesiastical foundations involved were monastic. Except for the

monks of St. Alban's (Herts.) these institutions also had portions of their agricultural estates in the study area but of those foundations with other property in the Vale of Pickering, particularly the hospitals and nunneries, not all acquired control of parish revenues. While no foundations held more than 4 parishes and three controlled only 1, they collectively had acquired ascendency over 31 or about three-quarters of the parish churches of the study area. There can be little doubt that the revenues from these parishes did much to augment the wealth of the 12 religious foundations involved.

Bishop has suggested that the acquisition of parish churches by religious foundations in Yorkshire often determined the future sites of monastic granges, particularly among the Augustinians and Gilbertines.[53] The development of granges where the foundation involved controlled the church would effectively return the tithe revenue of the grange to the pocket of its owner. However, at least in the study area, the correlation between granges and church ownership is far from complete. Among the Augustinian houses Bishop's hypothesis holds true both for Kirkham's grange at Bilsdale and Helmsley's and Newburgh's at Hovingham and Wombleton, but although both grange and church at Willerby were in Bridlington's hands as late as 1291, the church and presumably all tithe revenues had passed to Whitby before 1310.[54] The Gilbertine priory of Malton similarly once controlled the church for its grange of Wintringham but the tithes of this grange along with the church belonged to Holy Trinity in the thirteenth century. Moreover, while this same priory developed granges in Malton and Norton where it held the parish churches,

most of its numerous grange properties must have paid tithe to churches held by the laity or other religious foundations. For example, its grange of Amotherby lay in the parish of Appleton-le-Street under the control of St. Alban's; the grange of Kirby Misperton must have tithed to St. Mary's York; its grange of Rillington lay in the one parish held by Byland and at Levisham its grange probably increased the revenues accruing to a lay advowson holder.

In contrast to the Augustinians and Gilbertines, the Cistercians, represented by Byland in the previous table, controlled only one parish church in the study area and no grange was developed in the one parish where they held the advowson. In 1120 Kirkham was receiving tithes from Griff and Stilton at Helmsley church and between 1189 and 1240 there was frequent controversy over similar payments due to Newburgh's church of Kirkdale from Houeton, Skiplam and Wombleton and to St. Peter's church of Pickering from Rievaulx's fenland granges.[55] With the exception of the granges of Kirkham and Newburgh, only the Benedictine manors of St. Mary's and Yedingham and the prebendary estates of St. Peter's show perfect correlation with churches held by these institutions. At least in the case of the Benedictines it is probable that the church was obtained as a normal manorial appurtenance rather than as a separate source of revenue in a parish where a religious institution might otherwise hold only small amounts of land.

In 1179 the evils which arose from revenue appropriation by laymen and religious foundations, chiefly the deterioration of church fabric and the decline in

religious observance among parishioners, were curbed by a decree of the Lateran Council. Bishops thereafter were empowered to found perpetual vicarages with the installation in the church of a permanent competent priest who was answerable for his actions to the bishop rather than the advowson holder. Such vicars were to be assigned a suitable income from the parish revenues and lands. Sometimes this salary was paid by the advowson holder out of the appropriated revenue and sometimes the priest controlled the parochial funds and paid a pension to the church holder. These changes, which probably occurred over a number of years extending into the thirteenth century, resulted in better religious service by priest to parishioner and closer administrative control over parochial organization from the episcopal see.[56]

The property and revenue of churches and chapels, as well as the estates of religious foundations, were frequently taxed in medieval England, sometimes to aid royal rather than papal finances. The most famous of these tax levies occurred in 1291 when Pope Nicholas IV granted Edward I a tax of one-tenth on the "true value" of ecclesiastical assets in England.[57] The collection of this tax was preceded by a re-assessment of the value of all church spiritualities and temporalities and, except in the North where adjustments occurred after early fourteenth century Scottish raiding, this assessment was the basis for numerous future clerical taxations.[58]

This famous tax roll is so organized that the parochial tax figures are given by parish, while the assessment for ecclesiastical estates is listed at the

end of the parochial districts; the rural deaneries or archdeaneries. The parish statistics for the study area are included in appendix 9.1(b) where they are portrayed both as they appear in the tax roll and as a total figure for each parish. There would seem to have been no standard method for recording the assessment of parochial assets. In many instances the whole tax appears as a simple sum after the name of the parish centre or less frequently after the vicarage as at Rillington. Sometimes the assessment is given in two sums, one after the name of the religious foundation which held the church, as at Ganton or Hutton Buscel and one after the name of the church centre. On occasion, as at Appleton-le-Street, church, vicarage and religious body are all given with specific sums and at Settrington and Thornton Dale an unusual notation of sums due to the rector of Thorpe Bassett are included in the roll.

The varied break-down of the assessment in individual parishes for the most part may be explained by the lack of a standard method of tax recording. However, at Pickering where only the vicarage tax appears in the roll, the remainder of the assessment is said to be due from St. Peter's and since this assessment is not listed in the parish it must be included in the total tax figure at the end of the parochial district. As can be seen from the appendix, many other parishes known to have been in the hands of religious institutions do not specify the tax paid on the pensions collected by such institutions from the parochial revenue. Although not indicated in the roll, as at Pickering, it is possible that in at least some of these instances part of the tax due from parochial assets was similarly alienated from

the parish and included under the sum due from specific religious houses for their holdings in entire rural deaneries. However, it seems more likely that along with other sub-divisions of parochial assessment appearing only at random in the notations for individual parishes, the unlisted pensions due to religious foundations were generally included under the lump sums given for the church or for the vicarage. It remains possible, however, that the total assessment listed in the appendix for some parishes besides that of Pickering do not represent the complete tax levied on all revenues and property belonging to the parochial units.

With this possible limitation on the accuracy of the figures in the Pope Nicholas Taxation, the following table, which omits the statistics for Pickering, has been compiled to indicate the range of value in parochial assets for the parishes under study. The table reveals that, while 3 parishes had relatively small amounts of revenue and property (Nunnington was assessed at only £4.13.4), nearly two-thirds of the parochial units had assets taxed at more than £15 and slightly over one-quarter were assessed at more than £30. (Helmsley, assessed at £60, was apparently the wealthiest parish in the study area but Appleton-le-Street, Brompton, Middleton, Salton and Seamer all paid within £7 of this figure.)

Parochial Assessment - 1291
(Abstract of Appendix 9.1(b))

Tax Class	No. of Parishes
0 - 7.10.0	3
7.10.0 - 15. 0.0	11
15. 0.0 - 30. 0.0	14
30. 0.0 - 60. 0.0	11

Probably the most remarkable feature of the table, however, is the great diversity which it reveals between

the lowest and highest assessment in the study area. The tax paid by Helmsley in 1291 was more than twelve times that of Nunnington. Although probably influenced by such factors as the relative wealth and size of parochial communities, unusual sources of tithe revenue and variations in the returns from glebe, this diversity is probably also a reflection of the varying size of the parishes.

The boundaries of the overlay, ignoring those which represent the evolution of chapelries to parish status after 1291, have been used to portray cartographically the total tax of each medieval parish with the exception of Pickering, as detailed in appendix 9.1(b). The overlay reveals that the parishes paying less than £7.10.0 were among the smallest of the study area and that very generally speaking the assessment increased with similar increase in parish size, which was sometimes accompanied by an increase in the number of village communities involved and possibly therefore in parish population. However, there are numerous anomalies in this relationship between assessment and parish size. For example, Yedingham, the smallest parish of the overlay, was assessed at almost three times the tax paid by Great Edston, although the latter was larger. Less extreme but equally as obvious is the case of Sherburn which with one village fell into the same tax class as Gilling which contained two chapelries in a similar sized territorial unit. Moreover the high assessment of such parochial units as Ampleforth, Salton and Stonegrave cannot be accounted for in terms of parish size and are unlikely to be totally a reflection of unusually large parochial communities, although this is always a partial possible

explanation. Many other factors must also be inherent in the distribution of parochial wealth reflected in the tax roll of 1291. The unusual wealth of Ampleforth, Salton and Yedingham may result from unusually efficient operation of manors held by religious foundations, which efficiency augmented the tithe value. The relatively high value of Appleton-le-Street and Rillington may be partially a reflection of the tithe revenue of monastic granges and similarly the assessment of many small Wold parishes may have been appreciably increased by tithes on monastic sheep. In addition the value of small parishes like Malton may not only result from its inclusion of several villages but from the existence of a wealthy market borough within its bounds. There are, however, several anomalies which remain largely unexplained, such as the extreme wealth of Folkton and Stonegrave relative to that of the seemingly more densely populated Filey, the wealth of which should reflect its prosperity as a minor sea port. Similarly, there is no satisfactory known explanation for the extreme poverty of such parishes as Nunnington or Levisham unless these parochial units had unusually small populations or possibly extremely limited glebe resources. Nevertheless, the overlay brings to attention the great diversity of parish size and the equally great and generally correlative diversity in the relative value of parochial revenues in the parishes of the Vale of Pickering Area in early medieval times.

Conclusions

A total of 39 parish churches and at least 52 chapels existed in the Vale of Pickering Area during the early medieval period but many villages appear to have lacked

either and their populations must have worshipped in and tithed to the church or chapel of a neighbouring community. Probably, although there is no conclusive proof, the parishes, with the exception of Ampleforth, were already existent at the Conquest but at least a few of the chapelries were formed after 1086. The existing medieval evidence would sometimes imply that some parishes were strip-shaped, while others took on more compact forms; axial trends characteristic of the early medieval township unit. It therefore seems likely that parochial limits and possibly chapelry bounds frequently conformed with or at least were more often related to township limits than to the ever-changing boundaries of early medieval manors, an hypothesis which gains at least some credence from nineteenth century information. However, this near modern material reveals some parish boundaries which fail to coincide with township limits and which appear likely to be instances where parochial boundaries crystallized along manorial metes without relationship to township limits. As a result parochial and probably chapelry limits frequently cut across the boundary pattern of manorial units and the community of the church or chapel was often not coincident with the community or manor. But if nineteenth century evidence is derivative of medieval time the parish community may also on occasion have included only part of a village community which in such cases was split between two churches, just as villages were sometimes divided between two mills.

The greatest proportion of revenue, and frequently all, generated within the parish, except for the glebe of chapelries, passed to the parish church. Even in terms of the glebe the chapelry units appear to have been less

well endowed than the parish churches and in addition were administratively subordinate to the parish priest. Such subordination which in many instances may have extended to the restriction of rites such as burial to the parish church and the attendance at divine service there on certain days of the year, made the chapelry centre of less religious functional importance than the village with a parish church.

Even before the Conquest it was common for landlords who held parish churches to appropriate the revenue beyond the requirements of the clerical stipend, church repair and charity and to use such moneys to augment their personal wealth. This abuse of parochial finance is believed to have become worse during the twelfth century when churches and chapels were frequently granted to religious foundations who not only appropriated the parochial assets, but often replaced the resident priest with an itinerant monk of their own body. Although there is no documentary evidence of such abuse in the study area, about three-quarters of the churches, usually along with their chapels, fell to such foundations which probably used them in most cases to increase their wealth. However, Bishop's suggestion that the acquisition of the church often determined the site of future granges in the case of certain orders, holds true only for some Augustinian and Benedictine houses with lands in the study area. It does not appear as a factor in grange development on Cistercian estates as Bishop admits, but contrary to his beliefs, church holding and grange development were rarely correlative in the large estate of the Gilbertine priory of Malton. The worst effects of the misuse of parochial assets by both lay and

ecclesiastical advowson holders, the deterioration of church fabric and the decline of religious observance were curbed in 1179 after which the churches were supplied with perpetual vicars and parochial administration was more closely controlled from the episcopal see.

In 1291 the Pope Nicholas Taxation, although the accuracy of its parochial statistics as an indicator of true parish wealth is not always beyond doubt, reveals that nearly two-thirds of almost all parishes in the study area had assets taxed at more than £15, of which six were assessed at more than £53. However, these statistics, excluding the parish of Pickering where the parochial assessment figure is known to be incomplete, ran from £4.13.4 at Nunnington to £60 at Helmsley. When mapped on the overlay of nineteenth century parish limits, which for the most part seem likely to be at least facsimiles of the early medieval bounds, these statistics show a loose correlation between assessed value and parish size. There are, however, numerous anomalies in this correlation, only some of which can be explained as the likely result of unusual sources of tithe revenue such as the existence of unusually prosperous manors, of granges, tithes on monastic sheep and the inclusion of wealthy market boroughs. Both the assessment statistics and probably the boundaries of the overlay, however, reveal the great diversity in parish size and wealth in the Vale of Pickering Area during the early medieval period.

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CHAPTER TEN

COMMERCE

Introduction

The commercial aspects of medieval English life have been a theme of historical interest since Maitland's attempts to define the borough and Ballard's, and later, Tait's discussion of borough charters.[1] Although much attention has centred on boroughs, the major nuclei of medieval trade and commercial organization, little has been published on the basic media of commerce, markets and fairs, which trade gatherings were held not only in mercantile towns but in simple village communities. While no one doubts the existence of commerce in Roman Britain or its well developed state in the early medieval period, contention has arisen over its occurrence in the greater part of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish era. Stephenson, a student of Pirenne, attributed the revival of commerce in England after the Germanic Invasion to the tenth century and relegated most of its re-development to post-Conquest times.[2] However, his arguments ignore the basic media of commerce and concentrate around a supposed alteration in functional emphasis in towns which he believed converted the pre-Conquest burh of administrative and military importance to the medieval borough predominantly of commercial character.

Later writers including Salzman and Stenton have suggested both the widespread existence of markets and fairs in pre-Conquest England and the great importance

of commerce in the ancient burh.[3] Along with Postan, Stenton points out that coinage, the instrument of all complex commercial dealing, was minted in Anglo-Saxon England long before 900 and possibly as early as the sixth century.[4] Probably markets and fairs, of which some subsequently became trade nuclei of burhs,[5] often developed at different stages in the early evolution of trade functions in certain communities of the pre-Conquest village pattern. Some such commercial gatherings in Yorkshire may have continued from Roman times,* many probably had origins in the Anglo-Saxon and Danish era, while a few were likely initiated after the Norman Invasion.[7]

A closely related controversy, although rarely so considered by historians, surrounds the development of the money economy; the appearance in the hands of the villagers of coins which allowed them to buy rather than barter. Even the ideal medieval village could seldom have been self-sufficient and deficiency and surplus must often have been corrected at local markets and fairs.[8] While Thorald Rogers saw the coin economy well developed before 1350, Page relegated its rise to the years immediately following the Black Death, with the commutation of manorial labour services to money rents.[9] However, more recent writers have shown that commuted services were common in Northern England at dates considerably before 1350 and Kosminsky has suggested that labour rents may never have fully developed in the North

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* Commercial activity existed at the Roman military post of Malton but it is impossible to prove that such trade continued without interruption into medieval times.[6]

except on large manors.[10] Moreover, Postan claims that the money economy in Europe pre-dates the beginnings of written record.[11] Certainly such common peasant acquittances as plough-penny and Peter's pence, which were paid in coin long before the Conquest,[12] are indicative of some money in circulation among the members of the village community before 1086. However, rapid commercial growth after the Norman Conquest and the expanding money economy of the thirteenth century no doubt increased the amount of coinage in circulation amongst the peasantry and so facilitated the commutation of previous labour services.[13] Yet the importance of commerce in medieval England can readily be over-emphasized, for the nation's economy remained predominantly agricultural until the Industrial Revolution.[14] Probably in the study period there were comparatively few persons whose livelihood did not come primarily from the soil.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the documentary evidence indicative of trade and commercial function in the early medieval communities of the Vale of Pickering Area. While records indicating the existence of commercial centres are moderately common, those dealing with either the character of the trade gatherings or with the products which were marketed are relatively rare. All that can be attempted in the following pages is: to draw up a simple classification of the trade centres based on their relative commercial complexity, to discuss the distribution of trade communities relative to the village pattern and the system of major roads, and to indicate the probable scale of trade and range of products which entered into commercial

intercourse here during early medieval times.

The Market Village and Market Borough

Documentary references of commercial function appear for fourteen villages and are largely derived from the Charter Rolls, where these trade centres are usually recorded with specific market days and particular religious feasts when fairs were held. However, some trade communities failed to be so enrolled and the earliest indications of their commercial function come from references to market tolls, to burgesses or from information in such sources as deeds, fines, inquisitions, royal writs and cartulary entries. The earliest reference to commerce in the fourteen communities, along with dates of markets and fairs and other pertinent details, are listed by village in appendix 10.1. There is, however, no definite proof that trade did not flourish in yet other villages where documentary references to its existence have not been preserved.

The appendix includes two distinct types of commercial centres, market villages and market boroughs. The former, of which there were 11, operated at simple gathering points for discontinuous trade at weekly markets and one or more annual fairs. The latter, namely Helmsley, New Malton and Pickering, were something more than simple trade foci. They were in addition the domicile of a trade oriented colony of artisans and craftsmen. These burgesses were to some extent free from the normal feudal subservience of other village inhabitants who were manorial tenants but the degree to which they were free varied widely between boroughs.*15

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* Unfortunately, the original charters of rights and

However, even the men of the largest and most important boroughs of England were partially agriculturalists with lands and rights in the "villata" in addition to the financial returns of their trades.[16] Therefore, although urban in character, these communities of burgesses had certain features in common with the agrarian community and this agricultural side to their economies was likely to be more important in the small boroughs under discussion than in great mercantile towns like London or York.

The right to hold a market and a fair in either a borough or a village in medieval times could be gained only from the King.[17] Such charter rights were acquired entirely by lay manorial lords in the study area who in return presumably made some payment at the Exchequer. The available charters and early references to the existence of the 11 market villages all date roughly from the thirteenth century, as do many other such charters in England. These royal grants are so worded as to imply that such concession of the king's prerogative initiated commercial functions at these centres. While no early documentary evidence exists to contradict this verbal implication, it is highly probable that these charters were acquired by manorial lords to legalize existing trade functions which had either developed slowly with the recovery from the events of 1069 or had persevered from before the Conquest. Once the market and fair were enrolled, the lord could legally collect tolls from all vendors who frequented his commercial

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privileges granted at the establishment of the three boroughs under discussion have not been preserved.

gatherings.[18] He could defend his rights to a specific market day or fair time against neighbours who wished to alter the dates on which their commercial centres functioned. He could also, at least in thirteenth century legal theory, prevent the rise of new trade communities within about seven miles of his own.[19] While the available documentary evidence does not entirely preclude the operation of "illegal" markets and fairs, the absence of complaint against such commerce, particularly in the residual Hundred Rolls and the Quo Warranto proceedings, makes their existence at least unlikely.

Since the commercial tolls of the market village are believed to have accrued to the lord of the manor, they should appear subsequently as a source of revenue in all full manorial extents. Of the 11 market villages, 8 lay in manors of large or more moderate size for which extents were discussed in chapter five. Although these 8 extents, broken down in appendix 5.2, all post-date the original market charters, they itemize commercial tolls only at Kirbymoorside and Sherburn and this peculiar feature would at first suggest that the trade function of at least 6 market villages fell into abeyance before 1350. Yet at Brompton the fair, although possibly not the market, continued to be held for several centuries, and at Hovingham commercial function continued at least until 1740, although the tolls fail to appear in 1298.[20] Possibly some of these manorial assessments excluded the commercial tolls, but more probably such revenues were combined with other assets under some miscellaneous heading which does not make clear the continued existence of the market and fair. Unfortunately, for most of the market villages no other available

documents attest to their continuing function as trade centres after the date of their royal enrolment. While some may have ceased to exist as commercial gathering points before 1350, there is therefore no positive proof of this, since even the apparent omission of tolls from most manorial extents cannot be regarded as any real indication of trade extinction.

Ironically, the only three incomplete extents, which do include commercial tolls, disclose a curious situation involving certain of the market villages. In 1256 the burgesses of Scarborough obtained a writ for the suppression of the weekly markets at Brompton, Filey and Sherburn as harmful to their borough's trade.[21] However, while no evidence is subsequently available for Brompton, tolls of £1.8.0 were still being collected from Filey in 1302 and 1317 and Sherburn's commerce was valued at £2.0.0 in 1287 as well as in 1343.[22] While the market but not the fair at Brompton may well have ceased to operate in 1256, the other two centres continued to hold weekly trade functions either despite the legal injunction or as a result of undocumented agreements with the men of Scarborough.

Although the legal right to a market and fair was obtainable only from the King, boroughs could be created either at royal or baronial will and many baronial ones were born in a spate of "town creation" during early medieval times.[23] These boroughs were founded by local lords who, by granting low burgage rents and some freedoms in imitation of older towns, hoped to attract colonies of merchants and craftsmen and to increase the manorial income through a fixed annual payment in lieu of market tolls and through tallaging

the burgesses. Such boroughs were usually created in or adjacent to villages with pre-existing trade functions and often in communities of which the population of merchants and craftsmen made up only a part.[24]

Helmsley, New Malton and Pickering were all baronial boroughs which appear to have come into existence during the twelfth century. The mesne borough of New Malton, which developed next to the de Vescy castle, was already existent in the reign of Henry II (1150-89) as was the borough of the de Ros family at Helmsley, similarly sited next to a baronial castle, the fortifications of which presumably protected its inhabitants during the raids of 1322. The borough of Pickering, alluded to in the reign of Henry I (1100-35), was also founded next to an important castle and, although it appears to have been created on a royal manor, passed with this piece of ancient demesne from Henry III to the Dukes of Lancaster.[25] While this relationship between these boroughs and the three most important castles of the study area may merely result from the fact that both were baronial creations, there can be little doubt that trade was carried on with more security here than elsewhere among the trade centres during such unstable periods as the reign of Stephen and the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century Scottish incursions into Yorkshire. Unlike the market villages, the continuing existence of these boroughs is documented in the closing years of the study period.

While there is no information to indicate the size of the burgess population of New Malton, which village a local historian and a fifteenth century document suggest to have been fortified in medieval times,[26]

the borough populations of both Helmsley and Pickering seem to have been small. Helmsley counted only 13 burgesses among its inhabitants in 1285 and the excessively low burgess rents of 15/8 at Pickering in 1297 may also be indicative of only a small colony of merchants and craftsmen.[27] While New Malton, particularly if the suggestion of walls is correct, may have been totally composed of burgesses, the other two communities seem to have been made up of a few men with burgess privileges in a population of normal manorial tenants.

The fixed yearly payment to the manor in lieu of market tolls has not been preserved for New Malton but amounted to £3 at Pickering and £11 at Helmsley,[28] which £11 was still due from that borough in the sixteenth century.[29] Because of their fixed nature, these payments at best indicate the relative earning power of trade in these two centres at the time of the borough foundation. With equal ease they may merely represent an arbitrary sum set by the baronial lords as his firm. They probably bear no relationship to the annual market tolls which, since these boroughs continued to contain burgesses long after their inceptions, can safely be assumed to be annually larger than the acquittance paid to the manor. Such market tolls were derived from stallage, the rental from leasing space to vendors, and from a tax levied on all goods entering the borough's trade, from which tax at least the resident burgesses were immune.[30] These tolls seem likely to have been of considerable value since the borough market, unlike that of the market village, may have operated on more than one day of each week* and probably attracted both

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* Although no information on the market days of these

sellers and buyers from a wide area. All three of these villages with semi-urban communities were accused of levying harsh market tolls in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[32] but these complaints may have had little specific validity since such accusations appear regularly in the Hundred Rolls with regard to commercial activities in English towns.

None of these three trade centres, although termed boroughs, seems to have gained any real degree of autonomy or freedom from manorial control. There are no references even suggestive of the gild merchant, the corporate body responsible for the borough operation.[33] In both Pickering and New Malton the manorial baliff appears responsible for administration,[34] although by 1490 such administration at Malton does seem to have been in the hands of the burgesses.[35] Only at Malton does there appear to have been a borough court but even here the de Vescy's baliff was the presiding official.[36] At Helmsley the borough court was synonomous with that of the manor,[37] although by 1520 the burgesses of that village had their own judicial body.[38] Because of their resident populations of artisans and craftsmen, these market boroughs were commercially distinct from the simple market village. However, there is no evidence in the documents to suggest that the freedoms, privileges and corporate qualities so often stressed as characteristic of "the borough" were much developed in these communities. Except for their semi-urban character they may have been socially more akin to the village

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boroughs appears in the documents (see appendix 10.1), the borough of New Malton held both Tuesday and Saturday markets in 1770.[31]

than to the mercantile town.

The Map

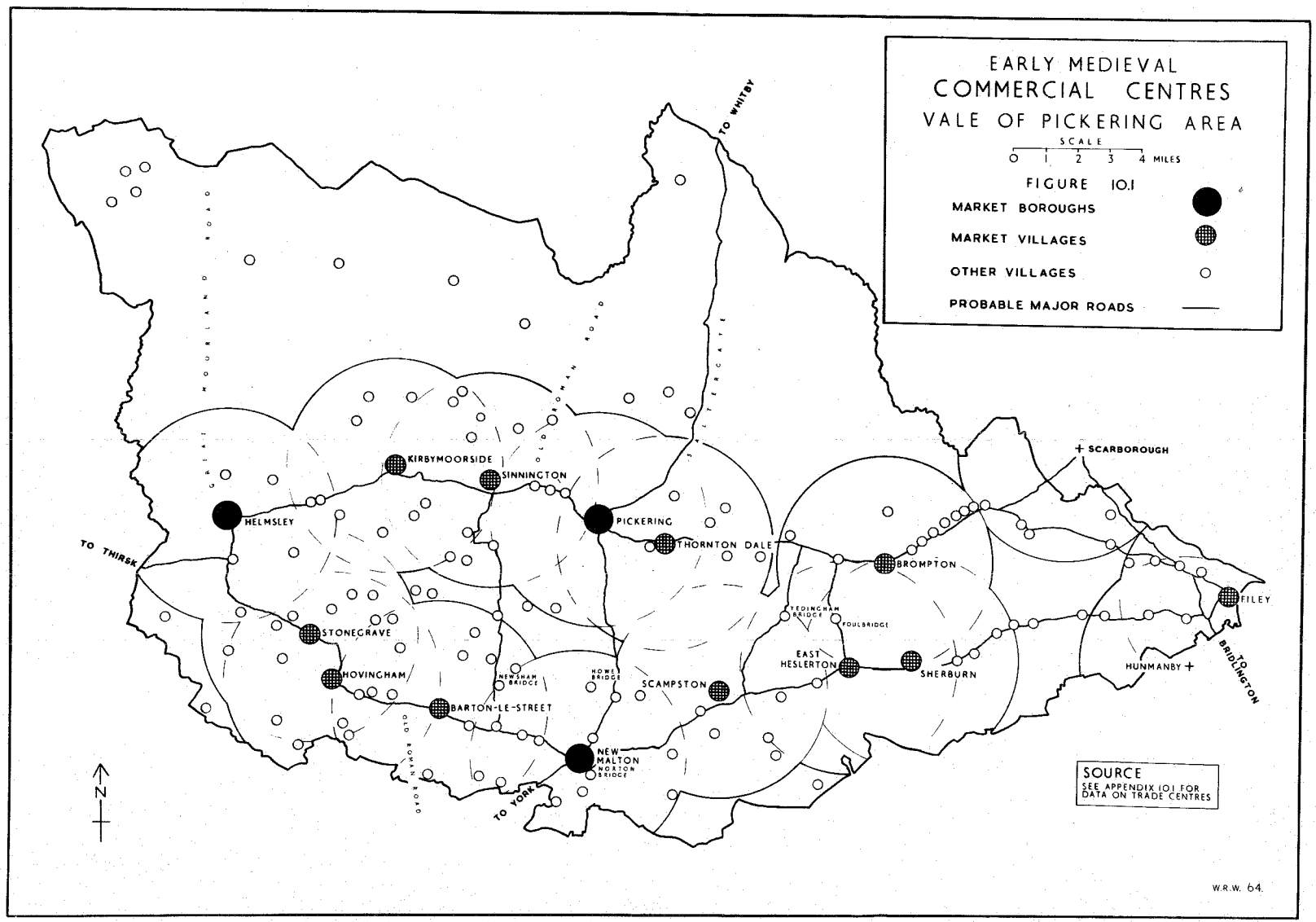
Commercial Centres

The fourteen trade centres designated as market villages and market boroughs are portrayed on figure 10.1, along with all the other villages existent after 1200. These centres of trade were distributed at relatively frequent intervals about the periphery of the valley floor and Ryedale, readily accessible to the basically lowland oriented village pattern. The intervals between market centres are unusually long only in the eastern end of the Vale between Brompton and Filey (11 miles) and between Sherburn and this same minor port (10 miles). In the first instance this unusual distance is probably a reflection of the close proximity of the large town of Scarborough. In the second case the interval may result from the limited number of linear villages at the foot of the Wolds from which the trade of Filey and Sherburn could be derived, and from the close proximity of an important market at Hunmanby.[39]

As noted by Dickinson in East Anglia, the distance between trade centres was sometimes greater than the six and two-thirds miles defined by Bracton as the interval at which markets might exist without harming each other's trade, but very frequently these centres were much more closely spaced.[40] The circles inscribed on the map, with radii of three and a quarter miles or half the distance which Bracton suggests a man might travel to market,* show an almost continual overlap

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* Bracton's statements are far from clear. His six and


EARLY MEDIEVAL
COMMERCIAL CENTRES
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 10.1
MARKET BOROUGHS
MARKET VILLAGES
OTHER VILLAGES
PROBABLE MAJOR ROADS
TO WHITBY
GREAT MOORLAND ROAD
OLD ROMAN ROAD
SALTERGATE
SCARBOROUGH
KIRBYMOORSIDE
SINNINGTON
HELMSLEY
PICKERING
THORNTON DALE
TO THIRSK
BROMPTON
FILEY
YEDINGHAM BRIDGE
FOULBRIDGE
STONEGRAVE
EAST HESLERTON
SHERBURN
HUNMANBY
BRIDLINGTON
HOVINGHAM
NEWSHAM BRIDGE
HOWE BRIDGE
SCAMPSTON
BARTON-LE-STREET
OLD ROMAN ROAD
NEW MALTON
NORTON BRIDGE
TO YORK
N
SOURCE
SEE APPENDIX 10.1 FOR DATA ON TRADE CENTRES
W.R.W. 64.

between the tributary areas of individual market centres, without any consideration of the probably larger commercial sheds of boroughs relative to those of market villages. With few exceptions all villages on the map lay within three and a quarter miles of at least one market village and/or a market borough. With the exception of 7 villages in central Ryedale, the south-east and extreme south-west of the map, the communities which lay outside the immediate tributary areas were largely those of the consequent valleys. The inhabitants of some of these latter villages must have travelled considerable distances to take advantage of commercial gatherings in the lowland. While the three and a quarter mile radii around some trade centres such as Hovingham and New Malton extended beyond the limits of the area under study, these arbitrary trade spheres for Scarborough and Hunmanby stretched into the area from outside its bounds.* Almost all these circles, crudely representative of the tributary areas, overlap but the effect of close proximity between trade centres is particularly pronounced at: Brompton, Heslerton and Sherburn; Barton-le-Street, Hovingham and Stonegrave and Thornton Dale and Pickering. Nevertheless, if the neighbouring Scarborough is included, the map reveals a startling constancy in the distribution of trade

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two-thirds miles at first appear to represent market sheds each of slightly over three miles,[41] but his later arguments indicate that consumers were expected to travel the former distance both to and from the market.[42]

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* The previously mentioned writ of 1256 would suggest that in the eyes of the burgesses of Scarborough their immediate trade sphere was much larger than that shown on the map.

functions among the villages; the total village pattern is interrupted by members of the network of market villages and in turn by market boroughs at relatively regular intervals. It bears at least the visual implications of considerable areal trade organization, the origins of which are probably inherent in the natural evolution of commerce, to an unknown extent influenced by the enterprise of medieval lords whose royal charters and desire to create boroughs presumably crystallized a pre-existing distribution of commercial centres.

