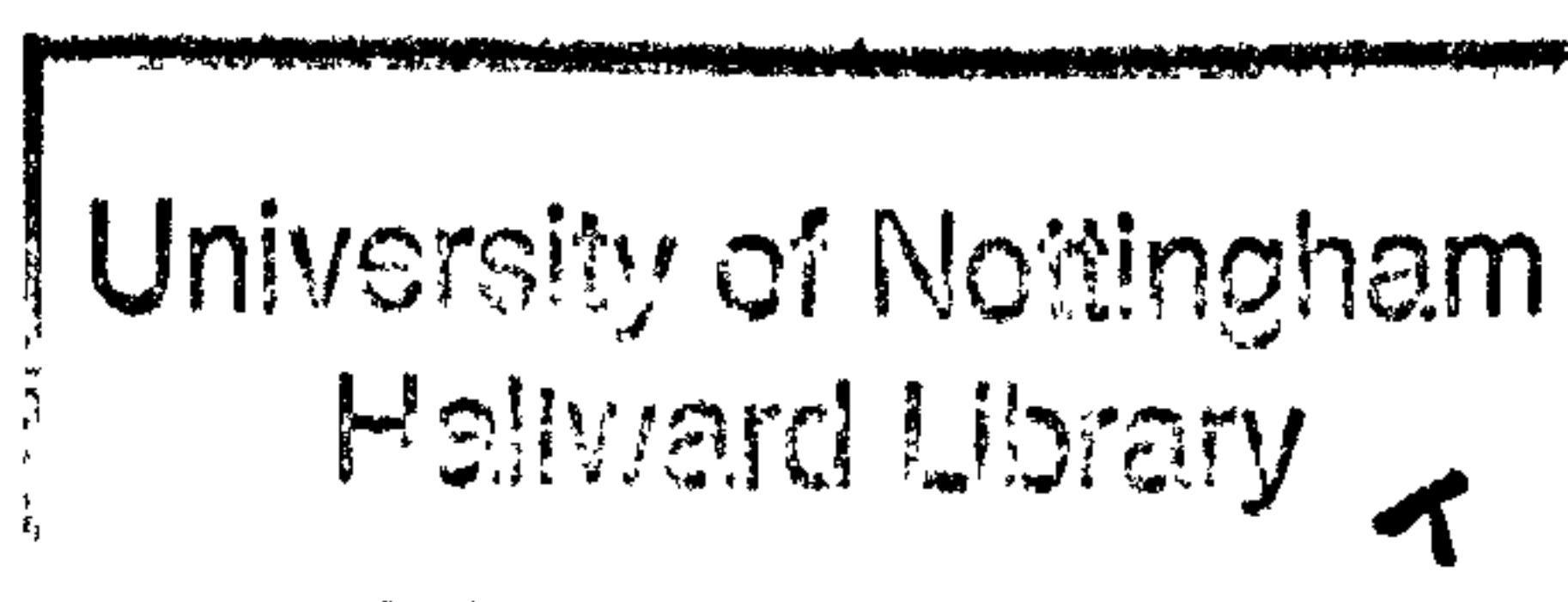


**MANOR HOUSES, CHURCHES AND
SETTLEMENTS:
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHIES OF THE
YORKSHIRE WOLDS BEFORE 1600**

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Abstract

The thesis examines conceptions and experiences of space in later medieval and early modern England with specific reference to the Yorkshire Wolds, a region of low chalk hills in the historic East Riding of Yorkshire. Particular attention is paid to the spatial and symbolic relationships between manor houses, parish churches and rural settlements in the period before c. 1600, and to the ways power was articulated through such a landscape. Chapter IV examines evidence for early church foundations and argues that the geographical relationships between manor houses and churches evident in the Wolds and elsewhere in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were not simply an outcome of earlier pre-Conquest practices. The remainder of the thesis explores the continued meaning of these relationships in the later medieval and early modern period, arguing that while landowners might constitute or maintain their power through the architecture of their houses or patronage of nearby churches, these practices were at least partially dependent on the geographical relationships between manor, churches and settlements.

Chapters V and VI examine the use and meaning of manorial and church space in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in greater detail. Both chapters are attentive to the ways that manorial lords might articulate their gentility, status and power, as well as their piety, through these spaces. Conversely, the thesis also investigates evidence for public use of manorial and church space, and consideration is given to the ways manor houses and churches might be constituted and experienced as public, private, secular or religious spaces. The thesis also examines evidence for the meaning of private space and property within the wider landscape and in doing so, investigates a variety of sites at which individuals and groups other than the gentry might assert identity, status and power. The thesis concludes by suggesting that buildings and landscapes not only *reflected* the status, wealth and lineage of those who occupied and used them, but also provided sites through which social status and political power could be actively *negotiated* and maintained.

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Forward

Units of Measurement

There were eight bovates or oxgangs in a carucate: that is, the amount of land an eight-oxen team could plough in a year. The amount of land included within a carucate, and consequently within a bovat or oxgang, depended on the system of tillage, the relief of the land, the type of soil and various other factors. In the study area a bovat or oxgang was variously accounted by contemporaries as between seven and fifteen acres. Both terms are used in the manuscript sources of eastern Yorkshire and they are therefore used interchangeably in the text.

In northern England, distances were sometimes measured in the long mile, but all distances given in the text are taken from modern OS maps and given in metres and kilometres.

Dry products were measured in pecks, bushels and quarters. There were 4 pecks to the bushel, and 8 bushels to the quarter.

The £ sign is used in the text in place of the abbreviation *l* used in the medieval sources.

£1	20 s
1 s	12 d
1 d	4 farthings
1 mark	13 s 4 d
1 crown	5 s

Dates

Until 1751, the civil, ecclesiastical and legal year began on 25th March rather than the 1st January. Dates between 1st January and 24th March are written in the text using both years. For example:

1st January, 1448/9.

To confuse matters further, many civil documents give dates in regnal years rather than using the *anno domini* system found in ecclesiastical documents. Regnal years originally began on the day of coronation, but from the time of Edward II they usually began on the day of accession. Regnal years have been converted into civil and historical years in the text, so that 6th December 5 Henry VIII is 6th December 1513 and 1st January 1 Elizabeth I is 1st January, 1558/9 and so on.

Abbreviations used in the text

C	century
c.	circa
d	pence
DMV	Deserted Medieval Village
par.	parish
s	shilling(s)

Archive Offices

BIHR	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York.
BL	British Library, London.
ERYARS	East Riding Archive and Record Service, Beverley.
HUL	Hull University Library, Hull.
KHRO	Kingston upon Hull Record Office, Hull (now Hull City Archives).
NMR	National Monuments Record, Swindon.
NRO	Northamptonshire Record Office, Northamptonshire.
NUL	Nottingham University Library, Nottingham.
PHA	Petworth House Archive, West Sussex.
TNA	The National Archives, Kew.
WYAS	West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds.
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds.

County Boundaries

Pre-1977 county boundaries are used throughout the text.

I. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This is a study about the interconnections between settlement morphology, space and power. The thesis combines new theoretical perspectives developed within cultural geography and theoretical archaeology with more traditional methodologies for analysing and mapping settlement form, in order to examine how settlement morphology was implicated in the practices of power in late medieval and early modern England. The project uses standing buildings and landscape evidence in combination with cartographic and documentary sources, particularly deeds and court records, as a means to engage with medieval and sixteenth-century conceptions and experiences of landscape, space and territory.

The project examines the geographical relationships between manor houses, parish churches and rural settlements in the Yorkshire Wolds in the period before c. 1600. Although a number of landscape historians and archaeologists have recently commented on manor-church-settlement relationships, they have typically examined the origins of these relationships in the pre-Conquest period and their development in the period after 1066.¹ Scholars have generally paid little attention to questions about the continued meaning of these relationships in the later medieval and early modern period. It is this theme that the thesis seeks to explore, paying particular attention to what the geographical relationships between manors, churches and settlements might reveal about the ways space was conceived and experienced in medieval and early modern England and, consequently, the ways social status and political power were constituted through such a landscape.

Once a mainstay of historical geography, research on the medieval and sixteenth-century rural landscape has recently been conspicuously absent from the sub-discipline. With the exception of inter-disciplinary collaborations like Roberts and Wrathmell's *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*, it is generally landscape historians and archaeologists, rather than geographers, who now explore questions of

¹ Dymond, 1968, 29; Morris, 1989, 248-74; Daniels, 1996, 109.

settlement morphology and change within the rural landscape.² Thus while issues of landscape have undoubtedly remained an important focus for research within human geography, few historical and cultural geographers have addressed the interconnections between space, territory, landscape and power in the pre-modern period.

Historical, cultural and urban geographers arguing for a “more lively and critical geography of architecture” have recently suggested that scholars ought to pay greater attention to domestic architecture and the spaces of the home.³ This project investigates the use of churches, manor houses and other village spaces, partially because of the survival of buildings and landscape evidence, but also because like the home, these were spaces which villagers encountered on a daily basis. They were the ‘everyday’ spaces of the medieval rural peasant and lord alike. As the largest buildings in any village, churches and manor houses were also the primary foci for patronage, investment and architectural experimentation in the later medieval period. Investment in cathedrals, monasteries and friaries declined sharply after 1300, but scholars have argued that “[f]ar from being a period of architectural decline the later Middle Ages saw a redoubling of building activity, but at the neighbourhood level”.⁴ The houses of the aristocracy and gentry were also an important focus for investment, and arguably one of the major architectural achievements of the later Middle Ages.⁵ As this thesis demonstrates, communities and individuals continued to endow chantries and guilds, and build naves, aisles, chancels, towers, gild halls and manor houses throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As such, manor houses and churches were important sites through which ideas about social status, identity and community could be articulated. This in turn renders them valuable sites through which to explore ideas about meaning, power and space in the later medieval and early modern period.

1.2 Research Aims

The research aims to reconstruct the spatial, symbolic and visual relationships between manor houses, parish churches and settlements in the period before c. 1600, paying

² Roberts and Wrathmell, 2000.

³ Loretta Lees, 2001, 59; Mark Llewellyn, 2003, 267-9; cf. also Blunt and Dowling, 2006.

⁴ Morris, 1979, 227; Wilson, 1990, 189.

particular attention to the later medieval and early modern centuries. In doing this, the thesis examines the ways particular types of spaces, including manorial complexes and churches, were organised, experienced and given meaning, as well as the ways status and power were constituted within such a landscape. As a corollary to this, the thesis investigates conceptions and experiences of space, territory and landscape in late medieval and early modern England.

1.3 Overview of the Thesis

This thesis is arranged into seven chapters. Chapter I introduces the thesis and outlines its research aims. The next two chapters outline the theoretical and methodological approaches adopted in this project. Chapter II offers a critical introduction to the key literature and discusses what a specifically geographical approach to the medieval and early modern landscape can add to the existing corpus of work. The chapter offers an overview of recent work in historical geography, as well as outlining some of the ways geographers and archaeologists have approached issues about the use and meaning of space, landscape and territory. The chapter also discusses issues of power, drawing in particular on new theories of power developed within social history. The next section of the chapter introduces research on medieval rural settlements and manor-church-settlement relations undertaken within landscape history and archaeology, while the final section presents a short overview of recent research on public and private space, as well as summarising the state of knowledge about contemporary conceptions of property and ownership in late medieval and early modern England.

Chapter III discusses a number of epistemological and methodological issues of relevance to the thesis. It presents a methodology for the project and introduces the Yorkshire Wolds study area. The chapter also offers a critical introduction to the key sources utilised in this thesis, principally: property records; equity court papers; ecclesiastical records including cause papers; maps; landscape; and standing buildings evidence.

⁵ Emery, 2005, 141.

The remainder of the thesis is divided into four chapters. Chapters IV, V and VI present empirical results and Chapter VII offers empirical, methodological and theoretical conclusions. Chapter IV details the agricultural and settlement landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds using both primary empirical data collected during the research project and secondary material. The main body of the chapter presents results from the survey which investigated the geographical relationships between manors, churches and rural settlements in the Yorkshire Wolds in the late medieval and early modern period. The chapter explores these relationships in the case of twenty-eight manor houses whose sites can be determined in the period before c. 1600. The most common manor-church-settlement relationships are identified and the connections between pre-Conquest and later forms of landscape organisation examined. The chapter also examines evidence for the movement of manor houses in the medieval period.

Chapters V and VI are structured by a notion of widening spatial horizons. Thus the discussion in Chapter V moves from considering the micro-scale spaces of the manor house interior, through the manorial complex, deer park and demesne lands, to consider the meaning of private property amongst the wider population. The chapter starts by exploring the spaces within and around manor houses, examining how the architecture of houses and the spatial structure of manorial complexes functioned to organise space and people, and thus to create meaning and constitute power. The author uses a combination of documentary and standing buildings evidence in order to offer detailed descriptions of four houses in the Wolds. The chapter examines questions about public and private space, paying particular attention to issues of domestic planning, the form and use of open halls for family dining, hospitality and court sessions, and the provision of bedchambers, oratories and domestic chapels. Moving beyond the manorial complex, the chapter examines similar themes with reference to gardens, deer parks and demesne agriculture, as well as village greens, tofts, crofts, dwellings and alehouses. In particular, the chapter uses cases of riot, violent assembly and dispossession from the Star Chamber archive as a means to explore questions about land-use, enclosure, property rights and concepts of ownership in sixteenth-century England.

Chapter VI addresses similar themes in relation to parish churches, investigating the architecture and morphology of 'church space'. The chapter demonstrates the

foundation dates and distribution of chantries and gilds in the Yorkshire Wolds in the period from before 1300 to the Reformation, as well as examining these foundations as sites at which not only piety but also gentility, lineage and wealth could be publicly articulated. Moving away from the church itself, the chapter also explores the connections between chantries and wider landscapes, both in terms of their place within networks of landownership, marriage and influence and their role in asserting claims for local resources and territory. Tombs and burial practices are explored as a means of ‘presencing’ the dead within the community and post-mortem contributions to local and more distant church building projects are discussed, as are the projects themselves which commonly included the reconstruction of aisles, nave, towers and chancels and smaller-scale refenestration programmes. The chapter also addresses how church towers functioned to structure wider ‘parochial’ and ‘regional’ spaces through their visual and aural presence in the landscape. Changes in campanological technology are discussed with reference to the widespread rebuilding of church towers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The chapter also reflects on the changing use of church space in the post-Reformation period. Finally, Chapter VII concludes the thesis by summarising key empirical and theoretical arguments drawn from the three preceding chapters alongside methodological conclusions.

II. Literature Review

This chapter offers a critical introduction to the key literature used in the thesis, as well as examining what a specifically geographical perspective can add to recent research on medieval and early modern settlements, landscapes and social relations. The first and second sections of the chapter reviews recent research in historical geography, noting a neglect of pre-modern topics despite continuing interest in landscape studies more generally. The third section sketches out some of the ways geographers and archaeologists have engaged with issues about the use and meaning of space, landscape and territory. The fourth section discusses recent work on power relations in medieval and early modern England, drawing on new theories of power currently circulating within social history. The fifth section introduces recent research by landscape historians and archaeologists, as well as a few geographers, on medieval rural settlements and landscapes, while the sixth section outlines work which has focused on manor-church-settlement relationships. The seventh and final section offers a short overview of recent research on public and private space, property and ownership in late medieval and sixteenth-century England.

2.1 Historical Geography

The English medieval rural settlement was a key theme for research within mid twentieth-century geography and beyond. Perhaps the two most influential figures were the economic historian Maurice Beresford and the local historian W. G. Hoskins. Like Maitland, Rowse and Tawney before him, Beresford was a forceful advocate of history 'on the ground' and his personal research interests did much to shape the research priorities of later scholars. With a particular interest in rural settlements, especially deserted medieval villages, Beresford was a key figure during the excavations at Wharram Percy and founded the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group, later known as the Medieval Settlement Research Group, with co-excavator John Hurst in 1952.¹ Just three years later, Hoskins published *The Making of the English Landscape*. A seminal work hugely popular with academic and lay audiences alike, Hoskins' book was particularly influential within British landscape history and

¹ Baker, 1993, 114; Lewis *et al.*, 1997, 1-2.

among North American historical geographers including J. B. Jackson. Like Beresford, Hoskins was primarily concerned with the visible landscapes of pre-industrial England, an interest which was shaped by his own inherent anti-modernism.²

As a result of the influential work of Beresford and Hoskins, medieval rural settlements were a key research interest within mid twentieth-century British historical geography and indeed geography more generally, for this was a period when historical geography was “central to the discipline as a whole”.³ Medieval settlement studies were fundamental to the work of H. C. Darby from the publication of *An Historical Geography of England before A.D. 1800* in 1936 onwards.⁴ Unlike earlier scholars who had largely ignored processes of change, Darby combined cross-sectional analysis with historical themes in order to explore landscape change over time.⁵ Edited by Darby and published between 1952 and 1977, the *Domesday Geography* series examined the distribution of settlements, population, wealth, demesne livestock, woodland and other land uses using specially prepared maps. Elsewhere, Darby addressed questions about the size and form of rural settlements, post-Domesday desertions and industry, as well as offering detailed analysis of source materials.⁶

Between the 1950s and the early 1980s, historical geographers wrote extensively about the medieval rural landscape and in particular about village plans, their origins and their evolution over time.⁷ Thorpe, Sheppard, Roberts and Campey all examined the form of green, regulated and planned villages, particularly in the north of England.⁸ Several of these scholars sought to categorise settlements according to their overall form (linear or agglomerated), the density of buildings within them (tightly/loosely nucleated or dispersed), their development (single centre or polyfocal), and the degree of planning such settlements exhibited (regular/irregular).⁹ Medieval field systems, their diversity and genesis also commanded considerable attention, as did questions

² Baker, 1993, 115; Whyte, 2002, 15-6; Matless, 1993, 190-2.

³ Clayton, 2000, 337.

⁴ Darby, 1936.

⁵ Darby, 1973, xiii; Baker, 1993, 33-36.

⁶ Darby, 1971, 1977; Darby and Maxwell, 1962.

⁷ Thorpe, 1951; Alleston, 1970; Sheppard, 1974, 1976; Roberts, 1977b; Taylor, 1982.

⁸ Thorpe, 1951; Sheppard, 1966, 1974, 1976; Roberts, 1972, 1977b; Campey, 1989.

⁹ Roberts, 1972, 1977a, 122-8, 139-46; Thorpe, 1951.

about the agrarian economy more generally and the distribution of wealth in medieval England.¹⁰

Yet as hinted in Chapter I, research on medieval rural settlements has recently been largely absent from British historical geography. Recent overviews of the sub-discipline, including that by Butlin, pay scant attention to the period before 1500 or the religious, social and economic changes of the sixteenth century. In this sense at least, Butlin's account accurately reflects recent trends in historical geography.¹¹ R. Jones has also noted the 'temporal narrowing' of historical geography over the past twenty years. While the sub-discipline was formerly concerned with both the 'deep' and more recent past, historical geographers have increasingly focused on modern topics, a pursuit which has brought about the abrupt collapse of medieval and early modern geography.¹² Thus, with the exception of work by R. Jones, D. C. Harvey and Lilley, as well as occasional papers by scholars including E. T. Jones, Langdon and Masschaele, recent work within cultural and historical geography has almost exclusively focused on the post-medieval period.¹³ Nor have the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries proved more popular subjects for research. Excepting recent articles by Brayshay, Dodgshon and Olsson, and Chisholm, few historical geographers have addressed early modern topics.¹⁴

Cultural geographies of the English landed estate have focused instead on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁵ As part of the wider postcolonialist movement within cultural and historical geography, scholars have increasingly explored the relationship between estate and Empire, a debate which has recently broadened to include twentieth-century subjects.¹⁶ With the exception of work by Ogborn and Stobart, research on the historical geographies of Britain and Ireland has also

¹⁰ Baker and Butlin, 1973; Dodgshon, 1980; Taylor, 1981; Campbell, 1981; M. Harvey, 1980, 1982; Roberts and Glasscock, 1983; Glasscock, 1973, 1975; Darby *et al.*, 1979.

¹¹ Butlin, 1993; Earle, 1995, 459.

¹² Jones, 2004, 287.

¹³ R. Jones, 1998; 1999; 2000; 2004; D. C. Harvey, 1997; 2000; 2003; Lilley, 2001; 2004a; E. T. Jones, 2000; Langdon, 2000; Masschaele, 1994.

¹⁴ Brayshay, 2005; *et al.*, 1998; Dodgshon and Olsson, 2006; Chisholm, 2006.

¹⁵ Daniels, 1988; Seymour, 1988; Daniels and Seymour, 1990; Daniels and Watkins, 1991; Daniels, 1999; Short and Godfrey, *forthcoming*.

¹⁶ Seymour *et al.*, 1998; Seymour, 2000; Tachibana *et al.*, 2004.

increasingly focused on late nineteenth and twentieth-century subjects.¹⁷ Urban, suburban and industrial landscapes have also been popular subjects for research, as have the interconnections between landscapes and memory.¹⁸

The range of themes and approaches embraced by these scholars is testimony to the vitality of historical geography in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Dodgshon and Butlin first noted a “dramatic broadening of theme” within historical geography more than fifteen years ago, associating this widening perspective with the use of a greater range of theoretical perspectives, methodologies and sources.¹⁹ Such practitioners have generally avoided calls for a self-conscious ‘new historical geography’ analogous to the ‘new cultural geography’ which emerged in the early 1990s, choosing instead to stress the continuities between themes and approaches adopted by traditional and ‘modern’ historical geographies.²⁰ Yet whilst the sub-discipline continues to be characterised by the eclecticism and liberalism celebrated by Baker and Heffernan as successive editors of the *Journal of Historical Geography*, it is also clear that the focus of historical geography has fundamentally shifted in recent years.²¹

Although in part a result of the quantitative revolution which marginalised historical concerns within the discipline, the waning of medieval historical geography is not explicable solely in these terms.²² Whilst research into modern historical geographies has been reinvigorated by the ‘cultural turn’ and post-modernist perspectives, medieval historical geography has yet to be revived. Reasons for the collapse of medieval and early modern research within human geography are various. The decline of pre-modern geographies partially reflects a divergence of opinion between those who conceive landscape as a ‘way of seeing’ and those who approach it as a source of evidence for historical enquiry. For Lilley, it is “all too clear that the landscape as a ‘way of seeing’ has won the day, for the ‘landscape history’ tradition... is fleetingly – if ever – mentioned”. This conceptual “parting of the ways” has empirical and

¹⁷ Ogborn, 1998; Stobart, 2004; Withers, 2000; Black, 2000; Proudfoot, 2000; Whelan, 2002; Rycroft, 2002; Linehan and Gruffudd, 2001; Matless and Cameron, 2006.

¹⁸ Daniels, 1993; Whitehand and Carr, 1999; Merrimen, 2005; Linehan, 2000; Bryson and Lowe, 2003; Gough and Morgan, 2004; Kurtz, 2002.

¹⁹ Dodgshon and Butlin, 1990, vii; Nash and Graham, 2000, 1.

²⁰ Nash and Graham, 2000, 4-5; Holdsworth, 2002, 67.

²¹ Baker, 1987, 1-2; Heffernan, 1997, 2.

historical dimensions: those pursuing the former approach have tended to favour theoretically informed research on modern landscapes and thereby eschewed both the pre-modern period as a subject of study and the empirically grounded landscape history tradition more generally.²³

The perceived lack of appropriate sources has been a significant factor discouraging medieval studies. Scholars exploring questions of landscape have tended to work with textual and visual sources. These kinds of sources are rare in the pre-modern period, a fact which has discouraged cultural geographers' from engaging with issues of landscape in the medieval period. Without first-hand documentary sources it is difficult to offer the viewpoint on landscape which characterised much of the geographical research on modern landscapes. While scholars like Hooke and Rackham have engaged with the landscape and place-names as sources of evidence about environmental change in the medieval, Anglo-Saxon and pre-historic period, most historical geographers have shown little interest in the field and buildings as sources of evidence about medieval landscapes.²⁴ It is precisely these sources of evidence that this project embraces.

Disciplinary neglect of the medieval period is also exacerbated by the tendency of many cultural and historical geographers to follow Marxian historical periods.²⁵ Whilst occasionally recognising the periodisation of time as arbitrary, artificial or idiosyncratic, if also unavoidable, geographers and historians have generally accepted the notion of periods in a largely uncritical way. Wishart has recently critiqued the concept of periods, arguing that periodization functions as a "form of 'emplotment', which not only imposes order on time but also influences the content of the narrative". In discussing periods as 'inventions', Wishart stresses that such abstractions are rarely innocent, but can instead be used to project power over others and, thereby, have material impacts on reality.²⁶

²² Clayton, 2000, 337.

²³ Lilley, 2004b, 87.

²⁴ Hooke, 1985; Rackham, 2000, 2003.

²⁵ Lilley, 2004a, 309.

²⁶ Wishart, 2004, 307.

In thinking critically about the periodisation of historical time, historical geographers ought to recognise that identifying any kind of ‘sharp break’ between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is a matter “of decision rather than discovery”.²⁷ Yet much recent historical geography assumes the existence of a fundamental divide between the modern and the pre-modern eras, a fact which may explain why geographers have been so reluctant to study pre-modern geographies.²⁸ As Ogborn notes, “social theories of modernity are still frequently couched in terms that posit a well-defined historical break – a ‘Big Ditch’ – between premodern and modern societies”.²⁹ D. C. Harvey has argued similarly, suggesting that many geographical discourses of modernity and postmodernity portray the medieval as other to the (post)modern. A series of binary oppositions emerge as a consequence of this ‘othering’: aspatial/spatial; natural disorder/order; vertical/horizontal; irrational/rational; feudal/capitalist; religious/secular society.³⁰

2.2 Critical Geographies of Landscape, Space and Territory

Geographers have generally dated the emergence of modern concepts of geographical and geopolitical space to c. 1500. As part of their radical projects, Marxist geographers like Harvey and Soja insisted that space was socially produced and pointed to a “socio-spatial dialectic” whereby space was both a cause and an effect of social life.³¹ Yet because of their interest in capitalist society, Marxist geographers and historical materialists of the 1970s and 1980s said little about spatial concepts in the period before c. 1500. In the view of the French Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre, ancient and feudal forms of cosmological, sacred and symbolic space were displaced by new concepts of logical, perspectival and abstract space, themselves both symptomatic of and constitutive of capitalist modernity.³² Geographers adopting Lefebvre’s ideas have generally tied concepts of absolute space to emergence of the capitalist economy. Smith and Katz point to a suite of social and political shifts that established absolute space as the basis of hegemonic (capitalist) relations from the sixteenth century

²⁷ Stalnaker, 1967, 172.

²⁸ R. Jones, 2004, 295; Lilley, 2004a, 309.

²⁹ Ogborn, 1998, 3.

³⁰ D. C. Harvey, 2003, 152.

³¹ D. Harvey, 1985, 3; Soja, 1989, 78.

³² Lefebvre, 1991, especially 48-52 and 229-90.

onwards, including: the emergence of private property as the primary basis for the social economy; the emergence of nation-states and the expansion of European hegemony into new territories; and growing recognition of the individual.³³

Ideas about landscape were also reassessed as part of this wider critical re-evaluation of space. Yet the concept of landscape has been examined with reference to only a limited number of spatial and temporal contexts. Research has generally focused on the modern landscapes of North America, British landscapes in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries and Italian urban centres in the early modern period.³⁴ For Cosgrove, the landscape idea as it emerged in Renaissance Italy and sixteenth-century England was associated with the emergence of alienable property, linear perspective and new cartographic methods, as well as new ideas about abstract space and the individual. In essence, Cosgrove's argument is that new ways of imagining and representing the world and the individual developed in Renaissance Italy and were codified in the new concept of landscape. So in Cosgrove's argument, landscape is a specifically modern way of understanding the world, associated with the development of a new spatial regime in fifteenth-century Italy.³⁵

Cosgrove's argument is similar to other accounts of the development of spatial thinking which date the emergence of modern concepts of geographical and geopolitical space to c. 1500. Influenced by post-modern thinkers like Lefebvre and by Foucault, Ó Tuathail argues that medieval people understood there to be a meaningful and hierarchical distinction between sacred and profane, celestial and terrestrial spaces. Heffernan makes a similar point, arguing that medieval space was hierarchically and vertically organised and that only with the shift to an early modern consciousness did horizontal and secular notions of geographical space begin to emerge.³⁶

Geographers examining concepts of territorial space have similarly ignored the meaning of the term in the pre-modern period. Gottmann recognised that in early

³³ Smith and Katz, 1993, 75.

³⁴ Meinig, 1979, 1993, 1995; Daniels, 1988; Seymour, 1988 and 2000; Daniels and Seymour, 1990; Daniels and Watkins, 1991; Cosgrove, 1998.

³⁵ Cosgrove, 1998, especially 69-101.

³⁶ Ó Tuathail, 1996, 3; Heffernan, 1998, 14.

usage the term applied to classical city-states, but argued that this notion of territory applied to neither the Roman Empire nor Christendom but only reappeared from the late fifteenth century. Gottmann saw the sixteenth century as “the decisive moment” and the concept of territory as deeply implicated in the developing world-economy, arguing that territory and sovereignty together became the basis of the modern inter-state system.³⁷ This view is characteristic of many political geographers who, from Hartshorne onwards, have tended to imagine the distinction between the medieval and modern world in terms of an opposition between hierarchical and territorial forms of social organisation. Taylor and Flint are typical in arguing that “medieval Europe was a hierarchical system of power and authority, not a territorial one”.³⁸ Despite presenting what they call a “historically sensitive approach” to territorial states, Taylor and Flint offer only a cursory discussion of the pre-modern period. In their view, medieval Europe was characterised by a “chaotic political geography” out of which the modern inter-state system was created from 1500 onwards.³⁹ Immature ‘law states’ existed in thirteenth-century Europe, but these were not administered on a territorial basis and nor did they conceive of foreign affairs as a territorial, rather than a dynastic, question.

Sack offers a more nuanced interpretation of the history of spatial concepts: whilst identifying a revolution in spatial concepts in the sixteenth century, Sack also recognises that abstract conceptions of space and time existed before *c.* 1500, though they were not the dominant way of conceiving time and space. For Sack, territorial definitions of society emerged as primitive societies evolved into redistributive economies with taxation and administrative systems that were applied on a territorial basis. Modern metrical and quantitative concepts of time and space emerged in fifteenth-century Europe with the development of perspective in painting and the use of longitude and latitude to represent location within a uniform grid. Yet the discovery of the New World rapidly brought about an awareness of territoriality that might otherwise have emerged only gradually. For Sack, this was a fundamental shift intimately linked with the rise of capitalism and the birth of the world-economy.

³⁷ Gottmann, 1973, 16.

³⁸ Taylor and Flint, 2000, 152 and 156.

³⁹ Taylor and Flint, 2000, 155.

For Dodgshon, the emergence of early territorial states was “one of the decisive revolutions in human spatial order, yet one sorely neglected by geographers”.⁴⁰ Like Sack, Dodgshon sees tribal groupings as socially constituted.⁴¹ In England at least, the Saxon kingdoms were united at the accession of Edgar in 959 AD to produce a territorial state organised around shires and hundreds or wapentakes.⁴² Integral to this process was the development of manorial systems between the eighth and eleventh centuries. Feudalism was extended down the social hierarchy via subinfeudation and servitude, whereby land was granted to peasants in return for specified services. Although territorial lordship had existed in parts of Anglo-Saxon England, especially in the Northumbrian kingdom where book-land had been common, only with the universal application of the knight’s fee at the end of the eleventh century was the process fully achieved.⁴³ Bartlett has pointed to the increasing territorialisation of Christendom as an integral part of this process. In eleventh and twelfth century England, the Anglo-Saxon model of non-urban bishoprics was replaced by a territorial, city-based episcopacy analogous to that found in Continental Europe.⁴⁴ Population growth and the extension of cultivation into more marginal areas were also important factors which resulted in “everywhere the net of settlement and territorial organisation – parish, lordship, baliwick – was growing denser”.⁴⁵

The disciplinary indifference to research on the medieval and early modern period has meant that the recent reassessments of the concepts of landscape, space and territory within human geography have been conducted almost without reference to pre-modern historical geographies. With the exception of Dodgshon, as well as more recent work by D. C. Harvey, Lilley and R. Jones, geographers have paid little attention to ideas about space, territory and landscape in the pre-modern period. In doing so, scholars have largely ignored the traditional subject matter of historical geography and the existing body of work on English medieval rural settlements. Moreover, because the invention of new spatial concepts has typically been attributed to the sixteenth century and hence examined in the context of emerging European nation-states or as part of a

⁴⁰ Dodgshon, 1987, 137.

⁴¹ Sack, 1986, 64; Dodgshon, 1987, 158-9.

⁴² Dodgshon, 1987, 159-61.

⁴³ Dodgshon, 1987, 166-85.

⁴⁴ Bartlett, 1993, 6.

⁴⁵ Bartlett, 1993, 107.

‘global shift’ to modernity, little attempt has been made to examine the changing meanings of space, landscape and territory at the local scale.⁴⁶

The dangers inherent in ignoring the pre-modern period are twofold. Firstly, debates about space, territory and landscape are impoverished by ignoring the medieval period. At best, the history of landscape is incomplete and at worst, the medieval period is seen as a primitive ‘other’ against which the radical changes of the early modern period can be plotted. Secondly, understandings of medieval and early modern society are diminished wherever they fail to refer to recent critical insights developed with reference to contemporary society or the recent past. Historical geographers have recently begun to critically engage with issues of space and territory, as well as examining whether the concept of landscape can usually be applied to studying the pre-modern period.⁴⁷ Lilley examines how urban landscapes of the medieval period were “represented, constructed and experienced at the time”, exploring the ways symbolic and religious meanings came to be ‘mapped’ onto the city.⁴⁸ D. C. Harvey is concerned with the way the landscape was constructed and given social meaning and memory, and in particular examines the processes by which “the medieval ‘natural’ world [was]... rendered understandable through its sacred symbolism, and reified as a ‘map’ of ... collective social memory”.⁴⁹ Yet much remains to be done, and as recently as 2004 it could still be said that, “[m]edieval landscape iconographies have been altogether absent from UK geography”.⁵⁰ In summary, new theories of landscape and power developed within cultural and historical geography have yet to be fully brought to bear on issues of rural landscape organisation in the period before 1600. This is precisely what this thesis undertakes to do.

2.3 Space and its Meaning

This thesis draws on theories adopted, developed and critiqued within human geography which argue that space, territory and landscape can be conceived as mediums through which social relations are produced and reproduced. These new

⁴⁶ Cormack, 1991; Lestringant, 1994; Heffernan, 1998; Blaut, 1992.

⁴⁷ Olwig, 1996, 2002.

⁴⁸ Lilley, 2004a, 296.

⁴⁹ Harvey, 2002, 231.

⁵⁰ Lilley, 2004a, 299.

theories of landscape and space are outlined here, with additional reference to concurrent developments within the discipline of archaeology.

In both the UK and North America, the 1980s and 1990s were characterised by a broad refocusing of the aims, methods, theory and practice of cultural geography, in part as a response to the general 'crisis of representation' emerging across the social sciences and humanities. As part of the broad-based critique of realist epistemologies, 'culture' was reformulated as "the medium through which people transform the mundane phenomena of the material world into a world of significant symbols to which they give meaning and attach value".⁵¹ As a corollary to this, the concept of 'landscape' was redefined as a medium through which cultural meaning could be expressed, thereby dramatically diverging from ideas of landscape expounded by 'traditional' cultural geographers. Self-styled 'new' cultural geographers drew on the work of Raymond Williams to stress landscape as an important 'signifying system' through which "a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored".⁵² Landscape was variously defined as a 'way of seeing' or a text, thereby stressing its function as a medium through which ideology could operate.⁵³ Cultural geographers stressed the normative functions of landscape. Thus, for example, Duncan and Duncan borrowed from Saussurean linguistic theory to argue that landscapes,

"may be incalculating their readers with a set of notions about how a society is organised... if, by being so natural, so familiar, the landscape is unquestioned then such concrete evidence about how society is organised can easily become seen as evidence of how it *should*, or *must*, be organised".⁵⁴

In doing so, these geographers have stressed the interconnections between space, social meaning and power. Mitchell defined the landscape as "an outcome and the medium of social relations", thereby emphasising the reflexive relationship that exists between the physical environment and social relations. Although he approaches the subject from an explicitly Marxist perspective, Mitchell echoes Duncan and Duncan when he argues that landscape,

⁵¹ Barnes and Duncan, 1991, 5; Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987, 99.

⁵² Williams, 1982, 13.

⁵³ Cosgrove, 1998; Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Daniels, 1993; Duncan, 1990; Duncan and Duncan, 1988.

⁵⁴ Duncan and Duncan, 1988, 123.

“functions as reality, as that which is (and hence to some degree that which can be)... one function of landscape is to display the normative order of the world”.⁵⁵

More recently, scholars influenced by a variety of theoretical perspectives have attempted to rework existing frameworks for interpreting landscape. The ‘landscape as text’ model developed by the Duncans has been particularly heavily criticised, principally for its perceived tendency to reify culture and for its limited theorisation of social realities. While Duncan and Duncan maintain a theoretical position that states landscapes can be multiply interpreted, this plurality is generally reduced to a tension between hegemonic and contestatory readings. In subscribing to this opposition between dominant or elite and resistant or popular cultures, cultural geographers posit power as an originally stable phenomenon, a pre-existent category on which deconstructive, resistant forces may act.⁵⁶ Rose offers one of the most sustained criticisms of ‘new’ cultural geography’s engagement with landscape, challenging “overly structural conceptions of social systems” and arguing that framing practices as ‘resistant’ necessarily defines hegemony as pre-existent, “reinforc[ing] the very systems of power that practices of resistance are thought to undermine”.⁵⁷ It is in rendering hegemony ‘real’ that “landscapes analysed as texts anaesthetise their theorists to dominant assumptions about the way societies are organised”.⁵⁸ As Rose argues:

“in representing an appearance of power as something self-present and operative, we... give power an existence beyond the momentary, and become complicit in reinforcing a representation of power as actual and pre-established”.⁵⁹

Like many of the non-representational theorists with whom he aligns himself, Rose has attempted to re-conceptualise the notion of a cultural landscape, offering an alternative “animated perspective on landscape”.⁶⁰ As part of the wider non-representational critique, Rose argues that landscape becomes possible only as it

⁵⁵ Mitchell, 2005, 49; Mitchell, 2003, 241.

⁵⁶ Duncan and Duncan, 1988; J Duncan, 1990; Peet, 1993, 1996; Mitchell, 1995; Rose, 2002, 2006.

⁵⁷ Rose, 2002, 383 and 388.

⁵⁸ Peet, 1993, 186.

⁵⁹ Rose, 2002, 384.

initiates, rather than constructs, the 'becoming' or 'unfolding' subject. He draws explicitly on the work of Ingold, an archaeologist who utilises the concept of 'taskscape' to suspend the idea of culture, stressing that the landscape is constituted through "the business of dwelling" rather than inscribed with ideals people bring with them into their encounter with the world. That is, meanings are gathered through people's embodied engagement with the world, rather than attached to or reflected in the landscape.⁶¹ In this sense, the landscape is "perpetually under construction": it is a 'work in progress'. In his concern with the embodied experience of 'being in the world', Ingold adopts a theoretical perspective which emphasises the agency of humans, non-humans and inanimate objects.⁶²

Rose's emphasis on the landscape as an integral part of, rather than simply a reflection of, our being-in-the-world is valuable in that it suspends culture and focuses attention on the landscape itself. His critique of existing cultural theory is valuable, particularly because it challenges cultural geographers' focus on the way landscape is shaped by agents, who whilst they are also constructed by the landscape, are in themselves self-conscious. Yet Rose's notion of landscape as 'dreams of presence' has yet to be proved a useful tool for analysing historical landscapes.

Ingold's ideas have been variously taken up by geographers and others. In line with Lorimer's re-branding of the non-representational debate as a concern with the 'more-than-representational', and in contrast to Bender's earlier reading of Ingold, Cloke and Jones are keen to stress that "representations as well as practices are important here... the oneness of dwelling is formed of a complex multiplicity of practice and representation".⁶³ They also recognise that practices are multiple, thereby producing multiple taskscapes. Discussing Ingold's example of Brueghel's painting *The Harvesters*, they argue that "[t]he labourers, the owners, the priest, the village officials, the women, the men, the children... will have walked those paths doing differing tasks in differing ways and constructing the landscape differently". Cloke and Jones are also concerned to stress that dwelling is about "being in the landscape, about moving through it, in all the (perhaps) repeating yet various circumstances of

⁶⁰ Rose, 2006, 550.

⁶¹ Ingold, 1993, 155.

⁶² Ingold, 1993, 162.

everyday life”, with the implication that the landscape “will often be unreadable from any one given position, and your orientation may be constantly or frequently, even habitually, shifting”. This perspective is very different from the persistent tendency “towards framing landscapes as the vista from a fixed point” which they perceive amongst those adopting the notion of dwelling. Whilst recognising the romanticism inherent in Ingold’s concepts of dwelling and taskscape, Cloke and Jones argue that the notion of dwelling “offers an important acknowledgement of how human actants are embedded in landscapes, how nature and culture are bound together, and how landscape invariably has time-depth which relates the present to past futures and future pasts”.⁶⁴

Many of the same ideas have recently found increasing recognition within the discipline of archaeology. Like Ingold, the contributors to *Stories of the Landscape* pursued the theme of embodiment, arguing that “[b]odily movement through the landscape and our routine, everyday physical actions thus continually reproduce our sense of identity”. They were explicit about the challenges the discipline faces in recovering ‘archaeologies of inhabitation’ and ‘geographies of sentience’, arguing that archaeologists must construct methodologies that “investigate the complex relationships between human beings and the world around them... Examining situated and embodied human acts of dwelling in the past, and past people’s changing views of place, identity, time and history, are vital to any attempts to explore the lives of these communities and the landscapes they once dwelt in”.⁶⁵

In line with recent developments in cultural geography and theoretical archaeology, this thesis seeks to recover something of people’s experiences of the Yorkshire Wolds, as well as offer a discussion of what individuals’ experiences of landscape might reveal about the way space was conceived in late medieval and early modern England. To borrow concepts from Ingold, this thesis pursues not only native dwellers’ experiences of landscape but also the surveyor’s concept of space, a pursuit which is all the more valuable given that it was during the sixteenth century that cartography became an increasingly commonplace way of representing the world.

⁶³ Lorimer, 2005, 84; Bender, 1998, 37; Cloke and Jones, 2001, 662.

⁶⁴ Cloke and Jones, 2001, 662-4.

⁶⁵ Chadwick, 2004, 7 and 23.

In this respect, the thesis diverges from much of the existing literature on medieval settlements. Influenced by Hoskins and by the cultural geography of Carl Sauer, orthodox historical geography and recent research within landscape history both exhibit materialist attitudes towards cultural landscapes.⁶⁶ Scholars tend to assume that medieval settlements were organised according to utilitarian or economic factors: very little of the research outlined below in section 2.5 and 2.6 explicitly comments on the meaning of the particular morphological relationships identified. Despite recent calls for research which addresses such themes, the connections between morphology and social relations have yet to receive sustained academic attention, especially in the context of medieval settlements.⁶⁷ As Altenberg argues, “[i]t is hard to find evidence in the published material for the assumption that [medieval] people organised space in a socially meaningful way”.⁶⁸

This said, more explicit theorisations of medieval social space and the interconnections between space, meaning and power are now beginning to emerge. For example, Altenberg drew on social archaeological perspectives to argue that “[s]ocial relations in the Middle Ages can be seen to be constructed through the deliberate planning of settlements and boundaries, including the positioning of peasant houses in relation to rural resources (such as streams, arable fields and pasture), in relation to each other and to the local manor and church”.⁶⁹ Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* and Giddens theory of structuration have been of interest to some archaeologists including Gilchrist and Giles, the latter of whom employed these theoretical approaches to the use of space in order to examine how the architecture of gild halls had been used to structure individual, communal and corporate identity in late medieval and early modern York.⁷⁰ Other archaeologists have also adopted theoretical approaches which privilege ideas about power structures, social differentiation and coercion, thereby interpreting the changing use of space and architectural forms as a result of the changing structure of feudal society in the

⁶⁶ Baker, 1993, 139.

⁶⁷ Lewis *et al.*, 1997, 8; MSRG, 1996, 5.

⁶⁸ Altenberg, 2003, 8-9.

⁶⁹ Altenberg, 2003, 5.

⁷⁰ Gilchrist, 1994; Giles, 2000.

medieval period.⁷¹ Girouard's and Saunders' work fits within this approach, and the latter adopted an explicitly theoretical framework in order to explore the interactions between space, status, power and authority in late medieval Norway.⁷² Drawing on Giddens' concept of *locale*, as well as a reformulation of Mann's theory of social power and a Marxist perspective on feudalism, Saunders examined how the architectural space within the precinct of the archbishop's palace at Trondheim "formed a medium through which the archbishop's powers were exercised". Saunders argues that "[t]he walls, the buildings, the organisation and arrangement of space, were active elements in the constitution of power. The precinct acted as a distinct locale through which the archbishop's power was mediated and expressed".⁷³

The structuralist school of anthropology, itself shaped by Saussure's and Chomsky's linguistic theories, has also been influential within archaeology. Using this approach, archaeologists have argued that ways of thinking within a wide range of geographically and historically divergent societies were based on underlying 'structures' often expressed in terms of binary oppositions. These categories have proved particularly appealing to those studying prehistoric buildings. For example, Hingley argues that Iron Age and Romano-British households and settlements were organised according to the same conceptual model. Space was physically and conceptually distinguished according to a series of binary oppositions, which included public/private, central/peripheral, light/dark, clean/dirty, life/death and perhaps male/female.⁷⁴ Other binaries including sacred/profane and high status/low status have also proved attractive to archaeologists, and such structuralist interpretations of space extend well beyond those studying prehistory. Scholars such as Grenville have also loosely employed structuralist concepts in order to analyse the space in and around medieval houses, and both Grenville and Johnson have utilised ideas about the 'grammar' of space.⁷⁵

Yet the pitfalls of structuralism have been widely recognised within cultural geography in recent years, and Samson has also noted that many archaeological and

⁷¹ Grenville, 1997, 21.

⁷² Girouard, 1978; Saunders, 1990.

⁷³ Saunders, 2002, 89 and 108.

⁷⁴ Hingley, 1990, 132-5.

⁷⁵ Grenville, 1997, 21; Johnson, 1993, 33-8.

anthropological studies apply the same list of structural oppositions to a wide variety of buildings. He highlighted the danger of “postulating a four-thousand year continuity of not only social structures, but belief systems”, asking “are these oppositions fundamental components of human thought, or are we continually reproducing a seductive anthropological exercise?”.⁷⁶

Parker-Pearson and Richards have proposed an approach to architecture of past societies which combines the subjective experience and objective presentation of past landscapes and architecture, while at the same time recognising that “different people who live in different places and times, order and understand their world in very different ways”.⁷⁷ They expand upon the theory of ‘social space’ first developed within architectural studies, and increasingly adopted by both archaeologists and architectural historians who have begun to engage with the notion of architecture “as representation, that it, as a medium... through which meaning is constituted”.⁷⁸ Parker-Pearson and Richards take this further, arguing like a number of the cultural geographers mentioned above that “the constructed environment is more than a backdrop to action and is locked in a reflexive relationship with lived experience of the world”. The contributors to Parker-Pearson and Richards’ edited collection all pursue this broad theme, offering a variety of different explorations of the “symbolic power of architecture”, although like many scholars addressing questions about the social use of space, the contributors to the edited volume are primarily concerned with prehistoric and ancient, rather than medieval, societies.⁷⁹ Barrett applies recent trends in social theory to studying material contexts. Elsewhere, he has developed a theory of social space which he uses to examine so-called ‘archaeologies of inhabitation’, and in particular issues of how domestic space was defined within Bronze Age societies.⁸⁰

Despite their obvious differences, both geographers and archaeologists have recently embraced new perspectives on the use of space which highlight the reflexive relationship between landscape and social relations, as well as stress the interconnections between settlement morphology, meaning and power. Past landscapes

⁷⁶ Samson 1990, 13.

⁷⁷ Parker-Pearson and Richards, 1994, xi.

⁷⁸ Friedman, 2000, 334.

⁷⁹ Parker-Pearson and Richards, 1994, xi and xii; Hodder, 1994; Webley, 1999.

⁸⁰ Barrett, 1994a, 1994b.

are understood to have been organised in socially and politically meaningful ways, and historical geographers and archaeologists in particular have begun to explore the ways meaning could be constructed within the medieval landscape.

While cultural geography perhaps offers the most explicit theorisation of the various ways power, politics and ideology came to be worked out in the landscape, the discourse on social space developed within archaeology and architectural theory does offer an engagement with community perceptions and experiences of landscape, which much of the geographical literature eschews. Geographers have generally chosen to stress the normative functions of landscape, and its potential as a medium through which ideology, politics and power can be articulated. They have focused on the question of how landscape functions as a 'signifying system' through which social order can be communicated and reproduced, rather than on issues about how landscape was perceived, understood, and given meaning by those who inhabited it. By building on Barrett's notion of 'archaeologies of inhabitation', this thesis maintains the concern with the lived experience of landscapes expressed in much of the archaeological literature reviewed above.

2.4 Power

All this brings one squarely to a rather difficult and thorny issue: how should the concept of power be theorised? In producing such a historical geography of the rural landscape as is proposed here, one is also necessarily concerned with a history of power. Power has typically been theorised by geographers and historians as the power to dominate. Some of the implications particular theories of landscape have for how cultural and historical geographers theorise power have been noted above.

At an empirical level, much geographical and archaeological research has tended to argue that settlement morphology was an outcome of decisions taken by lords.⁸¹ A binary opposition between manorial authority and local custom has often been employed to explain settlement morphology. For example, Rowley subscribes to such a notion of a 'dominant authority' in the community who initiates or tolerates

⁸¹ P. D. A. Harvey, 1989, 35.

change.⁸² The regularity of village form is typically interpreted as a consequence of planning, although the date at which planning occurred remains a matter of debate. In general, the role of peasant communities, the church and the growth of towns and markets has been ignored in favour of explanations for nucleation and open-fields which stress population growth, environmental factors and the role of the manor and state.⁸³ Late medieval landscape change is typically theorised in similar terms and post-Black Death settlement depopulation has generally been understood as a profit-driven process imposed from above by manorial lords, and later by capitalist farmers, who “clearly wanted the hills to themselves, and disliked accommodating themselves to communal rules of husbandry”.⁸⁴

As a reaction to this concept of the landscape as an outcome of elite power, historians attempted to produce a ‘history from below’ which recognised that the reactions and initiatives of ordinary villages might have made important contributions to change.⁸⁵ The Marxist economic historian Rodney Hilton sought to explain the late medieval crisis with reference to interactions between different socio-economic units, especially peasant households, village communities and feudal lords.⁸⁶ While Marxist historians like Dobb, Kosminsky and Brenner and neo-Malthusians like Postan all saw resistance as of peripheral significance to the transition to capitalism, Hilton argued that conflicts over rents and “guerrilla actions” by tenants were key features of medieval society.⁸⁷ Hatcher developed this point further, arguing that by the thirteenth century, “[l]ords were concerned far less with controlling the lives of their villeins than with profiting from their right to do so”, and as such were careful not to infringe upon local custom.⁸⁸ Other scholars applied these ideas to questions about settlement and landscape change. P. D. A. Harvey adapted Hilton’s notion of “a shifting compromise” between manorial authority and local custom, arguing that lordship as an extension of local custom was essentially indistinguishable from it. In his view, change was at times initiated by local communities, who might act collectively to reorganise field systems or repair bridges,

⁸² Rowley, 1978, 31.

⁸³ Altenberg, 2003, 11.

⁸⁴ Thirsk, 1967, 34; Rowley, 1978, 122; Baker, 1973, 210.

⁸⁵ Dyer, 1985, 32; 1990, 40.

⁸⁶ Hilton, 1978, 5-7.

⁸⁷ Hatcher and Bailey, 2001, 71-120; Dyer, 1990, 46; Hilton, 1966, 154; Postan, 1939.

⁸⁸ Hatcher, 1981, 10.

and at other times by manorial lords or freeholders acting with or without the assent of other villagers.⁸⁹

Yet many of these ‘histories from below’ maintain the binary opposition between manorial authority and local custom. Amongst those writing about power relations in the medieval and early modern periods, there has been a noticeable tendency to understand power as a ‘dominating power’ which allows individuals or groups to subdue popular resistance and organise the landscape for their own profit or pleasure. Historians like Wall and Harris equate resistance with protest, riot and rebellion, thereby constructing histories which “depict the disadvantaged as victims who gained influence only at those exceptional moments when they directly confronted the powerful and their institutions”.⁹⁰ These histories stress incidents like the early seventeenth century Midlands Enclosure Riots as extraordinary popular acts of resistance, unusual in a history of domination by the elite, and as such, tend to ignore the more mundane, everyday acts of resistance increasingly signalled in some geographical studies of contemporary society.⁹¹

Rather than subscribe to a dualistic notion of domination and resistance, this research seeks to employ a more critical conception of power. It attempts to move away from an approach to power that explains settlement and landscape morphology in terms of a binary opposition between manorial authority and local custom. Instead of reducing the concept of power to a struggle between dominant and resistant groups, this thesis recognises the multiple processes by which the landscape was constructed and its meanings understood.

Such an approach builds on new models of power and power relations and new histories of riot, rebellion, public assembly and popular politics that have recently begun to emerge within ‘post revisionist’ social history. In these accounts, “politics is redefined as ‘power relations’, writ broadly across society, not merely the business of the government”.⁹² Everyday acts of resistance have also recently commanded some attention from social historians. Such research has questioned the binary opposition

⁸⁹ Hilton, 1985, 126; Harvey, 1989, 34-39.

⁹⁰ Adelson, 2002, 701; Wall, 2000; Harris, 2001.

⁹¹ Pile, 1997; Sharp et al, 2000.

between elite and popular politics posited by much traditional political history, as well as challenging the notion of riots and rebellions as extraordinary acts of popular resistance. For Walter, “[c]rowd actions were... one of the most powerful ways in early modern England in which the ruled could negotiate the exercise of power”.⁹³ Drawing on the work of James C. Scott, several social historians have recently become interested in analysing social relations in terms of negotiation rather than resistance, stressing the importance of “languages and acts of mediation, manipulation and negotiation”.⁹⁴ Walter is interested in recovering the “broader ‘infrapolitics’ of the ruled, of which crowd actions form only a part”. He focuses on everyday tactics, exchanges, non-compliance and resistance in the micro-politics of manor, parish and workplace. Wood similarly tries to place popular rebellion within the low politics of riot, resistance, negotiation and litigation.⁹⁵

Along with these social historians, this author interprets riot as “a lazy shorthand for the complexity within crowd actions”.⁹⁶ Working with documents drawn from the Star Chamber archive, this research seeks to develop the notion of ‘riot’ and ‘riotous behaviour’ as a means to negotiate power relations within and beyond local communities. In this sense, riots and the court cases in which they were reported were part of ongoing negotiations over land, resources, status and power within rural society. Riots are interpreted here not as occasional or episodic outbreaks of violence, but as part of the everyday practices of power.

Like another recent commentator, this author remains sceptical about the extent to which Scott’s analytical framework and vocabulary can be meaningfully applied to late medieval and early modern society. As Marsh argues, studies which have adopted Scott’s categories have said very little about religious beliefs and have tended to imply that people utilised the divinely-ordained hierarchy for their own private purposes, though they did not necessarily believe in it. As a consequence, historians have tended to privilege social tensions over reconciliation and communal values. Moreover, in borrowing the notions of ‘public transcripts’ and ‘hidden transcripts’ historians have

⁹² French, 2002, 275; Braddick and Walter, 2001; Walter, 2001; Wood, 2002; Adelson, 2002.

⁹³ Walter, 2001, 123.

⁹⁴ Marsh, 2005, 5; Adelson, 2002, 701.

⁹⁵ Walter, 2001, 123; Wood, 2002, x-xii and 5-17.

⁹⁶ Walter, 2001, 123.

tended to reduce conformity and cooperation to public compliance: for many historians, “radical, antihierarchical outbursts, and even milder moments of irreverence, represented the bubbling up of real popular feelings, while a general willingness to work cooperatively with hierarchy revealed only the fearful suppression of those feelings”.⁹⁷ Despite “the emphasis placed by historians on the fine gradations and complex structure of early modern hierarchy”, the language of war and struggle used by Scott and by those who have adopted his terminology stresses a dichotomy between elite power and popular politics. Marsh argues that “a high proportion of status tension is likely to occur between near equals”, yet the language used implies class-based struggles closer to ‘resistance’ than ‘negotiation’.⁹⁸

This thesis is primarily interested in examining the *meanings* of the landscape and the *experience* of those who lived in it, rather than in the ways communities and individuals may or may not have resisted the power of the elite. While diverging from the ‘dyad’ of domination/resistance adopted by some Foucauldian research in human geography, this thesis does subscribe to a wider Foucauldian reading of power as “a thoroughly entangled bundle of exchanges dispersed ‘everywhere’ through society, as comprising a ‘micro-physical’ or ‘capillary’ geography of linkages, intensities and frictions, and as thereby not being straightforwardly in the ‘service’ of any one set of peoples, institutions or movements”.⁹⁹ Power is theorised here as something that has to be constituted, maintained and reproduced, rather than as something which is permanently vested in the monarch, and secondarily in elite groups, such as the baronial and knightly classes. Foucault himself identified such a tendency to “reduce the problem of power to sovereignty”:

“Against this privilege of sovereign power I wanted to try to emphasise an analysis that would go in the other direction. Between each point in a social body, between a man and a woman, in a family, between a teacher and his student, between the one who knows and the one who does not know, power relations come into play which are not the projection pure and simple of the

⁹⁷ Marsh, 2005, 7.

⁹⁸ Marsh, 2005, 6.

⁹⁹ Sharp et al, 2000, 20.

great sovereign power on individuals; rather, they are shifting and solid ground in which it has taken root, the conditions under which it can function”.¹⁰⁰

It is certainly true that power in medieval society depended at least in part on one's birth, for one was unlikely to ever rise above the class into which one was born, especially in the earlier medieval period. However, given that ownership of land was never absolute in medieval England, but instead depended on the king's favour, even those born into the elite classes could lose their property and their power by opposing the king, or by supporting the losing faction in the frequent civil wars of the medieval centuries. Power should therefore be conceived as a precarious amalgam of forces, practices and relations or a “complex strategical situation”; that is, power should be understood as something that could potentially be lost, regained, produced and reproduced.¹⁰¹ Like D. C. Harvey, who challenges assumptions about “a medieval society that was supposedly dominated by a collage of lordly manorial and high ecclesiastical power”, this author recognises the existence of horizontal forms of relationships in medieval societies.¹⁰² Such theories of power focus attention on issues of property rights, social order, religious practice, local administration and gender relations, themes which are central to the discussions presented in this thesis.

2.5 Medieval Settlements Studies

As noted above, medieval settlements and landscapes have recently received scant attention within historical geography, though they have continued to be popular subjects for research amongst landscape historians and archaeologists, some of whom were initially trained as historical geographers. Several of the key themes of recent research are outlined here.

Whilst early scholars generally focused on field systems, the morphology of individual settlements became an increasingly central concern amongst the emerging disciplines of landscape history and landscape archaeology from the 1970s onwards.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Foucault, 1996, 209-210.

¹⁰¹ Foucault, 1981, 93.

¹⁰² Harvey, 2003, 151.

¹⁰³ Williamson, 2003, 13; Seebohm, 1905; Vinogradoff, 1892; Gray, 1915; Thirsk, 1964, 1966; Taylor, 1973; Oosthuizen, 1994, 2002.

Geographers, archaeologists and landscape historians have all been keen to map the distribution of nucleated and dispersed settlement types within the British Isles. Britain, and more especially England, is typically divided into different landscape and settlement 'zones', variously categorised as highland/lowland zones, ancient/planned countryside, woodland/champion landscapes, nucleated/dispersed settlement zones or north-western/central/south-eastern provinces. More recently, it has become increasingly clear that while the country can be broadly divided into zones of nucleated and dispersed settlement, there is also great variation within regions.¹⁰⁴

Another major research theme is the origins and development of settlements. Early commentators dated the emergence of nucleated villages, and their associated open-field systems, to the Saxon invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries.¹⁰⁵ Later historical geographers pointed to the period of recovery after the 'Harrying of the North' in 1069-1070 as the time in which many settlements in northern England were reorganised along more regular lines, seemingly by tenants-in-chief or their local administrators.¹⁰⁶ More recent contributions have questioned the extent to which the destruction of c. 1070 provided an opportunity for the wholesale reorganisation of settlement, and have suggested alternative models including that individual lords or the centralising state introduced planned villages in line with attempts to improve agricultural efficiency in the ninth and tenth centuries.¹⁰⁷ Some degree of consensus has recently emerged: evidence from the East Midlands, Cambridgeshire, East Anglia and the Yorkshire Wolds has suggested that both nucleated settlements and open-field systems were laid out in the mid or late-Saxon period, although it is also clear that in some areas the transformation of the landscape continued as late as the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁸

Academic opinion so far seems to be united with Oosthuizen, when she says that the long linear 'commons' of probable Mid-Saxon date in Cambridgeshire represent the earliest surviving physical evidence for open-field systems within the Central

¹⁰⁴ Rackham, 2000; Roberts and Wrathmell, 2000; Williamson, 2003; Lewis *et al*, 1997.

¹⁰⁵ Vinogradoff, 1892; Gray, 1915; Thorpe, 1951.

¹⁰⁶ Thirsk, 1964, 1966; Alleston, 1970; Sheppard, 1974, 1976.

¹⁰⁷ Dyer, 1990, 40.

¹⁰⁸ Foard, 1978; Hall, 1981; Taylor, 1983; Lewis *et al*, 1997, 198-201; Oosthuizen, 2004; Martin, 2004; Richards, 1997, 240; Richards, 2000a, 198; Hurst, 1984, 86; Beresford and Hurst, 1990, 84; Powlesland, 1999, 64-5.

Province. Oosthuizen presented convincing evidence that the open fields of the Bourne Valley had been laid out in a two stage process, whereby the Mid-Saxon proto-open-field system was extended over the middle and upper slopes only after the area had been divided into parishes, probably between the tenth and twelfth centuries.¹⁰⁹ Brown and Foard suggested an alternative model for Northamptonshire, arguing that nucleation first occurred here in the seventh or eighth centuries, while the open fields were laid out in the ninth or tenth centuries in association with the reorganisation of *pre-existing* nucleated settlements.¹¹⁰ All this underlines the fact that the origins of open-fields and nucleated settlements varied from region to region: as Oosthuizen argues, “we should be looking for multiple rather than monocausal models”.¹¹¹

Although ethnicity has long been discounted as an explanation for the origins and distribution of settlement types and field patterns, scholars continue to offer a range of explanations including population density and the influence of lordship to explain regional variations. Williamson recently critiqued the existing models, arguing that they do not adequately account for the overall distribution of settlement patterns and field systems. He asserted the primacy of environmental factors: in his view, variations in settlement and landscape form reflect “responses made by farming communities to the challenges posed by soils, climate and topography”.¹¹² It seems likely that one must look to a combination of factors to explain regional variations, for as Dyer argues: “Neither the race of the inhabitants, not the environment of soils or relief, nor the power of the lords alone explain why so many medieval communities adopted a highly specialised type of settlement”.¹¹³

Recent research has also focused on questions of continuity and change in the rural landscape, including settlement desertion in the later medieval period. Scholars have increasingly stressed the protracted nature of the economic and social changes that led to the eventual depopulation and abandonment of settlements. Depopulation is no longer understood solely in the context of the Black Death and the subsequent shift

¹⁰⁹ Oosthuizen, 2004, 7; 2005, 187-91.

¹¹⁰ Brown and Foard, 1998, 90-2.

¹¹¹ Oosthuizen, 2005, 191.

¹¹² Williamson, 2003, 21.

¹¹³ Dyer, 1990, 41.

towards pastoral economies.¹¹⁴ Scholars have also addressed questions about the mobility of settlements, using a variety of documentary, landscape and excavation-based approaches. Their conclusions have been divergent and sometimes conflicting, pointing variously to the stability and mobility of settlements in the medieval and post-medieval periods.¹¹⁵

Recent scholars from a range of disciplines have increasingly questioned the extent to which the late medieval and early modern period can be understood as an era of transformation or transition: that is, a period of radical change that engendered “the emergence of a wholly new socio-economic and spatial order”.¹¹⁶ For example, Platt recently reassessed Hoskins’ concept of the ‘Great Rebuilding’ of rural England in the years 1570 to 1640. While agreeing with Hoskins that the Tudor and Stuart eras were characterised by widespread building activity, Platt questioned whether the post-Restoration period was not one of even greater activity and concluded that “a one-off Great Rebuilding, however generously defined, never happened”, thereby implicitly criticising Hoskins’ notion of the early modern era as a period of radical transformation.¹¹⁷ Similarly, other commentators have suggested that whilst “[t]he late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were characterised by a ferment of new ideas and techniques stemming largely from the Renaissance” and that these changes were indeed “reflected in the rural landscape” in processes such as emparking and settlement depopulation, such practices must be understood as the continuation of longer-term processes occurring throughout the last millennia, at least.¹¹⁸

Economic and social historians have also contributed to the debate, questioning whether the restructuring of feudal society in the fifteenth century can be understood as a precursor to agrarian capitalism. Dyer has argued that the ‘transitions’ of the late medieval and early modern period were dependent upon the commercial growth of the thirteenth century. Geographers like D. C. Harvey have also argued that developments typically understood as part of the transition to modern society, were actually instead “inherent within... premodern [Cornish] society”, while Glennie asks, “[h]ow exactly

¹¹⁴ Beresford, 1954; Rowley and Wood, 1982, 10-27.

¹¹⁵ Beresford and Hurst, 1971, 124-31; Sheppard, 1974, 1976; Taylor, 1978; Wade-Martins, 1975, especially 149-53; Glasscock, 1973, 145-6.

¹¹⁶ Campbell, 1990, 72.

¹¹⁷ Hoskins, 1953; Platt, 1994, vii.

(if at all) did late-medieval social, agrarian and spatial change contribute to the contrast between the early-medieval economies... and their early modern counterparts, en route to agrarian capitalism?”.¹¹⁹

2.6 Manor-Church-Settlement Relationships

Despite continued interest in the planned form of settlements, as well as recent research on the conversion of monastic sites into high status residences in the post-Reformation period, there has been little sustained analysis of the relationships between medieval churches, manor houses, settlements and other landscape features.¹²⁰ Gelling recently suggested that “the matter of church-siting has potential for a great deal of study”, stressing the need for studies which would aid inter-regional comparisons.¹²¹ Yet only a small number of studies have examined the spatial relationships between churches, manor houses and settlements in any great detail and there are few published data sets for analysing the geographical relationships between these landscape elements at the national, regional or sub-regional scale.

However, a number of academics have commented on the close geographical relationship between parish churches and manorial complexes in the medieval period. Morris offered a brief analysis of the geographical relationships between churches and mottes in Herefordshire which he interprets as sites of eleventh and twelfth-century seigniorial power. He also cites data from Rodwell and Rodwell, arguing that an extrapolation from this data would indicate that the number of parish churches “found next to buildings or monuments of lordly status” would “run into thousands”. Yet Morris’ analysis is brief, and he argues elsewhere that, “[t]he topographical relationships which existed between churches and manors in the later Middle Ages are too diverse to receive much attention” in his study.¹²²

Dymond found that thirty-six of the fifty-two ‘isolated’ churches in West Suffolk were located next to existing halls or moated sites, while data drawn from Rodwell and

¹¹⁸ Taylor, 1983, 201.

¹¹⁹ Dyer, 1997, 61; Harvey, 2003, 151; Glennie, 1992, 336.

¹²⁰ Howard, 1987, 136-62; Morris, 1989, 377-9; Colvin, 1999, 52-66; Aston, 2000, 161-3.

¹²¹ Gelling, 1992, 185.

Rodwell suggests that almost half the parish churches within the rural archdeaconry of Colchester (Essex) are located close to a hall, park or castle (ninety-nine out of 204), many of them forming isolated church/house complexes.¹²³ Yet in both cases the data is based on a survey of standing buildings. As neither Dymond nor Rodwell and Rodwell systematically reconstructed the medieval landscape, their results presumably include church/house groupings that became isolated only in the post-medieval period. Even in areas of dispersed settlement, far fewer church/manor complexes may have been isolated in the early medieval period than today. Thus, for example, of the ten examples of isolated churches next to manorial sites in Launditch hundred (Norfolk), nine were in close proximity to the site of an earlier village.¹²⁴ Although the date at which these buildings became isolated from other settlement elements is unknown, it seems likely that at least some of these churches and manors became isolated only in the post-medieval period. This poses questions about the validity of studies whose conclusions are based primarily on post-medieval evidence.

More sustained research projects examining the geographical relationships between manors, churches and settlements include that by Daniels and the forthcoming publication by Stocker and Everson.¹²⁵ The former is discussed here, while the results of the latter are outlined further in Chapter IV. Daniels found that in nineteen out of twenty-five Cleveland villages (76 per cent) the church was either integrated within or adjacent to the manorial complex, while the church was an integral part of the settlement in only 56.7 per cent of the sample. He assumes that because more churches are integrated into manorial complexes than settlements, “the position of the church was more likely to be affected by the location of the manorial centre than the new planned village”.¹²⁶ That is, lords founded and sited churches with reference to the location of their manor houses, not settlements. Yet one cannot establish from the statistics alone whether such churches tended to be founded next to pre-existing manor houses, or vice versa. The position of churches in relation to manors and settlements are not independent variables: churches could be located near both manor houses and settlements. Hence the percentages in Daniels’ study do not reveal which variable had

¹²² Rodwell and Rodwell, 1977; Morris, 1989, 248, 250-1 and 268.

¹²³ Dymond, 1968, 29; Rodwell and Rodwell, 1977, 94-125. Data for churches in Colchester was excluded from the analysis here.

¹²⁴ Wade-Martins, 1980, 87.

¹²⁵ Everson and Stocker, 2004, 5-6; Stocker and Everson, *forthcoming*.

more influence on church location. In other words, while the figures show a correlation between the locations of manors and churches, they do not demonstrate causation.

While the fact that so many churches and manor houses were found close together need not imply which was founded first, it does suggest that the distribution of these buildings is in some way the result of planning. Commentators have generally interpreted the close proximity of manor houses and churches as evidence that such churches were founded before the Norman Conquest as private, lordly chapels. Such churches were founded on “sites to suit [the lords’] own convenience”, so that “church and hall... kept company from the outset”.¹²⁷ Hence churches and manor houses were, and remain, closely associated in the landscape.

As a result of the small total number of regional and sub-regional studies, and the methodological problems exhibited by some of the existing research, comparison between regions is difficult. At present it is impossible to assess either the diversity of possible manor-church-settlement relationships or the frequency with which particular morphological patterns appear in the landscape. Moreover, despite the recent emphasis on the regional and sub-regional diversity of settlement forms, village morphology in areas of nucleated settlement is too often assumed to parallel the classic ‘Midland village’. Yet as Williamson has demonstrated, marginal areas of the Central Province including the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire Wolds had very different agrarian systems to the heavy clays of the Midlands. In these ‘light land’ regions, open-fields generally coexisted with vast tracts of common grazing.¹²⁸ Given that the pattern of settlement and land use varied even within the Central Province, there remains a need to describe the diverse relationships between manor houses, churches and settlements, identify the most common relationships between these buildings and offer comparisons between regions. This is what this study undertakes to do.

So what can a study conducted from a specifically geographical perspective contribute to the subject? Scholars have increasingly recognised the necessity of providing more

¹²⁶ Daniels, 1995, 89.

¹²⁷ Dymond, 1968, 29; Morris, 1989, 250 and 249.

¹²⁸ Williamson, 2003, 22.

specific agrarian, geographical and landownership contexts for research that considers medieval settlements.¹²⁹ Too few studies offer any consideration of the ‘big picture’: instead, geographers, landscape historians and archaeologists have generally focused on field systems and settlements to the exclusion of any discussion of the wider landscape.¹³⁰ In response to the emergence of landscape archaeology in the 1970s and 1980s, archaeologists have argued for a greater consideration of the relationships between medieval settlements and their wider landscapes, suggesting that “we cannot limit ourselves to studying the settlement areas as such, we also need to study the larger context of the peasant community”.¹³¹ Architectural histories on the subject of the medieval, Tudor and Jacobean manor or country house tend to focus on the houses and their architectural, political or economic context, to the exclusion of any consideration of the broader landscape context of these buildings and their wider estate landscapes. The relationship of these great houses to neighbouring settlements and their churches is little discussed in the existing literature.¹³²

2.7 Space, Property and Possession in Medieval and Sixteenth-Century England

This thesis re-assesses the ways space was understood, experienced and given meaning in late medieval and early modern England, and thereby aligns itself with the wider attempt to reassess traditional interpretations of history which posit the period around 1500 as a period of radical social and economic change associated with the emergence of new ways of imagining, representing and organising the world. The thesis attempts to move beyond structuralist explanations of space as public/private, secular/religious or communal/elite, as well as re-examine the continuities between medieval and (early)modern ways of thinking about space. In the light of criticisms of structuralist approaches to the past, it is wise to critically examine concepts of public and private space before attempting to apply them to the medieval and early modern buildings and landscapes investigated in the later chapters of this thesis. The final section of this chapter offers a short overview of recent research on public and private

¹²⁹ Williamson, 2003, 23 and 198-9; Glennie, 1992, 334.

¹³⁰ Whyte, 2002, 17.

¹³¹ Altenberg, 2003, 6.

¹³² Girouard, 1983; Hill and Cornforth, 1966; Wood, 1965; Howard, 1987; Airs, 1995.

space as well as briefly outlining what is known about contemporary conceptions of property, ownership and possession in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Historians and literary historians have recently shown considerable interest in issues of public and private space in the early modern period. It has been widely recognised that whilst the terms public and private had meaning in this period, these concepts were not necessarily understood in the same ways as they are today. As Orlin argues, “public and private did not sort themselves for early moderns in precisely the same way they do for us, but this is not to deny that a sorting process was engaged in the period”.¹³³

So how can we establish the meaning of ‘public’ and ‘private’ in late medieval and early modern England? How were the terms used and what did it imply to say space was public or private? In the fifteenth century, the term *public* primarily referred to the state or commonwealth, though it might also mean the nation or community. It was also used to refer to the common good, as in *public good*, *public weal(th)* and *common public*. From the later fifteenth century, it might also mean to be published, though only from the mid sixteenth century did *public* come to mean open to general observation, or manifest.¹³⁴ The term *private* was seemingly first used to mean separated from the public body, as for example, by Wyclif in c. 1380 who referred to *private* orders of friars. This meaning continued in common use, and by the early sixteenth century the term was used to refer to property or anything else which belonged or was peculiar to an individual or group apart from the general community. From the fifteenth century, the term private was also used more generally to refer to a person not holding public office.¹³⁵

But how were the term *public* and *private* applied to space? Could space be public in late medieval and early modern England? The term *public* is used in 1548 to refer to a space of general observation, as in:

“Ther inwarde grudge could not refrayne but crye out in places publike, and also priuate”.¹³⁶

¹³³ Orlin, 1994, 82; Warnicke, 1993; Longfellow, 2006, 332-3.

¹³⁴ OED.

¹³⁵ OED.

¹³⁶ Hall, *Chron., Rich. III* 28b; cited by the OED.

By the later sixteenth century, it was seemingly being used to refer to spaces or resources that were not restricted to the private use of an individual or individuals, or were shared by members of a community.

“To make great Theatres, and other publique buildings”.¹³⁷

“I saw her once Hop forty Paces through the publicke streete”.¹³⁸

Kelley has argued that the overriding issue in English civil society was “the acquisition of things (*de acquirendo rerum dominio*), and of course their retention, use, and inheritance... private property, in a complex feudal context, was the central question of English society and social thought”.¹³⁹ Although the meanings attached to the concept of property in the Middle Ages have been much debated, especially within the disciplines of legal history and medieval literature, there are two key concepts worthy of emphasis here. Firstly, the medieval concept of property expressed in the common law did not equate the concept of property with the thing itself, but with rights in the thing. In other words, property was an attribute of goods or animals, not shorthand for the chattels themselves as in modern usage.¹⁴⁰ This broadly equates with Harding’s argument that property was equated with access rather than ownership, in the sense that “[i]nterests in property were not so much forms of ownership as differing degrees of access to spatial privilege”. Harding examines the notion of private property as it was understood in medieval English cities such as London, arguing that complex property rights meant that space could not be considered as privately owned by a single individual. As she puts it,

“[p]rivate property, and the private space dependent on it, was neither legally nor conceptually simple in urban England. The dichotomy was not singly owned private versus collectively owned public. What was private in that era has to be understood as more conditional and less exclusive and individualistic than it is now. Contemporaries recognized the simultaneous existence of a plurality of interests in one space—some of them deferred, some contingent, and some barely enforceable. They accepted a legal framework that established

¹³⁷ Hoby, 1561, Castiglione's Courtyer II; cited by the OED.

¹³⁸ Shakespeare, 1606, *Anthony & Cleopatra*, II. ii. 234; cited by the OED.

¹³⁹ Kelley, 1990, 167.

¹⁴⁰ Seipp, 1994, 33.

and protected these interests, even if they were ready to contest the particular applications of the system in practice”.¹⁴¹

This view long prevailed so that at the end of the seventeenth century, “the word [property] still referred to rights in or over things rather than to the things themselves”.¹⁴² Importantly, property was not just a right or claim to chattels or land, but a full set of rights, duties, powers and liabilities.¹⁴³

Secondly, throughout the later medieval periods the term ‘property’ strictly applied only to personal, rather than real, property; that is, to goods and animals rather than land. While the early legal treatises of both Glanvill and Bracton had recognised property rights in land, by the late thirteenth century the term property was little used. The Year Books signal a linguistic retreat from Roman terms such as property and draw a strict distinction between *propreté* in chattels and *dreit* (rights) in land, so that the notion of property applied to land only in the context of chattels real; that is, leases of land, wardships, markets and fairs.¹⁴⁴

From the mid fourteenth century, lawyers increasingly recognised property in houses, trees, crops and minerals affixed to the land but capable of removal from it, though not in the land itself. From the early fifteenth century, new notions of absolute property began to emerge as lawyers increasingly differentiated between the ‘relative property’ of the lessee and ‘entire property’ of the lessor. Property terminology came back into use from the 1440s onwards, but only around 1490 did the abstract Romanized concept of property re-emerge. By the sixteenth century common lawyers “carried over the conceptual trappings of absolute property in goods and animals into the context of land disputes”. Christopher St Germain’s *Doctor and Student*, published in the late 1520s, utilised an extensive, abstract and universal ‘law of property’ (*lex proprietatis*) which was applicable to land and goods.¹⁴⁵ Yet this abstract notion of property was not universally accepted and the rigid distinction between personal and real property was maintained by some

¹⁴¹ Harding, 2002, 569 and 558.

¹⁴² Sampson, 1990, 260.

¹⁴³ Seipp, 1994, 52.

¹⁴⁴ Seipp, 1994, 32-3 and 35-51; Sampson, 1990, 264.

¹⁴⁵ Seipp, 1994, 31 and 47.

throughout the seventeenth century: as late as 1607, John Cowell recognized ‘property’ in personal goods, but denied its existence in land.¹⁴⁶

Kelley’s idea that English society was characterised by a great respect for property has been taken up by Orlin who argues that, “the medieval property fetish achieved its full and comprehensive measure in England in the sixteenth century”.¹⁴⁷ Orlin locates the private in property and, more particularly, in the household and its goods. Yet in the course of her book Orlin also points to the multiple ways the post-Reformation household was brought into the public domain. Early modern thought acknowledged the analogy between the household and the commonwealth, between microcosm and macrocosm, which had originated in Aristotle. As John Dod and Robert Cleaver claimed in 1598, “[a] household is as it were a little commonwealth”.¹⁴⁸ Households consisted of the principal family and the servants, and therefore possessed an internal hierarchy which provided a model or analogy for the state. As Thomas Bilson asserted in 1576, the “private family... is both a part and a pattern of the commonwealth”; that is, the household is both a constitutive element of and model for the commonwealth.¹⁴⁹

As such, the household ought to be properly ordered. Behaviour within the household was certainly a matter of public concern in sixteenth-century England. Domestic disorder was understood to threaten the state, hence the pervasive anxiety about incidents which disrupted household norms.¹⁵⁰ Literature and visual images expressed a concern that domestic disorder, represented for example by scolding wives or cuckolded husbands, had implications for public life. As Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim asserted in 1540, “How shall he rule a city that hath not learned to rule a house? How shall he govern a commonwealth, that never knew his private and familiar business?”.¹⁵¹

Both Fletcher and Orlin remark on a plasterwork frieze in the great hall of Montacute House (Somerset), built by Sir Edward Phelips in the 1590s. The frieze depicts a couple inside their home, the woman knocking the man over the head, perhaps for his

¹⁴⁶ Sampson, 1990, 265.

¹⁴⁷ Orlin, 1994, 1.

¹⁴⁸ Cited in Orlin, 1994, 85.

¹⁴⁹ Cited in Orlin, 1994, 73.

¹⁵⁰ Fletcher, 1995, 101.

drunkenness or his inattention to their child. A neighbour observes from outside, watching through the transparent walls of the house. In the second scene, the male householder is ridiculed by his neighbours, who parade him past other houses and the church on a skimmington pole. For Orlin the frieze is an emblem for community surveillance and control of the individual household, a practice which is also evidenced in early modern church court records.¹⁵²

Moreover, bodies as well as households were matters of public concern and intervention. Working with seventeenth-century court records, Gowing has established that sex and reproduction were matters of public consequence: as she puts it, “[b]odies were irredeemably public”.¹⁵³ Men could be subjected to public ridicule or scrutiny, as in the frieze at Montacute House, or when husbands were physically examined in order to prove their alleged impotence. Yet women’s bodies were particularly susceptible to public representation as sites of concern, and most often associated with the dangers posed by privacy. Both the birth of a bastard and a royal heir had implications beyond the family; the former for the parish community who were required to support the child and its mother and the latter for the nation more generally.¹⁵⁴

By the later fourteenth century, the term private might refer to something concealed or secret: that is, kept or removed from public view. In this sense, the term could also refer to a place that was unfrequented or secluded, though it was not until the late sixteenth century that *private* took on the meaning of being by one’s self or alone.¹⁵⁵ It is in their association with secrecy and seclusion that private spaces were problematic, even dangerous. As Gowing argues, female bodies were represented both as private spaces and despite, or even because of that, as sites of public concern. As she argues,

“the greatest problem with conceptualising sexual matters as private was that to do so posed dangers for chastity, morality and order... Secrecy, after all, facilitated illicit sex, secret pregnancy and infanticide. If secrecy and privacy were among the constitutive conditions of early modern reproductive rituals,

¹⁵¹ Cited in Orlin, 1994, 73.

¹⁵² Fletcher, 1995; Orlin, 1994; Stone, 1977.

¹⁵³ Gowing, 2003, 34.

¹⁵⁴ Gowing, 2003, 117-8; Dolan, 2002, 658.

¹⁵⁵ OED.

they also represented some of the most troubling threats to households and communities. The walls of the household were as much a threat to order as a safeguard against it”.¹⁵⁶

Beds could also become public spaces, and not only in their association with sex and reproduction. Hindle argues that women’s gossip, repeated at a variety of sites including childbeds and sickbeds, could become public through its codification in church court records. Hindle suggests that the case of Margaret Knowsley, a servant who was prosecuted and shamed for gossiping about the sexual harassment she experienced from her master, demonstrates that “the relationship between the public and the private in early modern society was particularly complex, and subject to enormous patriarchal and cultural pressures”.¹⁵⁷ As Dolan points out, the deathbed too could become a site of public utterance, a “platform on which even the most humble woman could demonstrate her good character and ensure its remembrance”.¹⁵⁸

The dangers posed by women occupying private or secret space were heightened by the association of women, Catholicism and private space in post-Reformation England. At the Reformation Catholics lost public spaces of religion and were forced instead to worship within their homes. Yet “Catholic homes were neither safe nor private”. The distinction between public conformity (attending church) and private belief (continued Catholic practices in the home) led to increased concern about behaviour in the private sphere. As Dolan argues:

“Viewing the household as a base of operations for Catholics offers yet another challenge to the notion that the private was a distinctly separate or apolitical realm in the early modern period. Although some places were undoubtedly less heavily trafficked, accessible, or visible than others, the scrutiny, description, and regulation of Catholic conduct in what we might consider the most private of spaces – the household, the bed, and the closet – reveal these spaces to have been sources of risk, targets of surveillance and subjects of speculation”.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Gowing, 2003, 33.

¹⁵⁷ Hindle, 1994, 407.

¹⁵⁸ Dolan, 2002, 660.

¹⁵⁹ Dolan, 2002, 657 and 654-5.

Mazzola and Abate identify a similar concern about the threat posed by the female space, this time recorded in Renaissance literature. They draw attention to the words spoken by Edmund in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, arguing that the "indistinguished space of woman's will" to which he refers is the unclassified, disordered space of women's minds and private spaces. This is a space where "the established order of things has become inconspicuous, a place that is, as a result, unfettered by patriarchal constraints and unschooled by its syntax" and therefore threatens patriarchal power.¹⁶⁰ Hence, the concern represented in plays such as John Webster's (1623) *The Duchess of Malfi* to know women's minds, hearts and bodies, and to subject or contain them. Hopkins has argued that Webster explores the relationship between interior and exterior, showing a particular interest in the architectural and bodily spaces of interiority including cabinets, closets, hearts and wombs. The male characters in the play express a persistent desire to see inside the duchess, to penetrate her heart, mind and body, and when they are unable to do this, to imprison or otherwise contain her.¹⁶¹

All this is indicative of the extent to which the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a period of "considerable anxiety about the gender order".¹⁶² That incidents such as the murder of Thomas Arden by his wife Alyce and other accomplices in 1551 were so widely reported, and the outcome of the trial recorded in a play of 1592, is illustrative of this deep-seated anxiety.¹⁶³ Gowing points to a project, ongoing since the Middle Ages, which sought to enclose and control the female body. In emphasising the long-term nature of this change, Gowing aligns herself with much recent scholarship which has questioned the extent to which the notion of a separate female sphere was a construction solely of the period after 1650, and focuses instead on the continuities between modern and earlier forms of patriarchal control.¹⁶⁴

A similar awareness of the potential continuities between the mental worlds of the medieval era and the Enlightenment might fruitfully inform any discussion of the meanings of concepts such as public and private. Rather than assume, like Habermas, that distinct public and private spheres emerged only in the late seventeenth or

¹⁶⁰ Mazzola and Abate, 2003, 2.

¹⁶¹ Hopkins, 2003.

¹⁶² Fletcher, 1995, 28.

¹⁶³ Orlin, 1994, 15-84.