Also interesting in the study of figure 10.1 is what might be termed the weekly and annual trade calendar, by means of which neighbouring commercial centres avoided direct trade conflict between their markets and fairs.[43] With the exception of the boroughs, for which the available documents give no details, the markets were held on a variety of week-days. According to the royal charters and other documents, 3 took place each Monday, Wednesday and Friday, while 1 was held on Tuesday and another on Thursday (see appendix 10.1). No reason is apparent to the writer for the concentration of markets on alternate week-days or for the total absence of Saturday markets in these 11 villages, but perhaps the most surprising feature of the available data is the absence of Sunday commercial gatherings. Sunday markets were a prevalent feature of pre-Conquest commerce, believed to have evolved out of the natural congregation of people at the parish church.[44] This practice of trading on the Sabbath was often decried by the Church but was less prevalent after 1086 than the continued holding of markets in church yards. Such market places may have been common among the centres

portrayed on figure 10.1 which primarily occur in villages which were parochial centres. The commercial use of the church yard continued in Yorkshire long after the practice was condemned in the Statute of Merchants of 1283.[45]

A comparison of the appendix and the map discloses that almost every neighbouring market occurred on a different week-day. This very probably resulted from agreements between manorial lords whose commercial interests might otherwise have conflicted in a period when trade competition was frowned upon.[46] Only at East Heslerton and Sherburn did closely neighbouring trade villages have coincident market days in the mid thirteenth century and before 1350 Heslerton's market was being held on a Monday and Sherburn's on a Tuesday. The only other known instance of even an attempt to alter the existing market day appears at Barton-le-Street where the Quo Warranto proceedings disclose that the market was being held on a Monday rather than on a Wednesday as designated in 1242. If this practice continued this market must have directly conflicted with that of Stonegrave. Excluding the boroughs, where the unknown market days may have coincided with those of the surrounding villages, at least one such commercial gathering took place of every week-day except Saturday and Sunday in such a sequence as to avoid most competition between trade centres.

The fairs are of similar interest in terms of the days on which they were held. With the exception of those of Sinnington, Stonegrave and Thornton Dale which took place at Holy Trinity (8 weeks after Easter), these annual gatherings, except at Helmsley and Malton for

which no dates are available, are recorded on the fixed dates of religious feasts, the calendar dates of which are shown in appendix 10.1. Most lasted only the traditional three days of a religious festival, in which gatherings they probably had their origins.[47] However, Sherburn's fair ran for only two days, while the one at Brompton stretched through an entire week. Moreover, while Pickering, Sinnington and Thornton Dale each had two fairs, only at Pickering did such gatherings run almost in succession. Otherwise these double fairs were spread between spring and autumn. Both Brompton and Stonegrave held their fairs on the feast of their parish church, a feature which may have persevered from before the Conquest when parochial feasts often acquired commercial aspects.[48]

No early medieval fairs appear to have occurred on similar days in neighbouring trade centres, although those of Barton-le- Street and Hovingham virtually followed in succession. This lack of competition may again result largely from agreements between fair-holders, which agreements probably altered some existent fair dates and, along with the disruption of commerce in 1069, such alterations would account for the relatively infrequent coincidence between fairs and parochial feasts. However, the feast of Holy Trinity in the spring and of All Saints (Oct.31 - Nov.2) in the autumn appear to have been particularly favoured and as many as three fairs were held over each of these festivals.

More interesting is the tendency to hold these annual gatherings, which must often have embodied both commercial activity and religious observance,[49] towards the end of the busiest part of the agricultural year,

a feature common to many medieval fairs in England. Only 4 fairs were held between early May and the beginning of September and, while 3 occurred in the spring, 8 took place in the two and a half months after the end of August. Their peculiar concentration in the autumn may be the result of a gradual growth of trade in primarily agrarian communities when spare time, along with the deficiencies and surpluses of the harvest, occurred concurrently with traditional religious observances connected with the agricultural year.

Traders and Trade Routes

Commercial intercourse and other motives for travel are believed to have made at least some classes of medieval society much more mobile than was once suspected. Willard has shown that both cart and horse were in common use in the transport of goods both locally and over great distances in medieval England.[50] Out of 155 accidental deaths recorded in the deodands for Yorkshire between 1272 and 1326, 36 were caused by carts and 27 by horses moving people and goods from place to place.[51] Certainly in addition to pilgrims, persons moving to and from shire and wapentake courts and travelling for other non-commercial motives, the roads were frequented by merchants and their carters and probably every form of itinerant pedlar who together supplied the diverse range of trade goods which changed hands at least at major towns and prominent fairs in England. (For Oxford, a moderately important commercial centre, Hoskins and Jope have listed such commodities as: canvas, dried fish, glass, iron, lead, marble, millstone, paint, pottery, salt, blue slates, tar, tin and wine. Some of these trade-goods originated in Cornwall, the Peak, the

Weald or Yorkshire, others came from points overseas as distant as Italy, the Rhineland or Spain.[52]) Possibly the greatest single stream of commercial road traffic was generated in the collection and distribution of wool and woollen textiles, which woollen industry thrived both in the overseas and domestic trade of medieval England.* The road system which bore travellers and commerce is believed to have been largely existent at the time of the Conquest and the major improvements initiated during the medieval period were the erection of bridges to replace the prevalent fords and water-splashes along major routes and the further extension of the king's peace over the road net to increase the safety of travel.[54]

References, allusions and implications borne by the local medieval documents of the study area emphasize the belief that roads were both numerous and well used. In addition to the probable traffic stemming from the administration and operation of large ecclesiastical estates and baronial fees and from the regular attendance of men from many social ranks at royal courts, there are references to carts, horses, livestock and provender and to merchandise moving between communities.[55] Allusions also appear to foot-travel, a means by which the peasants of discrete estates must often have journeyed to attend the manor court.[56] Bondsmen may frequently have owed carriage service, although it is only recorded at Salton,[57] and such service must often have carried them beyond the bounds of their native community as must

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* Probably the best discussion of the local trade features of this traffic is embodied in the work of Eileen Power.[53]

the weekly journey to a neighbouring chapel or church. Even the local burgesses appear as travellers, for those of Pickering complained of heavy tolls exacted when they sold goods at Scarborough.[58] Probably every social class inhabiting the study area was to some extent mobile and to some degree therefore a user of the roads.

However, while such persons as the burgesses, the travelling merchant and his carriers, the manorial lord or his baliff, the monastic representative and even the free tenant probably moved at will, the bulk of the village population, composed of peasant agriculturalists, was presumably free to travel only at the will of their lord. It is probably in terms of this latter social class that Bracton's general definition of the area tributary to a single market centre applies and this distinction between the mobility of various social classes seems fundamental to any consideration of road use and the trade function of commercial foci. Probably the commercial intercourse of the unfree peasant was carried out at the nearest market village with only occasional visits to the neighbouring market borough. In contrast his social superiors residing in the area under consideration may have paid frequent visits or often dispatched their goods to the market borough and to more distant markets and fairs.* Certainly the intercourse of merchants and traders from outside the Vale of Pickering extended into the commercial gatherings

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* On one documented occasion sheep from Pickering were sold at Ripon but this is probably an unusual instance of the distance travelled.[59] Probably much of the trade of these socially free classes was focused on market villages and boroughs in or more closely neighbouring the study area.

of at least the local boroughs.[60] Equally the merchants of at least one of these local boroughs carried on trade outside the study area. In short, while the tributary area of market villages and to a lesser degree of market boroughs (as shown on figure 10.1) may have been limited to their immediate environs, some trade was undoubtedly filtering in and out of these local trade-sheds and crossing the bounds of the area of study.

The local roads which must have borne this medieval commerce are frequently alluded to in the documents, usually in the description of land in the common field. Often the land is merely said to lie "next the road" but sometimes more details are appended as at Cawton where a road is described as running to Gilling or at North Holme where one led across Cold Moor.[61] The pre-Conquest origins of these roads is sometimes revealed by the use of the Old English term "gate" as in Speargate at Helmsley, Scotgate at Amotherby, Holgate at Appleton-le-Moor and Braygate at Swinton.[62] While only a few of these roads can be identified on modern maps, the frequency of their occurrence in the documents would imply that the normal village community, the market village and the borough were all inter-connected by a transport system which may largely be reflected on the Ordnance Survey sheets. However, many such medieval roads were probably little more than track-ways and the poor surface conditions of even major routes must have made travel slow and excessively difficult, particularly by modern standards.

The wording of the documents implies that certain routes were of particular importance. In many communities about the periphery of Ryedale and the valley floor

reference is made to the "high road" or "king's road".[63] Usually, if any descriptive details are included, this road is merely said to extend to a neighbouring village, but in one instance it is described as running from Scarborough to Muston and hence to Malton and in another to extend from Filey towards Norton.[64] There can be little doubt that the "king's road" is largely represented by the modern highway which encircles the lowland with outlets to Bridlington, Scarborough, Thirsk and York. With the exception of the road to Thirsk over which the sheep of Pickering manor presumably moved to Ripon, these routes to centres elsewhere in the county appear on the fourteenth century Gough map.[65]

Certain other roads appear likely to have been of major importance from the terms of their descriptions. An early charter of Rievaulx describes a "great road" extending from Helmsley over the moors to Cleveland, although no such route remains today.[66] Similarly, the current moorland route from Pickering to Whitby was called Saltergate in medieval time and one of the trade products which it presumably bore is inherent in its name.[67] However, the Roman road from Eskdale, which probably crossed the Rye near Newsham and extended south near Hovingham towards York, may also have carried trade in the study period, although its use does not appear in the documents.[68] In the lowland four roads seem to have been of particular traffic importance since, like the "king's road" at Norton, each is recorded with a bridge across a major river.[69] Two of these routes crossed the Rye at Howe and Newsham, while the other two spanned the Derwent by bridges at Yedingham and Foulbridge.[70] (The bridge at the latter appears only in

the name, not in a specific documentary reference.) Of these roads only the one joining Pickering to Malton, part of the direct route from Whitby to York, is termed the "king's road" and was therefore presumably the most important. All these medieval major roads are portrayed on figure 10.1 as accurately as the Ordnance sheets will permit.

The map discloses that the major road encircling the lowland passed through or very close-by all fourteen local trade centres. Probably in medieval time this route, which can be supposed to have borne much of the trade to and from these centres, actually ran through the market villages of Scampston and Sinnington just as it probably linked all the adjoining settlements east of Brompton. The four north-south routes reveal the high degree of direct access which existed between the communities on either side of the lowland, although the road across Foulbridge, as the very name implies, and that over Yedingham Bridge must have been nearly impossible in the spring and probably remained difficult to use at all times of the year. Every village in the study area which did not lie along these major routes was presumably joined to them through the network of lesser roads and tracks which together with the important traffic arterics bore the peasant population to and from the nearest commercial centres and facilitated the freer movement of the socially superior classes.

The remaining major roads of the map are those by which goods and people travelling to or from Bridlington, the Cleveland area, Thirsk, Whitby and York entered or left the Vale of Pickering Area. Further trade was probably injected into this net of major routes through

the ports of Scarborough and its minor counter-part, Filey. All the roads on the map probably bore a mixture of local commerce, of goods entering or leaving the local trade centres and of merchandise which passed over these roads without entering into the commerce of these market villages and boroughs.

While all market villages assumed sites along the major route which encircled the lowland, nodal positions where this road is joined by others stretching in from ourside the study area were common only to the three boroughs. Helmsley lay near the junction of this encircling lowland route with both the roads to Cleveland and to Thisk. Pickering developed at the junction of the roads from Thirsk to Scarborough and from Whitby to York. Malton's site seems likely to have been even more conducive to trade. It occurred at the focal point where all commerce entered or left the Vale for York and was the most northerly trade centre through which trade between south-central Yorkshire and the trade foci of the north-east of the county was bound to pass.

The development of market villages and market boroughs along important traffic routes was unlikely to have been fortuitous. But, while the market villages may have evolved with the road net itself, the boroughs were created at market centres in early medieval time. Presumably the inauguration of these boroughs followed an assessment by certain feudal lords of the commercial nodality inherent in the pre-existing markets. Such awareness of the unusual value of these three commercial centres pre-supposes the existence of considerable trade at these nodal points at dates in the early twelfth

century. If the wasting of the North was as totally devastating as it appears in Domesday Book and in contemporary chronicles and if its effects were as prolonged as scholars sometimes imply, then the writer wonders how trade could have so rapidly re-developed after the events of 1069.

Trade Products

The information on trade goods which changed hands in the commercial centres of the study area are very limited. Among the market villages only the sale of meat and bread are recorded at Filey, which port was also dealing in salt, in fish and on at least one occasion was the departure point for a large consignment of wool destined for the overseas market.[71] Outside this unusual market village which co-existed with a minor port, such commercial centres probably dealt primarily in the agricultural products of the immediately surrounding communities as the instrument by which deficiencies and surpluses could be corrected. As a result their weekly function may have been of particular importance at only certain times of the year when such produce is likely to have come up for sale. In spring and fall when old animals were being culled or new stock added to flocks and herds they may have been primarily livestock marts. In the autumn they may also have been particularly active in the exchange of corn and hay. They may have attracted some interest from the burgesses of the local boroughs and itinerant pedlars at all times of the year but when the wool clip and fleeces of the local peasant's and possibly free tenant's and manorial flocks came up for auction interest was likely to be more intense. In the winter season and at other

times of the year these weekly gatherings may have largely fallen into abeyance. The annual fairs, which were probably part feast, part religious holiday and part trade gathering, were likely also of primary local interest but commercially may have attracted some outside attention. All were probably attended by itinerant pedlars. Some held in the spring or fall may have been but larger versions of the weekly market and have attracted the attendance of some burgesses and merchants who if they came to buy presumably stayed to sell. Those in the summer may have been important as points of wool disposal and have attracted merchants from outside the study area. However, the above is only surmise, for the entire problem of the commercial operations of these minor trade centres is masked by an almost total lack of documentation.

References to the range of goods which changed hands at borough markets or were made in the three boroughs are slightly less limited. Probably the greatest bulk of their trade was also carried on in the basic agricultural products of their surrounding areas and of the more mobile members of the social community of the study area who might have sold their produce in the borough in preference to the local market. (While it is possible that better prices were available at the borough, surpluses and deficiencies may often have been greater than the local market could either supply or absorb.) Tanning and leather working are mentioned at Helmsley and were probably burgess crafts derivative from the livestock trade in all three boroughs.[72] The sale of iron and iron smithing may have been carried out in these urban trade centres, although there are no

secure references to this effect, as may butchering, baking and brewing for commercial purposes. At least one luxury product, wine, is known to have been distributed at Helmsley and Malton where disputes arose over the quality sold by men from Beverley and York.[73] One reference at Malton about 1300 would suggest the existence of a gold-smith[74] and it may be that a wider range of luxury goods as well as of local products exchanged hands here than at Helmsley and Pickering during the early medieval period. Nothing is known about the fairs, which were presumably held in each of these communities at least once each year but it is probable that they were larger and less predominantly local than those discussed above. Because of the nodal position of these three boroughs the fair like the markets probably attracted more trade and a wider range of merchandise from outside the study area.

The major source of medieval commerce documented during early medieval time concerns the wool trade. Even before the Conquest there was a certain amount of woollen textile exported from Yorkshire,[75] but the great wool trade seems to have developed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with the rise of the export trade in raw wool to Flanders and Italy[76] and the expansion of the domestic textile industry in towns like Beverley and York.[77] The collection of wool for both these trades is believed to have occurred at the local market centres such as those under study.[78] However, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the various processes of domestic cloth manufacture migrated from the major towns to lesser commercial centres and often to the manorial estate.[79] This

migration to the manor has already been evidenced in the study area by the development of fulling mills at Helmsley, Hovingham, Thornton Dale and Wintringham.

The wool for both the export and domestic trade is believed to have come from both lay and ecclesiastical sources, although Cistercian wool may never have featured to any extent in the home textile industry.[80] While Rievaulx held water-side property in York, where, like other Cistercian houses, it is believed to have stored its production for shipment,[81] the Augustinian, Benedictine and Gilbertine wool may well have been sold locally like the production of lay estates and that of the villagers. Power has suggested a well organized system of collection for the wool clip involving merchant middle men and of course the overseas agents of famous Flemish or Italian wool houses like that of Bardi.[82]

Direct evidence of the wool industry appears only in the boroughs of the study area, although the complex collecting system undoubtedly filtered into the markets and fairs of the other local trade centres when wool and fleeces came onto the market. Wool merchants from Beverley appear in the records for Pickering, while merchants from York and others from overseas had dealings at New Malton.[83] A complaint of 1327 against price fixing indicates the existence of local wool merchants in the latter borough and it may well be that certain burgesses in all three communities collected, cleaned, sorted and sold much of the wool offered for sale in the markets of the Vale of Pickering.[84] Because of their nodal positions on major trade routes there can be little doubt that these boroughs were active centres of wool

collection in both the domestic and export trade.

In addition at least two of these boroughs were actively producing woollen textiles. Weavers and dyers were existent at Malton in the reign of Henry II when, with a number of other towns in Yorkshire, this borough was granted a royal monopoly in the weaving and dyeing of woollen cloth.[35] Dyeing and weaving are also mentioned at Helmsley before 1350 and probably similar textile production marked the burgess economy of Pickering. The existence of fulling mills on four manors during the fourteenth century is indicative of even more widespread textile enterprise. However, such wool production was usually on a contract basis with a major cloth merchant in the older textile towns.[36] While much of the production of these mills, possibly based on weaving and dyeing in the same communities, was probably directly collected by such entrepreneurs, some may have entered the textile trade through local markets. (In this respect it is interesting to note that on three of the four occasions where mills are recorded they appear in communities with market functions.) While all three boroughs may have counted textile production among their other urban functions, even the market villages, whose commercial role was much less sophisticated, may have been minor collection points for wool and in this collection the boroughs probably fulfilled a similar function at a more advanced level in the complex economy of the domestic and overseas wool trade.

Conclusions

Fourteen centres of trade are known to have been operating in the Vale of Pickering Area during the early medieval period, although the documents fail to prove

either that eleven of these had origins before the twelfth century or that most of these market villages continued to function as commercial foci as late as 1350. Both these hypotheses, however, seem very likely to the writer. Only the three market boroughs, which except for their resident population of merchants and craftsmen seem socially to have been more closely akin to the market village than to larger English boroughs, are known to have functioned as commercial centres at least as early as the twelfth century and to have continued to do so throughout the period under study. Both in size and very probably in terms of trade, derived from its pronounced nodal position, New Malton seems likely to have been larger and more prosperous than either Helmsley or Pickering.

These fourteen trade centres which occur with marked distributional regularity over the lowland oriented village pattern frequently lay much closer together than Bracton's suggested six and two-thirds miles and comparatively few village communities failed to be within roughly three miles of at least one trade community. However, direct trade competition between neighbouring centres was probably consciously avoided by a definite sequence of market days and fair periods which for the most part prevented conflict between neighbouring trade gatherings and in turn between the tolls accruing to their manorial lords. It seems highly probable that the areal distribution of trade centres resulted from natural trade organization evolved with the gradual development of commerce, which pattern was crystallized and further organized by the enterprise of medieval lords through the obtainance of formal charters and the creation

of the boroughs.

All these commercial centres were linked by a system of major roads which joined them to ports and major towns of Yorkshire. The boroughs were established at major trade nodes where commerce generated outside the study area met local trade. Very probably every village which did not lie along these major routes was linked to them by a pattern of roads and tracks which may be reflected largely on the modern Ordnance map. Such minor and major roads presumably bore the unfree peasant to his nearest trade outlet and it was probably primarily in terms of this clientel that Bracton's definition of trade spheres applies. The major road net, despite their probably poor surface conditions, carried commerce and merchandise into, out of and through the study area as well as facilitating the free movement of the resident superior social classes and their produce to local boroughs and more distant fairs and markets. Along these routes trade filtered in and out of the local tributary areas or the market villages and, probably to a greater extent, the local trade spheres of the market borough.

The bulk of the commercial intercourse carried on at both classes of trade centres may have been local and agricultural but this was probably much more pronounced in the market village. Markets in these minor centres were probably most active in the seasons when livestock, corn and other agricultural products came up for auction and local re-distribution. Like the annual fairs, which must often have had other facets than commerce, the weekly trade gatherings may, however, have attracted some local burgesses, itinerant pedlars

and merchants who came to buy or sell. In the borough where crafts such as leather working, smithing, butchering and brewing are likely to have been common trades derivative from local produce, luxury goods such as wine may frequently have been sold. However, the single trade commodity which was probably most important was wool, the collection of which for the domestic and overseas trade is evidenced in borough documents but probably extended seasonally into the market village. In addition weaving and dyeing were going on at least at Helmsley and New Malton and the latter was a recognized textile manufacturer of the twelfth century. The rise of fulling mills, some of the production of which may have entered the market through local trade centres, is yet further evidence of the growing commercial textile production in this essentially rural area before 1350. However, as stressed in the introduction to this chapter, the commercial aspects of rural medieval life can be over-emphasized and outside the boroughs, particularly New Malton, it is probably unwise to see commerce as a formidable element in the every day life of the agricultural community.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

A FUNCTIONAL HIERARCHY

Introduction

In chapter three the early medieval tax records were shown to be incomplete and unreliable indicators of population and wealth. As proven in the same chapter, these records also fail to be sources of separate tax information for every village in the study area existent at the time of their compilation. Even the roll of 1334 was therefore discarded as a tool with which to construct a classification of the village pattern. However, in the same chapter and in numbers four, five, eight, nine and ten a total of six functions, usually divided into two or more sub-functions, has been identified. These functions form the basis both of appendices and of map classifications and have been alluded to and sometimes discussed at length in the text. In several of these chapters communities focused on a particular village for the exercise of one function, changed their foci for different functions. Similarly, foci had different tributary areas for different functions. Sometimes whole villages or several villages fell within a single tributary area, on other occasions village communities were divided between two or more tributary areas. Hence, for example, all township centres were not manorial foci and the community of the township, parish or mill was not necessarily that of the manor or the village. Certainly none of these changing functional communities seems likely to have conformed to those of commercial centres. Yet the limits of these various types of

functional communities can only be delineated for townships and parishes. However, although such institutions as the church, the mill and very probably the manor house were sometimes sited outside the village limits, by collectively attributing all functional foci to the village with which each was centrally associated, a functional hierarchy can be developed. This is based upon the cumulative importance accruing to each village through the number and significance of the functions it performed. The functional information, documented and classified in previous appendices, will now be used to build such a hierarchy for the 141 villages of the Vale of Pickering Area extant later than the opening of the thirteenth century.

Functional Hierarchy

Functions and Sub-Functions

The functions to be discussed are primarily simple ones, many of which continued to be common to the villages of rural England for centuries after 1350. All the 141 villages were dormitories for an agricultural population in the last one hundred and fifty years of the study period. However, Airyholme, Baschebi and Linton, which seem to have dwindled away during the thirteenth century, were less functionally significant as dormitories than the 138 villages which survived later than 1322. Only 19 villages failed also to be documented as township centres (the monastic townships which lacked village communities must be ignored) but 10 of those which were not so recorded may have been such nuclei. The function of township centres was primarily administrative since each community was responsible for

the king's peace in its territorial unit and for the presentation of criminals in the royal courts as well as for the answers to questions in Exchequer surveys.[1] In addition to royal responsibilities, these communities evolved the townships' agrarian customs, collectively protected them against infringement, and where no manorial court existed, probably administered the customal agrarian law.

Most villages are known to have been centres of some form of manorial function which in an agrarian and feudal society was largely economic, since men were legally tenants or vassals, owing a variety of services and acquittances to their lords. Manorial function was also administrative in the operation of the farm but only where the manor had a court (the number so organized in the study area remains unknown) was such administration likely to have been strong. Nine villages were the foci of discrete estates - those manors with more than three out-lying property units through which the manor extended its economic and administrative control into other villages than the one on which it was centred. Eighty-six villages were the less functionally significant centres for manors, which with or without other less important feudal units held ascendency over a territory which might not conform to that of the township. An additional 16 were the foci of sub-manors, the functional autonomy of which was incomplete since part of their administration and economy was controlled by yet other local manors. The remaining 30 villages, of which 20 were recorded solely as centres of discrete tenancies and 10 fail to have any manorial references, must be considered to have had no manorial

functions.*

From the records only 77 villages functioned as the foci for milling communities, the members of which were bound by customal law to grind and pay multure at particular mills. (The mill in the block grant to Keldholme Priory is omitted because it seems likely to have ground grain only for the nuns.) Less frequent were the major nuclei of parochial function, parish churches, which increased the functional importance of 38 villages. (Kirkdale church, set far from its nearest village, must be ignored here.) These operated as weekly religious gathering points, as the administrative centres of the parishes and as depots for most parochial revenue. However, there were at least 48 additional villages solely with chapels, which villages functioned as subordinate, less wealthy religious centres for what must usually have been smaller Sunday congregations. Lastly, only 14 villages are known to have been discontinuous gathering points for trade and of these centres of commercial function 3 boroughs with their aura of urbanism were particularly significant. These twelve sub-divisions of dormitory, township, manorial, milling, parochial and commercial functions are the basic material from which the hierarchic classification is to be erected.

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* The writer is aware of the inconsistency of omitting these 10 villages but including 10 as possible township foci where documentary evidence is similarly lacking. However, manorial function has three sub-functional divisions into any one of which some of the villages may have fallen. They are therefore impossible to classify and the only solution appears to be to ignore them.

The Application of Weight Numbers

The method used in the development of this hierarchy is admittedly crude but is the best which can be adapted to the limited details of the existing data. It involves the application of numerical weights to the sub-functions as they are known to have been distributed over the early medieval village pattern and thus to arrive at a total weight, a numerical measurement of significance, for each village. Although limited in its potential accuracy by the unknown completeness of the available documents and by indiscernible variations in the importance accruing from the same sub-function to different nuclei, such a hierarchy deals separately with each village and so circumvents at least the most obvious and misleading idiosyncrasy of medieval taxation figures. Regardless of its limitations this hierarchy can be built from information the strengths and weaknesses of which are for the most part known and can be provided for. It is not tainted by unknown error, by corruptive assessment practices or by idiosyncrasies of compilation which the analyst may suspect in the bald figures of the tax roll but can rarely prove. However, because the common application of one weight-number to all units of the same sub-functional division ignores their probable variation in functional strength, the method is to some extent arbitrary. Because there is no information on which to scale the relative importance of two sub-divisions of different functions, for example, the relative significance of a church centre to a manorial focus, the choice of weight-numbers is partially subjective. Nevertheless, within broad limits the importance of a function, in terms of its community

size, can logically be said to increase as the total number of villages in which it occurs decreases. By broadly applying this rule to an absolute range of weights, compressed to avoid over-exaggerating any cumulative subjective errors in total weight-numbers, it is possible to reduce the significance of these known weaknesses, although they cannot be totally resolved.

A maximum weight of 3 and a minimum of ½ have been used to represent the absolute range of relative functional significance between any two sub-functional divisions. The maximum weight was granted to discrete estate centres and to market boroughs as the rarest and functionally most important sub-divisions under consideration. A weight of 2 was then assigned to all manor centres, although this relative weight must over-estimate the functional importance of that unknown proportion which failed to have courts. It was also applied to all parish church centres and to all nuclei which were market villages. In turn a weight of 1 was assigned to all villages which operated as dormitories after 1322, to all known township centres and to the foci of sub-manors, mills and chapels. Lastly, all "possible" township centres and villages which appear to have been lost before 1300 were weighted at ½. While the sub-divisions of each function are thus weighted in their apparent order of significance, there is no secure proof that the related weight-standards from function to function are realistic. Appendix 11.1, organized by the six functions being considered, is a compendium of these sub-functional values for each village, for which it also gives a total weight-number.

The Map

The following table synthesizes the distribution of total weight-numbers among the villages and its first column reveals that the relative functional significance of individual villages, represented numerically, extended over the total possible range from ½ to 11. The second column not only regroups these total weights per village under whole numbers, but discloses that the greatest single concentration of villages occurred between 5 and 6, at the mid point of the weight range.

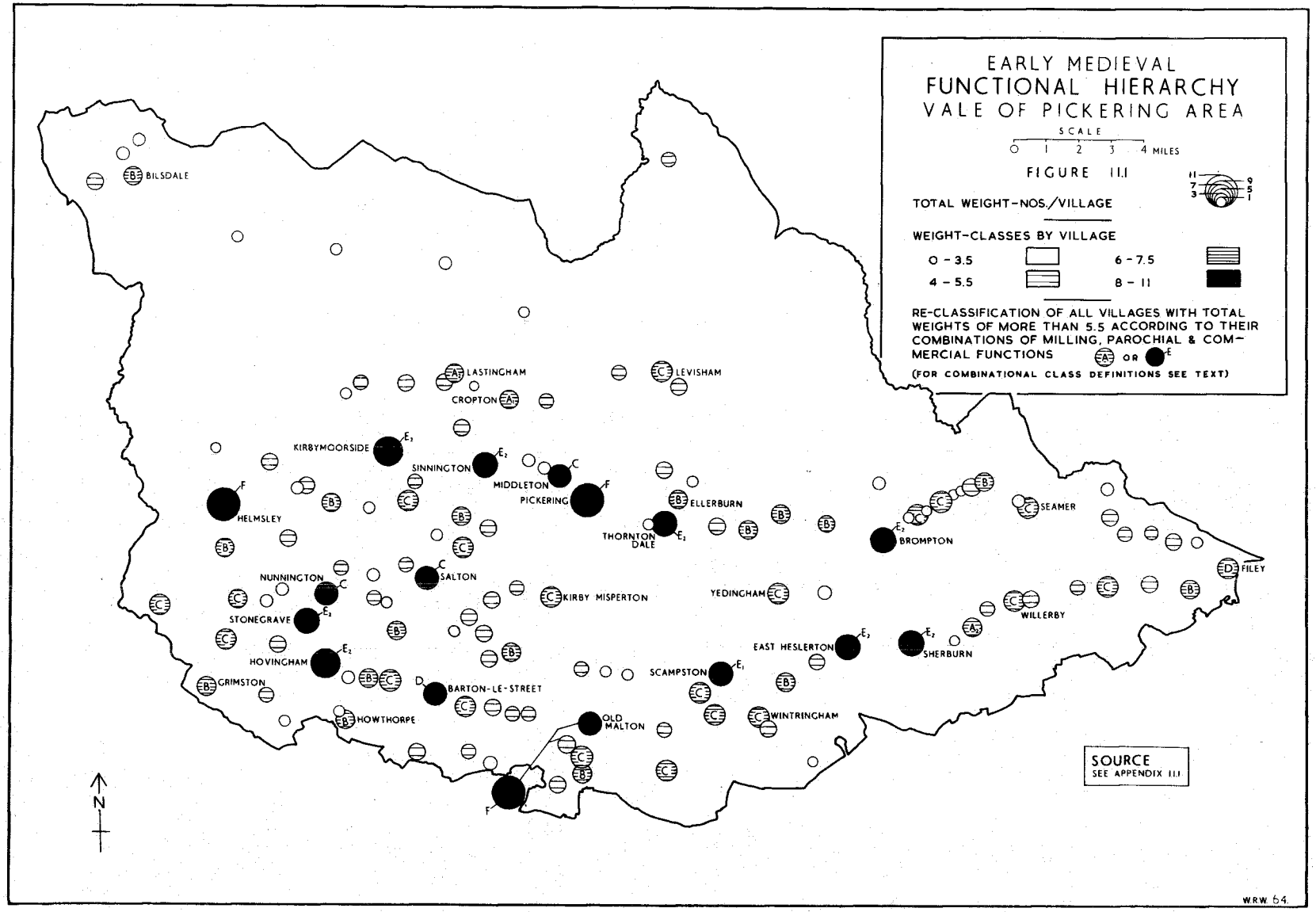
Total Weight-Numbers per Village
(Abstract of Appendix 11.1)

Total Weight-Range	Number of Villages			
	I	II	III	IV
½	1	1		
1	7	10		
1½	3			
2	10	14	38	
2½	4			
3	11	13		
3½	2			
4	19	19		
5	26	27	46	87
5½	1			
6	21	21	41	
7	20	20		
8	6	6		
9	6	6	16	
10	2	2		
11	2	2		

Village frequency per total weight-number in this column can be seen to taper slowly towards both ends of the table. Although undoubtedly affected by the arbitrary assignation of weight-values, by the unavoidable exclusion of certain villages from manorial classification and by the probable incompleteness of some of the other functional data, the numerical occurrence of the villages along the total weight-range assumes the general

characteristics of a statistically normal distribution. However, there is no means of proving that such a distribution for functional importance approached the "normal" under the legal, economic and social conditions prevailing in early medieval England. Unfortunately, the distributional characteristics cannot therefore be said to help either substantiate or disprove the reliability of the subjectively chosen weight-numbers as indicators of the real variations in significance between functions and sub-functions. The tendency for the greatest proportion of the village pattern to assume weights indicative of moderate functional significance is even more emphatically revealed in columns three and four. About 61% of the villages can here be seen to have numerical values of 4 or more but less than 8, balanced by 27% with singularly low functional importance and 12% where these values were unusually high. Moreover, column three reveals that only 57 villages or about 40% assumed numerical positions of significance more than half way up the total weight-range.