¹⁶⁴ Gowing, 2003, 7; Vickery, 1993; Shoemaker, 1998.

eighteenth centuries, this project acknowledges that concepts of public and private had meaning in the late medieval and early modern eras.¹⁶⁵ As Warnicke argues, early modern people “used the words public and private frequently... it is unlikely that they had a blurred understanding of these two concepts”. In other words, though “public and public matters were organized somewhat differently than now...”, they were characterized by “distinctions that were just as obvious and definitive”.¹⁶⁶

Contemporaries understood the public and the private as analogous, as well as opposed. As such one might follow Orlin in acknowledging, “the symbiosis of public and private in the post-Reformation cultural consciousness”.¹⁶⁷ Gender historians like Lynch have shown that women were not literally consigned to the private sphere.¹⁶⁸ Nor were concepts of private space, domestic space, female space and the household always congruent. Yet if public and private, male and female did not map onto each other in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the ongoing project identified by Gowing to enclose the female body within the household was, at least to some extent, an achievement of the early modern era. As she argues, by the seventeenth century “the binary opposition between male and female was readily mapped onto the difference between the public and the private, or the visible and the secret”.¹⁶⁹

Certainly, as has been demonstrated above, the later sixteenth century was a period of particular anxiety about the role and place of women within the household and society more generally. If the idea of a female, domestic sphere did indeed emerge in the early seventeenth century, then it was arguably paralleled by a project which sought to define and distinguish the public and the private spheres. Orlin notes that the sixteenth century was characterised by a progressive hierarchisation of the public and the private, arguing that in the post-Reformation era, the private increasingly came to be displaced by the public. She suggests that in the introduction to the story of Thomas Arden’s murder in his 1577 *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, Holinshed “represented the common intuition that private matters were of a lower order of importance than affairs of crown and country”. The analogy between public and

¹⁶⁵ Habermas, 1989, especially 5-26.

¹⁶⁶ Warnicke, 1993, 124 and 140.

¹⁶⁷ Orlin, 1994, 85.

¹⁶⁸ Lynch, 2003.

¹⁶⁹ Gowing, 2003, 29.

private, as expressed in the idea of the household as a model for the state, was further problematised by the role of women in religious discourse. Biblical and religious texts drew a parallel between honouring “thy father and thy mother” and serving the head of a household. Yet this incorporated a dualism (father *and* mother) which was problematic in the context of the analogy with the state, ruled by a single, typically male, individual. The accession of women to the throne in 1553 and 1558 further problematised the model of domestic monarchy which stressed the wife’s subjugation to the husband, creating ambiguities that were uneasily worked out in contemporary treatises.¹⁷⁰

If public and private might function as either analogous or opposed concepts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the paradox, acknowledged by Orlin, whereby “in the early modern period, the private was, after all, public in consequence”, was becoming increasingly problematic by the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century.¹⁷¹ It might be argued that the imagined correspondence between public and private gradually gave way to a hierarchical understanding of the relationship, which valued the public above the private, whilst also connecting the former to the emerging male sphere and the latter to a female sphere rooted, in the ideology at least, in the household. Moreover, the new attitude to property and property holding in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries identified above had implications for how space was understood and experienced in the period. As Harding suggests, “[t]he understanding of urban space as public or private, its experience as accessible or exclusive, was considerably modified in the early modern period”.¹⁷² It is precisely these themes which this thesis investigates with reference to the rural landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds.

Given recent debates about the continuity of territorial organisation and agricultural practice over the history of the English landscape, as well as work that has questioned whether the reorganisation of medieval society in the fifteenth century can be understood as part of the broader transition to agrarian capitalism, it is timely to examine the potential continuities between pre-Conquest, medieval and later forms of

¹⁷⁰ Orlin, 1994, 89.

¹⁷¹ Orlin, 1994, 73.

¹⁷² Harding, 2002, 567.

landscape organisation.¹⁷³ Such research would go towards answering recent calls for research that critically examines the transition from medieval to post-medieval society. In their introduction to an edited collection of papers presented at a joint conference of the Society for Medieval Archaeology and the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology, Gaimster and Stamper contend that approaches to the late medieval and early modern period have typically been predicated on the idea that “the date 1500 continues to form a rigid division”, a watershed which marks the end of the medieval period and the beginning of the modern. They argue that “such a rigid boundary can only obscure, not enlighten, the true nature of the transition between medieval and post-medieval society”, and that future research must examine the period as a whole, rather than assume the Reformation, the discovery of the New World or the emergence of capitalism “marks a fault line between the Middle Ages and the modern world”.¹⁷⁴ Rippon has made a similar point, questioning whether “the agricultural and industrial revolutions... mark a more meaningful break in landscape history in many areas than c. 1500?”.¹⁷⁵ The thesis addresses these themes, examining change and continuity within the medieval and early modern rural landscape, as well as assessing changing experiences of space, territory and landscape in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Lilley identifies this as a project of crucial importance, arguing that “if the apparent silence of the Middle Ages is to be redressed in contemporary geographical discourse... then one issue which requires rethinking, perhaps most fundamentally of all, is what especially separates the ‘medieval’ from the ‘modern’?”.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Unwin, 1983; Williamson, 1986; Hadley, 1996; Dyer, 1997, 61 and 2005, 1-6 and 244; Glennie, 1992, 336.

¹⁷⁴ Gaimster and Stamper, 1997, ix.

¹⁷⁵ Rippon, 2002, 15.

¹⁷⁶ Lilley, 2004a, 309; R. Jones, 2004, 295.

III. Methodology and Sources

This thesis embraces a modified micro-historical approach, utilising multiple sources of evidence in order to reconstruct the medieval and early modern landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds. The first part of this chapter outlines a number of epistemological and methodological considerations which impacted upon the project as well as scrutinising the micro-historical perspective in greater detail. The next section of the chapter introduces the Yorkshire Wolds study area and discusses the value of the landscape survey approach, while the third briefly comments on the insights that life-histories can provide whilst also recognising the difficulties of constructing such biographies from fragmentary sources. The second part of the chapter comments on the difficulties of reading and translating medieval and sixteenth-century documents and on the practicalities of using multiple if fragmentary sources. It also introduces and critically examines the key sources used in the thesis including: property records; visual sources; equity court papers; ecclesiastical records and cause papers; maps; landscape; and standing buildings evidence.

3.1 Methodology

Recent postmodernist and poststructuralist historiography has stressed the selectivity of historical representation, and questioned whether scholars can ever really access the past. As part of the wider ‘crisis of representation’, historians and historical geographers have recognised that they can only ever approach the past through highly selective accounts of it.¹ Not only do surviving sources “describe only a fraction of what took place”, but such accounts also inevitably reflect the attitudes and opinions of those who constructed them. Moreover, the choice of ‘facts’ to construct the historical narrative and the ordering of the narrative itself are discriminatory practices. Given that ‘facts’ may be defined as “claim[s] to truth based on available evidence that is agreed upon by a community of scholars”, ‘facts’ are liable to change over time.² Historians influenced by the postmodernist perspective, such as Kellner, Berkhofer

¹ Wishart, 1997; Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987, 97-8.

² Wishart, 1997, 112.

and Ankersmit, have increasingly recognised historical narratives as “allegories – substitutions for the past rather than facsimiles of it”.³

As part of the broad-based critique of realist and positivist epistemologies which has recently emerged across the social sciences and humanities, geographers have increasingly recognised the need for critical reflexivity. Influenced by the feminist perspective in particular, geographers have increasingly recognised the role of the academic researcher in structuring research including historical narratives. This poststructuralist perspective has been widely adopted in historical and cultural geography, where it has typically been understood as being in opposition to the ‘traditional cultural geography’, which has been widely criticised principally for the supposed lack of reflexivity exhibited by scholars such as Sauer, Darby, Clark, and Meinig. Guelke has argued that they imagined themselves as a “spectator[s] to external changes in the ways things were ordered and arranged on the face of the earth”.⁴ In such research, the ‘truth’ of historical narratives was based on the separation of subject (researcher) and object (researched), and along with much other positivist research being conducted within geography assumed that the past existed in a way so as to make it both attainable and representable.

Practitioners within the discipline of archaeology have also increasingly shown a concern for some of the issues raised by the poststructuralist critique of positivistic methodologies. Barrett attempted to move beyond the problems associated by some practitioners with the developing sub-field of ‘interpretative archaeology’, arguing:

“That we are responsible for making interpretative statements which cannot arise independently of us is not a ‘problem’ which challenges the objectivity of our work, rather it exposes the way material culture is open to multiple and contested readings... There has never been a single or uncontested meaning of the material which we choose to study, instead there have been contested readings and social strategies which have attempted to limit the possible ranges of those interpretations”.⁵

³ Kellner, 1987; Ankersmit, 1989; Wishart, 1997, 116; Berkhofer, 1971, 12: cited in Moodie and Lehr, 1976, 133.

⁴ Guelke, 1989, 216.

⁵ Barrett, 1994a, 89-90.

Barrett's own work offers the possibility of moving beyond the challenges of relativism in order to explore the meaning of past landscapes. Ingold similarly embraces the poststructuralist perspective, arguing that "the landscape tells – or rather is – a story".⁶

Given that there are infinite constructions of the past, none of which may ever approximate the lived reality of past societies, postmodernist historiography may appear to reach something of an impasse. Attempts to 'get inside the minds' of those who inhabited the past have been widely discredited as a fruitless exercise or a form of idealism.⁷ This said, how can one overcome the selectivity of historical representation to produce a historical-geographic account that approximates the past in a way which is both meaningful and comparable?

3.1.1 Micro-Histories of the Rural Landscape: A Methodology

Recent scholars have adapted Geertz's concept of 'thick description' to argue for qualitative, in-depth micro-histories that have the potential to provide a relatively reliable record of past societies.⁸ Using multiple and often highly fragmentary sources, scholars have attempted to reconstruct entire life worlds. This thesis attempts to do the same: that is, to use multiple sources to reconstruct life worlds and answer big questions with reference to specific places. In this sense, the thesis diverges from an older tradition of historical enquiry whereby historians and historical geographers studying medieval topics utilised a single, large source such as Darby did using the Domesday Book and other scholars have with the Hearth Tax returns.⁹ Having chosen to work on a particularly extensive source or set of documents, many scholars find that "on acquaintance with the material" their theme "virtually selects itself".¹⁰

Historical geography has always been characterised by an interdisciplinary outlook, but one impact of the cultural turn has been to focus research in historical geography on micro-studies or thick descriptions. Historical geographers have increasingly

⁶ Ingold, 1993, 152.

⁷ Wishart, 1997, 115.

⁸ Geertz, 1973; Rackham, 1986; Burke, 1987.

⁹ Darby, 1971, 1977; Darby and Maxwell, 1962; Meirion-Jones, 1971; Unwin, 1985.

¹⁰ Burgess, 2002a, 39.

favoured localist approaches, building their arguments out of case-studies rather than offering grand histories, and thereby shunning the more explicitly scientific methodologies advocated by earlier historical geographers.¹¹ Naylor has also noted “an antipathy to heavy theorizing” among some historical geographers. This is not necessarily problematic, for like Naylor one may find it encouraging that “fruitful theoretical ideas from philosophy, postcolonial theory, science studies, cultural history and so on are not allowed to overextend – are thoroughly situated and grounded within – the spaces and times they are being used to unpack”.¹²

However, there remains a danger that scholars working on places where the documentary record is exceptionally rich may largely avoid making generalisations beyond their particular case-study. In order to promote the transferability and comparability of conclusions drawn from micro-historical research, and thus avoid the relativism inherent in some accounts, it is necessary to situate local scale patterns within their broader historical and geographical contexts. Such an approach abandons Ankersmit’s notion of a postmodernist historiography which in concentrating on historical scraps renders comparison between studies of different historical and geographical periods difficult, and instead subscribes to the historiography of Ginzburg.¹³

Ginzburg has stressed that while “the results obtained in a microscopic sphere cannot be automatically transferred to a macroscopic sphere (and vice versa)”, micro-histories which are at the same time grounded in their wider historical context can overcome problems of comparability and transferability.¹⁴ Following Kracauer and Bloch, Ginzburg argues for “a constant back and forth between micro and macrohistory, between close-ups and extreme long-shots, so as to continually thrust back into discussion the comprehensive vision of the historical process”. Thus to argue here for micro-histories and micro-geographies of the late medieval and early modern rural landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds is not to deny the importance of macro-scale events. Ginzburg’s “comprehensive vision of the historical process” is achieved here in two

¹¹ Heffernan, 1997, 2; Holdsworth, 2002, 673.

¹² Naylor, 2005, 631-2.

¹³ Ankersmit, 1989, 149; Ginzburg, 1993, 31.

¹⁴ Ginzburg, 1993, 33.

ways.¹⁵ Firstly, by making reference to a wide variety of secondary sources and comparable research projects and secondly, by adopting a landscape survey approach to the Yorkshire Wolds.

3.1.2 The Yorkshire Wolds Study Area

For the various methodological reasons outlined above, this thesis adopts a regional approach to landscape history. That is, the project will study settlement morphology at the landscape scale. The landscape survey approach first emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, and spurred on by the popularity of landscape archaeology over the past three decades, has recently gathered momentum.¹⁶ A growing number of multi-disciplinary, multi-period projects are now being undertaken, the most important of which include the Wharram Research Project, the West Heslerton Research Project, the AHRC and MSRG-funded Whittlewood Project on the Northamptonshire-Buckinghamshire border, the Bradbourne Project in Derbyshire and the ESRC-funded project on settlement and waste in the Palatine of Durham. Like these projects, the thesis uses a wide variety of documentary, standing buildings, landscape archaeological and place-names sources to reconstruct the settlement morphology of the Yorkshire Wolds in the late medieval and early modern period (see Figure 3.1).

The decision to study the Yorkshire Wolds was in part influenced by the availability of sources. Good estates records have survived for many of the Wolds estates including Burton Agnes and Sewerby. Unprinted sources are mostly still within the county or at The National Archives (hereafter TNA) or British Library (hereafter BL). Many medieval buildings survive, particularly churches. Landscape evidence for past land uses is excellent, principally because large swathes of the Wolds have long been pasture. There is landscape evidence, visible from the ground or the air, for prehistoric land use and settlement, as well as for Roman and medieval settlement.¹⁷ An extensive series of aerial photographs exist, some of which have been used for this project. Two major long-term excavation projects have been undertaken in the study area at

¹⁵ Ginzburg, 1993, 27.

¹⁶ Dyer, 2004, 5.

¹⁷ Stoertz, 1997.

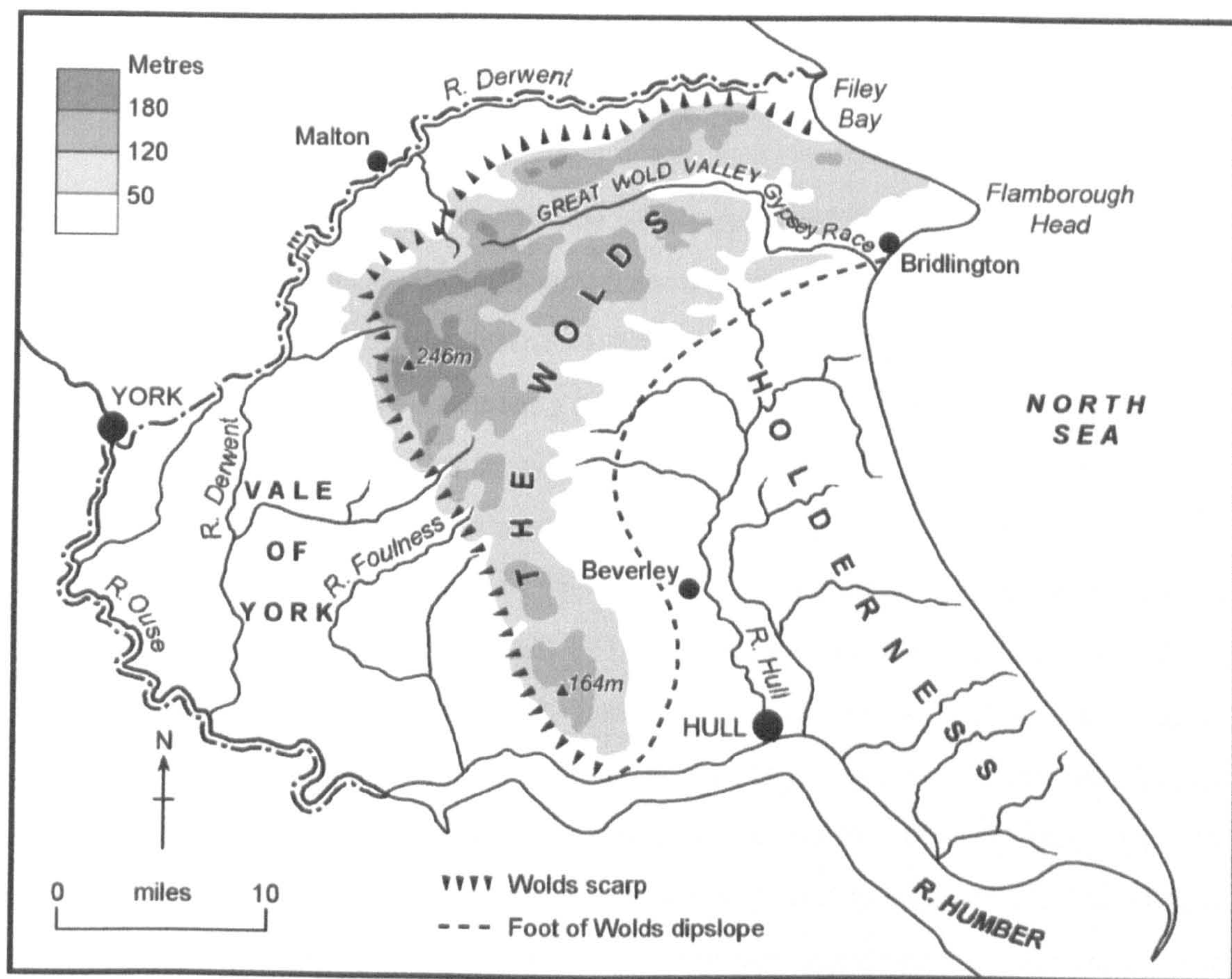


Figure 3.1 The Yorkshire Wolds.

Wharram Percy and West Heslerton, where excavation was complemented by aerial photography, geophysical survey and field walking.

The choice of the Yorkshire Wolds was also influenced by the fact the Wolds have been long recognised as a region distinct from the surrounding landscapes. English has suggested that “[t]he local divisions of England are of immense antiquity”. In her view, many small territories have long histories as recognisably separate areas, like the medieval seigniorship of Holderness which had its origins as a Celtic canton and later functioned as a Roman administrative unit before being incorporated into the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Deira.¹⁸ Less is known about the Wolds, although it is clear that Dickering wapentake, first mentioned in 1166, was coextensive with Hunthou, Turbar and Burton hundreds, divisions which were in turn based around pre-Conquest estates at Bridlington, Hunmanby and Burton Agnes. In 1086, the East Riding was the only part of Yorkshire still to be divided into hundreds: the north and west ridings and other parts of the Danelaw had already been transformed into wapentakes.¹⁹ The eighteen East Yorkshire Domesday hundreds had become six wapentakes by the later twelfth century, of which the study area embraces parts of Dickering, Buckrose and Harthill wapentakes.²⁰

Place-names evidence suggests that the distinction between the Wolds and the lowlands was recognised in the medieval period. The term ‘Wolds’ was first recorded in early fourteenth-century Latin forms such as *Waldas* (1303), *Waldo* (1322) and *Waldam* (c. 1400). It appears in settlement names from the early twelfth century, including *Newton in Waldo* (c. 1230), *Midelton super le Wald* (1303), and *Holme supra Wolde* (1578).²¹ While early modern topographical writers variously assessed the actual characteristics of the Wolds district, most of them clearly imagined the Wolds as a bounded region. Leland (c. 1540) describes how the hundred of Harthill “touchith much on the boundes of the Wold”.²² Other travellers followed the chorographic traditions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and defined the Wolds as an agricultural district, distinct from the nearby lowlands. William Camden

¹⁸ English, 1993, 48.

¹⁹ VCH ER II, 2-4.

²⁰ Rogers, 1996, 128.

²¹ PNERY, 13-4, 114, 163 and 164.

²² Cited in Woodward, 1985, 8.

(1586), Richard Blome (1673), Daniel Defoe (c. 1720) and a draper's apprentice called Strother (1784-5) all noted the differences in relief and soils between the hill country of the Wolds and the surrounding plains.²³

Yet all this is not to argue that there were not important distinctions within the Wolds. Topographical writers recorded widely varying experiences of the Low and High Wolds. As Hey suggests, one would expect “even within these districts the life story of one community [to be]... very different from that of its neighbour”, a point which is exemplified particularly well in one local topographical source.²⁴ Edward Anderson was born in Lutton in 1763, and moved around eight miles to Kilham in c. 1772. Between c. 1792 and 1805, he wrote a poem which reveals the distinctions he drew between places even within the High Wolds, highlighting the differences between the landscape and quality of life in the uninclosed “wilderness” parish of Lutton and inclosed parish of Kilham.²⁵ But more than simply drawing attention to the rapid changes brought about by the late eighteenth-century inclosures, Anderson also draws a more fundamental distinction in the landscape between ‘the moors’ of his childhood home and the landscape around Bridlington and Flamborough, as well as pointing to distinctions between the Wolds and the ‘plains’ of Holderness. As Harris has argued, it may be that distinctions between the low and high Wolds came to be more clearly marked after enclosure, when the lower slopes of the Wolds became more heavily wooded, but the source certainly draws attention to the possible distinctions even within an agricultural region or pays.²⁶

In summary, this project theorises the Wolds as a region with distinct physiographical and topographical characteristics, whilst at the same time being sensitive to the distinctions within and between Wolds parishes. The actual area of the Wolds region is difficult to define precisely, a fact reflected in the various accounts of the actual boundaries of the region expressed in the topographical literature. In line with research which recognises that “human communities occup[ied] territories that straddled several different physical topographies”, this study adopts a flexible approach in order to include settlements situated below the 60 metres taken by recent authors as defining

²³ Cited in Woodward, 1985, 54.

²⁴ Hey, 1986, 9.

²⁵ Crowther, 1992, 49-50.

²⁶ Harris, 1961, 14.

the Wolds.²⁷ The study area covers fifty-six parishes, more than 100 townships and a similar number of villages and hamlets, including parishes such as Scarborough and Leconfield, arguably in the Hull Valley rather than the Wolds ‘proper’, but still at least partially dependent on the utilisation of upland resources. As such, the study area represents an attempt to embrace the wider community who exploited the Wolds landscape. The settlement landscape of the Wolds is described further in Chapter IV.

By adopting a landscape survey approach it is possible to situate the micro-historical detail of individual buildings within a series of widening spatial horizons, an idea which also functions as a narrative technique that structures the individual chapters of the thesis. As Rippon has argued, “no parish... can really be regarded as typical, and as such a larger study area may contain a more representative sample of settlement types within a region”.²⁸ By conducting such a regional study, one allows for comparison between settlements. It will therefore be possible to assess both the diversity of manor-church-settlement relationships and the frequency with which particular morphological patterns appear in the landscape.

Thus by adopting a micro-historical or micro-geographical approach, one has the potential to develop narratives of the past which are not only reliable, but also responsibly represent those who are depicted and therefore move beyond the notion of the postmodernist critique as a “defeatist conception of historical enquiry”.²⁹ Micro-histories of the rural landscape offer the possibility of developing a ‘best practice’ approach to historical-geographical analysis. As Ley has argued, whilst recognising “the collision between the author and the data as an inescapable element in the production of knowledge”, geographers engaging with perspectives influenced by postmodernism and hermeneutics should embrace this as “a realisation that generates not paralysis but a series of best practices to limit and contain authorial distortions”.³⁰ Moreover, by adopting such an approach, this thesis offers one response to calls from within medieval historiography for micro-scale studies which “add greater social depth” to our understanding of medieval landscapes, whilst at the same time being

²⁷ Rippon, 2002, 14; Neave and Ellis, 1996; see also Everson *et al.*, 1991; Hooke, 1988.

²⁸ Rippon, 2002, 14.

²⁹ Zagorin, 1987, 273.

³⁰ Ley, 2000, 622.

aware of the “need to look beyond the narrow confines of a parish, region or our sometimes rather inward-looking island”.³¹

3.1.3 Biographies and Life-Histories

Another aim of the thesis is to situate the actions of individuals within their wider political, social and economic contexts. Yet very little is generally known about most landowners and individuals in the Wolds. Only rarely does an individual emerge out of the historical record in any detail: the best example in this thesis is Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough (1480-1537), head of an established gentle family, soldier, local administrator and eventual rebel. Sir Robert appeared in the Star Chamber court with such frequency that a picture can be built up of his activities in East Yorkshire and beyond. Sir Robert’s story offers the author the chance of explicating the general by means of the particular. Many other individuals may have been pursuing similar strategies to Sir Robert, but the fragmentary nature of sources makes it impossible to tell other individuals’ stories in such great detail.

Sir Robert features further in Chapter V, but it suffices here to make a methodological point about why there are not more people one can describe in this level of detail. Nelson has recently suggested that in order to write an (early) medieval biography one must have access to information from a variety of genres, including some first-hand information emanating from the subject. One must also be able to recover something of the subject’s interior life: that is, his/her childhood, old age, sexuality and spirituality.³² Yet such first-hand accounts of subjects’ thoughts and feelings are extremely rare in a medieval context. Equity and ecclesiastical court pleadings and depositions record plaintiffs’, defendants’ and witnesses’ narratives of events and motives, though these are mediated by legal formulas. Such documents occasionally record direct speech, but there is nothing comparable to the Paston letters from the Yorkshire Wolds: indeed, there are few collections of medieval letters anywhere in

³¹ Rippon, 2002, 15 and 16.

³² Nelson, 2000, 130; Thomas, 2004, 515.

England.³³ Nor is there anything as detailed as the trial records utilised by Ginzburg to reveal the miller of Friuli's intricate and extraordinary world view.³⁴

Micro-historians have also recently begun to experiment with different ways of writing and telling stories, combining historical and literary forms, an approach with which Schama has also dallied.³⁵ Davis explicitly recognises her account of Martin Guerre as in part her own invention, yet it is an invention "held tightly in check by the voices of the past".³⁶ While accepting that all historical accounts will necessarily be stories about a past which one can never fully access and thus never fully represent, micro-histories and life-stories offer the possibility of constructing accounts of the past which while they recognise the selectivity of historical representation, also seek to move beyond the "despair of relativism" inherent in some recent historiography.³⁷

3.2 Sources for Reconstructing the Wolds Landscape

The key sources for this thesis include: documentary sources, particularly property records, court documents and testamentary evidence; cartographic and landscape sources; and standing buildings evidence. The sources are often fragmentary and the author explicitly recognises the limits this imposes on historical enquiry. Moreover, the sources have not been employed exhaustively: rather, each of them has been used only as far as they further the aims of the thesis.

The various sources used in this thesis in order to reconstruct the landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds are outlined below. Each source presents specific methodological challenges to the scholar. Astill and Grant have argued that where sources are discrepant rather than mutually supportive, "the particular character of each of the different types of evidence needs to be more fully taken into account".³⁸ What is needed, in Külmin's view, is "a careful 'loss and gain' analysis of specific techniques as well as sources in order to determine their potential". Rather than argue about the

³³ Castor, 2005, 6.

³⁴ Ginzburg, 1980.

³⁵ Schama, 1991.

³⁶ Davis, 1983, 5.

³⁷ Wishart, 1997, 111.

³⁸ Astill and Grant, 1988, 6.

selectivity and reliability of certain sources, in his case churchwardens' accounts, historians should adopt "a plurality of approaches to extract a maximum of information from scarce documentation".³⁹ In line with this, the sections below offer a critical consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of the different sources utilised in this project.

3.2.1 Reading Medieval and Sixteenth-Century Documents

The documents utilised for this research are by no means easy to work with, not least because the ink has often faded and the paper or parchment stained with mould. Learning new linguistic and palaeographic skills was fundamental to the project. It has recently been suggested that the difficulties of working with such sources may have contributed to the waning popularity of medieval historical geographies. Jones has argued that "the lack and intractability of empirical sources for earlier periods may make it difficult for some to conceive of a research career that embraces premodern or early modern historical geographies".⁴⁰ Moreover, the range of language and palaeographic skills needed to conduct this research was vast, not least because the thesis examined the transition between the late medieval and early modern eras.

The corpus of documents used in this thesis was written in three different languages. A few of the earliest documents were written in Anglo-Norman French, the language of the royal court, but most were written in Latin, the official language of many legal and administrative documents until 1733. English was increasingly used for some types of documents from the fifteenth century, although English-language documents produced before about 1500 were generally written in Middle English, sometimes in local dialect form. Chancery or Early Modern English was first used during the reign of Henry V (1413-1422), but its use spread outside official documents only in the later fifteenth century. English became increasingly standardised in the sixteenth century, and was increasingly used for a wider range of documents including wills and depositions. However, Latin continued to be used for most ecclesiastical records, while French or Latin remained typical for legal transactions.⁴¹ The author undertook

³⁹ Kümin, 2004, 88.

⁴⁰ Jones, 2004, 295.

⁴¹ Ellis, 1997, 3.

formal language training in order to acquire essential skills for reading, transcribing and translating these documents.

Palaeographic skills were also essential to the project. Medieval documents were written in a variety of gothic scripts, which varied over time, as well as between institutions. Gothic scripts are distinct from both modern scripts and secretary hand, a cursive script used in Tudor and Jacobean documents. While medieval gothic hands were relatively standardised, sixteenth-century secretary hands were more idiosyncratic. In particular, depositions from both the church courts at York and the Star Chamber were often written in untidy, sprawling cursive hands. Some government departments also used distinctive variants of a legal hand, of which the so-called chancery hand is particularly difficult. Moreover, the language used in documents was often heavily abbreviated, written using additional capital letters but little punctuation. Spellings were not standardised, often varying within the same document, and dialect words were commonly used.

Sources other than original documents have also been useful. Archive catalogues listed the documents in varying detail and in a few cases translated large sections of Latin deeds. The catalogues at Hull University Library (hereafter HUL) and the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (hereafter YAS) were particularly detailed and were valuable when documents were too fragile to be produced or access to the manuscripts was prohibited for other reasons. Some documents, including wills, charters and deeds, also appear in printed sources. These have been utilised where appropriate, and are discussed in greater detail below.

3.2.2 Property Records

One of the key sources used throughout the project was deeds or property records; that is, documents produced during legal transactions whereby land, with or without buildings or other property, was gifted, sold, leased or otherwise conveyed between individuals or institutions. Although the medieval term 'property' strictly referred to chattels rather than land, documents referring to the land, buildings and personal goods are broadly classified here as property records. Over 4,000 deeds and estate papers were consulted during the research for this thesis. Documents concerned with the

internal administration of manors, rather than their title, were also used to a lesser extent. Such documents survive in far smaller numbers than title deeds: only six sets of fourteenth and early fifteenth-century accounts, four sixteenth-century rentals, and a handful of surveys dated before 1600 survive for the Yorkshire Wolds.⁴² Moreover, despite growing levels of production after 1200, accounts and rentals were generally less detailed in the later than the high medieval period.⁴³

The written record is, of course, fragmentary and discussion in this thesis is based on only those documents which have survived the intervening centuries. Many documents have been lost or ruined, and some even record the circumstances in which other documents were destroyed. For example, plaintiffs in the Star Chamber often complained that their houses had been broken into and deeds stolen or destroyed. Sir John Hotham was typical when he claimed that the men who broke into his house in May 1529 had

“thre great Chestes ther of his being brak and oppynned, and all the corners of his house, beddes and bedstrawe, with billes and drawyn swords then serched, and certen Euydenses, charters, and muniments... consernyng his seide inheriteunce, spoiled, withdrew, and towk away to his utter disheritaunce”.⁴⁴

Constance and Leonard Bekwith gave even greater detail about how documents had been spoiled when their houses at Stillingfleet, South Cave and York were broken into in November 1535. They claimed that several men had spoiled and stolen documents including “Euydences, charters, letters patentes, obligations, acquyetances, billes of Accompte, Courtrolles, grantes of advousions, fees, and Annuyteis”, some of which had been destroyed because they were “in a cheist whiche was cast owt of the hows. And there they were unto such time they were lost with the rayne, soo that suche as doo remayne no man can rede theym”.⁴⁵

Some surviving documents include copies of lost sources. For example, medieval and later documents in the custody of William Langdale Esq. in 1641 were apparently copied at that date. This document was itself copied in the nineteenth century into a manuscript titled ‘Proofs of Descent’, which gives a pedigree of the Langdale family

⁴² Manorial Documents Register, searchable online at www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/mdr.

⁴³ Dyer, 1988, 14; Bailey, 2002, 39.

⁴⁴ TNA, STAC2/20/53.

⁴⁵ YSCP II, 124-5.

of Etton, Sancton and North Dalton as deduced from the documents, as well as transcripts and extracts of deeds. It is unclear for what purpose the document was produced, but in other instances the copies were made as evidence for court cases as was probably the case at Burton Agnes in 1499.⁴⁶ Whilst accepting that political and personal factors shape the material which is copied or omitted, these are valuable documents especially where no other early archival material survives.

Documents tend to represent the activities of certain groups better than others. Several trends can be noted. Varying rates of production and destruction disproportionately affect some types of document. While the manors of greater landowners, particularly those belonging to the monasteries, the king and the nobility, tend to be well represented in the surviving documents, few documents survive for smaller manors, despite the fact that the gentry as a group held more land than the nobility.⁴⁷ More documents also survive for ecclesiastical than lay manors, as a consequence of high levels of production linked with literacy and their better preservation. Material relating to land previously belonging to dissolved monastic houses, chantries or guilds also appears in the Calendar of Patent Rolls. Given that much of the material from the great ecclesiastical estates has been transcribed and translated by the Surtees Society and the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, many of these ecclesiastical documents are also more accessible than those documents produced by smaller landowners.

Some surveys of smaller manors have survived, including Commonwealth or Parliamentary Surveys produced in the aftermath of the English Civil War with a view to selling off land previously held by the king. An act of parliament of July 1649 allowed such manors to be sold and local surveyors were instructed to survey Crown lands.⁴⁸ The surveys were written in English, but are often relatively brief being primarily concerned with the profits of the manor. They have been used only occasionally in this thesis, but have sometimes provided evidence about the site of manor houses. Documentary records pertaining to deserted settlements tend to be very rare. Hamlets like Argam, Cottam, Cowlam and Octon were deserted before any maps or detailed manorial documents were ever made, meaning one must rely on earthworks

⁴⁶ HUL, DDWB/5/62.

⁴⁷ Dyer, 1988, 13.

⁴⁸ Ellis, 1997, 33.

alone in order to reconstruct settlement morphology. In other cases, documents were widely dispersed or lost due to the break-up of estates into multiple holdings.

Given that the majority of property records and manorial documents relate to demesne lands, information relating to peasant agriculture is generally scarce. Glebe terriers and deeds act as indirect sources for the agriculture practices of medieval peasant farmers and equity court and ecclesiastical court records offer an insight into sixteenth-century villagers' attitudes towards the landscape. Surviving documentary sources under-represent some social groups, as well as also being "socially selective" in that they served the interests of the landed aristocracy.⁴⁹

This thesis has utilised property records and other documents to establish the existence and location of various buildings, fields and closes, deer parks, chantries and gilds, furniture and agricultural equipment. Title deeds generally say little about the location, size or boundaries of the property concerned. Yet if deeds rarely locate property with reference to the village or parish as a whole, reference is usually made to neighbouring toft, closes or other features. Hence even where deeds do not explicitly locate a building, they can often be used to reconstruct settlement morphology especially where they survive in large numbers. Only the most comprehensive of surveys, like that undertaken at Nunburnholme in 1563, allow one to reconstruct the layout of an entire village at a single point in time. Otherwise one must use more fragmentary sources, often written over a long period of time and for a variety of different purposes, to partially reconstruct settlement morphology or field layout. Moreover, title deeds are sometimes more numerous for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, than the later medieval period. For example, out of a total of 921 items held at HUL and relating to the manor of Sewerby, only three have fifteenth-century dates, and none at all are dated to the first half of the sixteenth century.⁵⁰ Similarly, the estate papers for Boynton at HUL contain great numbers of thirteenth and fourteenth-century documents, but only four documents dated between 1400 and 1650.⁵¹ As a result, it was often easier to reconstruct the settlement morphology of a particular village in the

⁴⁹ Dyer, 1988, 12.

⁵⁰ HUL, DDLG 30/1-921.

⁵¹ HUL, DDWB 4/1-27.

fourteenth than the sixteenth century. However, other sources become more common in the later medieval period, particularly maps.

The names of buildings, fields and other landscape features have been particularly useful in reconstructing settlement morphology. Field, wood and road names appear regularly in medieval and post-medieval deeds, and may help both to locate certain features and to throw light on the social and agricultural history of the landscape.⁵² Names such as *Westgate* or *South Street* for streets and tracks on which tofts were sited have proved useful in reconstructing settlement morphology, as they imply something about the relative positions of tofts within the village. Street names such as *New Road*, found at Etton in 1852, suggest that a road has been re-aligned, often at enclosure.⁵³ While such street names do not necessarily allow one to reconstruct the past course of the route way, they do imply changes in the pattern of roads and village morphology which can sometimes then be located 'on the ground' using landscape evidence.

This thesis does not generally use modern building or field names as a source for locating medieval features: priority has been accorded to those names recorded in medieval and early modern documents. Scholars have noted the pitfalls of relying on current names. Firstly, modern names may apply to features different to those existing in the medieval period. For example, modern field names frequently apply to a smaller area than their medieval predecessors. There has also been debate as to whether house names such as *Manor Farm*, *Park Farm* and *Hall Farm* can be used as sources for identifying the sites of buildings for which there is no other documentary, cartographic or landscape evidence. Barley identifies two processes by which a building may come to be called *Manor Farm*, neither of which necessarily implies that the farm is on the site of an earlier manor. Moreover, names such as *Hall Farm* and *Park Farm* may be adopted from landscape features of post-medieval date, and may thus describe a landscape essentially modern, rather than medieval, in character.⁵⁴ Secondly, there is a question about the continuity of naming conventions. Whilst Field argues for "the continuity of the naming system in much of the country, across the divide (both

⁵² Field, 1993, 7.

⁵³ VCH ER IV, 105.

⁵⁴ Barley, 1986, 107.

historical and spatial) created by the enclosure of common fields”, other commentators have stressed that naming conventions and forms have commonly changed or developed over time, as has been shown in the county by county studies of major place-names.⁵⁵

Modern place-names have been used to a lesser extent than field names. While settlement names may or may not allow historians to date the origins of settlement in an area, or to reconstruct something of the landscape at the time when these names were adopted, in general the settlement names of the Yorkshire Wolds were probably coined long before the period of interest. As such, they are of little utility as sources of evidence about the late medieval and early modern landscape, and rather provide a historical background against which the changes of the later medieval period may be plotted. The main exceptions to this are those place-names like Kirby Grindalythe, Kirby Underdale and North Newbald which imply the existence of a church at the time when the name was adopted. Importantly, these names do not confirm the site of the church, they simply record its existence in the pre-Conquest period.

3.2.3 Other Documentary and Visual Sources

In addition to the surveys of ex-Crown lands cited above, this thesis utilises information drawn from various national surveys undertaken by the state, including the Poll tax of 1377 and the Hearth Tax of the 1670s. Both provide measures from which to estimate population, and hence settlement size. Given that the incidence of under-recording is likely to be broadly comparable between places for any given year of a particular survey, these documents facilitate valuable comparisons between settlements. The Hearth Tax also presents the possibility of identifying the largest houses within settlements. Furthermore, although not directly comparable, the Poll Tax and the Hearth Tax do provide one index from which to estimate settlement change between 1377 and the 1670s, all the more valuable as the two surveys were undertaken at either end of the period this project examines.

⁵⁵ Field, 1993, 1.

Topographical literature written between c. 1540-1835 has also been used in this thesis, much of which was published by the East Riding Local History Society in two volumes.⁵⁶ While it is true that these individuals “were not writing history... they contributed to it by recording their observations of the landscape, buildings, farming”.⁵⁷ Although only Leland and Camden actually wrote their accounts before 1600, other topographical writers were compiling their work within a century or so of 1600 and this provides a valuable additional source for the early modern landscape.

Few of the topographical accounts contain visual images of buildings within the study area. Instead, the thesis utilises images of houses, churches and their surrounding landscapes, including sketches and prospects, found in other sources. For example, Samuel Buck produced a number of sketches of country houses and churches in the Yorkshire Wolds in the 1720s. His sketches were generally unfinished, and none of those made of Wolds subjects were ever reproduced as finished drawings or paintings. However incomplete, his sketches of the houses at Bishop Burton, Kilnwick Percy and Warter are the only surviving images of those houses and, as such, are extremely valuable documents. The decorative material on some estate maps also includes sketches or prospects of houses, parks, churches or settlements. In some instances, as is the case for the Londesborough estate map of c. 1730, these images are one of the few known visual sources for a demolished house or church.

With the exception of George Poulson’s *History and Antiquities of the Seignior of Holderness* (1840-1), antiquarian histories of East Yorkshire have tended to focus on the towns of Beverley and Hull. This lack of publication on the rural landscape was partially remedied in the late nineteenth century by the appearance of two journals. The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal (hereafter YAJ) was first published in 1870. Early editions included transcriptions and translations of primary sources, as well as material on standing buildings, particularly churches and monuments.⁵⁸ Where a church or house has been demolished or substantially altered since the later nineteenth century, the YAJ may be a valuable source of evidence for the appearance of these structures before renovation. Ground plans of churches drawn up by the Yorkshire

⁵⁶ Edited by D.Woodward, 1985 and J.Crowther, 1992.

⁵⁷ Forster, 1994, 433.

⁵⁸ Forster, 1994, 437.

Archaeological Society between the 1870s and the 1920s and now stored at the National Monuments Record (hereafter NMR) are valuable sources for reconstructing the medieval form of churches. The NMR archive also includes photographs and sketches of some buildings. The Church Plans Online website (churchplansonline.org) also provides access to photographs, ground plans, elevations and perspectives of churches in the Wolds, some of which have been subsequently much altered.

From 1885, the Yorkshire Archaeological Society also published a Record Series (hereafter YASRS), several volumes of which focused on East Yorkshire.⁵⁹ Like the YAJ, the YASRS included transcriptions of original sources. One volume of particular relevance to this thesis contains the edited notes of Roger Dodsworth, an antiquary born in North Yorkshire in c. 1585, whose notes on Yorkshire churches were edited by Clay and published by the YASRS in 1904. Between 1619 and 1631, Dodsworth made extensive notes on monumental inscriptions and coats of arms visible in churches in the East Riding. His work is particularly valuable for churches like Boynton, which Dodsworth visited in c. 1620. Here the nave and chancel were completely rebuilt in c. 1770 and his notes are one of the few descriptions of the medieval church.

3.2.4 Equity Court Papers

Material produced in the central equity courts including the Star Chamber and the Chancery courts, and to a lesser extent the ecclesiastical courts, were important sources used in Chapter V and Chapter VI. It is worth noting here that this thesis does not employ manorial court rolls, principally because few survive for the Yorkshire Wolds. Court rolls, files, verdicts and call rolls survive for seventeen manors in the Wolds and estreats survive for three further manors. However, many of these are single items covering only one year, a few years or a decade, some documents are badly damaged and together these constitute a highly fragmentary record.

The Star Chamber, named after the *Camera Stellata* in which it was held at Westminster, evolved to become a separate court of law under the Tudors. In the fifteenth century, the king's council came to be "recognised as a forum for private

⁵⁹ Kent, 1994, 445.

litigation, especially that which could be set into a context of local disorder and subversion, perversion of justice and official maladministration".⁶⁰ The Star Chamber was primarily concerned with civil disputes between private individuals, though these were often presented as criminal offences: as Guy notes, two-thirds of the Star Chamber cases under Henry VII were private suits alleging public order offences against the defendants.⁶¹ Despite statutes issued under Edward III (1327-1377) that the council should not determine matters of freehold, many cases concerning title to land were brought before the court of the Star Chamber in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁶² There was nothing inherently new in this. In the fifteenth century, actions for trespass and the detinue of charters and other personal actions were much used to try title to land, just as the statutes of forcible entry, introduced between 1381 and 1429, and the assize of novel disseisin had earlier served the same function.⁶³

Star Chamber cases were typically framed in terms of riot, unlawful entry, assault or theft. Guy found that in his sample of 473 suits filed under Wolsey (*c.* 1515-1529), 48 per cent of plaintiffs alleged riot, rout or unlawful assembly against the defendants. Few bills presented misdemeanours as the sole matter of complaint, and many of the suits were underlain by disputes over title to the property, from which the plaintiff typically alleged (s)he had been forcibly evicted. Hence, many of the civil suits were directly or indirectly concerned with land and its management.⁶⁴

Records from the central equity court, particularly the Star Chamber, are a good source of evidence for conflict, confrontation and riot, particularly that pertaining to land and personal property. Minor offences such as trespass and more serious felonies such as large-scale riots and sedition were also tried at the Quarter Sessions and the Assizes, respectively.⁶⁵ Yet neither type of record survives for the East Riding before the late seventeenth century. However, the rapid growth in litigation in the central equity courts in the sixteenth century means that equity records survive in some

⁶⁰ Guy, 1977, 8.

⁶¹ Guy, 1977, 15.

⁶² Guy, 1985, 52.

⁶³ Simpson, 1986, 42-6.

⁶⁴ Guy, 1985, 52; Guy, 1977, 18.

⁶⁵ Wood, 2002, 45.

numbers from the sixteenth century onwards.⁶⁶ Moreover, because the equity court procedure was distinct from the common law in that it was based on written pleadings and evidence rather than spoken evidence, the equity courts produced a large body of written material relating to the cases which were brought before them.⁶⁷ Although perhaps as much as “one-half of the former archive of the court of the Star Chamber is missing”, the surviving archive is still vast.⁶⁸

The initial bills of complaint submitted to both the Star Chamber and the Chancery generally give the plaintiff's name, occupation or title, residence and the lawyer's name, as well as outlining the case they were bringing against the defendant(s) (see Figure 3.2). The bills of complaint are varyingly accompanied by answers, replications, rejoinders, interrogatories and depositions, which because they were produced in response to bills generally give less information about the cause of complaint. These later pleadings do not always give the parties' places of residence or the location of the offence. This means that where answers, replications and rejoinders are filed in isolation, it is often difficult to know whether these suits pertain to the Wolds study area. Cases rarely include all of stages of the suit and related material may be filed in several bundles or series.⁶⁹ The cataloguing procedure is complex, and the court commonly altered the principal plaintiff so that the same suit might be listed under several different surnames. Because they were written on paper rather than parchment, fewer interrogatories and depositions have survived than pleadings. Moreover, depositions are generally in more difficult hands than the pleadings. Decrees, orders or arbitration awards survive for some of the Chancery suits after 1534, but none survive for the Star Chamber. As a consequence, the outcome of most suits is unknown, sometimes because suits were settled out of court after initial pleadings had begun.

Cases occurring in Yorkshire are relatively well represented in the Star Chamber archive. Guy analysed the geographical distribution of cases heard and found that 11

⁶⁶ Wood, 2002, 46.

⁶⁷ Legal Records Information 42 and 22.

⁶⁸ Guy, 1985: cited in LRI 3.

⁶⁹ Legal Records Information 3, 22 and 42.

per cent of cases came from the six northern counties of England both under Wolsey and in the period November 1601 - November 1602.⁷⁰ Guy notes that a significant number of cases came from Yorkshire in both the early sixteenth and early seventeenth century samples, making the county comparable to Norfolk, Devon, Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire and London. The large number of cases sent from Yorkshire was probably at least in part a consequence of its size and relative proximity to London compared to the other northern counties.

Transcripts of the Yorkshire cases heard in the Star Chamber in the early sixteenth century were published by the YASRS between 1909 and 1927, covering the volumes and bundles now catalogued at TNA as STAC 1 and STAC 2. The series includes papers from the period *c.* 1485 to 1625, but is mainly comprised of material generated during the reigns of Henry VII (1485-1509) and Henry VIII (1509-1547).⁷¹ Around twenty cases survive which relate to events or property within the Wolds study area, and those that are dated fall between *c.* 1514 and 1536. The lack of surviving documents relating to the period before *c.* 1514 is not surprising given the poor survival of Star Chamber records before 1515.⁷² It is clear that Wolsey revived the judicial function of the council and most of the surviving Wolds papers relate to his period of office.⁷³

The unpublished series STAC 3 and STAC 4 cover the reigns of Edward VI (1547-1553) and Mary (1553-1558). STAC 3 and STAC 4 are both relatively small series, with only around 900 and 750 cases respectively, but are searchable online by plaintiff, defendant, place and county. However, given that together they contain only a third of the number of cases found in STAC 2, it is perhaps not surprising that an online search generates only one or two further cases relating to the Wolds.

STAC 5 is a much larger series, consisting of *c.* 35,000 cases in 982 bundles brought during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603). The series is searchable online by plaintiff and defendant only and there is no descriptive list either online or in manuscript form. This makes it difficult to identify cases pertaining to the Yorkshire Wolds, except

⁷⁰ Guy, 1985, 61.

⁷¹ Legal Records Information 3.

⁷² Guy, 1977, 27.

⁷³ Guy, 1977, 26.

where the name of the plaintiff or defendant and the existence of the suit can be identified from another source. A sampling strategy was tested whereby every seventh bundle within the sub-series A to Z was consulted in the search room of TNA. The bundles contained approximately thirty to forty documents, each of which was carefully consulted in order to identify the county or region it concerned. Very few documents pertaining to the Yorkshire Wolds were identified in this way. As a consequence, the sampling strategy was abandoned after consulting c. 400 documents in around ten bundles.

Instead a strategy was adopted whereby all the surnames of individuals known from property records and other documents were searched online, and possible a list of cases relating to the Yorkshire Wolds compiled. Those cases which contained the names of one of more individuals known to live within a village, parish or locality were considered most likely to relate to the Wolds, and it was these cases that were consulted in the search room. This strategy helped to identify eight cases relating to the Wolds from the period 1558 to 1603. More time in the search room may have allowed additional cases to be identified, but the process was considered too time-consuming to be continued further. Until STAC 5 is fully catalogued, identifying cases within the series will always be difficult.

This thesis also makes occasional use of documents relating to equity cases brought before the court of Chancery and now catalogued in the Chancery Proceedings held at TNA. The court dealt with a wide variety of matters including disputes over inheritance, debts and marriage settlements, although the cases utilised in this thesis generally relate to rights in land and property. All but the earliest of the Chancery Proceedings are in English and the cases before 1558 are catalogued in C1 by parties and subjects of dispute and can be searched online using keywords. It is these cases which have been used in this thesis, for cases from the reign of Elizabeth I are listed only by the first names of plaintiffs and defendants making place or subject searching near impossible.

3.2.5 Ecclesiastical Records

This thesis has also utilised a variety of ecclesiastical documents including wills, marriage licences, probate inventories, faculties, visitations, and glebe terriers, as well as ecclesiastical cause papers. These documents were used extensively in Chapter VI and in passing elsewhere in this thesis.

Testamentary sources were a particularly important class of evidence used in Chapter VI. A sample of over 200 wills was compiled from manuscript and printed sources. Most of the wills were recorded in the probate registers of the Prerogative and Exchequer courts of York which are held, along with microfilm copies thereof, at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (hereafter BIHR). The York Medieval Probate Index covers over 10,000 wills proved in the Prerogative and Exchequer courts of York between 1267 and 1500. Unlike the finding aids at the BIHR, the online index at British Origins is searchable by place as well as name and date. Using the Index it was possible to identify 182 wills written by testators in the Yorkshire Wolds between 1400 and 1500, of which this author consulted a sample of 103 wills. Wills dated between 1500 and 1600 do not appear in the Index and are listed instead in printed indexes organised alphabetically by surname. These were consulted in the BIHR search room and c. 100 wills dated between 1500 and 1600 were identified and consulted. The sample also included five wills written by testators whose recorded place of residence was in the Yorkshire Wolds but whose wills were proved in the Prerogative court of Canterbury because they owned property in the provinces of York and Canterbury.

For a number of reasons, the wills included in the sample are not representative of the Wolds population as a whole. Firstly, the probate registers are by no means complete, although they are significantly more complete than the surviving original wills. Secondly, not all the wills of testators living in the Wolds were proved in the Exchequer and Prerogative courts. During vacancies of the see, the Dean and Chapter exercised jurisdiction on behalf of the archbishop and probate was recorded in the registers of the Dean and Chapter Court. The number of Wolds testators whose wills were so recorded is probably relatively small and these documents were not included in the sample. More significantly, some individuals living in peculiar jurisdictions would have had their wills proved and recorded by other courts. For example, the

Dean and Chapter of York had jurisdiction over a number of parishes and townships in the northern Wolds, while the Dean of York exercised jurisdiction over property at Kilham and Kilnwick Percy. The court of the provost of St John, Beverley had jurisdiction in Cherry Burton, Leconfield and South Dalton amongst other places and the Dean and Chapter of Durham administered probate for Walkington residents. Several prebendaries of York Minster exercised jurisdiction elsewhere in the Wolds. Over 180 wills, inventories and other documents dated between 1383 and 1600 and administered by the peculiar courts of the provost of Beverley and the prebendaries of Wetwang, Langtoft, North Newbald and South Cave were identified using the York Peculiars Probate Index available online at britishorigins.com. None of these records were included in the sample. Thirdly, only a small percentage of the population left wills. Only seventeen of more than 200 testators whose wills were included in the sample referred to themselves as husbandmen, the earliest in a will of 1429, though the majority of such references are found in sixteenth-century documents.⁷⁴ Most of the wills were written by relatively wealthy individuals from the gentry or yeoman-class. As such, the sample arguably primarily represents the elite of Wolds society. Nevertheless, the results gained from the analysis of the *c.* 200-will sample are meaningful and illuminating.

Little note was taken of the administrations and probate acts found in the registers. No inventories were recorded in the probate registers, although a few relating to Wolds testators appear in other sources. Probate inventories were lists of household goods, agricultural equipment and produce, leases and other personal property produced in order to administer a testator's estate. In the context of East Yorkshire, one study has already utilised probate inventories in order to characterise the housing stock of the parish of South Cave in the early modern period.⁷⁵ To repeat this process for the Wolds region as a whole would be an immense project, and not one that would significantly further the aims of this thesis. However, because household effects were sometimes catalogued according to the rooms in which they were found, probate inventories can be useful sources for the size and layout of houses, especially where

⁷⁴ Testator referred to themselves as husbandman in 1429 (BIHR, PR 2.668), 1461 (TE II, 249), 1471 (BIHR, PR 4.180), 1485 (BIHR, PR 5.262-3), 1519 (BIHR, PR 9.84), 1526 (BIHR, PR 9.374), 1530 (BIHR, PR 9.489), 1534 (BIHR, PR 11.151), 1538 (BIHR, PR 11.333), 1539 (BIHR, PR 11.394), 1542 (BIHR, PR 11.608), 1546 (BIHR, PR 13.184; BIHR, PR 13.206), 1548 (BIHR, PR 13.431), 1549 (BIHR, PR 13.577), 1553 (BIHR, PR 13.1018), 1591 (BIHR, PR 24.744; 24.710), 1596 (BIHR, PR 26.431).

they can be referenced against information drawn from other sources including glebe terriers, Hearth Tax returns or topographical accounts. This is one way estimates can be made about the size and status of dwellings described as capital messuages, a term which was applied to houses of differing size, status and occupation.

Although restricted to ecclesiastical buildings, glebe terriers often provide more detailed account of the size, layout and buildings materials of vicarage and rectory houses than is provided in probate inventories. All the York glebe terriers are post-medieval: a handful of the Wolds examples date to 1597 or 1629, but most are of late seventeenth-century date.⁷⁶ They are particularly useful where they describe phases of construction and renewal a building has undergone in the post-medieval period. Though they rarely give the location of the building, a series of terriers and inventories may be used to infer that a nineteenth-century house evolved through the constant renewal and rebuilding of what had originally been a medieval structure. In such cases, the medieval building can be shown to have occupied the same site as its later counterpart, the location of which is known from other documents and maps, even if that building has been subsequently demolished. The terriers also provide useful information about the wider agricultural landscape giving details about crops, rotations and the organisation of the fields, furlongs and strips, as well as providing valuable field-names evidence.⁷⁷ Particular use has been made of glebe terriers in Chapter V.

The archbishop's Visitations are valuable for identifying decay within parish churches in the later sixteenth century. They also record work carried out in response to visitations, and therefore occasionally indicate dates for building projects. Court books and some visitation papers survive for six ordinary and four primary and metropolitan visitations between 1567-8 and 1600, making this "one of the most complete series of such documents for the Middle Ages".⁷⁸ Some of the Visitations have been published by the Surtees Society and other material appears in J. S. Purvis's *Tudor Parish Documents of the Diocese of York*. The original court books and papers are archived at the BIHR and brief summaries of the Visitations are indexed by place in a card index.

⁷⁵ Kaner, 1994.

⁷⁶ Beresford, 1950, 354-58.

⁷⁷ Pounds, 2005.

⁷⁸ Mann, 1985, 55.

There are no court books for the Archdeaconry of the East Riding before 1663 and no visitation returns for the archdeaconry before 1720.⁷⁹

Ecclesiastical court papers were another source of evidence used in this project. Operating under Canon law, the ecclesiastical courts were primarily concerned with ‘moral’ crimes including defamation, sexual misconduct and divorce, rather than crimes against property, chattels or the body.⁸⁰ Of the several ecclesiastical courts within York diocese, the only pre-1600 material to survive is from the archiepiscopal court at York: there are no cause papers or other material relating to the Archdeacons’ court in the East Riding before the second half of the seventeenth century. The archiepiscopal court dealt with transmitted appeals from lesser jurisdictions including the archdeacons’ courts and from consistory courts in other dioceses within the province of York, as well as causes brought directly before it.

The surviving material consists mainly of cause papers dating from the fourteenth century onwards. The cause papers are generally from instance suits and include libels, personal answers, interrogatories and depositions broadly equivalent to the pleadings used in equity courts (see Figure 3.3). As in these courts, depositions were taken verbatim and in private before later being read out in court. A few of the York cases were very protracted and the papers are made up of copious depositions including additional articles of libel and statements of positions additional. As in the equity courts, sentences do not always survive, either because the cause was settled out of court or because the winning party took the sentence away with them.⁸¹

There are c. 200 causes dated between c. 1380 and 1600 concerning individuals living within the Wolds. Most date to the later sixteenth century: documentary survivals for the earlier period are relatively poor. By far the most common type of causes are those concerning disputes over the payment of tithes, typically brought by the rector, vicar or lay farmer of tithes against one or more individuals within the parish. Matrimonial and defamation causes are also well represented amongst the surviving documents.

⁷⁹ www.york.ac.uk/inst/bihr/guideleaflets/guidearchdn.pdf, accessed 18.07.2006.

⁸⁰ Tarver, 1995, xv.

⁸¹ Tarver, 1995, 18 and 24.

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Testamentary causes and causes relating to issues of benefice also appear in smaller numbers.

Other ecclesiastical records were used to a lesser extent in this thesis. Although no Yorkshire faculties survive before 1613, post-medieval faculties help to identify building projects which may have substantially altered or obliterated the medieval fabric.⁸² Yet, it is also abundantly clear that many building projects went ahead without faculties, either because of the influence of a patron or because repairs were ordered after an archdeacon's visitation. Medieval indulgences recorded in the bishops' registers and the collections of bishops' *acta* were also utilised, as were the Chantry Commissioners' c. 1535 survey of chantry goods and the 1547 Inventory of Church Goods, the latter transcribed and published by the Surtees Society.

Some sources, which might otherwise have proved informative, were not available for the Yorkshire Wolds. Given that there are only 200 known sets of Tudor churchwardens' accounts, it is perhaps not surprising that no medieval or Tudor accounts survive for the Wolds.⁸³ The only medieval churchwardens' accounts for East Yorkshire relate to Hedon, a small market town east of Hull, where there are three sets of much damaged and fragmentary fourteenth-century accounts.⁸⁴ There are also Tudor churchwardens' accounts for Howden and St Mary's Beverley, both dating to the 1590s, as well as for six parishes in York. There is nothing in the East Riding to compare to the churchwardens accounts for Bristol, London or Morebath.⁸⁵ Moreover, there are almost no medieval parish registers for the East Riding.⁸⁶

3.2.6 Maps

Maps were one of the key sources for reconstructing settlement morphology in the Yorkshire Wolds. Of the various cartographic sources available for the Wolds, early estate maps and the Ordnance Survey first edition maps were the most important. Where they exist, estate maps generally provide the earliest cartographic record of

⁸² www.york.ac.uk/inst/bihr/guideleaflets/faculties.pdf, accessed 18.07.2006.

⁸³ Duffy, 2001, 17.

⁸⁴ ERYARS, DDHE/29/1.

⁸⁵ Duffy, 2001; Burgess, 2002b.

⁸⁶ English, 1985, 42.

settlement layout. However, with the exception of the c. 1616 map of Leconfield and Scarborough, there are very few estate maps dated before c. 1700. Early eighteenth-century maps survive for Burnby (1725) and Londesborough (1739), but most of the surviving estate maps date to the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁸⁷ For other parishes there is no estate map produced before the twentieth century.

Although not produced until the 1850s, the first edition 6-inch to the mile (1:10,560) Ordnance Survey maps are the most comprehensive cartographic source for the Yorkshire Wolds. The first edition maps for East Yorkshire are also of particular use to those attempting to reconstruct the medieval landscape, for the surveyor had a personal interest in the remains of pre-historic, Roman and medieval features, and accurately marked many sites of deserted medieval settlements.

The early topographical maps of East Yorkshire by Christopher Saxton (1577), John Speed (1610), Robert Morden (1695), John Warburton (1720) and Herman Moll (1724) are at such a small scale that they reveal little about the morphology of individual settlements. Saxton's map records deer parks, but they are highly stylised like the settlements and churches he also depicts. Speed's map of the North and East Ridings (1610) reproduced much of the detail of Saxton's map but with additional parks, perhaps reflecting Speed's "interest in attracting as purchasers the owners of emparked properties".⁸⁸

Later maps by Thomas Jefferys (1772) and Christopher Greenwood (1817-8) contain more detail about the rural landscape, depicting parks, country houses, the morphology of settlements, roads, woodland and the extent of the remaining open-fields. Jefferys' map also incorporates stylised representations of houses and churches, while Greenwood's map depicts footpaths and old enclosures and labels features such as 'The Old Hall'. Both maps are important documents which record a great amount of detail about the landscape of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and allow one "to 'peel away' later features".⁸⁹ In areas without early estate plans, these

⁸⁷ ERYARS, DDAN/266 and DDX/31/173.

⁸⁸ Butlin, 2003, 246.

⁸⁹ Riden, 1983, 120.

maps may be the earliest cartographic record of settlement morphology and landscape organisation.

Enclosure maps were also a useful source, particularly for locating field names and other landscape features known from earlier documents. Given that some 45 per cent of the East Riding landscape was enclosed by Act of Parliament between c. 1750 and c. 1900, coverage for the Wolds region is relatively high, although many of the accompanying written surveys have been lost.⁹⁰ A few of these late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century maps depict both the pre-enclosure and the post-enclosure landscape, and hence provide good evidence for the intricacies of land use and ownership before enclosure.

One impact of the ‘crisis of representation’ within geography and the humanities has been to force a re-evaluation of historical geographers’ traditional concern about the extent to which visual and textual sources accurately reflect the physical reality of the historic landscape. Cultural geographers have recognised a wide range of cultural productions, including paintings, maps and literary accounts, as “socially constructed forms of knowledge” which in their conscious or unconscious manipulation of knowledge have helped to shape the features they portray.⁹¹ As such, historical geographers must consider not only how accurately or otherwise maps and other visual and textual materials ‘document’ past landscapes, but also analyse the assumptions inherent in their production and circulation. Maps, prospects and other manorial documents were typically produced under the patronage of a local landowner and the writers of topographical accounts like Celia Fiennes were often entertained on the aristocratic estates they described, hence such productions became “part of the intellectual apparatus of power”.⁹²

3.2.7 Landscape

Drawing on Hoskins’ assertion that landscape is “the richest historical record we possess”, as well as Ingold’s concept of the landscape “an enduring record of – and

⁹⁰ Hindle, 1988, 51.

⁹¹ Harley, 1988, 277.

⁹² Harley, 1988, 282.

testimony to – the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in doing so, have left something of themselves”, this project utilises the present landscape as one source of evidence from which to reconstruct the late medieval and early modern landscape.⁹³ This thesis utilises information drawn from an examination of buildings and earthworks in order to map the settlement morphology of the Yorkshire Wolds.

Hoskins identified a “complete neglect of... the visual evidence of the past”, and recommended that local historians should look over hedges, walk parish and estate boundaries and generally familiarise themselves with the landscape around them. “No historian,” he asserted, “ought to be afraid to get his feet wet”.⁹⁴ Writing a generation or so later, Riden disputed “the need to get mud on the boots”, arguing that in many areas of Britain changes to the landscape during the twentieth century meant that the opportunities for such fieldwork had become “limited, and maps and documents a more fruitful source than the modern landscape”. More recently landscape historians have again asserted the importance of examining the modern landscape for relict features of past land uses. While it remains true that the degree to which “the actual inspection of the landscape can contribute to... landscape history depends largely on what has happened to it in the recent past”, in the Yorkshire Wolds, at least, field survey appears to be an exercise of great utility.⁹⁵ Stoertz’s recent study of the Yorkshire Wolds demonstrated that even pre-historic features continue to be visible in the modern landscape and a number of scholars have commented on the importance of pre-historic sites in the High Wolds and the Vale of Pickering.⁹⁶ A large number of medieval features are also visible in the landscape today. For example, there are moats at Harpham and Scarborough, and house platforms at South Newbald, Etton, Ruston Parva and Haisthorpe. The boundaries of the medieval deer parks at Bishop Burton and Etton are represented by banks and ditches. Deserted or shrunken medieval villages are visible from the ground at Wharram Percy, Cottam, Argam, Towthorpe (par. Londesborough), Scarborough and Ripplingham, and from the air at Etton, Kilnwick Percy and Risby. Track ways represented by hollow-ways are evident at

⁹³ Hoskins, 1955, 14; Ingold, 1993, 152.

⁹⁴ Hoskins, 1972, 123 and 4.

⁹⁵ Riden, 1983, 120.

⁹⁶ Stoertz, 1997; Van de Noort, 1996; Harding, 2003, 36-8.

Etton and North Dalton, and a Domesday and later mill site is apparent in a field at South Newbald.

The landscape is a valuable source of evidence to be used in reconstructing the late medieval and early modern landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds. There are various non-intrusive, or landscape archaeological, techniques available to those investigating the material remains of past societies in the present landscape. Due to high costs, no attempt has been made to undertake infrared photography or geophysical survey. Surface artefact collection or 'fieldwalking' was not used because of the high labour-demands of this technique.⁹⁷ Instead, this project relies on information gathered from other non-intrusive archaeological techniques, particularly earthworks survey and aerial photographs of earthworks, crop-marks, and soil-marks. No attempt was made to survey all earthworks of suspected medieval date in the study area, but reference is made to earthworks where appropriate.

3.2.8 Standing Buildings Evidence

Alongside information gleaned from published excavation reports, standing buildings were a key source utilised throughout this thesis. Extant medieval fabric, particularly in churches, provided important evidence for the site of these buildings in the period before 1600, a key theme examined in Chapter IV. The discussions of manor houses and churches presented in Chapter V and Chapter VI also rely heavily on standing buildings evidence, used in combination with documentary and other sources.

The analysis of standing buildings has typically been based on techniques drawn from either architectural history or archaeology. However, there are problems associated with both approaches. With notable exceptions, architectural historians have typically analysed standing buildings for what they reveal about the development of particular styles or techniques, hence they have generally avoided integrating multiple sources of evidence to describe the social and economic history of particular buildings.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Fieldwalking is a systematic technique for collecting pottery sherds from ploughed fields. The technique allows researchers to map patterns of human activity, particularly settlement patterns and agricultural land-use, assuming that pottery is transported to the fields in the process of spreading domestic refuse on the land as manure.

⁹⁸ Girouard, 1983; Hill and Cornforth, 1966; Wood, 1965; Howard, 1987; Airs, 1995.

Archaeologists have recently come to pay more attention to extant buildings, applying archaeological methodologies to recording standing buildings and combining this with information from excavation. Yet the archaeological approach typically denies the differences between excavation and standing buildings. Archaeologists applying stratigraphic approaches to standing remains tend to reduce buildings to a series of interconnected two-dimensional planes such as walls, floors, roof slopes analogous to the 'strata' of excavation archaeology.⁹⁹ In doing so, archaeological approaches tend to negate the 'lived experiences' of such spaces and thereby ignore churches and manor houses as spaces in which everyday life and rituals were conducted.

There are very few extant examples of late medieval and early modern manor houses in the study area. Only four houses are known to contain material dating to before c. 1600: Burton Agnes Old Hall of c. 1170; the fourteenth-century tower at Flamborough; Boynton Hall of c. 1550; and Burton Agnes New Hall of c. 1600. These buildings are discussed further in Chapter V. No standing buildings evidence for pre-1600 agricultural buildings has been identified in the study area or any standing evidence for peasant or yeoman housing.

Much more medieval fabric survives within churches than in manor houses or other domestic buildings. The dataset in Appendix 7 was compiled as a result of fieldwork undertaken in the Yorkshire Wolds between January 2003 and August 2006. The vast majority of the churches in the study area were visited on two or more occasions. Field visits sought to unravel the chronological development of individual buildings, an objective which was dependent on identifying and dating the various phases of building activity at any one site. Particular attention was paid to dating *in situ* 'diagnostic' features such as windows, doorways, aisles and arcades, tower and chancel arches, and tracery. Attempts were made to date masonry walls, although where features such as windows and arches have been inserted into earlier walls it is often difficult to date the masonry beyond noting that it is demonstrably earlier than the inserted features. The existence and form of liturgical features such as piscina, sedilia, Easter sepulchres and holy water stoops were also noted. Tomb monuments, brasses and inscriptions were recorded and appear in the table in Appendix 7.

⁹⁹ Morriss, 2000, 152-3.

A photographic index containing over 1,000 film and digital images of churches, tombs and other features was also compiled. Images from this index have been included in the thesis where appropriate. No attempt was made to employ rectified photography or photogrammetry due to the costs involved. Similarly, no use has been made here of dendrochronological dating techniques and survey work which would have allowed scaled ground plans to be produced was not undertaken.

Fieldwork results were combined with information drawn from Volumes II and IV of *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: East Riding*, Pevsner's *Buildings of England: York and the East Riding* and the *List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest* (available at www.imagesofengland.org.uk). Different scholars adopt different date conventions: the *List of Buildings* adopts stylistic conventions, whilst both the *Victoria County History* and Pevsner use absolute dates. A composite approach has been adopted in this study. The table in Appendix 7 lists the evidence for building projects under five broad periods: Norman including transitional work c. 1066 – 1200; Early English c. 1200 – 1280; Decorated c. 1280 – 1380; Perpendicular c. 1380 – 1540; and post-medieval. Whilst recognising that the dates attributed to each period are of course open to debate, not least because new architectural styles were adopted at differing rates in different parts of the country, the table also suggests more precise dates on the basis of documentary evidence for known projects in the Yorkshire Wolds and established chronologies of styles compiled by scholars on the basis of other securely documented projects. Dating has also been rendered difficult by secondary building projects, particularly rebuilding and restoration work in the nineteenth century. One must also be aware of the possibility that medieval masonry has been re-used in post-medieval contexts. Weathering also removes the detail of features, making dating on stylistic grounds difficult.

The table also notes the existence of *ex situ*, rebuilt or re-used medieval masonry. This is of particular relevance to a handful of churches like Kilnwick Percy which have been so comprehensively rebuilt that no pre-modern masonry survives *in situ*, although the existence of a large corpus of medieval masonry including re-built doorways and windows and re-used corbels strongly implies the existence of a medieval church on that or a nearby site. The existence of medieval fonts, gravestones,

inscriptions and sculpture within post-medieval buildings is also noted. It is abundantly clear that fonts and sculpture were sometimes relocated in the post-medieval period, as for example at Etton where the c. 1190 sculpture panels of St Peter and St Paul were moved there from the derelict church at Holme-on-the-Wolds in the mid nineteenth century. However the existence of this material in churches without medieval masonry may be used in combination with other sources as evidence for a medieval building. In at least some cases, particularly the churches rebuilt by the Tatton Sykes family of Sledmere, there is no standing buildings evidence for a medieval building. Appendix 7 also makes reference to documentary or visual evidence for earlier phases of buildings which have subsequently been remodelled or demolished.

Although as Hoskins and others have argued, it is important to record buildings for the sake of later researchers who, given the continuing destruction of medieval and post-medieval buildings may not have the opportunity of viewing these structures first-hand, it is a mistake to see the recording of such buildings as the end-product of this project.¹⁰⁰ Although the table in Appendix 7 and the photographic index together provide considerable evidence about the form of buildings within the study area, this project has made no attempt to comprehensively record all features of the buildings. Instead the project has examined the standing buildings record as a source for fulfilling the specific objectives outlined in Chapter I: that is, churches and manor houses were analysed in order to explore how space was perceived, experienced and given meaning in late medieval and early modern England. This is in line with recent thinking in archaeology where scholars have suggested the potential of archaeological approaches to standing buildings has “more to do with the framing of questions than with the refinement of recording”. Whilst recognising the value of precise recording, Grenville is wary of notions of ‘objectivity’ and she suggests that the detail of recording ought always to be dependent on research aims.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Hoskins, 1972, 142.

¹⁰¹ Grenville, 1997, 2.

3.3 Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodological approach adopted in this thesis. Whilst recognising the challenges posed by recent poststructuralist critiques of traditional historiography, this thesis adapts micro-historical approaches to the past in order to achieve an account of past landscapes which is both reliable and responsible. Central to this is the question of scale. By adopting a landscape survey approach, the thesis situates the micro-historical detail of individual buildings within the wider territories of village, parish and region. The project also aims to situate the actions of individuals like Sir Robert Constable within the wider political, social and economic worlds they occupied. In order to position the micro-historical detail of the Yorkshire Wolds within a macro-historical perspective, the thesis refers to academic literature and secondary sources. The reader ought to be aware that the secondary material is interspersed with empirical results: in other words, the academic literature and this author's own research are suspended together throughout the main argument of the thesis.

The thesis utilises multiple sources of evidence to reconstruct the medieval landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds and the experiences of those who lived and worked within it. The principal sources to be used in this thesis include property records, equity court papers and standing buildings evidence. As this chapter highlights, sources are often fragmentary. Their production and survival varied over time and between places. Yet if fifteenth and sixteenth-century manorial documents were often less detailed than fourteenth-century examples, other sources are more plentiful for the later medieval period. Wills become increasingly abundant from the late fourteenth century onwards, as do maps from the later sixteenth century. The evidence from both the central equity courts and the ecclesiastical courts at York vastly increases in the sixteenth century, a century which was also characterised by growing levels of contemporary comment and description, all of which increases the quantity and quality of the documentary record from around 1500.¹⁰² Landscape evidence has survived well in the Yorkshire Wolds and standing buildings evidence for religious buildings is also abundant, although the religious changes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries resulted in the destruction of tombs, glass and imagery. Domestic buildings also survive in

¹⁰² Dyer, 1988, 14.

increasing numbers from the later sixteenth century, although earlier buildings can sometimes be reconstructed using a combination of the sources outlined here.

IV. Manor-Church-Settlement Relationships in the Yorkshire Wolds

The first section of this chapter combines empirical research with contemporary comment and other secondary material in order to profile the Wolds landscape in the late medieval and early modern period, with particular reference to agricultural practice and settlement patterns. The second section outlines the spatial relationships between manor houses, parish churches and settlements in the study area, while the third and fourth sections of the chapter offer some explanation of these relationships, paying particular attention to issues of proximity and peripherality. The third section examines the relationship between pre-Conquest and later forms of landscape organisation and assesses in detail whether the close spatial proximity of churches and manor houses in the Yorkshire Wolds can be interpreted as a result of pre-Conquest church foundation practices. The chapter suggests alternative explanations for the close spatial proximity of manors and churches, paying particular attention to the continued meaning of these relationships in the later medieval and early modern period. The fourth section discusses peripheral manors and churches, and suggests explanations to account for their frequent occurrence in the Yorkshire Wolds. The final section of the chapter summarises the key findings and offers some concluding comments.

4.1 The Wolds Landscape

4.1.1 Agriculture in the Yorkshire Wolds

A region of chalk uplands rising to a maximum elevation of just under 250 metres, the Yorkshire Wolds arc across the historic East Riding of Yorkshire from the Humber estuary in the south to Flamborough Head in the north-east. The northern and western extreme of the Wolds is marked by a scarp, where the land drops away sharply into the Vale of Pickering and Vale of York, whilst in the south and east the Wolds form a gentle dip-slope falling down towards the lowlands of the Hull Valley and Holderness. Topographical writers of the seventeenth century captured the contrasts between the high and low Wolds. Whilst Thomas Baskerville travelled on a good road from Market Weighton to Beverley in 1677 and enjoyed a pleasant journey “over fine carpet downs

called the Wold”, twenty years later Celia Fiennes got lost in the mist on the Wolds above Boynton and “descended these high wouls [sic] by a steep and hazardous precipice on one side and the way narrow”.¹

With the exception of the mantle of boulder clay which covers the lower edge of the dip-slope, the Wolds are covered by chalk soils which are for the most part light, easily worked and well drained. Only occasionally was the soil described as “very bad, barren and stony”, as it was at Fordon (par. Hunmanby) in 1597.² The fertility of the land was also variously assessed by the topographical writers who visited the Wolds. Daniel Defoe saw the Wolds as a thinly settled but productive pastoral region, while other writers stressed the barren nature of the area. William Camden even stated that the district consisted of “nothing but a heap of mountains, called Yorkeswold, which signifies Yorkshire hills”.³

The high Wolds in particular are scored by steep-sided dry valleys and the only permanently flowing watercourse is the Gypsey Race, although this is still without surface-flowing water in some places along its course.⁴ More generally, the Wolds are characterised by a great number of springs, pools and seasonally flowing streams known as vipseys or gypseys. Myths abound about the gypseys. Defoe reported in c.1720 that the local people associated them with famine and plague, and in the mid-nineteenth century Sheahan and Whellan recorded that a gypsey near Kilham issued forth “with such violence from the ground as to form an aqueous arch, sufficiently elevated for a man on horseback to ride beneath it without being wet”.⁵

In contrast to the modern landscape of loosely nucleated settlements, isolated farmsteads and large arable fields, the medieval landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds was one in which nucleated villages and large hamlets were surrounded by open fields and vast common pastures.⁶ Topographical writers consistently commented on the sheep-corn economy. John Leland, writing in c. 1540, remarked that the land between York and Leconfield which was “meately fruteful of corn and grasse”, while both Thomas

¹ Cited in Woodward, 1985, 37; *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, 1947, 91.

² VCH ER II, 237.

³ Cited in Woodward, 1985, 20.

⁴ Ellis, 1996, 2.

⁵ Sheahan and Whellan, 1856, 482.

⁶ Harris, 1961.

Baskerville and Daniel Defoe made comparisons between the Yorkshire Wolds and the downs around Salisbury, another sheep-corn region.⁷ The proportion of land in the Wolds given over to grazing perhaps increased in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as land was converted from arable to pasture, a trend which is discussed further in Chapter V. Yet the sheep-corn system was apparently already well developed by the later medieval period.⁸ Cattle-rearing and rabbit warrens may also have been important in some places although, as Miller notes, “sheep farming was much more widely distributed than cattle farming on any scale”.⁹ For example, the archbishop of York had 3800 sheep at Bishop Wilton in 1388.¹⁰ Nor was sheep farming confined to landlords. As Miller notes “the demesne flock at Flamborough in 1355 numbered only about 360 compared with at least 1120 sheep belonging to the tenantry”.¹¹

Sheep were folded on the stubbles of the cropped fields and on fallow fields, as well as grazed on permanent pastures, typically located on the high wold land beyond the open fields. Flocks might also be grazed on ley land; that is, arable lands left untilled or under pasture for a period of years, like the land at Risby (par. Rowley) which was said to have “lain lea for allmoste twentie yeres laste paste for the barannes thereof”.¹² Wool from the Yorkshire Wolds appears to have reached better prices than that from surrounding districts; in 1454, wool from most districts of Yorkshire sold for 20 per cent below the national average, whilst that from the Wolds sold slightly above the mean. Moreover, there is more limited evidence to suggest that Yorkshire flocks may have produced relatively high fleece weights, as at Flamborough in the 1350s when the fleeces averaged at about 2 lb.¹³

Although essentially a mixed economy, the balance between sheep and corn varied from place to place. Bridlington Priory’s grange at Flamborough was primarily arable in 1278-9, when the estate produced nearly 300 quarters of corn, including oats, wheat, maslin and malted barley.¹⁴ The Priory’s estate at Burton Fleming

⁷ Cited in Woodward, 1985, 7.

⁸ Miller, 1991, 190; Thirsk 1967; 1987.

⁹ Miller, 1991, 189.

¹⁰ Miller, 1991, 183.

¹¹ Miller, 1991, 190.

¹² Cited in Harris, 1959, 122.

¹³ Miller, 1991, 191-2.

¹⁴ VCH ER IV, 156. Maslin was a mixture of grains or grains and pulses, especially rye and wheat or oats and peas (OED).

encompassed the whole township by the early fourteenth century and in 1355-6, when the estate produced 450 quarters of corn, peas and malt, sales of corn rendered four times as much as sales of livestock, primarily pigs.¹⁵ Sixteenth-century wills suggest that the parsonages or vicarages at Burton Agnes, Hunmanby and Londesborough were primarily arable farms, while sheep predominated amongst the goods of the clergy at Etton, Foxholes, Ganton, Goodmanham, Huggate, Lund, Middleton-on-the-Wolds, Sancton, Sherburn and Wold Newton.¹⁶ Dairying, mentioned only at Carnaby and at Yedingham, is also implied at the many places where cow-gates or beast-gates were mentioned.¹⁷

The most important arable crops were probably barley and wheat, although peas, beans, oats, rye and dredge were also common and at Flamborough far more peas were sown than barley.¹⁸ The importance of different crops varied from farm to farm, as well as over time. By the late seventeenth century spring-sown crops such as barley, beans, peas and oats occupied about 70 per cent of the sown area of the Wolds, as Harris' analysis of probate inventories has demonstrated.¹⁹ Hemp and flax were also grown in the Wolds, as at Kirby Underdale in 1347 and Hunmanby in 1543 where tithes for such were demanded from parishioners.²⁰ Tithes of hemp were also in dispute at South Cave in 1569 and a hemp garth was mentioned there in 1613 and at Burnby in 1585.²¹

Horses were commonly used as plough beasts. There were no oxen at all recorded in the Flamborough survey and at Wetwang horses were used by both lord and tenants.²² Plough-horses were also mentioned at Lockington in 1613 and in 1316 the prior of Watton complained that several men had:

“seized 140 oxen and 40 horses yoked in his ploughs at Watton... and drove them to the castle of the said Peter at Mulgreve, so that 160 of his plough cattle died,

¹⁵ VCH ER II, 122.

¹⁶ Purvis, 1947, 437.

¹⁷ Purvis, 1947, 437; Beresford, 1950, 333.

¹⁸ Miller, 1991, 187. Dredge was a mixture of grains, esp. oats and barley, sown together (OED).

¹⁹ Harris, 1959, 122.

²⁰ YASRS 114, 16-17; BIHR, CP E 254

²¹ BIHR, CP G 1457; HUL, DDBA4/158; ERYARS, DDAN/50.

²² Miller, 1991, 188.

detained the rest until the prior made fine with the said Peter in 20 / [and] seized 4 mares of his plough at Briddessale [Birdsall]”.²³

Although there is evidence for an infield-outfield system in a few places in the Wolds, the open-field system adopted in the Wolds was generally one in which the arable strips, known locally as ‘lands’ or ‘selions’, were organised into furlongs or flats.²⁴ The furlongs were organised in larger fields, whose number varied from place to place. Two-field systems were apparently practiced in many parts of the northern Wolds including Kilham, Langtoft, Thwing, Burton Fleming, Fordon (par. Hunmanby), Ganton, Butterwick, Raisthorpe (par. Wharram Percy) and Kilnwick Percy.²⁵ There were probably also two fields at Etton in the fourteenth century, although the eastern field had been inclosed and the west field divided into three by the seventeenth century.²⁶ Three-field systems can be identified at Staxton in 1563, Leconfield in 1603 and South Cave in the 1530s, although one field was then said to have previously been a common pasture.²⁷ A joint three-field system was apparently shared by the hamlets of Sewerby and Marton in the seventeenth century, and perhaps earlier.²⁸ There were four fields at Folkton in the twelfth century, as well as Hunmanby in 1600, Harpham in 1685 and at Risby in 1592, where one field had been recently inclosed.²⁹ There were also four fields at Flamborough by 1572, although the three-course rotation in place in 1377 implies there had earlier been only three fields.³⁰ There were as many as five fields named at Flixton in 1563, though it is not known how the medieval fields were arranged.³¹ Field names including the terms *intake* and *overnam* suggest that some of the open fields were extended in the medieval period. Conversely, cultivation contracted in some areas after the Black Death.

Deeds and glebe terriers provide evidence for the layout of strips in the open fields. In some places in the Yorkshire Wolds, individual holdings were dispersed throughout the common fields, as was the case in both champion and woodland regions elsewhere

²³ Cal Pat 1313-7, 501; ERYARS, DDX826/3/1.

²⁴ Beresford, 1950, 347.

²⁵ VCH ER II, 256; 267; 328; 122; 237; 212; 194; Miller, 1991, 184.

²⁶ VCH ER IV, 109-10.

²⁷ VCH ER II, 336; IV, 127 and 48.

²⁸ VCH ER II, 98.

²⁹ VCH ER II, 171; 225; 237; BIHR, CP G 2654.

³⁰ VCH ER II, 157.

³¹ VCH ER II, 171

in England.³² Five bovates at Flotmanby (par. Folkton) mentioned in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries were distributed throughout “the whole field” and the twenty-six bovates of demesne at Butterwick in 1563 were similarly dispersed throughout the furlongs, as was the glebe and the majority of tenants’ holdings which were split equally between the two fields.³³ It is also clear that strips were sometimes arranged regularly throughout the furlongs. A glebe terrier of 1716 refers to the glebe at Burton Agnes as lying “dispersed in the three fields belonging to the same town... every fall but one hath a small balk on the south or west side & each contains four lands & all are encompassed with Sir Griffith Bointons lands”.³⁴ A lease of 1613 pertaining to land at Boynton previously part of an estate belonging to a branch of the Boynton family implies that the strips were distributed with a certain amount of regularity throughout the common fields: ninety-six lands lay in the same manner throughout twelve furlongs. Some of the tofts in the village were also arranged regularly in the mid-thirteenth century.³⁵ The glebe was also regularly distributed at Langtoft, Wetwang, Thwing and West Heslerton among other places.³⁶

The origins of regular arrangements are uncertain. Early scholars attributed this regularity to *solskifte*, the principle of sun-division whereby villagers’ holdings were distributed broadly equally between the two or three common fields and individual peasants’ strips had the same neighbours throughout the fields, a pattern which may also have been reflected in the arrangement of tofts in the village.³⁷ Although the land market would have modified the original pattern as strips were exchanged and sold, Beresford argued that the church as a “deathless corporate body” might be less affected by exchanges than individual owners, hence long retain the position and regularity of its lands.³⁸ More recent commentators have suggested that the pattern of strips “represent[s] a later rationalisation of a more complicated pattern”.³⁹ Britnell suggests that the regularity apparent in some areas of County Durham results from the division of land between family members, or between donor and recipient, in the

³² Williamson, 2003, 66 and 108.

³³ VCH ER II, 171 and 194.

³⁴ HUL, DDCV/31/1.

³⁵ HUL, DDWB/4/27; DDWB/4/4.

³⁶ Beresford, 1950, 337.

³⁷ Astill, 1988, 66.

³⁸ Beresford, 1950, 338.

³⁹ Astill, 1988, 66.

twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁴⁰ In other words, regularity is not a result of the division of land at the time the fields were laid out, but a consequence of divisions at the time of later gifts, grants and family settlements. It seems likely that regularity may result from both processes. Deeds from the Wolds demonstrate that donors might grant away parcels distributed throughout the fields, while references to land lying towards or away from the sun at Boythorpe (par. Foxholes) and Sewerby (par. Bridlington) imply the existence of a *solskifte* system in parts of the Yorkshire Wolds.⁴¹

That the region was largely unenclosed as late as the early eighteenth century is not to suggest there was no enclosed land in the Wolds, for limited piecemeal enclosure had occurred in the vicinity of most settlements.⁴² Leases and other manorial documents make reference to inclosures near many of the Wolds villages, such as those at Burton Agnes, Flamborough and Sewerby.⁴³ The inclosures of the medieval and Tudor periods are discussed further in Chapter V. Yet “only in a few places were the long strips of arable fields and extensive sheep-walks, common pastures, and rabbit warrens interrupted by hedged enclosures”.⁴⁴ The Wolds were essentially “all champion”, as one seventeenth-century visitor noted.⁴⁵ There was certainly very little woodland and few hedges in the Wolds, a fact noted by topographical writers like Leland who commented how both the southern Wolds and the northern Wolds Scarp around Sherburn were areas of “litle wood”.⁴⁶

Bede referred to woodland in the vicinity of the monastery at Beverley in the eighth century (monasterium In Derauuda is est In Silua Derorum) and Domesday woodland was concentrated in the parishes around Beverley.⁴⁷ There was apparently still significant woodland in the area in the medieval period. Woods at Walkington, known as Provost Woods by 1625, were mentioned in 1415.⁴⁸ Woodland was also recorded at North Newbald in 1295, at Bentley (par. Rowley) in the thirteenth and sixteenth

⁴⁰ Britnell, 2004, 28-32.

⁴¹ VCH ER II, 194; Yorkshire Deeds IV, 133, no. 450.

⁴² Harris, 1959.

⁴³ HUL, DDWB/5/36(a); DDWB/5/48; and DDWB/5/58; Bridlington Charty, 181; HUL, DDLG/30/72.

⁴⁴ Harris, 1961, 18.

⁴⁵ VCH Yorks III, 477.

⁴⁶ Cited in Woodward, 1985, 7.

⁴⁷ PNEY, pxiv; Maxwell, 1962, 205.

⁴⁸ Cal Pat 1413-16, 189-90; HUL, DDBA 8/1.

centuries and at Etton throughout the medieval period.⁴⁹ There was also woodland within a number of deer parks in the Wolds, including those at Bishop Burton, Leconfield, Etton, Carnaby, Scarborough, and Sewerby.⁵⁰ Place names like Lund, Scarborough and Hesslekew (par. Sancton) suggest woodland while names such as Rowley, Bentley, Hunsley, Risby, and Weedley (par. South Cave) imply woodland clearings.⁵¹

There are few other woodland names elsewhere in the Wolds and those like Thornholme (meaning 'at the thorn trees'), Bempton ('farm by a tree') and Heslerton ('hazel enclosure') are suggestive of isolated features rather than a heavily wooded landscape.⁵² Where there was little woodland, tenants were sometimes only allowed to collect hedge- and plough-bote; that is, tenants were allowed to collect timber for hedging and agricultural implements, but not for fuel. Gorse and furze were plentiful and were often used as fuel, while turves or turfs were also an important resource in parts of the Wolds.⁵³

Research undertaken by Harris using seventeenth-century wills has shown that at least 70 per cent of the Wolds population were then directly involved in agriculture, either as farmers or labourers.⁵⁴ Evidence for non-agricultural occupations is scarce before the modern era and agricultural incomes must have constituted the majority in all but a few places. For example, there were certainly potters producing 'Staxton Ware' at Potter Brompton (par. Ganton), and probably elsewhere in the locality, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁵⁵ Some Wolds residents may also have been involved in the textile and leather trade: a weaver was recorded at Potter Brompton in 1589 and two at Hunmanby in 1339, as well as a mercer, a tanner and two weavers at Flamborough in the sixteenth century and a fulling mill at Harpham in 1476.⁵⁶ There

⁴⁹ VCH ER IV, 136; 149; 109.

⁵⁰ Neave, 1991.

⁵¹ PNERV, 162, 163, 203, 204, 205, 224 and 228.

⁵² PNERV, 90, 106 and 121.

⁵³ Harris, 1961, 17.

⁵⁴ Harris, 1961. Other related occupations included blacksmiths, who sometimes ran shops like the forge at Newbald mentioned in 1524 (YSCP I, 133) or the smithy's shop which was said in 1658 to have "anciently stood" on a toft at Bishop Burton (HUL, DDGE3/57).

⁵⁵ VCH ER II, 213; 337.

⁵⁶ VCH ER II, 213; 239; 160; 226.

was a mason at Folkton in 1225 and the quarries at Newbald must also have provided employment.⁵⁷

Although fishing in rivers and carrs undoubtedly contributed to agricultural incomes in many places, fishermen are only recorded in a few parishes near the sea or the River Hull. Fishermen and shipmen from Flamborough and Sewerby were mentioned in the fifteenth century.⁵⁸ There had been a fishing trade at Flamborough since at least 1209 when nine boats were mentioned. The trade may have employed a significant proportion of the population, for there were at least sixty-nine fishermen there in the later thirteenth century.⁵⁹ There was also a fishery at Arram (par. Leconfield) in 1473, and two men living there were described as fishermen in the sixteenth century.⁶⁰

The important market towns of Beverley, Market Weighton, Pocklington, Driffield and Bridlington all lay outside, but close by, the Wolds. Yet there were also smaller markets and fairs held in some of the Wolds villages. There was a market at Kilham from at least 1227, as well as several shops, including four that were said to be newly built in 1420-1. By the seventeenth century, if not earlier, the November fair was an important sheep market at which farmers from Holderness bought stock.⁶¹ There was probably a market at South Cave as early as the twelfth century and by 1539 it was apparently held twice weekly.⁶² A market was mentioned at Hunmanby in 1231 and, although described as a poor market in 1361, it apparently continued throughout the Middle Ages.⁶³ There was a Thursday market at Lund between at least 1257 and 1374, where there is an extant medieval Market cross (see Figure 4.1), and a market at West Heslerton was recorded in 1253 and 1304.⁶⁴ There may also have been a short-lived market at Sherburn.⁶⁵ Grants were made for markets and fairs at Warter (1251 and 1313), Burton Agnes (1257), Thwing (1257), Carnaby (1299), Sledmere (1303), Newbald (1348) and Leconfield (1383 and 1511), but there is little

⁵⁷ VCH ER II, 173 and IV, 137.

⁵⁸ Cal Pat 1436-41, 463.

⁵⁹ VCH ER II, 158.

⁶⁰ VCH ER IV, 128.

⁶¹ VCH ER II, 257 and 259.

⁶² VCH ER IV, 52.

⁶³ VCH ER II, 240; Cal Inq PM xi, 165.

⁶⁴ Cal Chart 1226-57, 472; Cal Inq PM, xiv, no. 58; Cal Chart, 1226-57, 414; 1300-26, 39.

⁶⁵ Cal Pat 1247-58, 477. The market was recorded for the only time in 1256 when the king granted the burgesses of Scarborough the right to plead in the king's name for the abolition of the market.



Figure 4.1 The medieval market cross at Lund.

evidence to suggest whether the markets were established or for how long they continued to operate.⁶⁶

4.1.2 Settlement in the Yorkshire Wolds

With the exception of the southern dip-slope and Hull valley, where population densities were higher and the landscape more closely settled, the density of settlement in the Wolds was relatively low in the medieval period. The landscape was one of nucleated villages and large hamlets, but few and widely separated.⁶⁷ Defoe observed that, “the middle of this riding or division of Yorkshire is very thin of towns, and consequently of people, being overspread with Wolds”.⁶⁸

Roberts and Wrathmell locate the Wolds within the Central Province of England, an area characterised by nucleated settlement and open-field agriculture.⁶⁹ Their maps show that by the mid nineteenth century, the Wolds were characterised by a lower density of nucleated settlements than other areas of the Central Province, including the nearby vales of Pickering and York, as well as the Midland region further south (see Figure 4.2). Yet the Wolds sub-province also had a lower density of dispersion than many of the other Central areas. This suggests that while the Wolds were characterised by relatively low densities of population, the landscape was still primarily one of nucleated villages and large hamlets, with only a few dispersed settlement elements, typically the intercalated farmsteads of the post-enclosure period.

Roberts and Wrathmell’s maps admittedly only record mid nineteenth-century settlement patterns and large numbers of deserted medieval villages (hereafter DMVs) are known from the Wolds.⁷⁰ Roberts and Wrathmell argue that DMVs “represent a significant portion of the potential total number of nucleations” in the East Yorkshire sub-province. Elsewhere in the Central Province, they suggest that DMVs may account for 15 – 25 per cent of the total nucleations once present in the landscape, and much the same may be true of the Wolds. If this is the case, the density of nucleations

⁶⁶ Cal Chart 1226-57, 372 and 1300-26, 219; 1226-57, 468; 1226-57, 472; 1257-1300, 478; 1300-26, 37; 1341-1417, 72; 1341-1417, 281.

⁶⁷ Harris, 1961, 20.

⁶⁸ Cited in Woodward, 1985, 54.

⁶⁹ Roberts and Wrathmell, 2000, 46-7.

⁷⁰ Beresford, 1954; Beresford and Hurst, 1971, 207-9.

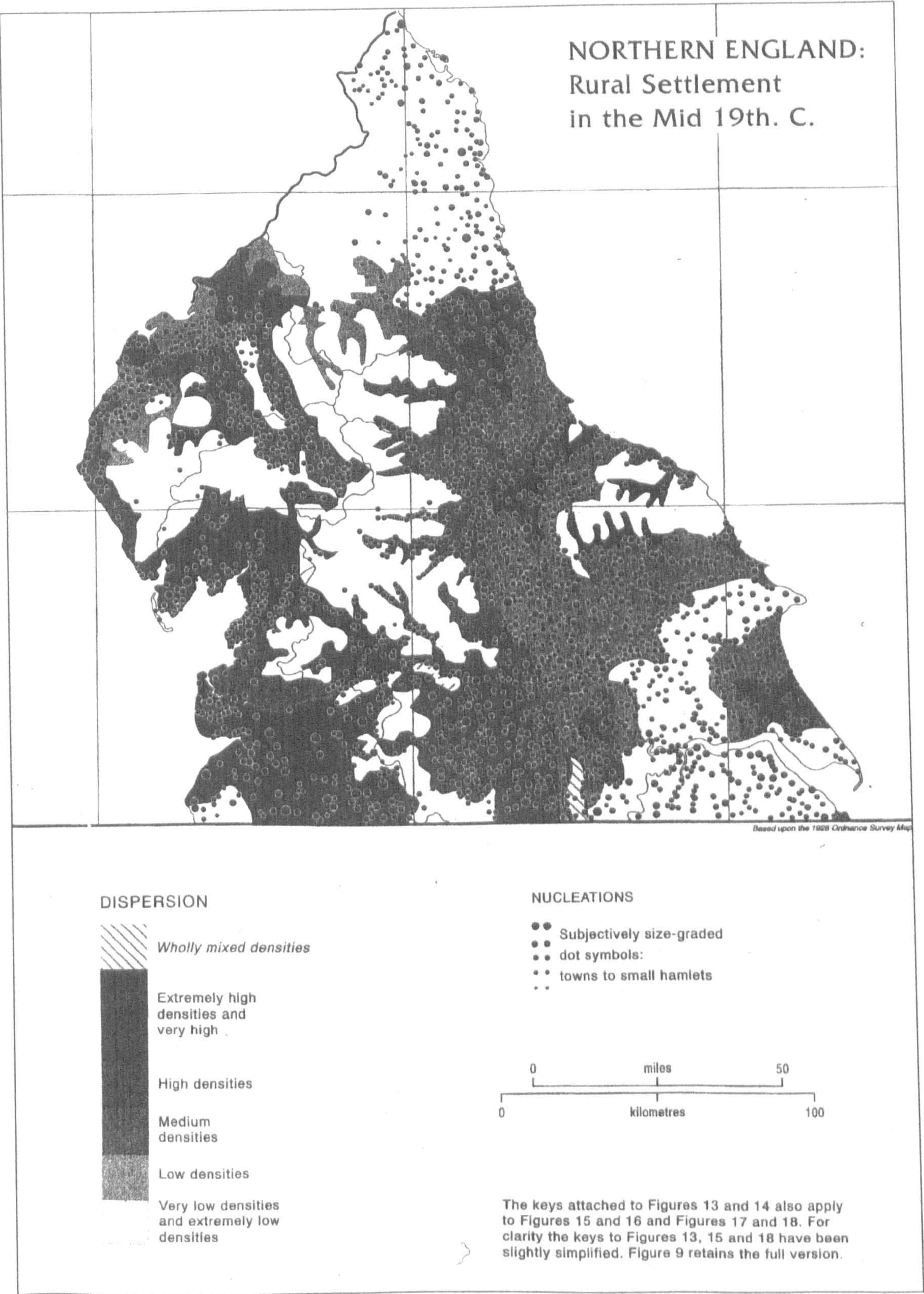


Figure 4.2 Rural settlement in Northern England in the mid nineteenth century (reproduced from Roberts and Wrathmell, 2000, 20).

in the Wolds may have been greater in the medieval period than the nineteenth-century maps imply. Desertions disproportionately affected smaller settlements, typically those without churches; hence their disappearance has little impact on the study of manor-church-settlement relationships in the Yorkshire Wolds. However, deserted settlements with parish churches for which there is also good evidence for settlement layout, typically gleaned from excavation or aerial photography, have been included in the analysis below.

Documentary and landscape sources also provide evidence for low density dispersed settlement in the Yorkshire Wolds in the pre-Enclosure period. Many watermills occupied isolated sites, as they also did in other parts of England.⁷¹ Documentary references to isolated farmsteads other than monastic granges are relatively rare, but isolated farms are mentioned at Rigg Wood and Birkhill in Bentley (par. Rowley) in 1600 and 1605. The farms stood within demesne woods, making it unlikely that the settlement sites originated as farmsteads established on assarts. The tenements at Rigg and Birkhill were both said to stand in old inclosures and, although the tenants claimed common rights in them, the houses probably originated as accommodation for parkers or warreners.⁷² There were also isolated hunting lodges in several deer parks, including Etton and Leconfield, as well as isolated vaccaries or dairy farms in several parishes within the study area. The tenement known as Moor House in 1454 was part of the demesne lands of the Griffith manor at Burton Agnes and stood south-east of the village, near the farm known as Moor House in the mid-nineteenth century.⁷³ It was let with cows and calves in 1454, was described as “a dairy house in Agnes Burton moor” in 1495, and was still a vaccary in 1553 when a ‘dairy-man’ lived there.⁷⁴

The example of Lockington will suffice to show the frequency with which dispersed settlement elements appeared in some parishes within the study area. As Figure 4.3 shows, there were at least five further settlement foci in the parish besides Lockington village and the hamlet of Aike. The estate known as Belagh lay south-west of the village, probably in the vicinity of the modern Woodhouse Farm. The estate had been

⁷¹ Dyer, 2002, 20.

⁷² VCH ER IV, 143 and 150.

⁷³ HUL, DDWB/5/47; first edition OS 6-inch to the mile map.

⁷⁴ HUL, DDWB/5/47 and 58; BIHR PR 13.968.

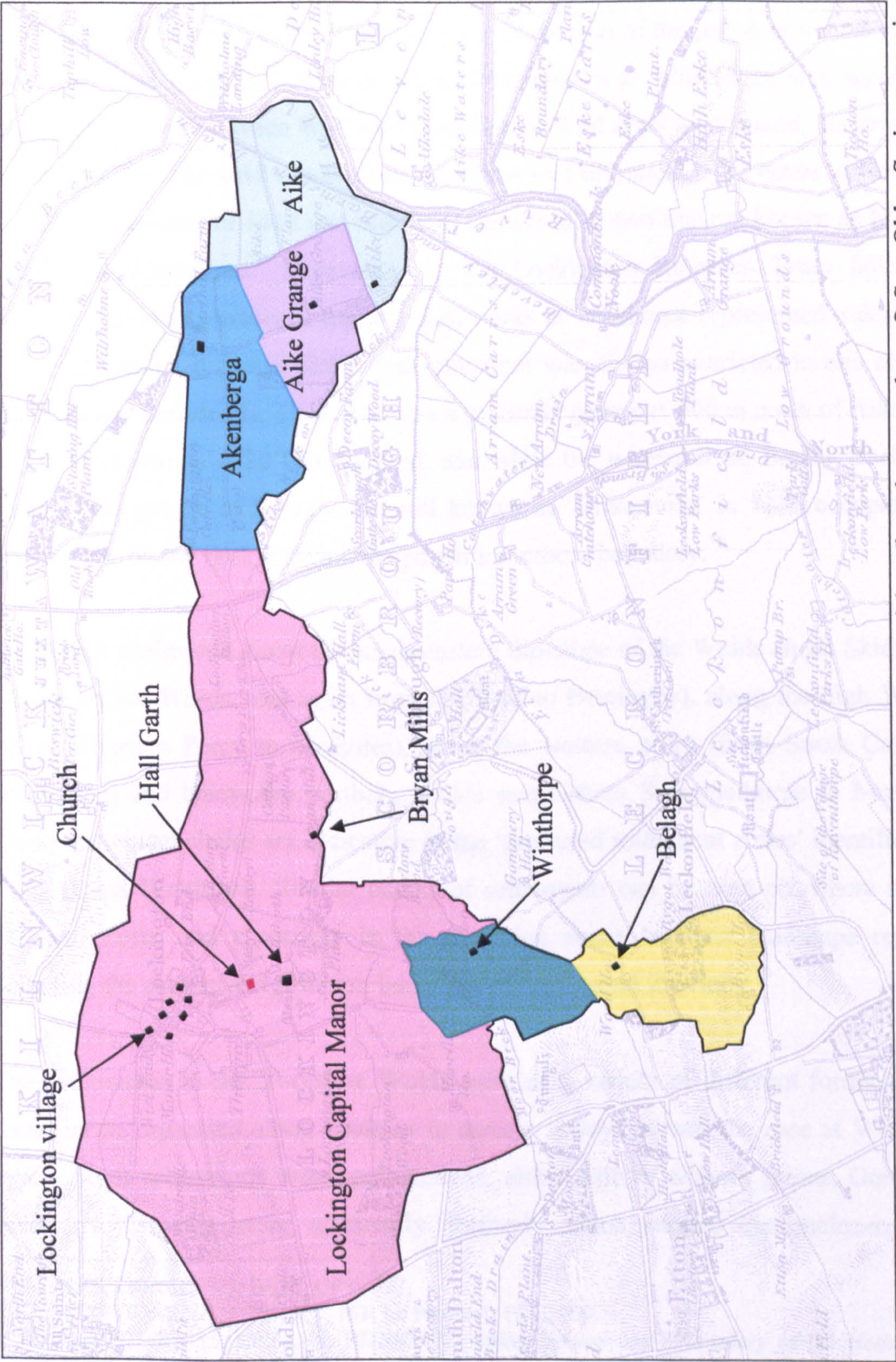


Figure 4.3 Settlement elements and estates in Lockington parish (based on the O.S. Old Series one-inch maps).

a grange belonging first to Meaux Abbey then to the nunnery at Swine, and when a farm called Bealey House was mentioned in 1555, the cows and calves listed with the property suggest it was then a dairy farm.⁷⁵ A vaccary known as Akeneberga, granted to Meaux in the twelfth century, probably lay in the east of the parish at a moated site now known as Barfhill.⁷⁶ Another estate, later known as Winthorpe, was separated from the main manor when William Fossard granted 60 acres to Wimund, his steward, before c. 1150. The land was probably meadow in 1309, though the estate apparently included tenements in 1414 and was later described as two manors known as Magna and Parva Winthorpe.⁷⁷ Excavation by the Lockington Research Team failed to provide convincing evidence that the earthworks at Winthorpe represented a deserted medieval hamlet. It seems likely that settlement was always restricted to one or two tenements or farmsteads. There was also a monastic grange c. 500 m north of Aike at a site now known as Aike Grange Stud, and while the watermill on Bealey Beck lay close to the grange of Belagh, the mill known as 'Briansmiln' in 1236 occupied an isolated site on the beck marking the parish's southern boundary.⁷⁸

Settlement chains run along the south-eastern dip-slope of the Wolds (from Skidby to Garton on the Wolds, and again from Driffeld to Bessingby), along the high Wolds (from Wharram Percy to Foxholes), along the western scarp (from South Cave to Millington) and below the northern Wolds scarp (from Scragglethorpe to Muston). These settlement chains are indicative of the 'preferred settlement zones' identified by Roberts and Wrathmell. Similar chains of settlements can be seen elsewhere in the Midland Zone, and especially in the transition zones between landscape regions including the eastern and southern boundary of the Central Province.⁷⁹

The settlements in the Yorkshire Wolds were of a variety of different forms. Many were linear, organised along roads or in narrow valleys as was the case at Wharram Percy. Some settlements were agglomerated, either with or without greens. Greens in several settlements were apparently formerly much larger, but inclosure and

⁷⁵ ERYARS, DDX826/3/1; BIHR, CP G 577.

⁷⁶ ERYARS, DDX826/3/1; PNERV, 161; Le Patourel, 1973, 109.

⁷⁷ *Etton 1170-1482*, 15; ERYARS, DDX826/3/1 citing *History and Chartulary of the Hothams of Scarborough*.

⁷⁸ ERYARS, DDX826/3/1. In 1570, it consisted of a watermill, adjoining tenement and meadow called Milne Ing in which miller grew hay as well as kept cattle and sheep, and presumably stood on the site of the later farm known as Bryan Mills (BIHR, CP G 1925-1927).

⁷⁹ Roberts and Wrathmell, 2000, 47 and 15.

encroachment in the medieval and post-medieval periods significantly reduced their size. Many of the Wolds villages were planned. As noted in Chapter II, the date of this planning has been heavily debated, although excavations at Wharram Percy, Cottam and West Heslerton suggest that these settlements' planned forms result from the reorganisation of settlement and land-use in the Anglo-Scandinavian period.⁸⁰ Some settlements were poly-focal; that is, comprised of two or more separate settlement elements which gradually coalesced over time. The village of South Cave at the southern extreme of the Wolds is a good example of this process. Here infill east of the church had linked the planned two-row settlement known as West End with the market place 900 m to the east by the seventeenth century.⁸¹ Other settlements like Argam demonstrate more organic forms and are thought to have developed as a result of a slow process of accretion.⁸² The spatial arrangement of manorial complexes, churches and other habitation elements within the settlements of the Yorkshire Wolds is investigated in greater below.

4.2 Results from the Yorkshire Wolds Survey

This section presents results from that part of the project which investigated the geographical relationships between manors, churches and rural settlements in the Yorkshire Wolds in the late medieval and early modern period. Only those buildings and features whose sites could be determined in the period before c. 1600 were included in the survey. In other words, the study was primarily concerned to use medieval and sixteenth-century evidence for the relationships between manors, churches and settlements, rather than assuming that later evidence necessarily reflects earlier settlement morphologies. As a result, it was not possible to reconstruct settlement plans for all the villages and hamlets in the Yorkshire Wolds. A combination of documentary, cartographic, standing buildings and landscape evidence was used to reconstruct the geographical relationships between manor houses, churches and settlements in the case of twenty-eight manor houses whose sites can be

⁸⁰ Richards, 1992 and 1997; Richards, 2000a, 198; Hurst, 1984, 86; Powlesland, 1999, 64-5; Lyall, 2005; Wrathmell, 2005.

⁸¹ HUL, DDBA/4/197 and 130; VCH ER IV, 41. A messuage on Keldgate, as Church Lane was known in the seventeenth century, was mentioned in 1635. By 1773, the area lay under the newly created fishpond south of East Hall.

⁸² Bowden, 1993.

determined in the period before *c.* 1600. Having reconstructed settlement morphologies using these sources, settlements were categorised according to whether the manor house and church were integrated within, peripheral to or isolated from the settlement. Table 4.1 summarises these results.

Table 4.1 Manor-Church-Settlement Relationships in the Yorkshire Wolds before c. 1600.

Manor/estate name	Owner and status of residence		Date first known	Geographical relationships			Type
	c. 1400	c. 1600		Manor house -- church (distance)	Manor house - settlement	Church - settlement	
Bishop Burton	Archbishop of York (one of a number of Yorkshire seats).	Sir William Gee (resident).	c. 1300	Remote (c. 700 m)	Remote	Integrated	3
Boynnton	Thomas Boynton (resident).	William Strickland (resident).	c. 1590	Adjacent c. 200 m	Peripheral	Integrated	1
Burton Agnes	Sir Thomas Griffith (resident).	Sir Henry Griffith (resident).	c. 1170 c. 1601-10	Adjacent (c. 50 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1
				Adjacent (c. 100 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1
Burton Fleming	Bridlington Priory.	Robert Knowsley, gent. (resident; 'new' gentry).	Early C17 th	Opposite (c. 160 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1
Carnaby	Acquired by Sir	William	1368	Remote (c. 850 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	2

	William de Hilton (non-resident) from Sir Ralph de Percy in c. 1402. ⁸³	Strickland	C16 th	m) Remote (c. 400 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	2
Cherry Burton	Hospitallers.	Richard Hodgson (previously the tenant).	C16 th	Adjacent (c. 75 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1
Etton – Anlaby	William Anlaby.	Anlaby family.	c. 1670	Opposite (c. 175 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1
Etton Langdale	Thomas Langdale (no title given in docs; resident).	Langdale family (non-resident).	c. 1308 – 1620	Remote (c. 800 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	2
Flamborough	Sir Robert Constable (resident).	Robert Constable (untitled; resident).	C14 th – C16 th	Opposite (c. 200 m)	Peripheral	Integrated	1
			1590s	Non-adjacent (c. 275 m)	Peripheral	Integrated	1
Ganton	Robert Acklam.	John Legard.	Later	Adjacent (c. 100 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1

⁸³ Beresford, 1979, 20.

				C16 th	- 200 m)			
Harpham	Sir Thomas de St Quintin (resident).	William Quintin, Esq. (principal seat).	St	1297 - C16 th	Integrated (c. 75 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1
Hunmanby - Osbaldeston ⁸⁴	? Sir Henry Percy.	Osbaldeston family.		Early C17 th	Adjacent (c. 200 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1
Hunmanby - Burlyn	Probably abandoned after 1316.			1303 - 1316	Remote (c. 1500 m)	Remote	Peripheral	3
Hunmanby - Old Manor House ⁸⁵	? Beatrice, widow of Sir Walter Rossale.	Ralph Westrop.		Early C17 th	Remote (c. 600 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	2
Leconfield	Percy, earls of Northumberland (one of a number of Yorks seats).	Thomas Percy, E of N'land (one of a number of Yorks seats).		c. 1308 - 1577	Remote (c. 700 m)	Remote	Peripheral	3
Lockington	Sir John Bigod.	John Estoft, Esq.		C12 th and C16 th	Adjacent (c. 250 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1

⁸⁴ Presumably on the site of the twelfth-century castle.

⁸⁵ Also known as Low Hall. The surviving house is of early seventeenth-century date, and may have stood on the site of the hall with three chambers and a kitchen which belonged to Thomas de Rossale in 1304 (HUL, DX/49/1 f.27).

Londesborough	Sir Thomas Broomfleet, sheriff of Yorkshire.	Francis Clifford (later fourth earl of Cumberland; one of a number of northern houses).	C16 th	Adjacent (c. 125 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1
North Newbald	Prebendary of York Minster.	Prebendary of York Minster.	C16 th	Non-adjacent (c. 200 m)	Integrated	Integrated	Other
Nunburnholme	Ralph de Greystoke, 3 rd Lord Greystoke (non-resident).	William, Lord Howard and his wife Elizabeth (nee Dacre) (non-resident).	C16 th	Remote (c. 750 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	2
Scorborough	Hotham family, knights (resident).	Hotham family, knights (resident).	c. 1600	Adjacent (c. 100 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1
Sherburn	Poss. Everingham or Tunstall families (resident).	William Constable (1579) (non-resident).	Late C12 th	Adjacent (c. 300 – 400 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1
Sledmere	Hastings family.	Matthew Hutton, AB of York.	C16th	Adjacent (c. 125 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1

South Cave East Hall	Thomas d'Eyville.	Sir Thomas Danby.	C16 th	Adjacent (c. 50 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1
South Dalton	St John of Beverley.	Francis Aslabby, Esq. (previous tenant).	Early C17 th	Remote (c. 1 km)	Remote	Peripheral	3
South Newbald	Prebendary of York Minster.	Prebendary of York Minster (leased to Francis Tindall).	c. 1630- 1634	Remote (c. 500 m)	Remote	Integrated	3
Weaverthorpe	Abandoned c. 1356.		Early C12 th	Integrated (c. 75 m)	Peripheral	Peripheral	1
Wharram Percy – C12 th	Abandoned c. 1254.		C10 th	Non-adjacent (c. 175 m)	Integrated	Peripheral	Other
Wharram Percy – C13 th	Acquired by Sir William de Hilton (non-resident) from Sir Ralph de Percy, son of first earl in c. 1402.	Matthew Hutton, AB of York.	Mid C13 th at least, possibly as early as late C11 th .	Remote (c. 350 m)	Remote	Peripheral	Other

Manor houses in the Yorkshire Wolds, as in other parts of the country, were commonly located in close proximity to churches. In 57 per cent of the sample the manor house stood on a site next to the parish church. This equates with a slim majority of the sample, so that the most common spatial relationship between manor and church was where the two buildings stood adjacent, either within the settlement or on its periphery. These sites have been classified as Type 1 sites.

In some Wolds villages, the church was integrated within the manorial enclosure, as at Harpham and Weaverthorpe. In these cases, the church stood either within or abreast of the ditch encircling the manorial complex. These are what might be termed 'manor-church complexes'. In other instances, the manor house and church were sited in adjoining plots, so that the two buildings typically stood within 50 and 200 metres of each other. Manor house and church might be sited either within the settlement, as at Sledmere, or on its periphery, as at Burton Agnes. The Type 1 site at Burton Agnes is shown in Figure 4.4. Burton Agnes, in the eastern Wolds, stands five miles south-west of Bridlington. It was a relatively large village of fifty-five households in 1506.⁸⁶ The medieval church of St Martin stood *c.* 50 metres west of the twelfth-century manor house, itself on the northern periphery of the settlement.

Peripheral manor houses were also found on sites *not* adjacent to churches. 14 per cent of the cases in the sample may be classified as Type 2 sites, where the manor house and church were both peripheral to the settlement, though rather than being adjacent as at Type 1 sites, they were remote. Depending on the size and form of the settlement, the manor house and church might stand between 600 and 850 metres apart, and were located at opposite extremes of either long, linear settlements or large, agglomerated villages. The Type 2 site at Nunburnholme is shown in Figure 4.5. Nunburnholme, in the west-central Wolds, was a medium sized village, with around thirty houses in the mid-sixteenth century. The manor house and parish church stood at opposite ends of the long, linear settlement. The church of St James, which contains Norman fabric, occupied the most westerly toft in the village, and a manorial survey of 1563 reveals the manor house to have stood some 750 metres north-east of the church, next to the village green and the site of the dissolved nunnery.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Cal Inq PM Henry VII 3, 66.

⁸⁷ Transcribed in Morris, 1907, 234-242.

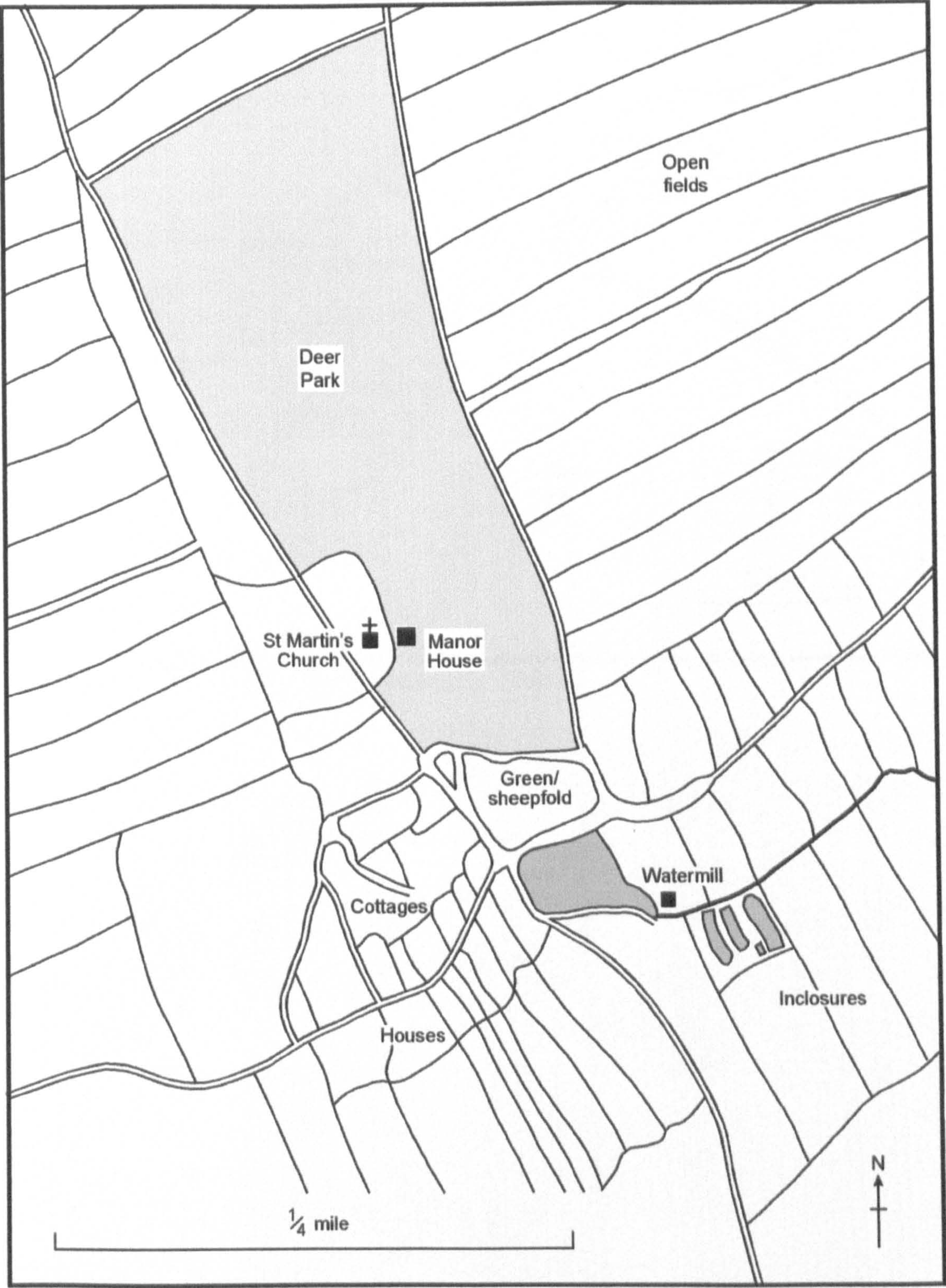


Figure 4.4 Type 1 site: Burton Agnes in the later medieval period.

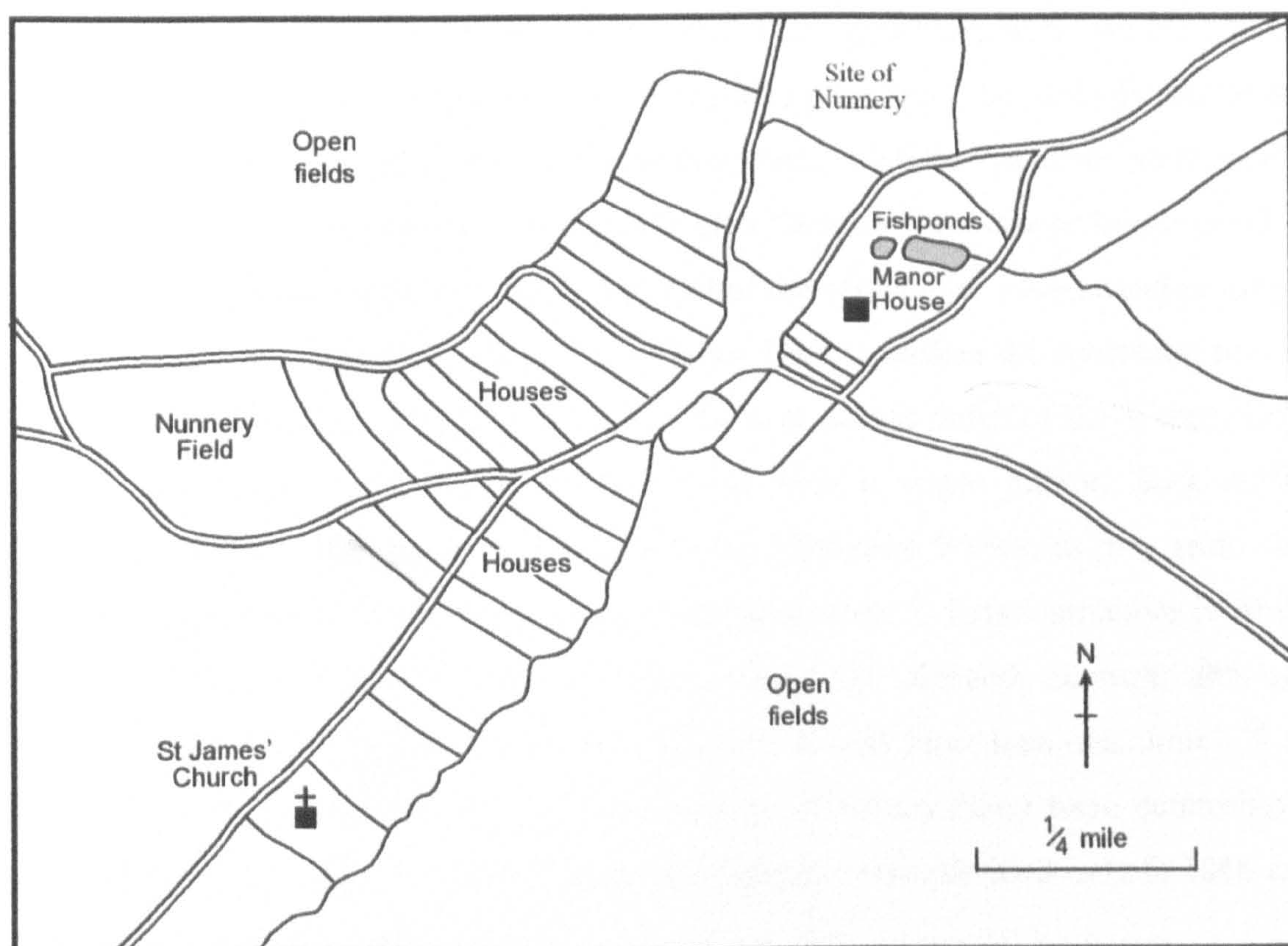


Figure 4.5 Type 2 site: Nunburnholme, *c.* 1563.

As at Nunburnholme, manor houses at Carnaby, Etton and Hunmanby were all found adjacent to settlements to which the church was also peripheral, but not adjacent to the manorial complex. At least two, and possibly three, of these parishes were multi-manorial. At Etton, Hunmanby and possibly also Carnaby, one manor house stood in close proximity to the parish church at one end of the settlement, whilst another manor house stood at the opposite end of the village. These parishes all contained two or more manors in the medieval period, as was the case across much of the Wolds. Only a small number of parishes were coterminous with a single manor. Such multi-manorial parishes were relatively common in the Yorkshire Wolds, as they were also the norm over much of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire.⁸⁸ Estate structure in much of the Wolds was highly fragmented from at least the eleventh century, although unlike in East Anglia there were no examples of vills with more than one church.⁸⁹ As Roffe notes, few of the manors in the vicinity of Wharram Percy were coterminous with vills at Domesday, but rather “most settlements... were divided in both 1066 and 1086 among a number of tenants”.⁹⁰

In a few places like South Cave a single Domesday estate was divided up in the twelfth century. Here the manor known as West Hall and a number of smaller estates later belonging to religious houses were separated from the main manor in c. 1170-84. The manor house known as East Hall was associated with the remainder of the Domesday manor and stood next to the church from at least the sixteenth century. The location of the West Hall manor house is not known before the early eighteenth century and it is therefore excluded from the analysis above, although it probably stood at the western end of the village by the time it was referred to as West Hall in 1637.⁹¹ In multi-manorial parishes like South Cave, the coupling of the church with one of the manors may suggest something about the relative ages of the two manors. This need not imply that the church was founded by the pre- or post-Conquest lord of the Domesday manor. It does suggest that the lords of early estates might locate their manor houses close to churches thereby occupying these sites and forcing lords who held estates that were later carved out of Domesday manors to find new sites elsewhere in villages, sometimes at their periphery. Yet if the house later known as

⁸⁸ Morris, 1989, 230.

⁸⁹ Warner, 1986.

⁹⁰ Roffe, 2000, 3.

⁹¹ VCH ER IV, 44; HUL, DDBA/4/31.

West Hall was remote from the church in the medieval period, this did not stop the lord from patronising the church: Alexander de Cave founded a chantry in the church in the early fourteenth century, and one of his descendents left 10 marks to cover the new tower with lead in 1426.⁹²

At Type 3 sites, the manor house was remote from both church and settlement. 18 per cent of the Wolds settlements included in the sample can be categorised as Type 3 sites. The church was typically integrated within the settlement, and the manor house stood between 500 and 1500 metres from the church and village. In all but one case, the manor house was sited within a deer park. Figure 4.6 shows the Type 3 site at Bishop Burton. Bishop Burton is located three miles west of Beverley in the southern Wolds. Like Burton Agnes, it was a relatively large village with around fifty houses and cottages in the mid-sixteenth century.⁹³ Here the medieval church stood within the village, just south of the green, while the manor house stood some 700 metres north-west of the church and settlement, isolated within the deer park.

There were no instances in the study area where both the medieval manor house and church stood within a deer park, hence remote from the settlement. Such isolated manor-church groupings are a common landscape feature in other parts of the country, for example in Essex, Suffolk and Cleveland.⁹⁴ Isolated manor-church groupings, like that at Sledmere, are a result of post-medieval rather than medieval settlement shift or depopulation. Such groupings have therefore been excluded from the analysis undertaken in this thesis.

Yet if isolated churches were largely unknown in the medieval and early modern Wolds, manor houses were not uncommonly found outside villages, as for example at Bishop Burton, Leconfield and Hunmanby. Alongside the small number of park lodges, isolated farmsteads and monastic granges mentioned above, isolated manor houses were one of the few landscape elements to produce a more dispersed pattern of settlement in a landscape otherwise characterised by nucleated villages and hamlets.

⁹² Cal Pat 1307-13, 289; NCW I, 34-5.

⁹³ TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/7158; HUL, DDGE/3/23; VCH ER IV, 7.

⁹⁴ Rodwell and Rodwell, 1977, 94-125; Dymond, 1968, 29; Daniels, 1996, 109.

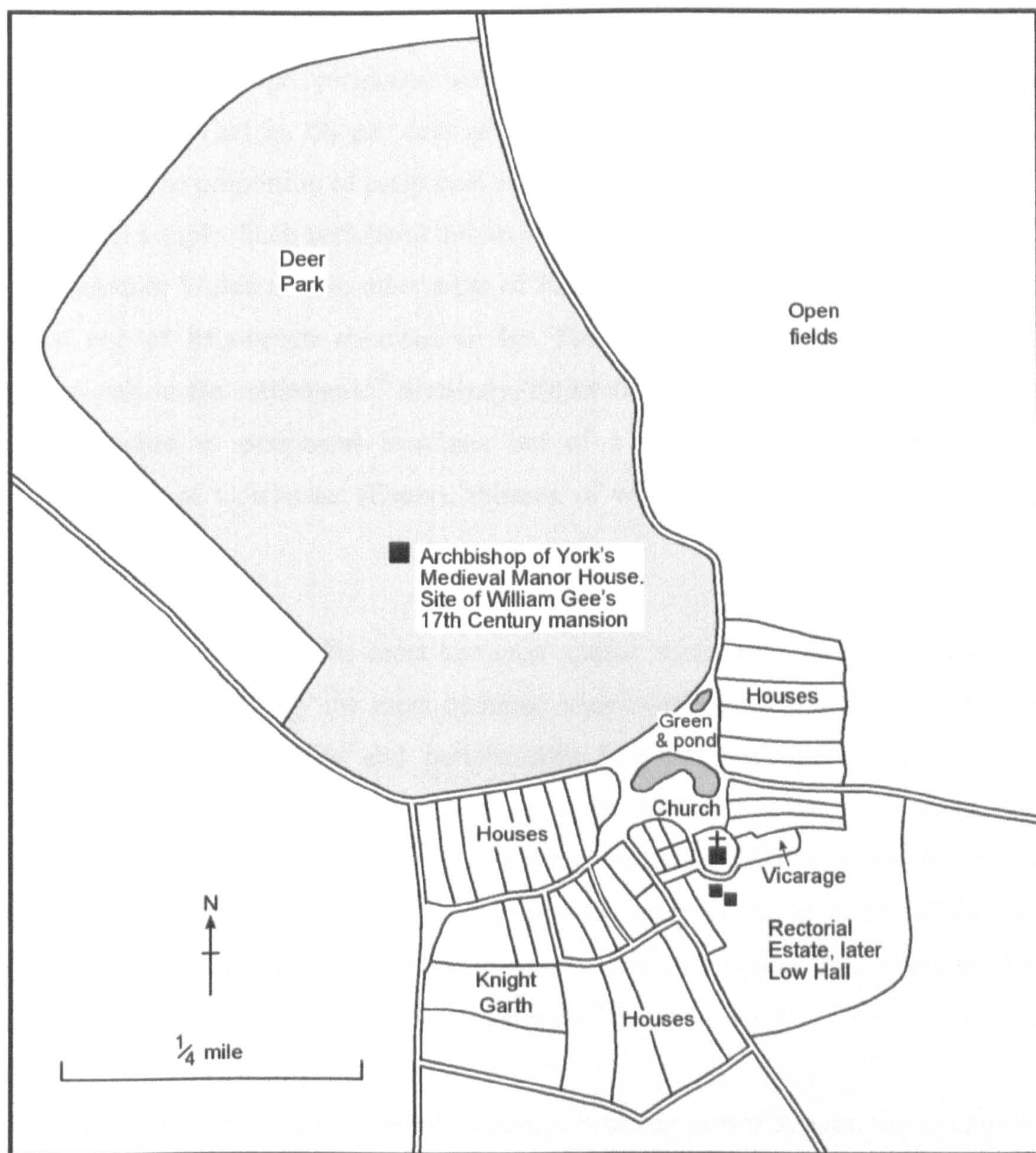


Figure 4.6 Type 3 site: Bishop Burton in the later medieval period.

However, while both isolated and integrated manor houses were a significant presence in the Wolds landscape, peripheral sites were by far the most common location for manor houses. That is, 68 per cent of manor houses stood on the periphery of a settlement. The proportion of peripheral churches was also high, accounting for 65 per cent of the sample. Such peripheral manor houses and churches were more common in the Yorkshire Wolds than in other parts of England. For example, Daniels found that seven out of fifty-seven churches in his Tees Valley study area were adjacent (peripheral) to the settlement.⁹⁵ Similarly, Rodwell and Rodwell record only twenty-nine churches in peripheral locations out of a total of 204 settlements in the archdeaconry of Colchester (Essex), thirteen of which were grouped with a manor house.⁹⁶

Not only was proximity the most common spatial relationship between manor and church, and peripherality the most common manor-settlement and church-settlement relationship, but proximity and peripherality frequently occurred together in the Wolds. So that in fourteen out of twenty-eight cases (50 per cent), manor and church stood together at the periphery of a settlement. Comparison with other studies suggests that such peripheral manor-church groupings are more common in the Wolds than elsewhere in the country. For example, Daniels cites only two examples in Cleveland accounting for a mere 3.5 per cent of his sample.⁹⁷

Having mapped the geographical relationships between manor houses, parish churches and settlements, three common morphological patterns found in the Yorkshire Wolds can be identified. These are classified as Type 1, 2 and 3 sites. These three morphological patterns account for 89 per cent of the cases in the sample. The remaining three cases each demonstrate an alternative way of organising manor, church and settlement. Both the manor house and the church at North Newbald were integrated within the settlement, while at Wharram Percy the church stood on the southern periphery of the settlement, the South Manor was integrated within the western row of tofts and the North Manor lay on the northern periphery of the village. These cases are all discussed in greater detail below.

⁹⁵ Daniels, 1996, 107.

⁹⁶ Rodwell and Rodwell, 1977, 94-125.

⁹⁷ Daniels, 1996, 104-5.

The remainder of this chapter considers how the morphological patterns described above can be best explained. In particular, the chapter explores some of the ways that the geographical relationships between manors, churches and settlements might have been conceived, understood and given meaning, especially in the later medieval and early modern period. It also examines how the geographical relationships between buildings might be caught up in the practices by which social meaning and political power were constituted. The chapter pays detailed attention to ideas of proximity and peripherality, the two most common spatial relationships uncovered within the Wolds sample.

4.3 Proximity

4.3.1 Anglo-Saxon and Norman Precedents

Commentators have typically interpreted the close spatial proximity of manors and churches as a result of planning, in particular as signalling that such churches were founded in the pre- or immediately post-Conquest period as private chapels for the use of the local lord and his family.⁹⁸ Such churches were built on sites “to suit [the lord’s] own convenience”, hence stood adjacent to the manor house of their founder.⁹⁹ The so-called ‘promotion law’ written by Archbishop Wulstan of York (1002-23) recognised church ownership as one of the key criteria making a man worthy of being called a thegn.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the only surviving visual representation of a pre-Conquest manor, that of Bosham manor on the Bayeux Tapestry, depicts the church adjacent to the hall.¹⁰¹

Norman castles, like Anglo-Saxon *burhs*, were commonly sited close to churches.¹⁰² Of the Yorkshire castles listed by Speight, 74 per cent stood within a quarter of a mile (c. 400 metres) of the parish church.¹⁰³ Of these, Speight defined 35 per cent as adjacent to the church, and identified a further 15 per cent where the church lay within

⁹⁸ Dymond, 1968, 29; Blair, 1988, 8; Morris, 1989, 249-250.

⁹⁹ Morris, 1989, 250.

¹⁰⁰ Morris, 1989, 253; Williams, 2003, 27.

¹⁰¹ Williams, 2003, 27, 33.

¹⁰² Morris, 1989, 261; Pounds, 1991, 12; Speight, 1993, 158-168; Creighton, 2005, 111.

¹⁰³ Speight, 1993, 275-8.

or adjacent to the castle bailey or was located within a larger pre-Norman structure in which the castle was also sited. Geographical relationships between castles and settlements vary regionally as a result of different manorial and social structures. In south-east Lincolnshire “castles clearly follow an extant settlement pattern and economy where church, settlement and manor were not necessarily conjoined”, whereas in nearby Kesteven castle sites were more fully integrated into village plans. Creighton has suggested that while “[t]he full range of relationships, both chronological and morphological, between castle and settlement is clearly complex... in many cases castles and churches form a magnate core within a settlement”.¹⁰⁴

Speight asserts that most castles post-date the adjacent churches; that is, the castles were founded next to the churches, rather than vice versa.¹⁰⁵ Morris suggests that the origins of such castle-church complexes often pre-date the Norman Conquest, and in some cases Norman lords certainly fortified the residences of their Anglo-Saxon forerunners.¹⁰⁶ For example, late Anglo-Saxon halls lie beneath the Norman mottes or ringworks at Sulgrave (Northamptonshire), Goltho (Lincolnshire) and Trowbridge (Wiltshire), as well as the eleventh-century manorial site at Raunds (Northamptonshire).¹⁰⁷ Morris further underlines the depth of history at some sites, suggesting that in some places existing mounds, including barrows, were developed into mottes.¹⁰⁸ This layering of the landscape is complex and the chronology difficult to unpick, especially where excavation has yet to be undertaken.

In other places, castles were apparently built without reference to Anglo-Saxon residences and may represent an unprecedented intrusion into the landscape. Yet their builders still chose sites next to churches. Speight has argued that “when the Normans entered an area, the quickest means to establish control was to throw up a castle close to a Saxon church... and by doing so take over the hub of the local community”. By siting castles next to pre-existing churches, Norman lords harnessed the power of the church, and thereby promoted the ‘Normanisation’ of the landscape.¹⁰⁹ In such cases, the Norman builders of castles may have deliberately made reference to older forms of

¹⁰⁴ Creighton, 1999, 30 and 32.

¹⁰⁵ Speight, 1993, 158, 161.

¹⁰⁶ Morris, 1989, 258.

¹⁰⁷ Davison, 1977; Morris, 1989, 268, 270; Creighton, 2005, 117.

¹⁰⁸ Morris, 1989, 258.

¹⁰⁹ Speight, 1993, 158 and 161.

landscape organisation, particularly to the close spatial proximity of churches and pre-Conquest centres of seigniorial power. Thus even where castles do not directly overlie Anglo-Saxon *burhs*, the Norman builders of castles may have modelled their complexes on Anglo-Saxon precedents.

Much the same may be said of non-fortified manorial residences, whose owners might draw on both the Anglo-Saxon *burh* and Norman castle-church complexes as models. We see this at Weaverthorpe in the northern Wolds (Figure 4.7). St Andrew's church was probably a patronal foundation of the early twelfth century. A sundial over the south door records that Herbert of Winchester built the church of St Andrew, thereby giving a date of c. 1108-1114 for its construction.¹¹⁰ The church stood directly west of the twelfth-century manor house, straddling the bank of the manorial enclosure. The church and hall were on a near-axial alignment, a relationship also noted at several Anglo-Saxon sites including Sulgrave (Northamptonshire) where the early eleventh-century hall was aligned on the same axis as the church's west door.¹¹¹ The church at Weaverthorpe might be interpreted as a gate-block or strong-point within the defensive earthwork, similar to the church towers within *burh* walls and hedges discussed by Williams.¹¹² Churches in analogous positions have been identified in both pre-Conquest and Norman contexts at Repton (Derbyshire), Thetford (Norfolk) and Castle Camps (Cambridgeshire).¹¹³

Yet if the complex at Weaverthorpe represented a planned imposition in the landscape similar to those found elsewhere in the Anglo-Saxon period, it almost certainly post-dated the Norman Conquest. Excavation revealed no evidence for occupation during the Saxon period, and the silting of the ditch below the Staxton Ware horizon may indicate a period of abandonment before the construction of the church in the early twelfth century.¹¹⁴ As such, the manorial complex and patronal church at Weaverthorpe appear to be modelled on pre-Conquest modes of landscape organisation, though the enclosure itself was not preceded by an Anglo-Saxon thegnly residence.

¹¹⁰ Brewster, 1972, 126.

¹¹¹ Davison, 1977, 113.

¹¹² Williams, 2003, 34.

¹¹³ Morris, 1989, 261.

¹¹⁴ Brewster, 1972, 119.

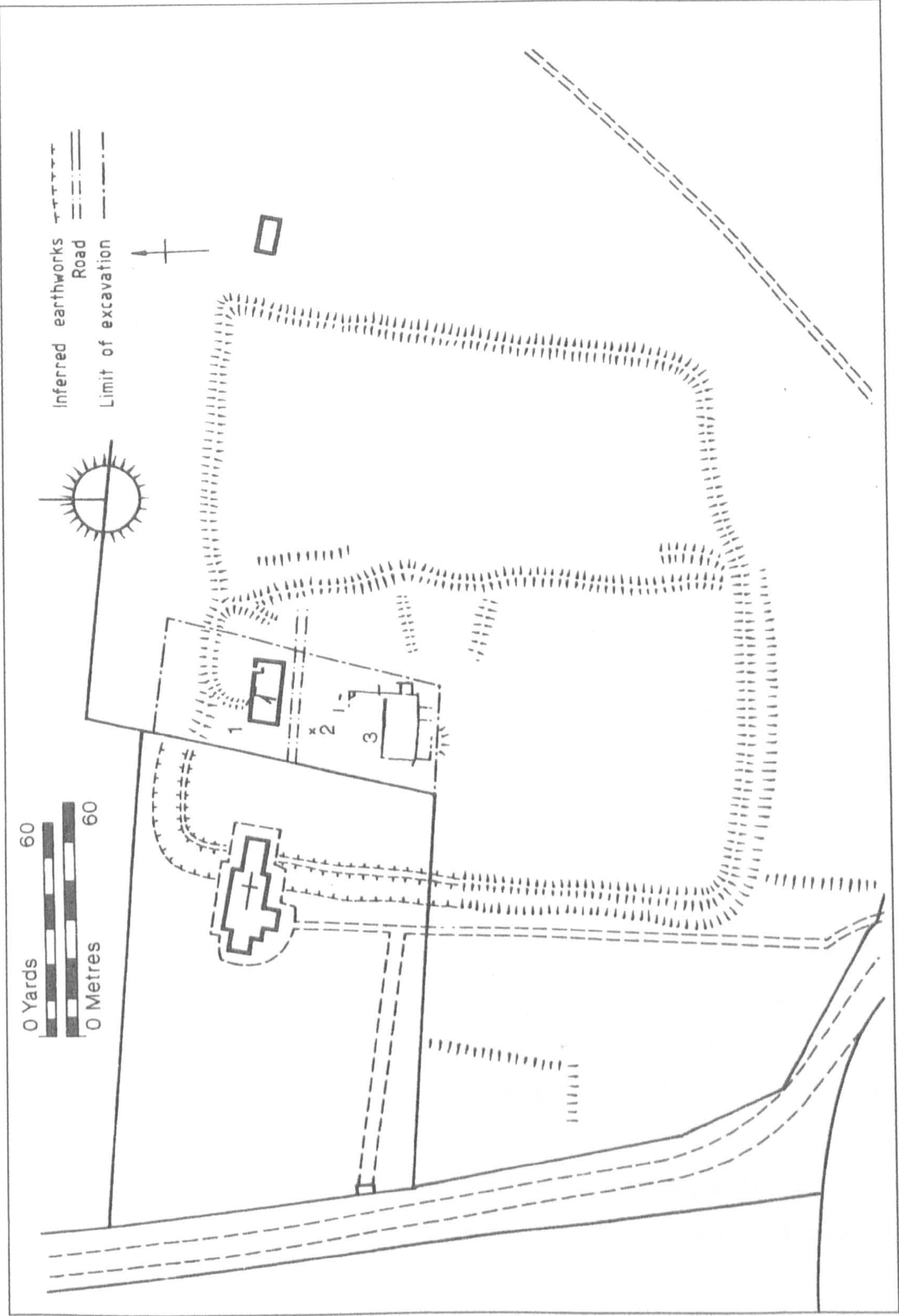


Figure 4.7 Plan of the earthworks and church at Weaverthorpe (reproduced from Morris, 1989, 269).

4.3.2 Non-adjacent Churches and Manor Houses: the case of Wharram Percy

However, not all churches known to be of Pre-Conquest date were sited adjacent to Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian thegnly residences. Excavations undertaken at Wharram Percy since 1952 have provided some of the clearest evidence from anywhere in England for the relationship between a pre-conquest church and seigniorial residence. St Martin's church at Wharram Percy was almost certainly founded by the local lord in the tenth century, yet it lies *c.* 175 metres south-east of the so-called South Manor house (Figure 4.8).

Excavation at the South Manor site has revealed a first-floor camera block made of finely dressed stone, over an undercroft excavated from the bedrock. Architectural and pottery evidence both suggest a date for its construction in the last quarter of the twelfth century.¹¹⁵ Excavation has also revealed good evidence for occupation of the South Manor site in the Anglo-Scandinavian period, as well as more limited evidence for Anglo-Saxon occupation. A timber hall and smithy of Middle Saxon date, as well as seventh and eighth-century pottery, two sword pommels and a hilt guard of the seventh or eighth century, were uncovered. The finds and the timber hall are particularly indicative of a high status Middle Saxon site. Further finds, including a belt slide and strap end, suggest that the South Manor area continued to be a high status site in the Anglo-Scandinavian period.¹¹⁶ The belt slide, decorated in the Borre interlace style, is rare in a British context, and may even indicate "the presence of a Viking man at Wharram Percy".¹¹⁷

The finds imply continuity of occupation at the South Manor site throughout the mid-Saxon, Anglo-Scandinavian and post-Conquest periods. As Richards has argued,

"[o]f all the Middle Saxon sites [at Wharram Percy] it is the only one which was still occupied in the post-Conquest period, and furthermore, as the site of one of the two manor houses, it clearly had a special status in the later 11th and 12th centuries. If continuity of occupation can be demonstrated then the South Manor provides valuable evidence for pre-Conquest manorial origins

¹¹⁵ Stamper, 2000, 202.

¹¹⁶ Richards, 1997, 238-40.

¹¹⁷ Goodall and Paterson, 2000, 128.

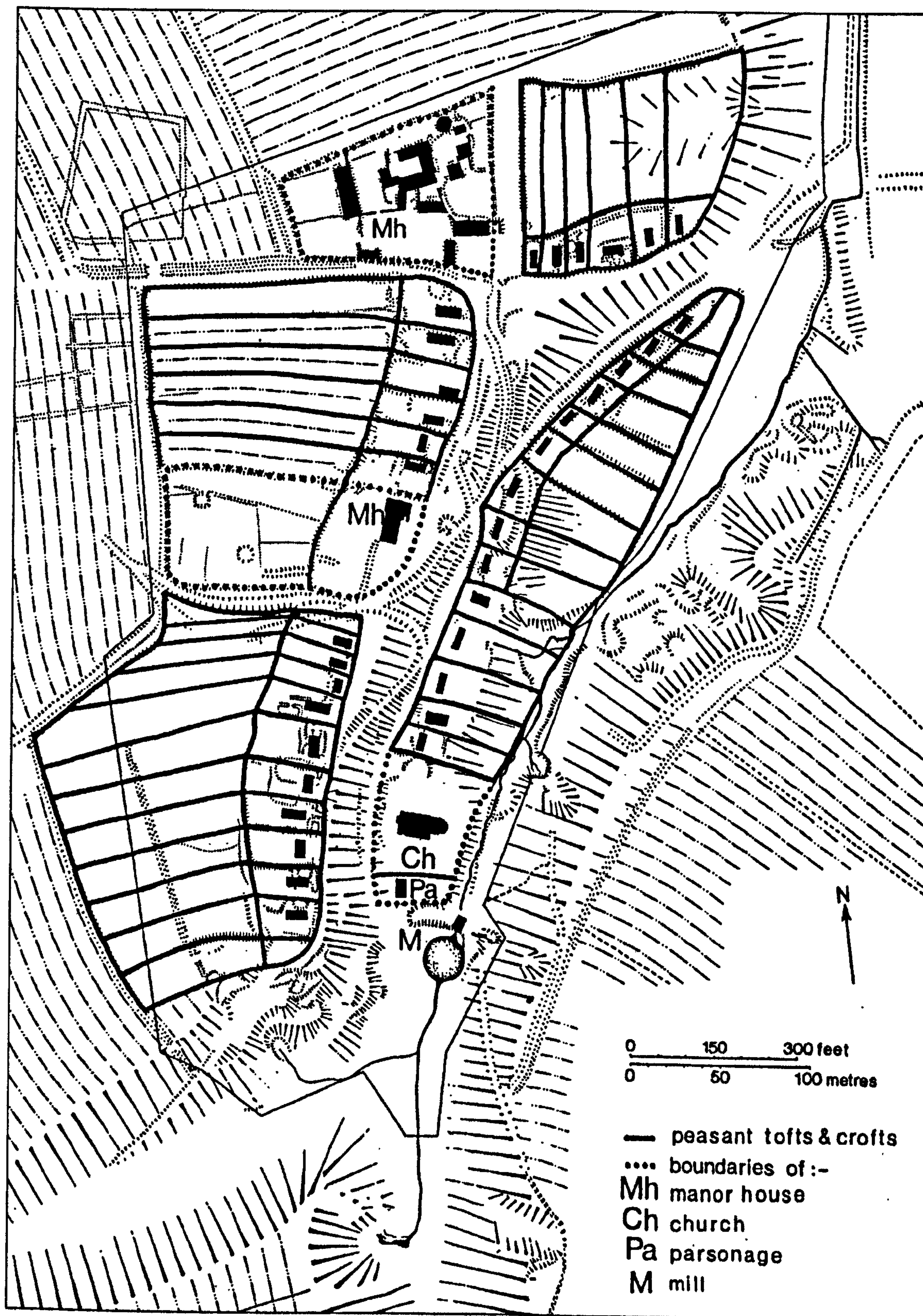


Figure 4.8 Wharram Percy: suggested plan of the medieval village as it was first laid out (reproduced from Beresford and Hurst, 1990, 49).

comparable, for example, to that recovered from Raunds (Northamptonshire), or Goltho (Lincolnshire)".¹¹⁸

A small timber church was constructed in the tenth century on the site of the later church.¹¹⁹ The most likely founder was the lord who resided in the South Manor complex, possibly the man who owned the Anglo-Scandinavian belt slide and one of the three individuals buried within the church whose graves were marked by Anglo-Scandinavian style head and foot-stones. Recent radio-carbon dates suggest that these three individuals were buried in the ninth or tenth centuries. The fact that the church was initially reserved for burials of the Percy lords of the manor, and only later for parishioners, provides further evidence that the church was a private manorial foundation.¹²⁰

Despite a lack of documentary evidence, Richards suggests that the discovery of two eighth or ninth-century Anglo-Saxon cross fragments supports the idea that there may have been an early monastic community at Wharram. Although it is debatable whether all Anglo-Saxon sculpture comes from monastic contexts, finds including Tating-type ware, sceattas and non-ferrous metalworking are indicative of an ecclesiastical presence. Richards implies that Wharram Percy may have been the site of a 'pseudo-monastery' of the type which Bede criticised in his letter of AD734 to Archbishop Egbert of York. Such foundations were increasingly common in the early eighth century, and were apparently regarded as inheritable property like a secular estate.¹²¹ Richards suggests that the early minster church or monastery may have been abandoned as a consequence of the Viking disruption and the tenth-century timber church constructed on a new site, probably by the Anglo-Scandinavian lord of Wharram.¹²² An inscription on a sundial at Kirkdale (North Yorkshire) provides evidence for the re-founding of other redundant churches, in this case in 1055-65. Graves on a different alignment to the present church at Kirkdale were excavated in the churchyard and in an adjacent field, where they were sealed by plough soil

¹¹⁸ Richards, 1997, 238.

¹¹⁹ Bell *et al.*, 1987, 52.

¹²⁰ Richards, 1997, 240.

¹²¹ Richards, 1992, 93-4.

¹²² Richards, 2000b, 139.

containing eleventh and twelfth-century pottery, suggesting “a major reorganisation of the site and contraction of the churchyard, possibly associated with the eleventh-century takeover and rebuilding”.¹²³ Though it significantly postdates the evidence from Wharram, Kirkdale may offer a model for interpreting the origins and development of St Martin’s church at Wharram.

Wharram Percy is the only site in the study area where a church founded by a manorial lord in the pre-Conquest period can be sited in relation to a contemporary manor house, and importantly, the two buildings are *not* directly adjacent. Furthermore, the main manorial bank of the South Manor is thought to have been first constructed in earth or turf in the Anglo-Scandinavian period. The regular two-row village of thirty tofts may also have been laid out in this period, possibly as part of the broad reorganisation of Northumbrian territory which occurred in the tenth century.¹²⁴ Moreover, while Middle Saxon pottery is found distributed throughout the area indicating scattered settlement, later Saxon pottery is found only at the nucleated village site.¹²⁵ This provides further evidence to support a tenth-century date for the nucleation and reorganisation of settlement at Wharram. All this suggests that the early Anglo-Scandinavian lords of the manor, who occupied the South Manor area, also delineated the manorial enclosure, reorganised the village and founded the church. In other words, the church was established on a site c. 175 metres south-east of the seigniorial residence as part of wider reorganisation of settlement and territory at Wharram. That the church and seigniorial residence did not occupy adjoining sites was apparently an acceptable feature of the planned village’s layout at Wharram.

4.3.3 Alternative Models for Church Location

That churches like St Martin’s at Wharram Percy are not sited directly adjacent to an Anglo-Scandinavian or later medieval hall is less surprising if one recognises that there were alternative models of church foundation, each of which had implications for the location of churches relative to manors, settlements and other landscape

¹²³ Richards, 2000b, 139-40. The inscription translates as: “Orm, son of Gamal, acquired the church of St Gregory when it was tumbled and ruined, and had it rebuilt in the honour of Christ and St Gregory, in the days of Edward the King and Tosti the Earl”.

¹²⁴ Hurst, 1984, 86; Richards, 1997, 239-40.

¹²⁵ Richards, 1997, 240.

features. Recent research demonstrates that many churches were sited with reference to topographical and settlement features other than seigniorial residences. Stocker and Everson's study of over fifty churches with Romanesque towers in Lincolnshire identifies three categories of site. Whilst many churches were sited with reference to manorial centres or topographical features such as springs and hills, Stocker and Everson found that an unexpectedly large proportion of the Lincolnshire churches were sited on greens or other public spaces.¹²⁶ Each of the three types of site is discussed below.

In 27 per cent of the Lincolnshire sample, the church's location was apparently related not to features of the late Anglo-Saxon settlement, but was rather "governed by a direct relationship with a pre-existing, usually natural, feature", often a spring or prominent knoll.¹²⁷ Some Lincolnshire churches, such as those at Harpswell and Thoresway, may be early foundations associated with attempts to 'Christianise' or 'convert' a site of Pagan significance. Alternatively, churches associated with wells and springs may not be early foundations, but rather "unexceptional parish churches of the tenth or early eleventh centuries, which have been conveniently located next to springs in order to facilitate their baptismal function". If not particularly early, these churches may still have been of relatively high status, given evidence from south-western England which suggests that baptism was primarily taking place in churches of some importance.¹²⁸

There are parallels within the Wolds sample for all the types of sites identified by Stocker and Everson. A number of churches in the Wolds seem to have been sited with reference to the earlier use of sites for religious purposes, and such sites are typically characterised by their proximity to features such as hills, streams, pools or route ways. Several churches are apparently sited in relation to Bronze and Iron Age sites. For example, All Saints at Rudston stands on a hill that dominates both the village and surrounding landscape. Next to the church is the largest standing stone in Britain: an 8-metre late Neolithic or Bronze Age monolith (see Figure 4.9). It no doubt indicates

¹²⁶ Stocker and Everson, *forthcoming*, 98.

¹²⁷ Everson and Stocker, 2004, 5; Stocker and Everson, *forthcoming*, 98.

¹²⁸ Rattue, 1995, 56-8.



Figure 4.10 All Saints, Rudston and the 8-metre monolith.



Figure 4.9 Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age features at Rudston.

that Rudston Hill had been an important religious site for millennia before the construction of the church. Morris suggests that churches on hill-tops are located there partially as a consequence of the prominence and importance of hills as sites for religious experiences and practices in early Christian tradition.¹²⁹ Yet churches like All Saints, Rudston may also have been built on hilltops because such sites had been important within an earlier, pagan landscape which the Christian authorities sought to infiltrate, control and 'Christianise'.

The monolith at Rudston Hill, and therefore also the medieval church, represents an important node within a complex multi-period, ritual landscape. Rudston parish contains a number of Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age features including henges, cursus monuments, long barrows and square barrows, as well as a dense network of linear track ways and enclosures (see Figure 4.10).¹³⁰ Although it is questionable how long the cursuses, which are now only visible in aerial photographs, existed as earthworks, the builders of the church would undeniably have been aware of the monolith, if not of the wider Neolithic and Bronze Age ritual landscape.¹³¹ The church can therefore be read as a deliberate imposition into an explicitly pagan landscape, at a site that was symbolically central within both the prehistoric ritual complex and the Saxon administrative system of hundreds.

Much the same can be said of Goodmanham. Local tradition records that in AD627 a pagan temple on the site was destroyed by King Edwin of Northumbria and his high priest Coifi after Edwin converted to Christianity. The events of the story are also recited in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, composed a century later in AD731, where he writes that:

"greatly rejoicing in the knowledge of the worship of the true God, [Coifi] ordered his companions to destroy and set fire to the shrine and all the enclosures. The place where the idols once stood is still shown, not far from York, to the east, over the River Derwent. Today it is called Godmunddingaham".¹³²

¹²⁹ Morris, 1989, 111.

¹³⁰ Harding, 2003, 40; Van de Noort, 1996, 20; Stead, 1991, 6-9, 16-7.

¹³¹ Stoertz, 1997, 27.

¹³² HE ii 13; cited in Morris, 1989, 58.

Though the detail of the story may be fiction, it does record a belief current in the eighth century and later that the site of the church was determined by its construction as a replacement for the pagan temple. The hill top location of the church may be significant. The church stands in the centre of the village on a prominent knoll, which may have been enlarged by the addition of soil from the valley bottom.

Other Wolds churches stand on prominent hills which dominate the surrounding landscape. Rudston is a particularly striking example, but the churches at North Dalton and Middleton-on-the-Wolds also stand on elevated knolls rising out of the modern-day settlements. North Dalton may also have been an important Bronze Age or Iron Age site. Aerial photographs show that a number of prehistoric track ways converge on the village and its church.¹³³ At Fimber, the medieval chapel was inserted into a ritual landscape of Bronze Age date. St Mary's church stands atop a Bronze Age barrow, and though the present church was built for Sir Tatton Sykes of Sledmere in 1871, the Victorian building replaced a medieval chapel which had stood on the site.¹³⁴

There is no standing buildings evidence for the pre-Conquest buildings at any of these sites and archaeological investigations have never been undertaken. However, there is some evidence that there may have been pre-eleventh century churches at these sites. There are substantial standing remains for the Norman churches at Rudston, Goodmanham and North Dalton (see Figures 4.9, 4.11 and 4.12) and both Middleton-on-the-Wolds and North Dalton were recorded in the Domesday Book.¹³⁵ The churches at Rudston and Goodmanham do not appear in Domesday but both are dedicated to All Saints, as are five of the suspected Saxon churches in the Wolds and three of the churches for which Domesday is the earliest evidence, including North Dalton.

Yet in none of these settlements are the churches obviously grouped with a manor house. Rather at Rudston and Goodmanham, the churches stand alone in the centre of the village, their graveyards encircled by roads, while at North Dalton and Middleton-

¹³³ Stoertz, 1997, Map 3.

¹³⁴ Allison, 1976, 59; Pevsner, 1972, 229.

¹³⁵ Domesday Book, 800, 819; see Appendix 7.



Figure 4.11 Norman masonry and doorway of three orders at North Dalton.



Figure 4.12 The Norman chancel arch at Goodmanham.

on-the-Wolds, the churches are set back and above areas which may once have been village greens or other open spaces at which the various roads leading into the settlements converged. This said, one might expect churches on hills or near springs to be less closely associated with manor houses, because they had been founded in the attempt to Christianise a pagan site, rather than as a private chapel for the lord of the manor. Evidence from the Yorkshire Wolds is as yet inconclusive, but further research may support Stocker and Everson's distinction between churches sited with reference to manor houses and those sited with reference to topographical features.

In their study of Lincolnshire churches, Everson and Stocker also found that a large proportion (31 per cent) of the churches within the sample were sited on greens and other public spaces.¹³⁶ Many of these settlements consisted of rows fronting on to broad greens, which were often funnel-shaped and probably opened onto large areas of open grazing beyond the village.¹³⁷ Such churches were consistently found in settlements in which the largest holding recorded in the Domesday Book was sokeland, and Stocker and Everson refer to them as 'soke churches'. Whilst "[t]he meaning of this new model of church location may still be open to debate", in their most recent paper they suggest that:

"the public siting of the church surely signals a 'communal' rather than a narrowly or introspectively 'lordly' initiative, and argues for foundation with and for and, to that extent, by the community – as you might expect of a lord demonstrating his right to sokeland – without needing to consider it as a sign of putative 'freemen church-builders' as has been proposed for some East Anglian churches".¹³⁸

They also suggest that the Romanesque towers found attached to these 'soke churches' may indicate a concern amongst the sokemen for a particular form of devotion and burial, which in turn implies "a level of interest in and understanding of theology of an up-to-date, and Norman, type, at least the equivalent of neighbouring mesne lords".¹³⁹

Stocker and Everson argue that the church at Waithe (Lincolnshire) was founded on an open space within an existing settlement. No manor was recorded in the Domesday

¹³⁶ Everson and Stocker, 2004, 5.

¹³⁷ Stocker and Everson, *forthcoming*, 103.

¹³⁸ Everson and Stocker, 2004, 5; Stocker and Everson, *forthcoming*, 105.

¹³⁹ Everson and Stocker, 2004, 5.

Book, but rather all of the inhabitants of the vill were sokemen. Unlike the vast majority of the Lincolnshire churches in the sample, the church at Waithe was later associated with an estate which had not been the largest holding in the vill in 1086. However, rather than interpret the church as a foundation by the sokemen on the public, open space of the green, Stocker and Everson argue that the church was founded with and for the community by a local, but non-resident, lord who was thereby “asserting or demonstrating his soke rights” and shortly thereafter, established a resident tenant within the vill. The Romanesque towers, like the churches themselves, were founded either by minor lords, below the class of tenants-in-chief, or in the case of churches on greens, by “cooperative action between the non-resident lord and a predominant population of sokemen”.¹⁴⁰

There are a number of churches sited on or near greens in the Yorkshire Wolds study area. At North Newbald, the church was adjacent to the green at the centre of a large agglomerated settlement. It may have originally been sited on the green itself, for morphological evidence suggests the now fragmented green was once much larger and probably extended westwards to meet the grassy area known as The Mires.¹⁴¹ The green may have been open to the east and of similar form to the funnel-shaped greens noted by Stocker and Everson in Lincolnshire and by Roberts in County Durham.¹⁴²

There may have been a Saxon church on the site of the later church at Newbald. The name *neowe boldan* is first recorded in 972, and seems to have meant ‘the new building’, perhaps referring to a church.¹⁴³ St Peter’s at York and the archbishop were granted land at Newbald in c. 963, and it is possible that a church was established there shortly afterwards. There was certainly a church there by 1086, when a church and priest were recorded in the Domesday Book.¹⁴⁴ The surviving Norman church, illustrated in Figure 4.13 and dated c. 1140 on the basis of the architectural evidence, was presumably built by the canons of York, who had held 28 carucates and 2 bovates at Newbald under the archbishop in 1086.¹⁴⁵ The aisleless church is constructed of

¹⁴⁰ Stocker and Everson, *forthcoming*, 112 and 117.

¹⁴¹ VCH ER IV, 133.

¹⁴² Stocker and Everson, *forthcoming*, 103; Roberts, 1977b.

¹⁴³ PNERY, 226-7.

¹⁴⁴ Domesday Book, 979.

¹⁴⁵ VCH ER IV, 134.

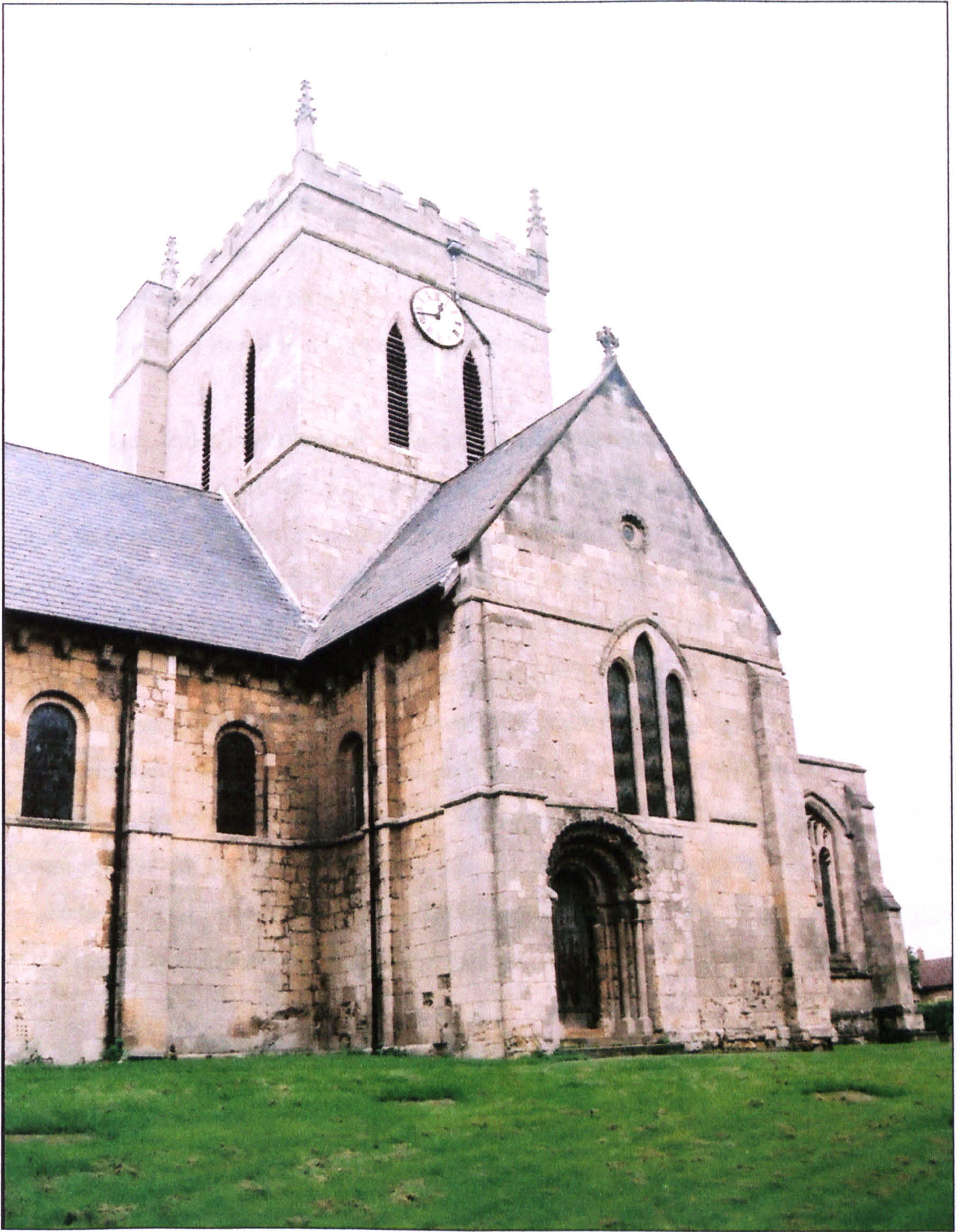


Figure 4.13 The cruciform church of St Nicholas, Newbald.

coursed ashlar, and was cruciform in plan with a central tower and apsidal chapels east of the transepts. This was the only cruciform church in the area, excepting St John's Beverley, and was almost certainly the largest and grandest church in the southern Wolds. This implies that Newbald was an important ecclesiastical centre in the early twelfth century, and perhaps before. The function of the early church is unknown, although it is possible that St Nicholas may have been a Saxon minster. Both the church and the green are close to a spring, which may have been used in connection with the baptismal function of the early church at Newbald.

Documentary and morphological evidence suggests that the church at Etton was sited on or directly north of the large green, a wedge-shaped piece of common grazing which may have extended east of the village as far as the moor in the north-east of the parish. A finger of common land south of the church certainly still extended into the village in the medieval period and the rectory was seemingly built on a plot carved out of the green. At least part of this western extension of the green had been divided into tofts by the early fourteenth century. Two tofts previously held by a family known as *de la Grene* are mentioned in 1337, when they were said to lie south of the churchyard and east of part of the green of Etton.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, the family known as de la Green or Grene appear in undated documents relating to property in Etton for at least two generations before 1337, suggesting that settlement had encroached on to at least part of the green by the late thirteenth century, if not before.¹⁴⁷

Yet there is no evidence that the church was an early foundation or that Etton was an important site in the pre-Conquest period. However, if the church was founded on the green by some kind of communal or cooperative action like that envisaged by Stocker and Everson at Waithe, then there is evidence from Etton for the changing relationship between church and manor in the high and later medieval period.¹⁴⁸ A capital messuage and 4 oxgangs previously belonging to Richard del Grene were mentioned in 1373 and 1389.¹⁴⁹ At least one of the two tofts on the green previously held by the de la Green family had been acquired by the Langdale lord of the manor by 1343, but

¹⁴⁶ *Etton 1170-1482*, 27.

¹⁴⁷ *Etton 1170-1482*, 8 and 11-2.

¹⁴⁸ Stocker and Everson, *forthcoming*, 112.

¹⁴⁹ *Etton 1170-1482*, 36, 38-9.

the capital messuage mentioned in 1373 may have been on the site of the other toft.¹⁵⁰ This implies that the capital messuage lay close to the church in the fourteenth century, but it is also clear that the green south of the church was inclosed and tofts built on it only in the post-Conquest period. Thus the morphological and documentary sources for Etton provide good evidence for a capital messuage sited next to a pre-existing church, probably in the later thirteenth century.

Stocker and Everson's study provide comparative material from Lincolnshire. Whilst 42 per cent of churches in the Lincolnshire sample were sited within manorial complexes, close by their gates or as another component of lordly activity, in at least some cases, churches occupied their site before neighbouring manorial *curia*.¹⁵¹ In other words, manor houses were sited next to existing churches, rather than vice versa. For example, the church at Branston (Lincolnshire) probably originally stood on a green, which was later acquired by a new lord who built his manorial enclosure, as well as a row of tofts and crofts, on the site. Excavation at Whitton (Lincolnshire) has revealed that the later manorial *curia* overlies a graveyard, presumably associated with a church, the characteristics of which have yet to be identified.¹⁵²

Stocker and Everson suggest that over a third of the churches adjacent to *curial* gates "may have been located adjacent to a spring in the first instance, having only later become associated with the manor site" and the remaining eight churches next to manorial *curia* were apparently originally founded on greens or open spaces, which only later became part of manorial complexes. They cite the important example of Barton-on-Humber, where the tenth-century church was founded on a bluff above and west of a spring and, importantly, outside an enclosure to its east. The estate belonged to Peterborough Abbey in the late tenth century, but by 1066 the estate had been divided in two and the church and churchyard incorporated within the earthwork enclosure of the manor held by Ulf Fenisc. They suggest that the incorporation of the church within the manorial earthwork and the addition of the upper bell-chamber both date from the period in which the estate was manorialised.¹⁵³ Importantly, Everson and Stocker suggest that "though founded under one influence, some churches – perhaps

¹⁵⁰ Etton 1170-1482, 30.

¹⁵¹ Stocker and Everson, *forthcoming*, 98.

¹⁵² Stocker and Everson, *forthcoming*, 106.