The functional hierarchy derived from the total weight-numbers per village in the appendix is portrayed on figure 11.1. Every village is represented quantitatively by its total weight as a numerical evaluation of its functional importance and by its weight-class, the limits of which classes are taken from column three of the previous table. With the exception of those 16 of unusual functional importance, the map discloses that villages of varying hierarchic significance were intermixed throughout the pattern. Although the correlation is unlikely to be perfect, the writer wonders if functional importance is not also an indicator of


EARLY MEDIEVAL
FUNCTIONAL HIERARCHY
VALE OF PICKERING AREA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 MILES
FIGURE 11.1
TOTAL WEIGHT-NOS./VILLAGE
11 9 7 5 3 1
WEIGHT-CLASSES BY VILLAGE
0 - 3.5
4 - 5.5
6 - 7.5
8 - 11
RE-CLASSIFICATION OF ALL VILLAGES WITH TOTAL WEIGHTS OF MORE THAN 5.5 ACCORDING TO THEIR COMBINATIONS OF MILLING, PAROCHIAL & COMMERCIAL FUNCTIONS
OR
(FOR COMBINATIONAL CLASS DEFINITIONS SEE TEXT)
SOURCE
SEE APPENDIX 11.1
BILSDALE
LASTINGHAM
CROPTON
LEVISHAM
KIRBYMOORSIDE
SINNINGTON
MIDDLETON
PICKERING
HELMSLEY
ELLERBURN
THORNTON DALE
SEAMER
BROMPTON
FILEY
NUNNINGTON
SALTON
KIRBY MISPERTON
YEDINGHAM
WILLERBY
STONEGRAVE
EAST HESLERTON
SHERBURN
HOVINGHAM
SCAMPSTON
GRIMSTON
BARTON-LE-STREET
HOWTHORPE
OLD MALTON
WINTRINGHAM
N
W.R.W. 64.

true wealth and population distribution. However, because of the suspected and known untrustworthiness of Exchequer surveys as accurate records of population and wealth and because of their tendency to combine information for two or more villages, while only sometimes indicating this procedure, it is impossible reliably to test this hypothesis which must therefore remain a highly likely suggestion. Nevertheless, even the villages of the consequent valleys, particularly those in Bilsdale, show a surprising range of functional importance, although Bransdale, Farndale, Hartoft and Rosedale were of little note. A similar admixture of functional significance appears among the villages of the Hambleton, Howardian and Tabular uplands where Cropton, Ellerburn, Grimston, Howthorpe, Lastingham and Levisham were outstanding. Yedingham, considering its site amidst the ill-drained fenlands, also assumed remarkable functional importance. However, while the upland and extreme lowland regions contained almost 30% of the village pattern, they embraced predominant numbers of only the two lowest weight-classes, 50% and 33% respectively.

Ryedale and the peripheral zone about the valley floor, where settlement was most dense, included 80% of those villages with values between 6 and 7.5 and all of those which were of unusual functional significance. The former class was distributed moderately evenly among villages of both greater and lesser functional significance but almost three-quarters of the latter class lay west of a line between Old Malton and Pickering. Moreover, if the two Maltons, which functionally appear in most respects the two parts of the same whole,* are

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* They may have shared a township and the same mills and

considered as one unit, the 5 most heavily weighted functional foci (Helmsley (11), Hovingham (10), Kirby-moorside (10), Malton (11) and Pickering (11)) all lay west of the same line. Although this areal concentration presumably reflects the functional needs of the more numerous settlements in the western half of the lowland, the degree to which the west was functionally dominant is over-emphasized on the map. Five of the six villages which barely gained access to the top weight-class with their total values of 8, including Barton-le-Street, Middleton, Nunnington, Salton and Sinnington, lay in this area. If the unique and unconsidered port function of Filey was weighted even at 1, another village of unusual significance would appear in the extreme east. However, perhaps the most interesting feature of the distribution of these 16 foci of unusual hierarchic importance was their exclusive occurrence, except for Salton, about the upper limits of the lowland zone. Particularly in the west, these villages, on well-drained sites along the major ring-road about the Vale of Pickering and in the three most significant cases at trade nodes next to major rivers or streams where baronial seats were established, must have been foci for a variety of different functional communities which included both uplands and lowlands within their bounds.

To assess the peculiar functional factors which gave to certain villages total weight-values of more than 5.5 and to view their relative functional importance from a slightly altered position, these 57 foci have

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while Old Malton was the manorial and parochial focus, New Malton was its baronial borough and a subordinate chapelry centre.

been re-classified with the two Maltons treated as a single entity. All these villages existed later than 1322 and like most other members of the village pattern were township nuclei and foci of at least some manorial significance. In addition, most were milling centres and they embraced within their numbers all 38 parish church centres, 19 chapelry foci and the 14 nuclei of commercial intercourse. This re-classification is limited to the combination of milling, parochial and commercial sub-function which each performed.

The following table is a numerical synthesis of the re-classification and provides the definitions for each class appearing in the appendix by village. It reveals

Combinations of Milling, Parochial and Commercial Functions Performed by Villages with Total Weights of 6 or More (Abstract of Appendix 11.1)

Village Class		No.
A_1	Those with only a chapel	1
A_2	Those with only a church	2
B	Those with mill and chapel	17
C	Those with mill and church	23
D	Those with church and market	2
E_1	Those with mill, chapel and market	1
E_2	Those with mill, church and market	8
F	Those with mill, church and market borough	3

that in addition to their dormitory, township and manorial function, 40 of these villages had only milling and either sub-division of parochial function. However, only 3 failed to include some function beyond a parochial one and in the opposite extreme an equal number included mills, churches and market borough functions. While about 70% had two sub-divisions of the factors under re-consideration, about 5% had only one and roughly 20% included some combination of all three.

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This re-classification, which is portrayed on figure 11.1, when compared with the rest of the hierarchic map data for these 57 centres and with the manorial information in the appendix, brings some interesting features to light. As might have been predicted from the total weight-numbers, the great majority of those villages re-classed A to D, had numerical weight-values between 6 and 7.5. Only Ganton in the A class was sited within the lowland region of dense settlement, while Cropton, a discrete estate centre, was the only instance where a re-classified village had only a chapel to augment its dormitory, township and manorial values. With the exception of Levisham and Yedingham, which had both a mill and parish church, all re-classified villages outside Ryedale and the peripheral zone about the valley floor had only mills and chapels to increase their functional importance. Most villages of a similar weight-class in Ryedale and the peripheral zone about the valley floor were also re-classified as B or C. However, in the western half of the lowland, Middleton, Nunnington and Salton gained access to the unusually important class solely through their function as discrete estate foci, since they too were only re-classified as centres of churches and mills. Similarly, Barton-le-Street which had also accumulated only the minimum numerical value for entrance to the top weight-class, had in addition to its three basic functions only those of church and market centres. Both of these were also held by Filey, the one village among the 57 which was the focus for only a sub-manor, although it uniquely functioned as a port. Therefore, of the 57 centres under re-consideration, only 2 outside the predominantly

settled lowland region had sub-functions derived from a mill and at least a parish church but such class C status was much more common in Ryedale and around the valley floor. Also in three instances the predominant orientation of villages of unusual functional significance towards the western end of the lowland depended solely upon the occurrence of one particularly significant sub-function rather than upon an unusual multiplicity of functions in the village.

All the remaining villages of unusual hierarchic importance were centres for sub-divisions of all three functions under re-consideration. Scampston alone failed to have a parish church but along with another 8 its commercial significance was only that of a market village. While the parish church, milling and market village characteristics of Kirbymoorside and Hovingham were augmented by their function as discrete estate centres, the even greater pre-eminence of Helmsley, Malton and Pickering came from their unique function as market boroughs. Therefore, while the scale of functional importance of the western half of the lowland may be over-emphasized in terms of the number of functions performed per village with weights of more than 7.5, there is no denying that the 5 major centres, of which Helmsley, Malton and Pickering were outstanding, were concentrated in this area.

Although the 57 villages with weight-numbers of 6 or more include all 9 discrete estate centres, the exclusive occurrence of which in the western half of the map was a factor in the predominant occurrence of the largest proportion of villages of unusual importance in and about the margin of Ryedale, there is no

significant correlation between increases in manorial status and similar accretions in the number or significance of functions performed at these foci. Such a correlation might be expected since manors, presumably the more dynamically operated or important ones, are believed to have been responsible for the development of mills, parochial organization and the boroughs of the study area. Although the 5 most significant hierarchic centres were discrete estate foci, almost half of these feudal units were centred in re-classed villages of only one or two re-considered functions and Filey, which was only the centre of a sub-manor, surpassed three such foci in its re-classification. The answer to this lack of correlation is probably two-fold. To some extent it probably results from the writer's admitted inability to distinguish the real economic and administrative strength of manors, which like their composition may have had more individuality than any other function under consideration. Moreover, it probably reflects the gradual development of these functions on manors preceding and during the early medieval period, in comparison with the rapidly altering pattern of manorial structure between Domesday and the Statute of Quia Emptores.

However, to-day, after centuries of evolution in the economic, social and legal infra-structure of England, which has obliterated the manor, replaced the local mill, augmented the parish church with the non-Conformist chapel and spread some retail trade to the majority of village communities, most of these 57 villages seem to remain in wealth and size those of greatest importance. Only Grimston, Howthorpe and Sutton have ceased

to be dormitories for village communities. Most of the remainder have retained moderate size but both Ellerburn and Willerby are only remnant collections of dwellings. Moreover, Malton and Pickering remain the largest and functionally most diverse of all dormitories in the Vale. While Hovingham and Helmsley appear to have declined, Kirbymoorside seems to have increased in its importance and Filey has altered its unique sea-side advantages by acquiring recreational functions. As in medieval times, although the functions performed have sometimes changed in character and increased in diversity, the functional communities still come partially and sometimes almost totally from agricultural pursuits.

Conclusions

In an earlier chapter it has been shown that almost three-quarters of the villages were sited within the region of Ryedale and the peripheral zone about the valley floor. Moreover, according to the functional hierarchy constructed in the previous pages, while there was considerable admixture in functional importance from village to village, which admixture may also reflect variations in wealth and population, this lowland region included an even more disproportionate percentage of villages with above average functional significance and all those of unusual importance. The latter class occurred primarily around the margin of the western half of the lowland but this predominance of the west where villages were most numerous can readily be overemphasized since 5 villages barely gained entrance to the unusually important class, since 3 of these did so through one particularly significant sub-function and

since one village in the east with a unique function not considered in the weight system was unfortunately excluded from this class. However, there is no denying that the 5 major functional foci lay west of a line between Malton and Pickering. While these five were all centres of discrete estates and although certain functions and sub-functions are believed to be the creation of manors, presumably those which were largest and most important, there is no complete correlation between villages of increasing significance and functional multiplicity and the sub-classes of increasing manorial importance. This presumably results from hidden and therefore unweighable variations in manorial importance and from the rapid alteration of manorial structure during and after the development of derivative functions. However, regardless of the great alteration in the economic, legal and social conditions in England since 1350, the majority of the 57 villages which appear most important in medieval times remain the largest and most wealthy in the modern day and Pickering and Malton continue to be of pre-eminent importance.

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SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

The Vale of Pickering Area, embracing divergent geological, drainage, soil, slope and relief conditions, was once largely covered by thick forest which decreased in density about the margins of the post-glacial remnants of Lake Pickering. However, in early medieval times, woodland was far exceeded in area by expanses of grassland which extended outward and upward from the fenlands of the valley floor and was succeeded on the more elevated upland by heather moor. Woodland appears to have been reduced to parkland characteristics in the western half of the lowland but to less discontinuous and larger stands of trees in the consequent valleys of the North York Moors. Dense and continuous woodland appears likely to have prevailed on steep slopes of no primary agricultural value, with the very probable exception of the Wolds escarpment. This distribution of wooded and unwooded areas almost a millenium ago bears a startling resemblance to the vegetation pattern of the present day and emphasizes the intensive land-clearing carried out by the occupants of north-eastern Yorkshire in the centuries before the early medieval period.

In 1086 the villages of this area were in the early stages of recovery from the harrying of Northern England in 1069. About one-third seem still to have been totally uninhabited, while many others appear to have had only small populations. Population recovery at least, probably continued into the mid years of the following century but none of the early documents of

the twelfth century mention derelict property and economic recovery had progressed sufficiently by 1150 to have induced the birth of 3 baronial boroughs. However, the wasting and other causes, of which Cistercian grange creation was most important, appear to have brought about the abandonment of 25 sites before 1200, as compared to the possible loss of 3 villages in the subsequent years before the Black Death, despite the Scottish raid of 1322. Conversely, the period of recovery and the succeeding centuries marked the first documented occurrence of 16 villages, at least 1 of which was existent but ignored in 1086. While some of these non-Domesday villages appear likely to have replaced older abandoned sites, their frequent occurrence in the consequent valleys and the terms used to describe these dale settlements suggest that many here were created or at least underwent much of their early development during the study period. Regardless of these changes which reduce the total number of communities from 150 to 138 before 1350, human settlement remained primarily oriented towards the lowland where almost three-quarters of all villages lay at well-drained sites in Ryedale and in the narrow zone between the wet valley floor and the upland moors. An even more disproportionate number of those villages of more than average functional importance occurred in this physical region and their hierarchic classification, which may to a large extent reflect population and wealth, indicates the pre-eminence of Helmsley, Malton and Pickering. Most of these 57 villages of more than average functional significance in early medieval times remain as the largest and wealthiest communities of the modern day.

Most of the villages existing after 1200 continued to have their own communal territory, the township, some of which units must have undergone boundary changes with the alteration of the Domesday village pattern. These townships, the human communities of which bore certain responsibilities both to Crown and judiciary, appear to have assumed either strip or compact shapes and to have varied considerably in area. Strip shapes appeared commonly where the villages were linearly aligned about the eastern half of the lowland and about the margins of Ryedale. These townships most frequently encompassed areas of both upland and lowland. Where their areas were large, their human communities may never have been pressed to use all land with the utmost agrarian efficiency. In Ryedale, where the local environment was more varied, and where villages lost their linear alignment and also in some instances in the adjacent upland where the distribution of village sites prevented the development of strip townships, these units assumed more compact shapes. The inhabitants of these generally smaller units were probably forced to use all their land and its environmental variety intensly to satisfy their needs for arable, pasture, meadow and the products of the waste. Although the medieval township had definite boundaries, these limits were not all of uniform strength. Several of these territories are known to have shared rather than to have divided up areas of common pasture and some boundaries in the fenlands of the valley floor and possibly on the high moor do not appear to have been defended against infringements by neighbouring communities. Many of these medieval township limits seem likely to be

preserved at least in facsimile on modern Ordnance maps. However, certain township limits were lost in the centuries after 1350 while others, particularly on the North York Moors, have developed since medieval times.

Over this network of communal agrarian limits was laid the boundary pattern of the manors, the feudal agrarian communities of which each formed an administrative, economic and social unit. Although these feudal units both underwent simplification in their relationship to the village community and evolved territorially and structurally through amalgamation and subinfeudation between Domesday Book and the last century of early medieval times, they continued to lack any general areal coincidence with the townships on which they were centred. As a result a few villages were centres of discrete estates, some of which developed after Domesday, which estates extended their feudal control into several other communities. Many were the foci of manors with few or no discrete tenancies, of which feudal units only an unknown proportion had manorial courts to make them strong agrarian administration entities. Other villages were only the nuclei of sub-manors, the operation of which was partially controlled by yet other feudal units and a few appear to have had only discrete tenancies with their feudal agrarian operations entirely directed from outside the township. Not only were there differences in administrative strength from manor to manor but the available information in extents would suggest that each feudal community was to some degree unique both in its agrarian economic features and in its social composition.

In agricultural operation the medieval townships

show many similarities and some variations. The uplands of the North York Moors, the upper slopes of the Hambleton, Howardian and Tabular Hills region, the Wolds, the consequent valleys, some lowland moors and even the fens appear to have been used for common pasture. Meadow required for the production of hay appears chiefly in connection with the wetlands of the valley floor and damp portions of Ryedale. Some moorland townships however were forced to cut their fodder from valley lands along the margins of stream courses and their limited supply of meadow land must often have been of premium value. The common field appears to have lain about the village where it benefited from good drainage and often from the most desirable soil conditions in the township. While in strip townships the arable, meadow and pasture must often have stretched in a continuous band from township to township, the compact townships of the western lowland probably assumed a less regular distribution of agrarian elements in accordance with the more varied local conditions. Arable held in severalty seems to have been characteristic of most settlements in the consequent valleys, presumably as a result of slope conditions in these dales and their seemingly late colonial development through assarting. In contrast, townships elsewhere in the study area were basically communal units, although most probably contained some arable, meadow and pasture in severalty; which features are early ramifications of the gradual process of enclosure. Some of these townships had open field systems of two or three rotational sub-fields, while others had a seemingly hybrid form of rundale system but in either case the documents at first suggest

a high degree of arable strip organization. However, close examination reveals that the acreage of land-holdings were unevenly distributed over the field and between sub-fields, subjecting at least some land-holders to a continuous sequence of rich and lean years in terms of crop return. Similarly, inequalities in area appear in the documents for the meadow land appurtenant to land-holdings in the field, which common meadow allotments seem to have been held in single blocks or made up of scattered strips. Common pasture rights seem to have been allotted to each land-holder not only for a specific number of animals but for a certain number of each type of beast of which sheep were very likely the most numerous. Usually, with the exception of goats, these animals including cattle, horses, oxen, sheep and swine grazed the township woodlands in the autumn. These same woodlands and such environmental extremes as the fen and the moor appear to have provided the products of the waste such as housebot and hedgebot, turbary and thatch necessary to each household in the community. However, rights in the woodland, including the type and amount of timber which could be removed, were closely guarded presumably because, as implied in the study of the vegetation pattern, woodland was already scarce. Rights to bark, to wood for making charcoal and to the iron ore presumably smelted with the charcoal all seem likely to have been retained in the hands of the manorial lord or granted by him only to religious institutions.

Few townships fail to have had some land belonging to at least one of the 26 religious foundations with property in the study area. Most of these foundations, including hospitals, monasteries, nunneries and the

cathedral church of York, of which institutions Malton and Rievaulx were the most important with centres in the Vale of Pickering, accumulated their estates of varying size in the first century or more after the Domesday Inquest. These estates, which were largely made up of small property units and which developed through grants from local lords and from the less socially prominent laity as well as through planned land acquisition by the religious foundations themselves, assumed an areally intermixed distribution in the study area. Many of these property units probably supplied only food or money rents and their acquisition by these institutions may have had little effect upon the normal agrarian operation of the township. Certain properties of large size were held as manors or were converted to granges. Some manors, particularly those belonging to Rievaulx, the Templars and the nuns of Yedingham, may have assumed some or all the characteristics of granges in the operation of the demesne but most probably differed little in agrarian character from similar lay feudal units. The Cistercian granges, however, were often created by the depopulation or replacement of the village and its communal system by a large enclosed farm and the Augustinian and Gilbertine granges, while they did not replace the village community, similarly enclosed large blocks of its common field land. Such disruption or replacement of communal practice, the intensive colonization of the consequent valleys, sometimes through grange agriculture, and the control of large portions of the fenland which at least Rievaulx attempted to improve through artificial drainage, represent the major changes in the agrarian landscape

initiated by religious foundations. Some granges of which the largest, belonging to both Malton and Rievaulx, were primarily grouped around their centres, may have been predominantly arable or pasture but most were likely operated as large general farms and probably played a more important role in the highly lucrative wool economy than the documents would suggest. Augustinian, Benedictine, Cistercian and Gilbertine houses of which Bridlington, Malton and Rievaulx were outstanding cases, ran large numbers of sheep on the common pastures of townships in which they often had only small quantities of arable land but little of the complex organization and administration of these monastic flocks can be ascertained from the documents. It is however noteworthy that relatively few monastic sheep appear to have been run in the small compact townships of Ryedale where communal flocks and herds probably needed all the available grazing land and that winter fodder for monastic flocks seems sometimes to have been obtained through extra procurements of meadow not necessarily in townships where the sheep were pastured. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries a series of disasters including severe attacks of murrain, financial crises resulting from wool mortgaging and property and livestock devastation through Scottish raiding marked the beginning of a decline in the wealth and importance of the religious foundations from their earlier position of unprecedented wealth and agrarian activity.

The mills of the Vale of Pickering Area were either few in number at the opening of the early medieval period or were very incompletely recorded in Domesday Book, but a total of 91 appear in the documents before 1350.

Most seem to have been water driven corn mills predominately distributed along the lesser water courses of the upland and lowland drainage system and in the lowland the dams of these mills may have adversely affected an already poor natural drainage system. Towards the close of the study period these water mills were augmented by some which were driven by wind and by 4 which fulled cloth rather than ground grain. Most of the mills including the fulling mills appear to have been small but some were of moderate size and others were relatively large in terms of the wealth they earned for their manorial owner, which wealth accrued from the community owing suit at the mill. While some mills ground corn for two or more complete villages or even manors, two or more mills sometimes served a single village divided by manorial boundaries and the community of the mill was therefore frequently not that of the township or even of the manor.

Most parish churches of the present day and many more chapels than now exist occurred among the villages of the early medieval period and it seems likely that most parishes and many chapelries were existent in 1086. Very inconclusive medieval evidence would suggest that the limits of these ecclesiastical units frequently conformed to township rather than manorial limits in the study period and assumed either strip or compact shapes. As early as Domesday the community of the parish or chapelry may have included many persons who were not tenants of the lord who held the church or alternately may not have included all the tenants of his manor. However, in two instances the modern map boundaries, which in most cases are probably facsimiles of their

medieval predecessors, appear to have crystallized along manorial limits. Previous to the ecclesiastical legislation of 1179 parish revenues not spent on the priest's stipend, church repair or charity are generally believed to have been appropriated by the advowson holder to increase his own wealth but local archaeological evidence suggests that much of this revenue was spent on the erection or alteration of church buildings. The largest proportion of the parish churches along with their chapels passed into the hands of religious foundations during the twelfth century, which institutions were particularly noted for parochial revenue appropriation but Bishop's hypothesis that church holding was usually the fore-runner of grange development in certain orders holds true in only some cases. The Pope Nicholas assessment figures of 1291, although their accuracy as indicators of relative parochial income is not always beyond doubt, reveal that several of the parishes were extremely wealthy while others were very poor. Although these assessment figures show a loose correlation between wealth and the nineteenth century facsimile of early medieval parish size, there are frequent anomalies which probably spring from the existence of unusual sources of revenue within individual parishes.

While the 3 baronial boroughs, of which New Malton was probably the largest and most important, were created during the twelfth century and continued to function after 1350, there is little proof that the 11 market villages to which they were more closely akin than to the major towns of England, existed before 1200 or continued to function in the closing years of the study period. However, it seems very likely. While these

centres of trade were distributed with marked regularity among the lowland villages but usually in closer proximity to one another than Bracton suggested, commercial competition between them was largely avoided by a definite sequence of market days and fair periods. This distribution probably resulted from the gradual development of commercial centres in pre-Conquest time, which pattern was crystallized and further organized through formal market charters and borough creation during the early medieval period. All these commercial centres lay on major roads which joined them to ports and towns of Yorkshire and the boroughs developed at important nodal points where major trade routes joined or crossed one another. Along these roads and a network of lesser ones, which presumably joined every village to its neighbour, the unfree peasantry journeyed to the nearest commercial centre and his social superiors bore their produce to the borough or to more distant markets and fairs. The major roads also carried commerce and merchandise into, out of and through the study area. While local agricultural products probably formed the bulk of trade goods which changed hands in the market village, the market borough with its resident craftsmen probably also dealt in products derived from such agricultural commodities and in luxury goods. However, the greatest single commercial commodity was probably wool, either in its raw state or in the form of finished textiles. Nevertheless the commercial aspects of the early medieval scene can readily be over-emphasized and outside of the boroughs it is probably unwise to see commerce as a formidable element in the every day life of the members of medieval village communities in this rural area of north-east Yorkshire.

APPENDICES

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE APPENDICES

(a) Record Offices

B.	Beverley (East Riding Record Office).
B.I.	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (St. Anthony's Hall, York).
B.M.	British Museum (London).
Bodl.	Bodleian Library (Oxford).
D.L.	Duchy of Lancaster Office (London).
NA.	Northallerton (North Riding Record Office).

(b) Sources

A.G.R.	Archbishop Gray's Register, Surtees Soc., vol. 56 (1870).
Brid. Cart.	Bridlington Cartulary, B.M., Additional M.S., no.40008.
Byland Cart.	Byland Cartulary, B.M., Egerton M.S., no.2823.
Cal. Chart. R.	Calendars of Charter Rolls, Record Commission Publications.
Cal. Close R.	Calendars of Close Rolls, Record Commission Publications.
Cal. Cur. Reg. R.	Calendars of Curia Regis Rolls, Record Commission Publications.
Cal. Inq.	Calendars of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Record Commission Publications.
Cal. Misc. Inq.	Calendars of Miscellaneous Inquisitions, Record Commission Publications.
Cal. Pat. R.	Calendars of Patent Rolls, Record Commission Publications.
D.B.	Domesday Book, Dean and Chapter Library, York.
E.Y.C.	Early Yorkshire Charters, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser., extra ser., vols. 1 (1914); 2 (1915); 3 (1916); 4 (1935); 5 (1936); 6 (1937); 7 (1947); 8 (1949); 9 (1952); 10 (1955).

Guis. Cart.	Guisborough Cartulary, Surtees Soc., vols. 86 (1889); 89 (1891).
Hex. Cart., B.B.	Hexham Cartulary, Black Book, Surtees Soc., vol. 46 (1864).
H.R.	Rotuli Hundredorum, vol. 1, Record Commission Publication, (London, 1812).
Kirk. Cart.	Kirkham Cartulary, Oxford Bodl., Fairfax 7, M.S. no.3857.
Lib. Alb.	Liber Albis, Dean and Chapter Library, York.
Malton Cart.	Malton Cartulary, B.M., Cotton M.S., Claudius D.11.
Mon. Notes.	Monastic Notes, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser., vols. 17 (1895); 81 (1931).
Newburgh Cart.	Newburgh Cartulary, Oxford Bodl., Dodsworth 91, M.S. no.5032.
N.R.R.S.	The Honour and Forest of Pickering, N.R. Rec. Soc., n.s., vols. 1 (1895); 2 (1895); 3 (1896); 4 (1897).
Percy Cart.	Percy Cartulary, Surtees Soc., vol. 117 (1909).
P.R.S.	Great Rolls of the Pipe, Pipe Roll Soc.
Quo War.	Quo Warranto Proceedings, Edward I, II, III, Record Commission Publication, (London, 1818).
Riev. Cart.	Rievaulx Cartulary, Surtees Soc., vol. 83 (1887).
Seld. Soc.	Rolls of the Justices in Eyre in Yorkshire, Seldon Soc., vol. 56 (1937).
St. Lenn. Cart.	Cartulary of St. Lennard's York, B.M., Cotton M.S., Nero D.3.
St. Mary's Cart.	Cartulary of St. Mary's York, Dean and Chapter Library, York.
St. Peter's Cart.	Cartulary of St. Peter's York, B.M., Lansdowne M.S., no.402.

Test. Ebor.	Testamenta Eboracensia, Surtees Soc., vol. 106 (1902).
Test. Nev.	Testa de Nevill, Record Commission Publication, (London, 1806).
V.C.H.	Victoria History for the County of York, vols. 1 (1912); 2 (1912); 3 (1913).
Whitby Cart.	Whitby Cartulary, Surtees Soc., vols. 69 (1878); 72 (1879).
Y.A.J.	Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, publication of the Yorks. Arch. Soc.
Y.A.R.J.	Yorkshire Assize Rolls, John and Henry III, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser., vol. 44 (1911).
Y.D.	Yorkshire Deeds, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser., vols. 1 (1909); 2 (1914); 3 (1922); 4 (1924); 5 (1926); 6 (1930); 7 (1932); 8 (1940); 9 (1948); 10 (1956).
Y.F.	Yorkshire Fines, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser., 1327-47 (1910); 1347-77 (1915); 1218-32 (1920); 1232-46 (1925); 1246-72 (1932); 1300-27 (1947); 1272-1300 (1956).
Y.F.J.	Yorkshire Fines, John and Henry III, Surtees Soc., vol. 94 (1898).
Y. Inq.	Yorkshire Inquisitions, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser., vols. 1 (1892); 2 (1898); 3 (1902); 4 (1906).
Y.L.S.	Yorkshire Lay Subsidies, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser., 1297 (vol. 16, 1894); 1301 (vol. 21, 1896); 1328 (vol. 27, 1901).
Y.M.F.	York Minster Fasti, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser., vols. 123 (1958); 124 (1959).