¹⁵³ Stocker and Everson, *forthcoming*, 106-7.

some types of churches – might develop or be absorbed into another association, thereby affecting the bias of their patronage”.¹⁵⁴

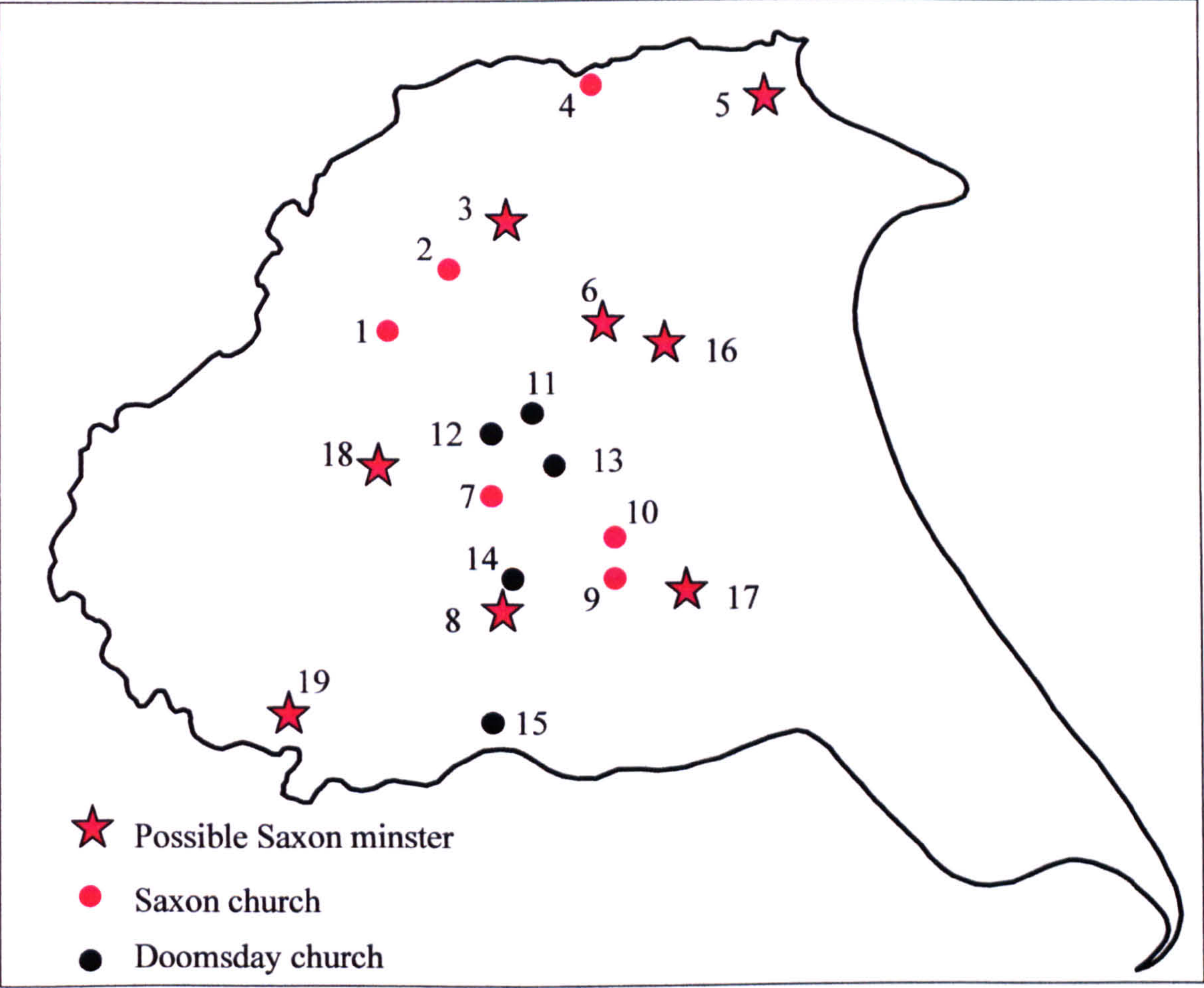
The Domesday entries for the Yorkshire Wolds do imply that individuals owned many of the recorded churches. Not only the king and archbishop of York, but also thegns such as Robert Count of Mortain, Robert de Tosny, Robert Malet, Gilbert Tison and Gilbert de Ghent were all the private owners of churches in the Wolds. Furthermore, these churches had been owned before the Conquest by various Saxon thegns including Morcar, Thorgot, Gamal and Karli, or by Archbishop Ealdraed of York.¹⁵⁵ Although little is known about the circumstances or date at which any of these churches were founded, the existence of privately owned churches broadly accords with the accounts of patronal church foundations in the Saxon period set out by other scholars. Blair argues that the previously stable ‘minster’ system, by which pastoral care had been provided through a system of large, widely-spaced minster churches that housed religious communities and exercised rights over defined territories, began to disintegrate in association with the growth of private manorial chapels from c. 950.¹⁵⁶ Saxon lords could own churches, as Archbishop Wulstan’s ‘promotion law’ makes clear, and these small, local churches proliferated in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. By demanding tithe-payments for a specified area, these private manorial churches established an explicitly territorial framework which eventually evolved into the system of parishes known to have existed in the Middle Ages. Morris’ contribution was to argue that the processes of church foundation in the pre-Conquest period continued to be reflected in the later medieval, and even the modern, landscape: that is, the frequent occurrence of churches and manors in close spatial proximity can be interpreted as a result of foundation of the churches by thegns in the Saxon period.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Everson and Stocker, 2004, 5.

¹⁵⁵ Domesday Book, 788, 797, 800, 819, 830, and 842.

¹⁵⁶ Blair, 1988; 1995.

¹⁵⁷ Morris, 1989, 248-74.



Probable Saxon minsters and churches (with the main types of evidence for their existence)

1. Kirby Underdale (place-name); 2. Wharram Percy (stone sculpture; excavation); 3. Kirby Grindalythe (stone sculpture; place-name; early C12th reference to *monasteria*); 4. Sherburn (stone sculpture); 5. Hunmanby (stone sculpture; later status); 6. Garton on the Wolds (early C12th reference to *monasteria*); 7. Londesborough (stone sculpture); 8. Newbald (place-name).

Possible Saxon churches

9. Bishop Burton (documentary evidence – Bede; dedicated to All Saints); 10. Cherry Burton (documentary evidence – Bede).

Churches recorded in the Domesday Book

11. North Dalton; 12. Warter; 13. Middleton-on-the-Wolds; 14. Sancton; 15. South Cave.

Minsters outside the Wolds

16. Driffield (royal tun 705; C8th or C9th stone cross; C12th charters); 17. Beverley (documentary evidence – Bede; later status; ‘Minster’ name); 18. Pocklington (later status); 19. Howden (later status; ‘Minster’ name).

Figure 4.14 Pre-Conquest and Domesday churches in the Yorkshire Wolds.

The distribution of Saxon churches in the Yorkshire Wolds can be at least partially reconstructed from the distribution of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture combined with archaeological, place names and documentary evidence. Figure 4.14 shows known Saxon churches in and close to the Wolds. There is good evidence for eight Saxon churches in the Wolds, of which four were possibly minster churches.

However, there is seemingly little correlation between the known Anglo-Saxon church sites in the Yorkshire Wolds and the settlements where church and manor are in close proximity (recorded in Table 4.1 above). Many of the churches known to be of pre-Conquest date are in settlements for which the geographical relationship between church and manor is unknown before the modern period. Moreover, even when early evidence proves the existence of some parish churches, there is generally very little evidence to suggest that other churches without Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture or early place-names were necessarily only founded in the later eleventh or twelfth centuries. Rather, as Morris has argued, “the old question of whether or not a given church could have existed before 1100, or ‘might be Saxon’, is hardly now worth the asking”.¹⁵⁸ Given the lack of early medieval references to church foundation, it is generally as difficult to prove that a church was not founded in the pre-Conquest period, as that it was. Moreover, the profusion of standing buildings evidence for churches of eleventh and twelfth-century date is now generally accepted to be a result of widespread *rebuilding* at that time, rather than the construction of churches *de novo*.¹⁵⁹

With the exception of Wharram Percy, little is known about the founders of churches in the Yorkshire Wolds, or about the pre-Conquest period more generally. The evidence from Wharram Percy comes almost exclusively from archaeological sources, rather than the types of documentary or morphological sources on which one must rely in the absence of the kind of detailed, long-term excavation project undertaken at Wharram. This project relies heavily on the post-Conquest documentary record, principally because the near-complete lack of surviving Anglo-Saxon charters means the documentary record for the pre-Conquest period is poor for East Yorkshire compared with other parts of England.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, there is little pre-Conquest stone

¹⁵⁸ Morris, 1988, 191.

¹⁵⁹ Gem, 1988, 23.

¹⁶⁰ Allison, 1976, 60.

sculpture in the East Riding, although some pieces are individually very important.¹⁶¹ As a result, the discussion here draws on a limited number of case-study examples.

The only other evidence for pre-Conquest patronal church foundation in the Wolds comes from more indirect sources. Bede, writing in the eighth century, makes reference to two patronal churches which were reputedly founded in the neighbourhood of Beverley early in the same century. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede recounts the saintly life of St John of Beverley, Bishop of York and afterwards founder of the monastery at Beverley. According to Bede, John consecrated two churches founded by local *comites* or lords, one of which adjoined the lord's house some two miles from Beverley.¹⁶² It was not until 1066, when the monk Folcard wrote a life of St John, that Bishop Burton was explicitly mentioned.¹⁶³ Although considerably later than Bede's account, Folcard's narrative demonstrates that a tradition existed by 1066 which dated the church at Bishop Burton to the early eighth century. Moreover, this tradition was known as far away as Cambridgeshire, where Folcard wrote his history. This is strong evidence to suggest that there was a church at Bishop Burton in c. 1066, if not from the early eighth century onwards, which had probably originally stood adjacent to the hall of its founder.

All Saints' church at Bishop Burton contains material from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and certainly occupied the site south of the village green from that date, if not before. Detailed documentary research undertaken by the author has also established the site of the medieval manor house, which stood on an isolated site north-west of the village (see Figure 4.6 above). Yet the lack of pre-Conquest evidence makes it difficult to connect the eighth-century reference to the known morphology of the village in the high Middle Ages. If the eighth-century church did indeed stand next to a Saxon hall, then what one sees in the case of Bishop Burton is *change* rather than *continuity* of landscape organisation, for by the thirteenth century the archbishop of York's manor house and church stood some 800 metres apart. There is no evidence from Bishop Burton that the hall was sited elsewhere within village before the thirteenth century. Given the slim evidence for the location of the Saxon

¹⁶¹ Lang, 1989, 1.

¹⁶² Blair, 1995, 196.

¹⁶³ Jeffrey, UD, 2-3.

hall, one is forced to conclude that the archbishop's manor house may have been sited from the first at some distance from the church. Whatever the case, at Bishop Burton at least, evidence for the foundation of a patronal church does not accord with evidence for a close spatial relationship between manor and church in the later medieval period.

This leads on to a point of both methodological and empirical importance. Even where there is evidence that churches were founded by thegns in the pre-Conquest period, landscape change may erase the evidence for the close spatial relationship between thegnly residence and church. This in turn questions Morris' assumption that one can read the origins of churches from their later morphological relationships with manor houses and other landscape features.¹⁶⁴ It also supports the argument made above: later medieval lords understood the close spatial relationships between halls, castles or manors and churches as a *model*, so that while the *idea* emerged in Anglo-Saxon England, the proximity of manors and churches at individual sites are not necessarily of pre-Conquest origin.

Local historians have suggested that the second church consecrated by John of Beverley was at Cherry Burton.¹⁶⁵ Although they generally offer no further documentary evidence, the idea is worthy of further consideration. As Blair has highlighted, these two churches are the only persuasive cases of pre-Viking 'manorial' churches in England, and both were, as Bede recounts, sited very close to Beverley.¹⁶⁶ The Old English *burh-tūn* element in the place name may refer to a pre-Conquest thegnly residence at Cherry Burton, making the settlement a likely candidate for the other church. The eighteenth-century manor house at Cherry Burton stood next to the church, and thus seemingly accords well with Morris' notion that churches and houses in close proximity might be interpreted as relicts of pre-Conquest practices. Yet there is little evidence for the site of the church before 1852, and though the VCH argues that the modern church stands on the site of its medieval predecessor, the actual antiquity of that building is unknown.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, given the lack of documentary evidence for the period before the mid sixteenth century, combined with the transitory

¹⁶⁴ Morris, 1989, 248-74.

¹⁶⁵ Jeffrey, UD, 2-3; Macmahon, 1951; Allison, 1976, 58.

¹⁶⁶ Blair, 1995, 196.

¹⁶⁷ VCH ER IV, 18.

existence of manorial buildings that can be demonstrated at other sites like Wharram Percy, it seems unwise to assume that the modern house necessarily stood on the site of the medieval manor, much less a building standing in the early eighth century. Therefore despite the evidence for the foundation of an eighth-century patronal church at Cherry Burton, the almost complete lack of evidence for the buildings' sites before the early modern period makes it difficult to prove site continuity between the eighth century and the mid-sixteenth century.

It is perhaps not surprising that major morphological changes should have occurred at Bishop Burton between the early eighth century and the thirteenth century, given the social, tenorial and administrative changes brought about both by the Viking settlement and the Norman Conquest. Furthermore, the eighth-century hall and adjacent church at Bishop Burton presumably existed in a landscape in which settlement was not yet nucleated. Though the date that settlement became nucleated in England has been fiercely debated, there is good evidence from the Yorkshire Wolds that Middle Saxon settlement was of a dispersed, rather than a nucleated, form and that nucleation occurred at new sites around the time of the Danish settlement of Northumbria.¹⁶⁸ It is also unclear how well these early pre-Viking foundations fit within the 'disintegration' model put forward by proponents of the 'Minster Hypothesis'.¹⁶⁹ It may be because the evidence for church foundation by manorial lords at Bishop Burton and Cherry Burton is so early that it does not relate as directly to the medieval landscape as in later pre-Conquest or post-Conquest cases of patronal church foundations.

4.4 Peripheral Sites

Commentators have offered a number of suggestions to explain peripheral locations, particularly those of churches. These include morphological explanations, such as settlement shift or contraction and the late manorialisation of a region. Beresford suggests that an 'edge' location for a church is typically a consequence of settlement shrinkage.¹⁷⁰ Grant and Bigmore attribute the 'edge' location of many moats in

¹⁶⁸ Richards, 1997, 233.

¹⁶⁹ Cambridge and Rollason, 1995; Blair, 1995; Palliser, 1996.

¹⁷⁰ Beresford, 1973, 578.

Norfolk to the late manorialisation of the region, suggesting that these manors were late creations in the landscape and were therefore located outside already established villages.¹⁷¹ However, given the early date of evidence from the study area, neither theory is really convincing in the Wolds context.

Other commentators have argued that peripheral and isolated sites are particularly characteristic of the later medieval and early modern period. Duby noted that in the thirteenth century, many of the knights of the Mâconnais region of Burgundy removed “their houses from the village centre close to the church where they had been sited since ancient times, to the outskirts near to what remained of the surrounding forest”.¹⁷² Duby suggests that such movements may have been motivated by a desire on the part of the lesser gentry to distinguish themselves from the peasants, at a time when the former’s economic power was increasingly questioned. They achieved this by constructing moats around their new residences and thereby drawing parallels between their manor houses and the great castles of the nobility. Alternatively, reclamation in woodland regions may have focused landowners’ estates on new lands in previously uncultivated territories and the gentry may have chosen to relocate to sites close to the new arable furlongs and demesnes. Le Patourel observed that “[i]t is tempting to see such isolated manor houses as those at Burstwick and Leconfield as representing a parallel movement in this country”.¹⁷³ This remains an unconvincing model for explaining peripherality and landscape change within the Yorkshire Wolds, not least because Duby’s examples come from woodland *pays* very different from the champion landscape of the Wolds.

Commentators such as Williamson and Bellamy have also suggested that houses were increasingly relocated in the later medieval period, first to peripheral locations adjacent to their parks in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and later into isolated parkland settings.¹⁷⁴ Lasdun dates the emergence of houses in parkland settings more precisely, arguing that the trend first appeared in the second half of the fifteenth century and was more fully realised around the middle of the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Grant and Bigmore, 1974, 11.

¹⁷² Duby, 1968, 82.

¹⁷³ Le Patourel, 1973, 11-12.

¹⁷⁴ Williamson and Bellamy, 1987, 62.

¹⁷⁵ Lasdun, 1991, 24.

Both Lasdun and Williamson and Bellamy attribute this movement to an increased desire for privacy, also evident in the withdrawal of the lord from the hall and the increased popularity of private dining rooms and sleeping chambers. Ideas about privacy are discussed further in Chapter V, and it will suffice here to examine the evidence for changes in settlement morphology and landscape organisation.

Several authors have cited the North Manor at Wharram Percy as an example of a manor house which was relocated in the medieval period.¹⁷⁶ Yet the North Manor, originally believed to be a mid thirteenth-century rebuilding of the South Manor on a site outside the village nucleus, may actually have been co-existent with the South Manor from as early as 1086.¹⁷⁷ Two manors were recorded at Domesday and later documentary evidence seems to support the notion that there were two manor houses in the village in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁷⁸ It is unclear from the documentary sources whether the Percy or the Chamberlain family held the North Manor before 1254, but Roffe suggests that the South Manor house may have been built to serve the Percy family's new or much enlarged estate at Wharram, probably acquired between 1166 and 1176-7.¹⁷⁹ The South Manor site was seemingly abandoned soon after 1254, not because the lord wished to relocate his manor to the periphery of the settlement, but because the Chamberlain and Percy estates had been unified and the need for two manor houses diminished.¹⁸⁰

It remains open to debate whether a high-status Anglo-Saxon site underlies the earthworks of the North Manor complex. While excavation has revealed good evidence for high-status occupation of the South Manor site in the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian periods, the pre-Conquest history of the North Manor site has proved more elusive. Excavation suggests that the North Manor may have occupied the site of a Romano-British farm and Anglo-Saxon settlement has been identified within the vicinity of the North Manor.¹⁸¹ Yet Milne remains cautious, noting that the features excavated at Site 45 could represent either a pre-Conquest manorial complex

¹⁷⁶ Roberts, 1977a, 146; Le Patourel, 1973, 11; Allison, 1976, 88.

¹⁷⁷ Beresford and Hurst, 1976, 121, 142; 1990, 47; Rahtz and Watts, 2004, 2.

¹⁷⁸ Roffe, 2000, 2; Beresford, 1979, 17-20.

¹⁷⁹ Roffe, 2000, 3.

¹⁸⁰ Beresford, 1979, 18.

¹⁸¹ Milne, 2004, 23 and 35; Richards, 1992, 93; Milne, 1992, 5.

or peasant houses later overlain by part of the North Manor.¹⁸² However, whatever future excavations may reveal about the pre-Conquest history of the site, it seems that the North Manor probably occupied a site peripheral to the settlement from the eleventh or twelfth century onwards, if not earlier.

Evidence from elsewhere in the Wolds also suggests that manor houses occurred on peripheral sites throughout the medieval and early modern period. The houses at Weaverthorpe, Sherburn and Burton Agnes stood on peripheral sites by the late twelfth century, if not before, and manor houses on peripheral sites existed at Etton and Harpham by c. 1300. Moreover, it is clear that manor houses were often rebuilt on the peripheral plots, despite changes in ownership and function. At Etton, the manor house of the de Etton and Langdale lords of the manor occupied the site, and possibly even the building, which had belonged to the Knight's Templars in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. A Latin charter of 1323 confirms a grant by Laurence de Etton to his son Nicholas, and describes how the capital messuage and adjoining croft "formerly were of the Templars of Jerusalem, in the same place".¹⁸³ At Burton Agnes, Ganton, Londesborough, Scarborough and South Cave East Hall manor houses were built or rebuilt on sites peripheral to settlements and adjacent to churches in the sixteenth century.

It is possible to demonstrate a similarly broad range of dates for the construction of isolated manor houses. In the Wolds, manor houses were located outside villages from at least the early fourteenth century. The archbishop of York's manor house at Bishop Burton seems to have been isolated within his park c. 700 metres north-west of the parish church since the fourteenth century, if not earlier. The Percy's manor house at Leconfield was on a site 700 metres south-west of the church from at least 1308, and a messuage called *Le Burlyn* mentioned in Hunmanby parish in 1303 was then described as "lying without the town".¹⁸⁴ These last two mentioned examples are considered in greater detail below.

¹⁸² Milne, 2004, 35.

¹⁸³ *Etton 1170-1482*, 22.

¹⁸⁴ ERYARS, DDHU 9/4.

The moated manor house at Leconfield was apparently on a site remote from the village by 1308, if not earlier. A licence to crenellate issued in that year almost certainly refers to the house on the moated site south-west of the village and church.¹⁸⁵ Moreover, though such licences granted the right to build enclosing walls or add crenellations rather than dig moats, Le Patourel suggests that moats and licences to crenellate arguably “reflect parallel responses to the same urge for display”.¹⁸⁶ Although impossible to precisely date, the moat was perhaps constructed in the early fourteenth century as part of a wider programme of building works which included the fortifications licensed by the Royal Patent and the enclosure of the park which was first mentioned in 1314.¹⁸⁷

It is possible that the manor house stood within the village before 1308. The moat appears to overlie ridge and furrow leading Allison to suggest that “the house was replanted in the open fields”.¹⁸⁸ This implies that land-use at Leconfield was reorganised at an unknown date before 1308. Yet the analogy made by Le Patourel between Leconfield and Duby’s work on the Mâconnais region remains unconvincing. Given that the Percy family held virtually the whole parish, it seems highly unlikely that the manor house was relocated so as to be closer to newly cultivated territories. Moreover, the Percy family were major magnates not lesser gentry attempting to distinguish themselves from the villagers as in the Mâconnais.

An earlier house may have stood south of the church in a field known as Hall Field in 1577, perhaps on the site of a house near the church which was known as Manor House Farm in the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁹ Yet there is no further evidence for the early site of the house, and while it is certain that the later medieval house was built only after the open fields had been laid out, it is less certain that there was an earlier house in the village. If the house did move from the village to an isolated site, it did so by the early fourteenth century. Any such movement significantly predates the later medieval or sixteenth-century trend noted by Lasdun and by Williamson and Bellamy.

¹⁸⁵ Cal. Pat. 1307-13, 144.

¹⁸⁶ Le Patourel, 1978, 27.

¹⁸⁷ VCH ER IV, 127.

¹⁸⁸ Allison, 1976, 88; Le Patourel, 1973, 11; VCH ER IV, 126.

¹⁸⁹ VCH ER IV, 126.

Gilbert de Gant's motte and bailey castle at Hunmanby lay directly west of the church. The castle was destroyed in c. 1151 by Eustace fitz John (*d.* 1157) or William le Gros (*d.* 1179).¹⁹⁰ It was probably replaced by the capital messuage inherited by the Tattershalls from the Gants, and mentioned together with the house called *Le Burlyn* in 1303. By referring to the house called *Le Burlyn* as "lying without the town", the 1303 reference seems to imply that the capital manor lay within the settlement, probably on its western periphery close to the church and the remains of the castle.¹⁹¹ The house called *Le Burlyn* comprised a hall and kitchen in 1316, and fieldnames evidence gleaned from seventeenth-century deeds demonstrates that the house lay in an area of early enclosures 1.5 km east of the town.¹⁹²

The capital manor house was seemingly in disrepair by the early fourteenth century. In 1303, it was described as "having no dovecote, orchard or herbage" and was worth only a quarter of its 1298 value.¹⁹³ It is no coincidence that the house outside the settlement called *Le Burlyn* was mentioned for the first time in the same year that the main manor is recorded as being in disrepair. The Tattershall family perhaps resided at *Le Burlyn* rather than the capital manor previously occupied by the Gants. Yet if the Tattershall family did indeed chose to reside at a house isolated from settlement, the occupation of the manor house was short-lived. After the death of Robert de Tattershall in 1306, the estate was divided between co-heirs, each of whom held a share of the house called *Le Burlyn*, although it seems unlikely any of them ever resided there.¹⁹⁴ The site had certainly been long abandoned by 1630, when Burling Garth was said to be a 3-acre close of meadow.¹⁹⁵

Isolated manor houses were not an exclusively late medieval trend, as Lasdun and Williamson and Bellamy argued. Rather than being a product of an increasing desire for privacy experienced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such isolated locations were perhaps characteristic of the particular functions of a house. For example, the house at Bishop Burton may have been a hunting retreat for the archbishop of York,

¹⁹⁰ Tout, 2004; Dalton, 2004.

¹⁹¹ ERYARS, DDHU 9/4.

¹⁹² ERYARS, DDHU 9/7; HUL, DP/85 and 87. The PNERV incorrectly identifies *Le Burlyn* with Bolum Lane in Bempton (PNERV, 106).

¹⁹³ ERYARS, DDHU 9/3 and 9/4.

¹⁹⁴ VCH ER II, 231.

¹⁹⁵ HUL, DP/87.

who owned the manor and regularly visited it in the later twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁹⁶ The archbishop's manor at Bishop Burton stood within 6 km of his manor house at Beverley. The manor at Beverley was a major holding of the archbishopric, situated as it was directly adjacent to the collegiate and minster church of St John and within a thriving commercial centre that was the eleventh most populous borough in England at the time of the Poll tax of 1377.¹⁹⁷ Throughout the medieval period, the archbishops of York spent considerable periods at Beverley. As such, the manor at Bishop Burton would have been a convenient place to which the archbishops could retire, hunt and escape the pressures of office. In other words, the fact the house at Bishop Burton was isolated within its deer park was a function of its owners' status and the use to which the estate was put, rather than a consequence of the period in which the house was constructed.

There is an analogy for this pairing of a major administrative centre and more isolated, hunting retreat elsewhere in the Yorkshire estates of the archbishopric. The manors at Sherburn-in-Elmet and Cawood (both North Yorkshire) were major administrative centres for the archbishopric throughout the medieval period. The archbishop's manor at Rest Park (North Yorkshire) was situated equidistant between these two important estates and close to the major communication routes between the neighbouring manors. Like Bishop Burton, Rest Park was probably used as a hunting retreat in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Most significantly, the manor house at Rest, like at Bishop Burton, was isolated within its park from at least the mid fourteenth century.¹⁹⁸

Other isolated houses in the study area were probably also used for hunting in the medieval period. The moated house at Leconfield was probably used by hunting parties from at least 1314 when the deer park was first mentioned. There were three lodges in the park in 1577, including a brick lodge in the New Park and two timber-framed lodges in the Old Park, probably on the sites of the modern farms known as Leconfield Park House and Leconfield Low Parks. The parks were then maintained by three parkers and a palester, who presumably lived in the timber lodges.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Reg. Cor. i 44, 57, 81 and 163; ii 57 and 124; Cal PR IV 208; Jeffrey, nd, 3.

¹⁹⁷ English, 1982, 5.

¹⁹⁸ Le Patourel, 1973, 37-50.

¹⁹⁹ VCH ER IV, 128.

The Percy family were sometimes resident in the brick lodge in the early sixteenth century. This was “a fair tower of brick” seen by Leland in c. 1540 and the moated lodge included lodgings and offices in 1577 and was then described as “made for a house of pleasure”.²⁰⁰ It stood on a moated site in Cherry Burton parish 1.3 km south of the main house at Leconfield, in an area known as House Close in 1767. The stables were also moated and lay to the north-east in a close called Stable Close in 1767. The site contained brick and tile debris at the time Le Patourel visited in the early 1970s.²⁰¹ The lodge was probably built in the early sixteenth century, when the park was enlarged by the enclosure of 140 acres before 1517. Modifications to the lodge may have been undertaken when the park was extended into Cherry Burton parish in c. 1524: “House-Warkes” were mentioned in c. 1525, as were workmen who were to be provided with meat and drink at the New Lodge. The park was divided into Old, New and Coursing parks at the same date.²⁰²

As well as being a hunting lodge, the New Lodge was the site of the mysterious ‘secret house’ mentioned in the household books of the fifth earl of Northumberland. During the secret house, the earl broke up the main household and retired to the New Lodge with a reduced household. Many of the servants were kept at board-wages in the town of Leconfield and attended the earl and his lady at the New Lodge daily. The household books make several references to the lord residing at the “New Lodge in Leckynfeld Park” and the earl and his wife were at the secret house September 4th-28th, 1519, apparently for the purpose of conducting a yearly audit and account of the household offices at the end of the administrative year. The main house was probably cleaned whilst the lord was away.²⁰³ The custom of the ‘secret house’ at Leconfield is intriguing, for it demonstrates that lords sometimes equated distance with secrecy or privacy, if perhaps only at certain times of the year and for particular purposes. The only other evidence for a ‘secret house’ comes from Lathom (Lancashire) where the earl of Derby kept a secret house at a lodge in the park in 1589, though here the lodge was much closer to the main house than was the case at Leconfield.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ Cited in Woodward, 1985, 8; VCH ER IV, 128.

²⁰¹ Le Patourel, 1973, 12 and 114.

²⁰² VCH ER IV, 128; NHB, 297.

²⁰³ NHB, 291 and 293; Girouard, 1978, 76.

²⁰⁴ Girouard, 1978, 76.

There were also isolated hunting lodges in several other deer parks in the study area including a house in the park at Etton in the early fourteenth century.²⁰⁵ This was probably a parker's residence at that date, though it was possibly the site of the early house of the de Etton family. Less can be said about the function of other isolated houses in the Wolds study area and although their isolated locations may be a product of their functions as hunting lodges, there is little evidence to positively support this statement. The house known as *Le Burlyn* in Hunmanby parish is a particularly intriguing example of an isolated house. It was sited within an area of early inclosures, but there is little evidence to suggest why it was sited there.

One might also consider whether isolated houses are particularly characteristic of status groups, or even particular families. There are too few examples in the Wolds to allow any kind of statistical analysis to be meaningful, but comparison between the estates of known individuals may be instructive. In addition to Leconfield, the Percy family held estates at Low Catton and Wressle, both on the east bank of the River Derwent. All three manor houses were moated by the later medieval period and they provided access to large deer parks within the vicinity. Yet the houses were *not* in analogous positions relative to the church, village and deer park. Whilst the house at Leconfield stood 400 metres south-west of the village and church and relatively isolated within its deer park, the manor house at Low Catton stood immediately south of the church, at the northern end of the linear settlement. The manor house stood within a moat from at least 1258-9, but was remote from the 350-acre deer park which lay in the south-east of the parish over 3 km from the church and manor house. The map of 1616 demonstrates that the moated castle at Wressle sat hard by the village whilst the deer park was located to the north of the settlement.²⁰⁶

One can also compare the sites of houses owned by a cadet branch of the Percy family. Picot de Percy held estates in the East Riding at Sutton upon Derwent and Carnaby under William de Percy in 1086, and his descendents acquired property in Wharram Percy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁰⁷ The estates were held together until the death of Walter de Heslerton (d. 1367), a grandson of Peter de Percy (d. 1318). The

²⁰⁵ VCH ER IV, 109.

²⁰⁶ ERYARS, MF8/1.

²⁰⁷ Roffe, 2000, 3.

manor houses at both Carnaby and Sutton upon Derwent stood within small parked enclosures. Whilst the moated house at Carnaby stood remote from the church at the southern end of the long, linear settlement in an area known as The Park in 1368, the house at Sutton upon Derwent, which was not moated, stood south of the church in a small wooded park first mentioned in 1280. The house was probably that referred to as “*le maners*” within the park in 1309.²⁰⁸ Peter de Percy also had hunting rights at Woodhouse, part of Kirkham Priory’s estate in the east of the parish, but the moated site at St Lois Farm identified by Le Patourel as the site of the Percy manor house, was in fact part of Warter Priory’s estate in the Middle Ages.²⁰⁹

The North Manor house at Wharram Percy stood remote from the church at the northern end of the settlement. The park mentioned in 1320 and the “acre enclosed with a ditch” next to it may have been adjacent to the North Manor house.²¹⁰ There may be some analogy here with Carnaby. Although the village of Wharram was linear principally because of the restrictions of the site’s natural topography, the manor houses at Wharram and Carnaby both stood at some distance from the church and in or near a small park. By contrast, the house and the park at Sutton stood close by the church and probably also the village.

In summary, the movements of manor houses in the period c. 1400-1600 do not conform well to Lasdun’s and to Williamson and Bellamy’s notion of a progression between integrated, peripheral and isolated sites.²¹¹ There is little evidence to suggest manor houses routinely moved out of villages in the later medieval period. Instead many manor houses continued to occupy the same sites throughout the medieval and early modern period, regardless of whether they were in integrated, peripheral or isolated locations. Conversely, there is also some evidence to suggest that previously isolated manor houses may have occasionally moved to new sites within villages in the sixteenth century. For example, the medieval manor house at Carnaby which stood at the southern periphery of the settlement may have been abandoned or demolished in favour of a sixteenth-century hall closer to the centre of the village.²¹² At

²⁰⁸ VCH ER II, 127; III, 175.

²⁰⁹ Le Patourel, 1973, 116; VCH ER III, 176.

²¹⁰ Cited in Beresford, 1979, 20.

²¹¹ Lasdun, 1991, 24; Williamson and Bellamy, 1987, 62.

²¹² Cal Inq PM xii, 181; Le Patourel, 1973, 111; VCH ER IV, 127.

Flamborough, the Constable family abandoned their medieval manor house when Sir Robert Constable was attainted and executed for his involvement in the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1537. Repairs to the hall, solar and three other chambers were undertaken by the Crown in 1541/2, but by c. 1573 the kitchen had been pulled down and much of the stone, brick, timber, iron and lead from the hall, tower and other houses taken from the site by local men.²¹³ In 1593/4, Sir Robert's grandson, another Robert Constable, was living in a capital messuage or tenement described as "at the south end" of Flamborough and known as South Hall by 1699.²¹⁴ The house stood c. 275 metres south of the church, but still peripheral to the village, just as the fourteenth-century house had been.

The manor house at Scarborough apparently moved from a moated site in the later park to a site closer to the village before 1600. However, the park was only laid out between 1488 and 1517, and the earthworks of an undated settlement within the park complicate the picture. The original moated site lay close to a small deserted settlement site and it may be that the Hotham family who resided in the moated house moved to a new site nearer Scarborough village only after the smaller settlement was abandoned, perhaps when their new deer park was laid out before 1517.

As noted above, many manor houses were rebuilt on the same sites in the later medieval and early modern period. The new owners of manorial estates at Boynton, Burton Fleming, Ganton, Lockington and South Cave East Hall built their grand new houses on the sites of medieval halls, thereby consciously or unconsciously preserving the close spatial relationship between manor and church. The later sixteenth century was, of course, a period of increased social mobility, and with the exception of South Cave, these estates were purchased by esquires or gentlemen, rather than by knights. Sites in close proximity to parish churches may have been particularly attractive to purchasers, especially those attempting to set themselves up as gentry. Just as Norman castles were built next to pre-existing churches in order to "harness... the power of the church", later medieval and early modern landowners might deliberately emphasise

²¹³ TNA, E101/463/17 and E178/2564.

²¹⁴ ERYARS, DDX22/2 and 22/3; ERYARS, IA/64.

the spatial relationships between manor and church in order to associate themselves with the knightly class of landowners who had held these estates before them.²¹⁵

Whilst those moving up the social hierarchy sought to appropriate the trappings of gentility, the more established gentry also perceived the need to assert and defend their status. As such, the new and old gentry alike invested in grand new houses, the architectural form of which proclaimed their wealth and gentility.²¹⁶ More established families also chose to rebuild their houses on the sites of medieval halls. At Londesborough the medieval house was rebuilt on the same site in c. 1587-9 and the medieval hall of c. 1170 at Burton Agnes was replaced by a much larger house in c. 1600-10. The new hall was built on an adjacent site 100 metres east of the church and the medieval hall retained as service quarters, a decision that was paralleled at Sewerby (par. Bridlington) when the house there was rebuilt, probably in the later sixteenth century. Moreover, by siting these houses close to churches landowners could stress their role as pious patrons of the church and benevolent lords to their tenants, thereby working to produce or reproduce their social status and political power.

Peripheral sites were perhaps important to the owners of manor houses because they allowed manorial lords to imply a physical, and by implication social, distinction between the manorial complex and the village. The Anglo-Saxon *burh* may again provide a model, for at least some pre-Conquest manor-church complexes were peripheral to settlements. Discussing the late ninth and early tenth-century site at Raunds (Northamptonshire), Creighton noted that “excavation has revealed the manorial site and adjacent propriety church to have lain perpendicular to one another within linked embanked and ditched enclosures on higher ground than the rest of the settlement, from which the complex was deliberately segregated”.²¹⁷ The proximity of manor and church, and their physical separation from the village, reinforced the perceived differences between the manorial complex and the wider settlement or between the feudal lord and the peasants, a distinction which Saunders notes was also

²¹⁵ Speight, 1993, 161.

²¹⁶ Girouard, 1978, 3; Cooper, 1999, 3; Emery, 2005.

²¹⁷ Creighton, 2005, 113.

represented architecturally.²¹⁸ In Anglo-Saxon and later medieval England alike, social hierarchy could be produced and reproduced through spatial morphology.

In lower-lying areas, the spatial and social distinctions between manor and village, lord and villagers, might be further emphasised by the construction of a moat. Moats were expensive to construct, hence functioned as symbols of disposable wealth and status. In North Yorkshire, moats are convincingly correlated with the existence of considerable seigniorial demesne. Moats were constructed around peripheral manor houses at Carnaby and Harpham, on the southern dip-slope of the Wolds, and at Scarborough in the Hull Valley, though for geological reasons they were less common on the chalk of the high Wolds.²¹⁹

Where the church lay inside the manorial ditch or was enclosed within the moat, it might allow the manorial lord to imply ownership of the church. At Harpham in the north-east Wolds, a moat was constructed around the manorial complex sometime before the late thirteenth century. The parochial chapel was included within the moat, even though the available evidence suggests that it had neither been founded by, or was ever owned by, the occupants of the manor house (see Figure 4.15 and 4.16). Manorial lords were encouraged to grant away ownership of churches to monasteries in the twelfth century.²²⁰ Yet ownership of a church continued to be an important metaphor for status and many castle chapels were established as a response to the church reforms of the twelfth century, with the consequence that “[p]atronage of a castle chapel [came] to resemble that of a parish church at an earlier date”.²²¹ By siting a manor house in close proximity to a parish church a manorial lord might imply ownership of that church, and thereby draw a parallel between his manorial complex and other higher-status manors and castles with private chapels.

Interestingly, the moat at Harpham is first mentioned in 1297 and it is possible that it was constructed soon after the manor changed hands in *c.* 1199.²²² In other words, the new lords of the manor seem to have tried to consolidate their position and status by

²¹⁸ Saunders, 1990, 187.

²¹⁹ Le Patourel, 1973, 13 and 7.

²²⁰ Pounds, 1991, 12.

²²¹ Pounds, 1991, 13.

²²² VCH ER II, 224; HUL, DDSQ/5/1.



Figure 4.15 The earthwork remains of the manorial complex of the St Quintin family at Harpham.



Figure 4.16 The bank and ditch of the manorial complex running through the churchyard at Harpham.



Figure 4.17 Aerial photograph of Harpham showing the church (centre), the bank and ditch running through the churchyard, and earthworks, soil marks and hedges marking the boundary of the manorial enclosure (NMR 17197/63, photographed on 26.10.1998).

emphasising the visual and symbolic links between the manor house and church. The construction of the moat seems to have allowed the St Quintins to make a strong territorial claim for the ownership of the chapel. The moat functioned to draw a distinction between the manorial complex, including the chapel, and the settlement (see Figure 4.17). It would seem that in building the house and moat, the St Quintins were trying to imply ownership of a public space. Such practices have analogies in the pre-Conquest period when churches at sites such as Barton-on-Humber were incorporated within the earthwork enclosures of adjacent manorial complexes.²²³ It is unclear whether there was a high status residence on the site adjacent to Harpham church before the late thirteenth century, but even at sites where the close spatial relationship between manor and church may have first emerged in the pre-Conquest period, the relationship between manor and church might be consciously revived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At this and other sites in the Wolds, later medieval manorial lords continued to emphasise the spatial and symbolic relationships between manor houses and parish churches. Conversely, incorporating a church within a manorial enclosure might function to refigure manorial space as public, communal space. These themes are explored further in the next two chapters.

4.5 Conclusions

This chapter outlines the economy and society of the Yorkshire Wolds as a means of framing the later discussions about the spatial, visual and symbolic relationships between buildings and other landscape elements. Most of the Wolds population were employed in agriculture, although fishing, textiles and small-scale commercial activities were also important in some localities. The mixed agricultural economy revolved around sheep-grazing and arable crops particularly barley, wheat and peas, supplemented in places by cattle-rearing and rabbit warrens. As the opening sections of the chapter demonstrate, most communities operated two or three-field systems, although four and five-field systems were not unknown especially in the later period. In general, the arable fields lay close to the village with the grazing land beyond, although animals were also grazed on the stubbles, fallows and ley land closer to the village. In the high Wolds, the field-systems of some settlements were separated by

²²³ Stocker and Everson, *forthcoming*, 106-7.

vast tracts of grazing land, variously known as moors, wastes or pastures, although long linear field systems running right up to parish boundaries have been noted in several places.²²⁴ On the southern and eastern dip-slopes, where scholars note the existence of settlement chains, the fields of neighbouring communities often abutted at the parish boundary whilst the grazing lands lay on the higher ground above the settlements.

Population densities were generally low and the villages and hamlets widely separated, although the existence of a large number of deserted settlement sites implies that settlement densities were previously higher. While most settlement was nucleated, dispersed settlement elements including granges, mills, farmsteads and vaccaries, as well as buildings associated with deer parks and warrens, were not wholly unknown. Many villages were planned settlements of one or more rows, often with back-lanes running behind the tofts and on occasion with greens. A few settlements like the deserted hamlet of Argam show little sign of planning, while others like South Cave were poly-focal. The third section of the chapter examines the spatial relationships between manorial complexes, churches and other settlement and landscape elements in greater detail.

Whilst recognising the diversity of manor-church-settlement relationships evident in the Yorkshire Wolds, this chapter demonstrates that as in other parts of England, manor houses and churches in the Wolds were commonly sited in close proximity. A slim majority of the manor houses in the sample were sited on plots adjacent to or opposite churches. These are classified as Type 1 sites. A smaller number of manor houses were on plots peripheral to settlements, but not adjacent to churches (Type 2 sites), while other manor houses were remote from both settlement and church (Type 3 sites). While remote manor houses were not uncommon in the Yorkshire Wolds, there were no examples in the study area of the isolated churches found in other parts of England. Moreover, manor houses and churches were frequently found on the periphery of settlements, so that in 50 per cent of the sample manor and church stood together at the edge of a village.

²²⁴ M. Harvey, 1982, 30 and 37.

This chapter examines the continuities between pre and post-Conquest modes of landscape organisation, arguing that the spatial relationships between manors, churches and settlements which existed in the period c. 1400-1600 were not simply the outcome of earlier processes. In particular, the close spatial proximity of manors and churches evident in the Yorkshire Wolds, and noted elsewhere by Morris and others, was not solely a result of pre-Conquest practices of church foundation.²²⁵ Both Anglo-Saxon *burhs* and Norman castles functioned as *models* for later medieval manorial complexes, though not all (and perhaps only a few) later medieval manor-church complexes were on the sites of pre-Conquest seigniorial residences and adjacent propriety churches. In thinking about the spatial proximity of thegnly residences and churches in the pre-Conquest period, the discussion reveals the origins of an idea as much as the origins of the sites themselves.

Although impossible to quantify the numbers involved, it is clear that not all pre-Conquest patronal churches stood next to the halls of their founders. St Martin's church at Wharram Percy was founded in the tenth century, probably by the Anglo-Scandinavian lord who resided at the seigniorial complex c. 175 metres north-west of the church. The manorial enclosure was apparently delineated and the regular two-row village laid out in the same period, hence the non-adjacency of the seigniorial residence and church appears to be a planned feature of the settlement. The results of Stocker and Everson's Lincolnshire study also clearly demonstrate that churches could be sited with reference to features other than manor houses, including springs, pools, hills and greens. Moreover, churches founded with reference to these features might be later absorbed into manorial complexes. Morphological and documentary evidence analysed by this author clearly shows this to have been the case at Etton, while evidence from Bishop Burton underlines the idea that manor-church-settlement relationships sometimes changed over time. This is perhaps especially true of the centuries between c. 700 and c. 1200, a period in which settlement first became nucleated, parishes were laid out and the agricultural landscape was reorganised.

The chapter also presents evidence to explain the peripheral locations of manor houses and churches in the Yorkshire Wolds. Evidence from a variety of sites in the Wolds

²²⁵ Morris, 1989, 248-274; Rodwell and Rodwell, 1977, 94-125; Dymond, 1968, 29; Daniels, 1996, 109.

demonstrates that houses were built on both peripheral and isolated sites throughout the medieval and early modern period. The earliest evidence comes from Wharram Percy, where the North Manor was probably peripheral to the settlement as early as 1086. The manor houses at Burton Agnes, Sherburn and Weaverthorpe were all on peripheral sites by the late twelfth century. There were isolated manor houses at Bishop Burton, Hunmanby and Leconfield by the early fourteenth century. Houses continued to be built and rebuilt on both peripheral and isolated sites from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Rather than manor houses being progressively relocated first to peripheral and later to isolated sites, as Lasdun and Williamson and Bellamy suggested, this chapter demonstrates that manor houses often maintained their sites throughout the later medieval and early modern period.²²⁶ Although some lords certainly associated secrecy and privacy with distance from other settlement elements, as in the case of the ‘secret house’ held in the isolated hunting lodge in Leconfield New Park in c. 1520, there is little evidence that an increased desire for privacy prompted house-owners to relocate their properties to peripheral or isolated sites.

In contrast to traditional accounts of the rural landscape which have understood the transition from late medieval to early modern society as a period of radical change that engendered “the emergence of a wholly new socio-economic and spatial order”, evidence from the Yorkshire Wolds suggests potential continuities between medieval and early modern forms of landscape organisation.²²⁷ Yet this is not to suggest that these landscapes were somehow set apart from power relations. Continuity with the past was one of the means by which manorial lords and other landowners might assert their ancestry, wealth and status. If, as cultural geographers have argued, the landscape “remains permanent only to the degree it is continually reproduced”, then one must recognise that continuity, as much as change, may signal that landscapes and buildings were caught up in the practices by which meaning was (re)produced and power constituted in late medieval and early modern England.²²⁸ The remaining chapters of this thesis investigate some of the practices by which the spatial, visual and symbolic

²²⁶ Lasdun, 1991, 24; Williamson and Bellamy, 1987, 62.

²²⁷ Campbell, 1990, 72.

²²⁸ Mitchell, 2003, 240.

relationships between manors, churches and settlements were actively produced and reproduced in the later medieval and early modern period.

V. Manorial and Village Space in the Yorkshire Wolds

This chapter discusses how manorial and village space was conceived, structured and given meaning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The chapter examines a number of different types of spaces, starting with a discussion of manor house interiors, and then moves through a series of widening spatial horizons to examine gardens, parks, field-systems and village landscapes. The first of the five sections focuses on the architecture and use of space within manor houses. Three key themes are of particular interest: the supposed decline of communal space in the later medieval period; the proliferation of private chambers in the same period; and the use of manor houses and their halls for public functions. The next section briefly considers the gardens immediately surrounding manor houses, before the discussion moves on to examine sites like deer parks, which were explicitly envisaged as private, manorial spaces, and demesne lands. The third section focuses on wider village landscapes and investigates how a variety of spaces beyond the manorial enclosure were constituted. While Chapter IV offers an overview of agricultural practice in the Yorkshire Wolds in the late medieval and early modern period, the discussions here concentrate on land use, property disputes, the process of enclosure and depopulation. The ways space was imagined as private property is a theme of especial interest. The fourth section of the chapter focuses again on small-scale, domestic spaces including village dwellings and alehouses, while the fifth section offers some conclusions.

5.1 Manor Houses

There are very few extant medieval or sixteenth-century domestic buildings in the Yorkshire Wolds study area. Only two buildings from medieval manorial complexes are still standing. The so-called Old Hall at Burton Agnes is dated by waterleaf capitals in its undercroft to c. 1170, though it was remodelled in both the medieval and post-medieval period (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). At Flamborough, only a vaulted cellar and part of a chalk-built tower of probable fourteenth-century date remain at the site of the house known as Flamborough Castle (see Figure 5.3). More is known about manor houses in the sixteenth century. Although many of these houses have been demolished,



Figure 5.1 Burton Agnes Old Hall: built *c.* 1170 and modified in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when it was encased in brick and the sash windows inserted.



Figure 5.2 The stone undercroft and waterleaf capitals at Burton Agnes Old Hall.



Figure 5.3 The remains of Flamborough Castle: the chalk-built tower and earthworks.

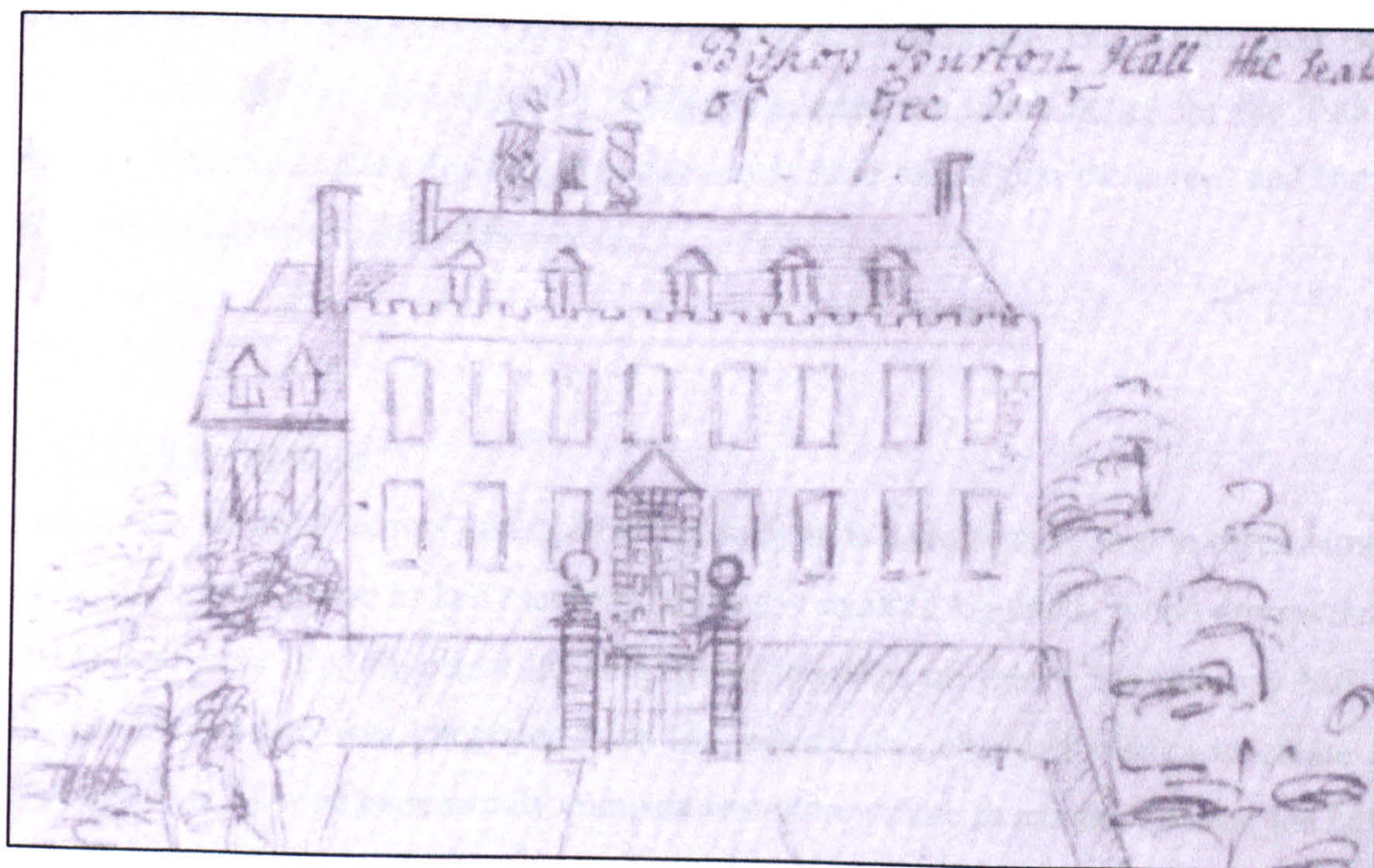


Figure 5.4 Samuel Buck's c. 1720 sketch of Bishop Burton Hall (reproduced from *Samuel Buck's Yorkshire Sketchbook*, 1979, 15). The house was rebuilt in c. 1600-1610 and later modified by the addition of dormer windows, probably in the late seventeenth century.

the size of the houses and the number of rooms within them can often be estimated from inventories and other sources. There were a number of large Tudor houses in the Yorkshire Wolds including those at Burton Agnes, Boynton, Londesborough, Bishop Burton (illustrated in Figure 5.4) and Scarborough, all built in the decades around 1600 and all with twenty or more hearths in the 1670s. The manor house of South Cave East Hall mentioned in 1525 had fourteen hearths in the later seventeenth century and Risby Hall (par. Rowley) had fifteen, whilst the house with thirteen hearths at Kilnwick Percy was probably that built by Thomas Wood sometime before his death in 1584. These must have been sizeable properties, but other houses of probable Tudor date had far fewer hearths: South Dalton Hall Garth had only eight hearths, whilst Sewerby Hall and Sledmere House had only six or seven.¹

The state of knowledge about pre-1600 manor houses in the Yorkshire Wolds is summarised in Appendix 4. The discussion below focuses on a small number of houses for which the standing buildings, documentary and visual evidence is good enough to allow useful comparisons to be made between them. Other houses in the Wolds are brought into the discussion where the evidence is sufficient for comparisons to be meaningful. Some of the houses were built at an unknown date before 1500, but because documentary and standing buildings sources are much better for the Tudor century than the medieval period, the discussion here focuses on the layout and form of these houses in the sixteenth century.

5.1.1 Manorial Halls

Debates about the size, function and fate of open halls have been central to discussions about the manor house in late medieval and early modern England. Wood argues that the hall became less important in the fifteenth century, so that it increasingly had a room above it and was integrated with the service and chamber blocks to create a uniform roof line and increasingly compact two-storey plan. In smaller houses, the hall shrank and became squarer, hence more closely paralleling the parlour, and was sometimes combined with the kitchen.² Girouard makes a similar point, arguing that

¹ TNA, C142/44/124; ERYARS, MF3.

² Wood, 1965, 49 and 58.

“[t]he hall tended to get smaller... What the hall was losing, the great chamber was gaining. Great chambers inevitably began to grow bigger and grander”.³

The demise of communal space within manor houses is understood as an inevitable consequence of the lord's withdrawal from the hall and of changing domestic plans. Girouard and Wood both point to a linear progression from medieval open hall at the heart of the household to modern vestibule.⁴ Girouard postulates that whilst centripetal forces tended to agglomerate buildings into a series of connected wings, centrifugal forces acted on social relations, as the communality of the hall was replaced by a desire for privacy and separateness.⁵ A particular idea about the development of house plans is inherent in these arguments. Such scholars argue that the dispersed and separately roofed buildings of post-Conquest manorial complexes gradually coalesced to form the tripartite plan of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Characterised by increasing standardisation and integration in domestic planning, the tripartite arrangement whereby the hall lay between the chamber and service wings was found in both stone and timber houses.⁶ As domestic plans became more complex, tripartite plans metamorphosed into the courtyard plans popular from the later fourteenth century and eventually the compact houses of the later sixteenth century.⁷

In Girouard's argument, the removal of the lord from the hall and the corresponding increase in private dining chambers and bed chambers “radically changes the nature of the country house”.⁸ In 1318, Edward II was recorded as eating in his great chamber and from the second half of the fourteenth century lords increasingly ate away from the great hall. By the late sixteenth century even the lesser gentry no longer ate in the hall, although a steward might occupy the high table in the place of his master.⁹ Moreover, “[b]y the end of the period, the great chamber too had taken on a more formal function, and the private dining-room of the lord and his immediate family moved yet again, this time to the parlour, often converted from the service room under

³ Girouard, 1978, 52-3.

⁴ Girouard, 1978, 30 and Wood, 1965, 49.

⁵ Girouard, 1978, 30.

⁶ King, 2003, 105-6; Wood, 1965, 193 and 217-8.

⁷ Wood, 1965 193; Grenville, 1997, 91 and 105.

⁸ Girouard, 1978, 30.

⁹ Girouard, 1978, 30-1 and 46.

the solar or chamber”.¹⁰ Contamine notes similar trends in late medieval France, arguing that “[d]espite the size and ornate decoration of the hall, there was a tendency to convert it to a sort of antechamber or waiting room”. In some residences the hall was split in two rooms, known as the common or lower hall and the great or upper hall, used as a waiting room and for receptions, respectively.¹¹

Recent commentators have reassessed the idea that the hall declined in the later medieval period. Grenville re-examined the evidence for the widely held belief that “there was a steady progression from physically separate units in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to integrated ranges in the fourteenth century, culminating in complex courtyard plans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries” and concluded that “the notion of the absolute decline of the hall may be an erroneous one”.¹² As she notes, “an analysis of Wood’s useful list of halls and their absolute measurements suggests that, on the basis of her data alone, [the decline of the hall in favour of the parlour] is a difficult thesis to sustain”. Although the halls listed by Wood were owned by families of varying status, Grenville’s analysis suggests that “[b]y the sixteenth century, far from becoming smaller, new halls actually seem to be being built on a grander scale”.¹³ Moreover, whilst halls with ratios of length to width of 3:2 were common in the earlier period, halls of dimensions 2:1 were more common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as were very long narrow halls with dimensions of more than 2:1. Long narrow halls would have emphasised the distinction between the high and low ends of the hall and their popularity perhaps reflects “an increasing sense of social separatism” in later medieval England.¹⁴ Moreover, the really large halls listed by Wood were all built in the later medieval period or early sixteenth century and would have provided a site for formal feasts held by monarchs or other important lords. As such they imply “that such open and visible formality was perhaps becoming more, rather than less, important”.¹⁵ Evidence relating to canopies may also signal the increasing importance of the hall in the later medieval period. All the known examples of dais canopies are relatively late in date, and although it is possible that because they are vulnerable to loss all the earlier examples have been destroyed, it may be that dais

¹⁰ Grenville, 1997, 115.

¹¹ Contamine, 1988, 500.

¹² Grenville, 1997, 91 and 106.

¹³ Grenville, 1997, 107-8.

¹⁴ Grenville, 1997, 109; based on data listed by Wood, 1965, 62-6.

¹⁵ Grenville, 1997, 108-9.

canopies are a late medieval development. Lighting also became more elaborate in this period, as the long windows which had marked the upper bay of the hall in the earlier fifteenth century were replaced by more ornate oriels or bay windows.¹⁶

There is also a need to reassess the meaning and significance of chambers above halls, the existence of which was interpreted by Wood as evidence that open halls were diminishing in importance.¹⁷ The introduction of fireplaces in lateral walls in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries certainly made it possible to insert a floor above the hall in both timber and stone houses, thereby creating two rooms with lower ceilings which were therefore easier to heat.¹⁸ There were chambers above the halls at Flamborough Castle in 1573 and at Leconfield Castle in 1574, although it is unclear whether these upper chambers were integral to the houses' plans or, alternatively, when an additional floor had been inserted.¹⁹ By contrast, the twin-hall plan mentioned at Leconfield New Lodge in the 1520s was probably integral to the building's plan, as it also was in fifteenth-century houses like Blackmore (Somerset) and Ashbury Manor (Berkshire).²⁰ The function of these twin-hall houses remains unclear, but Wood suggests that they might function as a hall and solar, or public, parish hall and private chamber. The existence of two halls at Burton Agnes may hint at something similar, but further evidence is lacking.

Yet if houses like Flamborough Castle, Leconfield Castle and Leconfield New Lodge had twin or double-hall plans by the 1570s, elsewhere in the Yorkshire Wolds traditional double-height or open halls were far from unusual, even in the later sixteenth century. Londesborough Hall had a double-height hall in 1581, which may have been preserved when the house was rebuilt in 1587, and the houses at Boynton and Burton Agnes exhibited conventional hall-and-screens passage plans as late as the turn of the seventeenth century. These last two examples are discussed in greater detail here.

¹⁶ Grenville, 1997, 111.

¹⁷ Wood, 1965, 49 and 193.

¹⁸ Grenville, 1997, 110; Wood, 1965, 196 and 218.

¹⁹ TNA, E178/2564; NHB, 463.

²⁰ NHB, 383; Wood, 1965, 196.

Boynton Hall is one of two largely extant sixteenth-century houses in the Wolds study area. Although extensively remodelled in the eighteenth century, the extant brick building was believed until recently to have been built in c. 1590.²¹ However, Brears recently noted that the removal of plasterwork during renovations revealed “substantial evidence of an earlier stone building, almost identical in plan to the present structure, providing it with foundations for many of its walls, and establishing the size of its major rooms”.²² Although not closely dated, Brears suggests a mid sixteenth-century date for the stone phase of the building on the basis of the windows, door-heads and plan. The house was built by William Strickland (d. 1598), justice of the peace for the East Riding from 1559 and four times a member of parliament, who bought the estate in 1549.²³ Strickland acquired the nearby manor of Auburn and property in Bridlington and Easton in the second half of the sixteenth century, as well as the manors of Coneysthorpe, Hildenley and Wintringham (all North Yorkshire), thereby establishing himself as a substantial country gentleman.²⁴

The mid sixteenth-century house was of a conventional tripartite plan with the service and parlour wings arranged either side of a central, double-height hall, an arrangement which was preserved when the building was remodelled in c. 1590 (see Figures 5.5 to 5.8). The central hall measured 11.3 m by 6.1 m and had a fireplace in the northern lateral wall and a tall, glazed bay window at the western bay of the south wall. The service wing was accessed through three Tudor two-centred arches in the eastern wall of the hall, their western faces chamfered and their eastern faces square-cut. Only the southern arch and the southern half of the middle arch survive, but the latter is axially aligned to the hall, suggesting the existence of a third arch to the north. There is little evidence to indicate the size, shape or materials used in the service wing, but the quoins at the north-east corner of the hall suggest that the eastern wall of the hall did not continue northwards as the west wall of the service wing. Either the service wing did not project to the north or it was a separate timber building, only being built in brick during the renovations of the late sixteenth century.

²¹ Allison, 1974; Pevsner, 1972; Johnson, 1984; *List of Buildings*, accessed 17.11.2005.

²² Brears, 1988, 377.

²³ Graves, 2004; *Yorks Fines* i, 135-6, 145.

²⁴ Graves, 2004.

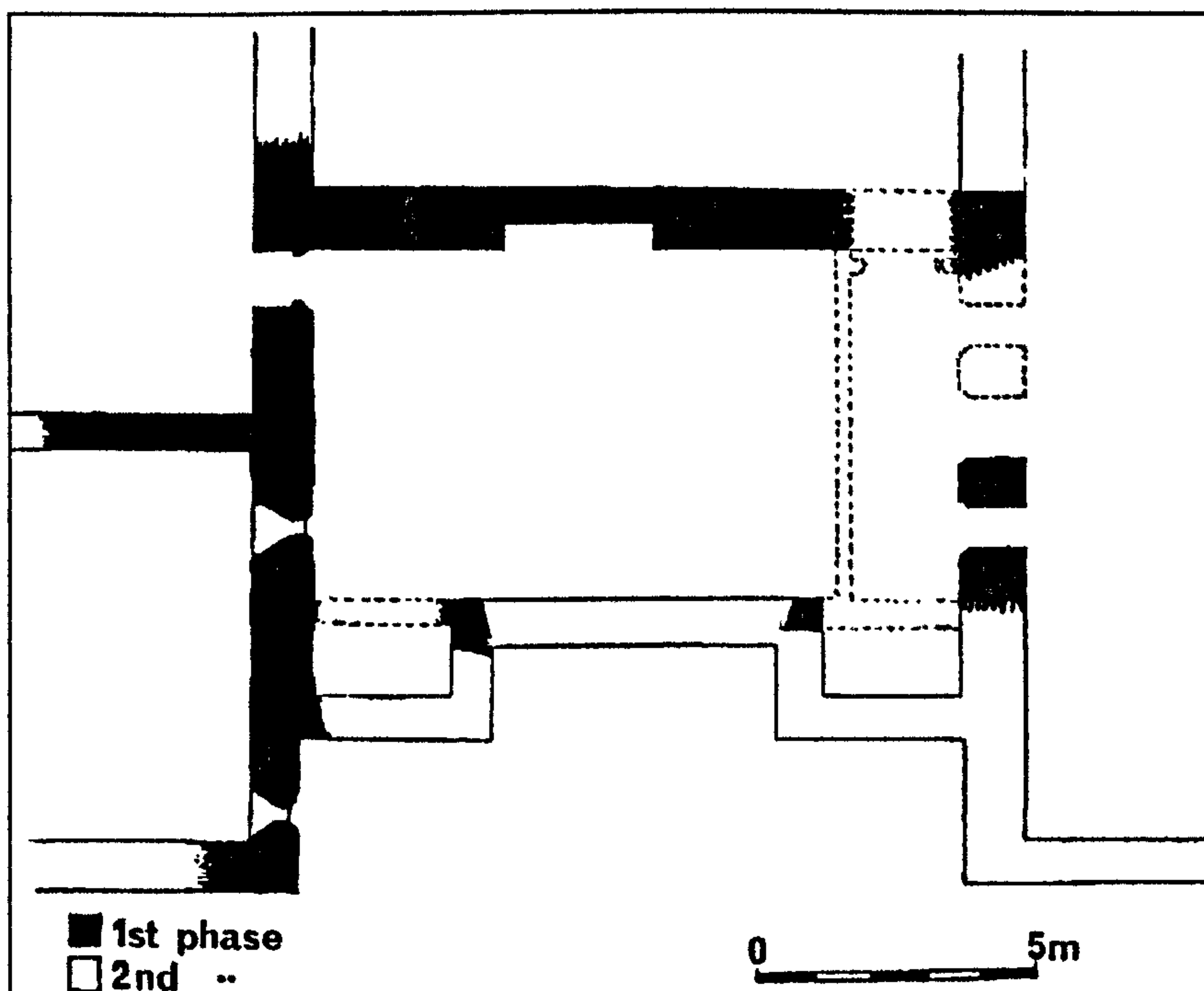


Figure 5.5 Boynton Hall: plan of the later sixteenth-century hall, with the earliest stone-built phase shaded black (reproduced from Brears, 1988, 379).

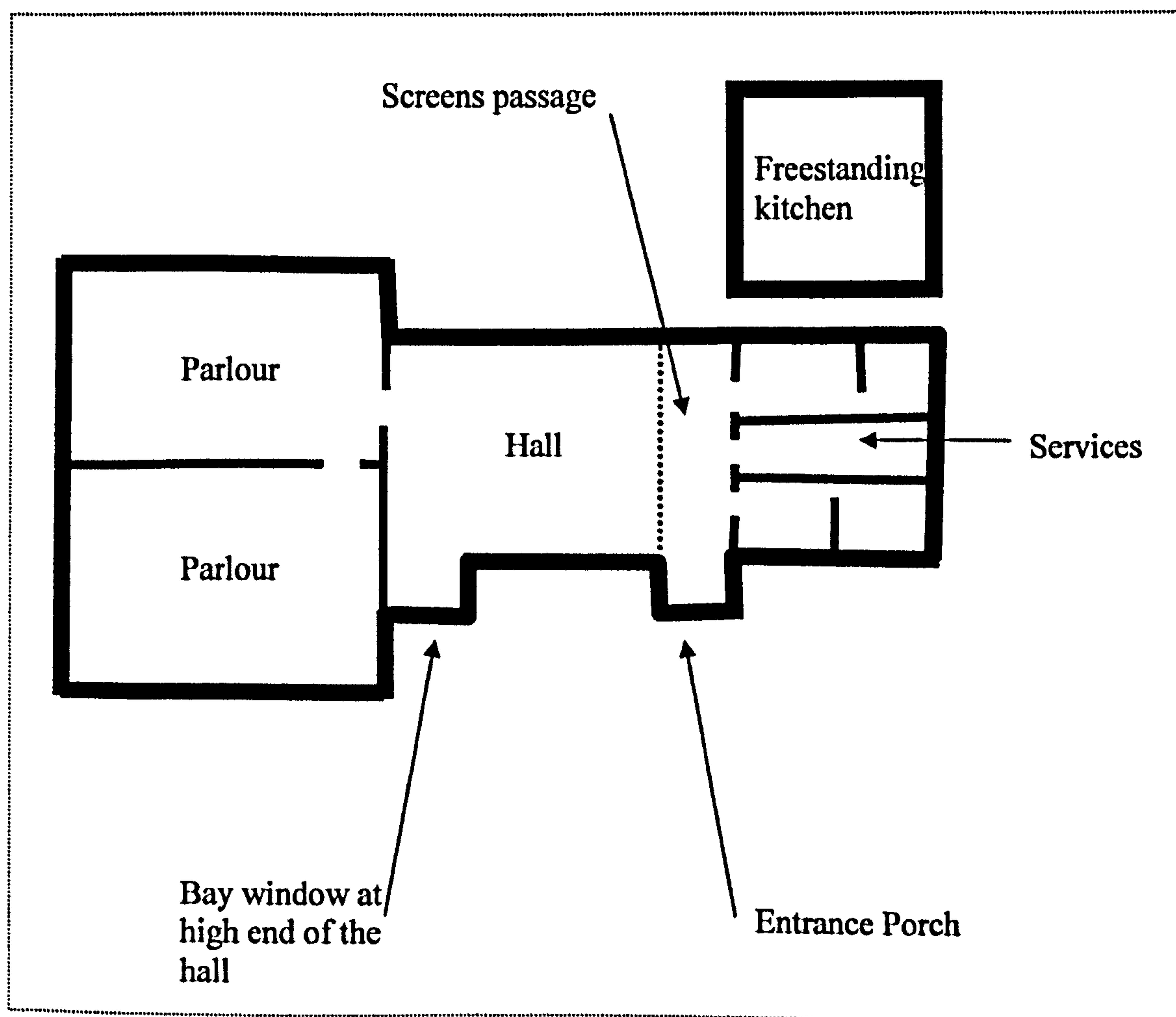


Figure 5.6 Suggested ground plan of Boynton Hall in c. 1550 (not to scale).

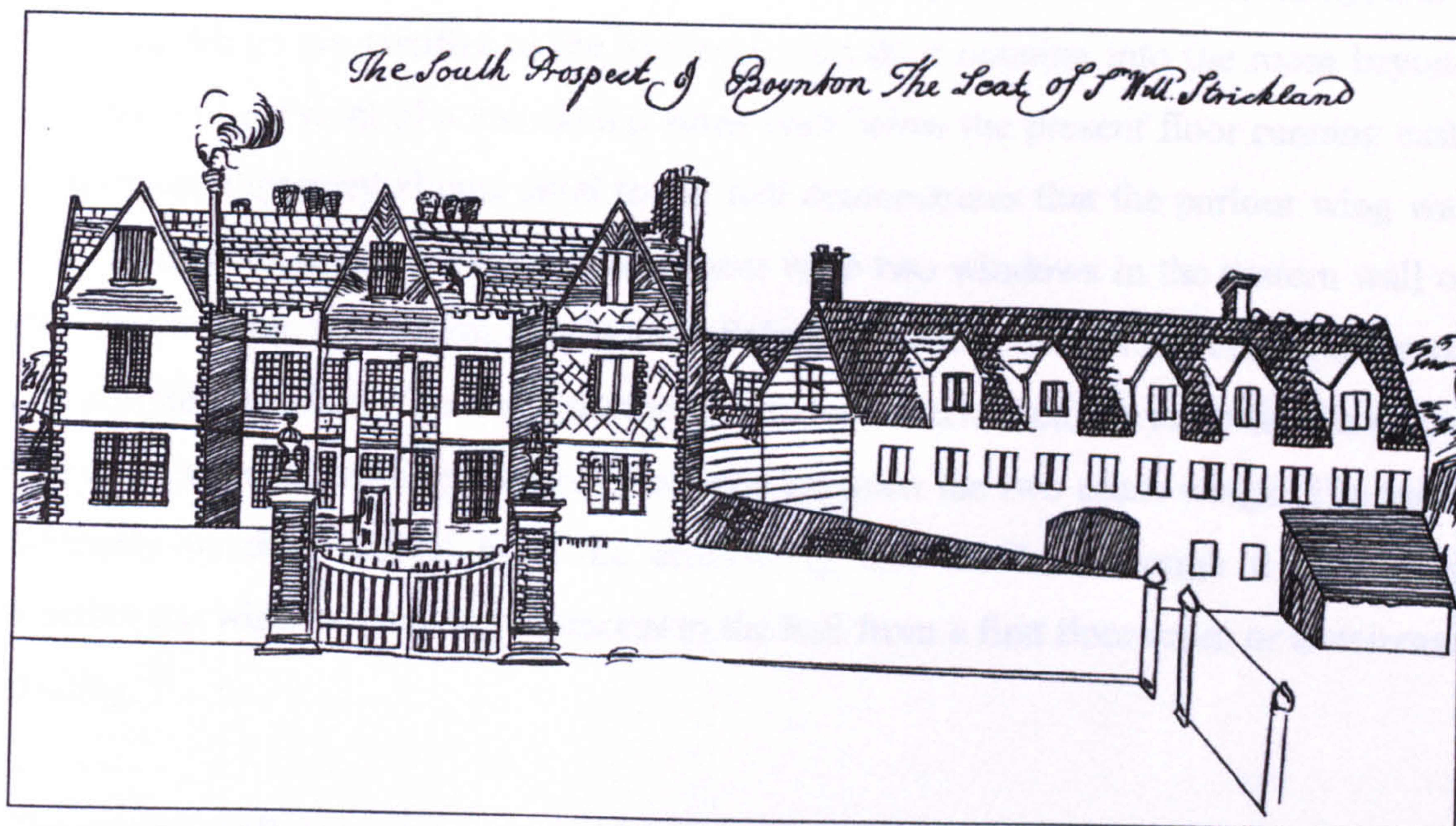


Figure 5.7 Boynton Hall by Samuel Buck, c. 1719-1723 (reproduced from Brears, 1988, 378).



Figure 5.8 South front of Boynton Hall.

By contrast, the western cross-wing projected both north and south of the hall. It was accessed through a door at north end of the west wall of the hall. The doorway consisted of a Tudor two-centred arch below a rectangular chamfered moulding, and a surviving hinge pin testifies to the existence of a door opening into the room beyond the hall. The survival of a substantial stone wall below the present floor running east-west on an alignment almost axial to the hall demonstrates that the parlour wing was two rooms deep at ground-floor level. There were two windows in the eastern wall of the parlour wing, at a similar height and of similar construction with rectangular heads and simple chamfers. The more southerly window overlooked the main façade of the hall and the court which presumably existed between the two cross-wings. The more northerly window looked from the cross-wing into the hall, though it is unclear whether the window gave visual access to the hall from a first floor room or a staircase landing.²⁵

The central hall was almost certainly accessed from outside through a door at the eastern end of the south wall. Nothing of this now remains, but a row of square sockets in the eastern wall of the hall is indicative of the existence of a gallery, which in turn gives strong support for the presence of a screens passage in the eastern bay of the hall. Brears suggests that the hall was accessed through a turret projecting south of the main façade, mirroring the bay window at the high end of the hall and thus creating a symmetrical façade.²⁶ His suggestion is at least partially based on analogy with the c. 1600 house at nearby Burton Agnes discussed below. The later sixteenth-century house at Boynton certainly had a projecting bay in this position. Samuel Buck's c. 1719-23 prospect of the house clearly shows such a bay, although the entrance had by then been moved to the centre of the recently re-fenestrated façade. However, the house was partially rebuilt in c. 1590, either by William Strickland or his son Walter (d. 1636). The service cross-wing was added and the parlour cross-wing rebuilt, both in red brick with burnt brick diaper work and stone dressings. It is unclear whether the turret existed before the late sixteenth-century rebuilding and evidence that the south façade originally met with the eastern wall in line with the central bays implies otherwise. The embattled turrets which occupied the four internal angles of the H-plan

²⁵ Brears, 1988, 378.

²⁶ Brears, 1988, 378.

house were perhaps added when the house was remodelled in c. 1590.²⁷ Yet even if not built until the 1590s, the existence of the turrets does imply a concern to accommodate a conventional hall-and-screens-passage plan behind a symmetrical façade, an arrangement which reached the height of ingenuity within the local area a decade later at Burton Agnes.

Burton Agnes New Hall was begun in c. 1600, shortly after its owner Sir Henry Griffith (d. 1620) was elected to the Council of the North in 1599, and finished by 1610.²⁸ It is a large house constructed of pinkish-red bricks with ashlar dressings and continuous stone string-courses between the storeys. Largely unaltered in the century after its construction, the New Hall had thirty-two hearths in 1674 and was therefore considerably bigger than Boynton Hall which had twenty-three hearths in the same year.²⁹ The main accommodation was arranged across the southern, entrance range and the eastern range, whilst the northern range included accommodation for the principal household servants. The kitchen was situated in the western range looking toward the new bakery and treadmill as well as the Old Hall, which was then re-faced in brick and probably housed service functions. The western service range also included offices, larders and a servants hall located behind the screens passage of the main hall (see Figure 5.9).

The existence of a plan in the collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects (hereafter RIBA) is strong evidence that the house was designed by Robert Smythson (1534/5-1613), a master mason and architect who worked on a number of houses in the northern Midlands and north of England.³⁰ Yet the plan and elevation of Burton Agnes are very different from many of Smythson's other houses. Despite its size, the house forms a compact square with a small internal courtyard like Smythson's unexecuted designs for Slingsby (North Yorkshire).³¹ The full-height bay and bow windows emphasise the height of the building, as opposed to its width, and in this sense it differs dramatically from the earlier houses at Longleat (Wiltshire), Wollaton (Nottinghamshire) and Hardwick (Derbyshire).

²⁷ VCH ER II, 23.

²⁸ *List of Buildings*, accessed 17.11.2005. Date-stones in various places on the house give the years 1601, 1602 and 1603.

²⁹ ERYARS, MF3; VCH ER II, 23 and 109.

³⁰ Girouard, 1983, 289.

³¹ Girouard, 1983, 185.

As at Pontefract (West Yorkshire), the hall at Burton Agnes is placed centrally directly behind the façade, occupying bays three to six. Its position was relatively conventional, especially in comparison with plans at RIBA and the extant houses which show Smythson experimenting with the hall's position.³² At Hardwick, the hall runs lengthways through the middle of the building, an innovation which may have been suggested by the patron, Bess of Hardwick. The visitor to Hardwick entered through a central doorway in the west front into the middle of the screens passage, the buttery and pantry being arranged on either side of the low end of the hall, rather than axially with the hall as in medieval houses. At Wollaton, the three-storey hall of c. 1580 is centrally placed in the position occupied by the open court at Burton Agnes and lit by clerestory windows placed where the top storey of the hall rises above the roofs of the surrounding rooms. Here the hall is accessed from the central porch in the west façade via an L-shaped corridor which leads into the screens passage at the southern end of the hall.³³

The third and sixth bays of Burton Agnes' south front contain the porch and a projection at the high end of the hall, similar to the bay windows in medieval halls. These two projecting bays are the same size and given the same treatment, and the symmetry of the south façade is maintained by placing the entrance door within the inner, eastern return of the porch which projects south of the screens passage (see Figures 5.9 to 5.11).³⁴ The original plan by Smythson showed the entrance to the house in the south face of the porch, rather than in its inner, eastern return. This is one of several modifications to the original plan and it seems likely that Smythson was responsible for at least some of these changes, such as replacing the five-sided bay windows on the south front with semicircular bow windows, features which appear in two of Smythson's other houses.³⁵ It is less clear whether Smythson was responsible for moving the entrance door, and it is possible that the c. 1590 house at Boynton provided a model which Smythson or Sir Henry Griffith utilised at Burton Agnes.

³² Girouard, 1983, 177.

³³ Girouard, 1983, 98-100.

³⁴ Girouard, 1983, 186.

³⁵ Girouard, 1983, 186-7.

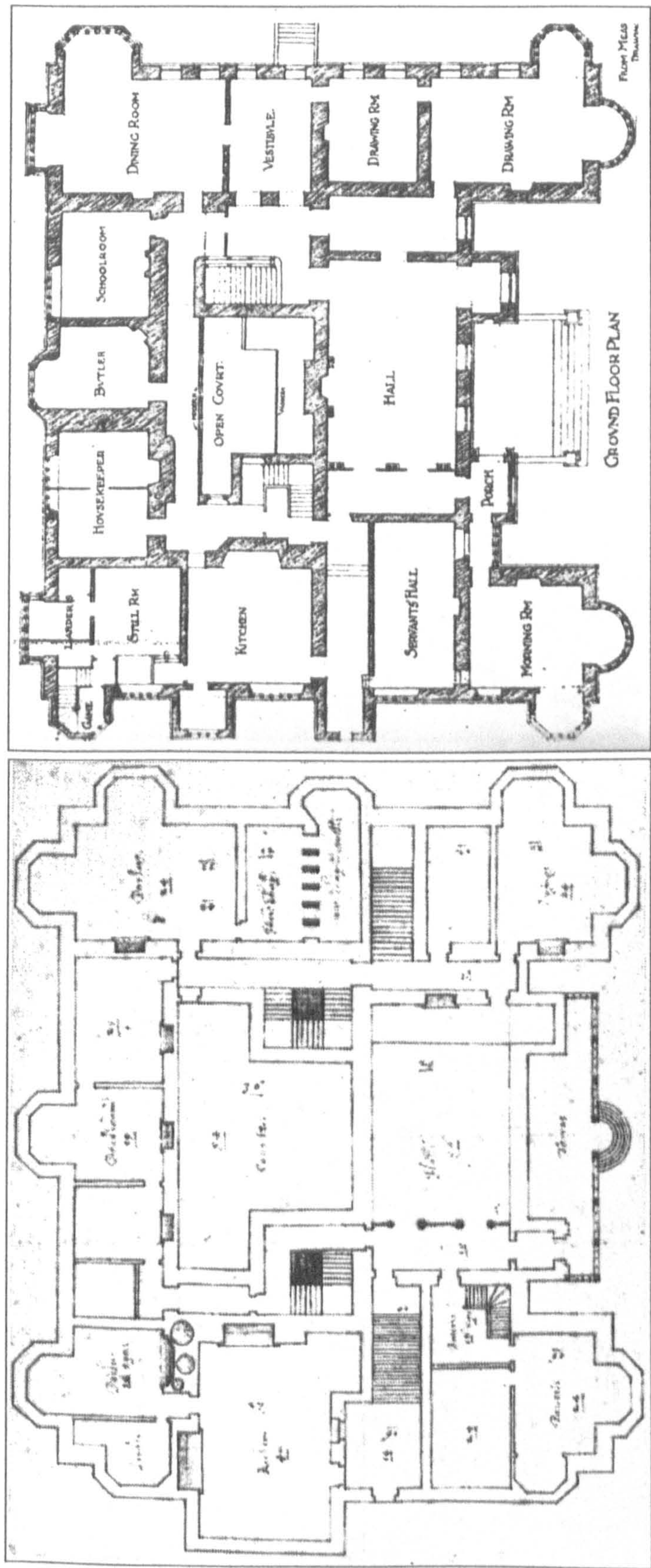


Figure 5.9 (left) Robert's Smythson's plan for Burton Agnes New Hall (undated, probably c. 1600-10) and (right) ground plan of Burton Agnes New Hall (undated) (reproduced from Girouard, 1983, 185).



Figure 5.10 South front of Burton Agnes New Hall.



Figure 5.11 Detail of the porch at Burton Agnes New Hall.

Whatever the origins of the unusual entrance plans at Burton Agnes and Boynton, it is clear that this innovation allowed conventional hall-and-screens-passage plans to be hidden behind symmetrical façades in the latest fashion. Such plans could be incorporated into both traditional H-plan houses like Boynton and more modern compact houses like Burton Agnes. Some patrons evidently considered a conventional ground plan and double-height hall desirable even in the later sixteenth century, perhaps thinking of the open hall as both a symbol of and a site to display their hospitality, gentility and wealth. The standing buildings, visual and documentary evidence suggests that large double-height halls persisted in the Yorkshire Wolds until at least *c.* 1600, despite the obvious practical advantages of creating two single-storey rooms.

5.1.2 Great Chambers, Parlours and Lodgings

Girouard and others have suggested that house plans became increasingly complex in the fifteenth century as private chambers proliferated, perhaps as a response to the growing size of noble and gentle households in this period.³⁶ As Mertes notes, “the household in its heyday grew to monstrous dimensions... By the 1450s, the average household of an earl numbered upwards of 200, an increase of more than 100 per cent since the period 1350-80”.³⁷ There is good evidence for an increase in the number rooms within manor houses in the later medieval period. For example, on the basis of a survey of twenty fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth-century houses in East Anglia, King pointed to “a large expansion in house size in the early sixteenth century, with an increase in the mean number of rooms from five to six in the earlier period, to over twelve”. The total floor area of early sixteenth-century manor houses was much greater than that of the fourteenth-century houses within the sample (5112.7 compared to 3135.8 square feet).³⁸

Given the small number of extant houses in the Yorkshire Wolds, a similar study cannot be undertaken here. However, there is evidence from the houses of the Wolds gentry to suggest that the number and size of private rooms expanded in the later

³⁶ Girouard, 1978, 15 and 54-6; Grenville, 1997, 114; Wood, 1965, 61; King, 2003, 105-6.

³⁷ Mertes, 1988, 185-7.

³⁸ King, 2003, 108.

medieval period. The terms great chamber, parlour and dining chamber were apparently used interchangeably, as at Leconfield where the Great Chamber was also known as the Dining Room. All the documented sixteenth-century houses in the Wolds had two or more reception rooms in addition to the hall. The Constable family's manor house at Flamborough had two parlours known as the Great Parlour and the Lord's Parlour in 1573, as did Boynton Hall, while Burton Agnes had at least three reception rooms accessed off the high end of the hall.³⁹

The H-plan house at Londesborough in 1581 had two parlours. It was then a relatively small house with only six principle rooms in the southern cross-wing including three chambers above the parlours. At the other end of the central double-height hall there was a buttery and a larder, as well as three chambers which were presumably used by the servants. There was also a kitchen and an adjoining brew house covered in slate at the far end of the service wing.⁴⁰ Nothing is known about the house before the late sixteenth century, although there had apparently been a house on the site since at least the fourteenth century when the last of the Fitzherbert line, Sir Edward St John (d. 1389) "of Londesborough", seems to have been resident.⁴¹

The house standing in 1581 was rebuilt on the same site in the late 1580s after Francis Clifford, fourth earl of Cumberland from 1605, secured the reversion of the manor from his older brother, the third Earl, in 1587. Francis married in 1589 and reputedly built the new house for his wife, Grissell, who was later buried in All Saints, Londesborough.⁴² The new house was a compact block of seven bays and three storeys (illustrated in Figure 5.12) and the twenty-one hearths which were recorded at the Hearth Tax of 1672 probably give an indication of the size of the late sixteenth-century house.⁴³ It was thus considerably larger than the H-plan house it replaced and presumably contained a greater number of parlours and chambers. Like the later sixteenth-century houses at Boynton and Burton Agnes, the new house probably had a

³⁹ TNA, E178/2564.

⁴⁰ CH, Bolton Abbey 250; cited in English, 1990, 207.

⁴¹ Neave, 1998, 10.

⁴² Neave, 1998, 13.

⁴³ ERYARS, MF3. Two two-storey blocks seven bays wide and three deep were added to the Elizabethan house in the late seventeenth century, probably in c. 1680, at around the same time as the alms-houses in the village dated 1677-8 and the stable block dated 1678-9 were built (Neave, 1998, 30-2). Hence the Hearth Tax predates the construction of the new wings.