APPENDIX 2.1

MEDIEVAL VEGETATION

(a) References to Wooded Areas

Village	Description	Details	Date	Source
Airyholme	Ergum, woods in	Described as lying on east bounds of adjacent township of Scackleton	1240	Y.F. 1232-46, no.954
Allerston	Crosscliffe and Staindale, woods in	Major valleys on modern 1" map approximately 5 and 4 miles respectively north of Allerston	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.177
	woodland in		-	St. Peter's Cart, f.74
			-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.153
Amotherby	woodland in		1182	E.Y.C., vol. 6, no.25
Ampleforth	Clariz, Hesescowe, Almeheved, woods	Described as next boundary of Gilling	1238	Y.M.F., vol. 1, p.59
			-	Lib. Alb., sec. 3, f.34
			-	St. Peter's Cart. f.47
Appleton-le-Moor	Calangia, woods	Description names Deepdale which remains as name in valley of Carter Beck on 1" map south-west of village	1146	E.Y.C., vol. 1, p.477
Appleton-le-Street	woodland in		-	Lib. Alb., sec. 3, f.34
Ayton, East	Adale, woods in	Description indicates it is old name for Forge Valley of 1" map immediately west of village	-	Percy Cart. no. 119
	woodland in		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.109
Ayton, West	Yedmandale, woods in	Small valley immediately north-west of village on 1" map	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.178
Bilsdale	Ragarth, Le Fivting, Flanhous, Aykheved, Gartwaite, woods in	Description suggests these woods were in area of Chop Gate	-	Kirk, Cart., f.51,52,54
	woodland in		-	Riev. Cart., no.197,216
			1252	Cal. Cart. R., vol. 1, p. 160

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Binnington	Newhagg, trees cut in		1282	Cal. Pat. R., 1281-92, p. 92
Bransdale	Duvanstwait, woods in	Described as at the head of Bransdale	-	Riev. Cart. no.62
	woodland in		1199	P.R.O., JI 1/1076/6
			1201	Mons. Ebor. p.665
			c1280	Quo. War. p.195
Brompton	Troutsdale, woods in	Remains as name of large valley on 1" map about 3 miles north of the village	c1280 -1334	H.R., p.107 N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.182
	Aycliffe, woods in	Described as being in Troutsdale	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.153
	Undersidegate, woods in	Described as being in Troutsdale	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.182
Cawton	woods in	Described as lying next township bounds of Stonegrave	-	Malt. Cart., f.100
	woodland in		1399	P.R.O. Sc6/1087/14
Coulton	Blakedale, woods in	Remains as Blackdale Wood on 1" map about 1 mile north-west of village	-	Malt. Cart. f.101
	woodlands in		1252	Y.A.R.J., p.65 Y.F., 1218-31, no.182
			1399	P.R.O. Sc6/1087/14
Cropton	woods in	Described as being below the castle	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.186
Dalby	Dalby Dale, woods in	Description suggests Dalby Dale was local name for part of Thornton Dale which even today contains Dalby Beck on 1" map	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.139
	woodlands in		1370	Mon. Notes, vol. 2, p.67
Ebberston	Bickley, woods in	Remains as common areal name on 1" map in middle Langdale about 6 miles north of village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.177
	woodlands in		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.122,155

Ellerburn	woodlands in		-	St. Peter's Cart., f.82
			-	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.47,155
Fadmoor	woodland in	(see also Kirbymoorside)	1233	Y.F. 1232-46, no.615
Farmanby	Langatdale, woods in	Appears as name for lower Newton Dale north of Pickering on map in "Survey of Duchy of Lancaster Estates", 1768, p.154, (London).	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.186
	woodland in		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.112, 113
Farndale	Dountwaite, woods in	Remains as Dounthwaite Dale in lower Farndale between villages of Hutton-le-Hole and Gillamoor on 1" map	1155	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p.203
	Middleheved, woods of	Remains as Middlehead an areal name at the head of Farndale on 1" map	1155	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p.203
	woodland in		1154	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p.93
			1183	E.Y.C., vol. 9, p.87
			1201	Mons. Ebor. p.665
			c1280	Quo. War. p.195
Fryton	Fryton woods	Fryton Wood appears on estate map for Slingsby (B.M. Harl.M.S., 7180, art 2) and on 1" map about 1 mile due south of the village	-	Riev. Cart., no.311
	woods in (20 acres)		1302	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p.19
Gilling	Loftscar and Hardwood, woods of	Remain as Scar Wood and Hardwood on $2\frac{1}{2}$" map immediately to the east and west of village	1251	Y.F. 1246-72, no.1311
	Gilling Kerr, woods of	Described as in carr at the head of cultivation near the Holbeck	1320	Y.D. vol. 10, no.207
	Estkerwith, Southkerwith, woods in	(probably part of above)	-	St. Mary's Cart. f.89
	woodlands in (100 acres)		-	St. Mary's Cart. f.78,337

Goathland	Allentops, woods of	Remains on 6" O.S. map (1857) as name of hill across Eller Beck about 2 miles north of village	1324 -1334	P.R.O., Sc6/1146/18 N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.182, 188
	woodlands in (800 acres)		-1251	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.30
	Goathland, Lindrigg, Abrandwith, woods in		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.182, 183, 188
Grimston	woodlands in		1338	Mon. Notes, vol. 1, p.123
Habton, Great	woodlands in	Described as tree stumps in Habton Moor which lay 1 mile north-east of village on tithe map (379S, Borthwick Inst., York)	1295	Y.D., vol. 5, no.148
	Les Withis, underwood in		1382	Y.D., vol. 6, no.253
Habton, Little	Hornse, woods in	Hornsey Leys remain on east side of village on tithe map (393S, Borthwick Inst., York)	1200	Y.D., vol. 5, no.193
Harome	La Haghe, woods of	Described as lying between River Rye and field of Harome	1251	Y.F., 1246-72, no.1336
			1218	Seld. Soc. vol. 56, no.1043
			1336	Cal. Chart. R. vol. 4, p. 367
Helmsley/ Rievaulx	Old (East), New (West) Park, underwood in	Description indicates New Park is modern Duncolme Park while Old Park was adjacent but south of Rye and slightly to the east	1236 -	Y.F. 1232-46, no.601 Y.F. 1246-72, no.1336
	Plockwood, woods of	Remains as woods name on 1" map south of Rye about ½ mile south of Helmsley	1232	Riev. Cart. no.217
			1251	Y.F., 1246-72, no.1336
	Husum, woods in		1251	Y.F., 1246-72, no.1336
	Odra, woods of	Remains as Audray Woods on 1" map 2 miles north-west of the village	1352	P.R.O. Sc6/1078/1

Village	Description	Details	Date	Source
Helmsley/ Rievaulx (cont.)	Milnecliffe, woods of	Described as on bank of Rye east of Sproxton mill which places it on valley side south of Duncolme Park on 1" map	1226	Y.F., 1218-32, no.305
	Bank, La Hagg, woods of	Both are common woodland place name elements on east side of River Rye north of site of Rievaulx Abbey	1342	P.R.O. C135/71
	Griff, and Tilston, woodlands of		-	Riev. Cart., no.42, 197
			1226	Y.F., 1218-32, no.305
			1231	P.R.O. K. B138/110/10
	Helmsley, woodlands of		1251	Riev. Cart., no.8, 42
Holme, South	woods of	Described as lying on east side	c1250	Guis. Cart., p.146
Hovingham	West Wood	Described as in part of Hovingham now called Hovingham Park on $2\frac{1}{2}$" map south-west of village	-	Malt. Cart., f.99
			1399	P.R.O., Sc/1087/14
	Righ Wood	Actually lay in area of modern Coulton Pale on tithe map (612S, Borthwick Inst. York)	1242	Y.D., vol. 7, no.375
	Mowbray Woods	Remains in Hovingham Park on $2\frac{1}{2}$" map, south-west of village	-	Newburgh Cart., f.42
			1300	Mon. Notes, vol. 1, p.122
			1364	Y.D., vol. 7, no.377
	North, South, Woods	Only South Wood remains on 1" map about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of the village	1269	Malt. Cart., f.99
Hoveton	Hoveton, Woods	Described as lying in the valley of the modern Hodge Beck (about 2 miles north of Wombleton)	-	Riev. Cart., no.157
			1166-83	E.Y.C., vol. 9, p.90
Hutton Buscel	Aycliffe, Troutsdale, woodlands in	see Brompton	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.185, 195
Hutton-le-Hole	Yevewith, woodlands of	Probably remains as Yoadwath in valley of the River Dove about 1 mile west of the village on $2\frac{1}{2}$"map	c1280	Quo. War., p.195

Hutton-le-Hole (cont.)	woodlands in		1121	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p.121, 123
		(held in common with Spaunton but lying in Farndale - 300 acres woodland pasture)	1200 -	P.R.O., JI 1/1076/68 St. Mary's Cart., f.174, 176
Keldholme	Ravenswyke, woodland in	Remains on 1" map in valley of River Dove ½ mile north of Keldholme	1154	E.Y.C., vol. 9, p.92
Kingthorpe	Kingthorpe, woods of	Remains on 6" map (1857) on east side of Pickering Beck ½ mile east of Kingthorpe House	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.11
	West Slack Wood	West Slack remains as north branch of Howldale Slack on 6" map (1857) in the immediate vicinity of Low Kingthorpe	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.171
	West Wood		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.177
	Sheepgate, Stonygate, woodlands near	Stoneygate remains on 1" map in first valley north of village of Thornton Dale (about 4 miles north-east of Thornton Dale)	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.130; vol. 4, p.123
	woodlands in		1332	Cal. Inq., vol. 5, no.172
			-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.102
Kirby Misperton	woodlands in		-	Mons. Ebor. p.550
Kirbymoorside	Park, underwood of	Kirbymoorside Park remains as area north of village and west of River Dove on tithe map (470S, Borthwick Inst. York) and on 1" map remains in name of High Park Farm 2 miles north of village	1154 1281	E.Y.C., vol. 9, p.84 Y.Inq., vol. 1, p.246
	West Wood	Probably a woods of Kirby on west side of Hodge Beck 2 miles west of the village	1281	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.246
	Rumsdale, woods of	Remains on 1" map on west side of River Dove about 2½ miles north of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.185
	Yemenwike	Could refer to Yoadwath. See Hutton-le-Hole	1200	P.R.O., JI 1/1076/6

Lastingham	woodlands in		-	St. Mary's Cart., f.178
Laysthorpe	woodlands in	Described as on the cliff, presumably the modern Laysthorpe Brow of the 2½" map adjacent to Laysthorpe Lodge	-	Byland Cart., f.54
Levisham	Rumbold, Yortfall Woods	First remains on tithe map (367 L Borthwick Inst. York) on east side of Newton Dale about 4 miles north of village Second is on 1" map about 3 miles north-west of village in Newton Dale	1218 -1334	Seld. Soc., vol. 56, no.20 N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.181
	Stainthwaite, woods in	Probable in modern Staindale, about 3 miles south-east of village on 1" map	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.174
	woodlands in		1209	P.R.S., vol. 24, p.138
			-	Malt. Cart., f.117
			-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.1; vol. 4, p.189
Lockton	Lockton Wood	Remains on 1" map as Lockton Bank Wood in the valley immediately north-west of village	-	Malt. Cart., f.122
	Staindale, woodlands in	see Allerston	1170	E.Y.C., vol. 1, p.307
			-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.14,185
	Horcum Woods	Remains on 1" map 2 miles north-east of Levisham	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.179
	Crossdale, woodlands of	Remains on 6" map (1857) as tributary of Newton Dale next Cross Dyke 1½ miles south of village on 1" map	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.180
Middleton	Staintoft, woodlands of	Remains as Staintoft Grange on 1" map in upper Gundale 4 miles north of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.130,185
	Hartoft, woods of	Remains as valley name on 1" map	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.139,185, 195

Middleton (cont.)	Frith Wood		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.149
	Holtwaite Bank, woods of		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.149
	Stainhowcliffe, woods of		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.181
Marton (par Sinnington)	Marton, Wood	Described as lying near chapel of Marton	-	Malt. Cart., f.111
Newton (par Pickering)	Haugh Wood	Remains on 1" map in valley 2 miles north of Pickering	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.184
	Yattes, Wood	Remains on east side of Haugh Wood in Survey of Duchy of Lancaster Estates, 1768, p.204 (London)	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.183
	Newton Cliff, woods of	Probably the modern Newton Bank of $2\frac{1}{2}$" map immediately north of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.183
	Birkhow, woods of		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.183
Newton (par Wintringham)	woodlands of (60 acres)		-1251	Y.F., 1246-72, no.1428
Ness, West	woodlands of (10 acres)	Described as next village	1325	Cal. Inq., vol. 7, no.533
Osgodby	woodlands of		-	Newburgh Cart., f.62
Oswaldkirk	woodlands of	Described as on the cliffs of Oswaldkirk, presumably Oswaldkirk Bank of 1" map immediately north of village	-	Riev. Cart., no.332, 335
Pickering	Holegate, woods of	Remains on 1" map in west side of Newton Dale, 2 miles west of Levisham	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.130
	West Rise Wood	Remains on west side of Newton Dale about 1 mile north of Pickering in Survey of Duchy of Lancaster Estates, 1768, p.152 (London)	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.186
	Risa & Rara, Woods	Remain on east side of Newton Dale adjacent to West Rise Wood on same map	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.186

Pickering (cont.)	Blansby Park	Remains on 1" map as areal name 3 miles north of village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.174
	Therldale, woods of		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.139
	Twaites, Nabness, woods of		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.123
	Waterfall, woods of		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.139
	Kildale Wood		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.140
	Keldgate Wood		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.140
Pockley	Pockleyside Wood	Description indicates that it lay in Riccal Dale, a modern valley 1 mile west of village	1251	Y.F., 1246-72, no.1336
	Pockley Wood		-	Riev. Cart., no.8
	woodlands in		-	Riev. Cart., no.44
			1285	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.32
Rillington	woodlands in		-	Malt. Cart., f.160
Riccal	2 small woodlands in (Riccalf Woods)		1325	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no.533
Rosedale	woodlands in	Described as all woodlands and bark from woodlands in valley of River Seven north of Cropton	1160	E.Y.C., vol. 9, p.90
			1209	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p.126
			-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 4, p.194
			1336	St. Mary's Cart., f.180
Ryton	woodlands in (4 acres)		1240	Byland Cart., f.56
Salton	Frensholme, woods of ($2\frac{1}{2}$ acres)		1479	Hex. Cart., B.B., p.76
			-	St. Peter's Cart., f.177
Scackleton	woodlands in	Described as lying, one on the west side of Scackleton Grange, another on the east side next boundary of Airyholme. Scackleton Grange remains on 1" map, 1 mile west of village	1240	Y.F., 1232-46, no.986
			1251	Y.F., 1246-72, no.1478
Scampston	woodlands of		1283	Y.F., 1272-1300, no.56
Seamer	Ravenscliffe Woods	Remains as Raincliffe Wood on 1" map about 4 miles north of village	-	Whitby Cart., no.310
			1315	P.R.O., C134/41/1
	woodlands in		c1280	H.R., vol. 1, p.107
			1339	Cal. Chart. R. 1338-40, no.61

Settrington	scrub (80 acres of thorn)		1304	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p.108
	woodlands in		1241	Y.F., 1232-46, no.1058
			1253	Y.F., 1246-72, no.1544
Sherburn	woodlands in		1330	Y.F., 1227-47, no.51
Sinnington	Bramblecliffe Wood	Remains on 6" map (1857) in the valley of the River Seven, north of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.175
	Rotail, Forgia, West Wood		1335	P.R.O., C135/44/6
	woodlands in		-	Riev. Cart., no.55
Skiplam	woodland in	Described near Withercoates which remains on 2½" map in valley of Hodge Beck. Modern Skiplam Wood in same vicinity, 3 miles north of Newton, is probably the woodland discussed	-	Y.D., vol. 5, p.123
Slingsby	Slingsby Wood	Remains on 1" map 1 mile south of of the village	1301	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.151
			1334	Cal. Chart. R. 1327-41, p.369
	Frith Wood	Remains on 2½" map in same area as Slingsby Wood		
	Thirkle Wood	Remains on 1" map 1½ miles south of the village		
Snainton	Darncombe Wood	Remains on 1" map in lower Langdale 2½ miles north-west of Hackness	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.177
	Deepdale Wood	Remains on 1" map ½ mile west of Darncombe	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.177
	Blackley Wood	Remains on 1" map on north side of Troutsdale in valley of Furze Gill about 6 miles north of Snainton	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.176
Spaunton	Spaunton Wood	Described as being next mill of Spaunton	-	St. Mary's Cart., f.178
	woodlands in	Described as all woodlands between Dove and Seven and as woodland in Farndale	c1200	Y.F.J., no.292
			-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.192

Sproxton	woodlands in		-	Lib. Alb., sec. 3, f.34 Riev. Cart., no.127 Kirk. Cart., f.49, 54
Stonegrave	woodlands in		1325	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no.533
			1333	Y.F., 1327-47, no.29
Sutton	Gildhusdale, woodlands in (40 acres)		1237	Byland Cart., f.106
Thornton Dale	Hindslack Wood	Description indicates it lay in lower Thornton Dale immediately north of village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.179
	Ekkedale, Flaxdale, woodlands in	The first remains on 1" map as Heck Dale, the second as Flax Dale and both are tributary valleys of Thornton Dale near Dalby about 3 to 4 miles south of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.180
	Langatdale, woods in	see Farmanby		
Thornton Riseborough	Gauthscou, woods of	Woodland to be enclosed as a park	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.130, 181
	woodlands of		1154	E.Y.C., vol. 9, p.92
			1209	P.R.S., vol. 18, p.184
Welburn	Ulngate, woods of	Described as lying in Kirkdale; the valley of Hodge Beck on the 1" map about 2 miles north of the village	1432	B.I. CP/R7/F107
	woodlands in	Described as lying under Lund, a common name on the 1" map above the steep sides of lower Kirkdale	1154	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p.252
Willerby	woodlands in		1311	Cal. Inq., vol. 5, no, 266
Wilton	woodlands in		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.155
Wintringham	woodlands in		-	Malt. Cart., f.198
Wombleton	Sprotwood	Described as lying in lower Kirkdale, the valley of the Hodge Beck on 1" map about 2 miles north of the village	-	Newburgh Cart., f.56

Wombleton (cont.)	Lund and Wombleton Woods		1148	Riev. Cart., no.57
	woodlands in		-	Newburgh Cart., f.42
Wykeham	Beedale Wood	Remains on 1" map as name of a small valley immediately north of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.178
	Langdale Wood	Remains on 1" map as name of major consequent valley about 7 miles north of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.171, 188
	Blackcliffe Wood	Probably woodland in valley of Black Beck, tributary to Langdale, about 6 miles north of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.178
	Barley Carr, woodland near	Remains on 1" map as an areal name in northern Langdale, about 8 miles north of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.186

(b) References to Unwooded Areas

Village	Description	Details	Date	Source
Allerston	Allerston Moor	Remains on 1" map as Allerston High and Low Moor, 5 to 6 miles north of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.112
	moorlands of		-	St. Peter's Cart. f.198
	marshlands of	Described as next the Derwent	1180	Riev. Cart. no.85, 138
Amotherby	moor of	Description suggests that it was on flats north of the village (see Broughton)	-	Malt. Cart., f.91
Beadlam	moorland of	Description indicates it was moorland of Skiplam Grange probably remaining as Skiplam Moor on 1" map 5 miles north of the village	-	Riev. Cart., no.168
Bilsdale	Bilsdale Moor	Remains on 1" map as Bilsdale Moor, 4 miles south-east of village of Chop Gate	-	Kirk. Cart., f.50
Bowsforth	moorland of	Descriptions of 200 acres or more of moor south of Bowsforth suggest	-	Riev. Cart., no.33,57,61
		open grassland adjacent to village	1154	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p.232; vol. 9, p.90
Brompton	Backley Point, moorlands of	Remains as Backley Moor on 2½" map on north side of Troutsdale about 7 miles north of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.22
Broughton	moor of	Described as being north of the king's road, next the marsh it probably remains as Broughton Moor on 1" map 1 mile north of the village	1201	Malt. Cart., f.75
			-	Malt. Cart., f.77, 79
	marsh of	Marsh and ings next the River Rye both appear in descriptions	-	Malt. Cart., f.75, 76

Cawton	marsh of	Probably in lowland north of the village towards the Holbeck	1190-	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p.150
Cayton	marsh of	Described as lying in carrs of the township and presumably remains as modern Cayton Carrs on 1" map, 1½ miles south-west of the village	1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.17,173
Coulton	moor of	Described as lying next the boundary of Grimston and is probably Coulton Moor, ¼ mile north-west of the village	-	Malt. Cart., f.100
Deepdale	marshlands of	Described in Deepdale Carrs, which remain on 2½" map 2 miles south of Seamer	-	Byland Cart., f.20
Ellerburn	moor of	Description suggests it is modern Pexton Moor, 1 mile north of the village on 1" map	-	St. Peter's Cart., f.198
Fadmoor	moor of		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.112
Farndale	Blakehow Moor	Descriptions suggest that this was general term for wide area of the North York Moors	-	St. Mary's Cart., f.99
			1305	E.Y.C., vol. 4, p.134
Flixton	marsh of	Probably remains as Flixton Carrs on 1" map north of the village along the Derwent	1254	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.37
	marshland in		-	Brid. Cart., f.103
Folkton	marshland in	Probably remains as Folkton Carrs on 1" map, north of the village along the Derwent	-	Riev. Cart., no.340
			1300	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.139
			1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.173
Fryton	moor of		-	Malt. Cart., f.57
Gilling	marsh of	Described as in Gilling Kew, presumably next the Holbeck north of the village	1251	Y.F., 1246-72, no.1311
	moor of		-	St. Mary's Cart., f.24, 337

Goathland	moor of	Remains on 1" map as lying on both sides of Newton Dale 3 miles south of the village	1109	Whitby Cart., no.197
Grimston	moorland of	Probably remains on 1" map as the modern Grimston Moor adjoining Grimston Grange to the north		
Gristhorpe	moor of	Described as above the cliffs which presumably places it between the village and the sea coast	1332	Y.D., vol. 10, no.232
	marsh of	Description indicates the marsh lay in Gristhorpe Carrs of 2½" map along the River Hertford	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.17
Habton, Great	moor of	Described as 180 acres of moor next marsh between Habton and Ryton	1279	Y.D., vol. 5, no.194
	marshland in	Probably lay along the course of the River Rye in the vicinity of the village	1284	Y.D., vol. 5, no.198
Habton, Little	moor and marsh of	Moor may remain in name of Low Moor lane on 2½" map north of the village	1286	Y.D., vol. 5, no.195
Harome	Riccal Moor	Remains on 1" map adjacent to the village on the south-east	-	Kirk. Cart., f.61
Helmsley	moor of	Helmsley Moor remains on 1" map about 7 miles north of the village		
Heslerton	moorlands and marshes of	Moorland is described as north of the king's road so presumably was flat lowland before the villages of East and West Heslerton. Marsh presumably refers to carrs along the Derwent on 1" map	-	Riev. Cart., no.212
			-	Malt. Cart., f.148
Holme, North	moors of	Described as lying north of the village now represented by North Holme Farm	-	Riev. Cart., no.297
Hourton	moor and marsh of		-	Riev. Cart., no.157

Hovingham	moor of	Description suggests this moor lay on flats north of the village	-	Newburgh Cart., f.36
	marsh of	Probably remains as Hovingham Carrs on 1" map next the Holbeck, north of the village	-	Malt. Cart., f.99
Hutton Buscel	moor of	Hutton Moor of 6" map (1857) is now lost in Wykeham Forest of 1" map 4 miles north of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.80; vol. 3, p.98
	marshland of	Described as lying next the Derwent and is presumably represented by Hutton Ings of 2½" map about 3 miles south of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.12, 21
Hutton-le-Hole	moor of (300 acres)	Described as extending to Cleveland this moor probably remains on 1" map as Hutton Riggs between Farndale and Bransdale	1142 -	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p.219, 221 St. Mary's Cart., f.175, 176
Killerby	marshland	Described as lying in the carrs of the township which remain on 2½" map 2 miles south-west of Cayton	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.173
Kirby Misperton	moor of	Remains on Jeffrey's Map of Yorkshire, 1772 (B.M. map 150/E 18) as a large area east of the village across Costa Beck	-	Mons. Ebor., p.550
	marsh of	Called Ker it probably lay in Great Carr of 2½" map immediately north of the village	- 1170	Malt. Cart., f.104, 107 E.Y.C., vol. 1, p.475
Kingthorpe	moor of	Described as north of the village presumably in the area of Kingthorpe Common Lane on 2½" map about 2 miles north-east of Kingthorpe Law Farm	- -1334	St. Peter's Cart., f.198 N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.97

Kingthorpe (cont.)	moor of	Described as moor between pickering and Kingthorpe it presumably is represented by the Scalla Moor on 1" map between these two villages	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.97
Lebberston	marshland in	Described as in the carrs which remain of 1" map 1½ miles south-west of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.173; vol. 3, p.17
Levisham	Dundale Moor	Remains on 2½" map as the name of a pond and moor adjacent to the village on the north	-	Malt. Cart., f.117
Lockton	Lockton Moor	Remains on 1" map as Lockton High and Low Moor, 5 and 3 miles respectively north of the village	- -1334	Malt. Cart., f.122 N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.131
Malton	moor of	Remains as Malton Moor on 2½" map; an areal title for a wide expanse of land stretching north from the village towards the River Rye	-	Malt. Cart., f.42
	marshland	Described as lying near Howe Bridge which remains as Howe Bridge Farm next the Derwent near its confluence with the Rye	- -	Malt. Cart., f.53 Riev. Cart., f.173
Marton (par Sinnington)	marshland in	Described as lying between Normanby and Marton, presumably along the course of the River Seven	-	St. Mary's Cart., f.221
Middleton	moor of	Remains on 1" map about 7 miles north of the village to the east of the valley called Hartoft	- -1334	St. Mary's Cart., f.220 N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.144
Nawton	moor of	Remains on 2½" map about 3 miles north of the village	-	Y.D., vol. 1, no.125, 340
Normanby	marshlands of		- -1334	St. Mary's Cart., f.92 N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.173
Osgodby	marshlands of	Described as lying in the carrs, which remain on 2½" map about 2 miles south of Seamer	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.173; vol. 3, p.17

Oswaldkirk	moorlands of	Described as above the cliff of Oswaldkirk which lies directly north of the village	-	Riev. Cart., no.333, 335
Pickering	marshes of	Description suggests that these marshes lay in area next Derwent called Pickering Marshes	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.8
	High Moor	Probably remains as Pickering Moor on 1" map between the villages of Goathland and Newton about 10 miles north of Pickering	1314	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.182
	Birkhow Moor		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.72
Raisdale	Cold Moor	Remains on 1" map as moorland between Bilsdale and Raisdale, 2 miles north-west of Chop Gate	1260	Riev. Cart., no.362
Rillington	moorland of	Described as lying near the Derwent it appears to be the modern Rillington Low Moor of 1" map 2 miles north-west of the village	-	Malt. Cart., f.161
Rosedale	moor of	Rosedale Moor remains on 1" map, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Rosedale Abbey above the valley called Rosedale	-	Malt. Cart., f.117
Salton	moor of	Described as the East Moor it presumably was on the low flats to the east of the village	1479	Hex. Cart., B.B., p.76
Seamer	Seamer Moor	Remains on modern 1" map 2 miles north of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.164
	marshland in ings of	Seamer Ings remain on 1" map next the Derwent $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of the village	1236	Whitby Cart., no.239
Settrington	moor of	Called the moor of Settrington it probably remains as The Moor on 1" map 1 mile north-west of the village	-	Malt. Cart., f.63
Sinnington	moor of	Description concerns a road across the moor from the more northerly village of Spaunton. This would suggest the moor was to the north of Sinnington	c1250	Mons. Ebor., p.561

Slingsby	moor of	Described as north of the king's road and is presumably on the flats between the village and the Holbeck	1252	Y.A.R.J., p.76
Snainton	moorlands of	Described with a northern boundary of Deepdale, Snainton Moor of 1" map is in same area about 6 miles north of the village	-	Malt. Cart., f.136
	Bickley Moor	Remains on 1" map north of Black Beck about 10 miles north of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.82
	Barley Carr Moor	Remains on 1" map above northern end of Langdale about 12 miles north of the village	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.96
	Langdale Moor	Remains on 1" map in same area as Barley Carr Moor	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.82
Spaunton	moor of	Spaunton Moor remains on 1" map between the rivers Dove and Seven 2 miles north of the village	-	St. Mary's Cart., f.181
Sproxton	moor of	At least two of the references allude to the boundary of Ample- forth. The modern Sproxton Moor appears along this boundary $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of the village	-	St. Peter's Cart., f.181
			-	Dom. B., f.112
			-	Guis. Cart., vol. 2. p.2
			-	Riev. Cart., no.127
	marshland	Described as next the Rye	1297	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.101
Staxton	marshland	Described in Staxton Carrs which remain next the Hertford north of the village on $2\frac{1}{2}$" map	-	Brid. Cart., f.103
Thornton Riseborough	marshland of		1154	E.Y.C., vol. 9, p.92
Thorpe Bassett	marshland of		-	Malt. Cart., f.171
Welburn	marshland of	Described as running south from the village to lands of coates, a village 4 miles away	1147	Riev. Cart., no.57

Willerby	marsh of	Described as lying in carrs next the Hertford where modern Willerby Carrs remain on 1" map	1170-85	E.Y.C., vol. 2, p.504
Wilton	moor of		-	St. Peter's Cart., f.198
Wintringham	marshlands of	Described as near the Derwent	-	Malt. Cart., f.210, 212
Wombleton	moorlands of	Described as lying between the three villages of Wilburn, Wombleton and Bulford	1160	Riev. Cart., no.153
			-	Newburgh Cart., f.26

APPENDIX 2.2

VARIETIES OF MEDIEVAL VEGETATION

(a) Varieties in Wooded Areas

Woodland of	Varieties	Source
Abrandwith	oak	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.170
Allentofts		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.126,138
Birkhow		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.125,140, 185; vol. 3, p.183
Blansby Park		P.R.O., Sc6/1085/12; 1085/13
Clipping		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.130,139, 185
Crosscliffe		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.177
Dalby Dale		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.139
Deepdale		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.177
Duncombe		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.177
Ebberston		N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.22
Hartoft		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.181
Haugh		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.125,130, 139,184
Helmsley		Riev. Cart., no.8
Holgate		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.130
Hykhow		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.185
Keldgate		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.140, 142
Kirbymoorside		Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.246
Langatdale		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.138
Langdale		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.170
Linthwaite		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.140
Milnecliffe		Y.F. 1218-32, no. 303
Nabness		N.R.R.S., vol. 2,p.126;vol.3,
Pickering		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.138. p.182
Risa		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.140
Staindale		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.177
Staingate		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.130
Stainfoft		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.130
Stonegate Nesse		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.130
Twaites		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.126,182
Waterfalldale		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.139
Whatres		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.139,140
Yattes		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.184
Ellerburn	alder	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.147
Harome		Y.F. 1246-72, no. 1336
Marton		Malt. Cart., f.112
Scackleton		Y.F., 1246-72, no.1470

Woodland of	Varieties	Source
Allentofts	holly	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.188
Milnecliffe	ash	Y.F. 1218-32, no.305
Milnecliffe	elm?	Y.F. 1218-32, no.305
Blansby Park	ivy	P.R.O. Sc6/1085/12

(b) Varieties in Unwooded Areas

1. Lowlands

Moors or Marshes of	Varieties	Source
Sittrington Moor	thorn	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p.163
Sinnington Moor		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.156
Spaunton Moor		Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.101
Amotherby Moor	gorse	Malt. Cart., f.87
Slingsby Moor		Y.A.R.J., p.76
Allerston Moor	bracken	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.163
Kirby Misperton Marshes	rushes	E.Y.C., vol. 1, p.473
Pickering Marshes		P.R.O., Sc6/1076/13

2. Uplands

Allentops	heather	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.187
Allerston Moor		N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.112
High Moor (Pickering)		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.180
Levisham Moor		N.R.R.S., vol. 4, p.189
Lockton Moor		N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.131
Middleton Moor		N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.149
Seamer Moor		N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.164
Sproxton Moor		Riev. Cart., no.127
Allerston Moor	bracken	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.112
Middleton Moor		N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.149

APPENDIX 3.1

Domesday Information

(a) Village Sites

Village Name	Site Details
Airyholme	A. SE/673734
Aislaby	SE/776858
Allerston	SE/879825
Amotherby	SE/750733
Ampleforth	SE/582787
Appleton-le-Moor	SE/735880
Appleton-le-Street	SE/736735
Ayton, East	SE/988848
Ayton, West	SE/990854
Barton-le-Street	SE/720742
Barugh, Great	SE/750790
Barugh, Little	SE/761796
Baschebi	Baskerby or Baskebi in St. Mary's Cart., f.17. Details suggest it was north of Appleton-le-Moor near Spaunton. Site used here is in vicinity of modern Low Askew.
Beadlam	SE/662846
Binnington	SE/996787
Blansby	Remains today as Blansby Park 2½ miles north of Pickering.
Brawby	SE/739783
Brompton	SE/945821
Broughton	SE/768732
Burton Dale	Valley name on 6" map (1857) 1½ miles north-east of Seamer. Site arbitrarily assigned on valley floor.
Butterwick	SE/731775
Cawthorn	SE/774892
Cawton	SE/642767
Cayton	TA/055833

Chigogemers	Theokemare or Cheokemere in Riev. Cart., no.182. Details suggest it was in fen below Thornton Dale.	
Chilvesmare	Cilvesmarsk in Riev. Cart., no.180. Details suggest it was in fen below Roxby.	SE/7127712
Coneysthorpe		SE/638741
Coulton		SE/757890
Cropton		
Dalby	Remains as name of two farms and a forestry plantation 4 miles north-east of Thornton Dale. Low Dalby Farm arbitrarily used here.	A. TA/040852
Deepdale		A. SE/736713
Easthorpe		A. SE/892833
Ebberston		SE/706840
Edston, Great		A. SE/710850
Edston, Little		SE/841841
Ellerburn		A. TA/101820
Eterstorp		SE/675894
Fadmoor		
Farmanby	Name of lordship on east side of Pickering on tithe map (Borthwick Inst., York) with hamlet north of Ellerburn.	TA/118089
Filey		TA/040797
Flixton	Remains as East and West Flotmanby but there is no evidence of divided states before 1350. Site arbitrarily assigned between modern hamlets.	
Flotmanby		TA/054797
Folkton	Medieval name for Aschilesmare (Victoria County History, vol. 3, p.271.	
Foulbridge	Remains as name of farm	SE/913795
Fryton		SE/688750
Ganton		SE/989779
Gillamoor		SE/681900
Gilling, East		SE/715770
Griff		A. SE/587839
Grimston		A. SE/605740
Gristhorpe		TA/088819
Habton, Great		SE/759764
Habton, Little		SE/745772
Harome		SE/647820

Helmsley		SE/614836
Heslerton, East		SE/926768
Heslerton, West		SE/910760
Hildenley	Remains as name of a hall which site is used here.	SE/749708
Hill Grips	Remains as areal name on $2\frac{1}{2}$" map 2 miles east of East Ayton.	
Holme, North		A. SE/705807
Holme, South		SE/701775
Hoveton		A. SE/675860
Hovingham		SE/666758
Howthorpe		A. SE/677293
Hutton Buscell		SE/975843
Hutton-le-Hole		SE/705900
Irton		TA/010841
Kettletorp	Kettletops in E.Y.C., vol. 1, p.307. Described as pasture in Lockton. Site used here is on south side of Lockton Moor $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south east of Lockton.	
Killerby		A. TA/065828
Kingthorpe		A. SE/835858
Kirby Misperton		SE/780792
Kirbymoorside		SE/696865
Knapton		A. SE/895749
Lastingham		SE/730905
Laysthorpe		A. SE/636789
Leadtorp	Farrer's site on unknown evidence south of Thornton Dale confirmed by Maxwell.	
Lebberston		TA/078825
Levisham		SE/833905
Linton	Remains as the name of a farm	SE/910709
Lockton		SE/840900
Loctemersc	Loftmarais in Riev. Cart., no.431. Remains as Loft Marishes an areal name $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Allerston.	
Lund Forest	Lund or Salescale in Riev. Cart., no.66. Remains as Lund Forest an areal name $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Ryton on $2\frac{1}{2}$" map.	
Malton, New		SE/786716
Malton, Old		SE/800730
Marton (par Sinnington)		SE/733832
Marton (par Wykeham)		A. SE/897840

Maxudesmare	Maxulesmare in Riev. Cart., no.322. Details suggest it was in fen below Pickering.	
Middleham	Middlehou in Riev. Cart., no.130. Details suggest it was in Muscoates.	
Middleton		SE/785852
Muston		TA/097797
Nawton		SE/656847
Ness, East		SE/696789
Ness, West	Remains as name of a grange.	SE/689791
Newsham		A. SE/740670
Newton (par Hutton Buscel)	Remains as Newton Field on $2\frac{1}{2}$" map north-west of West Ayton.	
Newton (par Pickering)		SE/812907
Newton (par Wintringham)		SE/888726
Newton, East		SE/643794
Newton, West		A. SE/645795
Normanby		SE/735817
Norton		SE/795714
Nunnington		SE/667792
Odulesmare	Eduesmersc in Riev. Cart., no.185. Details suggest it was in area of Castle Ines next Derwent, north of Wykeham (par Malton).	
Osgodby		TA/055848
Oswaldkirk		SE/622790
Pickering		SE/795840
Pockley		SE/638860
Potter Brompton		SE/979770
Preston	Remains as Preston Field on $2\frac{1}{2}$" map north-east of Hutton Buscel.	
Riccal		A. SE/674860
Rillington		SE/852744
Rodbestorp	Farrer's site on unknown evidence next Eterstorp confirmed by Maxwell.	
Roxby		A. SE/826828
Ruston		SE/958831
Ryton		SE/792756
Salton		SE/716800
Scackleton		SE/647730
Scagetorp	Farrer's site on unknown evidence next Eterstorp confirmed by Maxwell.	
Scagglethorpe		SE/835726
Scampston		SE/861755

Seamer		TA/016835
Settrington		SE/835705
Sinnington		SE/748583
Sherburn		SE/959770
Slingsby		SE/698750
Snainton		SE/920825
Spaunton		SE/725899
Sproxton		SE/615815
Staxton		TA/016791
Stilton	Remains as name of farm.	SE/599846
Stonegrave		SE/657778
Sutton	Remains as name of grange.	SE/795705
Swinton		SE/760733
Thornton Dale		SE/833830
Thornton Riseborough		A. SE/747826
Thorpe Bassett		SE/862731
Torp	Torpfeld in Percy Cart., no.384. Details indicate it was near Seamer. Site arbitrarily assigned north of that village.	
Troutsdale	Remains as large tributary valley of Langdale. Site arbitrarily assigned on valley floor near Manor Farm.	
Waleton	Farrer's site on unknown evidence south-west of Wombleton confirmed by Maxwell.	
Wath		A. SE/677750
Welburn	Remains as name of a hall.	SE/681845
Welham		SE/783697
Willerby		TA/007791
Wilton		SE/861830
Wintringham		SE/883732
Wombleton		SE/670840
Wrelton		SE/767861
Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel)		SE/965832
Wykeham (par Malton)		SE/816752
Yedingham	Medieval name for Mersc (E.Y.C., vol. 1, p.321) Remains as modern village	SE/892796

(b) Domesday Village Information

Village Name	Discrete Estate Names	Feudal Data	No. Labourers	Agricultural Condition	Village Condition
Airyholme					
Aislaby		M		inact.	uninhab.
Allerston		M		inact.	
	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Amotherby		M		inact.	
	Hovingham	S		act.	inhab.
Ampleforth		M		inact.	
	Hovingham	S		act.	inhab.
Appleton-le-Moor		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	uninhab.
Appleton-le-Street		M		inact.	uninhab.
Ayton, East		M	18	act.	
		M		inact.	inhab.
Ayton, West	Falsgrave	S		p. act	p. inhab.
Barton-le-Street		M	8	act.	
	Pickering	B		p. act.	inhab.
Barugh, Great		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
	Kirbymoorside	B		act.	inhab.
Barugh, Little		M		inact.	
	Kirbymoorside	B		act.	inhab.
Baschebi		M		inact.	uninhab.
Beadlam		M		inact.	uninhab.
Binnington		M		inact.	uninhab.
Blansby	Pickering	B		p. act.	p. inhab.
Brawby		M		inact.	uninhab.
Brompton		M	9	act.	
		M		inact.	
	Pickering	S		p. act.	inhab.
Broughton		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
	Hovingham	B		act.	inhab.
Burton Dale	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.