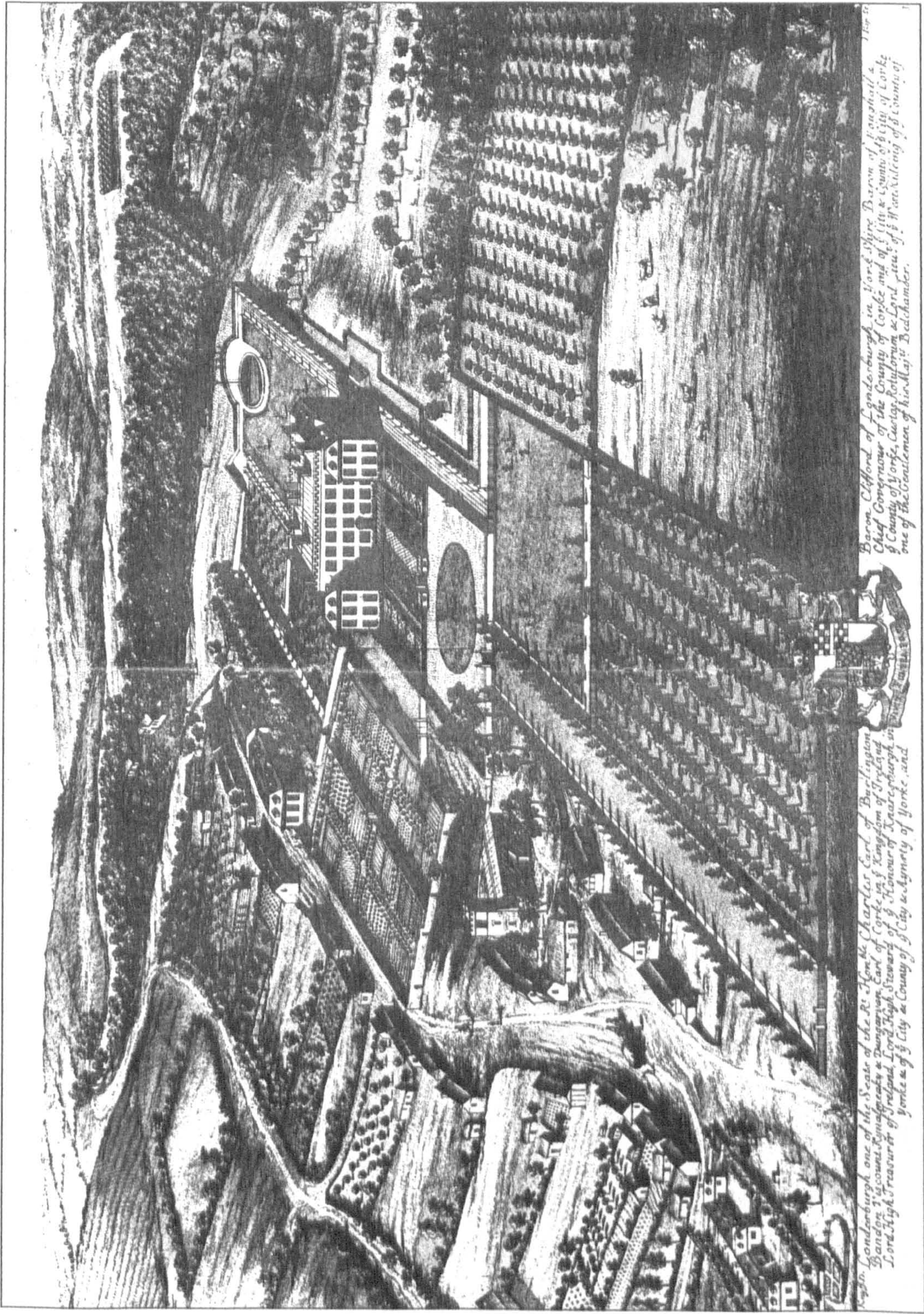


Figure 5.12 Prospect of Londesborough Hall by Leonard Knyff c. 1700 (reproduced from Neave, 1998, 44-45)

double-height hall and perhaps incorporated parts of the house standing in 1581, as is implied by the c. 1700 reference to “the great old hall... [and] the little old supping room”.⁴⁴ Little else is known about the layout of the later house and nothing of the building now remains, having been finally demolished in 1818 after a long period of neglect.⁴⁵

Later medieval lords commonly dined in parlours or great chambers. The earl of Northumberland took meals in his private chamber at Leconfield by the early sixteenth century. Leconfield Castle was one of three major houses in the East Riding owned by the Percy family, earls of Northumberland from 1377. The house is first mentioned in 1308, by which time it was almost certainly located on a moated site outside the village. Little is known about the house before the sixteenth century, but the survival of the household books of the fifth Earl and inventories of 1574 and 1577 means evidence is much better from around 1520.

Leconfield Castle was apparently a popular accommodation for the earls, who regularly visited the house in the early sixteenth century until the sixth Earl surrendered his northern estates to the Crown in May 1537 shortly before his death. Returned in 1557 to Thomas Percy, the seventh Earl and younger brother of the sixth Earl, the house was described in 1570 as the earl’s largest and grandest house in Yorkshire.⁴⁶ It was in decay in 1574, when the surveyors reported “the decays of the house of Leconfield to be much greater, and of more charge, than that at Wressle”.⁴⁷ Some repairs were undertaken in the 1580s, but the site had been abandoned and the house demolished by 1616.⁴⁸

In its heyday, Leconfield Castle was by far the largest house in the study area. Leland, who visited Leconfield in c. 1540, described how the house “stondith withyn a great mote yn one very spatius courte”.⁴⁹ In 1577 each of the four ranges was 324 feet long.

⁴⁴ CH, Bolton Abbey 234; cited in English, 1990, 214.

⁴⁵ Neave, 1992, 52.

⁴⁶ Lock, 2004; VCH ER IV, 126.

⁴⁷ NHB, 464.

⁴⁸ VCH ER IV, 126; ERYARS, MF8/1 (PHA 3425).

⁴⁹ Cited in Woodward, 1985, 8.

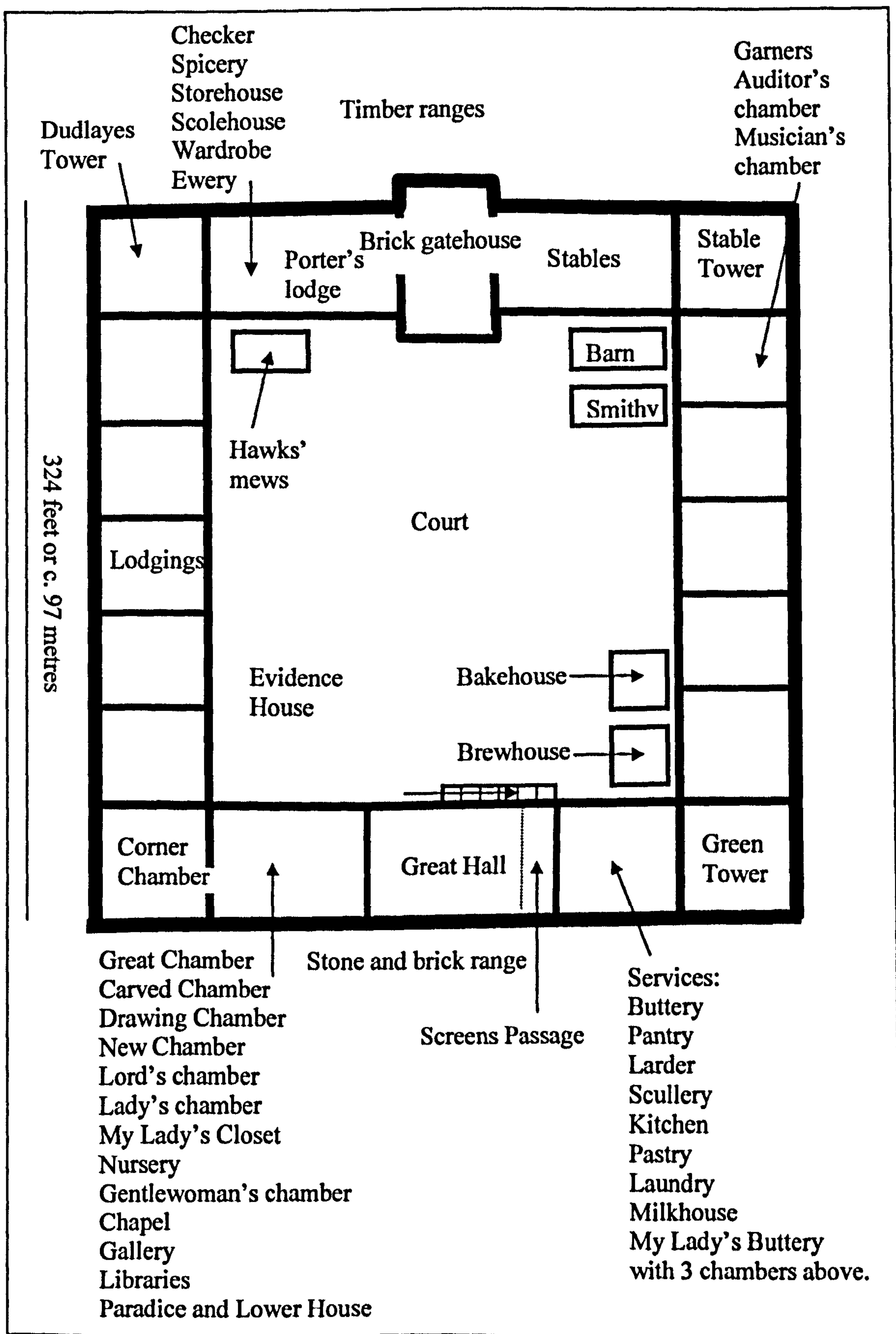


Figure 5.13 Suggested ground plan of Leconfield Castle c. 1570 (not to scale).

The main accommodation in the southern range was of stone and brick and the other three ranges were of timber, except the brick gatehouse which was known as Alforth Tower in 1574.⁵⁰ Each of the ranges had towers at its corners, three of which were known as Green Tower, the Stable Tower and Dudlayes Tower in 1574. The house was demolished before the Hearth Tax, but in 1574 had around thirteen principle rooms and twenty-one service rooms, as well as over forty offices, lodgings and storerooms. There was also accommodation for horses and hawks, as well as a granary and a mill. In 1574, the main accommodation included: the hall and a chamber above it, as well as four parlours known as the Great Chamber, the New Chamber, the Carved Chamber and the Drawing Chamber. The lord had his own chamber and there was also a chapel and a closet or “little studying chamber... called Paradise” in which Leland saw the genealogies of the Percy family in *c.* 1540. There were rooms for the countess’s own use, including those known as ‘My Lady Percy’s Chamber’ and ‘My Lady’s Closett’ in 1574, as well as a nursery and a chamber for a gentlewoman.⁵¹ A suggested ground plan appears in Figure 5.13.

The ritual accompanying meals was laid out in the household books of the fifth Earl of Northumberland written in *c.* 1520.⁵² The earl ate in his chamber with his wife, sons and brothers. The lord was served by his carver, sewer, cupbearer and seven gentlemen and yeoman officers and the countess also had her own cupbearer. The earl’s second and third sons sometimes served as sewer and carver for their father, perhaps only in the reduced household which attended the lord at the New Lodge. Otherwise they sat with their eldest brother and their uncles at the lord’s board end; in other words, to the left and ‘below’ the earl. The knights’ board was set up in the Great Chamber, where the Lady’s gentlewoman, two chamberlains, gentleman usher, yeoman usher, chief clerk of the kitchen and cofferer ate. Dinner was also served in the hall where the yeomen and grooms of the chamber, groom of the wardrobe, porter and various clerks ate. Those who had attended the lord at dinner had the ‘reversion’, eating at a second, less formal sitting. These regulations pertained to meals taken at the New Lodge in the park when the lord was at ‘secret house’ there. The New Lodge was considerably smaller than the main house, and the lord retired there with a reduced,

⁵⁰ VCH ER IV, 126.

⁵¹ NHB, 463.

⁵² NHB, 303-366.

though still considerable, household. Yet the ritual attending meals was little reduced, and the earl and his family still ate at two removes from the hall. The earl dined in a room known as 'My Lord's Chamber', and rather than being a ground-floor parlour, this was probably the room described as the "Chamber in th'end of the Gret Chambre" elsewhere in the household book.⁵³ Nevertheless, one ought to be careful not to assume a wholesale withdrawal from the hall. Both the hall and the great chamber at Leconfield Castle were still used for dining by some members of the household or on some occasions as late as 1574, when the furniture in the hall included six tables, six forms or benches, and three cupboards, as well as a long table and a cupboard in the great chamber.⁵⁴

Parlours and great chambers were often multi-functional spaces, used for sleeping and dining, and therefore containing beds as well as trestles.⁵⁵ This was certainly the case at East Heslerton, where the Inner Parlour and Outer Parlour, as well as the four chambers, all contained beds in 1559.⁵⁶ Even in the mid sixteenth century the distinction between bedchambers and other rooms was weakly developed. Inventories rarely make it clear how chambers were used, although they occasionally imply that rooms were organised into suites for the use of certain household members. The number of chambers mentioned in the 1574 inventory of Leconfield, and in particular the presence of a drawing or withdrawing chamber near the lord's chamber, is indicative of a suite of rooms offering increasing degrees of privacy. A similar arrangement may have existed at the New Lodge where reference was made to the "Chamber in th'end of the Gret Chambre".⁵⁷ Girouard has argued that suites of rooms became increasingly common in the later medieval period, so that from the fourteenth century onwards, "the provision of lodgings for the upper and middle strata [of households] became much more generous".⁵⁸

Separate servants' lodgings also became increasingly common. These were typically organised in long ranges and senior servants might have two or more rooms which

⁵³ NHB, 382.

⁵⁴ NHB, 463.

⁵⁵ Girouard, 1978, 53-4.

⁵⁶ YAS, H56.

⁵⁷ NHB, 382.

⁵⁸ Girouard, 1978, 55.

provided them with a degree of privacy.⁵⁹ The servants' lodgings at Leconfield were apparently arranged along either the east or west range of the courtyard house. Nineteen chambers were identified in the survey of 1574 with reference to an individual, including rooms known as the bayley's (bailiff's) chamber, the gardener's chamber and the carter's chamber, as well as chambers assigned to named individuals.⁶⁰

5.1.3 Domestic Chapels, Closets and Oratories

Closets were also increasingly included within house plans, especially as the last room in a suite of chambers. Early closets were often called oratories, though they might be used both for private devotion and for study and business. At the time of his attainder in 1509, the closet of Edmund Dudley, speaker of the House of Commons under Henry VII, contained a silver and gilt image of Our Lady as well as various evidences and writings.⁶¹ At least some closets in Wolds houses were intended for devotions, like the oratories licensed to Sir Geoffrey St Quintin at Harpham in 1314 and William Constable at Flamborough in 1315.⁶² Others, like that at South Cave East Hall known as the "Chappel chamber or studie Chamber" in 1574/5, might have been converted between secular and spiritual uses by the use of curtains to cover devotional images.⁶³

There were several closets at Leconfield, including that known as 'My Lady's Closet' in 1574 and a study called Paradise seen by Leland in *c.* 1540. It was probably these two studies or closets which were known as 'My Lady's Library' and 'My Lord's Library' in the 1520s.⁶⁴ Contamine suggests that, in France at least, counting rooms, studies and chapels were rarely heated, though this was certainly not the case at Leconfield where the lord's library, the lady's library, the gallery-library and the evidence house all had fires in winter, even when the lord was away.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Girouard, 1978, 55.

⁶⁰ NHB, 463-4.

⁶¹ Girouard, 1978, 56.

⁶² Reg Green III, 220; VCH ER II, 155.

⁶³ HUL, DDBA(2)/6/42.

⁶⁴ NHB, 378.

⁶⁵ Contamine, 1988, 500; NHB, 378-9.

The fact that these rooms, at Leconfield at least, were interchangeably known as closets or libraries is interesting. Taylor identifies a wider “cultural practice in which bookishness, privacy and piety were intimately connected”, though he also cautions against assuming that those reading within private chambers were necessarily alone, highlighting “how wide a range of activities fall under the general rubric of private reading”.⁶⁶ For the aristocracy and the gentry, reading within a private chamber

“might mean someone reading alone ‘to drive the night away’, but it could as readily involve a select and intimate group poring over the illuminations together or listening to one member read aloud. There was no clear separation between the public and private realms”.

For Taylor, only meditative devotional reading necessitated isolation. This way of reading was “both intense and private”.⁶⁷ Having initially been practiced in the cells of monastic institutions, such devotional practices were adopted by the laity only in the later medieval period. Pearson emphasises the distinction between personal and private piety. For her, personal piety “indicates a type of spirituality in which the supplicant seeks a direct relationship with a holy figure, without the intervention of the clergy”. Private piety refers to “devotional exercises or meditations that the worshipper carries out in a secluded space, separated from others both physically and visually”, in contrast to public worship defined as “devotions or pious actions that take place within the visual range of others, where those present are, or have the potential to be, witnesses to the act of worship”. This said, Pearson also recognises the “relative quality” of private space, particularly that associated with male supplicants, arguing that the boundaries between public and private piety were less clearly defined for men than for women.⁶⁸

However, closets and oratories were not necessarily alternatives to more public devotions undertaken within domestic chapels or parish churches. Many manor houses, and especially those belonging to the nobility, would have had one or more domestic chapels.⁶⁹ The lord and lady of a typical house would probably undertake private prayers in their bedchambers or closets, as well as attend divine service in the chapel accompanied by at least some of the domestic officers. Liturgical celebration

⁶⁶ Taylor, 1996, 48 and 61.

⁶⁷ Taylor, 1996, 43.

⁶⁸ Pearson, 2000, 104 and 122.

⁶⁹ Wood, 1965, 227; Mertes, 1988, 46; Grenville, 1997, 118; Girouard, 1978, 56.

was important in almost all noble and gentle households, the day being divided up by the bells rung to signal Martins, Mass and Evensong.⁷⁰ Aristocratic and gentle households were not simply domestic spaces, but were also sites for religious practices and experiences. Matins, Lady Mass, High Mass, Evensong and Compline were all celebrated daily in the household of the earl of Northumberland in the early sixteenth century, with the household officers attending a Mass at six in the morning.⁷¹ In this sense, domestic chapels had a very public function. As Contamine makes clear when discussing seigniorial residences in late medieval France, the chapel was “an obligatory and regular gathering place for all castle residents, regardless of status, function, or position in the hierarchy”.⁷²

Seven manor houses in the study area are known to have had chapels, the evidence for which is drawn from a variety of documentary sources including wills, inventories, marriage licences and leases (see Appendix 5). It does not necessarily follow that other houses did not have chapels, yet Mertes may overstate the case when she argues that “one can state almost categorically that every noble and gentle had a chapel and at least one chaplain”.⁷³ Four of the seven houses in the Wolds known to have had a chapel belonged to great magnates, major ecclesiastics or religious orders. The manor house of the archbishop of York at Bishop Burton had a chapel by 1300, as did the Knights Templars’ manor house at Etton in 1308.⁷⁴ Leconfield Castle and Leconfield New Lodge both had chapels by c. 1500. The chapel in the main house was first mentioned in the 1480s, while that at the New Lodge was almost certainly integral to the building’s plan, being mentioned soon after the lodge was constructed in the early sixteenth century.⁷⁵ The other three domestic chapels were in houses held by gentle families. Families like the de Sewerbys of Sewerby and the Constables of Flamborough, whose chapels were recorded in 1414 and 1537 respectively, were headed by men, who although knighted and influential in the local region, were not nationally important figures. South Cave East Hall also had a chapel in the later sixteenth century, though the date of its foundation is unknown. Though the estate changed hands frequently, the manor was typically held by members of the gentry,

⁷⁰ Woolgar, 1999, 84.

⁷¹ Woolgar, 1999, 86.

⁷² Contamine, 1988, 478.

⁷³ Mertes, 1988, 46; Wood, 1965, 227.

⁷⁴ VCH ER II, 5 and 108.

⁷⁵ TE III, 273 and 345; NHB, 382.

some of whom held estates elsewhere in Yorkshire, although none were of aristocratic standing.

Little is known about the size and precise location of these chapels. The earl of Northumberland's chapel at Leconfield Castle may have been relatively large for he had eleven gentlemen of his chapel, including two to play the organ, seven tenors and countertenors, one gentleman to read the epistle, and a master in charge of the six children of the chapel.⁷⁶ This chapel also apparently served the wider household, who not only attended services but were sometimes married there.⁷⁷

There was a gallery above the chapel at Leconfield Castle. Wood notes that two-storey chapels with galleries over the west end became increasingly common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, an arrangement which, in her view, parallels the division of church space into sacred (chancel) and secular (nave) components.⁷⁸ The proximity of chapels to main apartments is increasingly evident from the thirteenth century and galleries were sometimes accessed directly from upper chambers or parlours, as at Calverley (West Yorkshire) where a gallery above the 'liturgical' west end of the chapel was accessed from the family apartments.⁷⁹ The gallery at Calverley allowed the family to "worship out of sight of the household below" and this desire for separation from the congregation below is also apparent in those houses, highlighted by Wood, where windows or squints in first-floor apartments provide visual, rather than physical, access to the adjoining chapel.⁸⁰ Commentators have suggested that the provision of galleries mirrored the desire for private pews and chapels within parish churches which emerged in the same period.⁸¹ Pews and chantry chapels were sometimes called closets. Agnes Clifton, the widow of Sir Walter Griffith, referred to the new chantry chapel at Burton Agnes as a closet and Agnes Paston called her private pew in Paston church (Norfolk) a 'closett' in 1450.⁸² The construction of private, 'manorial' space within churches will be examined further in Chapter VI.

⁷⁶ NHB, 334; Woolgar, 1999, 177.

⁷⁷ TE III, 345 and 273.

⁷⁸ Wood, 1965, 237-8.

⁷⁹ Wood, 1965, 230; Grenville, 1997, 100.

⁸⁰ Grenville, 1997, 118; Wood, 1965, 235-6.

⁸¹ Wood, 1965, 238; Richmond, 1984, 199; Graves, 1989, 317.

⁸² TE IV, 242-3; Richmond, 1984, 198.

The gallery above the chapel at Leconfield was probably the room known as My Lord's Library over the Chapel Door in the 1520s. It then had a fireplace, and Wood has suggested that the presence of fireplaces in rooms denotes they were additionally used for secular purposes.⁸³ This is not to argue that by using the gallery the earl and his family necessarily withdrew themselves from participation within the religious service below. Although there is no record of the books kept in the library, it seems likely that the library included devotional literature such as books of hours and primers that the earl or his wife may have used during services. Moreover, the library-gallery was used even when the earl was elsewhere, for the household book records that a fire was to be kept there year-round. When their lord was away, the library-gallery was perhaps used by clerks, who probably also worked in the nearby evidence house described in *c.* 1520 as "over the Chapell Stair" and in 1574 as "the Study at the Starehead [stairhead]", and where a fire was also kept throughout the year.⁸⁴ The gallery was thus a multi-functional space used for religious, secular and administrative purposes, the use of which might vary on an hourly, daily or seasonal basis.

Finally, what of the relationship between domestic chapels and parish churches? Were lords more likely to establish a domestic chapel if their house stood at some distance from the parish church? Wood has suggested that houses owned by the Knights Templars and Knights Hospitallers only had a chapel if the parish church was not adjacent.⁸⁵ This may have been the case at Etton, where the Templars' manorial complex and chapel stood *c.* 800 metres from the parish church. It is also clear that some domestic chapels were licensed because of the convenience they afforded to elderly or infirm lords who found it difficult to travel to a distant parish church. Five of the seven houses with domestic chapels in the Wolds stood between 800 metres and 2 kilometres from their respective parish churches. Yet chapels, and especially oratories, were also founded within houses in close proximity to churches. An oratory was founded in 1315 at Flamborough Castle though the house stood within 200 metres of the parish church of St Oswald, while South Cave East Hall had a chapel in the 1570s even though house and church were directly adjacent. Even more striking is the case of Harpham where an oratory was licensed within the manor house in 1314 even

⁸³ Wood, 1965, 239.

⁸⁴ NHB, 379; 464.

⁸⁵ Wood, 1965, 232.

though the parochial chapel stood within the moat of the manorial complex. Moreover, it is clear that some chapels and oratories were founded by lords who were also concerned to express their piety within the more public arena of the parish church. The oratories at Flamborough and Harpham were established by lords who later founded chantries within local churches. In these and similar instances it appears that oratories were established as elements of wider programmes of patronage and piety which also encompassed the parish church.

5.1.4 Manorial Courts

As the sections above argue, it is inadequate to discuss the manor house purely as domestic space. Rather, this thesis seeks to highlight the range of activities which took place within manor houses and manorial *curia* including courts, hospitality towards pilgrims and the poor, and feasts for tenants and neighbours like those held by the earl of Northumberland on his Yorkshire estates in the 1520s.⁸⁶ In this sense, the manor house operated not only as a domestic space, but also as the symbolic centre of the manorial estate, exhibiting judicial, administrative and agricultural functions. Grenville has argued that the hall's function as a *curia* or courthouse significantly impacted upon its form:

“Barrack blocks, after all, would have fulfilled the function of accommodation, as did lodgings ranges in the later Middle Ages, but the necessity for cohesion in the feudal ‘band’, and the visibility of local law-keeping may well have dictated the necessity for this large public space”.⁸⁷

Manorial court rolls rarely record the precise location at which courts were conducted, although other documents, particularly leases, occasionally suggest something about the site at which courts met. There were certainly courts held in at least some manor houses in the Yorkshire Wolds. A lease of 1377 implies that the manor court of Sir John de Sewerby was held in his house at Sewerby. The lease includes a clause that on the day appointed by Sir John the lessee would summon the court, receive the steward for the day, and would do all that was needful for the court.⁸⁸ Two centuries later,

⁸⁶ Girouard, 1978, 25.

⁸⁷ Grenville, 1997, 81.

⁸⁸ Yorkshire Deeds VI, 128-9, no. 422.

similar provision was made for a court to be held in the manor house at Willerby. The manor was held by the Crown and leased out to John Carvell in 1561, with the proviso that “the lessee [was] to provide entertainment at the manor for the Queen’s Officers coming to hold courts or make a survey”.⁸⁹

In the early fourteenth century, the manorial court of Thomas de Rosshall of Hunmanby was undoubtedly being held in his manor house. Access was prohibited to “the chamber next the door” whilst the court was in session, and the court presumably sat in that room or the next adjoining.⁹⁰ The manor house was relatively small, described as having three chambers and a kitchen in 1303, although it was associated with an estate accounted as four carucates in the early thirteenth century and known as the reputed manor of Hunmanby in the early fifteenth century.⁹¹

If courts were held in both small houses like Hunmanby and larger houses such as Sewerby, then perhaps most manor houses accommodated the manorial court. In larger houses, there might be a specially built room or building for the court. In the sixteenth century the court at Flamborough was apparently held within the manorial enclosure in a building called the court house, rather than in the hall itself.⁹² Not all large houses would have had a purpose-built building for the court; no such building is listed at Leconfield, despite two inventories recording the rooms and buildings within the complex in the 1570s. Yet there are few alternative spaces in which courts are likely to have been held. There is no evidence from the Wolds that manorial courts were held in public houses, as was the case elsewhere in England and in parts of continental Europe.⁹³ Nor is there any evidence that these courts were held in churches or church porches. Instead, the evidence presented here implies that manorial courts were usually held within the manorial complex, either within the hall or another ancillary space.

⁸⁹ Cal Pat 1560-1562, 126.

⁹⁰ HUL DX/49/27 (b).

⁹¹ HUL DX/49/27 (b); VCH EY II, 234.

⁹² TNA, E178/2564.

⁹³ Hunter, 2002, 78; Kümin, 2003, 12.

Manorial courts, also known as court barons, were typically held on a three-weekly basis in the thirteenth century.⁹⁴ As such, tenants and freeholders would have regularly visited the manor house, although women and the landless probably attended in smaller numbers, while in multi-manorial parishes attendance was restricted to manorial tenants rather than the parishioners in general.⁹⁵ By the fifteenth century, courts were shorter and held less frequently. They increasingly dealt with land transactions and by-laws rather than the personal actions and disputes which appear in the earlier court rolls.⁹⁶ Yet whilst they continued to be held, manorial courts necessitated public access to the manor house, if only on a few days a year. Manor houses were not simply private or domestic spaces; rather they were the administrative and judicial centres of agricultural estates. Property transfers were recorded, by-laws drawn up and offenders amerced at manorial courts; but rather than think of this as a means by which the lord's will was imposed on his tenants, we should recognise manor houses as sites at which the community regulated itself and its resources.

5.2 Beyond the Manor House

The discussion so far has focused on the spaces within and immediately surrounding manor houses. It is now apposite to consider how the space beyond the house was conceived, understood and given meaning. Chapter IV discusses the sites of manor houses in relation to churches and settlements, as well as providing an overview of the spatial relationships between manor houses and deer parks. This theme is continued here in relation to the architecture of manor houses, the views afforded from them and the visibility of houses within the landscape. The section then moves on to discuss demesne lands and deer parks in more detail.

5.2.1 Views, Visibility and Gardens

The visibility of the house in the landscape was important to many architects and patrons, who often appear to have been concerned about the visual impression a house made. Smythson experimented with the outlines and elevations of his buildings, as he

⁹⁴ Bailey, 2002, 169.

⁹⁵ Bailey, 2002, 190.

⁹⁶ Bailey, 2002, 186-7.

also did with the arrangement of the main rooms. At Burton Agnes, the central portion of the entrance front is deeply recessed between the house's projecting wings. More vertical planes are introduced by the projecting porch and bay window of the hall and the bow windows of bays one and eight, so that the house appears to advance and retreat as at Pontefract.⁹⁷ The effect of movement is carried onto the east and west façades by the polygonal bay windows set back from the south front (see Figure 5.14). Smythson also used varying combinations of towers, bay windows and bow windows to create a sense of drama. Described by Girouard as a "splendid and glittering composition", the main façade of Burton Agnes is brought to life by a bold combination of polygonal bay windows, bow windows, gables, level parapets and chimneys. The house must have had a striking and "evocative silhouette", though the 'glasshouse' effect which was so arresting at Longleat, Hardwick and Wollaton was modified at Burton Agnes in favour of height and solidity.⁹⁸

The entrance façade at Burton Agnes is a storey higher than the rest of the building, rendering the east and west façades asymmetrical as a result (see Figure 5.15). The extra storey of the southern front was occupied by a 115 ft (34.5 metres) long gallery, illustrated in Figure 5.17, which extended across the whole width of the house and provided extensive views of the gardens and surrounding countryside as far as the sea.⁹⁹ Many of Smythson's houses illustrate his or his patrons' concern that the architecture and arrangement of rooms should afford extensive views both within the house and outside it. An innovation probably first employed at Burton Agnes, the semicircular bow windows illustrated in Figure 5.16 would have provided panoramic viewpoints across the landscape akin to those afforded by the 'prospect room' at Wollaton or the lantern towers at Worksop and Hardwick.¹⁰⁰

Windows would have given prospects over gardens and parks as well as the wider landscape. At Londesborough, the accommodation of the H-plan house standing in 1581 had been arranged so that the lord was afforded views of the park from his private chambers and parlours in the southern cross-wing. Much the same was true at Boynton, where the southern entrance façade of the house faced away from the

⁹⁷ Girouard, 1983, 172-3.

⁹⁸ Girouard, 1983, 185-8.

⁹⁹ Girouard, 1983, 186.

¹⁰⁰ Girouard, 1983, 104-5, 110 and 157.



Figure 5.14 The south and east fronts of Burton Agnes New Hall.



Figure 5.15 The east front of Burton Agnes New Hall.



Figure 5.16 Bow windows at Burton Agnes New Hall.



Figure 5.17 The long gallery at Burton Agnes New Hall (reproduced from Girouard, 1983, 186).



Figure 5.18 The gatehouse at Burton Agnes.

village. In other cases, the entrance façade of the house faced the settlement as at Burton Agnes, although here the inter-visibility of house and settlement was carefully restricted by means of the three and four-storey brick and ashlar-dressed gatehouse of c. 1610 which dominates the approach from the village (see Figure 5.18).

Little is known about the layout of fifteenth and sixteenth-century gardens in the Yorkshire Wolds. The best evidence comes from Burton Agnes, where the early seventeenth-century brick walls with ashlar dressings to the north, south and west of the hall delimit the extent of the gardens in c. 1610, though the ha-ha to the east of the house is a later feature. Celia Fiennes described the entrance court in the late seventeenth century, noting a bowling green in front of the house, “a pav’d walke to the house, cut box and filleroy and lawrell about the Court”. She also walked in the grounds behind the house, noting a summer house, apple hedge, a large gravel walk and a grass walk called “the Crooked Walke”, which ran round the garden walls “indented in and out in corners [of the wall]... which makes you thinke you are at the end of the walke severall tymes before you are”. She noted that whilst the gardens were large and “capable of being made very fine, they now remaine in the old fashion”, suggesting that they may have been little altered since c. 1610.¹⁰¹

Little else is known about the gardens in the Wolds, except that several of them contained towers or garden rooms. There was a tower in the gardens at Leconfield in the 1520s, which contained at least three rooms, all of which were to have fires in winter even when the lord was away. The tower’s function is unknown, but it was probably a lookout from which to view the hunt in the nearby deer park or a banqueting house. There was also a garden house or tower at Boynton Hall in the sixteenth century (illustrated in Figure 5.19). The brick building with stone dressings, steps and a chamfered arch to the basement survives today, though it was remodelled twice in the eighteenth century when an embattled parapet was added.¹⁰² Although only of a single storey and basement, the garden house would have provided extensive views of the gardens and the house, though not of the landscape beyond due to the natural rise of the land to the north. The upper storey has a fireplace, implying that it

¹⁰¹ *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, 1947, 90-1.

¹⁰² VCH ER II, 24; *List of Buildings*, accessed 17.11.2005.



Figure 5.19 Garden house, north-west of Boynton Hall.

might have been utilised in inclement as well as fair weather, perhaps for dining or for retiring from the main house.¹⁰³ Like the galleries and windows in the main houses, garden towers would have provided views across the landscape.

5.2.2 Demesne Land and Deer Parks

Manorial lords acquired their wealth from the agricultural economy and manor houses were the centre of their local agricultural estates. The manorial hall was a site from which to manage the estate and collect rents and dues, as well as administer manorial justice. Some of the forty offices, lodgings and storerooms at Leconfield Castle in 1574 were occupied by domestic officers, but rooms like the auditor's chamber, the clerk's chamber and the counting house were probably assigned to officers who were involved in managing the agricultural estate. In addition to the offices, there were also agricultural buildings within the manorial complex, including a mill and several garners.¹⁰⁴

Manorial complexes were also farms, and inventories and other documentary sources almost always refer to buildings in which agricultural produce and animals could be stored. The archbishop's manor house at Bishop Burton had a barn in 1524, while Londesborough Hall had both a hay barn and a corn barn in 1581. The manor house at Sewerby had a "camera granorum" (granary) in 1468, and Robert Thweng's house at East Heslerton included a room known as the "corn chamber" in 1559 which was presumably used to store corn, although it also contained beds at the time the inventory was taken.¹⁰⁵ The prebendary mansion at North Newbald had a garner chamber of timber and plaster, three barns of timber and stone, an ox house, a kiln and a mill in the late sixteenth century.¹⁰⁶ Flamborough Castle had also a mill house in 1573.¹⁰⁷ Leases often mentioned the lessees' obligations to sow, weed, manure and plough arable land, in addition to maintaining houses and fences and holding the

¹⁰³ *List of Buildings*, accessed 17.11.2005.

¹⁰⁴ Barns for storing grain.

¹⁰⁵ TE III, 161-4.

¹⁰⁶ BIHR, CP G 913.

¹⁰⁷ TNA, E178/2564.

court, and often included agricultural equipment such as ploughs, harrows and carts, arable crops, plough animals and livestock.¹⁰⁸

The term 'demesne' usually applies to that part of an estate kept 'in hand'; in other words, land directly managed by the landowner including parks, a type of demesne woodland which differed only in the sense that parks contained deer and were, as a consequence, securely fenced.¹⁰⁹ Both the amount of demesne land and the relative proportions of demesne and tenant land varied from manor to manor. The arable land at Leconfield in 1314 was roughly equally divided between demesne and tenant management. The demesne was reckoned at 494 acres worth c. £19 yearly, whilst the bondmen's 35 bovates (or c. 490-525 acres) were worth c. £18 a year.¹¹⁰ In other places, the demesne was far larger than the tenant land, as at Boythorpe (par. Foxholes) where in 1531 the manor consisted of twenty-six bovates of demesne then leased out, two bovates held by tenants-at-will and four bovates held by freeholders.¹¹¹ The opposite was true in 1537 at Butterwick, another township in Foxholes, where the demesne comprised twenty-four bovates then leased out, forty-nine bovates held by tenants-at-will and eighteen bovates held by free tenants.¹¹²

The manorial demesne was dispersed throughout the common fields in some places in the Yorkshire Wolds. As Chapter IV notes, the demesne at Butterwick was dispersed throughout the common fields, as it also was at Sewerby (par. Bridlington) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹¹³ In other places, the demesne was organised as a consolidated block. There was a ring-fence demesne farm of 412 acres worth c. £20 at Bishop Burton in 1340, as well as a demesne farm of eight bovates worth £10 in Riddings, an area in the east of the parish adjoining Westwood in Beverley.¹¹⁴ In other places it is clear that previously scattered strips were collected together by a series of exchanges and purchases to create a block demesne. This was clearly the case at Risby

¹⁰⁸ Yorkshire Deeds VI, 128-9, no. 422.

¹⁰⁹ OED; Stamper, 1988, 140. In the widest sense of the word, the term *demesne* applied to land not held of the owner by a freehold tenant, thereby including all land held by villein or copyhold tenure (Vinogradoff, 1892, 223-40).

¹¹⁰ VCH ER IV, 127. The author has assumed an average of 14-15 acres to the bovat, a conversion which was recorded by contemporaries elsewhere in the Wolds.

¹¹¹ VCH, ER II 194.

¹¹² VCH ER II, 194.

¹¹³ VCH ER II, 171 and 194; HUL, DDLG/30/1, 4 and 6.

¹¹⁴ VCH, ER IV, 7.

and while the demesne at Burton Fleming lay in seventeen *culturae* and two intakes throughout East Field and West Field in 1299, by the later Middle Ages the demesne was apparently physically separate from the land held by tenants. There were thirty one and a half bovates of demesne in 1608, when it was clearly distinguished from the 123 bovates which lay in “the bondage or town field”.¹¹⁵

It is clear that in some places manor houses were surrounded by closes of demesne pasture and meadow. For example, “the pastures and dowses and other the grass groundes which ar inclosed about the house” at Risby were mentioned in 1592, and a lease of 1603 from Bishop Burton refers to “all those closes, meadows and pastures... about the site and capital messuage”.¹¹⁶ The demesne belonging to the manor of South Newbald lay in closes by the seventeenth century, at least some of which surrounded the manor house.¹¹⁷ Such closes may have been part of much larger parks, as they apparently were at Risby and Bishop Burton. Even where they were not, the closes functioned to give the owners a sense of their physical and social separation from the village.

The location of manor houses relative to deer parks is examined in Chapter IV, but something can be said here about the distribution of parks, their use and their enlargement in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Both Cantor and Neave have published distribution maps of deer parks in the East Riding.¹¹⁸ Neave lists nine deer parks in the Wolds study area and four more on its western fringe plus several sites where place-names, boundary banks or single documentary references indicate the possible existence of a medieval deer park. Two of Cantor’s six references to deer parks in the Yorkshire Wolds are spurious. The 1323 reference to South Burton in the Patent Rolls identified by Cantor as Burton Agnes refers instead to Bishop Burton, whilst the 1316 reference to the archbishop of York’s park at Sherburn (East Riding) refers to Sherburn-in-Elmet (West Yorkshire). Research undertaken for this thesis has identified four further deer parks within the study area, all located in the northern Wolds (listed in Appendix 6). Neave notes that the pattern of imparking in the East Riding supports the idea that medieval parks generally occurred in areas of Domesday

¹¹⁵ VCH ER II, 122.

¹¹⁶ BIHR, CP G 2654/6 and HUL, DDGE/3/27.

¹¹⁷ VCH ER IV, 136.

¹¹⁸ Cantor, 1983, 87; Neave, 1991, 18-19.

woodland.¹¹⁹ As noted in Chapter IV, the woodland recorded in the Domesday Book was concentrated around Beverley, in the western Hull valley.¹²⁰ This research extends the distribution of deer parks into higher relief and areas without recorded Domesday woodland.

The deer parks known to have existed in the Yorkshire Wolds before 1600 are shown on Figure 5.20 and listed in Appendix 6. Figure 5.20 also shows the location of a further fifteen suspected parks; that is, on the one hand enclosures that may or may not have contained deer in the medieval period and, on the other, deer parks for which there are only post-1600 documentary references or for which there are only landscape or place-name evidence.

In comparison to their relative abundance in the Vale of York and southern Holderness, deer parks were relatively uncommon in the Yorkshire Wolds.¹²¹ There were fourteen medieval deer parks recorded in the study area, itself much larger by area than either the Vale of York or Holderness. In other words, not every manorial lord would have owned a deer park and, in the Wolds at least, comparatively few manors had a deer park associated with them. Cantor's notion that deer parks were a "very common feature of the medieval landscape" applies only to a few areas of England where parks were particularly abundant.¹²² Milesen has recently suggested that around half of the c. 3,200 deer parks which existed in England in c. 1300 belonged to the king and the greater lay and ecclesiastical lords. This implies that there were only c. 1,500 parks owned by the 5000 or so gentle and noble individuals worth more than £5 or £10 annually. In other words, park ownership was closely restricted, "focused on the top of the aristocratic scale and extremely limited towards its lower end. Certainly, no one below the rank of manorial lord would have possessed a deer park, but, equally, many manorial lords were without them too".¹²³

At the time when they were first recorded, over half of the deer parks in the Wolds study area were owned by members of the peerage or by knights. Only the park at

¹¹⁹ Neave, 1991, 5.

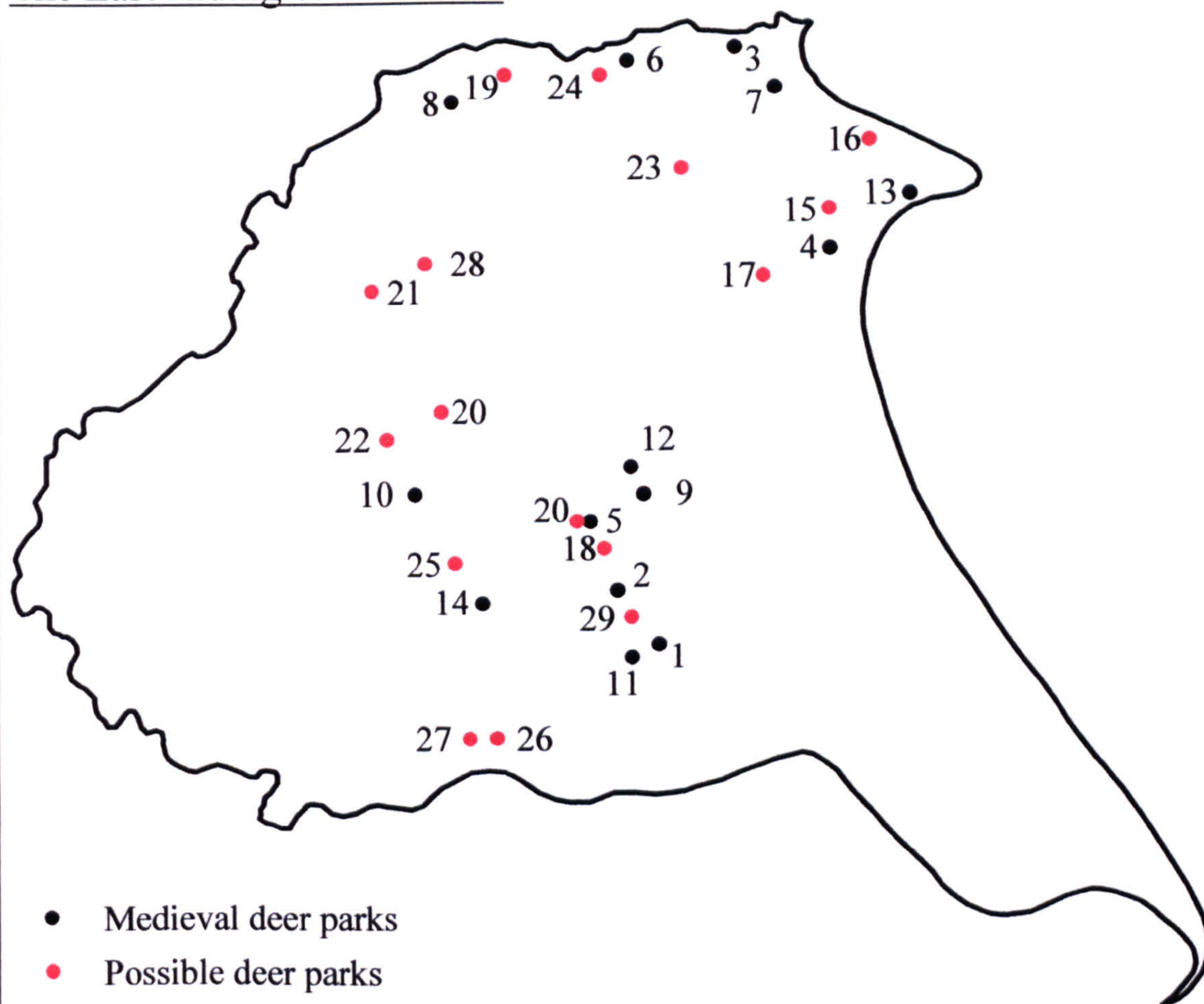
¹²⁰ Maxwell, 1962, 205.

¹²¹ Neave, 1991, 18.

¹²² Cantor, 1983, 73.

¹²³ Milesen, 2005, 148-9.

The East Riding of Yorkshire



- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Bentley | 15. Boynton |
| 2. Bishop Burton | 16. Buckton |
| 3. Butterwick | 17. Burton Agnes |
| 4. Carnaby | 18. Cherry Burton |
| 5. Etton (de Etton) | 19. East Heslerton |
| 6. Ganton | 20. Etton (Knights Templars) |
| 7. Hunmanby | 21. Hanging Grimston |
| 8. Knapton | 22. Kilnwick Percy |
| 9. Leconfield | 23. Octon |
| 10. Londesborough | 24. Potter Brompton |
| 11. Risby | 25. Sancton |
| 12. Scarborough | 26. South Cave East Hall |
| 13. Sewerby | 27. South Cave West Hall |
| 14. South Newbald | 28. Wharram Percy |
| | 29. Walkington |

Figure 5.20 Medieval and sixteenth-century deer parks in the Yorkshire Wolds.

Bishop Burton was owned by an ecclesiastical landlord. Most of the other parks were held by individuals who, although not knighted, were from established and locally important families including the de Heslertons at Carnaby who were descendents of a cadet branch of the Percy family, the de Bentleys of Bentley (par. Rowley) and the de Ettons of Etton. Nothing is known about John Symson of Knapton who held an acre of meadow in the park at Knapton in 1414 or about the estate in Hunmanby with which the park was associated.¹²⁴ The varying social standing of park owners is perhaps reflected in the size of the parks they possessed. The acreage of the deer parks in the study area ranged from Bentley Park or Wood, which was said to contain 44 acres in the sixteenth century, to the three parks at Leconfield which enclosed 1420 acres in the early seventeenth century.¹²⁵

In the Yorkshire Wolds, at least, deer parks were not a status symbol to which most manorial lords had access. In the absence of a deer park, most lords would have had fishponds and warrens, which were enclosures used for breeding small game such as conies and hares. Many lords also possessed a legal right of free warren; that is, the right to hunt small game including wildcats, badgers, foxes, pheasants and partridges over their own lands. Grants of free warren by the Crown were common and, as Stamper notes, “by the early fourteenth century there were probably as many manors with as without this privilege”.¹²⁶

The approximate date at which a park was created is known in only a few places. The park at Etton was mentioned for the first time in second half of the twelfth century when Henry II (1154-1189) licensed Thomas de Etton to hold a deer park.¹²⁷ The wording of the licence makes it clear that Thomas had already enclosed the park at Etton, although it is possible as Hall suggests that Henry II had earlier given him personal permission to enclose the park.¹²⁸ Bentley park (par. Rowley) was first mentioned in c. 1280, when Richard de Bentley asserted his right to keep his wood in the township enclosed.¹²⁹ Richard or his son was granted free warren at Bentley in

¹²⁴ Yorkshire Deeds VII, 143, no.417.

¹²⁵ Neave, 1991, 20 and 40.

¹²⁶ Stamper, 1988, 144.

¹²⁷ Hall, 1932, 7. The licence was lost, but it was exemplified by a Royal Charter dated June 18th, 1341 at the Tower of London.

¹²⁸ Hall, 1932, 7.

¹²⁹ Neave, 1991, 20.

1281, and it seems likely, as Neave suggests, that the park was established at that date.¹³⁰ Other parks are mentioned for the first time in the fourteenth centuries including those at Leconfield, Bishop Burton, Butterwick (par. Foxholes), Carnaby and Sewerby (par. Bridlington), although there is little indication of when they were first imparked.¹³¹

Some parks in the study area were first recorded only after they had been disemparked. For example, the park at Londesborough had been disimparked by 1581, when reference was made to “one certain inclosed ground called the park lying between the site [of the manor house] on the west and the highway leading to Beverley on the north and north east... which said park is now divided into these several closes” called East Park, West Park and Trusley Park.¹³² The existence of other parks, including those at Potter Brompton (par. Ganton) and Sancton which were disemparked before 1558 and 1617 respectively, is implied only by later references to pasture closes whose names signal the previous use of the land as a park.

Yet if some deer parks were disimparked in later medieval period, others like Scarborough and Risby were created only in the late fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, a period when pre-existing parks like Leconfield were also extended. These parks were arguably part of the “fresh phase of park creation or enlargement” identified by Stamper, who argues that these parks were both larger than their predecessors and located closer to the lord’s residence.¹³³ Earlier parks typically consisted of unimproved land beyond the open fields and were therefore usually on the edge of the manor and at a distance from the manor house.¹³⁴ The relative locations of manorial residences and deer parks have already been discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

Milesen has recently challenged the notion that earlier and later medieval deer parks had different purposes, arguing that there was considerable continuity between them.¹³⁵ Stamper appears to concur, arguing that later medieval parks were still

¹³⁰ VCH ER IV, 144; Cal Chart R. 1257-1300, 255; Neave, 1991, 20.

¹³¹ VCH ER IV, 127; Cal Pat 1321-1324, 318 and 386; 1364-7, 137; Cal Inq PM xii, 181; HUL, DDLG 30/72; Yorkshire Deeds VI, 128-9, no. 422.

¹³² Cited in Neave, 1991, 42.

¹³³ Hall, 1932, 15, 18-21; Stamper, 1988, 146.

¹³⁴ Cantor, 1983, 75.

¹³⁵ Milesen, 2005, 122.

primarily used for hunting although they arguably also became less specialised.¹³⁶ Yet ploughed land within parks was perhaps not as uncommon as Cantor has suggested, for evidence from the Wolds demonstrates that parks were used for both grazing and arable cultivation before the Black Death.¹³⁷ There was certainly arable within the park at Etton in the early fourteenth century, as well as enclosed plots of meadow, pasture and wood, and in 1316 an arable plot was described as lying between the wood on the east and the park dyke on the west.¹³⁸ Later medieval parks might also contain herds of sheep and cattle as well as deer, as was certainly the case at Bishop Burton.¹³⁹

Few landlords in the region seem to have depopulated land in order to enclose or extend parks. As Neave notes, in the East Riding at least, “emparking was only rarely, if ever, the cause of village depopulation in the medieval or early modern period”.¹⁴⁰ The park at Scarborough is first recorded in 1517, when 80 acres of wood, pasture and meadow were reported to have been enclosed since 1488.¹⁴¹ Earthworks in the park suggest it was laid out over the site of a former settlement, dated by Beresford and Hurst and Le Patourel as medieval.¹⁴² However, given that the Inquisition of 1517 specifically inquired whether houses had been destroyed during enclosure (*Quot domus & edificia a predicto festo prosternuntur*), the razing of a settlement should have been recorded, strongly suggesting that the settlement was abandoned sometime before the park was laid out over it.¹⁴³

Deer parks did sometimes encroach upon common pastures and open-field land, as the lynchets at Bishop Burton and ridge and furrow in the parks at Leconfield and Risby indicate.¹⁴⁴ The moated site at Leconfield overlies ridge and furrow, implying that the moated manor house and park, first mentioned in 1308 and 1314 respectively, were laid out over former open-field land. The crenellations licensed in 1308, the creation of the park and the construction of the moat probably all took place in the early fourteenth century, shortly after Sir Henry de Percy (1273-1314) was created first

¹³⁶ Stamper, 1988, 147.

¹³⁷ Cantor, 1983, 78.

¹³⁸ Hall, 1932, 18.

¹³⁹ Cantor, 1983, 77; Cal Inq Misc IV, 213; HUL, DDGE/3/25 and 27.

¹⁴⁰ Neave, 1991, 11.

¹⁴¹ TRHS n.s. VII, 248: “inclusit in vno parco pro feris nutriendis octoginta acras bosci pasture & prati”.

¹⁴² Beresford and Hurst, 1971, 208; Le Patourel, 1973, 116.

¹⁴³ Leadam, 1892, 177.

¹⁴⁴ Neave, 1991, 11.

Lord Percy on February 6th, 1298/99.¹⁴⁵ The 1554-5 survey of Leconfield describes the park as including land which had previously been arable.¹⁴⁶ This former arable land was apparently taken into the park in the decades around 1500 when the park was extended at least two times. Sometime between 1488 and 1517, 40 acres of arable, possibly demesne land, and 100 acres of wood and pasture were taken into the park (in elargacionem parci sui ibidem inclusit eidem parco xl acras terre tunc in cultura de dominicis terris suis & centum acras bosci & pasture).¹⁴⁷ In c. 1524, the park was extended into Cherry Burton parish, incorporating land which had previously been part of the open fields of Raventhorpe. The hamlet was depopulated at an unknown date. The air photograph shows around fifteen houses or buildings and the hamlet still had sixteen poll tax payers in 1377, although it was one of the smaller settlements in the Wolds at that time.¹⁴⁸ The *Victoria County History* notes that the extension of Leconfield park into the township “may have contributed to *or* followed the depopulation of Raventhorpe” but Neave notes that, “the site of the settlement itself clearly lies outside the boundaries of the park extension, and was probably depopulated at an earlier date”.¹⁴⁹

The deer park at Risby (par. Rowley) was probably imparked in c. 1540. Witnesses in a tithe cause in 1592 including Christopher Sutton, a yeoman of Little Weighton, deposed that the “first inclosure and impaling thereof” was about 46 years previous to 1592; that is, the park was first enclosed in c. 1546. However, given that Sir Ralph was appointed Marshal of Calais in August 1542 and spent the remaining years of his life on the Continent, it is likely that the park was enclosed before August 1542, perhaps shortly before King Henry VIII stayed at Risby in 1540.¹⁵⁰ The park was extended westwards several times in the later sixteenth century, and one deponent at the tithe cause noted that “the said pale hath diverse times been removed and the park enlarged”.¹⁵¹ The park certainly included land which was previously under arable cultivation. Robert Thirsk, a husbandman of Little Weighton, deposed that about 8 or 9 years previous to the court case in 1592, that is in c. 1584, Ellerker enclosed 15 acres

¹⁴⁵ *The Complete Peerage* X, 457.

¹⁴⁶ Neave, 1991, 11.

¹⁴⁷ TRHS n.s. VII, 248.

¹⁴⁸ VCH ER IV, 13; Beresford, 1954, 67.

¹⁴⁹ VCH ER IV, 16 (emphasis added); Neave, 1991, 11.

¹⁵⁰ MacMahon, 2004; Neave, 1991, 46.

¹⁵¹ Cited in Neave, 1991, 11.

of arable land previously occupied by William Marr of Risby and made the same part of the park.¹⁵² In c. 1587 eleven or twelve more arable strips were enclosed within the park pale. Considerable amounts of ridge and furrow survived in this area in 1977.¹⁵³

The extensions to the park occurred at a time when Ellerker enclosed other land in Risby. East Field was said to have been enclosed sixty years previous to the tithe cause and it was occupied in 1592 by Ellerker as his ancient demesne, saving only a few acres on which other men grew corn. Ellerker had also extended his demesne into parts of Risby Town Field, and one witness referred to four oxgangs (c. 60 acres) in that field which were accounted part of the demesnes of Risby. Witnesses also referred to other enclosures in the township, including a little garth near the chapel called Parson Garth and a close of pasture known as Sir Ralph Close.

The block demesne, and perhaps also the park and other enclosures, were apparently created by a process of exchanging arable holdings in the later Middle Ages. One witness in a tithe cause of 1592 deposed that Ellerker's ancestors had exchanged land in nearby Wauldby (par. Welton) for seven oxgangs in Risby, which were then accounted part of the demesnes. It is not clear where the seven oxgangs were located, but the existence of land within the enclosed East Field farmed by men other than the lord of the manor is indicative of a demesne consolidated by exchanges and by purchase.¹⁵⁴ It seems likely that the consolidated demesne was created with the intention of enclosing the East Field.

Where lords expanded their parks into areas which had previously been under arable cultivation, they were arguably extending their privatised ownership of the landscape. Many landlords sought to extinguish common rights over imparked areas, typically by granting rights in lieu in other parts of their estate, and in this sense they obviously envisaged parks as private landscapes. However, common rights continued to exist in many parks including Beverley Parks, where the townsmen pastured 400 animals within the park in summer 1388 and 200 in autumn of the same year.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, private claims to imparked land might be opposed by poaching deer or other game

¹⁵² BIHR, CP G 2654/1.

¹⁵³ VCH ER IV, 147.

¹⁵⁴ BIHR, CP G 2654.

¹⁵⁵ Stamper, 1988, 145.

from the parks or stealing timber, crimes which the owners of the parks at Bishop Burton, Beverley and Leconfield regularly complained in the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁶ Other landowners complained various men had broken or trespassed in their closes or free warren where the offenders hunted game, fished, stole livestock, felled trees or dug turves.¹⁵⁷ The following sections examine how the private nature of landed property was imagined, experienced and negotiated in the sixteenth-century Yorkshire Wolds.

5.3 The Wider Landscape

5.3.1 Negotiating Property, Possession and Ownership in the Sixteenth Century

The remainder of the chapter explores the connections between land, law and power in the Yorkshire Wolds in the late medieval and early modern period. In particular, this section utilises property records and court papers as a means of exploring how people thought about and experienced the landscape around them. Historians who have studied property records have suggested that these documents can provide “an important insight into contemporary understandings of space”, not least because the “idea of ownership and of space as property, commodity, or chattel significantly shapes the experience of it”.¹⁵⁸ Arnade *et al* suggested that historians might fruitfully examine the instruments that registered contemporaries’ notions of urban, public space, including the law, literature or property records.¹⁵⁹ Much the same theme is addressed here in a rural context. Attention is paid to what pleadings and depositions from suits brought before the Star Chamber might reveal of the way people defined, understood and experienced space as public and private in the sixteenth-century Yorkshire Wolds. Although undoubtedly structured by narrative and legal frameworks dictating the way evidence should be presented and people’s stories told, pleadings and depositions still provide some of the best means of accessing ordinary people’s thoughts about their daily lives and surroundings.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ Cal Pat 1321-4, 318 and 386; 1338-40, 147; 1350-4, 511; 1361-4, 148; 1364-7, 137; 1374-7, 227.

¹⁵⁷ Cal Pat 1330-4, 353; 1361-4, 71, 73, 541; 1364-7, 146; 1374-7, 59, 326, 414; 1377-81, 415.

¹⁵⁸ Harding, 2002, 569.

¹⁵⁹ Arnade *et al.*, 2002, 543.

¹⁶⁰ Hanawalt, 1998, 124-41; Gowing, 2003, 12-5.

As in many Star Chamber cases, the vast majority of the thirty cases relating to the Yorkshire Wolds are concerned with rights in land or property. Only three cases included no claim to land or property, being concerned instead with defamation or violent crimes such as attempted murder.¹⁶¹ Given that land was not commonly understood as property in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these cases are best understood as disputes over rights in land and/or chattels. The cases are interesting not only for what they reveal about how land and other property might be conceived as privately owned, but also for the light they shed on how claims to private or common rights in land might be negotiated. Although often concerned with title to land, the bills of complaint typically alleged various criminal offences had also been committed including riot, unlawful assembly, forcible entry, dispossession, assault and theft of personal goods or agricultural produce. By framing their bills in terms of criminal offences, such as riot, unlawful entry, assault or theft, petitioners utilised the court as a means to try title.

However, one should be wary of assuming that the criminal offences alleged in the bills were fictional or grossly exaggerated. Guy sees a distinction between real and alleged cases of riot, arguing that only 7 per cent of his sample “yields evidence of genuine rioting”, whilst the remaining 41 per cent of cases were concerned with title to property.¹⁶² He assumes that cases were either about riot or title, and that riots could not occur as an outcome of disputes over property, both issues then being brought before the Star Chamber. Writing about Elizabethan enclosure riots, Manning argues that “[a]lthough the colourful language in which complainants allege a riot in order to secure a hearing before Star Chamber must sometimes be taken with a grain of salt, most riot cases did involve some degree of violence”.¹⁶³

The Star Chamber certainly seems to have worked with a very broad definition of riot, which included both protracted disturbances and lesser collective breaches of the peace.¹⁶⁴ The Star Chamber definition was no doubt at least partially based on the common law, which defined a riot as three or more persons assembled in a violent and tumultuous fashion, under their own authority, with the mutual intent of committing a

¹⁶¹ YAJ 15, 89-91; YSCP III, 97; STAC5/C21/9.

¹⁶² Guy, 1977, 15 and 1985, 52.

¹⁶³ Manning, 1988, 57.

¹⁶⁴ Wood, 2002, 47.

breach of the peace. Violence included intimidating words spoken whilst bearing offensive weapons, hence the emphasis many of the bills of complaint place on crowds who carried “billes, staffes, clubbes, pycheforkes and oder wepons after the maner of warre”.¹⁶⁵ Complaints about dispossession and unlawful entry were typically accompanied by complaints about violence against the person and many plaintiffs and defendants claimed they had been seriously assaulted. Thomas Gowle was not untypical when he claimed that men who had riotously arrayed themselves with weapons and entered into his tenement and land at Bempton in May 1579, had beaten and wounded him so severely that he was “still lame of his armes & leges” some months later.¹⁶⁶ In a single bill of 1600 Michael Wharton of Beverley Parks Esq. complained that he had been assaulted on no less than six occasions between May 1598 and April 1599 in places as far apart as London and Thorpe-le-Street near Market Weighton (East Riding), as well as on the ferry between Barton and Hull.¹⁶⁷ Other petitioners complained that their servants and tenants had been beaten and wounded or that the defendants “lay in wayte” for the plaintiff or his men so as to kill or maim them.¹⁶⁸ Several petitioners alleged that the defendant or defendants had attempted to murder them, their kin or servants.

On the whole, the riots recorded in the Star Chamber archive were not widespread rebellions but local breaches of the peace. While these crowd actions were at least partially informed by the wider political climate, the Wolds riots brought before the Star Chamber generally aimed to change the local allocation of resources, rather than to affect central government policy towards the peasantry, yeomen class or religious institutions. This is apparently much the same across the country, for as Wood has noted, small-scale, local crowd actions easily make up the bulk of riotous cases heard by the Star Chamber and other courts.¹⁶⁹ Discussing the evidence from the Star Chamber archive for early Tudor enclosure riots, Manning argues that in general such riots were “small in scale... precipitated by very specific agrarian conditions associated with a limited geographical area”.¹⁷⁰ Of the seventy-five Star Chamber cases dealing

¹⁶⁵ Manning, 1988, 57; YSCP I, 131-7. A bill was a weapon with a concave blade or axe and a long wooden handle.

¹⁶⁶ TNA, STAC5/G23/5.

¹⁶⁷ TNA, STAC5/W15/32.

¹⁶⁸ YSCP II, 135.

¹⁶⁹ Wood, 2002, 41.

¹⁷⁰ Manning, 1974, 132.

with enclosure riots between 1509 and 1553, and excluding those which took place at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace and the rebellions of 1548-9, “there are only three known examples of enclosure riots spreading beyond a single manor, village or town, and all of these tumults were contained within locales no more than 15 miles in extent”.¹⁷¹

Rather than subscribe to Guy’s distinction between ‘real’ and ‘alleged’ rioting, one might view the riots, dispossessions and thefts alleged in the bills as some of the ‘self-help’ remedies available to those asserting titles to land and chattels. Sometimes defendants were explicit about why they had forcibly entered land or houses. In his answer to a bill complaining that he had wrongfully occupied two woods in Etton, Robert Hodgson argued that he had the title, but having been forced to pay damages and the cost of the suit in the Common Pleas as a consequence of the plaintiffs’ fraudulent behaviour and jury-packing, “this defendant therefore knowinge no other way to bringe the title of and to the premises to full and perfect tryall but onely by his entrie into the same”.¹⁷² Litigation at the Star Chamber was another of the means by which title could be asserted, and individual cases should be viewed as part of a process of negotiation taking place both within the court and outside it, whereby rights and titles to land and goods were legitimated and maintained.

The status of the litigants in the Star Chamber cases can be fruitfully considered. Few members of the great magnate families appear in the Star Chamber cases for the Yorkshire Wolds. Despite their involvement in the widespread enclosure riots in Craven in 1535, the Earls of Cumberland do not appear in the Wolds cases.¹⁷³ By contrast, the Earls of Northumberland were in the Star Chamber somewhat more regularly. In 1516, the fifth Earl was committed to Fleet prison for his contempt of the Star Chamber’s jurisdiction in private suits.¹⁷⁴ In c. 1514-1529, the sixth Earl of Northumberland was cited for “sundry misdemeanours, enormities, injuries and wrongs” by Thomas, archbishop of York.¹⁷⁵ The sixth Earl was also involved in disputes with Sir John Hotham over property at Scarborough in 1529, while the ninth

¹⁷¹ Manning, 1974, 129.

¹⁷² TNA, STAC5/H58/19.

¹⁷³ Hoyle, 2004b; Manning, 1974, 128-9.

¹⁷⁴ Guy, 1977, 27.

¹⁷⁵ YSCP III, 97.

Earl was in the Star Chamber in 1590, again concerning disputed property at Scarborough.¹⁷⁶

Many of those involved in the Star Chamber cases were members of local gentle families. Men like Sir John Hotham and Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough were common litigants, and the latter was frequently cited in bills of complaint. Yet the litigants were by no means all members of the gentry or nobility. Some were freeholders. Even husbandmen or their widows might petition the Star Chamber, as in the case of Isabel Goddishalf, widow of a husbandman of Newbald, who described herself as the mother of “iiij poor children”.¹⁷⁷ Wood noted the role of the ‘middling’ male householder in leading early Tudor popular protests, arguing that he:

“played a dynamic role in the administration, expression, mediation and extension of authority: in his capacity as a member of the village court, a vestryman, an elector, a juryman, or a constable, the early modern state came increasingly to depend upon him. This variety of roles gave him the potential to represent personal or collective grievances to those in authority, and even on occasion to organise resistance to lords, magistrates and gentlemen”.¹⁷⁸

The cases for the Wolds can be classified according to the type of dispute they recorded. The largest number of cases related to disputes over title to land, including disputes over inheritance and dower. The plaintiffs generally claimed title to the land as private property, arguing that they had been wrongfully and often violently dispossessed. Complaints were often expressed in terms of the mismanagement of the land the defendant had illegally occupied. Other cases refer to enclosure riots and disputes over rights in common or recently enclosed land. Of particular interest is the way these cases utilise notions about common rights in and access to land. The few cases which refer to disputes between neighbouring lords over land and the rights of their tenants are revealing for the same reasons. A small number of cases referred to the theft of agricultural produce or goods rather than title to land or to cases unconcerned with landed property.

¹⁷⁶ YSCP II 134-7; TNA, STAC5/N9/9.

¹⁷⁷ YSCP I, 133.

¹⁷⁸ Wood, 2002, 48.

5.3.2 Property Disputes and Land Use

Many of the plaintiffs bringing cases referring to title in land complained that the land had been mismanaged or its land use changed whilst wrongfully occupied by the defendants. These cases are revealing not only for what they disclose about the meaning of enclosure, private property and ownership, but also because they imply that title to land might be successfully articulated through possession, use and practice. Complainants often alleged that defendants who wrongfully occupied their land had broken up pastures by ploughing them, as at Speeton, where the prior of Bridlington and sixteen riotous persons were said to have “subuertyted [subverted] and tilled” the demesne.¹⁷⁹ In 1555, Robert and William Craike of West Heslerton were accused of “collecting very many malefactors and disturbers of the peace” and breaking a close near the windmill in West Heslerton where they “turned up the soil to the grievous damage of Ralph Thweng”, the owner of the close and lord of East Heslerton.¹⁸⁰

Wrongful ploughing was also alleged at South Cave in 1529, and here the survival of additional documents allows something to be said about the meaning and significance of such ploughing. In his bill of complaint, Richard Smetheley asserted that Sir Robert Constable had assembled a riotous company who had put Smetheley out of his occupation of East Hall manor including the manor house, eighteen oxgangs land and the profits of the court, fair and market. Sir Robert answered that he had peaceably discharged Smetheley, who had wrongfully occupied and mismanaged the lands. Considerable emphasis is placed on how the estate ought to be managed for “the best profit” of Oswald London, a minor and son of the previous owner and now son-in-law of Smetheley, upon whose behalf Sir Robert claimed he was acting.¹⁸¹ The details about how the estate was managed by the two men for “the best profit” are particularly interesting. Though the degree of violence involved in the dispossession was disputed, both plaintiff and defendant were agreed that Sir Robert had driven sheep and cattle out of closes belonging to the manor and “caused parcel thereof to be ploughed”.

¹⁷⁹ YSCP II, 147.

¹⁸⁰ YAS, H49.

¹⁸¹ YSCP III, 140-4.

The suit between Smetheley and Sir Robert was part of a long-running dispute over rights, resources and land use in South Cave parish. Rights over Walling Fen, a marsh or moor in the south-east of the parish, were in dispute from at least 1228, and in 1467, John Lound, lord of West Hall, unsuccessfully claimed superior jurisdiction there.¹⁸² Sometime between 1518 and his death in 1525, John London, lord of East Hall, was in dispute with the tenants and inhabitants over waifs, strays, fishing, fowling and other manorial rights and profits in Walling Fen.¹⁸³ The tension between London and the villagers was apparently longstanding. John London and Robert Sheffield, lord of West Hall, had appeared in the Star Chamber sometime before 1513, and in his replication to Sheffield's answer, London denied that he had been "an extorcioner and oppressor of his neyborgs and inhabitans of the seid towne of Suthcaue, or made eny suche unlawfull assemble in riottus wyse as is the seid answer is also alleggyd".¹⁸⁴ Sheffield's answer has not survived, so the details of the alleged riot are unknown. However, the case related to a debt which Sheffield claimed London owed as a consequence of breaking an obligation to abide by an award imposed on London and Sheffield's father, Sir Robert, by several arbitrators. The case does not specify what the award related to, but it is tempting to surmise that both the award and the supposed riot pertained to a dispute between London, Sheffield and the villagers over the three parties' rights in Walling Fen.

Sir Robert Constable first appears in the South Cave disputes between 1518 and 1525, when he was one of the men chosen by the inhabitants as surveyor and ruler in the case between London and the villagers over rights in Walling Fen.¹⁸⁵ He was then farmer of the parsonage, though by no means a universally popular figure. A Chancery suit brought against him around the same date claimed that Sir Robert owed tithes on the parsonage, as well as maintained John Sympton as parish clerk against the will of the parishioners.¹⁸⁶

The dispute between the lord of East Hall and the villagers continued after London's death under the new occupier of the manor. In the 1530s Chancery cases were brought

¹⁸² Cal Pat 1225-32, 213 and 1307-13, 261; VCH ER IV, 48.

¹⁸³ TNA, C 1/535/21.

¹⁸⁴ YSCP IV, 59.

¹⁸⁵ TNA C1/535/21.

¹⁸⁶ TNA, C1/563/27.

against Richard Smetheley by Michael Ledall and others, acting for themselves and all other inhabitants of South Cave, who claimed that Smetheley had turned his cattle onto the inhabitants' corn in one of the common fields, wrongfully impounded their cattle, and taken up to 3 d per animal for their release. They complained that as a consequence of Smetheley's actions, the town was "greately decayed withyn the foure or fyve yeres as well in plowes & other substaunce But is also depopulate of people", so that there were then not twenty-two ploughs left in South Cave.¹⁸⁷ The dispute had apparently been in the courts before, for the plaintiffs claimed that Smetheley had troubled them with "wrongfull vexaciones and suytes".¹⁸⁸ In his answer for the Chancery, Smetheley asserted that Ledall's bill was brought about by the malice and evil will of Sir Robert Constable.

Smetheley appears to have been attempting to convert arable land to pasture within the parish. Enclosures affected by Smetheley are implied in the Chancery records of the 1530s. For example, Smetheley impounded 300-400 sheep that the inhabitants depastured in Weedley, claiming that the sheep had destroyed grass and wood in an area in which Smetheley was tenant. The inhabitants of South Cave claimed that Smetheley had disturbed them in taking their common both in the common fields and in Walling Fen, and that their sheep had been wrongfully impounded by Smetheley. Smetheley was evidently attempting to curtail the inhabitants' rights in Weedley and elsewhere in the parish. This was most likely with a view to enclosure, presumably for pasture, although he was careful to state that his pastures at Weedley were still "open upon the feeldes of Cave".¹⁸⁹ Smetheley was also attempting to convert arable to pasture elsewhere in the parish. The inhabitants complained that Smetheley had diverse times turned out sheep on to their crops in the common fields and at Cold Wold. They claimed that sheep belonging to Smetheley had eaten 300 quarters of corn growing in the common fields, as well as peas and corn amounting to 400 quarters at Cold Wold.

In the light of this evidence one can suggest that by ploughing up closes on the manor of East Hall Sir Robert Constable was reversing enclosures made by Richard

¹⁸⁷ TNA, C 1/845/35.

¹⁸⁸ TNA, C 1/839/21.

¹⁸⁹ TNA, C 1/845/36. Weedley had certainly been enclosed by 1574/5, when the lessee of East Hall was charged with providing 100 kids a year for maintenance of the Weedley hedges (HUL, DDBA (2)/6/42).

Smetheley here and elsewhere in the parish. A similar case was brought against Sir Robert in c. 1533, when Marmaduke Monkton and others complained that Sir Robert and forty riotous persons had unlawfully entered into closes at South Kettlethorpe, a farm between South Cave and Newbald, and “the several soil of your said subjects there with 36 ploughs with force subverted, manured and sowed”.¹⁹⁰ In 1534, Sir Robert was accused of sending more than forty of his servants, tenants and retinue to North Cave where they forcible entered a close belonging to a husbandman John Key, “in maner of a rout, and then and ther all the heges and al other the lafull defensis of the said close then and there riotously with fors pulled, cast down and brynt [burnt]”. The rioters had grazed their horses, oxen and cattle in the close, thereby consuming and utterly destroying thirteen wain loads of wheat and rye.¹⁹¹

Many of the cases Sir Robert was involved in related to land in the southern Wolds, a fact which perhaps reflected family interests in the area. Sir Robert’s cousin, Marmaduke Constable, held the manor of North Cliffe until his death in 1525 and Sir Robert apparently managed the estate during the minority of Marmaduke’s heir, James (see Constable Pedigree in Appendix 1). The eldest son of Sir Marmaduke Constable of Flamborough (c. 1458-1518), Sir Robert was knighted in 1497 after fighting for the royal army at Blackheath. He fought alongside his father, his brothers and cousins at Flodden in 1513.¹⁹² After his father choked to death, reputedly on a frog which hopped into his glass whilst he relaxed in the garden of Flamborough Castle, Sir Robert succeeded to the family estates in 1518.¹⁹³ A man of considerable local importance, Sir Robert was a Justice of the Peace and commissioner of array for the East Riding from the early 1500s, as well as a member of the king’s council of the north from the early 1530s.¹⁹⁴ Despite his good standing, Sir Robert was brought before the Star Chamber on at least nine occasions between 1524 and his death in 1537.¹⁹⁵ Although pardoned for the abduction of a royal ward at Bishop Burton, he was also publicly

¹⁹⁰ YSCP IV, 16-7.

¹⁹¹ YSCP III, 68-9.

¹⁹² Newman, 2004.

¹⁹³ Hampton, 1979, 219-20.

¹⁹⁴ Newman, 2004.

¹⁹⁵ TNA, STAC2/1/42; STAC2/8/205-10; STAC2/16/204; YSCP I, 186-8; II, 140-2; III, 18, 68-9, 98, 110-3, 140-4; IV, 16-7, 28-36.

reprimanded several times in the 1520s and 1530s for his involvement in local feuds.¹⁹⁶

Sir Robert was known for his dangerous disposition and, in 1536, he played a leading role in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Although initially pardoned, he was later executed at Hull where his body hung in chains at Beverley Gate.¹⁹⁷ His involvement in the rebellion was perhaps attributable to his patron, the sixth Earl of Northumberland, although the relationship between the two men was not without tension. In c. 1514-1529, the archbishop of York complained that Thomas Nevill and other servants of the earl had riotously assembled at Beverley intending to murder Sir Robert Constable who was at dinner in the town.¹⁹⁸ The earl denied all knowledge of the charges, but his uncle Sir William Percy was in the Star Chamber in c. 1534 over a feud with Sir Robert in which murder and maiming were alleged.¹⁹⁹ Sir William complained that Sir Robert had done him numerous wrongs, including riotously entering Hunsley pasture, a sheep-walk in Rowley parish, and keeping Sir William from his occupation by means of a garrison Sir Robert maintained at the nearby manor house of Hotham.

If ploughing functioned as a form of resistance to enclosure in the cases cited above, this is not to suggest that Sir Robert was always an anti-enclosure figure. In c. 1532 at nearby Arras, he depastured 400 sheep on arable land and evicted four husbandmen thereby largely depopulating the hamlet.²⁰⁰ This case is discussed in greater detail below. The Star Chamber archive contains a number of other cases in which plaintiffs complained that defendants had wrongfully depastured sheep, cattle or horses on land in the Yorkshire Wolds. Some of these cases explicitly referred to issues of title. For example, Sir John Hotham complained in 1529 that horses belonging to the earl of Northumberland and his servants had been feeding in closes of corn and hay at Scarborough.²⁰¹ The allegation was part of a long list of complaints against the earl, which explicitly aimed to assert Hotham's title over meres, pastures and meadows in Scarborough. However, in many of the Wolds cases complaints about the depasturing

¹⁹⁶ Newman, 2004.

¹⁹⁷ Dodds and Dodds, 1915, Vol I, 46; Newman, 2004.

¹⁹⁸ YSCP III, 97.

¹⁹⁹ YSCP III, 98 and 18.

²⁰⁰ TNA, STAC2/1/42.

²⁰¹ YSCP I, 157-8; II, 134-7.

of animals on various types of crops or leys signal an element of popular discontent or disputes over common rights.

The type of land depastured varied from case to case but included arable at Scarborough and Bishop Burton, pasture balks in the common fields at Sancton and woodland at Goodmanham and Weedley (par. South Cave). At least some of this land was enclosed and there are instances where hedges, fences and ditches were removed, sometimes specifically with the intention of reasserting common rights. In 1599 Marmaduke Grimston Esq. of Goodmanham submitted two bills to the Star Chamber complaining that various inhabitants of the parish had thrown down the fence at Wood Nooke in Goodmanham, a close which contained spring and young wood which Grimston had fenced at his own cost. Grimston complained that in casting down the fence and filling in the ditches the defendants had laid the close open and beasts had depastured the wood, but the defendants argued that the ground was a part of the common of Goodmanham which Grimston had caused to be enclosed and fenced for his own profit. Two husbandmen denied casting down the fence, but admitted they had willed their wives to do so and declared that the womenfolk of the village had “agreed together to throwe the said fences downe to thend that the parish might have common in that ground as they had before tyme”.²⁰²

The Dean and Chapter of York alleged that various riotous persons had entered their property at Bishop Burton twice in 1523. In March of that year, William Sheperson, chaplain, and other riotous persons had forcibly entered into the parsonage lands and “with their ploughs subverted the ground”. In July, Simon Wallington, another priest, and others had again broken into the parsonage lands and houses, and carried away wool worth 4 marks and twenty-five lambs worth 20 shillings. These “riotous and ill-disposed persons” then depastured the corn and hay grounds with horses and cattle and occupied the tithes.²⁰³ The chaplains and some of the other defendants were local men, a fact which implies local resentment of the parsonage estate and perhaps popular discontent regarding enclosure.²⁰⁴

²⁰² TNA, STAC5/G23/4 and STAC5/G17/35.

²⁰³ YSCP II, 104-5.

²⁰⁴ Simon Wallington was chaplain at Bishop Burton in 1525-6 (*East Riding Clergy in 1525-6*, 73).

In 1574, Marmaduke Langdale complained that John Ward and others had forcibly occupied balks and meres lying in the common field, parcel of the manor of Sancton. The rioters menaced a mower working there so he would no longer mow, and wasted and consumed the grass growing there, presumably by grazing animals on it.²⁰⁵ Peter Langdale complained to the Star Chamber that Roger Gardham of North Cliff and more than twenty others assembled in a riotous manner, armed with weapons, in Houghton (par. Sancton) in April 1588 at the commandment of Marmaduke Constable of North Cliff. Langdale complained that the defendants, “Entered into the said Close called Gill garth and there in most Ryotus and dispitefull mannor did with there swords and pytcheforkes did Cut and break down the hedge and Cut upp the Earth”. Further Langdale complained that they had occupied the close, driven his cattle out and menaced him, saying that they would kill or maim him.²⁰⁶

As Wood asserts, the common law courts made a “centrally important distinction between private and public disputes”. Inhabitants who acted together to break enclosures upon land in which they claimed common rights might be prosecuted for trespass or affray, or might lodge a counter-case as private individuals, for this constituted “a private matter between encloser and anti-encloser”. Only if the inhabitants of more than one place combined in order to attack enclosures on land in which they had no private interest was the riot considered to levy war against the Crown, hence the insistence by some plaintiffs that the riotous persons confederated with individuals from neighbouring parishes.²⁰⁷ This makes it clear that plaintiffs could sue singularly or collectively over their private interests and rights in common land, rendering it insufficient to talk about a dichotomy between the private interests of the encloser and community interests in common land.

Opposition to enclosure might be voiced by means other than depasturing animals on disputed land. In c. 1524 inhabitants of Newbald had riotously assembled on the green, demanding turves and thorns (probably hawthorn or gorse) from the west ground of the prebendary, land in which they claimed customary rights.²⁰⁸ The west ground was probably part of The Mires, a grassy area west of the village that may once have

²⁰⁵ TNA, STAC5/L30/35.

²⁰⁶ TNA, STAC5/L3/40.

²⁰⁷ Wood, 2002, 41.

²⁰⁸ YSCP III, 52.

extended as far east as the green. In denying the villagers' common rights, Henry Machell, parson and prebendary of North Newbald, was seemingly trying to usurp a customary right, one that had perhaps been exercised for some considerable time.²⁰⁹

In both his answer and his countersuit, Machell asserted that Richard Bank, husbandmen, had confederated with a local landowner, Marmaduke Constable of the neighbouring hamlet of North Cliff, a cousin of Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough and grandfather of the man accused of confederating with the rioters at Houghton in c. 1588. The next morning Bank acquired the help of Anthony Goddishalf and others, "goynge howsyn to howsyn thorough all the seid towne, to thentent that they should assemble themselves at a Grene... there to make extent and clayme to haue turves and thornes". By six o'clock in the morning sixty people had armed themselves with bills, clubs, pitchforks and other weapons and assembled on the green "in a great rout". The rioters demanded to speak with the prebendary and when Machell arrived on the green, he offered to try the inhabitants' right in the forthcoming court. In response, Bank argued that they should have the turves and try their right afterward, and then "in his rancour, furye and malis, toke the seid Henry Machell violently by the bosom, sayng 'Thou prest, what makyst thowe here, gete the hens, or els thou shalt haue that thowe comyst fore'". A riot ensued in which stones were thrown and blows dealt. Machell fled to his house near the green, but some of the rioters followed him whilst others rang the church bells, "by reason wherof the hole inhabitantes of the seid towne rose and came to the house of the seid Henry, to thentent... to haue slayn and murderid [him]".²¹⁰

Sixty inhabitants of the village were involved in the initial assembly on the green and others joined them after the church bells were rung. Moreover, at least one person was killed during the riot. Isabel Goddishalf sued the initial bill in which she complained that Machell and others had murdered her husband Anthony. She described the events vividly in her bill, asserting that on the morning of the supposed riot Anthony and other husbandmen had been at the common forge of Newbald, preparing their tools and "thinges of husbondrye". Machell and others armed themselves and came through the streets of Newbald "in terrible maner... to thintent to haue mured and beten your

²⁰⁹ Brooks, 1954.

²¹⁰ YSCP III, 51-3; YSCP I, 131-7.

said poore subiectes”. Arriving at the common forge, members of Machell’s riotous company:

“violently drue the said Anthony... hauyng noo maner wepon for his defence, bakwarde to a wall ther being, and with a bill then and ther strake the said Anthony upon the hedd in soo pituous wise that the brayne ranne and issued out of the hedd... by force of which stroke and pitefull wounde the same Anthony, then and ther, immediatly, without ony woorde speking, fell down and died”.

In his answer, Machell denied unlawfully assembling his servants, striking Goodishalf or subsequently being indicted for such. By his own admission, Machell had subsequently fled the town, first going to Market Weighton and then to Seamer in the Vale of Pickering. Isabel complained that although a coroner and jury had already indicted Machell, and his goods were therefore forfeit to the Crown, she feared that Machell would escape without due punishment.²¹¹

Like all of the Star Chamber cases, the outcome of the court proceedings is unknown and one can only guess at whether Machell was brought to justice or the inhabitants succeeded in claiming the customary rights they demanded. However, it is clear from the bills and answers that the events at Newbald constituted the largest and most serious breach of the peace recorded as a riot in the Star Chamber papers for the Yorkshire Wolds. In other words, allegations of riot were not simply a means to ensure a hearing at the Star Chamber as Guy has suggested. Rather, property disputes and customary rights litigated in the central equity courts might concurrently be negotiated through a variety of other practices, including counter-litigation, evictions, dispossessions, thefts and riots, which were often violent and bloody.

5.3.3 Enclosures and Evictions

With the exception of woodland closes, the enclosures described above were mostly undertaken with the intention of converting arable land to pasture, a profitable undertaking at a time when grain prices were low and wages high.²¹² Enclosure and conversion to pasture often curtailed common rights and in some cases reduced the

²¹¹ YSCP I, 131-7.

²¹² Campbell, 1990, 106.

population as at South Cave, where the inhabitants complained in the 1530s that the town was “depopulate of people”.²¹³ These were not the forcible depopulations that commanded so much contemporary, and later academic, attention.²¹⁴ Evictions and forcible depopulations were rarer and generally affected smaller hamlets rather than large villages. In 1517, only a small number of enclosures were reported in Yorkshire as a whole, most of which were not associated with the destruction of dwellings, though the East Riding had more of these than the other ridings. Assuming, as Leadam does, that four people were evicted for each house destroyed and three for each cottage, then 171 persons were evicted from their homes in the East Riding compared to 128 in the North Riding and ninety-four persons in the West Riding. None of the Yorkshire enclosures recorded in 1517 were undertaken with the intention of improving arable land and few were with a view to imparking. Only 15 acres of land enclosed in Yorkshire was reported to have remained as arable, the rest was already grassland or was converted to pasture.²¹⁵

Enclosures and evictions were reported at Caythorpe (par. Rudston) in 1517.²¹⁶ Sir Thomas Fairfax, head of a family who had held an estate at Caythorpe since 1434, converted 200 acres of arable to pasture, put down five ploughs, destroyed five messuages and evicted twenty people in c. 1500.²¹⁷ Given that Caythorpe had always been a small settlement with only forty poll taxpayers in 1377, the enclosures of c. 1500 imply that the settlement was probably wholly depopulated before 1517. Certainly “[a]ny open-field land which remained was probably never again cultivated in common” and subsequent landowners, including the Constable family who acquired the estate by purchase in 1513 and were perhaps implicated in Sir Thomas’ enclosures, kept large flocks of sheep in Caythorpe Field.²¹⁸

Enclosures and evictions were also reported at Hanging Grimston (par. Kirby Underdale), where the Abbot of St Mary’s, York converted 40 acres arable into

²¹³ TNA, C 1/845/35.