Butterwick	Hovingham	B		act.	inhab.
Cawthorn		M		inact.	uninhab.
Cawton		M	3	act.	
		M		inact.	inhab.
Cayton		M		inact.	inhab.
Chigogemers		M		inact.	
	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Chilvesmare	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Coneysthorpe		M		inact.	uninhab.
Coulton		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
	Hovingham	B		act.	inhab.
Cropton		M		inact.	uninhab.
Dalby		M		inact.	uninhab.
Deepdale	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Easthorpe	Pickering	B		p. act.	p. inhab.
Ebberston	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Edston, Great		M		inact.	uninhab.
Edston, Little		M		inact.	uninhab.
Ellerburn		M		inact.	
	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Eterstorp	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Fadmoor		M		inact.	uninhab.
Falsgrave	Discrete Estate of		36		
Farmanby	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Filey	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Flixton		M		inact.	uninhab.
Flotmanby	Hunmanby	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Folkton		M		inact.	uninhab.
Foulbridge	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Fryton		M		inact.	
	Hovingham	B		act.	inhab.
Ganton	Bridlington	S		inact.	uninhab.
Gillamoor	Kirbymoorside	B		act.	inhab.
Gilling, East		M	3	act.	
		M	1	act.	inhab.

Griff		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	uninhab.
Grimston	Hovingham	B		act.	inhab.
Gristhorpe	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Habton, Great		M		inact.	uninhab.
Habton, Little		M		inact.	uninhab.
Harome		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
	Kirbymoorside	B		act.	inhab.
Helmsley		M	6	act.	
		M		inact.	inhab.
Heslerton, East		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
	Buckton Holme	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Heslerton, West		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	uninhab.
Hildenley		M		inact.	uninhab.
Hill Grips		M		inact.	uninhab.
Holme, North		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	uninhab.
Holme, South	Nunnington	S		act.	
	Hovingham	B		act.	inhab.
Hoveton	Kirbymoorside	B		act.	inhab.
Hovingham		M	6	act.	inhab.
	Discrete Estate of		45		
Howthorpe	Hovingham	B		act.	inhab.
Hunmanby	Discrete Estate of		5		
Hutton Buscel	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Hutton-le-Hole	Kirbymoorside	B		act.	inhab.
Irton		M		inact.	uninhab.
Kettletorp		M		inact.	uninhab.
Killerby		M		inact.	uninhab.
Kingthorpe	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.

Kirby Misperton		M	13	act.	
		M		inact.	
	Kirbymoorside	B		act.	inhab.
Kirbymoorside		M	10	act.	inhab.
	Discrete Estate of		47		
Knapton		M		inact.	uninhab.
Lastingham		M	1	act.	
		M		inact.	inhab.
Laysthorpe	Nunnington	S		act.	inhab.
Leadtorpe		M	31	act.	inhab.
Lebberston	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Levisham	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Linton					
Lockton		M		inact.	uninhab.
Loctemersc		M		inact.	
	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Lund Forest	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Malton, New		M	13	act.	
		M	1	act.	inhab.
Malton, Old		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	uninhab.
Marton, (par Sinnington)		M		inact.	
	Kirbymoorside	B		act.	inhab.
Marton, (par Wykeham)	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Maxudesmare	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Middleham	Kirbymoorside	B		act.	inhab.
Middleton		M	5	act.	
	Pickering	S		p. act.	inhab.
Muston		M		inact.	
	Hunmanby	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Nawton		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
	Kirbymoorside	B		act.	inhab.
Ness, East	Hovingham	B		act.	inhab.
Ness, West	Nunnington	S		act.	inhab.

Newsham		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
	Hovingham	B		act.	inhab.
Newton, East		M		inact.	
	Hovingham	B		act.	inhab.
Newton, West		M		inact.	uninhab.
Newton (par Hutton Buscel)		M		inact.	
	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Newton (par Pickering)		B		p. act.	p. inhab.
Newton (par Wintringham)		M		inact.	uninhab.
Normanby		M		inact.	
	Kirbymoorside	B		act.	inhab.
Norton		M	12	act.	inhab.
Nunnington		M	4	act.	
		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	inhab.
	Discrete Estate of		14		
Odulesmare	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Osgodby	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Oswaldkirk		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	uninhab.
Pickering		M	20	act.	inhab.
	Discrete Estate of		10		
Pockley		M	2	act.	
		M		inact.	inhab.
Potter Brompton		M		inact.	uninhab.
Preston	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Riccal		M		inact.	uninhab.
Rillington		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	uninhab.
Rodbestorp	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Roxby	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Ruston	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Ryton		M		inact.	
	Kirbymoorside	B		act.	inhab.

Salton		M	4	act.	inhab.
Scackleton		M	3	act.	inhab.
Scagetorp	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Scagglethorpe		M	1	act.	
		M		inact.	inhab.
Scampston		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
	Rillington	S		inact.	uninhab.
Seamer		M	15	act.	
		M	5	act.	
		M		inact.	inhab.
Settrington		M	16	act.	inhab.
Sinnington		M	13	act.	
		M		inact.	inhab.
Sherburn		M	2	act.	
		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
	Heslerton	S		inact.	uninhab.
Slingsby		M	18	act.	
	Hovingham	B		act.	inhab.
Snainton		M	5	act.	
		M		inact.	
	Pickering	S		p. act.	inhab.
Spaunton		M	9	act.	inhab.
Sproxton		M		inact.	uninhab.
Staxton		M		inact.	
	Bridlington	S		inact.	uninhab.
Stilton		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	uninhab.
Stonegrave		M		inact.	
	Nunnington	S		act.	inhab.
Sutton		M	1	act.	
		M		inact.	inhab.
Swinton		M		inact.	uninhab.
Thornton Dale		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.

Thornton Riseborough Torp		M		inact.	uninhab.
Thorpe Bassett		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	uninhab.
Troutsdale		M		inact.	uninhab.
Waleton		M		inact.	
	Kirbymoorside	B		act.	inhab.
Wath	Hovingham	B		act.	inhab.
Welburn		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
		B		act.	inhab.
Welham		M		act.	inhab.
Willerby	Bridlington	S		inact.	uninhab.
Wilton	Pickering	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Wintringham		M	18	act.	inhab.
Wombleton		M		inact.	uninhab.
Wrelton		M	7	act.	inhab.
Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel)	Falsgrave	S		p. act.	p. inhab.
Wykeham (par Malton)		M		inact.	
		M		inact.	
	Nunnington	B		act.	inhab.
Yedingham		M		inact.	uninhab.

Key to Abbreviations

M	manor	act.	active agricultural units
B	berewick	p. inact.	probably inactive agricultural units
S	soke	inact.	waste and presumably waste units
		inhab.	inhabited villages
		p. inhab.	probably inhabited villages
		uninhab.	uninhabited villages

APPENDIX 3.2

EARLY MEDIEVAL INFORMATION

(a) Documentary Information

Village Name	Earliest Date	Latest Date	Source
Airyholme	1187		Y.A.J. vol. 40 p. 87
		1218	Seld. Soc. vol. 56, no. 139
Aislaby	1161		P.R.S. vol. 10, p.86
		1299	Mon. Notes., vol. 1, p.122
Allerston	1160-75		Riev. Cart., no. 138
		1329	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 4.
Amotherby	1182-84		E.Y.C., vol. 6, no. 25
		1332	Y.F. 1307-47, no. 38
Ampleforth	1186		P.R.S., vol. 36, p.8
		1329	Byland. Cart., f. 3
Appleton-le-Moor	1147-61		St. Mary's York. f. 17
		1334	Cal. Pat. R., 1343-45
Appleton-le-Street	1216		Y. Inq., vol. 1, p. 173
		1369	Y.D., vol. 10, no. 73
Ayton, East	1218		Seld. Soc., vol. 56, no. 259
		1302	Percy Cart., no. 375
Ayton, West	1147		Whitby Cart., no. 553
		1327	Cal. Pat. R., 1327-30
Barton-le-Street	1090-1100		E.Y.C. vol. 3, p. 66
		1335	Cal. Chart. R. vol. 4
Barugh, Great	1181		Y. Inq., vol. 1, p. 251
		1343	Mon. Notes, vol. 1, p. 53
Barugh, Little	1181		Y. Inq., vol. 1. p. 251
		1323	Guis. Cart., vol. 1, p. 88
Baschebi			
		c1200	St. Mary's York, f. 15
Beadlam	c1170		Kirk. Cart., f. 55
		1352	P.R.O. Sc6/1018/1

Bilsdale	1145		Riev. Cart., no. 368
		1352	P.R.O. Sc6/1018/1
Binnington	1205		P.R.S. vol. 19, p. 51
		1328	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 52
Blansby			
Bowforth	1175		Riev. Cart., no. 133
		1389	Cal. Pat. R. 1388-92, p. 162
Bransdale	1199-1216		P.R.O., JI1/1076/2
		1281	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p. 246
Brawby			
		1479	Hex. Cart. B.B. p. 77
Broadfield			
		1279	Hex. Cart. B.B. p. 77
Brompton	-1200		Malt. Cart., f. 142
		1334	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 24
Broughton	1201		Malt. Cart. f. 75
Burton Dale			
Butterwick	1120-35		Whitby Cart. no. 396
		1328	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 36
Carlton	c1190		Kirk. Cart., f. 51
		1352	P.R.O. Sc6/1078/1
Cawton	1190-1210		E.Y.C. vol. 7, p. 150
		1282	Mon. Notes. vol. 1, p. 178
Cawthorn	1200-16		Y.F.J. no. 106
		1322	Y.D. vol. 1, no. 132
Cayton	1109		Whitby Cart.,no. 382
		1337	Whitby Cart.,no. 604
Chigogemers			
		1157	Riev. Cart., no. 182
Chiluesmare			
		1157	Riev. Cart., no. 180
Coneysthorpe	1090-1100		E.Y.C., vol. 3, p. 66
		1254	Cal. Pat. R. 1247-58

Coulton	c1150		Malt. Cart., f. 99
		1326	P.R.O. C135/5/5
Cropton	1260		Cal. Chart. R. vol. 2
		1342	Cal. Pat. R. 1340-43
Dalby			
Deepdale		-1200	Byland. Cart. f. 24
		1170	Mons. Ebor. p. 332
Easthorpe	-1181		E.Y.C. vol. 3, p. 173
		1294	Y.F. 1270-1300 no. 307
Ebberston	1170-5		E.Y.C. vol. 1, p. 309
		1335	N.R.R.S., vol. 4, p. 51
Edston, Great	c1190		St. Mary's Cart., f. 22
		1381	P.R.O. C47/86/6
Edston, Little	-1130		E.Y.C. vol. 1, p. 470
		1341	Malt. Cart., f. 114
Ellerburn	1155-67		E.Y.C. vol. 1, p. 297
		1298	Y.F. 1270-1300, no. 24
Eterstorp			
Fadmoor	1190-1201		E.Y.C. vol. 7, p. 104
		1281	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p. 246
Farmanby	1155-67		E.Y.C. vol. 1, p. 297
		1339	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 2
Farndale	1276		Y. Inq., vol. 1, p. 167
		1347	Cal. Pat. R. 1345-8
Filey	-1184		Brid. Cart. f. 106
		1343	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p. 54
Flixton	c1180		Brid. Cart., f. 58
		1317	Cal. Inq., vol. 4, no. 51
Flotmanby	-1200		Brid. Cart., f. 61
		1278	Brid. Cart., f. 67
Folkton	1162-5		Riev. Cart., no. 82
		1300	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p. 139

Foulbridge	1177-81		P.R.S. vol. 11, p. 27
		1312	Cal. Pat. R. 1307-13
Fryton	-1180		Riev. Cart. no. 311
		1352	P.R.O. Sc6/1078/1
Ganton	1168-75		Brid. Cart. f. 101-2
		1367	Y.D. vol. 10, no. 211
Gillamoor	1183-99		E.Y.C. vol. 7, p. 102
		1281	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p. 246
Gilling, East	1135-47		St. Mary's Cart., f. 23
		1320	Y.D. vol. 10, no. 217
Goathland	1108		Whitby Cart., no. 193
		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 4, p. 12
Griff			
		1136	Riev. Cart., no. 12
Grimston	1194		P.R.S. vol. 4, p. 273
		1336	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 42
Gristhorpe	-1186-90		Brid. Cart., f. 213
		1327	Y.D. vol. 10, no. 236
Habton, Great	1212-19		E.Y.C., vol. 2, p. 125
		1342	Y.D. vol. 4, no. 213
Habton, Little	1212-19		E.Y.C., vol. 2, p. 125
		1286	Y.D. vol. 5, no. 195
Harome	c1180		Riev. Cart., no. 334
		1352	P.R.O. Sc6/1078/1
Hartoft	1217-1334		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p. 152
Helmsley	1136		Riev. Cart. no. 216
		1341	Cal. Chart. R. 1340-43
Heslerton, East	1150-72		E.Y.C. vol. 2, p. 57
		1272	Quo. War. p. 203
Heslerton, West	1150-72		E.Y.C. vol. 2, p. 57
		1280	Y.F. 1270-1300, no. 150
Hildenley	1287		Y.F. 1270-1300, no. 13
		1328	Cal. Chart. R. 1327-41, p. 85
Hill Grips			

Holme, North	1270-5		Riev. Cart., no. 309
		1284-5	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p. 151
Holme, South			
		c1300	Guis. Cart., p. 446
Hoveton			
		1175	Riev. Cart., no. 59
Hovingham	-1160		Y.D. vol. 7, no. 574
		1364	Y.D. vol. 7, no. 382
Howe	-1200		Malt. Cart., f. 50
			P.R.S. vol. 8, p. 49
Howethorpe	1165-6	1328	Y.D. vol. 2, no. 11
			Whitby Cart. no. 75
Hutton Buscel	-1130-38	c1300	N.A. ZIF4/BRA 635
			E.Y.C. vol. 7, p. 231
Hutton-le-Hole	-1121-37	1317	E.Y.C. vol. 2, p. 61
			Whitby Cart., no. 172
Irton	1168	1394	Y.D. vol. 7, no. 224
Kettletorp			
			Whitby Cart., no. 116
Killerby	c1180	1368	Cal. Inq., pm. vol. 1, no. 48
			Lib. Alb., sec. 2, f. 17
Kingthorpe	-1200	1322	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no. 379
			E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 476
Kirby Misperton	1140-52	1393	Y.D. vol. 9, no. 284
			Riev. Cart., no. 57
Kirbymoorside	1147	1311	Cal. Pat. R. 1307-13
			Malt. Cart., f. 149
Knapton	-1200	1315	Cal. Pat. R. 1313-17
			E.Y.C. vol. 1, p. 269
Lastingham	1156	1341	Cal. Chart. R. 1340-43
			Byland. Cart., f. 55
Laysthorpe	-1200	1266	Mon. Notes., vol. 1, p. 29
Leadtorp			

Lebberston	1176		Brid. Cart., f. 6101
		1359	Y.D. vol. 10, no. 120
Levisham	1190-1210		Malt. Cart., f. 116
		1354	Cal. Inq. p.m vol. 4, no. 60
Linton			
		-1220	Malt. Cart., f. 185
Lockton	1170-88		E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 307
		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 4, p. 218
Loctemersc			
		1157	Riev. Cart., no. 431
Lund Forest			
		1157	Riev. Cart., no. 66
Malton, New	-1160		Malt. Cart., f. 42
		1306	Cal. Pat. R. 1299-1307
Malton, Old	c1160		Malt. Cart., f. 34
		1332	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 30
Marton (par Sinnington)	1212-19		E.Y.C., vol. 2, p. 123
		1335	Cal. Inq., vol. 2, no. 689
Marton (par Wykeham)	1234		Y.F. 1232-46, no. 530
		1335	Cal. Inq., vol. 2, no. 689
Maxudesmare			
		1157	Riev. Cart., no. 322
Middleham			
			St. Mary's Cart. f. 92
Middleton	-1180	1340	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 4.
			Y.M.F., vol. 2, p. 123
Muscoates	1197-1214	1298	Y.F. 1270-1300, no. 16
			Y.F. 1232-46, no. 928
Muston	1240	1341	Cal. Inq., vol. 8, no. 519
			Riev. Cart. no. 299
Nawton	1176-84	1333	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 12
			Byland Cart. f. 54
Ness, East	1166-81	1325	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no. 533

Ness, West	1166-81		Byland. Cart., f. 54
		1325	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no. 533
Newbiggin	-1190		Brid. Cart., f. 216
		1324	Brid. Cart., f. 217
Newsham	-1200		Malt. Cart., f. 95
		1328	Y.D. vol. 7, no. 148
Newton (par Hutton Buscel)	1190-1211		E.Y.C. vol. 1, p. 332
		1296	Mon. Notes, vol. 1, p. 122
Newton (par Pickering)	1190-1211		E.Y.C. vol. 1, p. 332
		1296	Mon. Notes, vol. 1, p. 122
Newton (par Wintringham)	1166-84		Malt. Cart., f. 182
		1304	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p. 105
Newton, East	1251		Y.D. 1246-72, no. 1394
		1352	P.R.O. Sc6/1078/1
Newton, West			
		c1150	Riev. Cart. no. 285
Normanby	1146-61		E.Y.C. vol. 1, p. 324
		-1334	N.R.R.S. vol. 4, p. 98
Norton	1156-7		E.Y.C. vol. 2, p. 269
		1302	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p. 18
Nunnington	-1200		Riev. Cart. no. 249
		1333	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 18
Odulesmare			
		1157	Riev. Cart. no. 185
Osgodby	-1200		Newburgh Cart. f. 62
		1315	Y.D. vol. 9, no. 330
Oswaldkirk	1175		Riev. Cart. no. 335
		1300	Y.F. 1270-1300, no. 65
Pickering	1168		P.R.S. vol. 13, p. 37
		-1334	N.R.R.S. vol. 3, p. 2
Pockley	-1200		Kirk. Cart. f. 56
		1352	P.R.O. Sc6/1078/1
Potter Brompton	1170-9		E.Y.C. vol. 2, p. 503
		1226	Y.F. 1218-31, no. 386

Preston	1240		Y.F. 1232-46, no. 981
		1280	Y.F. 1270-1300, no. 140
Raisdale	1204		Y.F.J. no. 236
		1260	Riev. Cart. no. 322
Riccal	1157		Mons. Ebor., p. 381
		1344	Cal. Inq., vol. 5, no. 474
Rillington	-1180		Malt. Cart., f. 157
		1317	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no. 51
Rodbestorp			
Rookbarugh	1145		Riev. Cart., no. 59
		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p. 148
Rosedale			
		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 4, p. 194
Roxby	1242		Y.F. 1234-46, no. 1059
		1316	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p. 73
Ruston	1190		E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 298
		1340	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p. 187
Ryton	-1200		Malt. Cart., f. 102
		1399	P.R.O. Sc6/1086/12
Salton	1200		St. Peter's Cart., f. 177
		1312	D.B. f. 96
Sawdon	c1180		Malt. Cart., f. 141
		1289	Y. Inq., vol. 2, p. 82
Scackleton	1142-50		E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 27
		1328	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 32
Scagetorp			
Scagglethorpe	-1200		Brid. Cart., f. 104
		1346	Cal. Chart. R. 1345-8
Scampston	1120-35		Whitby Cart., no. 210
		1335	P.R.O. C135/446
Seamer	1090-6		E.Y.C., vol. 2, p. 197
		1329	Percy Cart., no. 494
Settrington	1185-1208		E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 493
		1312	Y.D. vol. 9, no. 394

Sinnington	1170-85		Guis. Cart., p. 304
		1308	Guis. Cart., p. 308
Sherburn	1150		E.Y.C., vol. 7, p. 171
		1339	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 6
Slingsby	c1180		Malt. Cart., f. 96
		1336	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 4
Snainton	-1175		Malt. Cart., f. 96
		1316	Cal. Close. R. 1313-18, p.287
Spaunton	1154-83		E.Y.C. vol. 9, p. 87
		1344	Cal. Pat. R. 1343-5
Sproxton	1190		Byland. Cart. f. 111
		1329	Cal. Pat. R. 1327-30
Staxton	1180-1200		Brid. Cart., f. 70
		1338	Cal. Chart. R. 1338-40
Stilton			
		1136	Riev. Cart. no. 12
Stonegrave	1200		Cal. Bodl. Chart., no. 626
		1333	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 29
Sutton	-1200		Malt. Cart., f. 62
		1341	Cal. Chart. R. 1340-43
Swinton	1175-83		E.Y.C., vol. 6, p. 44
		1332	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 38
Thornton Dale	1180		Riev. Cart., no. 305
		1325	P.R.O. C16/180/14
Thornton Riseborough	1170		Lib. Alb., sec. 3, f. 34
		1342	Y.F. 1327-46, no. 58
Thorpe Bassett	1190		P.R.S., vol. 17, p. 19
		1280	Y.F. 1270-1300, no. 41
Torp			
Troutsdale			
Urra			
		1301	Y.L.S., vol. 21, p. 49
Waleton			

Wath	c1150		Riev. Cart., no. 84
		1302	Cal. Inq., vol. 4, no. 37
Welburn			
		1175	Riev. Cart., no. 157
Welham	-1200		Malt. Cart., f. 64
		1327	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 10
Willerby	1152-72		Brid. Cart. f. 79
		1309	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p. 186
Wilton	1170		Riev. Cart., no. 106
		1329	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 30
Wintringham	-1175		Malt. Cart., f. 178
		1315	Cal. Inq., vol. 5, no. 534
Wombleton	1145-52		Riev. Cart., no. 58
		1335	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 11
Wrelton	1246		Y.F. 1232-46, no. 1128
			E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 299
Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel)	1185-1211	1323	Cal. Pat. R. 1321-24
Wykeham (par Malton)	-1200		Malt. Cart., f. 34
			E.Y.C. vol. 1, p. 309
Yedingham	1170-75	1333	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 4.

Key to Underlining

Airyholme - Domesday Villages inhabited after 1200
Blansby - Domesday Villeges lost or presumed lost before 1200
Bowforth - Villages failing to appear in Domesday

(b) Non-Domesday Village Sites

Village Name	Details of Site	Earliest Reference	Source
Bilsdale	Remains as name of large valley north of Helmsley, site arbitrarily assigned on valley floor near Bilsdale church.	1145	Riev. Cart., no.368
Bowforth	A. SE/689837	1175	Riev. Cart., no.133
Bransdale	Remains as name of large valley north of Kirby-moorside. Site arbitrarily assigned on valley floor near hamlet of Cockayne.	1199-1216	P.R.O., JI 1/1076/2
Broadfield	Remains as name of farmstead in Bilsdale, SE/568017	1279	Y.F., 1270-1300, no.83
Carlton	SE/610866	c1190	Kirk. Cart., f.51
Farndale	Remains as name of large valley north of Gillamoor. Site arbitrarily assigned on valley floor near hamlet of Low Mill.	1276	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.167
Goathland	SE/833014	1109	Whitby Cart., no.193
Hartoft	Remains as name of valley north of Cropton, tributary to Rosedale. Site arbitrarily assigned on valley floor near Low Wind Hill Farm.	1217-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.152
Howe	A. SE/806753	-1200	Malt. Cart., f.39
Muscoates	SE/700802	1187	Y.M.F., vol. 2, p.123
Newbiggin	TA/102818	-1190	Brid. Cart., f.216
Raisdale	Remains as name of valley tributary to Bilsdale, north of Helmsley. Site arbitrarily assigned on valley floor near Low Crosslets Farm.	1204	Y.F.J., no.236
Rookbarugh	A. SE/721822	1145	Riev. Cart., no.69
Rosedale	Remains as name of large valley north of Cropton. Site arbitrarily assigned on valley floor near Rosedale Abbey.	1217-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 4, p.194
Sawdon	SE/941850	-1190	Malt. Cart., f.141
Urra	SE/571020	1301	L.S.R., vol. 21, p.49

(c) Later Survey Information

Village Name	Doc. Ref. -1275	Kirby's Inquest 1285-6	Lay Subsidy 1297-1301		Nomina Villarum 1316		Lay Subsidy 1334	
Airyholme								
Aislaby	1299	x		x	Middleton	o		x
Allerston	1329	x		x		x		x
Amotherby	1332	x		x		x		x
Ampleforth	1329	x		x		x		x
Appleton-le-Moor	1334	x		x		x		x
Appleton-le-Street	1369	x		x		x		x
Ayton, East	1302	x		x		x		x
Ayton, West	1327	x						
Barton-le-Street	1335	x		x		x		x
Barugh, Great	1343	x		x		x		x
Barugh, Little	1323	x				x		
Baschebi								
Beadlam	1352	x		x		x		x
Bilsdale	1352	x		x		x		x
Binnington	1328	x		x		x		x
Bransdale	1281			x				
Brawby	1479	x				x	Salton	o
Broadfield	1279			x				
Brompton	1334	x		x		x		x
Broughton	1330	x	Swinton	o				
Bowforth	1333	x	Wombleton	o				
Butterwick	1328	x		x		x		x
Carlton	1352			x				
Cawton	1282	x		x		x		x
Cawthorn	1322	x						
Cayton	1337	x		x		x		x
Conesthorpe		x		x		x		x
Coulton	1326	x		x		x		x
Cropton	1342	x				x		x

Easthorpe	1294	x	Appleton-le-Street	o			
Ebberston	1280			x			
Edston, Great	1381	)		)		x	
Edston, Little	1341	)x		)x		x	
Ellerburn	1298			x	Farmanby	x	
Fadmoor	1281	x		x			
Farmanby	1339			x		x	
Farndale	1347			x			
Filey	1343	x		x		x	
Flixton	1317	x		x		x	
Flotmanby	1278	x		x		x	
Folkton	1300	x		x		x	
Foulbridge	1312	x					
Fryton	1352	x				x	
Ganton	1367	x		x		x	
Gillamoor	1281	x		x			
Gilling, East	1320	x					
Grimston	1336	x					
Goathland	-1334			x			Pickering o
Gristhorpe	1327	x		x		x	
Hartoft	-1334				Cropton	o	Cropton o
Habton, Great	1342	)		)		x	)x
Habton, Little	1286	)x		)x		x	
Harome	1352	x		x		x	
Helmsley	1341	x		x		x	
Heslerton, East	1272	x		x		x	
Heslerton, West	1280	x		x		x	
Hildenley	1328						
Holme, North	1284-5	x		x			
Holme, South	c1300	x		x		x	
Howe			Wykeham	o			Old Malton o
Howethorpe	1328	x					
Hovingham	1364	x		x		x	
Hutton Buscel	c1300	x		x		x	
Hutton-le-Hole	1317-	x		x		x	
Irton	1394	x		x	Seamer	o	Seamer o

Killerby	1291	x	Cayton	o			x		
Kingthorpe	1332			x			x		x
Kirby Misperton	1393	x		x			x	Normanby	o
Kirbymoorside	1311	x		x			x		x
Knapton	1315	x		x			x		x
Lastingham	1341	x	Spaunton	o			x		
Laysthorpe		x		x			x		
Lebberston	1359	x		x			x		x
Levisham	1354	x		x					x
Linton		x		x			x		x
Lockton	-1334	x		x			x		x
Malton, New	1332	x		x			x		x
Malton, Old	1306	x		x					x
Marton (par Sinnington)	1335	x			Sinnington	o	Sinnington		o
Marton (par Wykeham)	1335	x	Wykeham	o			x		
Middleton	1340	x		x			x		x
Muscoates	1298	x		x			x		x
Muston	1341	x		x			x		x
Nawton	1333	x	Beadlam	o	Beadlam	o	Beadlam		o
Ness, East	1325	x		x			x		x
Ness, West	1325	x							
Newsham	1328	x		x			x	Butterwick	o
Newton, East	1352								
Newbiggin	1324	x		x	Gristhorpe	o			
Newton (par Hutton Buscel)	1296	x							
Newton (par Pickering)	-1296	x		x			x		x
Newton (par Wintringham)	1304	x		x			x		x
Normanby	-1334	x		x			x		x
Norton	1302	x		x			x		x
Nunnington	-1333	x		x			x		x

Osgodby	1315		x	Cayton	o	Cayton	o	Cayton	o
Oswaldkirk	1300		x	Ampleforth	o		x	Ampleforth	o
Pickering	1334				x		x		x
Pockley	-1352		x		x		x		x
Preston	1280	Newton	o	Hutton Buscel	o				
Potter Brompton			x		x		x		x
Raisdale					x				
Riccal	1334		x		x	Nunnington	o	Stonegrave	o
Rillington	1317		x		x		x		x
Rookbarugh	-1334				x				
Rosedale	-1334				x				
Roxby	1280		x	Farmanby	o				
Ruston	1340			Wykeham	o	Wykeham	o	Wykeham	o
Ryton	1399		x		x		x		x
Salton	1312		x				x		x
Sawdon	1289	Brompton	o	Brompton	o				
Scagglethorpe	1346		x		x		x		x
Scackleton	1328		x		x		x		
Scampston	1335		x				x		x
Seamer	1329		x		x		x		x
Settrington	1312		x		x		x		x
Sinnington	1308		x		x		x		x
Sherburn	1339		x		x		x		x
Slingsby	1336		x		x		x		x
Snainton	1281	Brompton	o		x		x		x
Spaunton	1344		x		x		x		x
Sproxton	1329		x		x		x		x
Staxton	1338		x		x		x		x
Stonegrave	1333		x		x	Nunnington	o		x
Sutton	1341						x		
Swinton	1332		x		x		x		x
Thornton Dale	1290		x		x		x		x
Thornton Riseborough	1342		x		x		x		x
Thorpe Bassett	1280		x		x		x		x
Urra	1301				x				