²¹⁴ Thirsk, 1989; Martin, 1988; Stride, 1989.

²¹⁵ Leadam, 1893, 221 and 219.

²¹⁶ TRHS n.s. VII, 247.

²¹⁷ VCH ER II, 315.

²¹⁸ VCH ER II, 315; Beresford, 1954, 59; TE VI, 106-7.

pasture, put down two ploughs, destroyed two houses and evicted eight people.²¹⁹ Four messuages and four ploughs were put down and the tenants evicted at Wharram Percy and lord Fitzhugh converted three acres of arable to pasture and destroyed three cottages at Thirkleby (par. Kirby Grindalythe).²²⁰ Forcible depopulation and the conversion of arable to sheep pasture may also have played a part in the disappearance of other hamlets, including Bracken (par. Kilnwick).²²¹

Evictions at Arras were the only depopulations in the Yorkshire Wolds to be recorded in the Star Chamber. Arras had probably always been a small settlement with only thirty-five taxpayers at the Poll Tax, though it was then bigger than other surviving settlements. It may have been badly affected by the Black Death for it received a 46 per cent reduction in tax and a waste plot was recorded there in 1368.²²² There were still five tofts and crofts at Arras in 1526.²²³ A recent resistivity survey suggested that the tofts were arranged to the north and south of the surviving track way, backing directly on to the arable land. Pottery finds from the site were largely confined to the period between the twelfth century and the end of the fifteenth century.²²⁴ Final depopulation of the hamlet occurred relatively rapidly. In 1532, four husbandmen complained to the Star Chamber that Sir Robert Constable had riotously entered into four messuages and 32 oxgangs, taken their corn, expelled them from their houses and land, put forth their cattle which died of starvation, and depastured 400 sheep on 10 acres of arable in the fields of Arras that the tenants had recently sown with oats, thereby leaving the husbandmen “utterly impoverysshed for ever”.²²⁵ They claimed that they had leased their messuages and land four years earlier from Sir Thomas Johnson, a household servant and friend to the sixth Earl of Northumberland.²²⁶ The outcome of the Star Chamber case is unknown, but there were still at least four farmers at Arras in 1556-8 when Sir Thomas’s son Henry Johnson Esq. brought a case

²¹⁹ TRHS n.s. VII, 248: “conuertit xl acras terre tunc in cultura in pasturam & quod ea de causa duo messuagia & duo aratra prosternuntur & octo persone ab inhabitationibus suis recesserunt”.

²²⁰ TRHS n.s. VII, 247; 249 “conuertit iiij^{or} messuagia & iiij^{or} aratra prosternuntur. Eo quod Baro de Hylton Johannes Holtby & Johannes Hansby sunt tenentes liberi tenementi inde”; “conuertit tres acras terre tunc in cultura in pasturam & quod ea de causa duo cotagia prosternuntur”.

²²¹ Beresford, 1954, 58.

²²² Beresford, 1954, 57; Yorkshire Deeds III, 3, no.12.

²²³ TNA, C1/925/30.

²²⁴ Phillpott, 2005, 31.

²²⁵ TNA, STAC2/1/42.

²²⁶ Hoyle, 2004a. Sir Thomas had been raised to the status of gentlemen and knight as a consequence of the Earl’s progressive disinheritance of his brothers

against inhabitants of Arras in the Chancery.²²⁷ By c. 1600 Philip Constable owned more than nine-tenths of the township, but was in the Chancery complaining that the sole other landowner, Thomas Stevenson yeoman, had wrongfully entered into Constable's property as well as overstocking the surviving common with a great numbers of animals "in suche disorderly manner, that your said orator can make no profit... at all".²²⁸

The evidence discussed above suggests two areas in which Tudor enclosure disputes were relatively common: the southern Wolds and the north-west corner of the Wolds including the well-known site at Wharram Percy. Enclosure was not always contested and in some places like Burnby, where enclosure was taking place in the early seventeenth century, there is no evidence of conflict arising.²²⁹ Yet in at least some areas of the Yorkshire Wolds enclosers faced popular, and sometimes violent, opposition.

5.4 Dwelling Spaces

5.4.1 Domestic Space and Violence within the Home

The violence recorded in the Star Chamber was by no means always confined either to enclosure disputes or to outdoor locations. As noted above, most cases reported violence of a more or less severe nature. Men were both the victims and perpetrators of violence in most of the bills and answers. Cases recording violence against women were relatively unusual, but those women who were assaulted were generally in the home when this happened. Two women or girls were abducted from what one might broadly think of as domestic spaces. In 1524, Sir Robert Constable was accused of abducting Anne Cressacre, a royal ward, from the manor house at Bishop Burton, which was then let to Ralph Rokeby. He was later pardoned for the abduction, but in the early 1530s Sir Robert was brought before the Star Chamber again and accused by Thomas Lutton of Knapton of sending his servants to the nunnery at Yeddingham, where they abducted Elizabeth, a nun and niece to Thomas.²³⁰ Both cases were

²²⁷ TNA, C 1/1444/64-6.

²²⁸ TNA, C 2/Eliz/C5/33.

²²⁹ ERYARS, DDAN/27/1.

²³⁰ YSCP I, 186-8; II, 140-2; III, 110-3. Sir Robert then forcibly expelled Thomas from his holdings, presumably in right of Elizabeth, whom one of his servants had married.

concerned with title to land, but the fact that these women were within domestic space at the time that they were attacked reflects the spaces women occupied.

Research on the location of 1000 accidental deaths recorded in fourteenth-century coroners' inquests demonstrates women's limited mobility. For example, 30 per cent of the women died in their homes, compared to only 12 per cent of men. 18 per cent of women met with fatal accidents in fields, marl pits and forests compared with 38 per cent of men and only 4 per cent of women died whilst involved in agricultural activities, a figure which was almost five times higher amongst men.²³¹ Women certainly helped in the fields, but primarily at harvest and during other labour-intensive periods of the year.²³² Though they contributed to the household economy, activities like brewing were normally based within the home. The only exception from the Wolds Star Chamber cases analysed by this author was a female thresher who was violently put out of a barn at South Cave.²³³ It seems that at those times of year when agricultural activities necessitated extra female labour, women might be the victims of violence in spaces other than the home.

This is not to argue that women did not figure in Star Chamber cases. Women appear as petitioners, as in the case of Ellen Bawding of Wintringham who petitioned jointly with her husband or Isabel Goddishalf, who complained that her husband had been murdered at North Newbald in 1524. Women also occasionally appear outdoors as actors within enclosure riots, as at Goodmanham in 1599, and hence as defendants.²³⁴ One ought also to point to the role of women as peacemakers in occasional Star Chamber cases, like that brought by Walter Cave Gent. against Ralph Ellerker of Risby. Cave complained to the Star Chamber that Ellerker and others had forcibly and violently entered his house in April 1590 or 1591 with intent to be revenged on him, in the belief that he had said that Robert Dalton, whose sister Ralph Ellerker had married, was a papist and kept a priest in his house. Encouraged by Philipp Dalton, the brother of Robert, who cried out "kill him, kill him", Ellerker cut and wounded Cave in the head and would have killed or maimed the plaintiff "had not a woman one of the Neighbours, come in and staide [Ellerker's] Arme before the bringinge downe of the

²³¹ Hanawalt, 1998, 77.

²³² Hanawalt, 1998, 73 and 78.

²³³ YSCP III, 142.

²³⁴ TNA, STAC5/G23/4.

blowe”.²³⁵ The case is interesting because it implies that the entry into the house made by Ellerker and his company was forcible, while that made by the female neighbour was not. Moreover, the agency the case ascribes to the woman in stopping the violence is unusual.

Those men and women who suffered violence within the home were almost all assaulted by individuals who resided outside the household. ‘Domestic violence’ was rarely recorded in the Star Chamber principally because of the nature of the crimes over which the court was perceived to have jurisdiction. Issues such as child marriage and maintaining domestic priests, the latter of which figured large in the later sixteenth-century imagination, were mentioned only rarely in Star Chamber cases.

Those who were assaulted within their homes typically claimed that the perpetrators of the violence had also forcefully entered their homes. Several cases refer to the breaking of doors, windows or gates. In these cases, the doors, windows and gates function as thresholds between public and private space, the crossing of which is represented as highly significant in the petitioners’ narratives. In 1529, Sir John Hotham complained that the earl of Northumberland’s men had riotously come to Sir John’s house at Scarborough, broken the gates and doors and entered therein. Moreover, Sir John’s servants had been assaulted by the earl’s men inside the house. In the case brought against him for the abduction of Anne Cressacre, Sir Robert Constable was accused of breaking the parlour door and back door of the manor house at Bishop Burton, as well as the parlour windows. In his answer, Sir Robert was careful to state that the doors of the manor house had been open when he entered and that his servants only broke the doors and windows of the house because they feared, on account of the noise from within, that their lord’s life was in danger.

For the typical villager, the boundaries between his toft and the next, as well as between the toft and the street, defined this area of special, private space. Toft boundaries might be marked by banks and ditches, timber palisades, hedges or stone walls, depending on the resources which were available locally. In the Yorkshire Wolds, where both timber and building stone were scarce, at least some toft

²³⁵ TNA, STAC5/C21/9.

boundaries were defined by mud walls. For example, mud walls encircled the parsonage property at Huggate in 1570, when hay and straw was needed to repair the decayed walls.²³⁶ Other toft boundaries were simply turf banks as at Wharram Percy, where the boundary between the tofts and crofts on the western side of the village was originally a turf construction without hedge, fence or wall, and only later topped with a chalk wall.

In contrast to commentators who suggest that toft boundaries increased in size in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Astill contends that tofts were clearly defined throughout the medieval period, arguing that evidence from excavation,

“pushes back into the thirteenth century the construction of... deep ditches and banks. The impression is that walking down the main village street it would have been difficult to see into individual tofts, for most of the banks, walls or hedges would have been at head height”.²³⁷

Moreover, toft boundaries have been relatively stable and long-lived features of settlement landscapes. They were often maintained even after neighbouring tofts and crofts were amalgamated.²³⁸ Though they were sometimes breached, they might later be re-asserted. At least one building at Wharram Percy was built, probably in the thirteenth century, over what was a boundary between toft and croft at both an earlier and later date. The south-east corner of Building 2 (Site 90) is cut into the ‘lynchet’ bank and the building is itself overlain by the chalk wall which runs along the bank.²³⁹

The significance of such well-defined boundaries is unclear, but they may have functioned to demarcate private space and property. As a corollary to this, boundaries would have marked out the space within which crimes were perceived to be of a more serious nature, though it is less clear that they formed a significant defence against crimes of entry as Astill has suggested. Instead, toft boundaries probably functioned “to emphasise importance of the family group and its rights to a plot of land”.²⁴⁰ In this sense, toft boundaries may “reflect a desire to be separate from the rest of the

²³⁶ BIHR, CP G833.

²³⁷ Astill, 1988, 53.

²³⁸ Astill, 1988, 53.

²³⁹ Stamper, 2000, 56 and 203.

²⁴⁰ Astill, 1988, 53.

village in a society where agricultural routine depended to such a great extent on cooperation".²⁴¹ Hamsok cases recorded in manorial court rolls reveal similar ideas about private space and property. Hamsok typically involved uninvited entry into private space and disrupting the peace within it, generally by committing an assault or theft. Hamsok cases sometimes involved entry not into the dwelling house but into the wider holding. Those cases from Brandon in the Suffolk Brecklands which Müller studied imply that "[t]he immediate dwelling area, encompassing presumably the house itself and the enclosure behind it, was therefore considered a special space". That hamsok was considered a serious crime is implied both by the fact that it could result in the hue and cry being raised and by the fact that fines were comparable to those resulting from bloodshed.²⁴² Even in open-field regions, privacy was not necessarily a commodity available only to the lord of the manor in medieval England. Rather, ideas about rights in, access to and ownership of particular plots of land may long pre-date the urge to enclose the landscape that characterised parts of Tudor England.

5.4.2 Alehouses

One final type of space will be discussed here: the alehouse. In *c.* 1533, Christopher Bawding and his wife Ellen complained to the Star Chamber that Thomas Middleton Gent. and "other riotous and misruled persons" had forcibly entered their house at Wintringham, where Thomas had drawn a knife and assaulted Ellen, saying to her "that if I may nott have my will of youre gooddes that I will have my will of thy fleshe".²⁴³ The defendants denied the riot and trespass, and Thomas Middleton Gent. deposed that Ellen kept a common alehouse. Thomas asserted that he had gone to the alehouse to speak with Ellen after she had called his wife a whore and a thief. He admitted that in the exchange of words that followed he called Ellen a whore. Both Middleton and a witness, Robert Wensley, were at pains to establish whether the former had been there to drink or not. This presumably had implications for whether Middleton's entry into a space which was both a private home and an alehouse was lawful.

²⁴¹ Astill, 1988, 54.

²⁴² Müller, 2005, 36-37.

²⁴³ YAJ 15, 89 and 90.

Rights of entry into an alehouse were also disputed in another Star Chamber case identified during this research project. Marmaduke Langdale of Swine Gent. complained that he had been mistreated at the house of Thomas Stockdale of Eberstowe (Lincolnshire) whilst waiting to catch the Humber ferry. Langdale said his host and accomplices had attempted to rob him then set him in the stocks. Stockdale answered that he ran an alehouse at which Langdale had arrived at midnight after the household had gone to bed. Langdale had beaten on the windows and demanded entry shouting, "Come out knave... thou Vileyn come out of thy howse & let me in". Fearing he would be robbed, as he had been shortly before, Stockdale had called the constables who restrained Langdale within the alehouse. Moreover, rather than ill-treating him, the host had given Langdale meat, drink and accommodation.²⁴⁴

In rural areas, many married women supplemented family incomes by brewing and selling beer. Bennett has shown that around a quarter of the adult women in fourteenth-century Brigstock (Northamptonshire) brewed beer, if only intermittently.²⁴⁵ Not all of these women ran alehouses, but at least some did. These establishments were much smaller, and often more temporary, than urban inns and taverns which tended to function over many decades or centuries. As a result, standing buildings evidence is much scarcer for alehouses than other types of public houses.²⁴⁶ Alehouses did not generally offer accommodation, and as Fumerton notes, "[u]nlike the purpose-built inns for the more well-to-do travellers, most alehouses were in fact ordinary dwelling houses where private living quarters overlapped with public drinking space".²⁴⁷

Alehouses were hybrid spaces where public and private space intersected in complex ways. Hanawalt argues that drinking establishments were ambiguous and disorderly spaces precisely because of the ways public and private space overlapped.²⁴⁸ Müller has discussed similar themes with reference to evidence gleaned from fourteenth-century manorial court rolls. She argues that "[a]ccusations of hamsok were not made

²⁴⁴ TNA, STAC5/L20/35.

²⁴⁵ Bennett, 1986, 20-30.

²⁴⁶ Pantin, 1961; Barley, 1985, 682-5; Pennington, 2002, 122.

²⁴⁷ Fumerton, 2002, 495.

²⁴⁸ Hanawalt, 1998, 105 and 111.

in relation to ale houses, implying that the space of a drinking establishment, even though it was occupied by a household structure, was not seen to comply to a typical 'private' and therefore special space, the breaching of the peace of which was considered a special offence".²⁴⁹

Moreover, because they were located within private homes and because brewing, in rural areas at least, was primarily conducted by women, alehouses functioned as extensions of domestic space.²⁵⁰ Fumerton argues that "though in many ways like a traditional community and home, the alehouse... was also crucially *unlike* them. As such, it constituted a paradoxical or ambiguous space".²⁵¹ The trade was erratic and the buildings in which alehouses were situated were often dilapidated and transitory, usually occupying "paltry Cottages" in the words of William Vaughan.²⁵² Alehouses were ephemeral spaces often occupied by a transient population of vagrants and travelling labourers to whom the alehouse offered a detached and disconnected experience of 'home' and 'place'. As she puts it, the alehouse functioned "as a temporary stopping point for vagrancy—that is, as a habitable *site* of vagrancy".²⁵³ The broadside street ballads celebrated the alehouse as a space of communal cheer, in which vagrants and those working in poor trades could cast off their 'outside' social identities, if only by temporarily leaving them at the door along with the tools of their trades.

Yet the alehouse was also frequented by men who were neither legally vagrant nor landless labourers, and who as householders had both a place within the community and a home. Fumerton argues that the ballads celebrate the alehouse as "an alternative community and home that was detached and free from the self-binding constraints of societal and, especially, familial obligations, most notably, to the wife".²⁵⁴ The ballads depicted the alehouse as a specifically male territory, detached from and opposed to the domestic space of the home. As Chapter II suggests, domestic space was increasingly characterised as female in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It

²⁴⁹ Müller, 2005, 46.

²⁵⁰ Hanawalt, 1998, 106; Bennett, 1986, 20-30; Fumerton, 2002, 495.

²⁵¹ Fumerton, 2002, 494.

²⁵² Cited in Fumerton, 2002, 497.

²⁵³ Fumerton, 2002, 494.

²⁵⁴ Fumerton, 2002, 505.

was in this sense that the alehouse was understood as “an *unhomelike* home”, at once a female and a male space, both domestic and away from home.²⁵⁵

This had implications for gender politics. As an ale-wife, Ellen Bawding would have fallen under some suspicion. Brewsters working in fourteenth-century London were considered to be “women of disreputable character”.²⁵⁶ Prostitutes frequented urban taverns and inns, and women working in rural alehouses must have been tainted with the same brush. The insult ‘whore’ was probably quick to fly to the lips of many of Ellen’s customers, including Thomas Middleton. Another woman who complained about her treatment within an alehouse was Agnes Kirkebie who brought a defamation cause in the archbishop’s court at York in 1598 against Thomas Ellwood, the son of the owner of Middleton-on-the-Wolds manor. She complained that he had called her a harlot in a drinking house in Cottingham, though it is unclear whether she was working there at the time.²⁵⁷ This is not to argue that respectable women did not patronise alehouses. Whilst several authors have pointed to the gradual ‘masculinization’ of public houses in the early modern period, evidence recently put forward by Kümin suggests that women continued to frequent such establishments throughout the period.²⁵⁸

Drinking houses were thought of as disorderly spaces precisely because of their gender mix, as well as the immoderate drinking and the illicit activities which took place there.²⁵⁹ Central government, county justices and the church authorities were all apprehensive about the disorder and vices seen to be inherent in drinking establishments, as well as the insurrection they feared was plotted within taverns, an association which arose partially as a result of the perceived connection between taverns, vagrants and rebellion.²⁶⁰ It was an association which was perhaps not altogether unwarranted. After all, one witness giving evidence about the enclosure riot at Goodmanham in 1599 said that he had heard “that when the women... met together at a drinkinge that then they agreed together to throwe the said fences downe”.²⁶¹

²⁵⁵ Fumerton, 2002, 505.

²⁵⁶ Hanawalt, 1998, 108.

²⁵⁷ BIHR CP G, 3061.

²⁵⁸ Kümin, 2002, 45 and 55-62.

²⁵⁹ Hanawalt, 1998, 110.

²⁶⁰ Hunter, 2002, 66-8.

²⁶¹ TNA, STAC5/G23/4.

The role of the taverner, innkeeper or alehouse-owner as *paterfamilias* or *materfamilias* required that he or she take legal responsibility for the good and honest behaviour of the household, guests and their goods. As Hanawalt points out, this was both a quasi-legal and a quasi-familial role.²⁶² What she does not explicitly recognise, is that the head of any household, including great magnates, was expected to act in the same way.²⁶³ One ought to recognise some of the ways in which the alehouse and the great hall of the medieval house were analogous. In both, guests would receive food, drink and possibly accommodation, and seating would be arranged hierarchically in order to reflect the status of guests. Moreover, both were characterised by dense and sometimes ambiguous definitions of public and private space. If alehouses were hybrid spaces somewhere between the private domestic sphere and the public world, then other spaces arguably demonstrated a similar combination of private and public attributes.

5.5 Conclusions

This chapter reassesses the idea that changing domestic plans reflected an increasing desire for privacy on the part of the lord and his family in the later medieval period. Evidence from the Yorkshire Wolds is fragmentary, but it is clear that the withdrawal of the lord from the hall did not signal a wholesale decline in communal space. Late medieval lords certainly dined in spaces other than the hall, as was the case at Leconfield in the 1520s. Yet the existence of canopies and bay windows suggests that halls were still used for formal dining occasions in the later sixteenth century. Moreover, there is little evidence to suggest that halls declined in size or were consistently roofed over in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Double-height halls were far from atypical even in houses of c. 1600 and conventional hall-and-screens-passage plans were incorporated behind fashionable symmetrical façades at Burton Agnes New Hall and Boynton Hall.

There is better evidence for a growth in the number of individual chambers within fifteenth and sixteenth-century manor houses. Most of the sixteenth-century houses in

²⁶² Hanawalt, 1998, 105.

²⁶³ Heal, 1984, 75-6; Kerr, 2002, 331.

the Yorkshire Wolds had at least two reception rooms, typically known as parlours or great chambers, in addition to a hall. There is more limited evidence for suites of rooms, but in general the distinction between bedchambers and other rooms was only weakly developed. Many rooms continued to be multifunctional, like the parlours and other chambers at East Heslerton which all contained beds in 1559. However, there is some support for the idea that space was increasingly assigned to particular individuals or groups in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as at Leconfield Castle where the servants' lodgings organised along one range of the courtyard house were identified in the 1574 inventory by individuals' names or roles. Like the earl, the countess had her own closet or library at Leconfield, as well as several other chambers, and there was also a nursery and a chamber for the countess's gentlewoman. Yet if they existed elsewhere in the Wolds, chambers specifically assigned to women went unrecorded.

Studies, closets and oratories were documented far more frequently. Typically interpreted by scholars as an example of private space, closets were used for study and business, though the occupier was not always completely alone. Closets were also sites for personal and private devotion. Most houses belonging to the aristocracy and gentry probably also contained at least one domestic chapel, though these are often difficult to identify in the documentary record. Closets were not necessarily alternatives to more public forms of worship conducted either in domestic chapels or parish churches. Evidence from the Wolds suggests that lords who were licensed oratories generally also actively participated in their local churches, often founding chantries and funding building programmes.

Manor houses were private family homes, yet they also exhibited more public functions. They were centres of hospitality, whereby manorial lords consolidated dense social networks which included their superiors and peers, as well as their tenants. They were also sites at which alms were distributed, a fact that hints at the religious and charitable aspects of life in manor houses. Manor houses were also at the centre of agricultural estates and the surrounding complexes typically housed agricultural buildings including barns and mills. As the administrative and judicial focus of agricultural estates, manor houses were also sites at which manorial courts took place, either in specially-built rooms or, probably more often, within the hall itself. In this sense, manor houses and manorial complexes were not simply private,

domestic spaces. Rather they exhibited a variety of public functions. Nor were manor houses purely secular spaces; as the evidence for the existence and use of oratories and domestic chapels makes clear, manor houses were locations at which a variety of religious practices and experiences took place.

The chapter also draws attention to the ways not just architecture, but also the spatial relationships between buildings and other landscape elements, were caught up in attempts to assert status and power. Patrons were often concerned that their houses were highly visible within the landscape. Conversely, long galleries, bow windows and garden towers all demonstrate a concern that the arrangement of rooms and their architectural expression should provide extensive vistas across gardens, parks and wider landscapes. Some manor houses were arranged so as to provide views over an adjacent park, as at Londesborough. Yet it is also clear that not every manorial lord had a deer park, although most would have had fishponds and warrens as well as exercised rights of free warren. At least some parks were laid out only in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, whilst others were expanded at this date. There is evidence that manor houses were sometimes surrounded by demesne closes or deer parks as was the case at Bishop Burton, Risby and South Newbald, although as Chapter IV argues, there is no evidence from the Yorkshire Wolds that manor houses were relocated to isolated parkland settings in the later medieval period.

At Risby, the park may have been created in c. 1540 in association with a series of exchanges and purchases which also consolidated the block demesne, which was apparently enclosed shortly thereafter. The enclosed demesne at Risby was still arable in the 1590s, but in other places arable land was converted to pasture. Some dwellings were destroyed to make way for enclosures, as the records of the 1517 Commissioners make clear. Settlements like Caythorpe, Hanging Grimston and Arras were permanently depopulated as a result of evictions and enclosures, mainly for sheep pastures. Other hamlets like Bracken were probably depopulated and given over to pasture in this period, although it is clear that not all deserted medieval settlements were forcibly depopulated by landlords eager to convert land to more profitable uses. Moreover, there is no evidence from the Wolds that lords depopulated settlements in order to create or expand deer parks, although it is clear that arable land was incorporated into parks in a number of places. These and other examples discussed in

the chapter offer an insight into the processes by which disparate holdings were consolidated, parks laid out, land enclosed and private property defined in later medieval and early modern England.

Questions about the meaning of private space, property and ownership within the wider landscape are discussed with particular reference to evidence from the Star Chamber concerning property disputes between individuals and groups in the Yorkshire Wolds. The Star Chamber cases were generally concerned with title or access to land and resources. They were local breaches of the peace concerned with perceived injustices at the neighbourhood rather than the national scale, though this is not to argue that those involved in the crowd actions were unaware of wider issues or were in some way confined to local spheres of influence and political action. Questions about how landownership, wealth, status and power were negotiated in sixteenth-century England were also addressed. The chapter argues that the riots recorded in the Star Chamber were not extraordinary acts of resistance, but part of a process of negotiation taking place, both in the court and on the ground, through practices like litigation, enclosure and forcible dispossession. Although the riots and dispossessions were often violent and bloody, these 'self help' remedies were part of the everyday practices of power. Alongside aristocratic and gentle individuals like Sir Robert Constable, 'middling' householders also played a significant role in negotiating access to and property in land. The discussions in this chapter also highlight the role women played as both litigants and rioters.

Returning again to the domestic spaces of the home, the final sections of the chapter suggest that individual households were recognised as 'special spaces' in medieval and early modern England. Defined by the toft boundaries which surrounded individual dwellings, this special space included both the house and the land immediately surrounding it. Müller's work on hamsok cases attests to this, as do the Star Chamber cases from the Wolds, which often imply that doors, windows and gates were imagined as thresholds between public and private space. Crime was more serious within this special household space, although it is clear that this definition of space was not extended to alehouses. The evidence presented above suggests that space was imagined and experienced as bounded and delimited, even in open-field villages in which agriculture was organised communally, and that notions of private

space existed amongst ordinary villagers long before the enclosures of the Tudor century.

VI. Church Space in the Yorkshire Wolds

Churches are the principal class of standing medieval buildings in the Yorkshire Wolds, as in much of the rest of rural England. There were fifty-six parish churches in the Yorkshire Wolds study area by c. 1500 and probably long before. All but one of these churches is standing today: nothing remains of the church at Argam, which had been demolished before 1632 when the previous rector was said to have preached in the fields.¹ Thirty-five of the fifty-five standing buildings contain *in situ* Norman fabric, thereby providing strong evidence that these churches were on their current sites by c. 1200, if not before. A further twelve churches contain standing fabric of medieval date. The remaining eight churches contain no *in situ* medieval fabric, although the re-used Norman doorway at Kilnwick Percy and the Norman font at Cowlam imply that these buildings were in existence by c. 1200.

There were also around thirty-five chapels in the medieval Wolds. It is difficult to know the precise number of medieval chapels, not least because the pattern of parishes and townships was always to some extent in flux. Some chapels disappeared completely before the end of the Middle Ages, whilst others like Butterwick and Harpham had graveyards by at least the mid-sixteenth century and apparently functioned much as if they were parish churches. Of the sixteen buildings standing today, the earliest *in situ* fabric in four of the chapels is Norman. One further chapel contains medieval work. Eleven chapels are of nineteenth-century date, although four contain re-used Norman work or Norman fonts.

Discussion of the individual medieval churches in the Yorkshire Wolds is based on standing buildings and other evidence compiled and recorded during this research project. In the interests of brevity, individual footnotes to sources are not included in the text. The reader is referred instead to the tables in Appendix 7, 8, 9 and 10 which list the manuscript and printed sources used. Chapter 7 also summarises the findings of the fieldwork undertaken during the project and combines these observations with material drawn from Pevsner, the *Victoria County History* and the *List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest*.

¹ Bowden, 1993; VCH ER II, 8.

This chapter focuses on the ways ‘church space’ was conceived, understood and given meaning in the pre and post-Reformation period. The first section of the chapter discusses how the gentry used church space as a means to assert their gentility and status, paying particular attention to the ways chantries and tombs articulated interior space, as well as their role within the wider landscape. The second section explores churches as spaces which were public as well as private, focusing on the role parishioners played within the intercessory rituals conducted within both chantries and guilds, as well as the bequests they left to their local churches. The third section focuses on the various church building projects undertaken by the gentry and other parishioners in the late medieval and early modern period. Projects to raise new towers, refenestration and embellishment work and the construction of aisles and chapels are all discussed. The fourth section of the chapter discusses church space in the later sixteenth century, focusing both on the immediate impact of the Reformation on religious provision and ritual practice and on the use and meaning of church space in the last decades of the sixteenth century. The final section of the chapter summarises the main arguments put forward in the chapter and offers some concluding comments.

In this sense, the chapter is structured according to thematic, chronological and geographical considerations. On a thematic level, the chapter examines how space might be thought of as public or private, secular or religious, communal or elite. It also exhibits a broad chronological progression from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, as well as exploring the connections between spaces of varying scales. The chapter investigates some of the relationships between parish churches and wider landscapes, as well as touching again on the geographical relationships between churches, manor houses and settlements. It also examines the relationships between individuals and communities, and particularly those between personal and communal piety and between piety, status and power.

6.1 Piety and Power

6.1.1 Chantries

Pantin defined a chantry chapel as “a foundation and endowment of a Mass by one or more benefactors, to be celebrated at an altar, for the souls of the founders and other

specified persons”.² Emerging sometime between the 1180s and the first quarter of the thirteenth century, these pious institutions arguably arose out of situation in which monasteries failed to cope with a growing demand for private intercessory prayers, brought about by population increases and the growing popularity of the doctrine of Purgatory.³ Chantries within parish churches were popular because they provided daily masses not just the yearly anniversaries offered by monasteries and went on to become, in Colvin’s words, “a characteristic form of late medieval piety”.⁴ Moreover, chantries arguably satisfied “in a way acceptable to the Church, the deep-rooted desire for a religious establishment under private control which, in its grosser forms, had been stamped out by the reforms of the twelfth century”.⁵

Twenty-six chantries can be identified in the medieval parish churches and chapels of the Yorkshire Wolds. These are listed in Appendix 8 along with details about the sources in which they were first recorded. There may have been many more chantries in the study area. Standing buildings evidence implies the existence of further chantries and gilds, but as “different incarnations of the same intercessory impulse” it is impossible to distinguish between these institutions on the basis of the archaeological record alone.⁶ Perpetual chantries, rather than chantries for years, were more likely to include the construction of an altar, chapel or aisle, but some were founded at pre-existing altars. Documentary sources do not always differentiate between chantries and other intercessory foundations. For example, there may also have been a chantry or a gild at Sherburn where a Lady Priest was mentioned in 1510, and at Birdsall, where there was a chaplain in 1525-6 and the Lady Chapel and the altar of our Lady was mentioned in 1536.⁷ These last two foundations are not included in Figure 6.1.

Sixteen of the twenty-six chantries were founded in parish churches and the rest established in chapels, which in some instances were purpose-built to house chantries. Twenty-four of the fifty-six parish churches in the Yorkshire Wolds (43 per cent) are known to have housed at least one chantry or gild in the medieval period and at least

² Pantin, 1959, 216.

³ Colvin, 2000; Crouch, 2001.

⁴ Daniell, 1998, 180; Colvin, 2000, 163.

⁵ Colvin, 2000, 172.

⁶ Roffey, 2004, 62; Kümin, 1996, 159.

⁷ TE IV, 205; *East Riding Clergy 1525-6*, 78; BIHR, PR 11.215.

ten chapels are known to have housed similar intercessory institutions. Such intercessory foundations were by no means rare in the medieval Wolds, hence their relevance to any consideration of 'church space'. Chantries were also founded in a range of other religious institutions. A chantry of an unrecorded dedication was founded within Warter Priory in 1356.⁸ In 1372 the manor of Bentley (par. Rowley), then worth £8 a year, was granted to St John's, Beverley in order to endow a chantry dedicated to St Michael.⁹ There was also a chantry founded in the chapel of the archbishop of York's manor house at Bishop Burton sometime before 1300.¹⁰ Chantries founded in institutions other than parish churches and parochial chapels are not included in Figure 6.1 as the discussion here is concerned with practice within local churches. It is, however, worth noting that piety was sometimes expressed by founding chantries in settings other than parish churches.

Figure 6.1 shows the decade-by-decade frequency of chantry foundations, using chantry licences or the earliest known references to chantries as evidence. Only three chantries in the Wolds were recorded before 1300, though none was still functioning at that date. The chantry at Staxton was founded in the late twelfth century by Richard de Ganton and probably ceased to exist when the right to have a chantry was quitclaimed back to Bridlington Priory in 1295.¹¹ At Langtoft, a condition at the ordination of the vicarage in 1274 was that the vicar should maintain a chantry with two chaplains in both the church and the chapel at Cottam.¹² The chantries were probably never founded, for there is no further evidence for their existence at either Langtoft or Cottam, though a gild dedicated to St Katherine is mentioned at Langtoft in 1528.¹³

The vast majority of the chantries in the Yorkshire Wolds were mentioned for the first time before 1400. Eighteen chantries (69 per cent) were recorded for the first time in the fourteenth century. Eleven chantries were founded between 1300 and the arrival of the Black Death in 1348-9, the earliest being at Buckton in 1304. Other early fourteenth-century foundations include chantries licensed at South Cave in 1310, Burton Agnes in 1313, and Boynton in 1324. A further seven chantries were founded

⁸ Cal Pat 1354-8, 382.

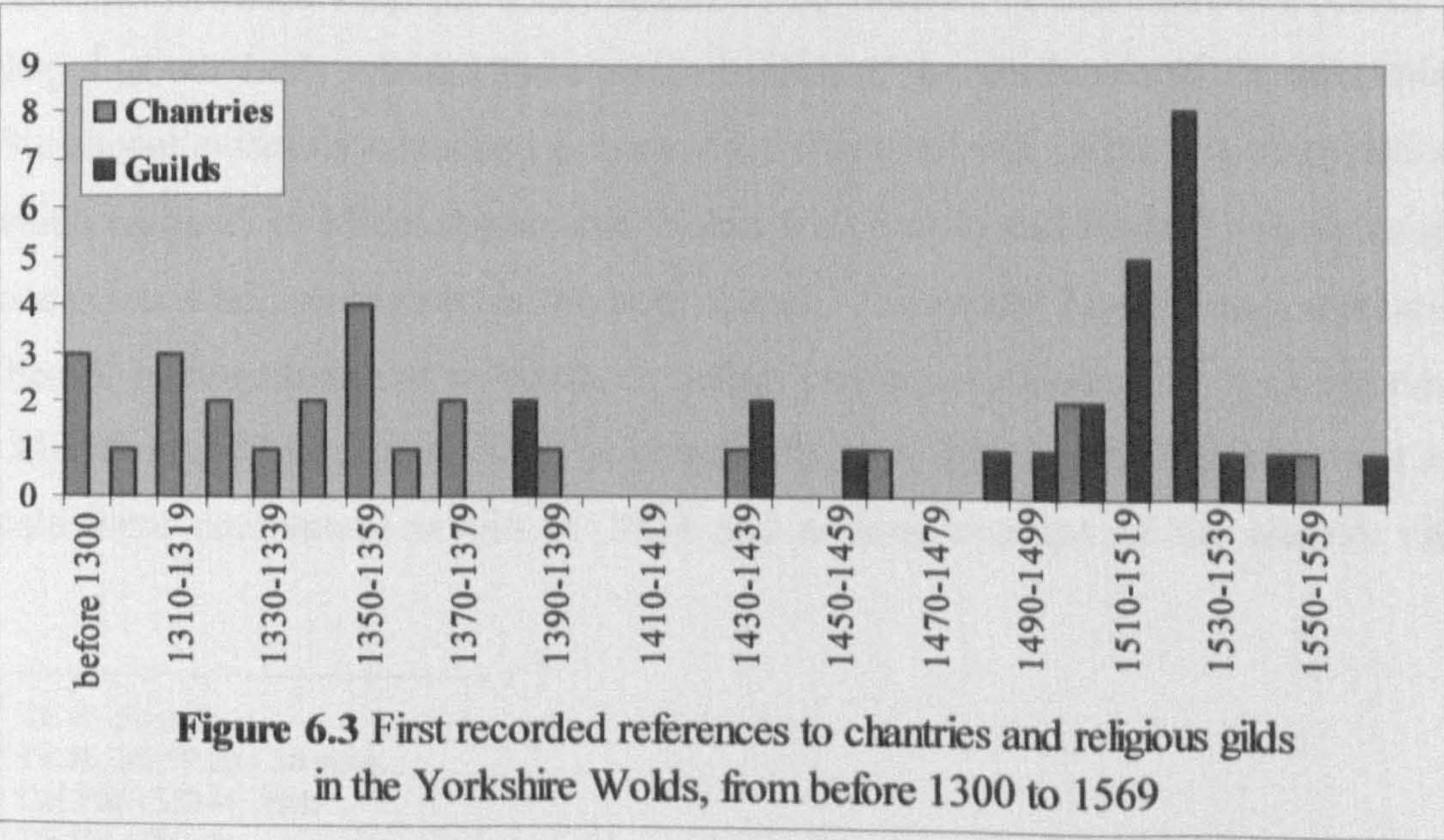
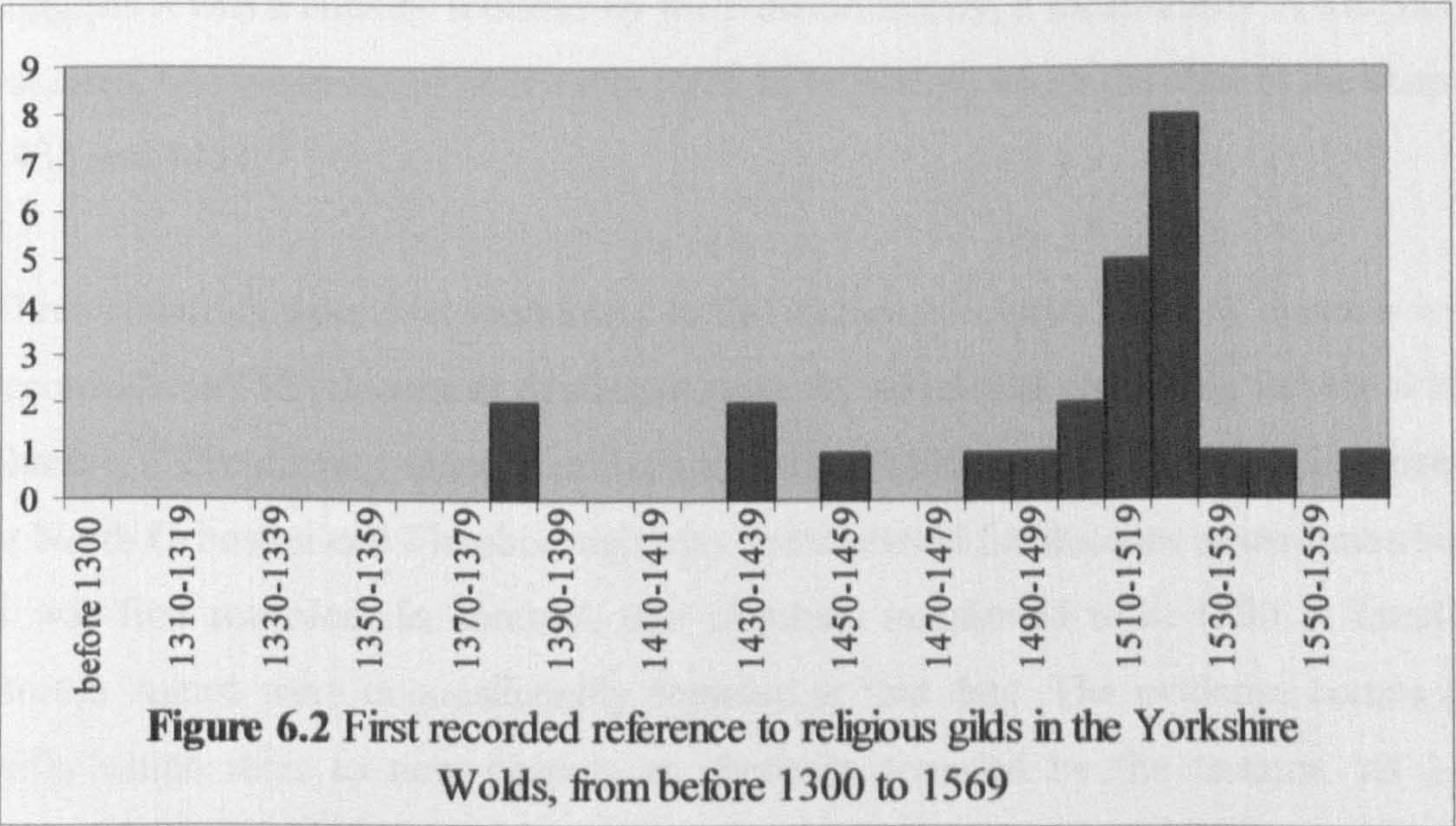
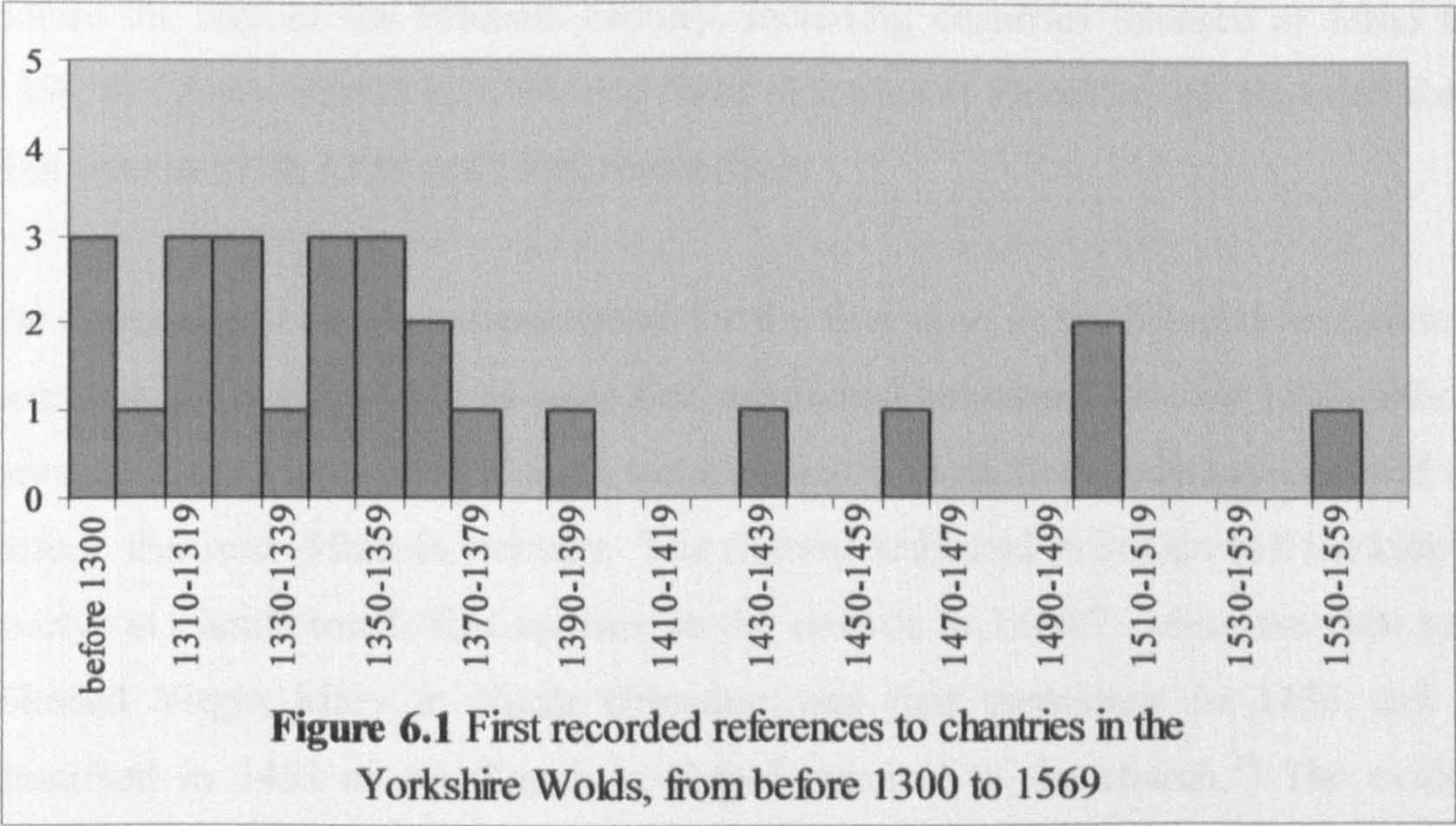
⁹ Cal Pal 1370-4, 231.

¹⁰ Yorks Chant Surv ii, 377.

¹¹ VCH ER II, 338.

¹² VCH ER II, 269.

¹³ TE V, 132 note.



before the turn of the fifteenth century, including chantries licensed at Etton in c. 1350, at Cherry Burton in 1366, and three chantries at Flamborough recorded for the first time in 1359, 1376 and 1378, respectively.

Far fewer chantries were documented for the first time in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Only two chantries were first mentioned between 1400 and 1500, although because the evidence comes from testamentary sources both may have existed long before the mid fifteenth century. The chantry dedicated to St Edmund the king and martyr at Flamborough first appears in the records in 1466/7, while the altar to the Blessed Virgin Mary at North Grimston was first mentioned in 1436 and was described in 1453 as standing in a chapel attached to the church.¹⁴ The evidence suggests it was a chantry founded by the Nawton family, a local family of knights and esquires, two members of which requested to be buried before the altar in the chapel in 1436 and 1453.¹⁵

Three chantries were first mentioned in the sixteenth century. That at Speeton is first recorded in a 1554 document dealing in property which had previously belonged to the chantry.¹⁶ The chantry must have been established before 1548, and like the chantries at North Grimston and Flamborough may have existed for decades or centuries before it was first recorded. In contrast, two chantries mentioned in c. 1500 at Lund and Burton Agnes were unquestionably founded at that date. The evidence comes from wills which refer to new chapels or chantries founded by the testator. At Lund, Edmund Thwaites Esq. (d. 1500) asked to be buried “in the church of Lond, in a chapel of our Lady which I have newly beldid, of the north side of the said chirch”. The chapel evidently contained a chantry for Thwaites’ will refers to a composition by which property in Middleton-on-the-Wolds, Full Sutton and Birdsall was to be given to a priest who would pray in the new chapel.¹⁷ Thwaites’ bequest may represent an attempt to re-endow and re-house an earlier chantry mentioned for the only time in 1340, though it was more likely a completely new foundation. The nave and north aisle were completely rebuilt in 1853 and nothing remains of the chantry chapel

¹⁴ TE II, 58 note.

¹⁵ TE II, 58-59 and 58 note.

¹⁶ Cal Pat 1553-4, 294.

¹⁷ TE IV, 176.

although sculptures incorporated above the tower arch almost certainly came from the chapel.

Walter Griffith (d. 1531), lord of Burton Agnes, requested to be buried “in the new chapel, annexed to the churche of Sancte Martyne at Annas Burton, where my ladie, my moder, lieth”.¹⁸ The chantry was founded and the chapel finished shortly before 1505/6, when his mother Dame Agnes Clifton requested to be buried “in the chauntre closet therin, by our Lady, as my sonne knowthe”.¹⁹ There was an image of St Mary in the new chapel in 1505/6 and 1536 and the chantry was probably dedicated to the Virgin, as was the Somerville chantry founded in 1313 and still active in 1548.²⁰ The chantry was housed in a chapel north of the earlier north aisle chantry and clearly represented an attempt to expand upon the provision offered by the earlier chantry. Walter Griffith made provision in his will for a priest to pray for forty years in the chapel and specified that his heirs were to continue paying the yearly salary of the priest, thereby supporting a perpetual chaplain “according to the good example of my moder that this did begyn”.²¹

Walter Griffith’s request that his heirs should contribute to the priest’s stipend was an attempt to overcome current policy towards chantry foundations, but it rendered the foundation illegal. After 1279, individuals needed a mortmain licence in order to grant land to a perpetual foundation like a chantry. However, the Crown’s anxiety about granting of property to the ‘dead hand’ of the Church led to a decrease in number of licences granted throughout the fifteenth century, as well as an increase in the fines levied on such licenses. Chantry licenses largely ceased to be granted in the early sixteenth century; only nine licenses were granted by Henry VIII in the 1520s, and two in the 1530s. Although there was never a statute or proclamation prohibiting the granting of mortmain licenses, no licenses were granted after 1534. Moreover, a 1532 parliamentary act prohibited feoffments to religious uses, except those made for terms of less than twenty years.²²

¹⁸ TE V, 287-9.

¹⁹ TE IV, 242-3.

²⁰ VCH ER II, 115.

²¹ TE V, 287-9.

²² Kreider, 1979, 71 and 81-5.

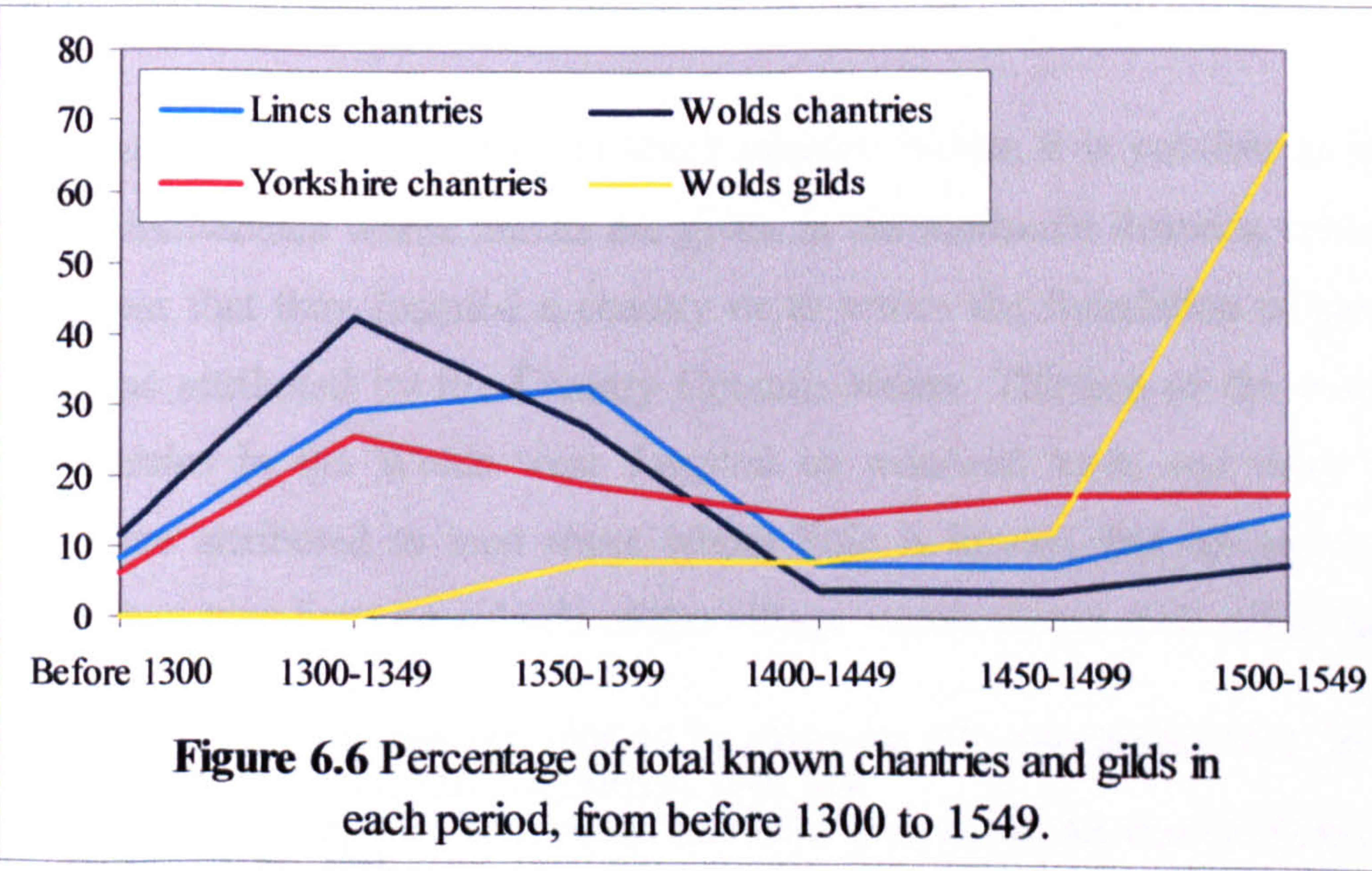
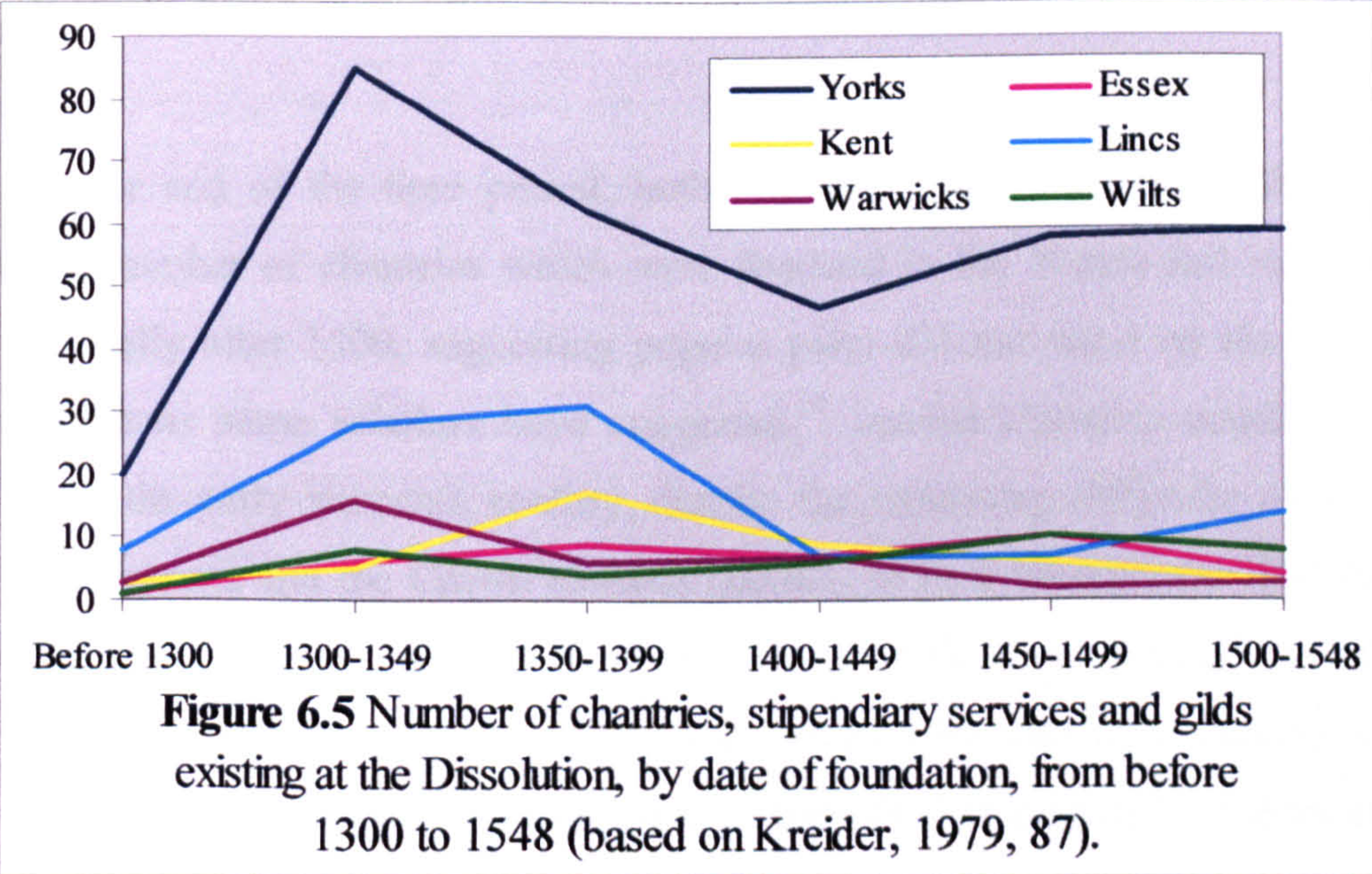
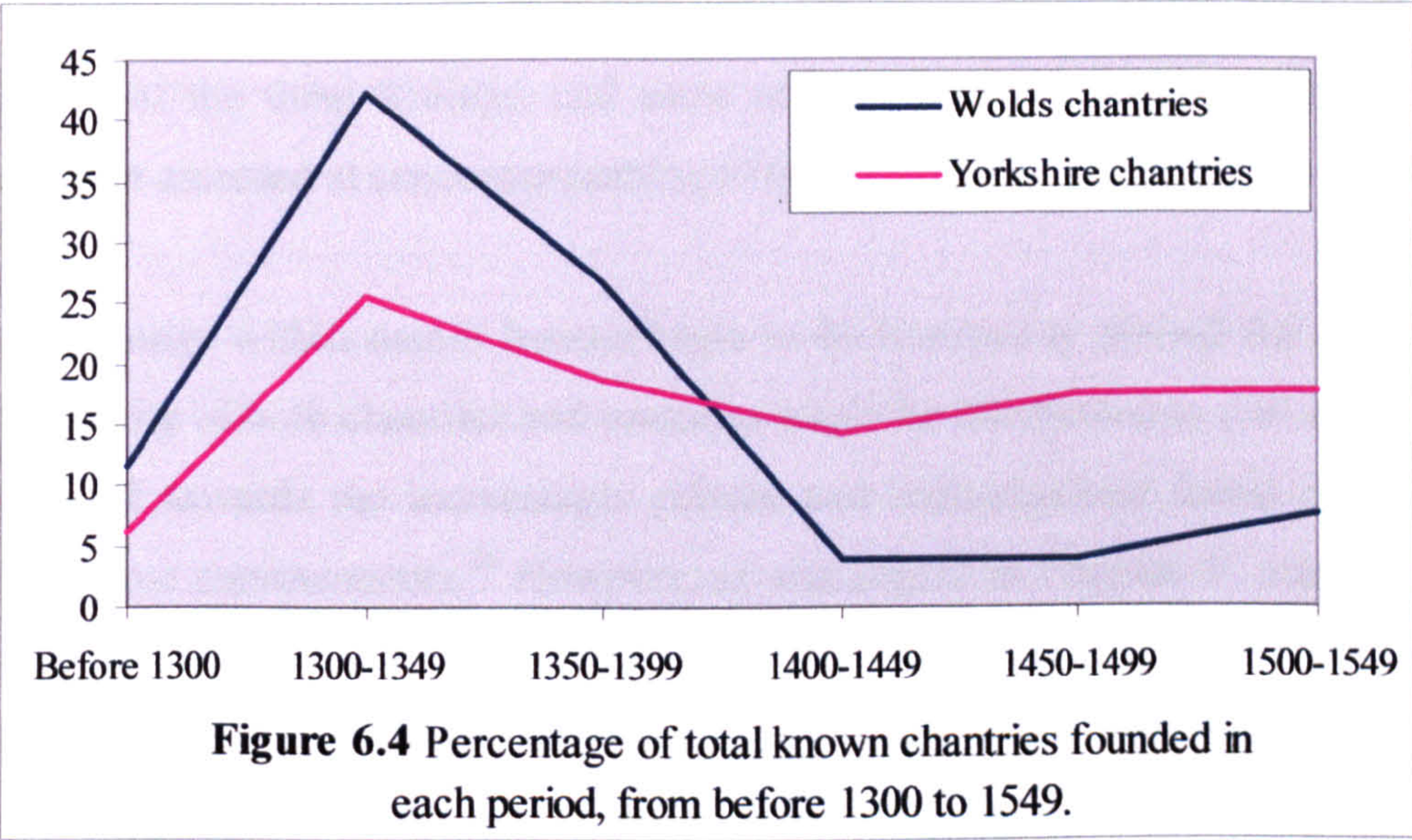
Though the total number of chantry foundations in the Yorkshire Wolds is relatively small, some general trends can be noted. The early fourteenth century was marked by a dramatic increase in the number of chantries founded in the Wolds, a trend which to some extent continued into the second half of the century. However, by the end of the fourteenth century, enthusiasm for intercessory foundations was apparently dwindling. Chantry foundations reached their lowest in the fifteenth century, but were to some extent revived in the early sixteenth century. Despite the difficulties of obtaining licences in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and hence the paucity of the documentary record for this period, there is good evidence that chantries like those at Lund and Burton Agnes were being founded in c. 1500.

Kreider's data for Yorkshire demonstrates the same basic trend as the data compiled for the Wolds (Figure 6.4).²³ Expressed as a percentage of the known chantries, the early fourteenth century is marked by a huge increase in chantry foundations. Enthusiasm for intercessory foundations declined in the second half of the fourteenth century, reaching its lowest in the first half of the fifteenth century, only to be revived in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. A similar pattern is seen in Lincolnshire (Figure 6.5), though the Midlands and southern counties included in Kreider's study exhibit very different trends throughout the period 1300 to 1548.

The evidence presented above demonstrates that chantries were being founded in the Yorkshire Wolds before the arrival of the Black Death in England in 1348-1349. Kreider notes that while the greatest number of chantry foundations occurred in the half century after the Black Death in counties like Kent and Lincolnshire, in other places chantry foundations reached their peak in the first half of the fourteenth century.²⁴ As Figure 6.5 illustrates, in Yorkshire and Warwickshire the largest numbers of chantries were founded before the Black Death arrived. Rather than a response to the Black Death, the increase in the chantry foundation in the fourteenth-century Wolds may be a consequence both of the growing popularity of the doctrine of purgatory at that time and the increasing affluence of East Yorkshire. Having been amongst the poorest counties in 1225, the East Riding was one of the wealthiest in

²³ Kreider, 1979, 89.

²⁴ Kreider, 1979, 85.



1334. The 1334 tax assessment reveals the East Riding to have had by far the highest assessment of the three Ridings, and some of the Wolds villages like Rudston and Kilham were assessed at sums approaching £100.²⁵

Private oratories within manor houses begin to be licensed at around the same time. The popularity of both chantries and oratories might be interpreted as part of the more general shift towards the increasingly private and individualised forms of devotion noted by some commentators.²⁶ However, as was argued in Chapter V, oratories were often established by lords who patronised building projects within their parish church. Chantries were also commonly elements of wider programmes of patronage and power whereby lords expressed and practiced their piety within the public arena of the parish church.

At the other end of the time period, both Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.4 illustrate the surprising number of chantries which were founded in the Wolds and in Yorkshire more generally after 1500, suggesting popular piety did not wane on the eve of the Reformation as some scholars have suggested.²⁷ Instead chantries continued to be founded in the early sixteenth century, despite the increasing difficulty of obtaining mortmain licenses and the Crown obvious hostility to new foundations. The increase in chantry foundations after 1500 is matched by an even more dramatic increase in references to previously unknown gilds in the years after 1500 (see Figures 6.2 and 6.6), which similarly suggests that the general populace, in eastern Yorkshire at least, were not abandoning the traditional religion.

Of the twenty-six chantries known in the Yorkshire Wolds, it is possible to identify twenty-one individuals whose names are given in the mortmain licences, whose will makes it clear that they founded a chantry or to whom the foundation of particular chantries was attributed by the Chantry Commissioners. Thirteen of the twenty-six known chantries in the Wolds were founded by manorial lords and three further chantries were attributed to men about whom little is known, but whose surnames imply that they may have been lords of the village which shared their name. Most of

²⁵ Gittos and Gittos, 1989, 104; Jennings, 2001, 19-20; Glasscock, 1973, 184; Donkin, 1976, 78-9, 134.

²⁶ Colvin, 2000, 172; Richmond, 1984, 199; Graves, 1989, 319.

²⁷ Dickens, 1989; but see also the more recent 'revisionist' perspectives put forward by Scarisbrick, 1984; Haigh, 1993; Duffy, 2005.

these lords were resident and most granted property and rents within the local area to the chantry. The only exceptions to this were men like the Constable lords of Flamborough and Holme-upon-Spalding-Moor, founders of three chantries at St Oswald's, Flamborough before 1400, who may have split their time between two estates in the Riding. The same may be true of William de Thweng, lord Thweng, head of a well-established family who, while they took their name from the village of Thwing, used Kilton Castle (North Yorkshire) as their main residence from c. 1228. However, that members of the de Thweng family founded chantries at Octon, Thwing and Lund between 1327 and 1340 testifies to the family's interest in their East Yorkshire estates, as does the fact that William's daughter Joan married William St Quintin of Harpham before 1340.²⁸

Four chantries were founded by clergymen including chaplains, vicars, rectors and canons of Beverley Minster. One chantry was founded by a man identified as a merchant and four were founded by unknown individuals. Almost all the founders were men and though the chantry licenses do not generally give titles, many are known to have been knights or esquires. The only chantry founded or co-founded by a woman was that established at Burton Agnes in c. 1500.²⁹

Those who could not afford to found perpetual chantries often bequeathed money for prayers to be said for a limited period. Evidence from the Wolds reveals that such prayers cost around £4 a year. Many testators requested prayers for the year after their death, while others left sums to cover a priest's services for only a quarter or half a year.³⁰ Over 68 per cent of the testators who specified how long a priest was to pray for them requested a temporary chantry of less than two years' duration. A smaller number of testators left larger sums to cover prayers for five, ten or even forty years, sometimes in addition to endowing permanent chantries.³¹ Temporary chantries were a common occurrence in Hull, where 122 of 355 testators (34 per cent) left money to pay priests to celebrate for a year or more. As Heath notes, "[t]he average duration of the endowment was about three years, but while one can point to examples of twenty

²⁸ Cal Pat 1338-40, 454.

²⁹ Colvin, 2000, 172.

³⁰ BIHR, PR 5.414; 3.380; 3.52; TE V, 133; VI, 23.

³¹ BIHR, PR 5.220; TE IV, 242; V, 287; VI, 207.

years, few in fact exceeded ten and most were much less".³² Cheaper alternatives included requesting an anniversary mass or obit for a term of years, as 13 per cent of the 254 individuals whose wills were proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and sampled by Bainbridge did, or leaving a small sum for a trental, thirty requiem masses costing around 10 s.³³ Less wealthy testators might even request only half a trental, as Richard Simpson a husbandman from Thwing did in 1538.³⁴

6.1.2 Burial and Commemoration

Burial within churches was prohibited by various church synods and councils, although lay people had certainly been buried within churches before the Norman Conquest, if only in exceptional cases such as that of Earl Siward (d. 1055) who was buried in St Olaf's, York. The 1292 Statute of Chichester revised the Church's position, stating that with the exception of lords, patrons and their wives, there should be no indiscriminate lay burials within either the chancel or the body of the church.³⁵

Analysis by this author of over 200 wills produced by residents of the Yorkshire Wolds between 1400 and 1600 and proved in the Exchequer and Prerogative courts at York reveals that over half of testators (55 per cent) requested to be buried within their local church. Some testators specified exactly where they were to be buried: 12 per cent requested to be buried in a choir or chancel, 9 per cent requested burial at a specified altar, aisle or chapel and 34 per cent at an unspecified place within the church. This compares with 41 per cent who requested burial in the churchyard of their local church. Only three testators requested to be buried in priories, monasteries or other non-parochial institutions. Ten testators did not record their wishes, either because they had made arrangements during their lives which they chose not to restate at their deaths or because they simply requested to be buried "in the churche or churche yerde wher it shall forton me to die", as Ezekiel Clifton of Burton Agnes did in 1543.³⁶ This said, it is worth noting that the elite are overrepresented amongst those writing wills, especially in the fifteenth-century. Moreover, the scarcity of fourteenth-

³² Heath, 1984, 220.

³³ Bainbridge, 1996, 199.

³⁴ BIHR, PR 11.333.

³⁵ Daniell, 1998, 186.

³⁶ TE VI, 173-174.

century wills makes it impossible to quantify the increased demand for church burial which perhaps characterised the first decades of the fifteenth century.

For comparison, at least 264 of the 355 (74 per cent) Hull testators studied by Heath requested to be buried inside one of the town's two churches. A further thirteen requested burial in a religious house in or near the town and only twenty-four requested burial in a churchyard. However, most of the testators who were to be buried in churches were civic officials, including mayors, sheriffs, aldermen and chamberlains and their wives. Very few were labourers.³⁷

Surviving tomb monuments provide evidence about burial choices, patronage and taste. Gittos and Gittos recorded in excess of 500 sepulchral monuments made before 1500 in the East Riding.³⁸ The distribution of the monuments is shown in Figure 6.7. Most of the recorded monuments were dated between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The majority of dated examples fell into three groups: thirteenth-century cross slabs and headstones; fifteenth-century brasses and indents; and fourteenth-century effigies and semi-effigial monuments.³⁹

Gittos and Gittos estimated that they recorded about 90 per cent of the medieval tomb monuments in the East Riding. Rather than repeat their survey, a case study approach was adopted here. By focusing on a smaller area, additional sources could be utilised and a more detailed genealogical, historical and geographical context provided for tombs. Recognising that far fewer tombs survive than were originally constructed, this research combined a survey of the surviving monuments within the case study area with information on 'lost' monuments gleaned from antiquarian accounts and testamentary sources. Wills provide useful evidence about the deceased's wishes and intentions, although individual wills do not record whether these wishes were carried out. However, where an individual requested to be buried next to an existing tomb, this provides evidence for the existence and location of the earlier tomb. By using wills composed over a number of decades or even centuries, one can build up a picture

³⁷ Heath, 1984, 215.

³⁸ Gittos and Gittos, 1989, 91.

³⁹ Gittos and Gittos, 1989, 103-5.

of the tombs and monuments within a particular church. This technique offers a partial reconstruction of the tombs in some churches, though it is dependent both on the survival of wills and on the testators recording the details of where they wished to be buried.

The greatest prevalence of extant later medieval and sixteenth-century monuments in the study area is in the north-east Wolds around Flamborough and Burton Agnes. Here there are eight surviving medieval tombs in five parish churches including four brasses and inscriptions, three tomb-chests and an effigy. Three further tombs at Boynton were recorded in 1620 by the antiquary Roger Dodsworth and post-medieval inscriptions at Burton Agnes record further 'lost' tombs, including that of Lady Agnes Clifton (d. 1506), the widow of Sir Henry Griffith. Wills demonstrate the existence of two further tombs at Flamborough and one further tomb at Harpham, as well as provide further evidence about the location of Lady Agnes' tomb. Thus fifteen tombs of medieval date are known from these five churches.

Most of the tombs represent male patrons, either alone or alongside their wives. The brass inscription to Sir Marmaduke Constable (d. 1520) at Flamborough and the brass to Sir Thomas St Quintin (ii) (d. 1445) at Harpham commemorate the knights alone and the further 'lost' tombs of William Newport (d. 1480) at Boynton and John St Quintin (d. 1509) at Harpham appear to have commemorated a single male patron. Six tombs jointly commemorated husbands and wives including the brasses at Harpham which depicted William St Quintin (i) (d. 1349) and Thomas St Quintin (i) (d. 1418) alongside their wives and the alabaster tomb-chest of Sir Walter Griffith (d. 1481) at Burton Agnes which depicts him alongside an effigy of his first wife, Joan Neville, who predeceased him. As Hadley has argued, "[t]he joint effigy, tomb or brass was an important means by which links between leading families could be displayed".⁴⁰ Moreover, joint tombs might function to legitimate manorial descent. For example, the tomb of Thomas Newport (d. 1400) and his wife Elizabeth (d. 1423) at Boynton has not survived, but in 1620 the antiquarian Roger Dodsworth recorded the inscription that it bore. The inscription mentioned neither the title nor the descent of Thomas Newport, but it described Elizabeth as the daughter and heir of John Boynton, who

⁴⁰ Hadley, 2001, 155.

was the son and heir of Lord Thomas Boynton, knight.⁴¹ The manor of Boynton had descended in the female line from Robert Boynton to Thomas Newport, the husband of Robert's daughter Elizabeth. In other words, the tomb functioned to legitimate Thomas Newport's right to the manor through his wife and her father and grandfather.

Few monuments survive which commemorate women as their primary subject. A fourteenth-century effigy of an unidentified lady at Harpham probably commemorated a single female patron, and at least two 'lost' tombs commemorated women alone. According to her son's will, Katherine Constable (d. before 1376) was buried in the chancel of St Oswald's church in Flamborough. Her son Marmaduke (d. 1378) left £10 for three marble slabs (*pro iij lapidibus emendis de marmore*), which were to be placed over the graves of Marmaduke, his grandfather William Constable (d. 1319), and his mother Katherine. This implies Katherine was to be commemorated separately from her husband Robert (d. 1338/9) who is not mentioned in Marmaduke's will. More than a century later, Lady Agnes Clifton was apparently buried in the new chapel at Burton Agnes in 1506 and presumably also had her own monument. There are a handful of surviving monuments commemorating female patrons elsewhere in the Yorkshire Wolds, including brasses at Bishop Burton commemorating Johanna Rokeby (d. 1521) and Lady Isabel Ellerker (d. 1579), both shown in Figure 6.8, and a brass inscription in the chancel of All Saints, Londesborough recording the burial site of Margaret Lady Clifford (d. 1493).

Several tombs incorporated representations of children alongside spouses. The brass plaque on the tomb of Robert Newport Esq. (d. 1483), who requested to be buried in the choir of St Andrew, Boynton and whose tomb stood against the north wall of the church in 1620, represented Robert as a kneeling knight alongside his wife, Margaret (d. 1493), and their eight sons and seven daughters.⁴² Elsewhere in the Wolds children were mentioned on inscriptions. Isabel Ellerker's brass, shown in Figure 6.8, mentioned her two sons but, though the brass showed her first husband Sir John Ellerker, it did not include depictions of the children. Daniell suggests

⁴¹ *Yorkshire Church Notes*, 167-8: "Hic jacet Thomas Nevport et Elisabet, uxor ejus, filia et heres Johannis Boynton, filii et heredis Domini Roberti Boynton, militis, qui Thomas obiit xv^o die Novembris anno Domini M^oCCCC^o... Et illa v [*sic*] obiit iij die Octobris anno Domini M^oCCCC^oXXIIJ^o, quorum animabus propicietur Deus. Amen".

⁴² *Yorkshire Church Notes*, 167; BIHR, PR 5.227.



Figure 6.8 (left) Brass commemorating Lady Isabel Ellerker and (right and bottom) brass and inscription commemorating Johanna Rokeby, both at Bishop Burton.

that depictions of children became more common after c. 1400. He argues that “children were a way of looking to the future and perhaps to emphasis lineage”, a theme that was also found in Continental Europe. Brasses also tend to record the achievements of the individual commemorated which in combination with the depictions of children functioned as “a symbolic way of defeating death”.⁴³

Where individuals were buried within family groups, as was often the case in chantry chapels, tombs functioned as highly visible and public mediums through which the gentry might assert the antiquity of their family lines. It is clear that as social mobility increased in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the gentry increasingly sought to assert status on the basis of the antiquity of family lines, a concern which the heraldic visitations of the later sixteenth century epitomised. All the tombs in the Wolds represent individuals of the knightly class or of the status of esquires. The inscriptions on the extant tombs and those recorded by Dodsworth refer to those they commemorated as “Sir”, “*Armiger*” or “*Dominus*”, and even where the inscriptions have been lost, those commemorated were of a similar status. Tombs were also sites where esquires, gentlemen and others ranked below the knightly class could negotiate their status. For example, the tombs of William Newport Esq. (d. 1480) and Robert Newport Esq. (d. 1483) at Boynton depicted them as knights in armour. One of the ways esquires might maintain or renegotiate their position in the social hierarchy was to appropriate symbols, like the armoured effigy, which had previously been a badge of knightly status.⁴⁴ However, given the high proportion of individuals who requested to be buried within a church rather than a churchyard as evidenced by the sample wills from the Wolds, the surviving and recorded tombs obviously do not represent the range of individuals of different social classes who requested to be buried within churches. It remains unclear to what extent a request to be buried in a church ensured that that individual was buried there.

Tombs helped to induce a perspective on death, in the sense that they were both backward- and forward-looking. Tombs functioned to suggest the antiquity of the family line, as well as to imply the continuity of that line into the future. As Howarth asserts, “the effect of looking at mortuary chapels was to suggest the vigours of the

⁴³ Daniell, 1998, 195.

⁴⁴ Finch, 2000, 63 and 51.

line as much as the extinction of a particular person”.⁴⁵ This notion of continuity was particularly important in a period in which social mobility was increasing. In a proclamation of 1560, Elizabeth I declared that tomb-breaking “threatened the stability of the social fabric by obscuring the rights of inheritance”.⁴⁶ The Elizabethan government was particularly concerned by the destruction of tombs by Protestant radicals, but as is often the case, taken-for-granted assumptions are revealed at moments of tension. Tombs were understood to have a normalising function in both pre and post-Reformation England. As the poet and antiquary John Weever argued in 1631, tombs asserted “the honourable and good memory of sundry vertuous and noble persons deceased”. In other words, tombs inspired amongst the ordinary people a respect for those above them in the social hierarchy, thereby legitimating and preserving the established social order.

As well as displaying status to social inferiors within the village, tombs often became focal points for competitive display between social peers. Tombs were an important medium through which the association between particular families and localities might be emphasised.⁴⁷ It is striking that so much of the commemorative activity in the churches of the north-east Wolds is contemporary. Men like William Newport (d. 1480) and Robert Newport (d. 1483), both of Boynton, were the contemporaries of Sir Walter Griffith (d. 1481) of Burton Agnes. Moreover, some of these men were not merely each other’s contemporaries, but they were intimately connected through ties of marriage. For example, Walter Griffith was the brother-in-law of ‘Little’ Sir Marmaduke Constable (d. 1520). Marmaduke’s sister, Agnes, married Walter Griffith in 1476. Another of Agnes’ and Marmaduke’s brothers, William Constable of Caythorpe (d. 1526), was buried and memorialised at Rudston, and another brother, Robert Constable (d. 1501) of North Cliffe, was mentioned on the tomb of his wife Beatrix, Lady Greystock (d. 1505), in the parish church at Sancton (see Constable Pedigree in Appendix 1). In other words, various members of a single generation of the Constable family were commemorated at Flamborough, Burton Agnes, Rudston and Sancton.

⁴⁵ Howarth, 1997, 155.

⁴⁶ Cited in Howarth, 1997, 154.

⁴⁷ Hadley, 2001, 153.

One can identify a 'memorial landscape' that spread not only over the north-east Wolds, but also linked up places such as Sancton, 35 miles south-west of Flamborough. It is a network which linked up the estate centre at Flamborough with other more recently acquired estates held by the younger sons of Robert Constable (d. 1488). The dimensions of this memorial landscape were shaped both by landownership and by marriage. Tombs generally bore the heraldry, arms and badges of those who were commemorated, as well as those families with whom the family of the deceased had married. Moreover, several of these individuals were members of the Corpus Christi gild at York. Beatrix Greystock and her husband Robert Constable of North Cliffe, the son of Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough, and their son Marmaduke were members of the gild, as was Agnes Griffith (*née* Constable) and her son Walter Griffith (d. 1531) and his wife Joanna. Agnes Constable (*née* Wentworth), the widow of Sir Robert Constable (d. 1488) was also a member.

All these connections justify comparison of the tombs and brasses which commemorated these individuals. Agnes Griffith (*née* Constable, later Clifton) and her sister-in-law, Beatrix Greystock were both of the knightly class; Beatrix used the title Lady Greystock in her will of April 12th, 1505 and Agnes took the title Dame in her will of January 14th, 1505/06.⁴⁸ Though Beatrix kept the title acquired through her first marriage to Sir Ralph, Lord Greystock, she was buried in the parish church near the estate of her second husband Robert Constable. Both Beatrix and Agnes were high status women, and while Beatrix's monument refers to her two husbands, it does not mention her father. The two women died within a year of each other, and while neither of the tombs survives, both women were apparently commemorated in memorials which represented them alone. In the case of Beatrix, the memorial requested prayers for the souls of her two husbands, and Agnes' may have been similar, perhaps requesting prayers for her two deceased husbands and her son, Sir Walter Griffith (d. 1531).

It is in such memorial landscapes where one perhaps finds evidence for competitive commemoration strategies. Tombs and other memorialisation projects were caught up with attempts to assert and maintain social status and political power. As Hadley has

⁴⁸ TE IV, 236 and 242.

argued, “[k]nightly effigies were statements of worldly success as much as they were reflections of spiritual concerns”. In particular, tombs and effigies were commonly “focal points for competitive display between leading families, and monuments were an important means by which wealthy families expressed their dominance within a locality, and reinforced their associations with a particular place”.⁴⁹ In this sense, tombs ensured the continued visibility within the village landscape of those individuals they commemorated.

6.1.3 ‘Presencing’ the Dead

But how did tombs and chantries function as sites through which social status and power could be negotiated and maintained, and how were they caught up in the practices by which particular individuals, families and groups made claims to land and other resources? Founders were often buried in a prominent place within the chantry chapels they had established and many chantries later became the focus for elite burial and commemoration within the church, as is evidenced by surviving tombs, by wills which record requests for burial within such chantries and by antiquarian accounts which record details about lost tombs. Roffey argues that the “active role and presence of the founder could... have continued *post-mortem*, in that the deceased would be made present by the context of their chapel, and its symbolism, memorials and especially the ritual itself”.⁵⁰ A draped hearse might symbolically represent the deceased at important anniversaries, but there was a general anxiety amongst the laity that their names should be remembered and their souls prayed for on a more regular basis.⁵¹ Chantries, gilds and fraternities “enshrined not only the memory of that individual’s existence and his/her deeds and benefactions, but also provided an administrative framework through which memory could be carried forward into future generations”.⁵² The names of the dead would be read from a roll during certain rituals and in this sense, “the pronunciation of the name of the dead was more than simply recollection: it was the means by which the dead were made present”.⁵³ A detailed

⁴⁹ Hadley, 2001, 153.

⁵⁰ Roffey, 2004, 65.

⁵¹ Duffy, 2005, 369 and 328.

⁵² Bainbridge, 1996, 188-189.

⁵³ Geary 1994, 87.

case study from Harpham, a township in Burton Agnes parish, will prove informative here.

A chantry dedicated to St Mary was founded in the north aisle of St John of Beverley, Harpham by the local lord William St Quintin (ii) (d. 1349) in 1340.⁵⁴ William was later buried beneath an alabaster tomb chest decorated with a canopied crucifix and four encircled quatrefoils on its north and south sides (see Figures 6.9 and 6.12). On top of it rests an incised slab of Chellaston alabaster carved at Nottingham, the only such slab in the East Riding.⁵⁵ The slab, illustrated in Figure 6.10, depicts William and his wife Joan (d. 1384), and is a good example of the role tombs might play in highlighting the connections between families brought about through marriage. Joan was the daughter of William de Thweng of Thwing and the chantry priest at Harpham was to provide prayers for William St Quintin, Joan and her father, and all their heirs and ancestors.⁵⁶ William and Joan's tomb stands below an ogee-arched canopy with ogee cusping and sub-cusping and a crocketed ogee gable with a finial.⁵⁷ The arch pierces the easternmost bay of the north aisle, thereby creating a visual link between the chancel and the chantry chapel (see Figure 6.9).

There is some debate in the existing literature as to the tomb's date. Petch suggests that the tomb may be the work of William de Malton, a mason born at Huggate and known to have worked at York Minster in c. 1315 and at Bainton church probably in the mid-1320s. De Malton worked as Master Mason at Beverley Minster from 1335, where he designed the canopy for the tomb of Nicholas de Hugate, Provost of the Minster, in c. 1340. He may also have been involved in the construction of both the reredos and the Percy tomb at Beverley Minster, which Petch argues has stylistic associations with the Harpham tomb. Petch points to similarities in cusping and counter-cusping, though the cusps of the Harpham tomb do not terminate in angels as at Beverley and nor are the soffits of the cusps carved in an identical manner (see Figure 6.11). The area around the arch at Harpham is whitewashed and there are consequently no visible mason marks, though Petch notes that north chamfer of the

⁵⁴ Cal Pat 1338-40, 454.

⁵⁵ Petch, 1981, 43; Stephanson, 1903, 26.

⁵⁶ Cal Pat 1340-3, 59.

⁵⁷ Pevsner, 1972, 241.



Figure 6.9 Ogee-arched tomb canopy cut through the wall between the chancel and north aisle chapel at Harpham.



Figure 6.10 Detail of the incised slab depicting Sir William St Quintin (ii) (d. 1349).



Figure 6.11 (above) Percy tomb canopy, Beverley Minster; (left) tomb canopy of Nicholas de Huggate, Beverley Minster.



later fourteenth-century tower arch includes the mark of a mason who worked on the reredos at Beverley Minster, possibly under the supervision of William de Malton.⁵⁸ Petch's argument assumes that William St Quintin's tomb was constructed soon after his death in 1349. Yet his wife, whose image appears on the incised slab, did not die until 1384. Moreover evidence from the Wolds and elsewhere demonstrates that tombs sometimes went unbuilt for decades after the individual had died. As mentioned above, Marmaduke Constable (d. 1378) of Flamborough left money for a marble slab to be placed over the grave of his grandfather, who had died almost six decades earlier.

Comparative material from St Nicholas, Hornsea (East Riding) where there is a very similar tomb suggests that William (ii) and Joan's tomb may have been built until c. 1400. Anthony St Quintin was rector of Hornsea on the Holderness coast from 1397 and, though he resigned before 1423, he was later buried there. Anthony's alabaster tomb chest is almost identical to that at Harpham, with four shields in quatrefoils and a central crucifix (now missing) on the north and south sides (see Figure 6.13). The tomb chest is without an incised slab, but it stands between the chancel and the east end of the south aisle dedicated to St Mary. Anthony was a younger son of William and Joan (see Appendix 2) and given the similarities between the tomb chests and their analogous positions, it is likely that he commissioned both his own and his parents' tombs. Anthony's will of 1430 certainly implies that his tomb was constructed before his death, and it seems probable that the two tombs were ordered together in c. 1400.⁵⁹

“Corpuscum meum ad sepeliendum infra ecclesiam Sancti Nicholi de Hornsee Ebor dioc. inter summum altare et altare beate marie in australi parte dictam ecclesiam de Hornesee in quodam sepulchro per corpore meo per me primatus ordinato.”⁶⁰

The position of these tombs is highly significant. Roffey suggests that founders' and other family tombs could play a significant role within intercessory rituals.⁶¹ Graves

⁵⁸ Petch, 1981, 43.