Wath	1302	x	Hovingham	o			
Welham	1327	x		x		x	
Willerby	1309	x		x		x	
Wilton	1329	x		x		x	
Wintringham	1315	x		x		x	
Wombleton	1335	x		x		x	Nawton x
Wrelton		x		x	Middleton	o	x
Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel)	1323			x		x	
Wykeham (par Malton)				x			Old Malton o
Yedingham	1333	x		x		x	

Key to Underlining

Aislaby - villages surviving later than 1322

Airyholme - villages possibly abandonned between 1200-1300

APPENDIX 4.1

Townships

(a) Townships and Villages

Name	Township	Non-Townships	Monastic Territories	Class
Airyholme	Seld. Soc., vol. 56, no.139			A
Aislaby	P.R.S., vol. 24, p.124			A
Allerston	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.177			A
Amotherby	Malt. Cart., f.87			A
Ampleforth	P.R.S., vol. 36, p.88			A
Appleton-le-Moor	St. Mary's Cart., f.203			A
Appleton-le-Street	Cal. Pat. R.,1307-13,p.427			A
Ayton, East	Seld. Soc., vol. 56, no.954			A
Ayton, West	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.178			A
Barton-le-Street	Kirk. Cart., f.69			A
Barugh, Great	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.216			A
Barugh, Little	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.216			A
Baschebi		St. Mary's Cart., f.17		B
Beadlam	Seld. Soc., vol. 56, no. 1032			A
Bilsdale	Kirk. Cart., f.50			A
Binnington	P.R.S., vol. 19, p.51			A
Bowforth				D
Bransdale				D
Brawby	Hex. Cart., B.B., p.77			A
Broadfield				D
Brompton	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.98			A
Broughton	Malt. Cart., f.76			A
Butterwick	St. Mary's Cart., f.218			A
Carlton		N.A., 2.B.G./1.		B
Cawthorn	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.216			A
Cawton	Riev. Cart., no.293			A
Cayton	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.173			A
Coneysthorpe	Y.D., vol. 3, no.53			A

Coulton	P.R.S., vol. 2, p.62	A
Cropton	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.163	A
Easthorpe	P.R.S., vol. 17, p.98	A
Ebberston	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.177	A
Edston, Great	St. Mary's Cart., f.22	A
Edston, Little	Malt. Cart., f.113	A
Ellerburn	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.213	A
Fadmoor	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p.104	A
Farmanby	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.112	A
Farndale		D
Filey	Brid. Cart., f.58	A
Flixton	Brid. Cart., f.69	A
Flotmanby	Brid. Cart., f.63	A
Folkton	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.173	A
Foulbridge		D
Fryton	Riev. Cart., no.311	A
Ganton	St. Lenn. Cart., f.164	A
Gillamoor	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p.123	A
Gilling, East	St. Mary's Cart., f.217	A
Goathland	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.182	A
Grimston	P.R.S., vol. 4, p.273	A
Gristhorpe	Brid. Cart., f.213	A
Habton, Great	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.172	A
Habton, Little	Y.F. 1218-31, no.79	A
Harome	Seld. Soc., vol. 56, no.1043	A
Hartoft	N.R.R.S., vol. 2,p.155	B
Helmsley	Seld. Soc., vol. 56, no.1049	A
Heslerton, East	Riev. Cart., no.330	A
Heslerton, West	Y.F. 1270-1300, no.150	A
Hildenley		D
Holme, North	Riev. Cart., no.297	A
Holme, South	Lib. Alb., sec. 2, f.63	A
Hovingham	P.R.S., vol. 17, p.98	A
Howe	Malt. Cart., f.54	A
Howthorpe	Y.D., vol. 2, p.86	A

Hutton Buscel	N.A., ZIF4/BRA 635		A
Hutton-le-Hole	St. Mary's Cart., f.173		A
Irton	Y.D., vol. 8, no.220		A
Killerby	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.173		A
Kingthorpe	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.185		A
Kirby Misperton	P.R.S., vol. 17, p.98		A
Kirbymoorside	St. Mary's Cart., f.178		A
Knapton	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.215		A
Lastingham	St. Mary's Cart., f.178		A
Laysthorpe	Byland. Cart., f.55		A
Lebberston	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.173		A
Levisham	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.111		A
Linton			D
Lockton	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.179		A
Malton, New			D
Malton, Old	Seld. Soc., vol. 56, no.1047		A
Marton (par Sinnington)	P.R.S., vol. 19, p.48		A
Marton (par Wykeham)		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.178	B
Middleton	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.183		A
Muscoates	Lib. Alb., sec. 2, f.62		A
Muston	Y.F. 1332-46, no.1428		A
Nawton	Y.D., vol. 2, p.123		A
Ness, East	Byland. Cart., f.7		A
Ness, West	Byland. Cart., f.7		A
Newbiggin	Brid. Cart., f.216		A
Newsham	Y.D., vol. 7, no.149		A
Newton, East	Y.F. 1246-72, no.1428		A
Newton (par Pickering)	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.183		A
Newton (par Wintringham)	Malt. Cart., f.151		A
Newton (par Hutton Buscel)		N.A., ZOS/Y1.	B
Normanby	E.Y.C., vol. 1, p.324		A

Normanby	E.Y.C., vol. 1, p.324		A
Norton	Malt. Cart., f.240		A
Nunnington	Riev. Cart., no.249		A
Osgodby	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.173		A
Oswaldkirk	Y.F. 1270-1300, no. 65		A
Pickering	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.182		A
Pockley	Kirk. Cart., f.56		A
Potter Brompton	Brid. Cart., f.104		A
Preston		N.A., ZDS/Y1.	B
Raisdale	Y.F.J., no.236		A
Riccal	St. Peter's Cart., f.16		A
Rillington	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.216		A
Rookbarugh			D
Rosedale		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.163	B
Roxby	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.187		A
Ruston		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.178	B
Ryton	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.215		A
Salton	D.B., f.94		A
Sawdon	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.182		A
Scackleton	Byland. Cart., f.112		A
Scagglethorpe	Brid. Cart., f.104		A
Scampston	P.R.S., vol. 36, p.86		A
Seamer	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.164		A
Settrington	P.R.S., vol. 30, p.37		A
Sinnington	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.215		A
Sherburn	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.16		A
Slingsby	P.R.S., vol. 2, p.62		A
Snainton	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.182		A
Spaunton	St. Mary's Cart., f.178		A
Sproxton	Riev. Cart., no.217		A
Staxton	Brid. Cart., f.72		A
Stonegrave	Y.F. 1246-72, no.1475		A
Sutton	Malt. Cart., f.62		A
Swinton	Kirk. Cart., f.39		A
Thornton Dale	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.187		A
Thornton Riseborough	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.215		A

Thorpe Bassett	Kirk. Cart., f.17	A
Urra		D
Wath	Riev. Cart., no.421	A
Welham	Malt. Cart., f.66	A
Willerby	Brid. Cart., f.107	A
Wilton	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.189	A
Wintringham	P.R.S., vol. 17, p.98	A
Wombleton	Newburgh. Cart., f.47	A
Wrelton	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.215	A
Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel)	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.178	A
Wykeham (par Malton)	Malt. Cart., f.53	A
Yedingham	Y.A.R.J., p.99	A

Deepdale	Byland. Cart., f.22	C
Houeton	Riev. Cart., no.157	C
Keldholme	E.Y.C., vol. 9, p.92	C
Newton, West	Mon. Notes, vol. 1,p.179	C
Rievaulx	Riev. Cart., no.66	C
Skiplam	Riev. Cart., no.161	C
Welburn	Riev. Cart., no.223	C*

*For definition of classes see text.

(b) Medieval Township Features

Township Name	No.	Details of Identification	Source
Airyholme	1	Ergum Wood (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Allerston	1	Green Hill - area of township next the Derwent (estate plan, NA., ZJQ/2)	Riev. Cart., no. 298
	2	Givendale - modern valley just north of village (1" map)	Riev. Cart., no. 119
	3	Weasdale - modern valley just north-west of village (1" map)	Riev. Cart., no. 298
	4	Moorhow - alternate name of Wetmoor Dyke (estate plan, N.A., ZJQ/2)	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.112
	5	Acre Dike - entrenchment at north edge of open field (estate plan, N.A., ZJQ/2)	Riev. Cart., no. 167
	6	Arnoldstone - probably modern Adderston, on cliff above Staindale	N.R.R.S.,vol. 2, p.112
	7	meadow - "separated from Derwent by monk's ditch"	Riev. Cart., no. 138
	8	Staindale Wood -	
	9	Crosscliffe Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	10	Low Moor (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Amotherby	1	Braygate Heads - modern Braygate road runs along southern margin of the township ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 89
	2	Knolls, modern local name north-west of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 92
	3	Gretes, north of village near railway (6"map,1857)	Malt. Cart., f. 87
	4	Amotherby Moor (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Ampleforth	1	Thwaites - just north of village near the escarpment (6" map, 1857)	D.B., f. 112
	2	Longlands - south of village near Holbeck (6" map, 1857)	D.B., f. 92
	3	Trodlock Hill- north-west of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	D.B., f. 93
	4	meadow - "next the Holbeck"	D.B., f. 92
	5	Knavemire - north of village above the escarpment ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	St. Peter's Cart., f. 47
	6	Clariz, Hesescowe, Almeheved woods -(see appendix 2.1(a))	

Appleton-le-Moor	1	Hungrill - farm name north-west of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	St. Mary's Cart., f.193
	2	Howlgate - modern area name north-east of village (tithe map 261 S)	St. Mary's Cart., f.193
	3	The Mere - modern areal name south-east of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	St. Mary's Cart., f.200
	4	West Field - on west side of village (tithe map 261 S)	St. Mary's Cart., f. 98
	5	East Field - on east side of village (tithe map 261 S)	St. Mary's Cart., f. 98
	6	Riggs - modern name south of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	St. Mary's Cart., f.188
	7	Kirkgate - modern road name running north from village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	St. Mary's Cart., f.192
	8	Boon Field - on south-east of village (tithe map 261 S)	St. Mary's Cart., f.197
	9	Calangia Wood (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Ayton, East	1	Hill Grips - modern areal name east of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Whitby Cart., no.375
	2	Adale Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Ayton, West	1	Yedmandale Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Bilsdale	1	Bilsdale Moor - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Bowforth	1	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Bransdale	1	Duvensthwaite wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Brompton	1	meadow - "near the Derwent"	Brid. Cart., f. 199
	2	Troutsdale Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	3	Aycliffe Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	4	Blackley Moor - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
	5	Brompton Marsh - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Broughton	1	Braygate - modern Braygate road runs through southern part of the township ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 76
	2	Broughton Moor - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
	3	marshes of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Cawton	1	Peasdale - modern valley 1 mile south of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 101
	2	Sykes Gate - modern road running from village to Grimston ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 100
	3	woods, "next Stongerave" - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	4	marshes of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	

Cayton	1	Cayton Cliff - sea cliff 1 mile north-east of Osgodby ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Y.A.R.J., p. 113
	2	carrs of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Coulton	1	Blackdale Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	2	Coulton Moor - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
	3	Righ Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Cropton	1	Tranmire - modern stream name 3 miles north-east of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.151
	2	Hartoft - modern valley name $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.154-9
	3	Beckhouse - modern farm in valley below Cropton Castle ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 128
	4	Milne Holme - modern areal name near Cropton mill (6" map, 1857)	P.R.S., vol. 16, p.138
	5	Rosedale - modern name for large consequent valley north of village (1" map)	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.158
	6	Cropton Wood - (see appendix 2.1(s))	
Deepdale	1	carrs of (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Ebberston	1	Netherby Dale - modern valley just north-east of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Y.F. 1218-31, no. 16
	2	meadow - "below the village"	Malt. Cart., f. 130
	3	Bickley Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Edston, Great	1	meadow - "toward Rookbarugh"	Riev. Cart., no. 340
	2	Wandales - modern areal name south-west of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	St. Peter's Cart., f. 198
	3	North Field - just north of village (tithe map 52S)	St. Peter's Cart., f. 198
	4	common of - Edston Common remains north-east of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Riev. Cart., no. 232
Ellerburn	1	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Fadmoor	1	pasture "in Bransdale" - large valley north of village (1" map)	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p.228
Farmanby	1	Langatdale Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Farndale	1	Dounthwaite Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	2	Middleheved Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Flixton	1	Wold of - modern Flixton Wolds south of village (1" map)	Brid. Cart., f. 68
	2	marshes of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
	3	Langdale - modern valley name in Flixton Wolds ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Riev. Cart., no. 339

Flotmanby	1	Wold of - modern Flotmanby Wolds south of village (1" map)	Riev. Cart., no. 340
Folkton	1	Camp Dale - modern valley name in Folkton Wolds (2½" map)	Riev. Cart., no. 338
	2	Deedle Hill - modern areal name on Folkton Wolds (2½" map)	Riev. Cart., no. 338
	3	Ravens Dale - modern valley name in Folkton Wolds (2½" map)	Riev. Cart., no. 161
	4	Wold of - modern Folkton Wolds south of village (1" map)	Riev. Cart., no. 338
	5	marshes in - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Fryton	1	Fryton Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	2	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Ganton	1	West Field - just west of village (6" map, 1857)	Brid. Cart., f. 101-2
	2	East Field - just east of village (6" map, 1857)	Brid. Cart., f. 101-2
	3	Wold of - modern Ganton Wolds south of village (1" map)	Brid. Cart., f. 103
Gillamoor	1	pasture "in Farndale" - large valley north of village (1" map)	E.Y.C., vol. 4, p. 211
Gilling, East	1	Gilling Kerr Wood -	
	2	Hard Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	3	Scar Wood -	
	4	marshes of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Goathland	1	Allentops - 1½ mile north-east of village (6" map, 1857)	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.215
	2	Allentops Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	3	moor of - (see appendix 2 1(b))	
Grimston	1	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Gristhorpe	1	meadow - "near the River Hertford"	Brid. Cart., f. 215
	2	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Habton, Great	1	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Habton, Little	1	East Holme - south of village next River Rye (tithe map, 393 S)	Y.D., vol. 5, no. 196
	2	Broates - north-east of village (tithe map, 393 S)	Y.D., vol. 5, no. 194
	3	woods of - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	4	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	

Harome	1	Harome Common - remains two miles south of village (6" map, 1857)	Riev. Cart., no. 334
	2	Harome Heads - modern road name north-east of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Riev. Cart., no. 363
	3	woods of - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	4	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Helmsley	1	East Park -	
	2	West Park -	
	3	Plock Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	4	Oudray Wood -	
	5	Helmsley Moor - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Heslerton, East	1	meadow - "near the Derwent"	Malt. Cart., f. 148
	2	Wold of - modern East Heslerton Wolds south of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 148
Heslerton, West	1	Wold of - modern West Heslerton Wolds, south of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Y.F. 1270-1300, no. 150
	2	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
	3	marsh of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Holme, North	1	Coldyke - farm name 2 miles south-east of village site ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Riev. Cart., no. 297
	2	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Holme, South	1	woods of - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Houeton	1	woods of - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Hovingham	1	Mossburn - modern Mossburn Bank 1 mile south-east of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Y.D., vol. 7, no. 130
	2	West Wood -	
	3	South Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	4	Mowbray Wood -	
	5	moors of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Hutton Buscel	1	West Croft - areal name where Troutsdale Beck joins Derwent 4 miles north of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Whitby Cart., no. 68
	2	Aycliffe Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	3	Troutsdale Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	4	moors of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
	5	marsh of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	

Hutton-le-Hole	1	pasture "in Farndale" - large valley north of village (1" map)	Y.F.J., no. 292
	2	Yoadwath Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	3	moors of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Irton	1	Little Holme - modern areal name south of village (6" map, 1857)	Y.D., vol. 8, p. 77
Keldholme	1	Ravenswyke Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Killery	1	Killerby Cliff - sea cliff north-east of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Whitby Cart., f. 76
	2	marsh of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Kirby Misperton	1	Blackman's Ings - north-east of village (tithe map 443 S)	Malt. Cart., f. 105
	2	Kinnarcliff - south of village (tithe map 443 S)	St. Mary's Cart., f. 210
	3	Hungrill - south-west of village (tithe map 443 S)	St. Mary's Cart., f. 210
	4	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
	5	marsh of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Kirbymoorside	1	Park Wood -	
	2	West Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	3	Rumsdale Wood -	
Kingthorpe	1	Kingthorpe Wood -	
	2.	West Slack Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	3	Stonegate Wood -	
	4	Moors of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Knapton	1	meadow - "towards the Derwent"	Malt. Cart., f. 149
	2	Wold of - modern Knapton Wolds south of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 149
	3	marshes of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Laysthorpe	1	The Holmes - south of the village next the Holbeck (6" map, 1857)	Byland. Cart., f. 55
	2	woods of - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Lebberston	1	pasture "next the cliffs" - presumable sea cliff north-east of village (1" map)	Y.D., vol. 4, no. 302
	2	marshes of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	

Levisham	1	Dundale - modern Dundale Pond 1½ mile north of village (2½" map)	N.R.R.S., vol. 4, p. 189
	2	West Cliff - modern West Brow north-west of village (tithe map 367 L)	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p. 151
	3	Rumbold Wood -	
	4	Lingthwaite Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	5	Yortfall Wood -	
	6	Stainthwaite Wood -	
	7	moors of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Lockton	1	Lockton Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	2	Staindale Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	3	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Malton	1	Low Field - modern road name north of village (2½" map)	P.R.O., JI 1/1076/55
	2	meadow "near Hour Bridge" which bridge remains near Wykeham (2½" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 37
	3	Great Sikes, modern road name north of village (2½" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 47
	4	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
	5	marsh of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Marton (par Sinnington)	1	Marton Common - modern areal name west of village (2½" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 111
	2	marshes of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Middleton	1	Staintoft Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	2	Stainthowcliffe Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	3	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Nawton	1	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Newsham	1	Sandhills - just east of Newsham Bridge (tithe map 201 S)	Y.D., vol. 7, no. 149
	2	East Ings - same area as Sandhills (tithe map 201 S)	Y.D., vol. 7, no. 147
Newton (par Pickering)	1	Haugh Wood -	
	2	Yattes Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	3	Newton Cliff Wood -	
Newton (par Wintringham)	1	Kirkdale - north-east of village (estate map, N.A., Z.F.1)	Malt. Cart., f. 154
	2	Scardale - east of village (estate map, N.A., Z.F.1)	Malt. Cart., f. 151

Newton (par Wintringham)	3	Ashdale - south of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 155
	4	Wold of - modern Newton Wold south-west of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 154
Osgodby	1	marshes of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Oswaldkirk	1	meadow - "below cliff near Holbeck"	St. Peter's Cart., f. 16
	2	woods of - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	3	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Pickering	1	Holgate Wood -	
	2	West Rise Wood -	
	3	Risa Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	4	Rara Wood -	
	5	Waterfall Wood -	
	6	Blansby Park -	
	7	moors of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
	8	marshes of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Pockley	1	Pockleyside Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Potter Brompton	1	Wolds of - modern Potter Brompton Wolds south of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Brid. Cart., f. 102
	2	meadow - "below the village next Costa Beck"	Brid. Cart., f. 104
Raisdale	1	Cold Moor - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Rievaulx	1	Fangdale - modern Fangdale Beck a tributary of the Seph in Bilsdale (1" map)	Riev. Cart., no. 66
	2	Laskill - modern Laskill Pasture in southern Bilsdale (1" map)	Riev. Cart., no. 66
	3	Abbot's Hagg Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	4	Milne Cliff Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Rillington	1	pasture - "next the Derwent"	Byland Cart., f. 99
	2	moors of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Rosedale	1	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Ryton	1	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Salton	1	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Scackleton	1	woods "on east of grange" - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	2	woods "on west of grange" - (see appendix 2.1(a))	

Seamer	1	Burton Dale - valley name north-east of village (6" map, 1857)	Percy Cart., no. 499
	2	Ravenscliffe Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	3	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
	4	marsh of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Settrington	1	Holmes - modern areal name north of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Y.F. 1246-72, no. 1544
	2	moor of - (see appendix 2.1 (b))	
Sinnington	1	Sinnington Common, modern areal name south-west of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p. 63
	2	pasture "in Rosedale", a large valley in North York Moor (1" map)	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p. 174
	3	Bramblecliffe Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	4	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Sherburn	1	meadow - "near Derwent"	Y.D., vol. 9, no. 397
Skiplam	1	woods of - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	2	pasture "in Bransdale"	Riev. Cart., f. 149
Slingsby	1	Slingsby Wood -	
	2	Frith Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	3	Thirkle Wood -	
	4	moors of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Snainton	1	Well Dale - modern valley north-west of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 137
	2	Nettledale - modern valley north of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 137
	3	Wydale - modern valley north-east of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 137
	4	Brompton Dale - modern valley on extreme east of parish ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 137
	5	Moorsome - modern farm on Snainton Heights 3 miles north of village (1" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 135
	6	meadow - "extending towards the Derwent"	Malt. Cart., f. 140
	7	Darncombe Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	8	Blackley Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	9	moors of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	

Spaunton	1	pasture and woodlands - "in Rosedale"	Y.F.J., no. 292
	2	Lingmoor - modern farm name south of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	St. Mary's Cart., f. 181
	3	Old Field - modern road name south-east of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	St. Mary's Cart., f. 181
	4	South Ings - modern areal name south of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	St. Mary's Cart., f. 181
	5	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Sproxton	1	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
	2	marsh of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Staxton	1	Wolds of - modern Staxton Wolds south of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Brid. Cart., f. 70
	2	meadow - "near the Derwent"	Brid. Cart., f. 71
	3	Cotton Dale - modern valley in Staxton Wolds	Brid. Cart., f. 72
	4	marshes of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Sutton	1	The moor - modern areal name north-west of Settrington ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Malt. Cart., f. 63
Thornton Dale	1	Longlands - areal name south of village (6" map, 1857)	St. Lenn. Cart., f. 61
	2	Langatdale Wood	
	3	Hindslack Wood	
	4	Heck Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	5	Willerdale Wood	
Thornton Riseborough	1	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Thorpe Bassett	1	wolds of - modern Thorpe Bassett Wolds west of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Brid. Cart., f. 170
Welburn	1	Ulngate Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	2	marshes of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Willerby	1	wolds of - modern Willerby Wolds south of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Brid. Cart., f. 100
	2	marshes of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
Wrelton	1	moor of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	

Wintringham	1	Holmes - next Derwent near Grange of Wintringham (estate plan, N.A., ZF1)	Malt. Cart., f. 180
	2	West Marshes - same area as Holmes (estate plan N.A., ZF1)	Malt. Cart., f. 185
	3	Thorn Dale - on Wold slopes south-east of village (estate plan, N.A., ZF1)	Malt. Cart., f. 204
	4	Gretes - on Wold slopes south-east of village (estate plan, N.A, ZF1)	Malt. Cart., f. 192
	5	Longlands - south-west of village (estate plan, N.A., ZF1)	Malt. Cart., f. 220
	6	Deepdale - East of village (estate plan, N.A., ZF1)	Malt. Cart., f. 187
	7	Kirkdale - east of village (estate plan, N.A., ZF1)	Malt. Cart., f. 214
Wombleton	1	Hunger Hill - areal name south of village (6" map, 1857)	Newburgh. Cart., f. 57
	2	Boon Hill - areal name 3 miles north of village	Newburgh Cart., f. 38
	3	Wombleton Common - areal name $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of village ($2\frac{1}{2}$" map)	Riev. Cart., no. 63
	4	Kirkfield - areal name north-east of village (6" map, 1857)	Newburgh Cart., f. 56
	5	Cockerill - areal name north-west of village (6" map, 1857)	Newburgh Cart., f. 56
	6	moors of - (see appendix 2.1(b))	
	7	Spulwood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel)	1	meadow - "next the Derwent"	St. Mary's Cart., f. 224
	2	Beedale Wood -	
	3	Langdale Wood -	
	4	Blackcliffe Wood - (see appendix 2.1(a))	
	5	Barley Carr Wood -	

MEDIEVAL MANORS
Appendix 5.1

Village Name	Manorial Class	Date	Source
Airyholme			
Aislaby		1261	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.88
	Sub-manor of Middleton	1287	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 3, p.31
Allerston		c1300	Quo. War., p.206
		1329	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 4, p.72
	Manor		Cal. Inq., vol. 7, no.82
	Discrete tenancies of Pickering	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2. p.177
Amotherby	Manor	c1200	Malt. Cart., f.88
	Discrete tenancy of Newsham	1293	Y.F., 1272-1300, no.36
Ampleforth		r	St. Peter's Cart., f.181
	Manor	c1312	D.B. f.112
	Discrete tenancies of Oswaldkirk	-	Byland Cart., f. 3
Appleton-le-Moor		1312	Mon. Notes, vol. 2., p.60
	Sub-manor of Spaunton	-	St. Mary's Cart., f.17
Appleton-le-Street		1287	Y. Inq., vol. 3., p.62
	Manor	1369	Y.D., vol. 10, no.73
Ayton, East	Manor	1254	Percy Cart., no.30
	Discrete tenancies of Seamer	1315	P.R.O., C134/41/1
	Discrete tenancies of Pickering	1322	Cal. Inq., vol. 7, no.82
Ayton, West	Manor	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.32
	Discrete tenancies of Pickering	1322	Cal. Inq., vol. 7, no.82
Barton-le-Street		1231	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.73
		1239	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.107
		1271	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.119
		1302	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p.116
	Manor	1327	P.R.O., C135/1/10
Barugh, Great	Manor	1328	Guis. Cart., p.85
	Discrete tenancies of Great Habton	1324	Y.D., vol. 5, no.75
	Discrete tenancies of Salton	1479	Hex. Cart. B.B., p.79
Barugh, Little	Manor	1479	Hex. Cart. B.B., p.79
	Discrete tenancies of Salton	1479	Hex. Cart. B.B., p.79
Baschebi	Discrete tenancies of Appleton-le-Moor	-	St. Mary's Cart., f.17
Beadlam	Discrete tenancies of Helmsley	1352	P.R.O., Sc6/1078/1

Bilsdale		-	Kirk. Cart., f.51
	Manor	-	Kirk. Cart., f.92
Binnington	Manor	-	Brid. Cart., f.99
Bowforth			
Bransdale	Discrete tenancies of Kirbymoorside	1281	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.246
Brawby	Sub-manor of Salton	-	St. Peter's Cart., vol. 1, p.246
		1479	Hex. Cart., B.B., p.77
Broadfield			
Brompton	Manor	c1300	H.R., p.108
		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.98
		1315	Cal. Inq., vol. 5, no.534
	Manor	1314	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.221
	Discrete tenancies of Snainton	1342	Y.F., 1327-47, no.4
	Discrete tenancies of Pickering	1297	Y.Inq., vol. 3, p.246
Broughton	Manor	1330	Y.F., 1327-47, no.40
	Discrete tenancies of Amotherby	-	Malt. Cart., f.89
Butterwick	Discrete tenancies of Newsham	1364	Y.D., vol. 5, no.221
Carlton	Discrete tenancies of Helmsley	1352	P.R.O., Sc6/1078/1
Cawton	Manor	1218	Seld. Soc., vol. 56, no.1024
	Discrete tenancies of Hovingham	1399	P.R.O., Sc6/1087/14
Cawthorn	Sub-manor of Cropton	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.211
Cayton	Manor	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 1, p.45, 73
Coneysthorpe	Manor	c1300	Quo. War., vol. 1, p.208
Coulton		1253	Cal. Pat. R., 1247-58, p.62
	Manor	1324	P.R.O., C135/5/5
	Discrete tenancies of Hovingham	1344	P.R.O., Sc6/1087/14
Cropton		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.16
	Manor	1342	Cal. Pat. R., 1340-43, p.529
Easthorpe	Manor	1369	Y.D., vol. 10, no.73
Ebberston	Manor	1267	Malt. Cart., f.
	Sub-Manor of Pickering	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.174
Edston, Great		-	St. Mary's Cart., f.22
		1381	P.R.O., C47/86/6
	Manor	1479	Hex. Cart., B.B., p.77
	Discrete tenancies of Great Habton	1342	Y.D., vol. 5, no.213
	Discrete tenancies of Salton	1479	Hex. Cart., B.B., p.77

Edston, Little	Manor	-	Malt. Cart., f.114
	Discrete tenancies of Salton	1479	Hex. Cart., B.B., p.76
Ellerburn		1275	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.158
		1276	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.170
	Manor	1298	Y.F., 1270-1300, no.24
	Discrete tenancies of Pickering	1322	Cal. Inq., vol. 7, no.82
Fadmoor	Discrete tenancies of Kirbymoorside	1281	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.246
Farmanby	Discrete tenancies of Pickering	1322	Cal. Inq., vol. 7, no.82
Farndale	Discrete tenancies of Kirbymoorside	1281	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.246
	Discrete tenancies of Lastingham	-	St. Mary's Cart., f.92
Filey		1240	Y.F., 1232-46, no.1307
		1302	Y. Inq., vol. 4, no.54
	Sub-manor of Hunmanby	1317	Cal. Inq., vol. 5, no.48
Flixton	Manor	-	Brid. Cart., f.69
Flotmanby		-	Brid. Cart., f.62
		1278	Brid. Cart., f.67
		1288	Quo. War., p.224
	Manor	1296	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 2,p.198
Folkton		-	Riev. Cart., no.355
		1280	Y.F., 1270-1300, no.119
		c1300	H.R., p.107
	Manor	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.173
Foulbridge		1312	Cal. Pat. R., 1307-13, p.414
		1322	Cal. Inq., vol. 7, no.81
	Sub-manor of Pickering	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.158
Fryton		1300	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 2, p.17
		1302	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p.19
	Manor	1305	Cal. Pat. R., 1301-7, p.335
	Discrete tenancies of Helmsley	1352	P.R.O., Sc6/1078/1
	Discrete tenancies of Hovingham	1305	Cal. Pat. R., 1301-7, p.316
Ganton		1249	Mon. Notes, vol. 1, p.62
		1247	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.183
	Manor	c1300	Quo. War., p.194
Gillamoor	Discrete tenancies of Kirbymoorside	1281	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.246

Gilling		c1300	Y.A.R.J., p.82
	Manor	-	St. Mary's Cart., f.78
Goathland	Discrete tenancies of Pickering	1297	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.72
Grimston		1328	Y.F., 1327-47, no.24
	Manor	1336	Y.F., 1327-47, no.16, 20
Gristhorpe		1234	Y.F., 1232-46, no.10
	Manor	1315-16	Y.D., vol. 10, no.228
Habton, Great		1295	Y.D., vol. 5, no.209
		c1300	Quo. War., p.218
		1342	Y.D., vol. 5, no.213
	Manor	1382	Y.D., vol. 6, no.253
Habton, Little		1212	E.Y.C., vol. 2, p.125
		1286	Y.D., vol. 5, no.195
	Manor	-1300	Y.D., vol. 5, no.193
Harome	Sub-manor of Helmsley	1327	Y.D., vol. 10, no.237
Hartoft	Discrete tenancies of Cropton	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, no.193
Helmsley		1285	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.32
		c1300	Quo. War., p.189
		1304	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p.69
		1326	Cal. Pat. R., 1324-7, p.320
		1327	Y.F., 127-47, no.24
		1342	P.R.O. 135/71/1
	Manor	1352	P.R.O. Sc6/1078/1
Heslerton, East		1255	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.168
	Manor	1372	Y.D., vol. 2, no.73
Heslerton, West		1252	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.130
	Manor	c1300	Quo. War., p.192
Hildenley		1287	Y.F. 1270-1300, no.13
	Manor	1328	Cal. Pat. R., 1327-31, p.141
Holme, North	Manor	1364	P.R.O. C47/86/6
Holme, South		-	St. Mary's Cart., f.78
	Manor	c1250	Guis. Cart., p.446
	Discrete tenancies of Hovingham	1399	P.R.O. Sc6/1087/14