⁵⁹ Gittos and Gittos, 1989, 102.

⁶⁰ “My body to be buried in the church of Saint Nicholas of Hornsea in the diocese of York between the high altar and the altar of St Mary on the southern side of the said church of Hornsea in a certain tomb for my body I have already ordered”. *Per me primatus* approximates to ‘already’ or ‘previously’ adding weight to the perfect passive participle ‘ordered’ (BIHR, PR 9.388).

⁶¹ Roffey, 2004, 65.



Figure 6.12 Tomb chest of William St Quintin (ii) (d. 1349) at Harpham.



Figure 6.13 Tomb chest of Anthony St Quintin (d. 1430) at Hornsea.

and Roffey both argue that the later fifteenth-century tomb chest of John, Lord Stourton at Mere (Wiltshire) was placed within the arcade between the Bettisthorne chapel and the chancel in order both to ensure its proximity to the high altar and to “obstruct the line of sight from the chapel to the high altar... thus placing the tomb and its occupant not only within the minds of the observing laity or priest, but actually within the physical sphere of the rituals observed”. Graves terms this a “presencing mechanism”.⁶² Roffey cites similar examples at Yatton (Somerset) and Stoke Charity (Hampshire), where the tomb of the founder of the fifteenth-century chapel, Thomas Hampton, was sited under the arcade between the chapel and the chancel. Roffey suggests that this “indicates a desire to make the monument visible not just from within the chapel, but also from the high altar as well as from the nave. Certainly it implies a desire for proximity to the high altar as the holier place”.⁶³ Importantly all of Graves’ and Roffey’s examples are of later fifteenth-century date. Not only do the tombs at Harpham and Hornsea predate these examples by more than half a century, but the location of the Harpham tomb also implies a considerable degree of forward-planning. Unlike at Mere and Stoke Charity, Sir William’s tomb was not placed beneath the aisle arcade. Instead the ogee-arched canopy was pierced through the blank wall to the east of the existing two-bay arcade. This was not simple opportunism; either the tomb’s location was planned from the time the chantry chapel was begun in 1340 or the ogee-arch was later cut through the wall at considerable expense.

Further comparative material uncovered by this author at Brandesburton (East Riding) is suggestive of the St Quintin strategy for maintaining their presence within church space after death. Another son of William and Joan, Sir John St Quintin (d. 1397), was buried at Brandesburton, a village in Holderness c. 15 km south of Harpham. He acquired the Brandesburton estate through his marriage to Lora St Quintin (d. 1369), the heiress of a collateral branch of the family, and was buried with his wife in the church there. In his will of 1397, John St Quintin left 20 marcs towards purchasing a marble slab with three brass images depicting himself and his two wives.⁶⁴ The brass

⁶² Roffey, 2004, 65; Graves, 2000, 142.

⁶³ Roffey, 2004, 66.

⁶⁴ TE I, 215-6: “do et lego viginti marcas ad emendum quondam petram de marble, super corpus meum, et corpora Loraie nuper uxoris meae et Agnetis uxoris meae jacendam, cum tribus ymaginibus de laton supra dictam petram punctis”.

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⁶³ Roffey, 2004, 66.

⁶⁴ TE I, 215-6: “do et lego viginti marcas ad emendum quondam petram de marble, super corpus meum, et corpora Loraie nuper uxoris meae et Agnetis uxoris meae jacendam, cum tribus ymaginibus de laton supra dictam petram punctis”.

is illustrated in Figure 6.14, though it depicts only John and Lora; John's second wife, Agnes (d. 1404), later requested burial at Sigglesthorne in Holderness next to the tomb of her first husband.⁶⁵

John requested to be buried before the high altar in the middle of the choir (*in medio chori, coram summo altari*), and the brass lies in the chancel against the north wall and in front of the vestry door.⁶⁶ The brass is situated below a squint which gives visual access from the north aisle chapel to the high altar. There is no documentary evidence for a chantry at Brandesburton, but it is possible that John and Lora founded an unlicensed chantry. Moreover, though he chose to be buried in the chancel, John adopted a strategy not dissimilar to that utilised by his younger brother, Anthony, on behalf of himself and their parents. By placing his brass below the squint between the north aisle and the high altar, he placed himself within the liturgical practice of the church.

The co-lateral line at Harpham died out with John and Lora's son, but descendants of William (ii) and Joan continued to be buried and commemorated within the chantry at Harpham throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Some comparison of the brasses and other monuments chosen by various members of the St Quintin family can be offered, particularly those belonging to John St Quintin, John's nephew Thomas (i) (d. 1418) and Thomas' grandson, another Thomas (ii) (d. 1445) (shown in Figures 6.14 to 6.16). All three brasses were produced in York-based workshops using similar techniques. They exhibit considerable stylistic continuities, though they were produced over almost half a century.

The principal variant between these related brasses was the size of the figures. The brass figures of John and Lora are set into a blue-black marble slab measuring 259 cm by 120 cm.⁶⁷ The male figure measures 198 cm from the tip of the indent left where the head has been removed to his feet and the female 178 cm. Badham attributes the brass to the York School (Series 1a), arguing that it is the earliest surviving York-produced brass in the East Riding. To her mind, the Brandesburton brass is one of "the

⁶⁵ TE I, 332.

⁶⁶ TE I, 215.

⁶⁷ Field survey, 23.07.2005.

finest products of the York workshops and indeed of any provincial school of brass engravings". It is influenced by Flemish designs, particularly in the fact the male figure holds a heart so that the back of one hand is completely visible, in the attitude of knight and in folds of the lady's dress.⁶⁸

Thomas St Quintin (i) (d. 1418) was the son of William St Quintin (iii) of Harpham and therefore the nephew of John and the grandson of William (ii) and Joan, a fact which modifies the existing family pedigree (see Appendix 2).⁶⁹ Thomas was buried in the north aisle at Harpham and depicted alongside his wife Agnes (*née* Mauley) on a marble slab measuring 274 cm by 131 cm (see Figure 6.15). The brass figures are considerably smaller than those at Brandesburton and the male figure measures only 147 cm.⁷⁰ The figures are arranged under a double canopy, unlike at Brandesburton where there was no canopy. Badham classifies it as a Series 1c brass and attributes it to the York workshop of John Newton (d. 1429), a freemason of York from 1407.⁷¹ These later brasses are characterised by figures with long, slim silhouettes. In particular, the knights have simple, streamlined armour and ladies are depicted in simple gowns and 'crespine' headdresses with their hair bound at the sides of their heads in cauls with diamond-patterned netting. Similar forms are seen at nearby Lowthorpe.

Thomas St Quintin (ii) (d. 1445), grandson of the earlier Thomas, was also buried in the north aisle chapel at Harpham. The brass figure itself is relatively small measuring just 96 cm, but it is set into a much larger marble slab measuring 213 cm by 100.5 cm (see Figure 6.16).⁷² The brass is an early example of a Series 2a brass from a York workshop. These brasses are more decorative than earlier examples, particularly in their use of cusped lines and flowers on the mound on which the figures stand. Yet they have clear stylistic links to Series 1 brasses.⁷³

It is interesting that so many members of the family chose to be buried under brasses, all of which were produced in York. This was despite tensions between the

⁶⁸ Badham, 1989, 172.

⁶⁹ Existing pedigree given in *The Visitation of Yorkshire in 1584/5 and 1612*, 162-3.

⁷⁰ Field survey, 23.07.2005.

⁷¹ Badham, 1989, 173.

⁷² Field survey, 23.07.2005.

⁷³ Badham, 1989, 175.

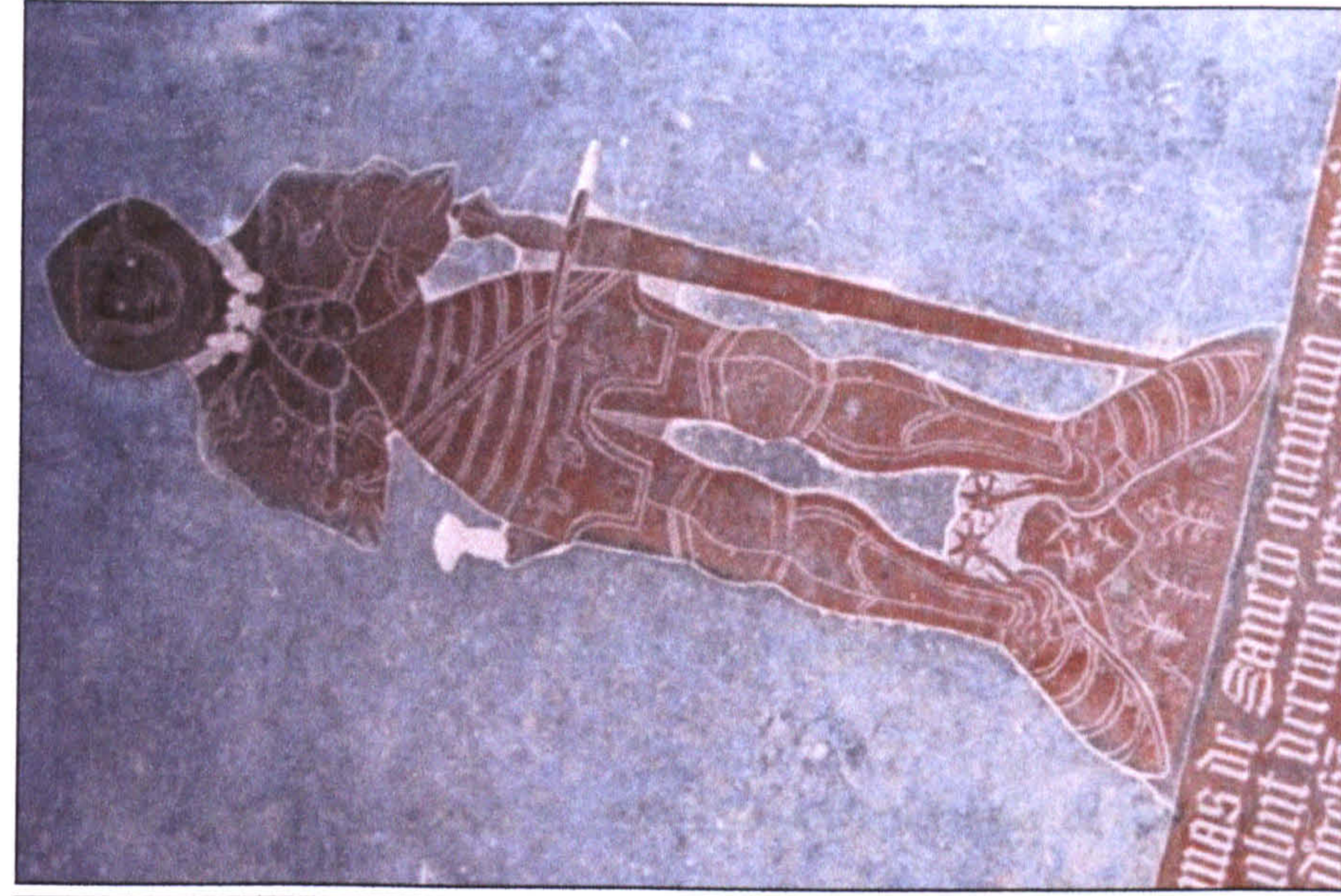
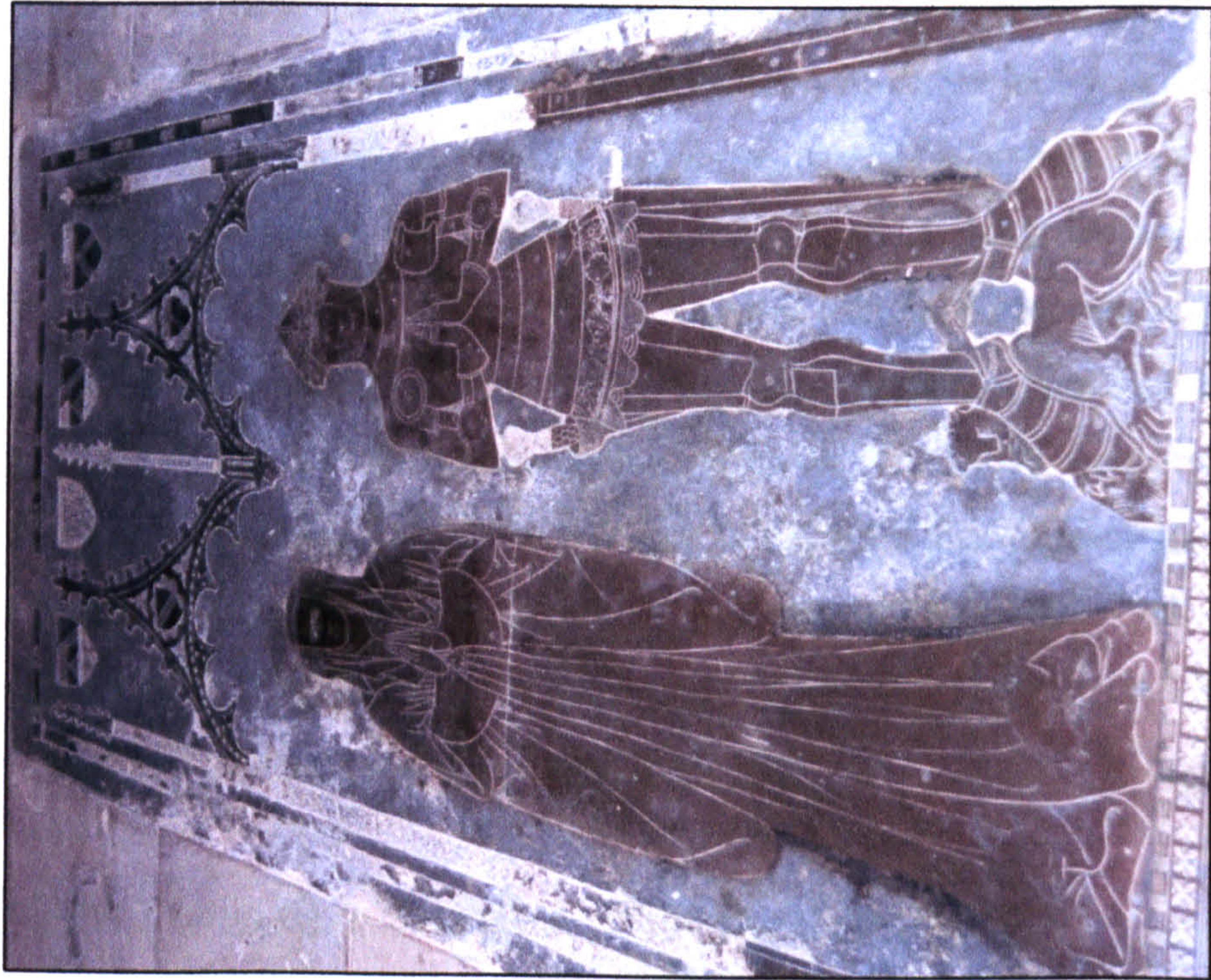
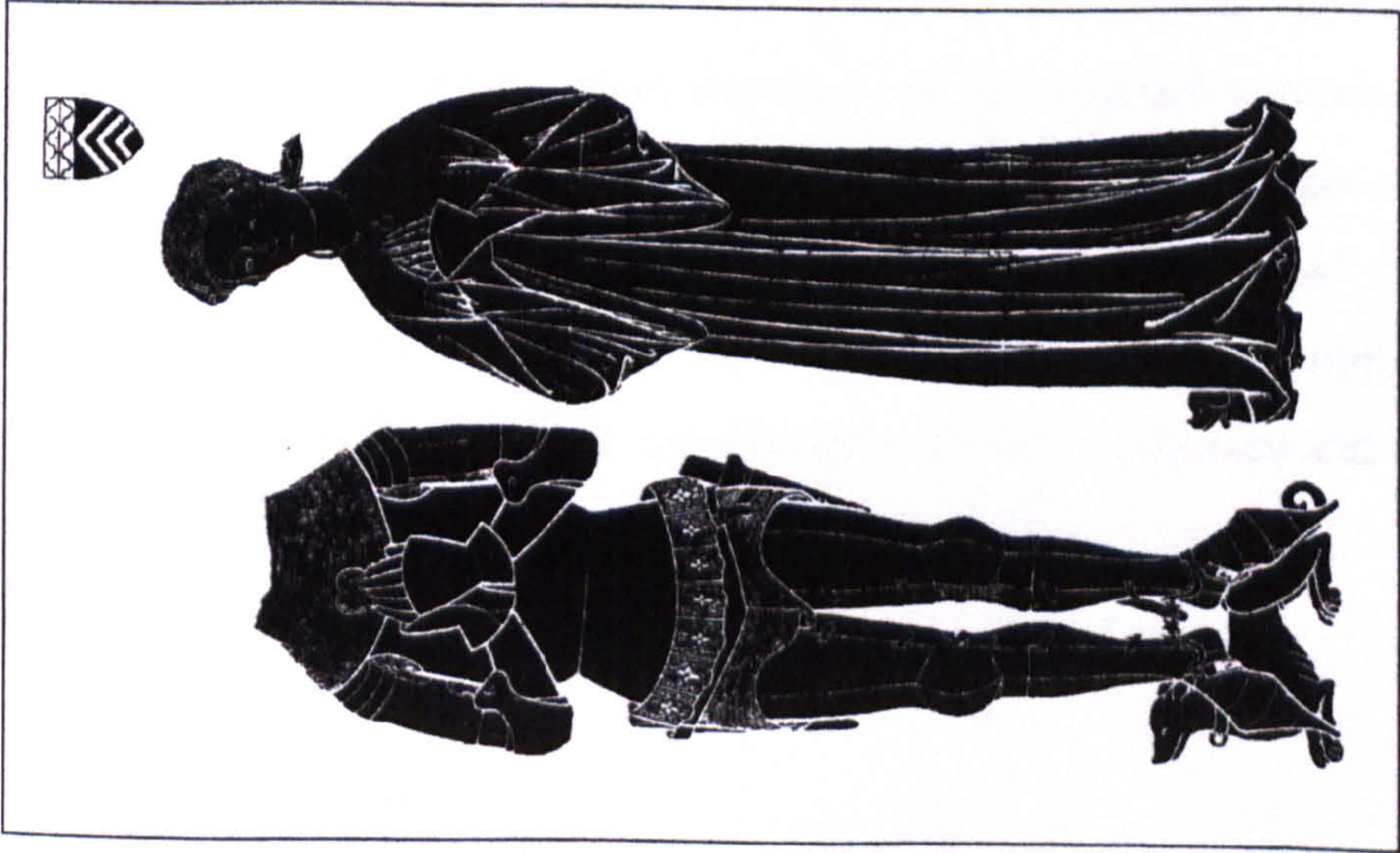


Figure 6.14 (left) Brass of Sir John St Quintin (d. 1397) at Brandesburton.

Figure 6.15 (middle) Brass of Thomas St Quintin (i) (d. 1418) at Harpham.

Figure 6.16 (right) Brass of Thomas St Quintin (ii) (d. 1445) at Harpham.

Brandesburton and Harpham branches of the family. Sir John St Quintin's will does not mention his older brother William St Quintin (iii) of Harpham, who presumably predeceased him. There seems to have been a dispute between Sir John and his nephew Thomas St Quintin (i) over the Harpham property. The *De Banco* roll for Easter 1395/6 records that Thomas (i) presented himself against Sir John complaining that the latter had made waste, sale and destruction of lands, houses and other property in his custody during Thomas' minority. Thomas presumably came of age in 1396 and in another plea he complained that Sir John refused to render an account of the issues and profits of the lands due at Thomas' majority.⁷⁴

The tombs of other members of the St Quintin family have not survived, but their wills record their desire to be buried within the chantry at Harpham. Sir Anthony St Quintin (d. 1443-4) is not mentioned in the published pedigree, but was the father of Thomas (ii).⁷⁵ Like his ancestors and his son, he requested to be buried before the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary and left £4 for a chaplain to celebrate for his soul for a year.⁷⁶ In the early sixteenth century, John St Quintin (iii) (d. 1514) requested to be buried in north aisle of Our Lady, left £8 a year for two priests and specified he was to lie on the right-hand side of his father, another John (ii) (d. 1509), below a blue marble slab which would cover them both.⁷⁷ There is evidence that at least six generations of the St Quintin family were buried and commemorated in the north aisle of Harpham church in the two centuries after the chantry was founded there in 1340.

6.1.4 Tombs, Chantries and the Wider Rural Landscape

Section iii argues that tombs and chantries articulated regional landscapes of ownership and influence, as in the case of the Constable tombs at Flamborough, Rudston and Sancton. Martindale has made the point that the choice of tomb made by the European royalty and elite had "territorial ramifications". For example, the selection of relatives to appear as weeper figures on royal tombs might project a particular idea of Europe.⁷⁸ So too decisions about burial place and the form of a tomb

⁷⁴ Stephanson, 1893, 212.

⁷⁵ *The Visitation of Yorkshire in 1584/5 and 1612*, 162-3.

⁷⁶ TE II, 95-96.

⁷⁷ TE V, 54-5.

⁷⁸ Martindale, 1991, 160.

might have implications for the demarcation of territory at the local scale. In this sense, tombs might become caught up in conflicts for resources and territory between rival lords.

The neighbouring villages of Burton Agnes and Harpham provide a good example of such practices. The chantry founded at Harpham in 1340 has been discussed above and that at Burton Agnes was founded by Sir Roger de Sommerville (d. 1337) in the north aisle of St Martin's in 1313. In 1317, he received a licence from Archbishop Greenfield to translate the body of Matilda, his deceased wife, into the new chantry (*novam alam ecclesie de Burton Agnes contiguam*).⁷⁹ Sir Roger was later buried within the chantry (see Figure 6.17), as was his brother Sir Phillip (d. 1355) who had inherited the lordship. The chantry was founded as part of a wider programme of pious works that included establishing a hospital dedicated to St Helen at an isolated site at Brayceford in Harpham township, close to where the Bridlington-Driffeld road forded Lowthorpe Beck.⁸⁰

The chantries at Burton Agnes and Harpham were both founded by a local manorial lord who was later buried within the chantry and both were situated at the east end of the churches' north aisles. Both also continued to be a focus for family burials throughout the succeeding centuries. For example, Sir Walter Griffith (d. 1481) and his first wife Joan Neville were buried in the chantry at Burton Agnes in the later fifteenth century, and burials continued in the aisle and new chantry chapel throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Like all the chantries within the region, those at Burton Agnes and Harpham would have clearly displayed the social status, wealth and power of those commemorated. Yet it is the territorial context of the two chantries which gives this example its particular interest.

The manors of Burton Agnes and Harpham were held together until the late twelfth century, an arrangement which probably originated in the pre-Conquest period when Harpham was perhaps held as part of a multiple estate appurtenant to Burton Agnes. At Domesday, Burton Agnes was the centre of a large 50-carucate estate including berewicks at Harpham, Gransmoor and Boythorpe and sokeland at Langtoft,

⁷⁹ Reg AB Greenfield V, 272.

⁸⁰ HUL, DDWB/5/22 and 20/4.

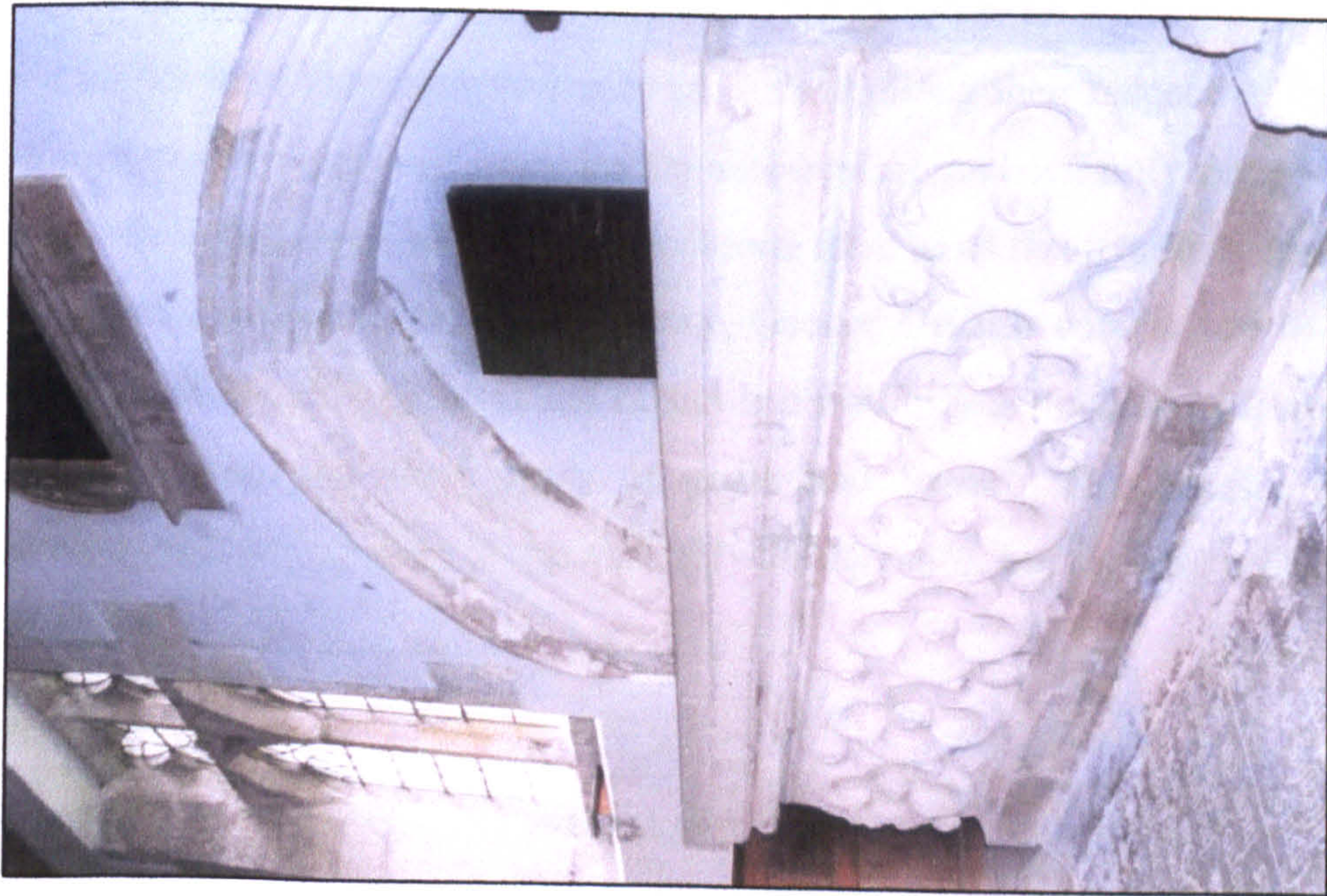


Figure 6.17 (left) Tomb chest of Sir Roger de Somerville and (right) the north aisle chantry chapel, Burton Agnes.

Haisthorpe, Thorneholme, Thwing and Potter Brompton.⁸¹ Many of these villis were later townships within the parish of Burton Agnes. Indeed, that the place-name contains the Old English *burh-tūn* element may suggest that Burton Agnes was the site of a pre-Conquest thegnly residence. Sometime before 1199, the estate was divided between two co-heiresses and Harpham was inherited by the St Quintin family (see Appendix 2 and 3). Yet the chapel at Harpham did not achieve full parochial status and the manor remained a township within the parish of Burton Agnes. As a response, the St Quintins expanded and partially rebuilt the chapel, inserting new windows with reticulated tracery in the nave, north chapel and chancel and adding a new tower in the later fourteenth century, so that the chapel rivalled the parish church at Burton Agnes in size and splendour (see Figures 6.18, 6.19 and 6.33 (left)).

But while the lords of Burton Agnes may have been happy to refer to the chapel at Harpham as a church, as they consistently did in their wills, they were less keen to cede other rights to the St Quintins.⁸² Documentary sources record a long history of disputes between the lords of Burton Agnes and Harpham, the earliest of which appears in the patent rolls for 1307.⁸³ By the mid fifteenth century, parts of the moor between the two villages had been enclosed and this seems to have exacerbated tensions over resources. Closes called “calfeclos” and “le syklhom” were first mentioned in 1412 and 1464/5, and were described in 1716 as lying “beyond the moor” with other meadows and closes called the Intacks and Seagroves.⁸⁴ A dispute over rights in the moor is first mentioned in 1465 when an agreement was made between the lords of Burton Agnes and Harpham defining their respective rights.⁸⁵ In 1499, a further agreement was made but the dispute had not been fully settled by 1508, when John St Quintin was collecting depositions from local farmers for a court case.⁸⁶ Sometime before the mid sixteenth century, George Griffith complained to the Star Chamber that William St Quintin and others had riotously assembled in Burton Moor and forcibly taken two wain loads of gorse and furze.⁸⁷ The petition probably exaggerated the riotous nature of the assembly on the moor, but the case represents an

⁸¹ *Domesday Book*, 788.

⁸² TE III, 269 and IV, 243.

⁸³ Cal Pat 1307-1313, 35-36.

⁸⁴ HUL, DDWB/5/36 (a), DDWB/5/48 and DDCV/31/1.

⁸⁵ HUL, DDWB/5/49.

⁸⁶ HUL, DDSQ/5/7.

⁸⁷ YSCP I, 156-7.



Figure 6.18 Windows in the north nave, Harpham.



Figure 6.19 North aisle chantry chapel, Harpham.

attempt by the Griffith family to have their sole rights in the moor recognised in a court of law. However the dispute was still rumbling in 1705 when a document asserting that “the seigniorship of the moor appertains solely to the lord of Burton” was produced, presumably for yet another court case.⁸⁸

Given that the status of the St Quintin manor seems to have been understood as partially caught up with the status of the township as chapelry of Burton Agnes, the chantry chapel was one of the means by which independence could be asserted. The chapel at Harpham had acquired the right to burial sometime before 1340 and the continued burial of the St Quintin dead within the chantry clearly articulated the claim of the chapel to be a church. In other words, one can understand the chantry and tombs as an outcome both of a desire to ape the status symbols of the neighbouring Griffith family *and* of the need to assert the manor’s rights and status, thereby competing for resources in the moor and elsewhere.

6.2 Parish Spaces

6.2.1 Public and Private Space

The previous sections demonstrate some of the ways tombs and chantries might articulate the wealth, gentility and lineage of particular individuals and families, as well as, the rights of these individuals to claim manorial rights and resources. It is in this sense that tombs and chantries asserted private concerns within communal space; or to put it another way, tombs articulated secular interests within religious space. Where tombs were particularly numerous or visually prominent, the church might have seemed to the common people more like the private funerary chapel of the lord of the manor, than a space for the parishioners. Embellishment programmes, chantry chapels and the continuing intercessory prayers which would have taken place next to the tombs might imply space was private and manorial, rather than public and communal.

Art and architectural historians have often identified tombs as one of the means by which individuals could display their wealth and power within the public sphere.

⁸⁸ HUL, DDWB/5/2(b).

Howarth recognised the central place tombs occupied during the English Renaissance, arguing that tombs “had more impact than painted portraits” for unlike portraits hung in private houses, tombs were highly visible within the parish church.⁸⁹ The burial of lay people within churches has been interpreted by some scholars as an intrusion of private, secular concerns into religious space. Daniell has pointed to “the secular encroachment upon religious space”, arguing that the use of heraldry on tombs represented “a private and personal statement within the confines of the holy space”.⁹⁰ Martindale points to a long history of secular intrusion into sacred spaces, which was well under way by the twelfth century and peaked in the fourteenth century. More specifically, he argues that whereas in the tenth and eleventh centuries commemorative practice involved prayers, anniversaries and obits, by the early sixteenth century, verbal commemoration had been replaced with a form of commemoration which was “far more ostentatious and possessive”.⁹¹ Such commentators have typically argued that this form of display increased significantly after the Black Death, so that by the fifteenth century it represented an increasing intrusion of the secular world into the spiritual.⁹²

These scholars tend to see piety and power, the spiritual and the secular, as diametrically opposed. There remains a need to reassess how private concerns about wealth, status and gentility interacted with and were written through with more pious concerns. Central to this reassessment of church space is the acknowledgement that tombs and chantries needed to be in public space in order to elicit the prayers which would speed the soul of the deceased through Purgatory. Roffey has argued that while on the one hand chantries were “essentially individualistic, or exclusive, monuments”, on the other they might provide “a context for both private and public piety”.⁹³ The public setting of these chapels was essential to their purpose. Chantry chapels ensured the continued visibility of the patrons within the village community, thereby not only bolstering the status of their living heir, but also prompting intercessory prayers from the lay public as well as stipendiary priests. Moreover, wider programmes of embellishment within the church, while undoubtedly bolstering the presence of the

⁸⁹ Howarth, 1997, 155 and 153.

⁹⁰ Daniell, 1998, 187.

⁹¹ Martindale, 1991, 148.

⁹² Wilson, 1990, 190; Coldstream, 1994, 11.

⁹³ Roffey, 2004, 62.

patron within the church and the community, were also understood as works for ‘the common good’. Duffy usefully summarises the overlapping private and public functions inherent within chantries, arguing that whilst the foundation of a chantry was “the ultimate act of religious individualism, for it tied the celebration of the Eucharist to the interests of a single individual and his family”, it is also evident that:

“the cult of the commemoration of the dead was inextricably bound up with the late medieval sense of community. Testators establishing... chantries... conceived of themselves as providing benefits not only for themselves and the other dead prayed for there, but for the living community of the parish”.⁹⁴

In those instances where chantries were founded in pre-existing aisles partially or wholly rebuilt for the purpose of containing the chantry, as at Burton Agnes, Harpham and South Cave, one can suggest that chantries took over space that had previously been used by the parishioners. Certainly chantries like that in the north aisle at Harpham might take up a large proportion of interior church space. This was especially problematic where a church contained two or more chantries. St Oswald’s at Flamborough was a relatively large church with both nave and chancel aisles which contained as many as six medieval chantries and gilds. Marmaduke Constable founded a chantry in 1359, which was probably that dedicated to St Katherine mentioned in his will of 1376, when he bequeathed the chaplain 40s and the chantry two torches, 20s and a vestment of green velvet.⁹⁵ The location of the chantry is unknown, although the fact that Marmaduke requested to be buried in the chancel and left 26s and 8d for paving it, implies that it was in one of the chancel aisles. Marmaduke’s will mentions two further altars dedicated to Corpus Christi and St Mary which were in existence by 1376. That dedicated to St Mary was founded by Robert le Constable, probably in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, as was the chantry dedicated to St Thomas.⁹⁶ The will of Lady Agnes Constable (d. 1467) mentions the choir of St Edmund the king and martyr at Flamborough.⁹⁷ There was also a gild dedicated to the Holy Trinity by 1504 and another dedicated to St Margaret.

⁹⁴ Duffy, 2005, 139.

⁹⁵ Cal Pat 1358-1362, 214. TE I, 97-99.

⁹⁶ VCH ER II, 161.

⁹⁷ BIHR, PR 4.38

But was the space taken up by chantries really space from which the parishioners were visually and physically excluded? Roffey has argued that evidence for seats in chantries and gilds and for screens, squints and low-side windows giving visual access into chantries, as well as the size of chantry chapels which could accommodate large numbers of people, all suggest the public might enter chantry chapels and participate within chantry masses.⁹⁸ While Hadley points out that the duties of a chantry priest might impinge both on “the activities of the other clergy in the church and on the religious experiences of other parishioners”, chantry priests might conversely serve the morrow Mass and assist or sing at parish services, thereby contributing to regular services.⁹⁹ Chantry chapels might serve as parochial chapels of ease, as appears to have been the case at Octon, Sewerby and elsewhere in the Wolds, thereby improving religious provision in smaller hamlets and settlements.

Moreover, as Roffey has argued, “[c]hapels and chantries founded with [sic] the body of the church brought the setting of Eucharistic practice out of the confines of the chancel and into the public domain”.¹⁰⁰ Chantries were in part responsible for the proliferation of nave altars in the later medieval period and the low Masses celebrated at these altars increased lay access to the liturgy. The provision of altars in aisles and side chapels brought “the mysteries of Christ’s Passion closer to the worshippers, bringing the celebration of the mass... out of the exclusive confines of chancels and into the inclusive body of the church itself”.¹⁰¹

Both permanent and temporary chantries provided the founder with an opportunity to affect religious experience by determining the liturgy conducted. Though in many instances the liturgy celebrated at nave altars would have been determined in consultation with clerics, “the fact remained that it was lay men and women who hired, and who could often fire, the clergy who carried out their instructions. It makes no sense to talk here about an ‘alienated liturgy of the altar’. This was Eucharistic worship in which lay people called the shots”.¹⁰² It was the physical proximity between the laity and the clergy at these nave altars which prompted Caxton to

⁹⁸ Roffey, 2004, 66-7.

⁹⁹ Hadley, 2001, 166.

¹⁰⁰ Roffey, 2004, 67.

¹⁰¹ Roffey, 2003, 345.

¹⁰² Duffy, 2005, 114.

complain in his version of the ‘Doctrinal of Sapyence’ (1489) that many parishioners “stond so nyghe the aulter that they trouble oftimes the preest for the dissolucions that they doo in spekyng in lawhing and many other maners and not only the laye men and women but also the clerkes by whom the other ought to be governed and taken ensample of”.¹⁰³

Yet not all religious practice was enacted within the public domain of the parish church. As Chapter V demonstrates, domestic chapels and oratories were not uncommon in the Yorkshire Wolds. It is clear that not all devotional activity was undertaken in the parish church. Rather, the home, monasteries, friaries and charitable institutions all provided sites at which piety could be expressed in more or less public settings.

6.2.2 Gilds

This thesis expands upon research undertaken by David Crouch, who produced a list of medieval gilds in Yorkshire.¹⁰⁴ Using information gleaned from a variety of sources described in Chapter III, this author adds previously unrecorded gilds and additional manuscript references to gilds in the Yorkshire Wolds to Crouch’s list. This information appears in Appendix 9.

This research has identified twenty-five medieval gilds in nineteen churches in the Yorkshire Wolds. Some churches housed more than one gild, as at Bempton where there were three gilds in the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁵ There were two gilds at Weaverthorpe, Rudston and Flamborough, and perhaps also at North Dalton where a gild of John the Baptist and an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary were documented in 1508, the latter probably maintained by a gild who held property including a close known as Lady Garth in 1633.¹⁰⁶ Gilds are distributed fairly evenly across the northern and eastern Wolds, though there are far fewer gilds documented in the southern Wolds. The overall incidence of gilds in the Wolds is relatively low compared to other parts of the country like Cambridgeshire where gilds were recorded in 125 out of 172

¹⁰³ Cited in Duffy, 2005, 112.

¹⁰⁴ Crouch, 1995.

¹⁰⁵ VCH ER II, 14. The gilds were dedicated to Corpus Christi, St Mary and St Helen, and St Michael.

¹⁰⁶ HUL, DDLA/19/80; BIHR, PR 7.40.

settlements.¹⁰⁷ The most popular dedications for gilds were St Mary (once with St Helen: nine cases), the Holy Trinity (four cases), St John Baptist (three cases) and Corpus Christi (two cases). St Michael, St Mary Magdalene, St Margaret, St Laurence, St Katherine and Jesus all had one gild dedicated to them and one gild was of an unknown dedication.

Few gilds were recorded in the Yorkshire Wolds before the mid fifteenth century (see Figure 6.2). The earliest recorded gilds in the Wolds were the gild of the Holy Trinity at Thwing and that of Corpus Christi at Weaverthorpe, both mentioned in a will of 1387.¹⁰⁸ The 1387 will is one of the earliest to survive from the diocese of York and it is perhaps not surprising that it is difficult to identify gilds before testamentary sources improve in the mid fifteenth century. Most gilds only appear in the records after 1450 and multiple references to gilds mainly come from sixteenth-century documents. There is some evidence to suggest that gilds may have existed in the Wolds for decades or centuries before they appear in testamentary sources. For example, the gild at Warter does not appear in a will before 1521 yet land and other property at Warter and Gildhousdale was licensed to Warter Priory in 1371 for a light burning at the high altar and this gift may have been part of a larger endowment associated with the foundation of a gild.¹⁰⁹ There may also have been a gild at Hunmanby by c. 1200 when a toft used by the gild-meeting was mentioned, though the gild does not appear in testamentary sources until 1456/7.¹¹⁰

There were certainly religious gilds elsewhere in eastern Yorkshire by the 1350s, mostly in urban centres. The St George gild was recorded at Scarborough in 1349, and the Corpus Christi gild in Holy Trinity, Hull recorded in the same year was one of eight gilds recorded at Hull before 1400.¹¹¹ At Beverley, the Corpus Christi gild was first recorded in 1352 and at least three further gilds had been established in the town's three churches before the turn of the fifteenth century. Gilds were also recorded at

¹⁰⁷ Bainbridge, 1996, 33.

¹⁰⁸ BIHR, PR 14.16.

¹⁰⁹ Cal Pat 1370-1374, 79; BIHR, PR 9.212. However, given the indirect nature of the evidence, the gild at Warter is excluded from the bar chart below.

¹¹⁰ Yorkshire Deeds VIII, 76; BIHR, PR 2.345. The undated deed was probably produced c. 1200: one of the witnesses Ellis Prior of Bridlington was prior 1199-1202, although another prior is not mentioned until 1218.

¹¹¹ Crouch, 2000. The Gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary in St Mary's, Hull was founded in 1357 and six further gilds were founded in Hull before 1400.

Pocklington and Malton in the 1390s.¹¹² Unlike in East Anglia where gilds were recorded in numerous small towns and villages, the Yorkshire gilds recorded in the Gild Returns of 1389 were restricted to large urban centres such as Hull and York, a pattern that is also found in much of the rest of England.¹¹³ Crouch identifies only forty fourteenth-century gilds in Yorkshire as a whole, thirteen of which appeared in the 1389 Gild Returns and the rest in testamentary sources. However, as Crouch notes and the evidence from Warter and Hunmanby noted above implies, gilds may have flourished elsewhere in Yorkshire unrecorded.¹¹⁴

Unlike chantries, the vast majority of gilds are first recorded in the later fifteenth or earlier sixteenth centuries (see Figure 6.3). That gild foundation typically took place later than chantry foundation in the Yorkshire Wolds is not to suggest that gilds replaced chantries as expressions of public piety. Instead chantries continued to be founded in the early sixteenth century, as at Lund and Burton Agnes. Whilst it is clear that the nature and survivals of sources affect what is known about the beginnings of gild organisation in the Yorkshire Wolds, it seems likely the increase in information about gilds in the later fifteenth century reflects a genuine increase in gild popularity in this period. As Bainbridge notes with reference to gilds in Cambridgeshire, the increase in the number of gilds recorded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries “is in part a reflection of the increase in the number of wills made over this period”, though she concluded that “[d]espite the inadequacy of these records for present purposes, they show extensive gild activity in 1547”.¹¹⁵ Figure 6.2 clearly demonstrates that gild activity in the Yorkshire Wolds continued into the sixteenth century, a period which was until recently thought to have witnessed a decline, rather than an increase, in popular expressions of piety.¹¹⁶ Eight gilds are first recorded in the 1520s, some of which benefited from bequests as late as the 1540s. For example, two gilds at Rudston received bequests in 1540, as did St Mary’s gild at Wintringham in 1546.¹¹⁷ It is clear that many gilds continued to function until they were suppressed in 1548.

¹¹² Riley, 1938, 162, 270, 272; Crouch, 2000.

¹¹³ Bainbridge, 1996, 26-7.

¹¹⁴ Crouch, 2000.

¹¹⁵ Bainbridge, 1996, 38 and 41.

¹¹⁶ Dickens, 1989; Duffy, 2005, 4-6; Whiting, 1997, 128-9.

¹¹⁷ TE VI, 242; BIHR, PR 11.469

However, if some gilds continued to function up to the Reformation, others probably ceased to operate before the mid sixteenth century. Several gilds were recorded only once, such as those at Weaverthorpe and Thwing recorded in 1387, at Garton on the Wolds in 1430 and at Bishop Burton in 1439. Only in a few instances can it be demonstrated that gilds functioned over an extended period, as at Hunmanby where the gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary first recorded in 1456/7 received bequests in 1462, 1483 and 1539 and whose former property including a gild hall was mentioned in 1569-70.¹¹⁸ Bainbridge suggests that most gilds were relatively short-lived institutions, with “only a small proportion [existing] on any long-standing basis”. Of the 350 gilds recorded in Cambridgeshire, 46 per cent were known to be active at only one date, 31 per cent are known to have existed for less than 50 years, 10 per cent for 50 to 100 years and 11 per cent for 100 to 200 years.¹¹⁹

Unlike chantries which were generally founded to benefit the soul of a single individual or small family group, gilds were inclusive institutions through which a wide spectrum of society might organise intercessory prayers. Gilds provided a framework through which ordinary villagers who could not afford to establish chantries, temporary or otherwise, might ensure intercessory intervention after their deaths; in other words, intercession was not solely the preserve of the wealthy. Yet little is known about the activities and rituals of the gilds in the Yorkshire Wolds. Some gilds maintained gild halls like those recorded at Leconfield and Rudston in 1548, Bessingby in 1549, Bempton in 1569, Carnaby in 1571 and Hunmanby in the later sixteenth century.¹²⁰ Other gilds certainly maintained images, lights and obits. The gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Hunmanby maintained “the ymage of our Lady of Pitie” mentioned in 1515, while St Mary’s gild at Rudston, first mentioned in 1514, maintained a light and an image of St Mary and perhaps also celebrated the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin.¹²¹ While chantries certainly employed stipendiary priests, it is less clear whether gilds also did so. First mentioned in 1484, the gild of the Blessed Mary at Kirby Grindalythe maintained a light in the south aisle of the church and may have employed a priest, for there were two chaplains at Kirby Grindalythe in 1525-

¹¹⁸ Cal Pat 1569-72, 38.

¹¹⁹ Bainbridge, 1996, 37.

¹²⁰ Cal Pat 1548-9, 38; Cal Pat 1548-9, 38; Cal Pat III Edw VI, 148; VCH ER II, 14; Cal Pat 1569-71, 237; Cal Pat 1569-72, 38.

¹²¹ TE V, 62 and 116-7; BIHR, PR 9.3.

26.¹²² Some of the chaplains recorded elsewhere in 1525/6 may have been employed by gilds for they are often recorded in churches where gilds are known to have been active in the 1520s, 1530s and 1540s. Men like Thomas Esheton of Bessingby Gent. may have expected that the masses and psalms he requested both at his burial and for a quarter of a year after would be conducted by a priest organised through the gild of Mary Magdalene to which he left 3s 4d.¹²³

Almost nothing is known about gild membership in the Yorkshire Wolds, except to say it was certainly possible to join some gilds after death for Agnes Somerby widow (d. 1504) left 13s 4d for membership of the Trinity gild at Flamborough *post mortem*.¹²⁴ It seems likely that some funeral and commemoration customs were reserved for certain members of gilds. Scholars have noted the impact of gender, age, status and wealth on gild practices elsewhere in England. Bainbridge notes that “[t]he gild, like a microcosm of society at large and like other social groups, made a greater public display of mourning people, generally men, who had played a larger part in public life”. Conversely, the poor received less elaborate funerals. For example, only two candles were burnt around the bodies of brethren whose funerals were paid for from the funds of the Assumption Gild at Holy Trinity, Cambridge, rather than the customary four candles.¹²⁵

Gild practices reflected more general attitudes, for gender, age, status and wealth all impacted upon the arrangements undertaken by the parish at the death of a parishioner. For example, at Norwich the great bell of the parish was rung for a shorter time for poor individuals and children, than for men or women of note, so that the bell “continued a greater or less time according to the estate and reputation of the deceased...”.¹²⁶ The number of strokes informed those listening of the status of the dead parishioner. At Hull, where hand bells were rung on the day of the funeral, the seventh day and at the month’s and year’s minds, many testators requested that the great bell be rung “as is accustomed for the souls of notable men of the town”.¹²⁷

¹²² BIHR, PR 5.226; 5.210; 11.133; *East Riding Clergy 1525-6*, 79.

¹²³ TE V, 133-4. In other places, gilds almost certainly did not employ chaplains as at Hunmanby where there were two gilds active in the 1520s but only one chaplain recorded in 1525-26.

¹²⁴ BIHR, PR 9.209.

¹²⁵ Bainbridge, 1996, 194.

¹²⁶ Rye, 1887-8; cited in Bainbridge, 1996, 197.

¹²⁷ KHRO, M.11; cited by Heath, 1984, 217.

There has been much debate over the role played by gilds in village society. Earlier scholars focused on friction between gilds and parishes, arguing that gild members saw their membership as a “certificate of moral quantification”. More recent research has stressed “the substantial areas of common ground between gild and parish, with gilds contributing generous funds towards the refurbishment of parish churches”. Such scholars argue that gild members demonstrated their sense of collective responsibility where they contributed to church fabric, charitable causes and communal projects like the repair of roads and bridges.¹²⁸ There is no evidence from the Wolds to indicate whether gilds contributed to church building and embellishment projects, although individuals who bequeathed money to gilds often also left gifts to the church fabric or charitable works. For example, John Bee of Bishop Burton (d. 1439) left 6s 8d to the gild there, as well as 20s to the fabric of the church and 40s to be distributed to the parish poor.¹²⁹ Thomas Smyth of Sledmere (d. 1484) left a great number of gifts to a wide range of institutions including 100s to the chapel at Sledmere, smaller sums to six other local churches and chapels, a quarter of barley to each to the gilds of the blessed Mary at Driffeld and Kirkby as well as 3s 4d each to eight major churches, monasteries and friaries, and 20s to the building of the bridge at Malton.¹³⁰

6.2.3 Bequests

Analysis by this author of over 200 wills suggests that regardless of whether they left bequests to gilds, many Wolds testators left gifts to a wide range of institutions. The majority of testators left gifts to their own parish church (125 of 220 or 57 per cent) and some of these testators left larger sums to their own and neighbouring churches than they did to York Minster. Of the sixty-eight testators who left money to St Peter’s, thirty-eight individuals (58 per cent) left more to their parish church than the cathedral. These included men like William Brass of Pockthorpe (par. Nafferton) who left 6s 8d each to the parish churches at Kilham and Nafferton, but only 3s 4d to St Peter’s.¹³¹ John Pauly (d. 1401), who held an estate in Hunmanby amounting to 15½

¹²⁸ Bailey, 1994, 160; Duffy, 2005, 151-3.

¹²⁹ BIHR, PR 3.562.

¹³⁰ BIHR, PR 5.226. The local churches included Kirby Grindalythe, Cowlam, Towthorpe, Fridaythorpe, Fimber and Cottam.

¹³¹ BIHR, PR 2.492.

bovates, left 13s 4d to St Peter's and 6s 8d to the brothers and sisters of St Leonard's hospital at York, though he also left twice the combined sum to Hunmanby church.¹³² Another parishioner John Simpson (d. 1407/8) left 12d to fabric of St Peter's, 12d to St Leonard's hospital and 3s to three religious houses in Scarborough, as well as gifts totalling 5s to the altar and fabric of Hunmanby church.¹³³

Fifty-seven testators (26 per cent) made gifts to between one and nine churches or chapels other than their parish church, often in the local area. For example, Thomas Mylner of Cottam left a met of barley to St Katherine's gild at Langtoft, as well as a quarter of barley each to the churches at Langtoft and Cottam and a met of barley each to six other local churches, chapels and gilds.¹³⁴ Just under half of Wolds testators made bequests to religious institutions other than parish churches (104 of 220 or 47 per cent), including sixty-eight testators (31 per cent) who left gifts to St Peter's, York. These were sometimes substantial sums like the 40s bequeathed to York Minster by Sir Walter Griffith (d. 1481) and the 10s left to church works at the Minster by Sir Marmaduke Constable (d. 1518).¹³⁵ Nor was it only the elite who left gifts to the cathedral. Richard Ley, a husbandman of Huggate, left 12d to the fabric of St Peter's in addition to the 5 rams and 12d he left to local churches.¹³⁶ Bequests to York Minster were also well represented in the Hull wills analysed by Heath, although few Hull testators left more than a shilling to the Minster.¹³⁷ The mother churches at Beverley, Ripon and Southwell were also popular beneficiaries among Wolds testators like Robert Roose (d. 1520) who left 4d to each of the four mother churches in Yorkshire, including York Minster.¹³⁸

Some testators favoured religious institutions other than the cathedral and mother churches. Sir John Nawton (d. 1436) left 2s to St Peter's, York, but 20s to the Carmelite and Augustinian friars of York and 30s to the three orders of friars in Scarborough for trentals.¹³⁹ John Tonge (d. 1521), the bailiff of Nunburnholme, left 3s each to Ripon, Beverley and Southwell but only 12d to York Minster. Moreover, he

¹³² BIHR, PR 3.84.

¹³³ BIHR, PR 3.281.

¹³⁴ TE V, 132 note.

¹³⁵ TE III, 269-70; TE V, 88-9.

¹³⁶ TE II, 249.

¹³⁷ Heath, 1984, 225.

¹³⁸ TE V, 116-7.

¹³⁹ TE II, 58-9.

favoured the local institutions over any of the more distant churches and left substantial gifts to local religious houses including bequests totalling 26s 8d and sixteen ewes to the nuns at Nunburnholme and 46s 8d to the prior and brethren of Warter.¹⁴⁰ Matilda de Buckton (d. 1408) left nothing to York Minster, but 40s to the monastery at Bridlington, 13s 4d each to St John Beverley and the monastery at *Wykhin*, as well as 20d each to all the religious houses in Hull and Scarborough, while Edmund Thwaites (d. 1500) left bequests to at least sixteen major churches, monasteries, friaries and colleges, as well as gifts to prisoners at York and local husbandmen.¹⁴¹

6.3 Church Building Projects

6.3.1 Naves and Chancels

The later medieval period has been widely interpreted as an era characterised by the flowering of parish church architecture. Hutton summarised much of the literature on the medieval parish church, pointing out that it had become “almost *de rigueur* to eulogise the English parish churches of the late Decorated and Perpendicular styles”.¹⁴² Several commentators have made that point that investment shifted from cathedrals, monasteries and other large religious institutions to smaller, local projects in the later medieval period, particularly after the Black Death. As Wilson argues, “[u]p to the end of the 13th century the great churches had led and other classes of building had followed, but in the last two and a half centuries of the Middle Ages important architectural innovations increasingly often made their debut in... major parish or friars’ churches”. This echoes Morris’s assertion that “[f]ar from being a period of architectural decline the later Middle Ages saw a redoubling of building activity, but at the neighbourhood level”.¹⁴³

As a corollary to this, several commentators have argued that after the Black Death “the priorities of patrons changed, and funding was directed away from grand, communal building schemes (of the nave and aisles) to more personalised initiatives

¹⁴⁰ TE V, 134-135.

¹⁴¹ BIHR, PR 3.284; TE IV, 175-7.

¹⁴² Hutton, 1957, 14.

¹⁴³ Wilson, 1990, 189; Morris, 1979, 227.

(chantries, chapels, porches, donations of fixtures and fittings)".¹⁴⁴ Bainbridge suggests a similar shift in lay piety from relics, cults and monasteries in the early Middle Ages, to parish churches, and then to hospitals, chantries and colleges in the later Middle Ages.¹⁴⁵ While parish churches undoubtedly became an important focus for investment in the later medieval period, two strands of evidence from the Yorkshire Wolds challenge the notion of a shift from public to personal building projects at the local level. Firstly, as demonstrated at length above, chantries were founded in the Wolds and elsewhere before 1350; they are not purely a post-Black Death phenomenon.

Secondly, chantries were often founded in association with building projects which affected other parts of the church. Although some of the known chantries were founded in churches or chapels for which there is now no standing buildings evidence, in other instances there is clear evidence that chantries were founded as part of wider programmes of building or refenestration. For example, the north aisle at Burton Agnes was apparently rebuilt, widened and refenestrated when the chantry was founded in 1313. The north aisle was added at Harpham in the first half of the fourteenth century, almost certainly when the chantry was founded in 1340. The chancel was also refurbished and refenestrated at this date and new windows were inserted into older masonry in the north nave wall.

The Decorated north chapel arcade at South Cave dates from the early fourteenth century suggesting that the chapel and north aisle were added when the chantry was founded by Alexander de Cave in 1310.¹⁴⁶ The chancel arch is also early fourteenth century indicating the chancel was refurbished at the same date (see Figure 6.20). Alexander presumably held the estate later known as West Hall and was probably an ancestor of the Lound family who held the estate later in the fourteenth century and were financing church works at South Cave in 1426.¹⁴⁷ However, although the chantry was Alexander's foundation, the church works may have been more widely patronised, given a 1314 indulgence was granted to those visiting the church

¹⁴⁴ Hadley, 2001, 164.

¹⁴⁵ Bainbridge, 1996, 34.

¹⁴⁶ Cal Pat 1307-1313, 289.

¹⁴⁷ VCH ER IV, 44; North County Wills I, 34-35.



Figure 6.20 South Cave: (clockwise from top) blocked chapel arcade; detail of chapel piers; and detail of the reset twelfth-century responds in the chancel arch.

and contributing to the fabric of the chapel of St Mary.¹⁴⁸

The chancel chapels at Flamborough, destroyed in the nineteenth century, were built in the Perpendicular style and may date from the later fourteenth century. Building work may have been in progress at Flamborough in the 1370s when Marmaduke Constable left 26s 8d for paving the chancel as well as 20s to cover and repair the altar of St Katherine with lead. At least three chantries were founded before 1376, including a chantry licensed in 1359.¹⁴⁹ As suggested above, the chantry dedicated to St Katherine was probably in one of the chancel aisles. The addition or rebuilding of these aisles may be part of a project aimed at providing pre-existing or recently founded chantries with suitable architectural settings.

Rather than being completely rebuilt, the north aisle at Thwing was extended eastwards in the fourteenth century, presumably in order to accommodate the chantry dedicated to St Thomas the Apostle first mentioned in 1348.¹⁵⁰ Some of the fourteenth-century features are illustrated in Figure 6.21 and these include a lateral arch between the aisle and chapel, a trefoil-headed projecting piscina and a long squint giving visual access to the high altar. Three-light windows with reticulated tracery were also inserted into the south wall in the fourteenth century (see Figure 6.22).

The connection between chantry foundation and building programmes has been noted by other scholars. Morris argues that “[t]here are signs of a connection between the level of investment in commemorative arrangements and the degree of support which was given to new building”. He demonstrates this with reference to York, arguing that while thirty-nine perpetual chantries were founded in the first half of the fourteenth century, “[t]hereafter the figures show a steady decline, and were approaching vanishing point after 1500”.¹⁵¹ Kreider notes that “whereas no less than fifty obits had been founded in the Minster in the second half of the fourteenth century, only four

¹⁴⁸ VCH ER IV, 56.

¹⁴⁹ Cal Pat 1358-62, 214.

¹⁵⁰ BIHR, PR 10.192; Cal Inq PM xiv, 53-9.

¹⁵¹ Morris, 1989, 371.



Figure 6.21 (left) The north aisle chantry and lateral arch (from an old photograph on display in the church) and (right) trefoil-headed piscina and squint at Thwing.



Figure 6.22 Reticulated tracery in the south nave wall, Thwing.

were founded in the early sixteenth century”.¹⁵² Few of York’s churches were rebuilt in the fifteenth century and a third of the city’s churches had been closed and many demolished by the later sixteenth century.

Unlike in the City of York, chantries were still being founded in the study area in c. 1500. The fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries also saw widespread building activity in the Yorkshire Wolds. In some places church building programmes were directly associated with the foundation of new chantries at the turn of the sixteenth century. The construction of the new chantry chapel at Burton Agnes in c. 1500 was part of a wider programme of extension and embellishment undertaken by Sir Walter Griffith and his mother, the dowager Lady Agnes (see Figure 6.23). The clerestory and the embattled parapet were added to the nave and the tower was rebuilt in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries (see Figure 6.24). The tower arch bears the badges of the Griffith family, as does the nave parapet (see Figures 6.25 and 6.26). At Lund, Edmund Thwaites Esq. built a new chantry chapel on the north side of All Saints’ church sometime before he wrote his will in 1500. The new chantry chapel was broadly contemporary with other works, including the rebuilding of the tower in the Perpendicular style.

Chantry chapels, gild chapels and tombs were just some of the ways that space within churches might be articulated through architectural mediums. Other building projects also affected ‘church space’ in the later medieval and post-Reformation period. The most extensive later medieval building programmes in the Yorkshire Wolds took place at Ganton and Wintringham. St Nicholas, Ganton was comprehensively rebuilt in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Work apparently started in the chancel and the main body of the nave. Late fourteenth-century features include blocked windows in the south chancel wall, a two-light window with Geometric tracery in the west end of the north aisle and carved stops in the nave arcade. Head-stops with fourteenth-century head-dresses suggest a similar date for the south door. The west tower, recessed spire, south porch and most of the panelled tracery in the north aisle windows were probably completed in the early fifteenth century, a date implied both

¹⁵² Kreider, 1979, 90-1.

Here lie the remains of Sir Walter Griffiths Kn^t
 who departed this Life on the 9th day of August, 1487
 and Iane his first Wife.
 Daughter of Sir Ralph Nevill by Mary.
 Granddaughter to John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster
 in this Chapel also lie the remains
 of Agnes, Second Wife of the said Sir Walter.
 Daughter of Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough
 and married secondly to Sir Gervase Clifton
 of Clifton in the County of Nottingham Kn^t of the Bath
 she died Jan^y 23^d 1505
 leaving issue by Sir Walter Griffith aforesaid Walter
 his successor made Kn^t of the Bath on All Hallows Eve
 1494 at the Creation of Henry 2^d son of Henry vii Duke of York
 and Agnes married to Sir Gervase Clifton
 of Clifton in Nottinghamshire Kn^t of the Bath

Figure 6.23 Post-medieval plaque commemorating Agnes Clifton (d. 1505), widow of Sir Walter Griffith (i) and mother of Sir Walter Griffith (ii) with whom she jointly patronised the building works at St Martin, Burton Agnes.



Figure 6.24 St Martin, Burton Agnes from the north, showing Tudor arch to demolished north chapel, clerestory and embattled parapet on the nave.



Figure 6.25 Detail of the Griffith badges on the tower arch capitals.



Figure 6.26 Griffith badge on the south-west corner of the embattled nave parapet.

by the design of the tracery and the arms over the south porch, which show Willesthorpe impaling Acklam quartering Percy of Kildale (see Figure 6.27).¹⁵³ At Wintringham the church was not wholly rebuilt, but substantial work was undertaken on the nave and tower in the early fifteenth century. The nave and aisles were rebuilt whilst maintaining the Decorated-period arcades and a new tower topped by a recessed spire was constructed. The interior of the building was refurbished with straight-headed windows and carved wooden screens were added to chapels in the north and south aisles (see Figures 6.28 and 6.29).¹⁵⁴

Other work of Perpendicular date includes the nave arcades at Thwing and Lockington, the chancel arcades at Flamborough discussed above, the chancel arch at Langtoft and the south doorway at Etton. The roof at Goodmanham is fifteenth or early sixteenth century in date and fifteenth-century bosses reset in a twentieth-century roof at Thwing imply that this church also received a new roof in that century. The three-bay chancel at Newbald was rebuilt in the fifteenth century. Its east window has original, although much renewed, Perpendicular tracery while the three four-centred windows in the south chancel wall (depicted in Figure 6.30) are probably copies of fifteenth-century windows. The Norman transept chapels were demolished at the same date and new three-light windows with Perpendicular tracery and hood-moulds, now much renewed, were inserted into the blocked round-headed openings (see Figure 6.31). The north vestry was also constructed during the fifteenth-century programme of work and a parapet and pinnacles added to the earlier tower.

In addition to projects which rebuilt chancels, naves and towers, a range of smaller projects were also being undertaken in the Yorkshire Wolds. One or more new windows were commonly inserted into the masonry walls of churches otherwise largely unaffected by building works. Morris argues that refenestration and modernisation projects became increasingly common from the second quarter of the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁵ The popularity of refenestration projects was not simply a reaction to limited fiscal means in the period after 1300. Rather, the introduction of bar tracery in the mid-thirteenth century and the resulting fashion for light spaces

¹⁵³ Field survey 23.10.2006; VCH ER II, 215.

¹⁵⁴ Field survey 23.10.06; *List of Buildings*; Pevsner, 1972, 371-2.

¹⁵⁵ Morris, 1979, 223, 277.

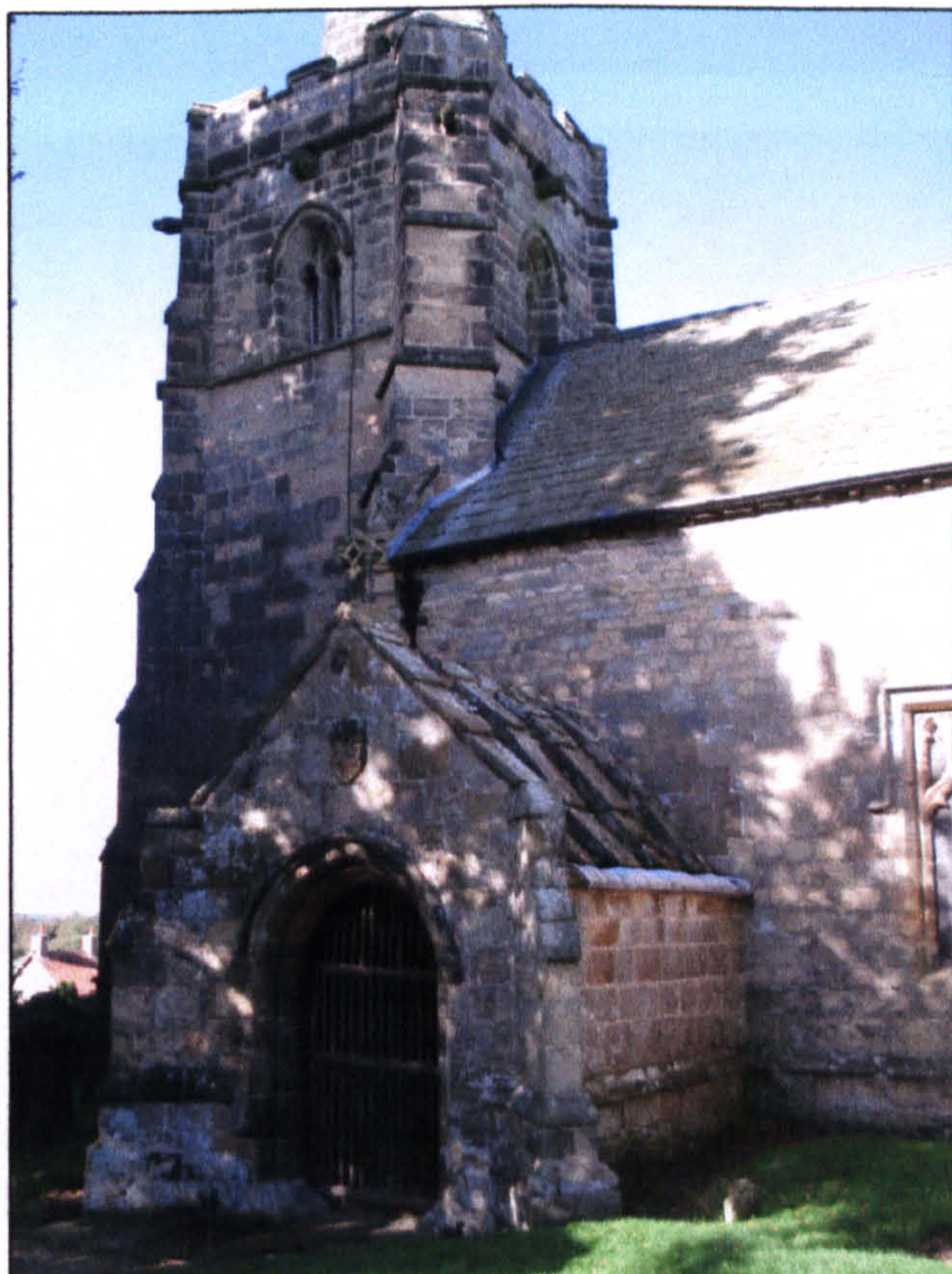
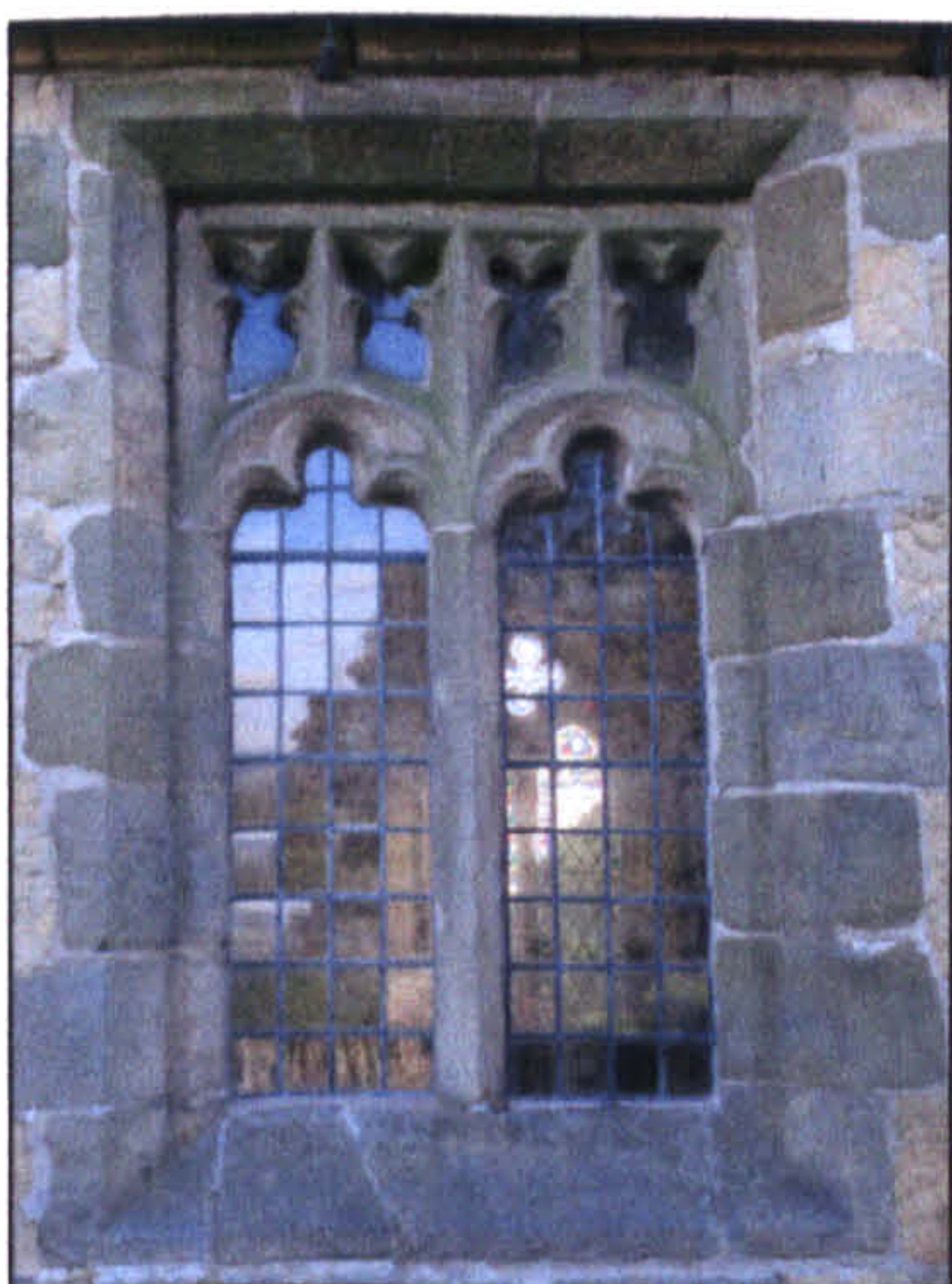


Figure 6.27 (clockwise from top) St Nicholas, Ganton from the south east; fifteenth-century porch and tower; fifteenth-century window in north aisle; detail of arms over porch.



Figure 6.28 (above) St Peter, Wintringham; (below) interior showing Perpendicular screens, windows and north and south aisle chapels.



Figure 6.29 Wintringham: (top left) Perpendicular-period tower arch and west window; (top right) east window of south aisle chapel; (bottom) south aisle chapel.

encouraged patrons to undertake refenestration projects. Projects of this type were common in the East Riding of Yorkshire in the fourteenth century. Research by this author has identified standing fabric to confirm that at least sixty-one refenestration projects took place in the East Riding between 1280 and 1360, that is, in the Decorated Style. This compares with fifty known projects in Nottinghamshire and 184 in Lincolnshire, much the largest county of the three.¹⁵⁶

The popularity of refenestration projects apparently continued into the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Forty-nine Perpendicular refenestration projects can be identified in the East Riding.¹⁵⁷ Sixteen Wolds churches are known to have had new Perpendicular-style windows inserted into their nave and/or chancel. There were new windows inserted into naves or aisles at Burnby, Folkton, Leconfield, Thwing, Walkington, Wetwang and Wold Newton. The extant Perpendicular-style windows at Langtoft, now reset in the vestry, presumably came from the nave rather than the largely intact fourteenth-century chancel. At Burton Agnes, Goodmanham and Huggate clerestories were added or clerestory windows replaced. At Rowley, square-headed windows with Perpendicular tracery were inserted into the nave walls, probably at the time the tower was heightened and the west window inserted. New windows were inserted into the south chancel walls at Burnby and Walkington. New east windows were inserted at Burton Fleming, North Grimston and Walkington, and perhaps also at Londesborough and Wold Newton, though the latter examples have both been much renewed. At Leconfield early fourteenth-century Decorated-style windows in the north wall of the chancel were re-glazed in the later fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, as were some of the nave windows.

Standing buildings evidence from the Wolds suggests about twice as many Perpendicular refenestration projects affected naves as chancels. That such programmes of embellishment generally focus on the nave rather than the chancel may imply that it was parishioners rather than clergymen who initiated these building projects. However, it is worth noting that post-medieval building projects have disproportionately affected the chancels of Wolds churches. Of the buildings with surviving medieval fabric, twice as many churches have had their chancels rebuilt as

¹⁵⁶ *A compendium of Pevsner's Buildings of England.*

¹⁵⁷ *A compendium of Pevsner's Buildings of England.*



Figure 6.30 Panel tracery in the south chancel wall, Newbald.



Figure 6.31 Panel tracery under round heads in the south transept, Newbald.

their naves. As a result, it is problematic to compare the total number of churches with Perpendicular-period windows in their naves and chancels. Instead, one can consider the churches with Perpendicular-period windows in their chancels as a percentage of those buildings with surviving medieval fabric in their chancels, and the same for windows in naves. The resulting percentages are closer than the raw totals suggest; 31 per cent of churches with medieval chancels have Perpendicular-period windows in their chancels and 39 per cent of churches with medieval naves have similar windows in their naves.

However, evidence drawn from the later sixteenth-century archbishops' Visitation records suggests that the chancels of Wolds churches were more poorly maintained than the naves. The chancels of twenty-three churches were in decay at some point between 1567/8 and 1600, as were nine vicarages, parsonages, rectories and prebendary houses. The worst of the chancels were perhaps those at Boynton and Wharram Percy which were both in such great decay in 1575 that they were unusable in winter.¹⁵⁸ Perhaps the longest running case of neglect was that at Willerby where the visitations of 1578, 1591, 1596 and 1600 all recorded that the chancel was in great decay, a defect which was not remedied in 1615 when the chancel windows were open to weather and the church so decayed that it was propped up "on one side".¹⁵⁹ The chancel at Burton Fleming was in such decay by 1578 that no service was held, whilst that at Muston was in such an extreme state of decay in 1596 that it was said to be "like to fall down", a fate which had befallen the chancel at Rowley by 1600.¹⁶⁰ The non-residency of incumbents, including the vicar of Hunmanby in 1582, may have been a factor contributing to the decays.¹⁶¹ By contrast only nine naves and seven towers were said to be in need of repair. In some cases the decays were quite extensive, as was the case at Walkington where the nave was ill repaired, the bells out of order and the church decayed in lead and timber in 1582.¹⁶² At Flamborough, windows were reported broken in 1591 and in 1600 the tower was in decay, though little was apparently done to secure it for the tower had "fallen down" by 1663.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ BIHR, V1757/CB1.

¹⁵⁹ BIHR, V1615/CB.

¹⁶⁰ BIHR, V1595-6/CB3 and V1600/CB1.

¹⁶¹ BIHR, V1582/CB.

¹⁶² BIHR, V1582/CB.

¹⁶³ BIHR, V1590-91/CB1; V1600/CB1; ERV CB1.

Other decays affected only a small part of the church. At Rudston windows were broken and at Newbald the “stall and place where minister is to say service” were out of repair in 1582.¹⁶⁴ The evidence implies that parishioners may have been more willing or better placed to fulfil their responsibilities for keeping their churches in repair than the clergy.

6.3.2 Church Towers, Bells and Soundscapes

The most common type of late medieval building projects were those that focused on church towers. While few major cathedral and abbey churches had their towers rebuilt after *c.* 1400, huge numbers of parish churches all over England received new towers in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This was an era characterised by the widespread construction and rebuilding of church towers on an altogether grander scale.¹⁶⁵ Morris notes “a preoccupation on the part of patrons with towers” in the later medieval period, while Harvey points to the “immense emphasis laid on the building of church towers throughout [the Perpendicular] period and on until 1540”.¹⁶⁶

In the Wolds, nine new towers were built in the Perpendicular style and six churches had the top stage of their towers rebuilt or parapets and pinnacles in the latest fashion added. The precise chronology of tower building in the Wolds is difficult to unravel, not least because the Perpendicular style remained relatively unchanged from its inception at Gloucester in the 1330s to its demise two hundred years later. Moreover, there is little documentary evidence to date the towers. Appendix 10 compares key diagnostic features of the towers and suggests possible dates for their construction, while Figures 6.33 to 6.36 offer an illustrative catalogue of the towers. Several of the findings are worthy of further emphasis here. Firstly, several of the towers utilised very similar tracery designs (see Figure 6.32). The west windows at Kilham and Lund were of related form, though the central two panels at Kilham were divided horizontally by a supertransom absent at Lund. Supertransoms were popular in the Wolds and embattled examples are found at North Dalton, Ganton, Sancton, Boynton and Carnaby. The

¹⁶⁴ BIHR, V1582/CB.

¹⁶⁵ Cox and Ford, 1961, 107.

¹⁶⁶ Harvey, 1978, 226; Morris, 1979, 227.

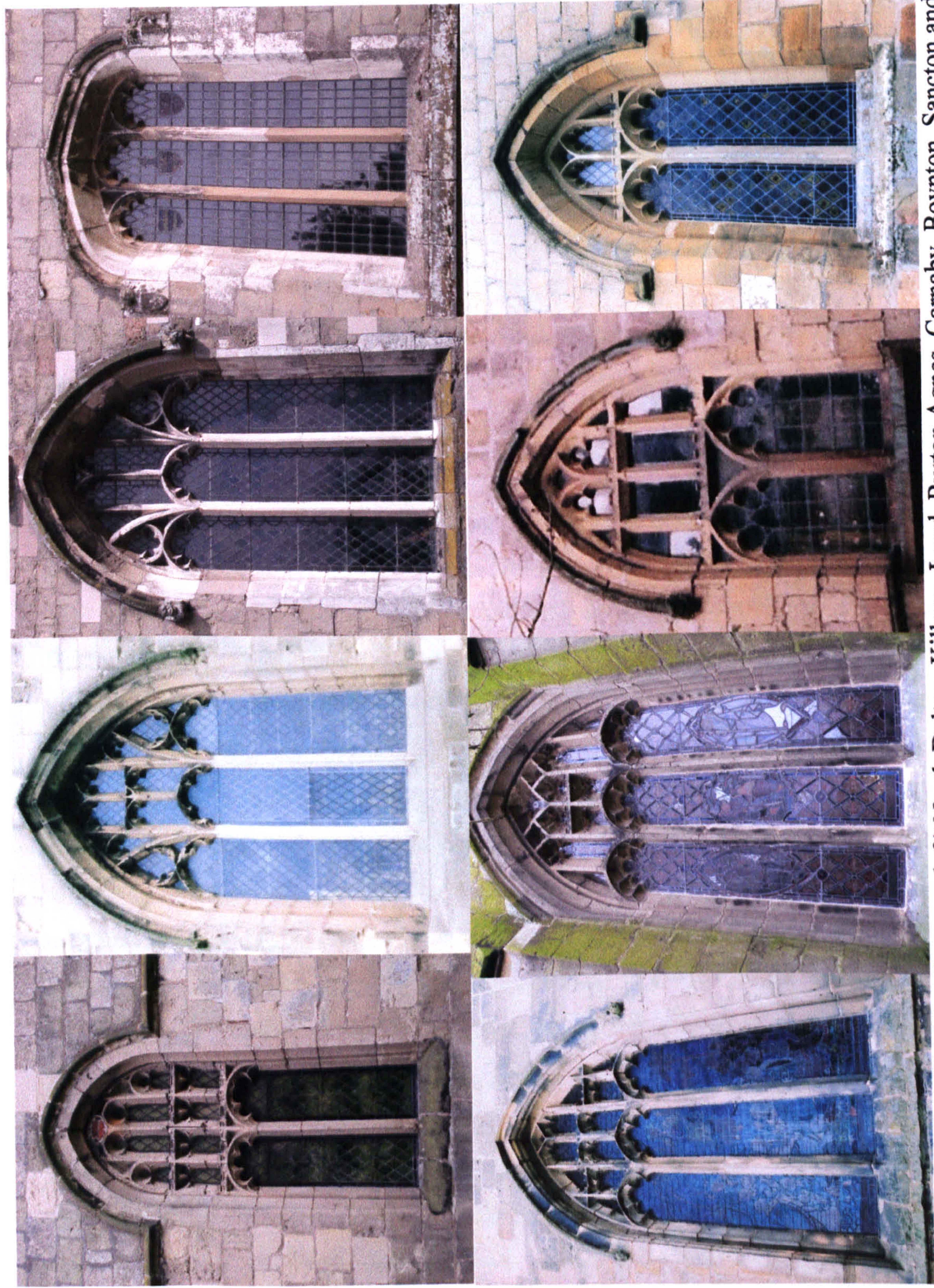


Figure 6.32 West windows (clockwise from top left) North Dalton, Kilham, Lund, Burton Agnes, Carnaby, Boynton, Sancton and Ganton.

west windows at North Dalton and Boynton both utilise two supertransoms, though the designs are otherwise quite distinct. The west window at Boynton is more closely related to that at nearby Carnaby. Both windows are of two cinquefoil lights below panel tracery, though the west window at Carnaby has only one supertransom, the lights of the tracery have cinquefoil rather than trefoil cusps and the central mullion is continued through the entire window in a way it is not at Boynton. The similarities between the towers extend beyond the window tracery: the three-stage towers both have north-east vices, stepped diagonal buttresses, near-identical bell openings and embattled parapets of five merlons and four embrasures with corner pinnacles (see Figure 6.34). The similarities are such to imply that one tower was directly modelled on the other. On stylistic grounds one might suggest that Boynton was the earlier project and that the tower at Carnaby represented a simplified version of the Boynton scheme.