Hovingham		-	Malt. Cart., f.
		1167	Y.D., vol. 7, no.374
		1200	P.R.S., vol. 17, no.102
		1252	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.117
		1296	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 2, p.21
		1297	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.76
		1298	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.112
		c1300	Quo. War., p.218
		1300	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.140
		1309	Cal. Pat. R., 1307-13, p.197
		1364	Y.D., vol. 7, no.136
	Manor	1399	P.R.O. Sc6/1087/14
Howe	Discrete tenancies of Malton		Cal. Inq., vol. 4, no.133
Howthorpe		1305	Y.D., vol. 2, no.86
	Manor	1335	Y.D., vol. 2, no.87
Hutton Buscel		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.12
		1345	Y.D., vol. 2, p.88
	Manor of	1384	Y.D., vol. 3, no.155
	Discrete tenancy of West Ayton	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.22
Hutton-le-Hole		1142	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p.221
		-	St. Mary's Cart., f.173
	Manor	1317	Mon. Notes, p.61
Irton	Sub-manor of Seamer	1259	Y.F. 1246-72, no.1615
Killerby	Manor	1291	Cal. Pat. R., 1281-92, p.67
Kingthorpe		1275	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.157
	Manor	1332	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no.379
	Discrete tenancies of Pickering	1297	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.72
Kirby Misperton		-	St. Mary's Cart., f.20
		1099	E.Y.C., vol. 1, p.473
	Manor	1368	P.R.O. C47/86/6
Kirbymoorside		1203	P.R.S., vol. 16, p.223
		1276	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.167
		1282	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.246
	Manor	1311	Cal. Pat. R. 1307-13, p.371
Knapton		-	Malt. Cart., f.
	Manor	1282	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 2, p.181
	Discrete tenancies of Wintringham	1315	P.R.O. C134/40/1

Lastingham	Manor	-	St. Mary's Cart., f.92
Laysthorpe			
Lebberston		1251	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.61
	Manor	1359	Y.D., vol. 10, no.328
	Discrete tenancies of Guisthorpe	1370	Y.D., vol. 10, no.230
Levisham		1209	P.R.S., vol. 24, p.138
		1252	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.31, 45
		1275	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.166
		1282	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.161
		c1300	H.R., p.107
		1312	Cal. Pat. R., 1307-13, p.27
	Manor	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.1
Linton			
Lockton		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.131
	Manor	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.253
	Discrete tenancies of Pickering	1322	Cal. Inq., vol. 7, no.82
Malton, Old		-	Malt. Cart.
		1284	Y.F. 1270-1300, no.222
		c1300	H.R., p.132
		1303	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p.40
		1305	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p.134
		1316	Cal. Pat. R.,1313-17, p.464
		1317	Cal. Pat. R.,1317-21, p.28
		1322	Y.D., vol. 10, no.329
		1323	Cal. Pat. R., 1321-24, p.216
	Manor	1328	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no.576
Malton, New	Discrete tenancies of Old Malton	1322	Y.D., vol. 10, no.329
		1328	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no.576
Marton (par Sinnington)	Manor	-	Malt. Cart., f.111
	Discrete tenancies of Sinnington	1335	P.R.O., C135/44/6
Marton (par Wykeham)			
Middleton		-	Byland. Cart., f.
		1246	Y.F. 1232-46, no.1175
		1268	Y.F. 1246-72, no.1793
	Manor	1340	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 4,p.237
	Discrete tenancies of Pickering	1297	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.72

Muscoates	Sub-manor of Nunnington	1298	P.R.O., C47/86/18
Muston		1319	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no.346
	Manor	1343	Cal. Inq., vol. 8, no.319
Nawton	Manor	-	Riev. Cart., no.310, 355
Ness, East	Discrete tenancies of Nunnington	1252	Y.F. 1246-72, no.1661
Ness, West	Discrete tenancies of Nunnington	1252	Y.F. 1246-72, no.1661
Newbiggin			
Newsham		-	Malt. Cart., f.
		1283	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 2, p.29
		c1300	Quo. War., p.194
		1328	Y.D., vol. 7, no.148
	Manor	1450	Y.D., vol. 7, no.149
Newton, East	Discrete tenancies of Helmsley	1352	P.R.O., Sc6/1078/1
	Discrete tenancies of Salton	1479	Hex. Cart., B.B., p.76
Newton, (par Hutton Buscel)			
Newton, (par Pickering)		1190	E.Y.C., vol. 1, p.332
		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.182
		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.183
	Sub-manor of Pickering	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.187
Newton (par Wintringham)	Sub-manor of Wintringham	-	Malt. Cart., f.
Normanby	Manor	-	Kirk. Cart., f.31
Norton		1252	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.174
		1302	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p.18
	Manor	1328	Cal. Pat. R. 1327-41, p.95
Nunnington		1249	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.15
		1298	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p. 9
		1297	Y.F. 1270-1300, no.235
	Manor	1331	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no.533
		1260	Riev. Cart., no.296
		1295	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.25
	Manor	1344	Y.F. 1327-47, no.52
Osgodby	Discrete tenancies of Cayton	-	Byland Cart.
Oswaldkirk	Manor of	-	Byland Cart., f.3
	Discrete tenancies of Helmsley	1352	P.R.O., Sc6/1078/1

Pickering		1168	P.R.S., vol. 13, p.37
		1267	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 2, p.104
		1298	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.72
		c1300	H.R. p.107, 133
		1311	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.246
		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.186
	Manor	1342	Cal. Inq., vol. 7, no.82
Pockley		1318	Cal. Pat. R. 1317-21, p.187
	Sub-manor of Helmsley	1352	P.R.O. Sc6/1078/1
Potter Brompton	Manor	1332	Cal. Chart. R. vol. 4, p.68
Preston			
Raisdale		-	Riev. Cart., no.362
		-	Kirk. Cart., f.51
		1246	Y.F. 1232-46, no.1240
		1260	Riev. Cart., no.322
	Manors of Great and Little Raisdale	1377	Mon. Notes, p.179
Riccal	Sub-manor of Nunnington	1252	Y.F. 1246-72, no.1661
	Discrete tenancies of Helmsley	1352	P.R.O., Sc6/1078/1
Rillington	Manor	-	Malt. Cart
Rookbarugh			
Rosedale	Discrete tenancies of Cropton	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.159
Roxby	Discrete tenancies of Thornton Dale	1335	P.R.O., C135/44/6
Ruston	Discrete tenancies of Brompton	1314	Cal. Inq., vol. 5, no.534
Ryton	Manor	1328	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 4, p.175
	Manor	1399	P.R.O., Sc6/1086/12
Salton		-	St. Peter's Cart., f.177
		1286	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 2, p.11
		1312	D.B. f.94
	Manor	1479	Hex. Cart. B.B., p.76
Sawdon		1242	Y.F. 1232-46, no.1570
	Sub-manor of Brompton	1289	Y.Inq., vol. 2, p.82
Scagglethorpe		-	Malt. Cart., f.
		1310	Y.D., vol. 2, no.160
	Manor	1324	P.R.O., C134/82
Scackleton	Discrete tenancies of Hovingham	1399	P.R.O., Sc6/1087/14
Scampston		1252	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.16
	Manor	1335	P.R.O., C135/44/6
	Discrete tenancies of Rillington	1335	P.R.O., C135/44/6

Seamer		1090	E.Y.C., vol. 2, p.197
		-	Whitby Cart., no.376
		1218	Y.F. 1218-32, no.1
		1257	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.167
		1269	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 2, p.18
		1315	P.R.O., C134/41/1
		1330	Cal. Pat. R., 1327-30, p.482
		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.164
	Manor	1339	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 6, p.246
Settrington		1177	P.R.S., vol. 27, p.64
		1189	P.R.S., vol. 33, p.158
		1212	P.R.S., vol. 30, p.37
		1253	Y.F. 1246-72, no.1654
		c1300	H.R. p.120
		1299	Quo. War., p.226
		1303	Cal. Misc. Inq., 1219-1304, no.187
	Manor	1304	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p.103
Sinnington		1327	Y.F. 1327-47, no.15
	Manor	1335	P.R.O. C135/44/6
Sherburn		1227	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.24
		1249	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.261
		1287	Y. Inq., vol. 2, p.65
		c1300	Quo. War., p.213
		1329	Y.F. 1327-47, no.68
		1330	Y.F. 1327-47, no.51, 57
	Manor	1343	P.R.O. C135/65/9
Slingsby		1190	Y.A.R.J. p.76
		1222	Y.F. 1218-31, no.182
		c1300	Quo. War., p.21
		1301	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.151
	Manor	1344	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 6, p.190
Snainton		-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.177
	Manor	1342	Y.F. 1327-47, no.4
Spaunton		1312	Mon. Notes, vol. 2, p.68
	Manor	1328	Cal. Pat. R., 1327-30, p.317
Sproxton		1257	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.142
	Manor	1297	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.101

Staxton	Manor	1257	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.84
Stonegrave		1251	Y.D. 1246-72, no.1475
		1252	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.72
		1257	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.126
		c1300	Quo. War., p.220
	Manor	1333	Y.F. 1327-47, no.27
	Sub-manor of Nunnington	1252	Y.F. 1246-72, no.1661
Sutton		1237	Byland. Cart.
		c1300	H.R., p.124
	Discrete tenancies of Norton	1302	Y. Inq., vol. 4, no.37
Swinton	Manor	1275	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.153
Thornton Dale		-	St. Mary's Cart., f.152
		1278	Y.D., vol. 1, no.463
		1281	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 2, p.462
		1302	Y.D., vol. 4, no.170
		1335	P.R.O., C135/44/6
	Manor	1340	Cal. Chart. R., vol, 4. p.127
	Discrete tenancies of Ellerburn	1273	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.158
Thornton Riseborough		c1300	Quo. War., p.208
	Manor	1342	Y.F. 1327-47, no.58
	Discrete tenancies of Marton	1212	E.Y.C., vol. 2, p.123
	Discrete tenancies of Middleton	1340	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 4, p.16
	Discrete tenancies of Sinnington	1335	P.R.O., C135/44/6
Thorpe Bassett	Manor	1324	P.R.O., C134/82/1
	Discrete tenancies of Rillington	1317	Cal. Inq., vol. 7, no.51
Urra			
Wath	Sub-manor of Hovingham	c1300	Quo. War., p.203
Welham	Manor	1327	Y.F. 1327-47, no.10
Willerby		-	Brid. Cart., f.77
		1296	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 2, p.210
		c1300	Quo. War., p.196
		1315	Cal. Inq., vol. 5, no.266
	Manor	1317	Cal. Pat. R., 1317-21, p.86
	Discrete tenancies of Guisthorpe	1370	Y.D., vol. 10, no.230
Wilton		1302	Y.D., vol. 6, no.170
		1309	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p.308
	Manor	1342	Y.F. 1327-47, no.58

Wintringham		1289	Y. Inq., vol. 2, p.81
	Manor	1315	P.R.O., C134/40/1
Wombleton	Manor	1329	Y.F. 1327-47, no.11
Wrelton	Sub-manor of Middleton	1261	Y.F. 1246-72, no.163
Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel)	Manor	1185	E.Y.C., vol. 1, p.299
Wykeham (par Malton)	Discrete tenancy of Malton	1328	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no.576
Yedingham	Manor	-1334	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.4

APPENDIX 5.2

ANALYSIS OF MANORIAL

Manor Name	Date	Source	Percentage of Capital Messuage	Demesne	Free Tenar
Aislaby	1261	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.88	4.0%	62.0%	34.(
Barton-le-Street	1327	P.R.O., C135/1/10	1.0%	62.0%	31.(
Brompton	1314	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.122	3.0%	73.0%	12.(
Coulton	1326	P.R.O., C135/5/5	45.0%	35.0%	
Fryton	1302	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p.19	22.0%	39.0%	5.(
Helmsley	1352	P.R.O., Sc6/1078/1	0.5%	48.0%	16.5
Hovingham	1298	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.112	5.5%	21.5%	17.(
Kirbymoorside	1281	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.246	1.0%	31.0%	16.(
Norton	1302	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p.18			4.(
Nunnington, West	1298	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.15	15.0%	70.0%	15.(
Sawdon	1289	Y. Inq., vol. 2, p.82		78.0%	6.(
Scampston	1335	P.R.O., C135/44/6	7.0%	22.0%	20.(
Seamer	1315	P.R.O., C134/41/1	0.5%	33.0%	8.(
Sinnington	1335	P.R.O., C135/44/6		43.0%	17.(
Sherburn	1343	P.R.O., C135/65/9		6.0%	70.(
Slingsby	1301	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.151	5.0%	29.0%	3.(
Sproxton	1297	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.101		57.0%	14.(
Thornton Dale	1335	P.R.O., C135/44/6		45.0%	1.(
Thorpe Bassett	1324	P.R.O., C134/82/1	0.5%	45.0%	23.(
Wintringham	1315	P.R.O., C134/40/1	0.3%	49%	0.7

APPENDIX 7.1

LAND OF RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS

Township	Institution	Bovates	Acres or Lands	Assarts	Block Grants	Source
Aislaby	Malton	9				Malt. Cart. f. 241
	Templars	1				Mon. Notes, vol. 1, p.122
Allerston	Rievaulx	8				Riev. Cart., no. 167
				5a		Riev. Cart., no. 138
	Templars	16				Y.F. 1232-46, no. 1235
	Yedingham	6				Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p. 104
Amotherby	Malton	12				Malt. Cart., f. 86-94
Ampleforth	Byland	8				Byland. Cart., f. 3-6
	St. Peter's	24				St. Peter's Cart., f. 181
						D.B., f. 92
						Lib. Alb., sec. 2, f. 55
Appleton-le-Moor	St. Mary's	32				St. Mary's Cart., f. 27
Ayton, East	Templars	3				Percy Cart., no. 73
	Whitby	4				Whitby Cart., no. 553
Ayton, West	Whitby	5				Whitby Cart., no. 125
Barton-le-Street	Kirkham	10				Kirk. Cart., f. 68-9
Barugh, Great	Ellerton	10				Cal. Pat. R., 1301-7, p.303
	St. Peter's	20				St. Peter's Cart., f. 182
Barugh, Little	Keldholme	7				Mons. Ebor., p. 665
	St. Peter's		-			St. Peter's Cart., f. 181
Beadlam	Kirkham		9a			Kirk. Cart., f. 53
				5a		Kirk. Cart., f. 55
Bilsdale	Kirkham	16				Kirk. Cart., f. 50, 92
				-		Kirk. Cart., f. 51
Bowforth	Rievaulx		7a			Riev. Cart., no. 41
	Newburgh	4				Newburgh Cart., f. 16
Bransdale	Keldholme			-		E.Y.C., vol. 9, p. 92
Brawby	St. Peter's	51				St. Peter's Cart., f. 182

Brompton	Malton	9		Malt. Cart., f. 142-3
	St. Mary's	8		St. Mary's Cart., f. 59
Broughton	Malton	40		Malt. Cart., f. 75-80
	Hospital of		-	Malt. Cart., f. 76
Butterwick	St. Mary's	3		St. Mary's Cart., f. 218
Cawthorn	Malton	1		Malt. Cart., f. 234
	Rosedale	4		Y.D., 1246-72, no. 1380
	St. Peter's	4		E.Y.C., vol. 7, p. 127
	Templars	6		Y.A.J., vol. 29, p.372
Cawton	Malton	1		Malt. Cart., f. 100-101
	Rievaulx	1		Riev. Cart., no. 293
	St. Lennard's	1		St. Lenn. Cart., f. 71
Cayton	Byland	1		Byland Cart., f. 20
	Rievaulx		-	Riev. Cart., no. 217
			-	Riev. Cart., no. 311
	Whitby	18		Whitby Cart., no. 108
Coneysthorpe	Holy Trinity	32		Y.D., vol. 3, no. 53
Coulton	Malton	1		Malt. Cart., f. 99
	St. Mary's	4		St. Mary's Cart., f. 62
Cropton	Keldholme	4		Mons. Ebor., p. 665
	Malton	1		Malt. Cart., f. 117
Deepdale	Byland	32		Byland Cart., f. 22-4
Easthorpe	Malton		200	Malt. Cart., f. 73-4
Ebberston	Malton	2		Malt. Cart., f. 129-33
	Wykeham		-	Malt. Cart., f. 131
	Yedingham	20		E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 305-9
Edston, Great	Malton	7		Malt. Cart., f. 113-16
	St. Peter's	16		St. Peter's Cart., f. 182
Edston, Little	Ellerton	3		Mons. Ebor., p. 216
	Malton.	8		Malt. Cart., f. 113-16
	St. Peter's		-	St. Peter's Cart., f. 182
Ellerburn	St. Lennard's	6		Y. Inq., vol. 1, p. 158
	Templars	3		Y. Inq., vol. 1, p. 158
Fadmoor	Keldholme	2		E.Y.C., vol. 7, p. 104

Farmanby	Malton		16a		Malt. Cart., f. 128
	Rosedale	2			Mons. Ebor,, p. 317
	St. Lennard's	4			E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 297
	Whitby		-		Whitby Cart., no. 520
				3a	Whitby Cart., no. 617
Farndale	Keldholme			-	E.Y.C., vol. 9, p. 92
	St. Mary's			-	St. Mary's Cart., f. 174
	Rievaulx			-	Riev. Cart., no. 212
Filey	Bridlington	5			Brid. Cart., f. 57-8
Flixton	Bridlington	4			Brid. Cart., f. 68-9
	Hospital of		-		Brid. Cart., f. 68
Flotmanby	Bridlington	15			Brid. Cart., f. 61-7
	Rievaulx		-		Riev. Cart., f. 340
Folkton	Bridlington	2			Brid. Cart., f. 65-7
	Kirkham		7a		Kirk. Cart., f. 66
	Rievaulx	4			Riev. Cart., no. 82
				160a	Riev. Cart., no. 159
Foulbridge	Templars	16			Cal. Inq., vol. 7, no. 81
Ganton	Bridlington		-		Brid. Cart., f. 101-2
				-	Brid. Cart., f. 102
	Whitby	4			Mon. Notes., vol. 1, p. 117
Gilling, East	Malton	4			Malt. Cart., f. 253-4
	Rievaulx		12		Riev. Cart., no. 302
	St. Mary's	32			St. Mary's Cart., f. 213
Goathland	Whitby		-		Whitby Cart., no. 195
				190a	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p. 175
Griff	Rievaulx	48			Riev. Cart., no. 66
Grimston	St. Clement's	16			Cal. Chart. R., vol. 4, p. 18
	St. Mary's	12			Lib. Alb., sec. 3, f.60
Gristhorpe	Bridlington	18			Brid. Cart., f. 212-13
Habton, Great	Keldholme	8			Mons. Ebor., p. 665
Habton, Little	Ellerton	8			Mons. Ebor., p. 665
	Keldholme	4			Mons. Ebor., p. 665
Harome	Kirkham	2			Kirk. Cart., f. 16
	Rievaulx		-		Riev. Cart., no. 334

Helmsley	Kirkham	11			Kirk. Cart., f. 49
				11a	Kirk. Cart., f. 50
	Rievaulx		9a		Riev. Cart., no. 42
	St. Lennard's	16			St. Lenn. Cart., f. 71
	St. Mary's	2			Mons. Ebor., p. 598
Heslerton, East	Guisborough	1			Guis. Cart., p. 438
	Rievaulx	4			Riev. Cart., no. 330
Heslerton, West	Malton	9			Malt. Cart., f. 148
Holme, North	Rievaulx		17a		Riev. Cart., no. 297, 309
Holme, South	Guisborough	32			Guis. Cart., p. 446
	St. Peter's	3			Lib. Alb., sec. 2, f.63
Hoveton	Rievaulx	16			Riev. Cart., no. 231
Hovingham	Byland		10a		Byland Cart., f. 43
	Malton	11			Malt. Cart., f. 99
	Newburgh	16			Newburgh Cart., f. 65
Howe	Malton		8a		Malt. Cart., f. 38
Hutton Buscel	Whitby	12			Whitby Cart., no. 65, 523
	Wykeham	7			Mons. Ebor., p. 275
Hutton-le-Hole	St. Mary's	40			E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 269
Irton	Whitby	7			Whitby Cart., no. 168-72
Keldholme	Keldholme			-	E.Y.C., vol. 9, p. 92
Killerby	Whitby	6			Whitby Cart., no. 1
Kingthorpe	Malton	5	4a		Malt. Cart., f. 123-5
Kirby Misperton	Malton	18			Malt. Cart., f. 104-8
	Kirkham	3			Kirk. Cart., f. 39
	Newburgh	1			Newburgh Cart., f. 137
	St. Mary's	68			Mons. Ebor., p. 548
Kirbymoorside	Rievaulx		12a		Riev. Cart., no. 129
	St. Mary's	1			St. Mary's Cart., f. 24
Knapton	Malton	4			Malt. Cart., f. 149-50
	St. Mary's	16			St. Mary's Cart., f. 62
Lastingham	St. Mary's	32			Mons. Ebor., p. 548
Laysthorpe	Byland	13			Byland Cart., f. 55-6
Lebberston	Bridlington	24			Brid. Cart., f. 219-22
	Rievaulx	8			Riev. Cart., no. 326
				-	Riev. Cart., no. 326

Levisham	Malton	2			Malt. Cart., f. 116-18
Linton					
Lockton	Malton	1			Malt. Cart., f. 121-2
	Rosedale	1			E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 307
	Templars	10			Y.F. 1232-46, no. 1011
	Whitby		7a		Whitby Cart., no. 96
Malton, Old	Malton	12			Malt. Cart., f. 34-54; 239-40
	St. Peter's	8			St. Peter's Cart., f. 18
	Hospital of		-		Malt. Cart., f. 37
Marton (par Sinnington)	Malton	4			Malt. Cart., f. 110-12
	Rievaulx	8			Riev. Cart., no. 172
	St. Mary's	8	-		St. Mary's Cart., f. 221-3
	Yedingham	2			Mons. Ebor., p. 273
Middleton	Rievaulx	2			Riev. Cart., no. 172
	Rosedale	8			Y.F. 1232-46, no. 1175
	Malton	6			Malt. Cart., f. 241
Muscoates	St. Peter's	2			Lib. Alb., sec. 2, f. 62
Nawton	Rievaulx	32			Riev. Cart., no. 319
Nesse, West	Byland		8a		Byland Cart., f. 55
Newbiggin	Bridlington	2			Brid. Cart., f. 216
Newsham	Malton	2			Malt. Cart., f. 249
Newton, East	St. Peter's	2			St. Peter's Cart., f. 181
Newton, West	Rievaulx	16			Riev. Cart., no. 285
Newton (par Pickering)	Malton	1			Malt. Cart., f. 129
	Rosedale	5			Mons. Ebor., p. 317
Newton (par Wintringham)	Malton	11			Malt. Cart., 151-5
	Kirkham		17a		Kirk. Cart., f. 17
Normanby	St. Mary's	24		-	St. Mary's Cart., f.19,92
Norton	Malton	7			Malt. Cart., f. 55-8
	Hospital of		-		Malt. Cart., f. 57; 240
Nunnington	Keldholme	4			Mons. Ebor., p. 665
	Rievaulx	8			Riev. Cart., no. 249
	St. Mary's	24			Mons. Ebor., p. 548

Osgodby	Byland	16			Byland Cart., f.89-91
	Newburgh		2a		Newburgh Cart., f. 62
	Rievaulx	1			Riev. Cart., no. 349
Oswaldkirk	Rievaulx			12a	Riev. Cart., no. 335
Pickering	Malton	4			Malt. Cart., f. 125-6
	Hospital of		-		Cal. Pat. R. 1301-7, p.214
(Pickering Marshes)	Rievaulx			-	Riev. Cart., no. 173
Pockley	Kirkham		-		Kirk. Cart., f. 56
Potter Brompton	Bridlington	15			Brid. Cart., f. 117
Raisdale	Rievaulx		-		Riev. Cart., no. 322
Rievaulx	Rievaulx			-	Riev. Cart., no. 250
Rillington	Malton	33			Malt. Cart., f. 157-68
	Yedingham	4			Mons. Ebor., p. 273
Rookbarugh	Rievaulx		17a		Riev. Cart., no. 68
Rosedale	Rosedale			-	Mons. Ebor., p. 317
			200a		N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p. 174
Roxby	Malton		2a		Malt. Cart., f. 127
	Whitby		8a		Whitby Cart., no. 1
Ryton	Byland	2			Byland Cart., f. 96
	Malton	3			Malt. Cart., f. 102-3
	Rievaulx	8			Riev. Cart., no. 39
Salton	St. Peter's	47			St. Peter's Cart., f. 182
Sawdon	Malton	10			Malt. Cart., f. 102-3
Scackleton	Byland	24			Byland Cart., f. 111-13
	St. Mary's	8			Lib. Alb., sec. 3, f.24
Scagglethorpe	Bridlington		55a		Brid. Cart., f. 104
	Kirkham	6			Kirk. Cart., f. 17
	Byland	2			Byland Cart., f. 115
Scampston	Malton	12			Malt. Cart., f. 156
	St. Mary's	2			Mons. Ebor., p. 548
	Whitby	2			Whitby Cart., no. 1
Seamer	Whitby		-		Whitby Cart., no. 1
	Hospital of		-		Percy Cart., no. 564

Settrington	St. Lennard's		16a		St. Lenn. Cart., f. 226
Sinnington	Malton	6			Malt. Cart., f. 183
	St. Mary's	3			St. Mary's Cart., f. 183
	Yedingham	9			Mons. Ebor., p. 273
Sherburn	Guisborough	4			E.Y.C., vol.7, p. 171
	Malton	7			Malt. Cart., f. 146-7
	St. Lennard's	2			St. Lenn. Cart., f. 59
Skiplam	Rievaulx			-	Riev. Cart., no. 161
Slingsby	Kirkham	8			Kirk. Cart., f. 77, 91
	Malton	6			Malt. Cart., f. 96-8
Snainton	Malton	12			Malt. Cart., f. 133-40
	Wykeham	2			Scld. Soc., vol. 56, no. 291
	Yedingham	2			Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.117
Spaunton	St. Mary's	48			Mons. Ebor., p. 548
Sproxton	Byland		13a		Byland Cart., f. 111
	Guisborough		-		Guis. Cart., vol. 2, p. 18
	Kirkham		10a		Kirk. Cart., f. 54
	Rievaulx	8			Riev. Cart., no. 218
	St. Mary's	8			Mons. Ebor., p. 548
Staxton	Bridlington	7			Brid. Cart., f. 68-74
				26a	Brid. Cart., f. 72
	Hospital of				E.Y.C., vol. 7, p. 242
Stilton	Rievaulx	40			Riev. Cart., no. 60
Sutton	Byland	18			Byland Cart., f. 105-8
	Kirkham	2			Kirk. Cart., f. 19
	Malton	11			Malt. Cart., f. 42-4
	St. Mary's	16			Mons. Ebor., p. 548
Swinton	Kirkham	2			Kirk. Cart., f. 39
	Malton	26			Malt. Cart., f. 80-85
	Malton		4a		Malt. Cart., f. 127
Thornton Dale	Rievaulx	12			Riev. Cart., no. 305
	St. Mary's	5			St. Mary's Cart., f. 152
Thornton Riseborough	Malton		2a		Malt. Cart., f. 162
Thorpe Bassett	Kirkham	10			Kirk. Cart., f. 17
	Malton	1			Malt. Cart., f. 169-74

Welburn	Rievaulx	48		Riev. Cart., no. 223
Welham	Malton	12		Malt. Cart., f. 64-6
Willerby	Bridlington	36		Brid. Cart., f. 76-96
				Brid. Cart., f. 91
	Templars	4		Y.F. 1232-46, no. 1222
Wilton	Yedingham	3		Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p. 168
Wintringham	Malton	39		Malt. Cart., f. 177-209
Wombleton	Malton	4		Malt. Cart., f. 108-9
	Newburgh	11		Newburgh Cart., f. 56
	Rievaulx		$10\frac{1}{2}$a	Riev. Cart., no. 47
Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel)	Malton	1		Malt. Cart., f. 241
	St. Mary's	2		St. Mary's Cart., f. 32
	Whitby	4		Whitby Cart., no. 272
	Wykeham	11		E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 299
	Yedingham	3		Mons. Ebor., p. 273
Wykeham (par Malton)	Malton		4a	Malt. Cart., f. 42
Yedingham	Yedingham	16		Mons. Ebor., p. 276

APPENDIX 7.2

Some Special Features of Ecclesiastical Agriculture

(a) Granges and Manors

Township	Institution	Class	Source
Ampleforth	St. Peter's	Manor	St. Peter's Cart., f. 181
Amotherby	Malton	Grange	Malt. Cart., f. 274
Appleton-le-Moor	St. Mary's	Manor	St. Mary's Cart., f.17
Bilsdale	Kirkham	Grange	Cal. Chart. R., vol, 4, p. 216 Kirk. Cart., f. 50
Brawby	St. Peter's	Manor	St. Peter's Cart., f. 177 Hex. Cart., B.B., p. 77
Broughton	Malton	Grange	Malt. Cart., f. 274
Deepdale	Byland	Grange	P.R.S., vol. 33, p. 57
Ebberston	Malton	Grange	Malt. Cart., f. 274
Edston, Great	Malton	Grange	Malt. Cart., f. 274
Foulbridge	Templars	Manor	Cal. Inq., vol. 7, no. 81
Griff	Rievaulx	Grange	Riev. Cart., no. 243
Helmsley	Kirkham	Grange	Kirk. Cart., f. 51
Houeton	Rievaulx	Grange	Riev. Cart., no. 130
Hovingham	Newburgh	Grange	Newburgh Cart., f. 65
Hutton-le-Hole	St. Mary's	Manor	St. Mary's Cart., f. 173
Kirby Misperton	Malton	Grange	Malt. Cart., f. 274
	St. Mary's	Manor	St. Mary's Cart., f. 20
Lastingham	St. Mary's	Manor	St. Mary's Cart., f. 92
Levisham	Malton	Grange	Malt. Cart., f. 274
Malton	Malton	Grange	Malt. Cart., f. 274
Marton (par Sinnington)	Malton	Grange	Malt. Cart., f. 274
Newton, West	Rievaulx	Grange	B.I., RVII/E 63
Normanby	St. Mary's	Manor	St. Mary's Cart., f. 64
Norton	Malton	Grange	Malton Cart., f. 274

*(Pickering Marishes)			
Kekemarish	Rievaulx	Grange	H.R., vol. 1, p. 107 L.S.R., 1301, p. 61
Lund Forest	Rievaulx	Grange	L.S.R., 1301, p. 61
Newstead	Rievaulx	Grange	L.S.R., 1301, p. 61
Selley Bridge	Rievaulx	Grange	L.S.R., 1301, p. 61
*Rievaulx			
Bilsdale	Rievaulx	Grange	L.S.R., 1301, p. 56
Laskill	Rievaulx	Grange	L.S.R., 1301, p. 56
Newlass	Rievaulx	Grange	L.S.R., 1301, p. 56
Rillington	Malton	Grange	Malt. Cart., f. 274
Raisdale	Rievaulx	Manor(s)	Riev. Cart., no. 362
Ryton	Malton	Grange	Malt. Cart., f. 274
Salton	St. Peter's	Manor	St. Peter's Cart., f. 177 Hex. Cart., B.B., p. 76
Scackleton	Byland	Grange	Y.F., 1232-46, no. 986
Sinnington	Malton	Grange	Malt. Cart., f. 274
*Skiplam	Rievaulx	Grange	Riev. Cart., no. 129
Spaunton	St. Mary's	Manor	St. Mary's Cart., f. 178
Stilton	Rievaulx	Grange	Riev. Cart., no. 243
Swinton	Malton	Grange	Malt. Cart., f. 274
Sutton	Malton	Grange	Malt. Cart., f. 274
Welburn	Rievaulx	Grange	Riev. Cart., no. 332
Willerby	Bridlington	Grange	Brid. Cart., f. 82
Wintringham	Malton	Grange	Malt. Cart., f. 274
Wombleton	Newburgh	Grange	Newburgh Cart., f. 43
Yedingham	Yedingham	Manor	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p. 4

*Description of Certain Grange Sites.

Grange	Details
Bilsdale	Remained on 6" map (1857) as the name of a farm about 4 miles south of Chop Gate and is preserved on modern 1" map as Grange. SE/571960
Kekemarish	Assumed to be on site of lost Domesday village of Chigogemers in fens below Thornton Dale. (see appendix 3.1(d))

Laskill	Remains on modern 1" map as Laskill Pasture and areal name 6 miles north-west of Helmsley.
Lund Forest	Former site of Domesday village of Salescale, the name is preserved on 2½" map 1½ miles north of Ryton (see appendix 3.1(a))
Newlass	Remains as farm name on modern 1" map about 1½ miles north of Rievaulx Abbey. SE/581866
Newstead	Remains on modern 1" map as Newstead Grange, the name of two farms about 1 mile apart 3 or 4 miles west of Yedingham. Site used here lies between these farms.
Selley Bridge	Remains on modern 1" map as a bridge over Thornton Beck. SE/840790
Skiplam	Remains on modern 1" map as farm 3 miles north of Nawton. SE/657874

(b) Sheep Rearing

Township	Institution	Sheep & Sheep Pasture	Folds & Cotes	Extra Pasture	Extra Meadow	Source
Allerston	Rievaulx	500	x			Riev. Cart., no. 167
					-	Riev. Cart., no. 138
Barton-le-Street	Kirkham	250			12a	Kirk. Cart., f. 68-9
Beadlam	Rievaulx	300				Y.A.R.J., p. 88
Bilsdale	Kirkham	-	x			Kirk. Cart., f. 50-1
Bowforth	Rievaulx			-		Riev. Cart., no. 133
Bransdale	Keldholme	-	x			P.R.O., JI 1/1076/6
						E.Y.C., vol. 9, p. 92
Brompton	Bridlington				20a	Brid. Cart., f. 199
						Mon. Notes, vol. 1, p. 23
Cawton	Rievaulx				-	Riev. Cart., no. 293
Easthorpe	Malton	200				E.Y.C., vol. 3, p. 173
Ebberston	Malton	300	x		-	Malt. Cart., f. 131-2
	Wykeham		x			Malt. Cart., f. 132
Edston, Great	Malton			-		Malt. Cart., f. 114
Edston, Little	Malton			5a		Malt. Cart., f. 116
Farmanby	Whitby			-		Whitby Cart., no. 520
	Malton				-	Malt. Cart., f. 128
Farndale	Keldholme	-				E.Y.C., vol. 9, p. 92
	Rievaulx	-				E.Y.C., vol. 7, p. 223
	St. Mary's	-				St. Mary's Cart., f. 99
Flixton	Bridlington			-		Brid. Cart., f. 57
Folkton	Bridlington	300			-	Brid. Cart., f. 67
	Rievaulx	1,000		-	-	Riev. Cart., no. 82, 338
Ganton	Bridlington	500			-	Brid. Cart., f. 102
Gilling, East	St. Mary's		x	-		St. Mary's Cart., f. 24, 337
Goathland	Whitby	-				Whitby Cart., no. 197
Grimston	St. Mary's		x	-		Lib. Alb., sec. 3, f. 60
Gristhorpe	Bridlington	200			-	Brid. Cart., f. 213-4
Habton, Great	Keldholme	200	x		-	Y.D., vol. 5, no. 193
						Mons. Ebor., p. 665
Harome	Rievaulx	100			-	Riev. Cart., no. 334

Helmsley	Kirkham	100	x	40a		Kirk. Cart., f. 50
	Rievaulx			-		Y.F., 1246-72, no. 1336
						Riev. Cart., no. 42
Heslerton, East	Rievaulx	1,000	x			Riev. Cart., no. 85, 137
Holme, North				-	-	Riev. Cart., no. 297, 309
Hovingham	Byland				20a	Byland Cart., f. 43
Howe	Malton	800	x			Malt. Cart., f. 37, 16
Hutton Buscel	Wykeham	300				Y.D., vol. 2, no. 88
Kirby Misperton	Malton	109	x		-	Malt. Cart., f. 104-8
Knapton	Malton	150			50a	Malt. Cart., f. 149-50
Lebberston	Bridlington				-	Brid. Cart., f. 221
Levisham	Malton	1,120	x			Malt. Cart., f. 116-18
						N.R.R.S., vol. 4, p. 189
Lockton	Malton	700	x		-	Malt. Cart., f. 122
	Rosedale	200	x			E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 307
Malton	Malton			-	-	P.R.O., JI 1/1076/2
						Malt. Cart., f. 42-8
Marton (par Sinnington)	Malton	270	x			Malt. Cart., f. 110-11
Nawton	Rievaulx	300	x			Riev. Cart., no. 299
Nesse, West	Byland				16a	Byland Cart., f. 55
Newton, (par Pickering)	Malton	500	x			Malt. Cart., f. 129
	Rosedale	300				Mons. Ebor., p. 297
Newton, (par Wintringham)	Kirkham	200				Kirk. Cart., f. 17
	Malton	500	x			Malt. Cart., f. 153-5
Norton	Malton	200	x		-	Malt. Cart., f. 157
Oswaldkirk	Rievaulx			20a		Riev. Cart., no. 335
Pockley	Kirkham	300	x			Kirk. Cart., f. 56
Potter Brompton	Bridlington	800	x			Brid. Cart., f. 102-3
Raisdale	Rievaulx	-	x			Riev. Cart., no. 322
Rievaulx	Rievaulx	-				Riev. Cart., no. 66
			(4)			L.S.R., 1301, p. 61
Rillington	Yedingham		x	48a		Mons. Ebor., p. 665
	Malton		x			Malt. Cart., f. 156, 252
Rookbarugh	Rievaulx	200			-	Riev. Cart., no. 69

Rosedale	Rosedale	-	x			E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 307
Ryton	Malton	400			17a	Malt. Cart., f. 102-3
Scagglethorpe	Bridlington	500				Brid. Cart., f. 104
Scampston	Malton				-	Malt. Cart., f. 156
Snainton	Malton	900	x		-	Malt. Cart., f. 133-40
	Yedingham	200				Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p. 117
Sproxton	Guisborough	100				Guis. Cart., vol. 2, p. 2
	Kirkham	200				Kirk. Cart., f. 54
	Rievaulx	700	x			P.R.O., K.B. 138/110 Riev. Cart., no. 127, 8
Staxton	Bridlington	400	x			Brid. Cart., f. 72
Thornton Dale	Rievaulx	300				Riev. Cart., no. 305
	Malton				-	Malt. Cart., f. 127
Thorpe Bassett	Malton	200				Malt. Cart., f. 170
Welham	Malton			-		Malt. Cart., f. 65
Willerby	Bridlington	800	x			Brid. Cart., f. 76, 86, 88
Wintringham	Malton	100				Malt. Cart., f. 189
Wombleton	Rievaulx			-		Riev. Cart., no. 63
Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel)	Wykeham	500	x			Mons. Ebor., p. 670
Wykeham (par Malton)	Malton	300	x			Malt. Cart., f. 42

APPENDIX 8.1

Mills

Village Name	Sources	Power	Type
Allerston	Y.F. 1218-31, no.540; Cal. Inq., vol. 7, no.82	water	-
Ampleforth	St. Peter's Cart., f.47, 81; Y.M.F.,vol. 1, p.59; Y.D., vol. 5, no.1394	water	corn
Appleton-le-Moor	St. Mary's Cart., f.96; Y.A.J., vol. 12 (1893), p.96	water	corn
Appleton-le-Street	Mon. Notes, vol. 2, p.57	wind	-
Ayton, East	Percy Cart., no.375, 452	water	corn
Ayton, West	P.R.S., vol. 15, p.66; Whitby Cart., no.416	water	corn
Bilsdale	Kirk. Cart., f.92	water	-
Bowforth	St. Lenn. Cart., f.16	water	corn
Bransdale	Y.A.J., vol. 16 (1902), p.92; P.R.O., JI1/1076/2	water	corn
Brawby	Hex. Cart., B.B., p.77	water	corn
Brompton	Y.F. 1232-46, no.664; Percy Cart., no.709; Cal. Inq., vol. 5, no.534	-	corn
Coneysthorpe	Malt. Cart., f.73	-	-
Ebberston	Y.F.J., no.121; E.Y.C., vol. 1, p.305; Cal. Pat. R., vol. 1, p.62; Mon. Notes, vol. 1. p.222; Mons. Ebor., p. 670	-	corn
		-	-
Edston, Great	E.Y.C., vol. 1, p.470; Mons. Ebor., p.665	water	corn
Ellerburn/Farmanby	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.157, 158	-	-
Farndale	Y.A.J., vol. 16 (1902), p. 92	water	corn
		water	corn
Folkton	Y.F. 1232-46, no.1116; Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.137; Brid. Cart., f.116	wind	corn
Foulbridge	Cal. Inq., vol. 1, no.87	wind	-
Fryton	Riev. Cart., no.311-12; Y. Inq., vol. 4, p.19; Mon. Notes, vol. 1, p.147	water	corn
Gillamoor	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p.123	-	corn
Gilling	Y.A.J., vol. 15 (1900), p.209	water	corn
Goathland	N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p.246	water	corn
Grimston	Lib. Alb., sec. 3, f.60	-	corn

Gristhorpe	Y.D., vol. 10, no.228, 230; Y.F. 1270-1300, no.31	wind	-
Habton, Great	Y.D., vol. 5, no.219, 221, 222	water	corn
Habton, Little	Y.D., vol. 5, no. 195	water	corn
Harome	P.R.O., Sc6/1087/1	water	-
Helmsley	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.32; St. Peter's Cart., f.47; P.R.O., Sc6/1087/1	water	corn
		-	fulling
Heslerton	Y.D., vol. 2, p. 73	water	-
Holme, South	Guis. Cart., vol. 2, p.446; Lib. Alb., sec. 2, f.63	water	corn
Hovingham	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p.76, 112; P.R.O., Sc6/1087/14	water	corn
		-	fulling
Howthorpe	Y.D., vol. 2, no. 86	-	corn
Hutton Buscel	Whitby Cart., no. 25	water	-
Keldholme	E.Y.C., vol. 9, p. 92	water	-
Kingthorpe	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p. 156	-	corn
Kirby Misperton	E.Y.C., vol. 1, p.476; St. Mary's Cart., f.210	-	corn
Kirbymoorside	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.167; E.Y.C., vol. 7, p. 93	water	corn
Knapton	Cal. Inq., vol. 2, no. 534	-	corn
Laysthorpe	Byland Cart., f. 55; Y.D. 1232-46, no. 107	wind	-
Levisham	Y. Inq., vol. 1, p.31; Malt. Cart., f.117; Y.F. 1232-46, no. 1149	water	corn
Malton	Malt. Cart., f. 37, 42, 239	water	corn
		wind	-
Marton (par Sinnington)	Malt. Cart., f. 111; Mons. Ebor, p. 978	water	corn
Middleton	Y.F. 1246-72, no. 1793	-	corn
Muston	Cal. Inq., vol. 8, no. 319	wind	corn
Nawton	Y.A.J., vol. 12 (1893), p. 92	-	-
Ness, West	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no. 533	water	-
Newsham	Y.D., vol. 8, no. 149	water	corn
Newton, East	Y.F. 1246-72, no. 1394	-	-
Newton (par Pickering)	Malt. Cart., f. 126	-	corn
Newton (par Wintringham)	Malt. Cart., f. 151; Mon. Notes, vol. 1, p. 126	water	corn
Normanby	Kirk. Cart., f. 31	water	-
Norton	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p. 18	-	corn
Nunnington	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p. 9; Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no. 533	water	-

Pickering	Riev. Cart., no. 173; Y. Inq., vol. 3, p. 172;	water	corn
	Cal. Inq., vol. 7, p. 56; N.R.R.S., vol. 3, p. 246	water	corn
Pockley	Kirk. Cart., f. 56; Y. Inq., vol. 3, p. 32	water	-
Riccal	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no. 533	water	-
Rillington	Malt. Cart., f. 159, 163	water	corn
Rookbarugh	Y.F. 1327-47, no. 58	-	-
Rosedale	Mons. Ebor., p. 317	water	-
Salton	St. Peter's Cart., f. 177; Hex. Cart., B.B., p. 76; D.B., f. 93	water	corn
Scampston	Whitby Cart., no. 210; P.R.O., C135/44/6	water	corn
Seamer	Cal. Inq., vol. 5, p. 314	water	corn
		water	corn
		wind	-
Settrington	Y. Inq., vol. 4, p. 103	water	corn
Sherburn	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p. 177; Y.F. 1327-47, no. 6, 51;	water	-
	Y. Inq., vol. 2, p. 65; P.R.O., Sc6/1078/1	water	-
Sinnington	E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 467	-	-
Slingsby	Y.F. 1218-31, no. 182; Y. Inq., vol. 3, p. 151	water	corn
		water	corn
		wind	-
Snainton	Y.F. 1246-72, p. 185	-	-
Spaunton	St. Mary's Cart., f. 184	water	corn
Sproxton	Y.F. 1218-32, no. 305; Y. Inq., vol. 3, p. 101; Riev. Cart., no. 44; Kirk. Cart., f. 54	water	corn
Stonegrave	Y. Inq., vol. 3, p. 9	water	-
Sutton	Byland. Cart., f. 107	-	-
Thornton Dale	Y.A.R.J., p. 105; P.R.O., C135/44/6	water	corn
		-	fulling
Thorpe Bassett	Cal. Inq., vol. 6, no. 305	water	corn
Willerby	Brid. Cart., f. 107; Cal. Inq., vol. 5, no. 266	wind	corn
Wintringham	Y.F. 1232-46, no. 664; Malt. Cart., f. 182;	water	corn
	P.R.O., C. 47/86/13, C134/40/1	-	fulling
Wombleton	Newburgh Cart., f. 47	water	corn
Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel)	Y.A.J., vol. 15 (1900), p. 206; Mons. Ebor., p. 206	wind	corn
Yeddingham	Mons. Ebor., p. 276	-	-

APPENDIX 9.1

THE CHURCH

(a) Early Medieval Churches and Chapels

Village	Details	Date	Source
Airyholme	chapel (Hovingham)	1187	Y.A.J., vol. 40, p. 87
Allerston	chapel (Pickering)		Y. Inq., vol. 3, p. 52
Amotherby	chapel (Appleton-le-Street)	-1200	Malt. Cart., f. 87, 89 D.B., f. 44
Ampleforth	parish church	c1120	Newburgh Cart., f. 7 St. Peter's Cart., f. 181 Lib. Alb., sec. 2, f. 55
Appleton-le-Moor	chapel (Lastingham)	-1200	St. Mary's Cart., f. 17, 188, 193
Appleton-le-Street	parish church	-1200	Malt. Cart., f. 73 D.B., f. 44 P.R.S., vol. 17, p. 19 Cal. Pat. R. 1307-13, p. 245 Cal. Chart. R. 1338-40, p. 254
Ayton, East	chapel (Seamer)	-1322	Whitby Cart., no. 753
Barton-le-Street	parish church	1090	E.Y.C., vol. 3, p. 66 Y.F., 1327-47, no. 34
Barugh, Great	chapel (Kirby Misperton)	1318	Cal. Pat. R., 1317-21, p. 52
Beadlam	chapel	1309	Cal. Inq., vol. 5, no. 86
Bilsdale	chapel (Helmsley)	-1175	Kirk. Cart., f. 50
Brawby	chapel (Salton)	-1200	St. Peter's Cart., f. 177 Hex. Cart. B.B., p. 77
Brompton	parish church	1195	Malt. Cart., f. 32, 143 Cal. Pat. R. 1327-30, p. 109
Cawthorn	chapel (Middleton)	1230	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p. 117 Y.D., 1246-72, no. 1380

Cawton	chapel (Gilling)	-1175	Kirk. Cart., f. 34 Riev. Cart., no. 113 Seld. Soc., vol. 56, no. 1037
Cayton	chapel (Seamer)	1322	Whitby Cart., no. 753
Cropton	chapel (Middleton)	-1300	Test. Nev., p. 378
Ebberston	chapel (Pickering)	1184	P.R.S., vol. 18, p. 99
Edston, Great	parish church	1338	P.R.O., V 47/86/6
Ellerburn	chapel (Pickering)	1137	A.G.R., p. 213
Filey	parish church	1180	E.Y.C., vol. 2, p. 436 Brid. Cart., f. 112
Flotmanby	chapel (Folkton)	-1200	Brid. Cart., f. 64
Folkton	parish church	-1200	Brid. Cart., f. 67 Mon. Notes, vol. 1, p. 101
Fryton	chapel	-1200	Newburgh Cart., f. 51
Ganton	parish church	1180	E.Y.C., vol. 2, p. 436 Brid. Cart., f. 101 Y.D., vol. 10, no. 211
Gillamoor	chapel (Kirbymoorside)	1183-9	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p. 102 Newburgh Cart., f. 11, 34
Gilling, East	parish church	1135	E.Y.C., vol. 3, p. 485 E.Y.C., vol. 7, p. 102 Riev. Cart., no. 302 St. Mary's Cart., f. 23, 215
Goathland	chapel	1108	Whitby Cart., no. 195
Grimston	chapel (Gilling)	-1200	D.B., f. 127
Habton, Great	chapel	1187	E.Y.C., vol. 2, p. 125
Harome	chapel (Helmsley)	-1175	Kirk. Cart., f. 50
Helmsley	parish church	-1175	Kirk. Cart., f. 15, 49, 50 Riev. Cart., no. 239
	chapel (in Helmsley Castle)		Kirk. Cart., f. 50
Heslerton, East	parish church	1150	E.Y.C., vol. 2, p. 57, 63
Heslerton, West	chapel (East Heslerton)	1150	E.Y.C., vol. 2, p. 57, 63
Holme, South	chapel	c1250	Guis. Cart., vol. 2, p. 84, 446
Hovingham	parish church	-1200	Byland Cart., f. 43 Newburgh Cart., f. 32

Howthorpe	chapel (Hovingham)	1305	Y.D., vol. 2, no. 85, 86
Hutton Buscel	parish church	-1155	Whitby Cart., no. 68 N.A., ZIF4/BRA 635
Hutton-le-Hole	chapel (Lastingham)	-1156	St. Mary's Cart., f. 178
Kirby Misperton	parish church	-1099	St. Mary's Cart., f. 20, 209, 212 Y. Inq., vol. 4, p. 37 Cal. Pat. R. 1317-21, p. 57
Kirbymoorside	parish church	-1200	St. Mary's Cart., f. 92
Kirkdale	parish church	1154	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p. 2, 236 Riev. Cart., no. 332 BI., RVII/F107
Knapton	chapel	-1200	Malt. Cart., f. 150 Cal. Pat. R., 1313-17, p. 213
Lastingham	parish church	-1150	St. Mary's Cart., f. 178 Y.A.J., vol. 12, p. 92
Levisham	parish church	-1200	Malt. Cart., f. 117 Cal. Pat. R., 1307-13, p. 182
Lockton	chapel	c1200	Test. Nev., p. 378
Malton, Old	parish church	c1150	Malt. Cart., f. 34
Malton, New	chapel (Old Malton))	c1175	Malt. Cart., f. 46
	chapel (Old Malton))		Cal. Pat. R., 1281-92, p. 29
Marton (par Sinnington)	chapel	-1200	St. Mary's Cart., f. 223
Middleton	parish church	1135	E.Y.C., vol. 7, p. 127
Muston	chapel (Hunmanby)	1330	Cal. Chart. R., 1327-41, p. 239
Ness, West	chapel (Hovingham)	1357	B.I, RVII/E75
Newton (par Wintringham)	chapel (Wintringham)	-1200	Malt. Cart., f. 154
Normanby	parish church	1146	E.Y.C., vol. 1, p. 324 St. Mary's Cart., f. 19, 206
Norton	parish church	-1200	Malt. Cart., f. 32, 240
Nunnington	(Appears first after Domesday in the Pope Nicholas Taxation)		
Osgodby	chapel (Seamer)	-1322	Test. Ebor., vol. 2, p. 2
Oswaldkirk	parish church		St. Peter's Cart., f. 181
Pickering	parish church	-1128	St. Peter's Cart., f. 8, 9 E.Y.C,. vol, 1, p. 311
	chapel (in Pickering Castle)	1312	N.R.R.S., vol. 2, p. 147

Pockley	chapel	1338	Cal. Chart. R., 1338-40, p. 158
Raisdale	chapel (Helmsley)	-1200	Kirk. Cart., f. 54
			B.I., RVII/E 201
Rillington	parish church	c1150	Lib. Alb., sec. 2, f. 31
			Byland Cart., f. 99, 100
			Y.F. 1246-72, no. 1512
			Cal. Pat. R., 1313-17, p. 560
Rosedale	chapel	1311	V.C.H., (N.R.), vol. 2, p. 461
Salton	parish church	1150	St. Peter's Cart., f. 177
			D.B., f. 94, 109
			Hex. Cart., B.B., p. 76
Scampston	chapel (Rillington)	c1150	Lib. Alb., sec. 2, f. 31
			Byland Cart., f. 99, 115
Seamer	parish church	-1150	Whitby Cart., no. 1
		1322	Whitby Cart., no. 551
	chapel (in Seamer Hall)	-1200	Whitby Cart., no. 43
Settrington	parish church	1253	Y.F. 1246-72, no. 1654
			Y. Inq., vol. 4, p. 52
Sherburn	parish church	-1185	Guis. Cart., vol. 2, p. 438
Sinnington	parish church	-1193	Guis. Cart., vol. 1, p. 467
	chapel	-1205	Guis. Cart., vol. 1, p. 467
Slingsby	parish church	-1200	Malt. Cart., f. 98
			Kirk. Cart., f. 91
			Whitby Cart., no. 596, 615
Snainton	chapel (Brompton)	-1200	Malt. Cart., f. 137
Sproxton	chapel (Helmsley)	-1200	Kirk. Cart., f. 54
Staxton	chapel (Willerby)	1180	Brid. Cart., f. 70
Stonegrave	parish church	-1200	Lib. Alb., sec. 2, f. 62
		1279	Cal. Pat. R., 1279-81, p. 8
Sutton	chapel (Norton)	-1200	Malt. Cart., f. 63
			Byland Cart., f. 108
Thornton Dale	parish church	-1200	Malt. Cart., f. 127
			Y.F. 1276-1300, no. 41
Thornton Riseborough	chapel (Normanby)	c1150	St. Mary's Cart., f. 223
Thorpe Bassett	parish church	1199	P.R.S., vol. 17, p. 19

Welham	chapel (Norton)	1173	E.Y.C., vol. 3, p. 495 Malt. Cart., f. 65
Willerby	parish church	1165	Brid. Cart., f. 76, 86 Whitby Cart., no. 596
Wilton	chapel (Pickering)	1137	A.G.R., p. 212
Wintringham	parish church	c1160	Malt. Cart., f. 182
Wombleton	chapel (Kirkdale)	-1200	Newburgh Cart., f. 47 Y.F., 1270-1300, no. 26
Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel)	parish church	1150	St. Peter's Cart., f. 135
	chapel	c1300	Whitby Cart., no. 603
Yedingham	parish church	-1200	Mons. Ebor., p. 275 Y.F. 1218-31, no. 18

(b) Pope Nicholas IV Tax Figures (1291)
(Taken from the Pope Nicholas Taxation of 1291..... Record Commission Publication (London, 1802) p.p. 321-24)

Parish Centre	Parish Churches Held By Religious Foundations	Tax Details	£	s	d	Total Parish Tax £	s	d
Ampleforth	St. Peter's	church	40	0	0	40	0	0
Appleton-le-Street	St. Alban's	church	46	13	4			
		St. Alban's	4	0	0			
		vicarage	5	0	0	55	13	4
Barton-le-Street	Holy Trinity	church	20	0	0	20	0	0
Brompton	Malton	church	53	6	8	53	6	8
Edston, Great		church	20	0	0	20	0	0
Folkton	Bridlington	church	26	13	4			
		vicarage	6	13	4	33	7	0
Ganton	Bridlington	church	10	0	0			
		vicarage	5	6	8	15	6	8
Gilling, East	St. Mary's	church	16	0	0			
		St. Mary's	2	13	4	18	13	4

Helmsley	Kirkham	church	60	0	0	60	0	0
Heslerton, East	Guisborough	church	13	6	8	13	6	8
Hovingham	Newburgh	church	40	0	0	40	0	0
Hutton Buscel	Whitby	vicarage	25	6	8			
		Whitby	2	0	0	27	6	8
Kirby Misperton	St. Mary's	church	13	13	4			
		St. Mary's		10	0	14	3	4
Kirbymoorside	Newburgh	church	16	3	4			
			13	6	8	29	10	0
Kirkdale	Newburgh	church	23	6	8	23	6	8
Lastingham	St. Mary's	church	16	13	4			
		St. Mary's	13	6	8	30	0	0
Levisham		church	5	0	0	5	0	0
Malton, Old	Malton	church	21	6	8	21	6	8
Middleton		church	53	6	8	53	6	8
Normanby	St. Mary's	church	13	6	8			
		St. Mary's		10	0	13	16	8
Norton	Malton	church	8	0	0	8	0	0
Nunnington		church	4	13	4	4	13	4
Oswaldkirk		church	13	6	8	13	6	8
Pickering	St. Peter's	vicarage	6	13	4			
		St. Peter's				6	13	4
Rillington	Byland	vicarage	21	6	8	21	6	8
Salton	St. Peter's/Hexham	church	53	6	8	53	6	8
Seamer	Whitby	church	53	6	8			
		Whitby	3	6	8	56	13	4
Settrington		church	40	0	0			
		rector of Thorpe Bassett	1	6	8	41	6	8
Sherburn	Guisborough	church	16	0	0			
		vicarage	5	0	0	21	0	0
Sinnington	Guisborough	church	8	0	0	8	0	0
Slingsby	Kirkham/Whitby	church	13	6	8			
		Whitby		13	4	14	0	0

Stonegrave		church	33	6	8	33	6	8
Thornton Dale		church	13	6	8			
		vicarage	5	0	0			
		rector of Thorpe Bassett	1	0	0	19	6	8
Thorpe Bassett	St. Alban's	church	12	0	0			
		St. Alban's	1	10	0	13	10	0
Willerby	Bridlington/Whitby	church	6	13	4			
		Bridlington		10	8			
		vicarage	5	0	0	12	4	0
Wintringham	Malton/Holy Trinity	church	23	6	8			
		Holy Trinity	3	6	8	26	13	4
Wykeham	Whitby	church	10	0	0	10	0	0
Yedingham	Yedingham	church	6	13	4			
		vicarage	5	0	0	11	13	4

APPENDIX 10.1

COMMERCIAL CENTRES

Village	Market Day	Fair Days	Date	Source
Barton-le-Street	Wednesday	Aug. 9-11	1246	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.238
Brompton	Monday	Nov. 1-8	1253	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p. 434
Filey	Friday	Aug. 23-5	1240	Y.F., 1232-46, no. 1034
Helmsley	B O R O U G H			
	-		1285	Y.Inq., vol. 3, p.32
		?		
Heslerton, East	Friday	Oct. 31-Nov. 2	1252	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.414
	changed to			
	Monday		1303	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 3, p. 39
Hovingham	Thursday	Aug. 14-16	1252	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.367
	possibly changed to			
	Monday		1279	Quo. War., p.218
Kirbymoorside	Wednesday	Sept. 7-4	1254	Cal. Pat. R., 1247-58, p.385
	B O R O U G H		1150-89	Cal. Pat. R., 1345-8, p. 200
	-		1283	Cal. Pat. R., 1281-92, p.76
		-	1295	Malt. Cart., f. 48
Pickering	B O R O U G H		1100-35	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.4
	-		1201	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.85
		Sept. 7-9	1291	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 2, p.389
		Sept. 13-15		
Scampston	Wednesday	July 19-21	1253	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.374
Sherburn	Friday	Sept. 13-15	1227	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.123
	changed to			
	Tuesday		1343	P.R.O., C135/65/9
Sinnington	Monday	Holy Trinity	1303	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 3, p.41
		Nov. 10-12		
Stonegrave	Monday	Holy Trinity	1257	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 1, p.474
Thornton Dale	Tuesday	Holy Trinity	1281	Cal. Chart. R., vol. 2, p.257
		Oct. 31-Nov. 2		Y.D., vol. 1, no. 464

APPENDIX 11.1

FUNCTIONAL HIERARCHY

Village	Dorm.	TWP.	Manorial	Milling	Parochial	Commercial	Total Weight No.	Re-Class*
Airyholme	½	½			1		2	
Aislaby	1	1	1				3	
Allerston	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Amotherby	1	1	2		1		5	
Ampleforth	1	1	2	1	2		7	C
Appleton-le-Moor	1	1	1	1	1		5	
Appleton-le-Street	1	1	2	1	2		7	C
Ayton, East	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Ayton, West	1	1	2	1			5	
Barton-le-Street	1	1	2		2	2	8	D
Barugh, Great	1	1	2		1		5	
Barugh, Little	1	1	2				4	
Baschebi	½						½	
Beadlam	1	1			1		3	
Bilsdale	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Binnington	1	1	2				4	
Bowforth	1	½		1			2½	
Bransdale	1	½		1			2½	
Brawby	1	1	1	1	1		5	
Broadfield	1	½					1½	
Brompton	1	1	2	1	2	2	9	E_2
Broughton	1	1	2				4	
Butterwick	1	1					2	
Carlton	1						1	
Cawthorn	1	1	1		1		4	
Cawton	1	1	2		1		5	
Cayton	1	1	2		1		5	
Coneysthorpe	1	1	2	1			5	
Coulton	1	1	2				4	

Cropton	1	1	3		1		6	A_1
Easthorpe	1	1	2				4	
Ebberston	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Edston, Great	1	1	2	1	2		7	C
Edston, Little	1	1	2				4	
Ellerburn	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Fadmoor	1	1					2	
Farmanby	1	1					2	
Farndale	1	½		1			2½	
Filey	1	1	1		2	2	7	D
Flixton	1	1	2				4	
Flotmanby	1	1	2		1		5	
Folkton	1	1	2	1	2		7	C
Foulbridge	1	½	1	1			3½	
Fryton	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Ganton	1	1	2		2		6	A_2
Gillamoor	1	1		1	1		4	
Gilling, East	1	1	2	1	2		7	C
Goathland	1	1		1	1		4	
Grimston	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Gristhorpe	1	1	2	1			5	
Habton, Great	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Habton, Little	1	1	2	1			5	
Harome	1	1	1	1	1		5	
Hartoft	1						1	
Helmsley	1	1	3	1	2	3	11	F
Heslerton, East	1	1	2	1	2	2	9	E_2
Heslerton, West	1	1	2		1		5	
Hildenley	1	½	2				3½	
Holme, North	1	1	2				4	
Holme, South	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Hovingham	1	1	3	1	2	2	10	E_2
Howe	1	1					2	
Howthorpe	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Hutton Buscel	1	1	2	1	2		7	C

Hutton-le-Hole	1	1	2		1		5	
Irton	1	1	1				3	
Killerby	1	1	2				4	
Kingthorpe	1	1	2	1			5	
Kirby Misperton	1	1	2	1	2		7	C
Kirbymoorside	1	1	3	1	2	2	10	E_2
Knapton	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Lastingham	1	1	2		2		6	A_2
Laysthorpe	1	1		1			3	
Lebberston	1	1	2				4	
Levisham	1	1	2	1	2		7	C
Linton	½	½					1	
Lockton	1	1	2		1		5	
Malton, New	1	½			1	3	5½	F
Malton, Old	1	1	3	1	2		8	
Marton (par Sinnington)	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Marton (par Wykeham)	1						1	
Middleton	1	1	3	1	2		8	C
Muscoates	1	1	1				3	
Muston	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Nawton	1	1	2	1			5	
Ness, East	1	1					2	
Ness, West	1	1		1	1		4	
Newbiggin	1	1					2	
Newsham	1	1	2	1			5	
Newton, East	1	1		1			3	
Newton (par Hutton Buscel)	1						1	
Newton (par Pickering)	1	1	1	1			4	
Newton (par Wintringham)	1	1	1	1	1		5	
Normanby	1	1	2	1	2		7	C
Norton	1	1	2	1	2		7	C
Nunnington	1	1	3	1	2		8	C
Osgodby	1	1			1		3	

Oswaldkirk	1	1	2		2		6	C
Pickering	1	1	3	1	2	3	11	F
Pockley	1	1	1	1	1		5	
Potter Brompton	1	1	2				1	
Preston	1						1	
Raisdale	1	1	2		1		5	
Riccal	1	1	1	1			4	
Rillington	1	1	2	1	2		7	C
Rookbarugh	1	½		1			2½	
Rosedale	1			1	1		3	
Roxby	1	1					2	
Ruston	1	½					1½	
Ryton	1	1	2				4	
Salton	1	1	3	1	2		8	C
Sawdon	1	1	1				3	
Scackleton	1	1					2	
Scagglethorpe	1	1	2				4	
Scampston	1	1	2	1	1	2	8	E_1
Seamer	1	1	2	1	2		7	C
Settrington	1	1	2	1	2		7	C
Sherburn	1	1	2	1	2	2	9	E_2
Sinnington	1	1	2	1	2	2	9	E_2
Slingsby	1	1	2	1	2		7	C
Snainton	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Spaunton	1	1	2	1			5	
Sproxton	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Staxton	1	1	2		1		5	
Stonegrave	1	1	2	1	2	2	9	E_2
Sutton	1	1	2	1	1		6	B
Swinton	1	1	2				4	
Thornton Dale	1	1	2	1	2	2	9	E_2
Thornton Riseborough	1	1	2		1		5	
Thorpe Bassett	1	1	2	1	2		7	C
Urra	1	½					1½	

Wath	1	1	1			3	
Welham	1	1	2		1	5	
Willerby	1	1	2	1	2	7	C
Wilton	1	1	2		1	5	
Wintringham	1	1	2	1	2	7	C
Wombleton	1	1	2	1	1	6	B
Wrelton	1	1	1			3	
Wykeham (par Hutton Buscel)	1	1	2	1	2	7	C
Wykeham (par Malton)	1	1				2	
Yedingham	1	1	2	1	2	7	C

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*Re-classification involves only those villages with total weight-numbers of 6 or over and concerns the combination of milling, parochial and commercial functions exercised by each. For definitions see text.