Secondly, the dates of the towers indicate that building work did not completely cease in the decades before the Reformation. The towers at Burton Agnes and Lund were both built around the turn of the sixteenth century (see Figure 6.36). The tower at Burton Agnes was part of a wider building programme within the church that included the construction of the clerestory and the chantry chapel, the latter securely dated by a will to *c.* 1505 although nothing of it survives except a four-centred arch that would have connected it with the north aisle. The bell openings of the tower consist of three cusped lights under four-centred arches, while the three cinquefoil-cusped lights of the clerestory windows sit under square heads. The west window of the tower is largely original, apart from the mullions which have been partly recut, and consists of three cinquefoil-cusped lights under a four-centred head and, unlike the bell openings, a hood-mould with angle stops. The simplified form and decoration of the tower and the clerestory, as well as the use of four-centred forms in the tower and the north chapel entry, suggests a date in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. This somewhat austere style swept through northern England in the decades around 1500 and is also evident in the simplified bell openings at Lund. While the influence of Westminster-trained masons at York Minster had always encouraged a more restrained Perpendicular style in northern England than was common elsewhere, a new functionalist style was evident in the pier mouldings and crossing arches at Ripon Minster as early as the 1460s, though it was widely adopted only

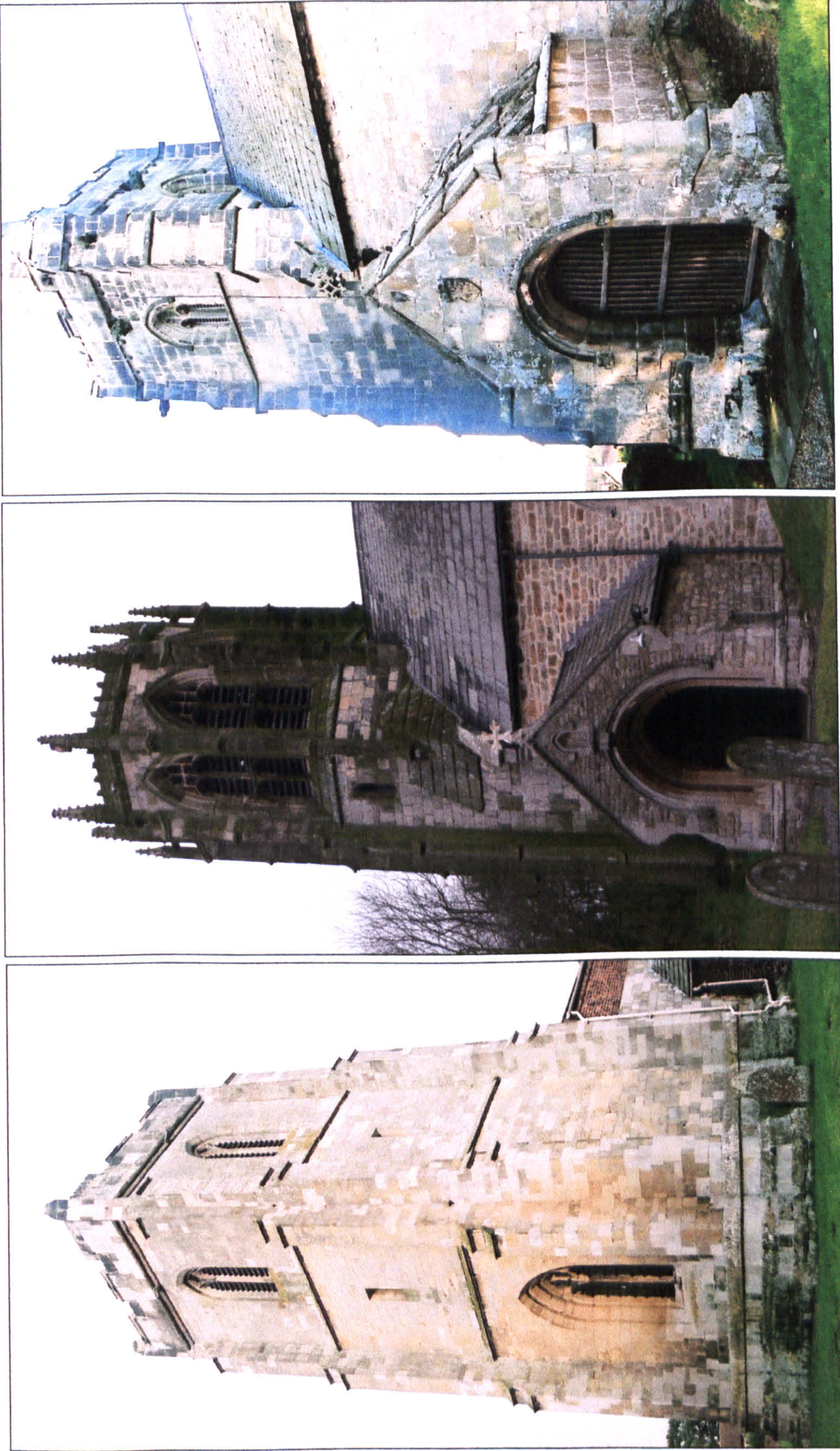


Figure 6.33 Perpendicular towers at Harpham, Sancton and Ganton

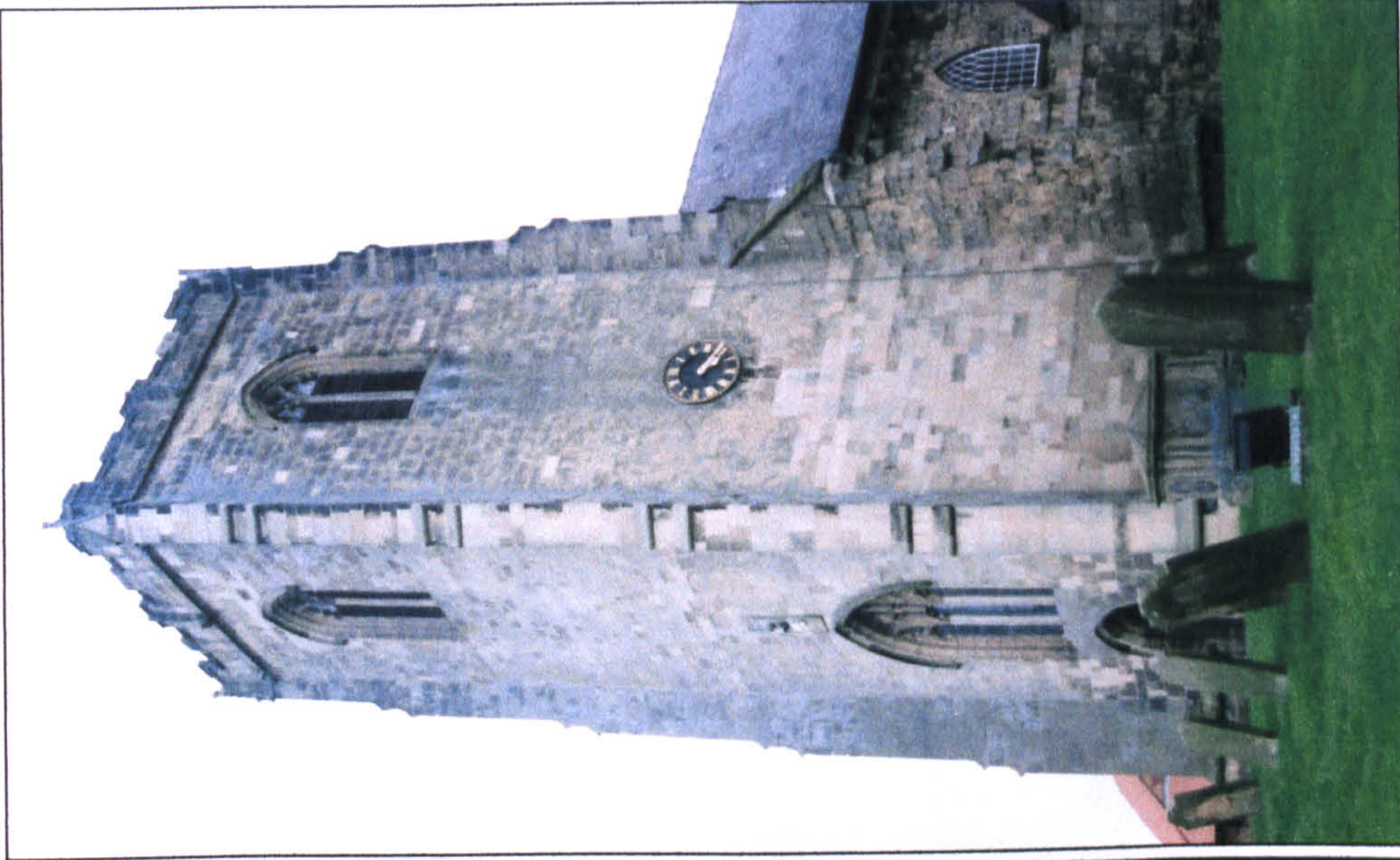


Figure 6.34 Perpendicular towers at Carnaby, Boynton and Kilham

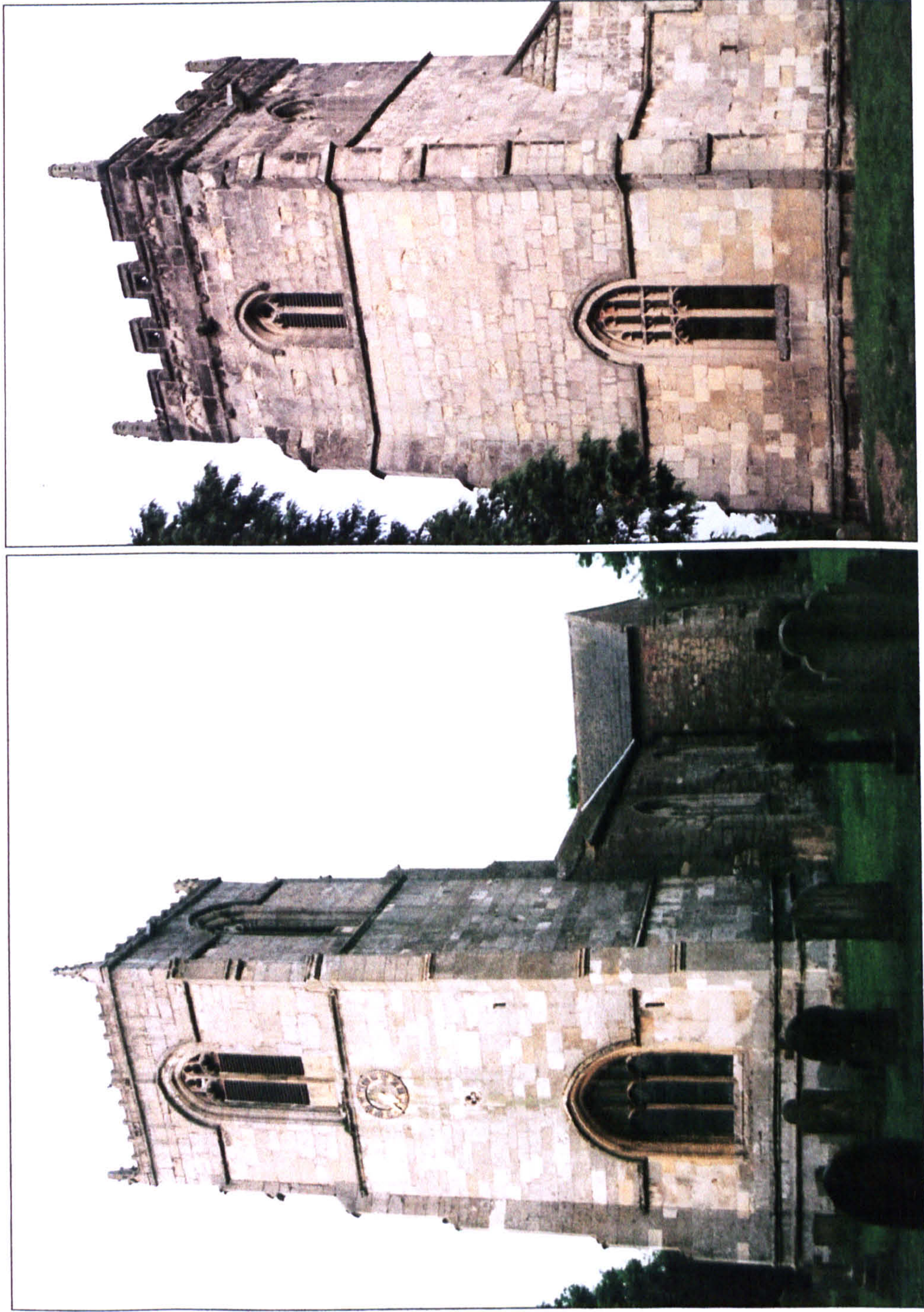


Figure 6.35 Perpendicular towers at Walkington and North Dalton

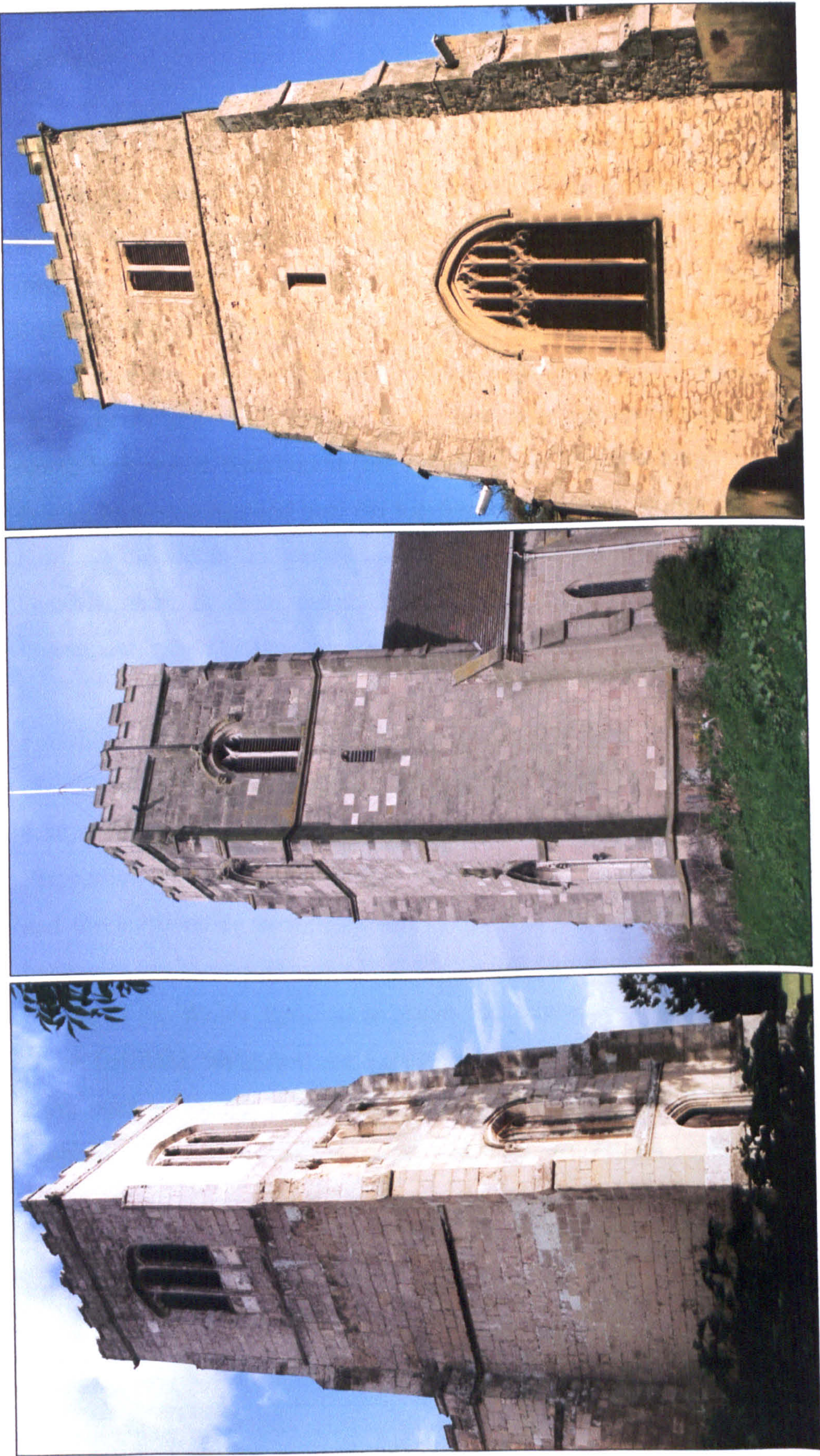


Figure 6.36 Perpendicular towers at Burton Agnes, Lund and South Cave

a generation later.¹⁶⁷ It was characteristic of the work of Christopher Scoyne and his school, who in the first decades of the sixteenth century worked on projects throughout Yorkshire, Durham and Lincolnshire, including at St Mary's, Beverley (East Riding).¹⁶⁸

Thirdly, there is good evidence to suggest at least two towers were heightened or their bell-stages rebuilt in the later sixteenth century, a period which is generally thought to have been characterised by an "almost complete cessation of church building".¹⁶⁹ An inscription in the north arcade of All Saints, South Cave records that the church was built in 1601, though the rebuilding was apparently restricted to the top-stage of the fifteenth-century tower. The new bell openings were of two uncusped lights under square heads and totally unlike the Perpendicular bell openings at Boynton, Kilham, North Dalton and Walkington (see Figure 6.37). Londesborough had similar square-headed bell openings and here the top stage of the tower was probably also rebuilt in the later sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. The same may be true of Goodmanham. In these cases, the new top stages were perhaps associated with investment in new bell machinery and recast bells.

Fourthly, diagonal buttresses often extending the full height of the towers were ubiquitous on the Perpendicular towers of the Yorkshire Wolds (see Figures 6.33 to 6.36). They are found on all the towers except Harpham, the earliest of the Perpendicular towers in the Wolds. Moreover, they are unique to the Yorkshire Wolds and the surrounding area. Twelve examples of Perpendicular towers with diagonal buttresses are known from the Hull Valley and Holderness, many of them sited at the bottom of the Wolds dip-slope at places like Kilnwick-on-the-Wolds, Little Driffield, Great Driffield, Nafferton and Lowthorpe. Eight examples are found in the Vale of York and a further eight cases are known from the Vale of Pickering, but Perpendicular towers with diagonal buttresses are almost unknown outside eastern Yorkshire.

¹⁶⁷ Harvey, 1978, 207.

¹⁶⁸ Harvey, 1949; 1978.

¹⁶⁹ Daniell, 1998, 198.





Figure 6.37 Top stages of tower at (previous page) Harpham; Wetwang; Sancton; Ganton; Carnaby; Boynton; Kilham; Walkington; (this page) North Dalton, Rowley, Lund; Burton Agnes; South Cave; Londesborough.

Diagonal buttresses created vertical lines which emphasised the height of the towers. Verticality was typical of Perpendicular design, “a linear art” in which the vertical was predominant over the horizontal.¹⁷⁰ While the spire was characteristic of Decorated architecture, the tower with a square top and parapet marked the Perpendicular period. The Yorkshire Wolds was never an area of spires, although the early fourteenth-century recessed spire at Huggate is a notable exception, as are those built atop the fifteenth-century towers at Ganton and Wintringham. Generally relatively plain in their ornamentation, Perpendicular towers typically relied for their effect on size, proportion and outline. The diagonal buttresses were symptomatic of the different language adopted in parochial as opposed to collegiate, cathedral or monastic projects. None of the parochial towers of the Yorkshire Wolds exhibited the linear panelling found on the central towers at Gloucester Cathedral and Great Malvern Priory, although long bell openings were used in the towers at Sancton and Walkington, as they also were in the central towers at Durham, Cottingham and Howden and the west towers at Beverley Minster.

The Perpendicular towers of the Wolds were often much taller than the towers they replaced. Tall towers were highly visible in the landscape, especially because of the lack of trees in the medieval and early modern Wolds. As discussed in Chapter IV, churches were often built on the highest relief in the area, as at Rudston, North Dalton, and Sancton. This ensured that even a church with a relatively short tower could be highly visible in the landscape. Yet if the location of churches on high ground was a legacy of the pre-Conquest period, medieval lords and parishioners certainly thought it important to increase the visibility of churches by constructing new towers in the fifteenth century, such as the dramatic octagonal tower at Sancton.

If church towers visually dominated the Wolds, they also maintained an audible presence, summoning parishioners to worship and communicating tidings. Bells functioned as “a way of instilling discipline and ensuring punctual attendance of daily offices”.¹⁷¹ Again height was important; tall towers allowed bells to be heard from further away and temporal order to be projected further across the landscape. The fifteenth and early sixteenth-century church towers of the Wolds were perhaps

¹⁷⁰ Harvey, 1978, 28.

¹⁷¹ Stalley, 1999, 123.

constructed in association with changes in campanological technology as new bell machinery and bell shapes were introduced in the mid fifteenth century. Bells of this date have shorter headstocks, which allowed the bell to swing higher, indicating that half-wheel bell-ringing had been introduced by c. 1450. The introduction of the half-wheel allowed more complex forms of harmony to be achieved, as well as more bells to be used.¹⁷² Woodger argues that the shift from spires to towers in Somerset noted by Harvey and first seen in the construction of the south-west tower at Wells between 1388 and 1395, as well as changing buttress plans around 1400, were precipitated by a desire to make towers safer for half-wheel bell-ringing which “introduced a new form of stress for the first time”.¹⁷³

There is little positive evidence to link the introduction of new bell shapes and bell technology in c. 1450 with the rebuilding of church towers in the Yorkshire Wolds. The number of bells in the church towers of the Wolds, recorded in 1552 as part of the *Inventory of Church Goods*, might be taken as evidence of recent investment in bells and bell machinery. Perpendicular towers had more bells on average than towers which had not been recently rebuilt, but the difference between the two groups was not statistically significant. While the vast majority of the fifteenth and early sixteenth-century towers contained three bells in 1552, so did church towers of various other dates. However, it is worth noting that the c. 1500 tower at Burton Agnes was the only tower in the Wolds to contain four bells.

Bell-ringing technology was improved again with the introduction of the three-quarter wheel in c. 1570. For Woodger, the introduction of the three-quadrant wheel was “*the* major breakthrough in the technology of bell-ringing” and led to an increased interest in bell-ringing.¹⁷⁴ Yet if communities did purchase new bells in association with the introduction of new bell-ringing technologies as Woodger asserts, most clearly did so at an unknown date before 1552 rather than at the time when the three-quarter wheel and modern change ringing was introduced in the later sixteenth century. In the majority of cases, the number of bells recorded in 1552 was the same as that recorded by W. C. Boulter, an antiquarian who published the inscriptions and dates of church

¹⁷² Woodger, 1984, 279.

¹⁷³ Woodger, 1984, 279; J. H. Harvey, 1982, 170.

¹⁷⁴ Woodger, 1984, 282. Emphasis added.

bells in the East Riding in *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* between 1873 and 1875. Twenty-six Wolds churches had the same number of bells in 1552 as in 1873-5 and nine churches lost a single bell. Most of the eleven churches which gained between one and three bells were completely rebuilt in the nineteenth century under the patronage of Sir Tatton Sykes of Sledmere. Many of the surviving bells are dated to the years of the rebuilding, but it is unclear whether additional bells were purchased or simply recast at that date. In other words, the dates of the bells generally reveal little about the period in which additional bells were first acquired. Only at Sledmere itself, rebuilt by Sir Tatton in 1897-8, is there good evidence that the additional bell was purchased long before the nineteenth-century rebuilding. There were two bells in the tower in 1552, and it was probably these that were recast or replaced in 1601. The bell dated 1638 almost certainly represents expenditure on a new bell, thereby increasing the church's bells from two to three.

In other words, whilst new bell shapes and three-quarter wheels may have been introduced to the Yorkshire Wolds in the later sixteenth century, in the majority of places there was no change in the number of bells possessed by individual churches between 1552 and the 1870s. Those churches that lost or gained bells generally did so at an unknown date, with the exception of Sledmere where there is good evidence that the additional bell was first acquired between 1552 and 1638, most likely at the latter date. In most cases, the introduction of the three-quarter wheel in the later sixteenth century did *not* impact upon the number of bells churches possessed.

Yet if most Wolds communities did not purchase additional bells after the mid-sixteenth century, they often replaced or recast individual bells. The dates of surviving bells indicate that the parishioners of the Yorkshire Wolds began to replace or recast the existing bells from the late sixteenth century onwards, a trend that was also noted by Woodger in Northamptonshire.¹⁷⁵ The earliest surviving bells with date inscriptions in the Wolds were recast towards the close of the sixteenth century. The bells at Rudston (dated 1590) and at Garton on the Wolds (dated 1593) are broadly comparable in date to those found elsewhere in the East Riding, such as the two bells at Driffeld dated 1593.

¹⁷⁵ Woodger, 1984, 284-5.

This practice of recasting existing bells continued throughout the early seventeenth century and again from the 1660s onwards. At Burton Agnes, two bells were recast or replaced in 1601 and another in 1634, an investment which coincided with the construction of Sir Henry Griffith's new house of c. 1601-10. The church at Sledmere had received three new or newly recast bells between 1601 and 1638, while at Kilham, two of the "three great bells" recorded in 1552 were apparently replaced or recast in 1608 and the third in 1663. A similar trend is apparent throughout the northern and eastern parishes of the Wolds. At least two of the bells at Garton on the Wolds had been replaced between 1593 and 1617, and at Harpham, two new bells were acquired in 1610 and 1617. At nearby Carnaby, two of the "three great bells" recorded in the mid sixteenth century were apparently replaced in 1630 and a third in 1690. Both bells at Langtoft were replaced in the two decades after 1620, and at Hunmanby, one bell was replaced in 1619 and two in 1663. At least two of the bells at Sherburn, Willerby and Weaverthorpe had been replaced by the 1670s.

Evidence for the recasting of bells is less abundant in the southern Wolds, either because the churches have been completely rebuilt, as at South Dalton and Scarborough, or because the surviving bells are undated. However, the dated bells do demonstrate that at least some churches received a full set of recast bells in the seventeenth century. For example, the bells at Bishop Burton were replaced in 1616, 1624 and 1663, while at North Newbald one bell was replaced in 1610 and the two others in the 1660s. Both the bells at Leconfield were replaced in the 1660s. Other churches in the southern Wolds containing at least one seventeenth-century bell include Lund, Etton, Goodmanham and Lockington.

As Bernard argues, the dates of surviving bells reveal little about when towers were rebuilt, though the dates of bells may indicate periods in which new developments in campanology were achieved or bell-ringing was particularly popular.¹⁷⁶ The dates of the Wolds bells do not indicate dates for the towers, though they do suggest periods of investment in bells and bell machinery including bell-frames, as well as likely dates at which structural work associated with, and necessitated by, new bell-ringing

¹⁷⁶ Bernard, 1992, 346.

technologies was undertaken. These projects could include new stairs and bell openings as well as structural work to strengthen towers. Where several of the bells in a tower are closely dated, as at Burton Agnes, Harpham and Sledmere, it tends to suggest a period of investment in bells and bell-machinery. Evidence that the bell stages of at least some towers in the Wolds were rebuilt in the later sixteenth century comes from South Cave, Londesborough and Goodmanham.

Work was also undertaken at Etton, Lockington and Leconfield in the later sixteenth century, where the building work was recorded in the archiepiscopal Visitations. The tower at Lockington was said to be in “some decay” in 1596, though it was by then under repair, as the tower at Etton had been in 1575.¹⁷⁷ The bell-house at Leconfield was in decay in 1582, but was being repaired in stone at that date.¹⁷⁸ Yet the building work recorded in the Visitations was undertaken in response to decays rather than necessitated by the purchase of new bells or bell-frames. It is difficult to determine whether towers were partially rebuilt or simply patched up in response to the Visitations, not least because the towers at Etton and Leconfield have been subsequently rebuilt. Only at Lockington is there any standing buildings evidence for work undertaken in response to the late sixteenth-century Visitations. Here post-medieval brickwork of late sixteenth or seventeenth-century date suggests that the top stage of the tower was rebuilt in response to the 1596 Visitation, though the reduced floor area of the belfry stage implies that it was not intended to house a large number of bells (see Figure 6.38).

However, even where towers were not rebuilt or the number of bells increased, developments in campanological technology would have impacted upon the soundscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds. The introduction of the three-quarter wheel allowed a much larger number of changes to be achieved, so that “ringing even the simplified form of ‘call changes’ was certainly much more interesting, melodious and emotional than anything that had ever been heard previously”.¹⁷⁹ Evidence that bell-ringing became increasingly popular in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries can be found amongst the comments recorded by foreign dignitaries visiting

¹⁷⁷ BIHR, 1595-6/CB3 and V1575/CB1.

¹⁷⁸ BIHR, V 1582/CB1.

¹⁷⁹ Woodger, 1984, 282.



Figure 6.38 The late sixteenth or seventeenth-century tower top at Lockington.

England. Paul Hentzner, a German jurist, visited London in 1598 and noted that the English were “vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums, and the ringing of bells, so that it is common for a number of them, that have got a glass in their heads, to go up into some belfry, and ring the bells for hours together for the sake of exercise”.¹⁸⁰ When Philip Julius, duke of Stettin-Pomerania, arrived in London four years later, he commented on the sound of bells in the capital:

“On arriving in London we heard a great ringing of bells in almost all the churches going on very late in the evening, also on the following days until 7 or 8 o’clock in the evening. We were informed that the young people do that for the sake of exercise and amusement, and sometimes they lay considerable sums of money as a wager, who will pull a bell the longest or ring it in the most approved fashion... The old Queen is said to have been pleased very much by this exercise, considering it as a sign of the health of the people”.¹⁸¹

Moreover, the days, times and occasions at which the church bells were rung were revolutionised in the aftermath of the Reformation. Sanctus bells, which had traditionally been rung during the Catholic Mass, were now rung immediately prior to the service, when the pealing had stopped, in order to summon parishioners to church.¹⁸² Before the Reformation, it was also common practice for the church bells to be tolled as a parishioner lay dying and again during the funeral and internment, but after the Reformation, the practice of ringing was no longer held to be beneficial to the departed’s soul. Edward VI’s commissioners decreed that the bells might be rung only “moderately” at funerals, and that parishioners must otherwise “abstain from such unmeasurable ringing for dead persons at their burials”.¹⁸³ Both Edwardian and Elizabethan decrees ordered that the bell be tolled only once as the sick lay dying, and those issued under Elizabeth insisted that the bells be rung only once before and once after the burial. As Cressy has noted, “[t]he aim was not to eliminate the passing bell or the funeral knell but to rid them of superstition and to reduce them to moderation”.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Hentzner, 1901, 83; cited in Smith, 1999, 53.

¹⁸¹ Gerschow, 1892, 7; cited in Smith, 1999, 52-3.

¹⁸² OED.

¹⁸³ Cited in Cressy, 1997, 422.

¹⁸⁴ Cressy, 1997, 422-3.

Yet there was remarkable variation in local bell-ringing practices even during Elizabeth's reign. In Kent in 1562, three peals were rung at funerals which was felt to be excessive though not illegal.¹⁸⁵ In Yorkshire in the 1570s, Archbishop Grindal's injunctions specified that the bell be rung only when the dying individual "is in passinge out of this lyfe" and twice at the funeral. Any additional ringing of the church bells or handbells was "superfluous or superstitious".¹⁸⁶ Despite objections by Puritans, the passing bell tolled at the moment of dying continued. Thomas Adams, a preacher in early-seventeenth century Bedfordshire, advised that communities should "set aside the prejudice of superstition and the ridiculous conceits of some old wives", for the passing bell was "not a necessary, yet an allowed custom".¹⁸⁷ Even Archbishop Grindal was concerned to learn that the bell was "not tolled to move the people to pray for the sick" at Kettlewell in Wharfedale (North Yorkshire) in 1575.¹⁸⁸

Archbishop Grindal's *Injunctions for the Laity* also proscribed the days and times at which the church bells might be legally rung, in line with the much-reduced liturgical calendar first introduced in the 1530s. Bell-ringing for the dead on All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day was prohibited. Item no. 18 specified that "neyther on all Saintes Daye after eveninge prayer, nor the daye next after of late called All Soules Daye, there be anye ringinge at all", and the Commissioners were greatly concerned to enforce this injunction.¹⁸⁹ There were recorded cases of the bells being rung on All Saints' Day at Hull in 1563/4 and elsewhere in the Archdiocese of York in the 1560s, 1570s and 1580s.¹⁹⁰ At Kirkby Overblows, Robert Stringfellow confessed that "he ronge upon All Hallow daye at nighte And begonne about half hour after iiii of the cloke, and ronge then half an houre, and so seassed then, and begone then as he said by the commaundement of the parson and contynued untill after x of the cloke in the nighte".¹⁹¹ For ringing the bells "contrary to the quenes Majesties Injunctions", Stringfellow was forced to give a declaration of penance at Kirkby Overblows church.¹⁹² Also in 1564, the churchwardens at Nottingham confessed that "the belles within theyr parishe church were ronge frome eight of the clocke unto x of the

¹⁸⁵ Cressy, 1997, 424.

¹⁸⁶ AB Grindal's *Injunctions for the Laity* 18; cited in Purvis, 1948, 160.

¹⁸⁷ Cited in Cressy, 1997, 423.

¹⁸⁸ Cited in Cressy, 1997, 424.

¹⁸⁹ AB Grindal's *Injunctions for the Laity* 18; cited in Purvis, 1948, 160.

¹⁹⁰ Purvis, 1948, 174.

¹⁹¹ Ecclesiastical Commission, Act Books, R VII A I f 169; cited in Purvis, 1948, 174.

¹⁹² Purvis, 1948, 175.

clock”, for which they were committed to Nottingham Castle and fined.¹⁹³ Later in the seventeenth century, the common council at Nottingham tried to limit the length of time the bells could be rung to only fifteen minutes.¹⁹⁴ Bells rung on All Saints’ Day or All Souls’ Day projected an alternative calendar across the landscape. When illegally rung on prohibited festivals, bells functioned as symbols both for old calendar and pre-Reformation religious practices. Moreover, they projected this dissent across the landscape for all in the surrounding countryside to hear.

Conversely, church bells might be associated with modernity and progress, rather than the recent medieval and Catholic past. Church bells functioned to project time from a point at the notional centre of the community, out across its fields and territories. There were certainly church clocks in the Yorkshire Wolds by the sixteenth century, such as the clock at Huggate which was undergoing repair in 1600.¹⁹⁵ Bells also projected the new faith and new secular anniversaries across the landscape. The liturgical calendar had been purged of many of the traditional saints’ days in the 1530s, but while strict Protestants saw all days as of ‘like holiness’, they acknowledged an expanded calendar published in 1552. The New Calendar in the Common Prayer Book of 1561 preserved this expanded festival year, which recognised fifty-two Sundays and twenty-seven holy days.¹⁹⁶ From the 1570s onwards, new festivals and anniversaries commemorating recent historical events, including the Queen’s anniversary on November 17th, were introduced into the Protestant calendar.¹⁹⁷ Bells were used in celebrating these anniversaries. It is interesting to note the increased interest in bell-ringing and in recasting bells, as evidenced by the surviving dated bells of the Wolds, emerged at precisely the time new secular festivals and anniversaries were being introduced into the calendar.

¹⁹³ Ecclesiastical Commission, Act Books, R VII A I f 208; cited in Purvis, 1948, 174-5.

¹⁹⁴ Cressy, 1997, 425.

¹⁹⁵ BIHR, V1600/CB1.

¹⁹⁶ Cressy, 2004, 6.

¹⁹⁷ Cressy, 2004, xii.

6.4 The Reformation and After: Church Space in the Later Sixteenth Century

6.4.1 The Immediate Impact of Reformation

The section will briefly comment on the fate of chantries, gilds and lay piety in the decades immediately prior to and after the Reformation. There has been considerable debate over the past few decades as to the state of lay piety immediately before the Reformation. Commentators have debated whether the decades before the Reformation were characterised by vibrancy or decline.¹⁹⁸ However, continued bequests to gilds, testamentary evidence for the foundation of chantries c. 1500 and standings buildings evidence for early sixteenth century towers at Burton Agnes and Lund all imply that lay piety continued largely unabated in the years immediately prior to the Reformation. Comparative material from the town of Beverley and other parts of Yorkshire, as well as from south-west England, suggests a similar story.¹⁹⁹

However, if lay piety was little diminished in the early sixteenth century, the effects of the Reformation itself were more widely felt. Chantries and gilds were suppressed, thereby radically circumscribing the avenues for lay piety and charity. The suppression of chantries, gilds and collections as ‘superstitious’ and the confiscation of much of their property also radically affected church incomes, meaning that many building projects were abandoned.²⁰⁰ In Norwich archdeaconry, where Visitation material exists for both the pre and post-Reformation period, church fabrics were increasingly found defective under Elizabeth I. There are no pre-Reformation Visitation records for the East Riding, but there is good evidence that many Wolds churches were in decay in the later sixteenth century.

Bequests to church fabrics were also radically reduced. As Burgess notes, whilst from churchwardens’ accounts “the over-riding impression is of institutional continuity, wills are unequivocal: parishioners’ priorities and procedures changed, and changed quickly. Considerably more was at stake than the substitution of Christ for the Blessed Virgin and Saints in the preamble”.²⁰¹ The wills of testators living in the parish of St

¹⁹⁸ Dickens, 1989; Scarisbrick, 1984; Haigh, 1993; Duffy, 2005; Whiting, 1997; Lamburn, 2000, 1-8.

¹⁹⁹ Lamburn, 2000, 1-8; Crouch, 2000; Roffey, 2003, 346.

²⁰⁰ Whiting, 1998, 40.

²⁰¹ Burgess, 2002a, 53.

Andrew Hubbard in Eastcheap, London are “largely devoid of pious planning... testators concerned themselves almost entirely with the devise of property to family and with bequests to friends and associates”.²⁰² Much the same impression is gleaned from the wills of testators living in the Yorkshire Wolds in the later sixteenth century. While testators writing their wills as late as the 1540s often made bequests to their local church, those drawing up their wills in the later sixteenth century almost never did. Margaret Blackhouse, a widow of Foxholes who wrote her will in 1563, made what was by then a relatively unusual choice to leave two bushels of barley to her parish church.²⁰³

Standing buildings evidence for later sixteenth-century building work in the Wolds is relatively scarce compared to the evidence for fifteenth-century work. Post-Reformation is difficult to identify on stylistic grounds, but later sixteenth-century building projects may include the chancel at Burnby and the new windows which were inserted at Rowley in the Tudor period. The roof at Burton Fleming was replaced, probably in 1576.²⁰⁴ The clerestory at Flamborough was apparently first constructed in the sixteenth century, although it has subsequently been completely rebuilt.²⁰⁵ The towers at Etton, Leconfield and Lockington were repaired or partially rebuilt and the bell stages of the towers at South Cave, Londesborough and Goodmanham rebuilt.

Religious provision was also reduced, especially in smaller hamlets. Several chapels in the Yorkshire Wolds were suppressed at the Reformation as if they were chantries. Fordon chapel (par. Hunmanby) disappeared in the sixteenth century and the chapel at Arram (par. Leconfield) was suppressed and demolished before 1556. The chapel at Haisthorpe (par. Burton Agnes) was also probably suppressed for it was in ruins by 1587 and at Bempton the inhabitants complained that the church had been in danger of being pulled down until they had offered money to the surveyor of Crown property. The chapels at Buckton and Sewerby were last mentioned in the sixteenth century, and presumably did not survive the dissolution of their chantries.²⁰⁶ Other chapels had ceased to function before the end of the Middle Ages for reasons unconnected with the

²⁰² Burgess, 2002a, 54.

²⁰³ BIHR, PR 17.275.

²⁰⁴ The date is cut into one of the roof beams. Cf. Appendix 7.

²⁰⁵ VCH ER II, 162.

²⁰⁶ ERYARS, DDCC/139/65; VCH ER II, 242; VCH ER IV, 130; VCH ER II, 116 and 14; VCH ER II, 85 and 99.

Reformation. The hamlets of Octon and Gardham were apparently both abandoned in the medieval period, neither chapel being mentioned after 1400.²⁰⁷

Some chantry chapels survived the Reformation. These underwent architectural modifications including the removal of altars, but might continue to be used for family burial. Some families from the Yorkshire Wolds continued to be buried with their ancestors in former chantry chapels. Sir Ralph Ellerker requested in his will of 1559 to be buried “in the choir of Rowley where my ancestors doth lie” and burial continued in the north aisle at Burton Agnes, although the chantry chapel was demolished and some of the tombs possibly moved back to the north aisle.²⁰⁸ Roffey has argued that former chantry chapels became increasingly exclusive and private in the post-Reformation period:

“Now liturgically sterilised, many former chantries became wholly private chapels, shorn of any intercessionary paraphernalia, they became a more exclusive context for private religion and in particular family memorial and commemoration”.²⁰⁹

This may have been the case at Lockington where the chantry chapel was taken over and covered in heraldry in the 1630s, a move which was doubtless influenced by disputes over manorial descent and property ownership within the parish.²¹⁰

Some individuals claimed the right to pews on the site of former chantry chapels. A suit relating to Hutton Cranswick, a village near Driffield, is particularly instructive. In 1581, John Hobman a yeoman of Hutton Cranswick complained that Thomas Warter yeoman had destroyed a new pew which Hobman had built with the consent of the churchwardens and parishioners in the south aisle on the site of a former altar. Warter admitted borrowing the key to the chancel door and removing the pew, using an axe to sunder it from the adjoining pew. He argued that Hobman had already destroyed a pew constructed in the same place by Warter and his father. Warter argued that he and his father had purchased Hutton Hall from the Skerne family whose family pew in the south aisle had been surrounded by iron bars, contained the altar on whose site Hobman had built his pew and lay close to their ancestors’ monuments. Warter was

²⁰⁷ VCH ER II, 331; Cal Pat 1334-8, 333.

²⁰⁸ BIHR, PR 17.91.

²⁰⁹ Roffey, 2003, 350.

²¹⁰ ERYARS, DDX826/3/1, 41A and DDBE23/40.

clearly implying that the Skerne family had founded a chantry in the south aisle, and that he and his father had a prescriptive right to a pew there as a result of their purchase of Hutton Hall.²¹¹ The outcome of the Hutton Cranswick cause is not known, but elsewhere in Yorkshire decisive measures were taken to end disputes. In 1571, the parishioners of Normanton (West Yorkshire) were at odds over rights to stalls in the Lady Chapel. To end the dispute, the ecclesiastical court at York ruled that the pews should be removed from the chapel, the parishioners seated elsewhere and coats of arms no longer tolerated within the church.²¹²

6.4.2 Moral Order and the Problem of 'Disorderly' Behaviour in the Later Sixteenth Century

In thinking about tombs, chantries, gilds and building programmes within churches, one can begin to see how contemporary conceptions and experiences of space may have cut across modern notions of these buildings as public or private, communal or elite, secular or religious spaces. By way of summarising the discussions presented above, the final section of this chapter outlines some of the ways churches might be thought of as spaces in which everyday social relations were played out. Both ecclesiastical cause papers and contemporary comment survive better for the later sixteenth century than earlier centuries, and this chapter confines itself to discussing order and discipline within the post-Reformation church.

The key division of space within churches was between the laity and the clergy, in other words, between the nave and chancel. Yet there were also distinctions made on the basis of wealth, status and power. Not only were the elite buried within the church, while the majority of the population was not, but there were seats reserved in the choir for the lord of the manor or lay rector. Seats existed in churches from the fourteenth century onwards and pews close by or within the chancel became increasingly common in the fifteenth century.²¹³ Yet whilst the laity might enter or even sit within the chancel after the Reformation in a way that had been uncommon before, the

²¹¹ Purvis, 1949, 171-7.

²¹² Purvis, 1948, 88.

²¹³ Marsh, 2002, 291. The stalls in the chancel at Langtoft said to be in disrepair in 1472 may have been of this type and were probably used by the clergy or lord of the manor (VCH ER II, 270).

partitions between the nave and chancel were maintained and the chancel continued to be a special, sacred space.²¹⁴

Congregational seating, which where it existed before the Reformation often covered only a small area of the church, underwent a steady increase in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, with many churches being provided with new pews.²¹⁵ Church seating was apparently arranged according to a number of factors, of which status was perhaps the most important. This was a complex concept variously equated with a person's degree, rank, ability or means and dependent on wealth or occupation as well as less easily measured qualities.²¹⁶ Gender, age and marital status were also important factors affecting an individual's place within the church, as perhaps were moral and religious judgements about worth or reputation.²¹⁷ Disputes about pews recorded in the later sixteenth century serve to highlight the perceived importance of such spatialities. From the 1590s onwards, pew disputes were an infrequent if persistent cause of concern recorded in the archiepiscopal Visitations.²¹⁸

Social relationships were sometimes articulated within church space by violent means. The churchwardens at Acaster, Yarome, Leeds and Bolton-upon-Dearne all presented individuals for fighting or arguing in church in the 1570s and 1590s. Other churchwardens complained about cases of gaming, gambling and dancing within the church or churchyard. These included cases against those who danced after a piper at Wighill and played football in the cathedral at York, as well as a case against Robert Johnson of Flamborough who was "presented to have misused him selfe in his pastymes in the churche yarde... [he confessed] that he one tyme did pitche the barre in the churche yearde and otherwyse he saieth he did not offend."²¹⁹

These are all examples of the ways everyday social relations were played out, or performed, within 'church space'. That such activities had the potential to produce, reproduce and possibly even redefine the meaning of places is underlined by the Church's attitude to such behaviour. These incidents were recorded only because the

²¹⁴ Marsh, 2002, 289 and 294.

²¹⁵ Marsh, 2002, 291.

²¹⁶ Marsh, 2005, 9.

²¹⁷ Marsh, 2005, 10-12.

²¹⁸ Purvis, 1949, 165-6.

²¹⁹ Cited in Purvis, 1948, 85-6.

churchwardens' brought cases against the individuals concerned and the court proceedings produced written documents which have survived the intervening years. The church courts were primarily concerned with 'moral' crimes, which included adultery, incest, and defamation, but also behaviour like scolding, hindering preaching, brawling or untimely ringing of the bells. The fact that such cases were brought to court implies that the Church authorities tried to control the kinds of behaviours taking place within the church and churchyard.

References to "disorderly" behaviour and to individuals who "committ dyvers disorders... in their churche and churchyaerde" imply that the Church authorities saw space as ordered, and such behaviours as disrupting and potentially refiguring the moral order represented in and by such spaces.²²⁰ That the churchwardens, who were annually elected as representatives of their neighbours, used this terminology in the office cases they brought against parishioners implies that the wider population also saw the church as a special space. The Star Chamber archive also provides supporting evidence. As was argued in Chapter V, Star Chamber cases referring to forcible entry into houses and crofts suggest these spaces were conceived as special, private spaces. While the implications of violent entry into alehouses were ambiguous, cases involving violence within church space were more clear-cut. Litigants from villages like South Cave and Scarborough referred to violent arrests within churches, usually in bills which included long lists of other complaints aimed at settling property disputes. Violence within church was of course a problem for the church authorities who sought to preserve the sanctity of church space, but it is interesting to note that the petitioners who referred to violence within church space did so precisely because violent crimes committed within church were widely perceived to be particularly serious and ungodly crimes. Plaintiffs thereby added weight to their bills; in other words, they tapped into a moral code about the sanctity of church space and adapted it for their own ends.

Behaviours which had the potential to redefine the meaning of space required action on the part of the Church authorities. In 1384, "the church at Weaverthorpe...was polluted by bloodshed between John Webbe and William Belle of Weaverthorpe" and

²²⁰ Cited in Purvis, 1948, 94-5.

as a result had to be reconsecrated.²²¹ In a very real sense, intervention was needed in order to wipe away the signs of immoral behaviour, cleanse and re-order church space. The Church also adopted less reactionary and more proactive measures. Ideals of behaviour were codified in Archbishop Grindal's Injunctions of c. 1570-1576, which included clauses that:

“the churchwardens and sworne men shall not suffer anye persons to walke talke or otherwise unreverentlye behave themselves in anye churche or chappell, nor to use any gaminge or to sitt abroad in the stretes, or churche yeardes, or in any taverne or ailehouse upon the Sondayes or other holye dayes, in the tyme of divine service, or of anye sermon”.²²²

Walking and talking in church were defined as irreverent behaviours principally because the noise they created inhibited the ability of the congregation to hear the Scripture, prayers and sermon. Listening was central to the post-Reformation religious experience. Protestantism emphasised ‘the word’ as the primary means to salvation, hence the widespread concern that the minister should be audible and intelligible and that noise within church should be kept to a minimum. Behaviours such walking and talking produced unscripted sounds, distracting from the sermon, drowning out the minister and disrupting the aural order imposed within the church. Brawling in church, meaning “to quarrel noisily and indecently”, did not necessarily include physical violence but was problematic for the same reasons.²²³

Given the emphasis placed on the congregation hearing the word of God, the position of the preacher relative to the congregation was of considerable importance. There was widespread concern that the physical distance between minister and congregation might engender a spiritual distance, hence the reformers' determination that the sermon and Scripture be delivered from the pulpit in the nave, rather than from the chancel as in the pre-Reformation Catholic liturgy. Archbishop Grindal was concerned that the clergy would say or sing the prayers “distinctelye”, while Thomas Cartwright complained in 1574 that the word of God did not reach the people because that which the minister:

²²¹ Cal Inq PM 1405-13, 114.

²²² Cited in Purvis, 1948, 82.

²²³ OED.

“readeth is not in some places heard and in most places not understood... through the distance of place betwene the people and the minister so that a great parte of the people can not... tell whether he hathe cursed them or blessed them...”.²²⁴

In the post-Reformation church, space was refigured and remodelled to facilitate religious experience and certain aural and bodily disciplines were demanded of the parishioners. Reverence, in particular, required bodily discipline. Elizabeth I’s 1559 injunction on reverence linked kneeling and listening, asserted that “all maner of people shall devoutly and humbly kneel upon their knees and give ear”.²²⁵ About the same time, Robert Wilkinson delivered a sermon which identified five enemies to attentive listening, the third of which was “a needeless shifting and stirring of the Body, a fumbling with the hands, a shuffling with the feete, a rising and removing from place to place”.²²⁶ Anthony Maxey, dean of Windsor and chaplain-in-ordinary to James I, condemned those who worshipped “like Elephants... they have no joints in their knees, they talk, whisper, and gaze about, without any kind of bodily reverence, and, as it may be thought, without any inward devotion at all”.²²⁷ Pews were widely understood as one means of achieving discipline. They not only allowed the churchwardens to identify non-attendees, but also ensured parishioners were attentive to the service. Church seating was therefore an essential part of the post-Reformation liturgical experience. As Marsh notes, pews added:

“a new dimension to lay involvement in church services. The kneeling and standing that was required of parishioners at strategic points in the Elizabethan liturgy had meaning only in relation to sitting, a vital intermediate position. In this sense, benches became the launch pads for vital moments of lay participation”.²²⁸

Other configurations of bodies were problematic not simply because they distracted from or drowned out the sermon and prayers. Dancing was seen as particularly

²²⁴ Cited in Brown, 2003, 959; Purvis, 1948, 125.

²²⁵ Cited in Brown, 2003, 967.

²²⁶ Cited in Brown, 2003, 962-963.

²²⁷ Cited in Brown, 2003, 969.

²²⁸ Marsh, 2002, 293.

objectionable. Archbishop Grindal decreed in 1571 that “no folk be suffered to dance” on consecrated ground.²²⁹ Injunction no. 19 specified that:

“the minister and churchwardens shall not suffer any lordes of misrule or somer lordes, or ladyes, or any disguised persone or others in Christmasse or at Maye games or anye minstrels [or] morice dauncers... to come unreverentlye into any churche or chappell or churcheyarde and there daunce or playe anye unseemelye partes with scoffes iestes [jestes] wanton gestures or rybaulde talke”.²³⁰

The injunctions also identified various other recreational activities as undesirable and banned commercial activities such as markets and fairs from taking place in church porches and churchyards.²³¹ The Injunctions echoed thirteenth-century Episcopal statutes, which articulated concerns that markets, fairs, courts and games held in the churchyard would encourage personal immorality and public disorder.²³² Yet churchyards continued to be communal spaces in which villagers celebrated the patron saint’s day, played games, drank ale and danced. Markets and fairs were still being held on consecrated ground in the sixteenth century, as at Hollym in Holderness where the annual fair was said in 1595/6 to have been held in the churchyard “tyme oute of mynde”.²³³ Nor can it always have been easy to curb drinking and other disorderly behaviour within churchyards, especially in those places like Burton Fleming, Kilham and Warter where alehouses were kept within the vicarages in the 1570s in direct contravention of Archbishop Grindal’s injunctions to the clergy.²³⁴

In establishing certain behaviours and individuals as in-place or out-of-place within churches and churchyards, the churchwardens’ presentments and Archbishop Grindal’s Injunctions were, at least in part, about maintaining the moral order and meaning of ‘church space’. As such, they illustrate some of the ways that the complex moral topographies of medieval England were represented in spatial terms.

²²⁹ Cited in Dymond, 1999, 484.

²³⁰ Cited in Purvis, 1948, 160-1.

²³¹ Dymond, 1999, 484.

²³² Dymond, 1999, 470.

²³³ Dymond, 1999, 475; Visitation Book 1505-6, R. VI. A 14 f 169, cited in Purvis, 1948, 52.

²³⁴ Purvis, 1948, 195.

6.5 Conclusions

This chapter demonstrates that churches were more than just spaces for prayer and burial. Tombs and chantries functioned as highly visible and public mediums through which the gentry might articulate not only their piety, but also their gentility, lineage and wealth, and hence assert their status at a time when social mobility was increasing. Tombs functioned to assert both the antiquity of family lines and the continuity of those lines into the future. They could legitimate complicated manorial descents as well as preserve the established social order. Tombs wrote unequal social relations in stone. Moreover, tombs ensured the continued visibility of the deceased within a locality, whilst chantries provided an administrative framework through which the deceased would be remembered in the community's prayers. Graves and Roffey highlight examples of lords who, by placing their tombs in the line-of-sight between a chantry chapel and high altar, ensured they would continue to be an integral part of the liturgy and rituals conducted at both altars.²³⁵ The chapter identifies earlier examples of this practice at Harpham, Hornsea and Brandesburton, as well as highlighting how several members of the St Quintin family adopted similar strategies for maintaining their *post mortem* presence within church space, despite tensions between the two branches of the family.

It is in this sense that tombs and chantries might be said to have asserted private concerns within communal space, or to put it another way, secular interests within religious space. Yet the public setting of these chapels was essential to their purpose, for it ensured the continued visibility of the patrons within the village community, thereby not only bolstering the status of their living heir, but also eliciting prayers which would speed the soul of the deceased through Purgatory. Moreover, wider programmes of embellishment, while undoubtedly bolstering the presence of the patron within the church and the community, were also understood as works for 'the common good'.

Nor was it only the elite who contributed to the organisation of 'church space'. Many gentlemen, yeoman-farmers and husbandmen requested burial inside churches and many ordinary villagers contributed to church building projects. Over half of testators

²³⁵ Graves, 2000, 142; Roffey, 2004, 65-6.

from the Yorkshire Wolds left gifts to the fabric of their own or another local church and many made *post mortem* contributions to named building projects within their parish church, sometimes mentioning the specific spiritual gains they felt they would accrue in return for their monetary contributions. For example, Henry Lounde Esq. of South Cave (d. 1426) bequeathed 10 marks to cover the steeple with lead “ita quod parochiani pro anima mea exorent, et nomen meum in registro suo imponant”.²³⁶

Gilds also provided a framework through which those who could not afford temporary or permanent chantries could ensure intercessory intervention, although prayers and commemoration were of course restricted to gild members. Little is known about gild membership in the Wolds, though it seems likely that particular funeral and commemorative practices were reserved for certain members. In this sense, gilds were exclusive and hierarchical institutions, although they certainly provided intercession for a wider spectrum of society than did chantries. Little is known about the impact of gilds on ‘church space’ in the Yorkshire Wolds. Some gilds almost certainly maintained their own altars and side chapels and a few may have employed chaplains. There is no evidence to suggest whether gilds directly contributed to the maintenance of parish churches in the study area, although it is clear that testators leaving gifts to local gilds often bequeathed additional sums to the church fabric, the parish poor and the repair of local roads and bridges.

Rather than see burial and commemoration practices as an occasional intrusion of private, secular interests into the public and spiritual space of the church, we should recognise churches as spaces in which the everyday life of communities was conducted. The church was not solely a religious space, nor was it only the wealthy who articulated their own private interests within church space. Seating arrangements provided a medium through which ordinary villagers might negotiate social relationships. Identities were performed and social relations played out through walking, talking, fighting, gambling, dancing and jesting. Even the act of praying might be written through with concerns about appropriate bodily behaviour within church. The church authorities certainly tried to maintain moral order, but they were seemingly not always successful.

²³⁶ North County Wills I, 34.

All this points to 'church space' as a key site of conflict not only during the Reformation of the 1530s, but also during the medieval and early modern periods more generally. In particular, one may point to tensions between the idea of the church as private, manorial space, as a space for the parishioners and as a house of God. Further tensions revolve around the notion of the church as a house for the living or for the dead and as a communal or an exclusionary space. Yet the church was not always a site of conflict. Instead, as Marsh makes clear, tensions over church seating were probably restricted to a small minority of church-goers and perhaps most common amongst the upwardly-mobile gentry and yeoman-farmers.²³⁷ Church court and visitation records inevitably highlight unusual cases of tension, rather than everyday practices which were probably generally characterised by concord rather than conflict.

As well as investigating some of the interactions between individuals and communities, the chapter pays attention to the connections between churches and wider landscapes. In addition to legitimating manorial descent and the wider social order, tombs could become focal points for competitive display between social peers. Memorial landscapes might outline the dimensions of a family's estates and marriage connections, as well as stress their associations with a particular locality. Chantries, tombs and embellishment projects might all function to articulate territorial claims for agricultural resources, manorial rights and even parochial status. The chapter also draws attention to the regional dimensions of church building projects, highlighting evidence for regional styles in tower design, particularly the use of diagonal buttresses, as well as demonstrating that particular church towers might act as a model for other towers in the locality, as was the case at Boynton and Carnaby.

The author remains sceptical whether the dates of surviving bells can be taken as indicators of the date at which towers were rebuilt, although where several bells are closely dated, one may point to periods of investment in bells, bell-machinery and structural elements necessitated by new campanological technologies. Most churches in the Yorkshire Wolds had acquired their maximum number of bells by 1552 and

²³⁷ Marsh, 2005, 17 and 26.

most communities did not purchase additional bells in association with the introduction of three-quarter wheels in *c.* 1570. Regardless of whether communities purchased new bells or built new towers, the introduction of three-quarter wheel ringing allowed more complex forms of harmony to be rung. The dates of surviving bells show that many communities recast their existing bells from the 1590s onwards, a period when bell-ringing became increasingly popular. Moreover, the heightened and rebuilt towers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries almost certainly allowed bells to be heard over a greater area, thereby spreading news, instilling temporal discipline and projecting religious and secular festivals across a wider landscape. It is in this sense that the developments of the later medieval period fundamentally altered the landscapes and soundscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds.

VII. Conclusions

7.1 Micro-Histories of the Yorkshire Wolds

The thesis utilises multiple sources of evidence to reconstruct the medieval landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds and the experiences of those who lived and worked within it. It adopts a modified micro-historical approach, integrating documentary, visual and cartographic sources with information gleaned from standing buildings and landscape survey. Each of the empirical chapters exploits a different combination of sources. Several sources are put to new uses in this thesis. For example, the Star Chamber archive is investigated and the pleadings and depositions interrogated for what they bring to light about the meaning of property and private ownership in sixteenth-century England, as well as the means by which ownership and common rights might be mediated and negotiated through a variety of everyday practices. Use is made of the papers in STAC 5, a large but little-used collection of Elizabethan cases which has yet to be adequately catalogued. The thesis also makes use of the libels, answers and depositions from the Archbishop's court at York, although a more comprehensive investigation of what these sources can reveal about sixteenth-century conceptions and experiences of space in the Yorkshire Wolds is planned by the author in the near-future. Other innovative uses of source materials include the use of testamentary sources to demonstrate the existence of lost tombs.

Recognising the need to look beyond the confines of the parish, the thesis offers a sub-regional perspective on landscape history. This not only permits a more in-depth study of the archival and other sources than would have been possible over a larger region, but it enables comparisons between places. Chapter IV analyses manor-church-settlement relationships in the Yorkshire Wolds with reference to 28 manor houses whose sites could be determined in the period before *c.* 1600; that is, it was possible to reconstruct the morphology of about half the settlements in the study area. Given that documentary survivals are often poor where estates were broken up amongst multiple landowners or settlements were deserted in the medieval centuries, it is unclear whether deserted settlements or multiple-estate parishes might have displayed significantly different manor-church-settlement relationships. This said, comparative material suggests that the close proximity of manor and church noted in the Wolds was

a common occurrence in other parts of the Central Zone, even in areas which otherwise exhibited very different patterns of settlement. Dispersed settlement elements including isolated manor houses and monastic granges were more common in the Wolds than elsewhere in regions of nucleated settlement. The same was true of peripheral manors and churches, although unlike in East Anglia, isolated churches were unknown in the medieval Wolds.

Moreover, by adopting a landscape survey approach it is possible to situate the detail of individual buildings within a series of widening spatial horizons, hence assess the connections between the organisation of domestic, settlement and landscape space. Buildings, tombs, chantries and property disputes are all placed within their geographical, landownership and genealogical contexts, while the actions of individuals like Sir Robert Constable are situated within their wider political, social and economic contexts. Although standing buildings evidence was much better for churches than manorial, domestic and agricultural buildings, the analysis of church space was, nonetheless, restricted to the extant buildings or otherwise documented examples. The fragmentary nature of evidence is explicitly recognised throughout the thesis and it necessarily conditions the conclusions which can be offered here. The remainder of this chapter outlines three key themes which emerge from the thesis. The first section points to the importance of space in late medieval and early modern England, paying particular attention to the way manor houses, churches and other sites were imagined and experienced as public and private spaces. The second section assesses continuity and change within the medieval and early modern rural landscape, while the third addresses the question of power.

7.2 Space

This thesis critiques structuralist interpretations of space which apply a series of binary oppositions, including public/private, secular/religious, male/female, to a diverse range of geographical and historical contexts. The chapters suggest that while concepts of public and private space undoubtedly had meaning in late medieval and early modern England, public and private space was not organised in the same way as it is today. Manor houses were not private spaces in the modern sense of the term. While changes

to domestic plans and the withdrawal of the lord from the hall are well evidenced in the existing literature, it is less clear that this resulted in a corresponding decline in public or communal space. Halls continued to be used for formal occasions including feasts for tenants and seasonal celebrations, like those held at Leconfield in the early decades of the sixteenth century. Manorial courts were also generally held in manor houses, typically in the hall but sometimes elsewhere in the manorial complex, and tenants would also have gone there to pay rents.

There is good evidence to suggest that the number of rooms within most houses increased in the later medieval period. Private closets and oratories are documented in the Yorkshire Wolds from the fourteenth century onwards. Space was increasingly assigned to particular individuals including women, children and servants, although the distinction between bedchambers and other rooms remained weakly developed. Many chambers continued to be multifunctional spaces and closets could be converted between secular and religious uses by means of curtains which veiled devotional images; a point which underlines how manor houses were sites for religious experiences and practices. The thesis also examines the construction of private space within and around ordinary village dwellings, arguing that individual dwellings and the gardens and yards that surrounded them were imagined as special, private spaces. The same definitions of private space did not apply to alehouses, where public drinking space overlapped with private domestic space.

Public and private space also overlapped and interacted in complex ways within church space. The thesis demonstrates that while the gentry utilised chantries and tombs as sites where they could articulate private interests, the public setting of these chapels was essential to their purpose, for it ensured the prayers which would speed the souls of the dead through Purgatory. Bequests to the church fabric and patronage of specific building projects allowed ordinary villagers to articulate their identity, status and wealth within church space. Gilds provided a wider spectrum of village society with access to intercessory prayers, although less is known about how they affected church interiors. Moreover, rather than being solely spiritual spaces, churches were sites at which everyday social relations were conducted. Social relations were negotiated through disputes over pews, arguments and brawls, as well as through walking and talking during the service and gaming, dancing and jesting in the

churchyard. Churches and churchyards were spaces in which manorial, church and village space might coincide so as to allow various identities to be performed. This was particularly true where parish churches and manor houses were sited in close spatial proximity, as was often the case in the Yorkshire Wolds.

The spatial relationships between manor houses, churches and settlements evident in the late medieval and early modern period were not just a legacy of pre-Conquest foundation practices. Rather, such relationships continued to have meaning in the later medieval and early modern period. The spatial, visual and symbolic relationships between manor houses and churches were actively produced and reproduced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries through a variety of practices. Burial within church space, particularly in chantries and family chapels, functioned as a means by which lords might assert their gentility, wealth and status, and hence their right to land, resources and even parochial status. Patronage of church building schemes, most notably of towers, also provided a medium through which the gentry might underline the symbolic relationships between church and local lord, especially where church and manor house were rebuilt or extended at the same time. Moreover, while the lord of the manor might constitute or maintain his power through the architecture of his manor house, or his patronage of the church, these practices were themselves caught up in and partially dependent on the spatial relationships between manor, church and settlement.

Where manor and church were in close proximity both buildings were usually found on the periphery of settlements. In many places in the Yorkshire Wolds, peripherality to the settlement and proximity to the church seem to have worked together to imply ownership of the church and separateness from the settlement. Where the church lay inside the manorial ditch or was enclosed within the moat, it might allow the manorial lord to imply ownership of the church. Conversely, incorporating a church within a manorial enclosure might refigure manorial space as public, communal space. By placing the church and churchyard within or close by the manorial complex, manorial space might come to be appropriated for communal activities like parish fundraising. This underlines the complex interaction and overlapping of manorial, church and village space that occurred in some places.

Yet to argue that public and private space might overlap at sites like churches, manor houses and village dwellings is not to suggest that medieval space was incoherent or organised without logical order. A series of holdings may have been comprised of distinct and incongruous parts, but to talk of “incoherent space” implies that space was obscure, difficult to define or even chaotic; a theme echoed by geographers who refer to the “chaotic political geography” of Europe in 1500 or the “untidy geography” of madness in medieval England.¹ In contrast, evidence presented in this thesis suggests that space was organised in a meaningful way in medieval and early modern England, even whilst a plurality of different interests related to a single holding.

7.3 Continuity and Change in the Rural Landscape

The thesis examines the continuities and discontinuities of settlement and landscape organisation in the Yorkshire Wolds over the long durée. The empirical chapters discuss material relating to a period from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries and Chapter IV in particular explores the continuities between pre-Conquest and later forms of landscape organisation. Chapter V and VI focus more closely on the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, so as to interrogate the notion of a radical break from pre-modern to modern *mentalities* around 1500.

The chapters highlighted some of the ways the organisation of space changed over the medieval and early modern centuries. Settlement patterns were not static, particularly in the period before the twelfth century. Later medieval examples of infill, planned extensions to settlements, encroachment on greens and the abandonment of manorial complexes are also highlighted in the text. During the sixteenth century, religious provision was reduced as chapels were closed in the aftermath of the Reformation. Patterns of landholding were also transformed from the late 1530s onwards as former monastic land increasingly changed hands. Regional settlement patterns were affected by desertions, enclosures and the conversion of arable land to pasture.

¹ Arnade *et al.*, 2002, 549; Taylor and Flint, 2000, 155; Philo, 2004, 139.

However, there is little evidence for the emergence of the “wholly new socio-economic and spatial order” signalled by some scholars.² Contrary to much of the existing literature, this thesis points to continuities between medieval and early modern ways of understanding space, landscape and territory. The chapters point to continuities in the ways communities used and thought about manorial and church space in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Reformation reordered church space as it also reformed liturgical practice, popular piety and lay charity, yet the use and meaning of church space was also gradually transformed in the period between *c.* 1300 and *c.* 1530. Much the same may be said of the space within and around manorial complexes. The spatial relationships between manor houses, churches and settlements were not radically transformed in the later medieval period as Williamson and Bellamy and Lasdun have suggested.³ Manor houses maintained their sites through the medieval and early modern period, thereby preserving the spatial relationships between manors, churches and settlements which are first documented in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, if not before.

Moreover, evidence presented in this thesis suggests that notions of space existed in medieval England. The developing manorial economy necessitated territorial assessments of land while the emergence of a network of local churches between the eighth and twelfth centuries required the division of the landscape into discrete territorial units of space. This was perhaps associated with the reorganisation of settlement which probably occurred in eastern Yorkshire in the Anglo-Scandinavia period and the emergence of Yorkshire as a territorial unit.⁴ Yet this is not to argue that the shift from vertical to horizontal notions of space happened in the ninth rather than the sixteenth century. Rather, it is to problematise the idea that the period *c.* 1500 saw a monumental shift from pre-modern to modern ways of thinking about space. Instead, spatial practices developed by way of a gradual transformation, perhaps even in a tentative and halting fashion.

At the same as suggesting a more sensitive interpretation of changing spatial concepts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, one must recognise that understandings of

² Campbell, 1990, 72.

³ Williamson and Bellamy, 1987; Lasdun, 1991, 24.

⁴ Richards, 2000b.

space may have differed between individuals and groups. Gender, status and age may all have played an important part in determining individuals understanding of the world around them. Ultimately, conceptions of space may have varied almost infinitely between individuals, but this thesis outlines some of the more commonly-held tenets.

7.4 Powerhouses of the Wolds Landscape

To point to continuities in the way space was organised throughout the later medieval and early modern period is not to suggest that these buildings and landscapes were set apart from power relations. Continuity with the past was one of the means by which manorial lords and other landowners might assert their ancestry, wealth and status. By rebuilding their houses on sites next to churches and close to settlements, landlords drew direct parallels between themselves and their medieval ancestors or predecessors. Large double-height halls, like those at Burton Agnes, Boynton and Londesborough in the later sixteenth century, provided sites for elaborate feasts based on a medieval model of hospitality towards tenants, neighbours and strangers. Tombs and burial chapels provided sites at which the gentry could assert the antiquity of their family lines, hence their gentility, wealth and status. As such, tombs also functioned to ensure the continuity of family lines into the future. Chantries provided an administrative framework through which founders hoped to ensure their perpetual remembrance, as did buildings projects. Through these various practices, the established gentry and new landowners alike implied that they were pious patrons of the church and benevolent lords to their tenants. Power was articulated through continuities as well as change, perhaps especially at times of increased social mobility.

For Mark Girouard, country houses were ‘powerhouses’. Not only did property ensure economic and political security by providing a population who would labour or fight for their patron, but the house itself functioned as “visible evidence” of wealth, intelligence, pedigree and the right of its owner to rule.⁵ Much the same can be said of churches. The thesis examines how settlement morphology and the everyday spaces of manor house, church and village were implicated in the practices of power in late

⁵ Girouard, 1978, 3.

medieval and early modern England. Buildings like manor houses and churches not only *reflected* the status, wealth and lineage of their owners and patrons, but also provided sites through which social status and political power could be actively *negotiated* and maintained.

The thesis offers a critical conception of power which avoids reducing power relations to a struggle between dominant and resistant groups and instead recognises tensions between the established and new gentry, as well as between the gentry and other social groups. Late medieval and early modern society was a finely graded and complex hierarchy within which movement was increasingly possible. In this sense, power was a precarious amalgam of forces, practices and relations which needed to be constantly defended and maintained. The thesis builds on new models of power relations developed within post revisionist social history, though it analyses social relations in terms of mediation and negotiation rather than adopting Scott's concept of 'tactics'.⁶ In doing so, the thesis moves beyond explaining settlement morphology and landscape organisation in terms of an opposition between manorial authority and local custom, and points instead to the multiple practices by which space was constructed and ordered.

The thesis investigates manor houses, churches, churchyards, fields, dwellings, alehouses and other spaces as sites at which a variety of individuals and groups might negotiate identity, status and power. Chapters V and VI point to the roles villagers and parishioners other than the elite might assume in organising church space and village landscapes, and particularly to the part litigation, dispossessions and riots played in the commonplace practices of power whereby ownership and access to land was negotiated. In doing this, the thesis focuses attention on the role of property rights, religious practice and gender relations in re-negotiating the established social order. Yet to argue that power and status, like ownership and access to land, were mediated and negotiated should not distract from the bloody and brutal nature of power relations in late medieval and early modern England. Many of the riots and dispossessions resulted in bloodshed, disfigurement or even death, as at Newbald in 1524. Individuals

⁶ See the critique of James C Scott's work put forward above in Chapter 2, 26-27 and work by Marsh, 2005, 5; Adelson, 2002, 701; Walter, 2001, 123.

like Sir Robert Constable clearly used abductions, violence and forcible evictions as means to negotiate property rights.

This research highlights the value of combining new theoretical perspectives with more conventional methodologies for analysing and mapping settlement patterns, land use and spatial practice. Whilst acknowledging the difficulties inherent in using fragmentary sources, this thesis demonstrates the potential for integrating diverse sources of evidence to produce detailed micro-histories and life-stories, and thereby constructing reliable and responsible narratives of past societies and landscapes. The research offers insights into how people thought about and experienced the spaces around them, arguing that space was organised in a meaningful way in later medieval and early modern England. Moreover, power did not operate a-spatially but was articulated through specific sites, of which manor houses and parish churches were some of the most important examples. As a corollary to this, the thesis underlines the value of thinking about medieval and early modern society from a geographical perspective, as well as going some way towards redressing the conspicuous absence of medieval and early modern research in recent historical geography.

Reference List

Abbreviations used in the footnotes

BIHR, PR	Borthwick, Probate Registers.
BIHR, ERV	Borthwick, Records of the Archdeacons of the East Riding, Records of Visitation.
BIHR, V	Borthwick, Diocesan Records, Records of Visitation.
Cal Inq PM	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
Cal Pat	Calendar of Patent Rolls
Cal PR	Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers
EYC	Early Yorkshire Charters
IOE	Images of England
LOB	List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest
LRI	Legal Records Information
Mem FA	Memorials of Fountains Abbey
NCW	North County Wills
NHB	Northumberland Household Book
OED	Oxford English Dictionary online (www.oed.com)
OS	Ordnance Survey first edition 6-inch to the mile maps.
PNERY	Place-names East Riding of Yorkshire
Reg Cor	Register of Thomas Corbridge
Reg Green	Register of William Greenfield
SS	Surtees Society
TE	Testamenta Eboracensia
TERAS	Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
YAJ	Yorkshire Archaeological Journal
YASRS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series
YCS	Yorkshire Chantries Survey
YSCP	Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings
VCH ER	Victoria County History of the East Riding
VCH Yorks	Victoria County History of Yorkshire

Archive Offices and Principal Collections Used

BIHR	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York. CP G Cause Papers from the Archbishop of York's court. Probate Registers
BL	British Library, London.
ERYARS	East Riding Archive and Record Service, Beverley. BC/111/13 Lockington DDAN/1-267 Anderson of Burnby and Kilnwick Percy. DDBE/11/1, /20/5, /23/8-54 Lockington DDBV/8/1-23 Sewerby and Marton. DDBV39/13 Sancton. DDBV/11/3 Cherry Burton park. DDCC/57/1-2 Kirby Grindalythe. DDCC/141/66 1521 survey of property at Walkington and elsewhere.

DDCV/149/26 Langdale proofs of descent.
 DDHB/55/1 Copy of 1649 survey of Wetwang.
 DDHU/9/1-50 Hunmanby.
 DDKP/9/1-33; 15/1-20; 20/1 Kilnwick Percy.
 DDSY/10 Huggate.
 DDX/31/173 1739 map of Londesborough.
 DDX/683/1-16 Copies of 1650 parliamentary surveys including Wetwang and Thwing.
 DDX/705/2-3 Lockington Research Team papers.
 DDX/759 1840 sale particulars including map of Kilnwick Percy.
 DDX/826/3/1-14 Lockington Research Team Papers.
 DPX/9 Robert Morden's map of 1695.
 DX/4 1801 map of Little Weighton.
 DX/5 1801 map of Ruston Parva.
 MF8/1 Map of Leconfield c. 1616, map of Cherry Burton 1767, early seventeenth-century survey of Cherry Burton and Scarborough, 1613 survey of Leconfield.

HUL

Hull University Library, Hull.

DDBA/4/1-292, /5/8 and DDBA (2) Papers of the Barnard Family of South Cave.
 DDBM/3/1-7 Burton Fleming.
 DDBM/19/1-40 Thorpe and Rudston.
 DDCB/4/1-91 Papers of Burton family of Cherry Burton.
 DDCV/13/1 1769 Plan of Bessingby.
 DDCV/31/1-20 Glebe terriers for Burton Agnes and other material relating to tithes at Burton Agnes and Haisthorpe.
 DDCV/31/23-29 Papers referring to enclosures and diversion of the highway at Burton Agnes.
 DDCV/115/1-11 Foxholes and Muston.
 DDGE/3/1-111 Bishop Burton.
 DDGE/5/1-27 Walkington.
 DDGE(2)/1/1-31 Bishop Burton.
 DDGE(2)/2/1 Cherry Burton.
 DDHO/48/1-235 Hotham of Scarborough and South Dalton.
 DDHO/70/1-17 Hotham of South Dalton and property elsewhere.
 DDDU/11/1-277 Kilham.
 DDDU/12/53-54 map of Kilham 1729 and plan of Kilham fields 1730.
 DDDU/22/1-3 Various townships.
 DDDU/23/1-14 Bishop Burton.
 DDLA/12/1-8 Houghton.
 DDLA/20/1-140 Sancton.
 DDLG/3/1-11 Bessingby.
 DDLG/6/1-19 Buckton.
 DDLG/30/1-921 Sewerby.
 DDMC/46/1 Hunmanby.
 DDSQ/5/1-25 Harpham.
 DDSQ/12/1-17 Various townships.

	DDSQ/15/1-3 Marriage Settlements.
	DDSQ/17/1 Pedigree of the St Quintin family of Harpham.
	DDSQ(2)/3/1 Late eighteenth-century survey and rental of estates in Harpham.
	DDSQ(3)/6/1 1714 survey of the manor of Harpham.
	DDSY/9/1-38 Croom (par. Sledmere).
	DDSY/23/1-183 Garton on the Wolds.
	DDSY/25/1-81 East and West Heselton, Sherburn.
	DDSY/38/1-58 Kirby Grindalythe.
	DDSY/62/1-335 Sledmere.
	DDSY/62/64 Ruston Parva.
	DDSY/106/4 c. 1742 plan of Sledmere.
	DDSY/106/13 Plan of Sledmere in the mid eighteenth century.
	DDSY(3)/10/4 Sledmere.
	DDWB/4/1-27 Boynton.
	DDWB/22/1-36 Boynton family.
	DDWB/5/1-99 Burton Agnes.
	DDWB/6/1-5 Burton Agnes and Thorneholme.
	DDWB/8/1-2 Gransmoor.
	DDWB/10/1-21 Haisthorpe.
	DDWB/15/1-95 Rudston.
	DDWB/17/1 Swaythorpe.
	DDWB/18/1-16 Thorneholme.
	DDWB/20/1-100 Various townships.
	DDWB/23/1-17 Various deeds.
	DDWB/24/1-11 Marriage settlements.
	DDWB/25/1-25 Wills.
	DDWB(2)/2/1-11 Burton Agnes.
	DOG Family papers of the Ogle family of Flamborough.
	DP/85-134 Hunmanby.
	DP/86-94 Burton Fleming.
	DWB/1/2 Burton Agnes.
	DX/49/1/1-39 Hunmanby.
KHRO	Kingston upon Hull Record Office, Hull (now Hull City Archives). M.11 (now catalogued at BRA/87: Account book of the gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary in chapel of Holy Trinity, 1463-1539).
NMR	National Monuments Record, Swindon.
NRO	Northamptonshire Record Office, Northamptonshire. C 2721-84, 2834, 3015, 3018, 3021, 3135, 3141 and 3281 Cokayne of Hanging Grimston.
NUL	Nottingham University Library, Nottingham. Ga 9667-9739 South Newbald.
PHA	Petworth House Archive, West Sussex.
TNA	The National Archives, Kew. STAC 2-5 various Star Chamber papers. C1-2 various Chancery papers. SC11/727 Survey of the possessions of Sir Francis Askew of Bishop Burton. E142/18 Etton. E178/2555 Sancton and Houghton.

E178/2631 Bessingby.
 WYAS West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds.
 WYL230/3451 1570 will of Lady Isabel Ellerker of Bishop
 Burton.
 YAS Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds.
 MD239/1-235 Middleton-on-the-Wolds, Goodmanham,
 Londesborough and Easthorpe.
 MD114-124 Legard of Ganton, West and East Heslerton, and
 elsewhere.
 H49-56 West Heslerton.

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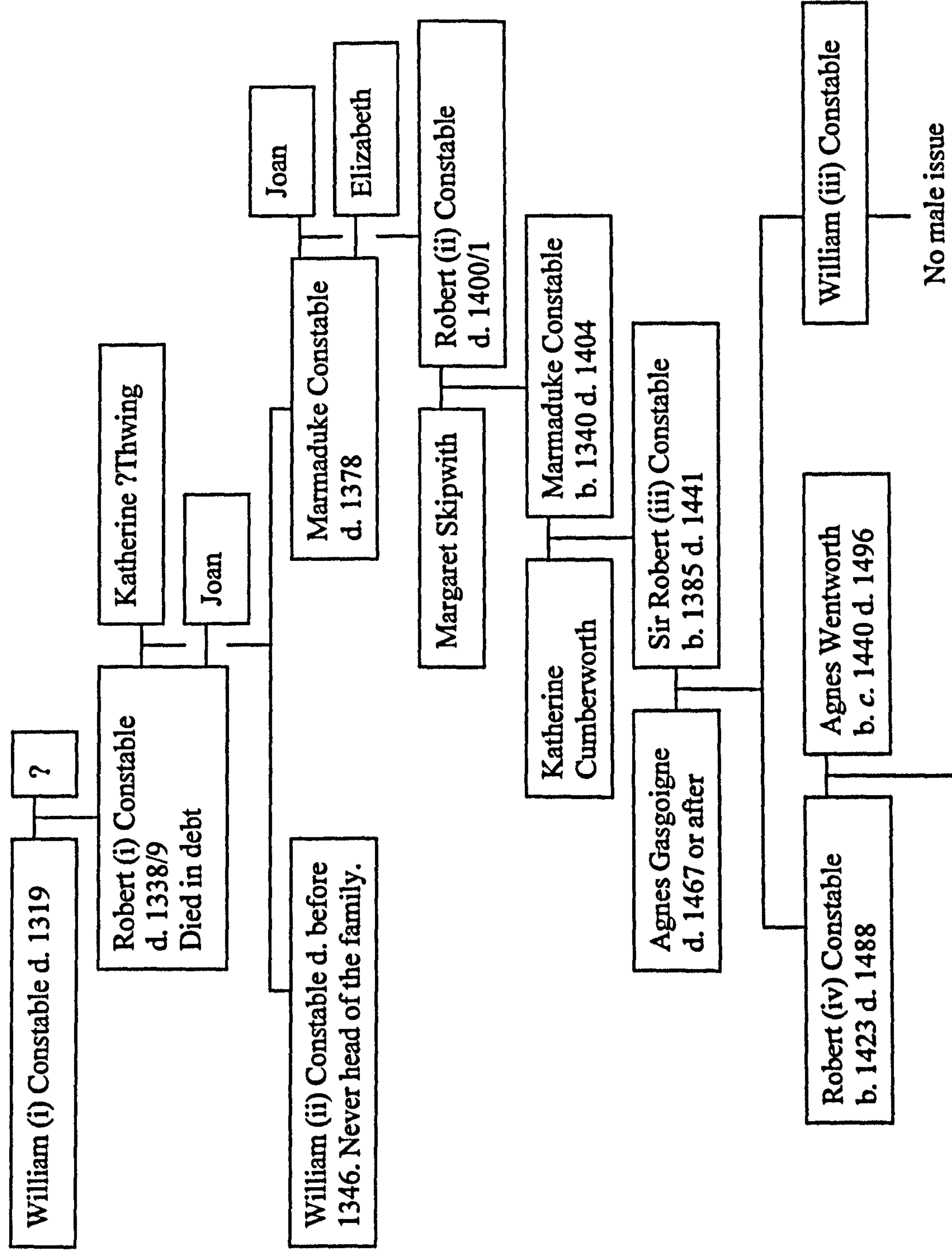
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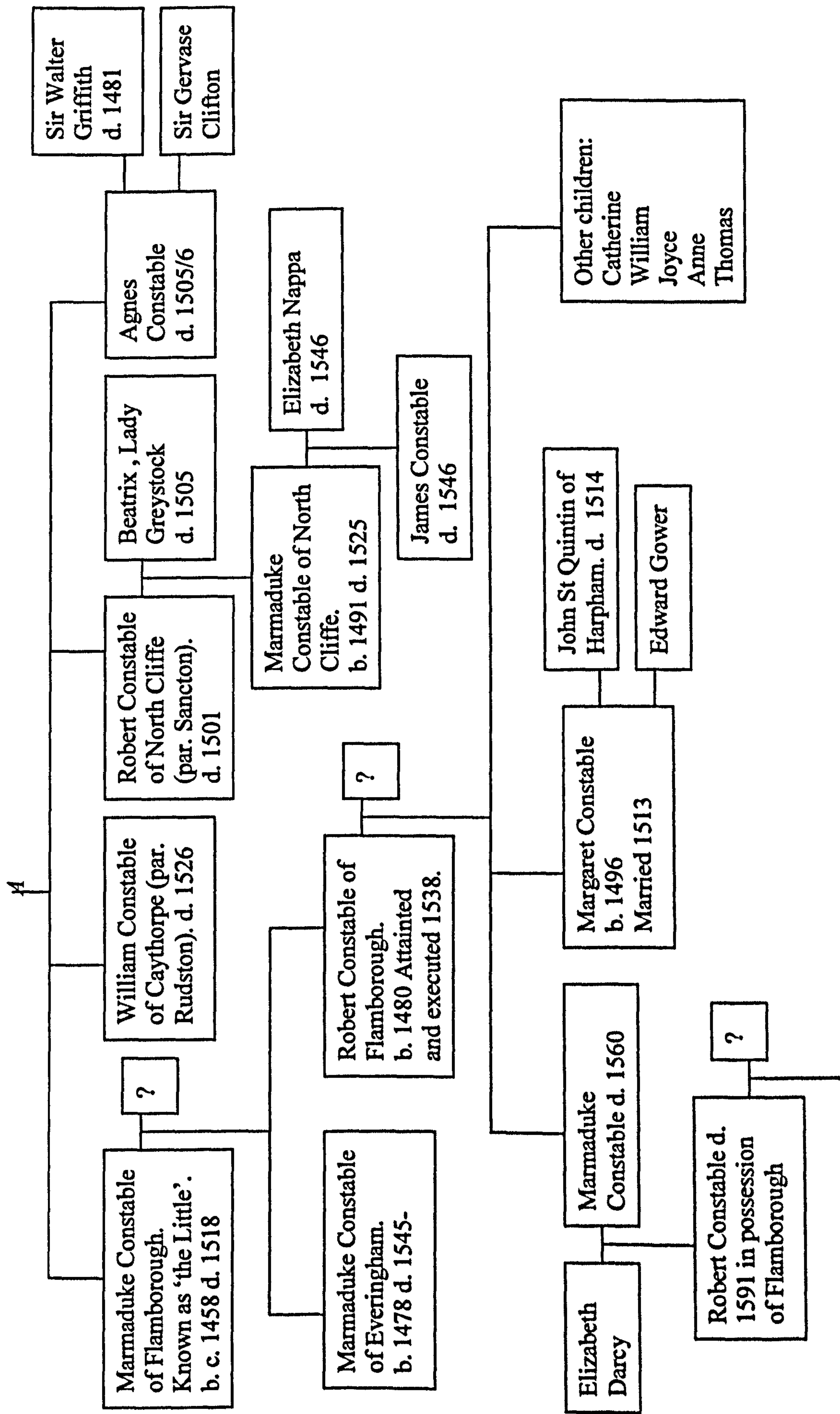
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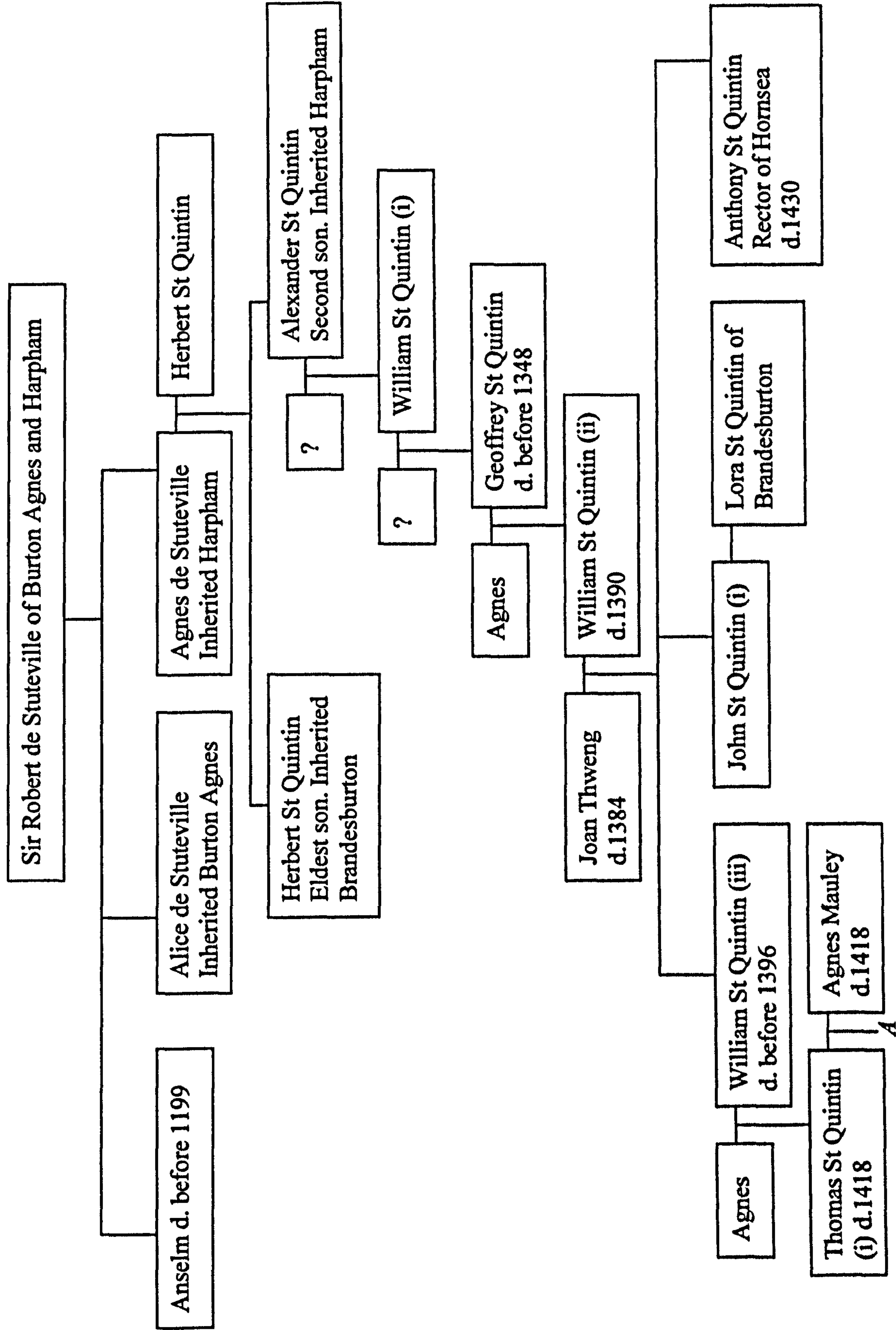
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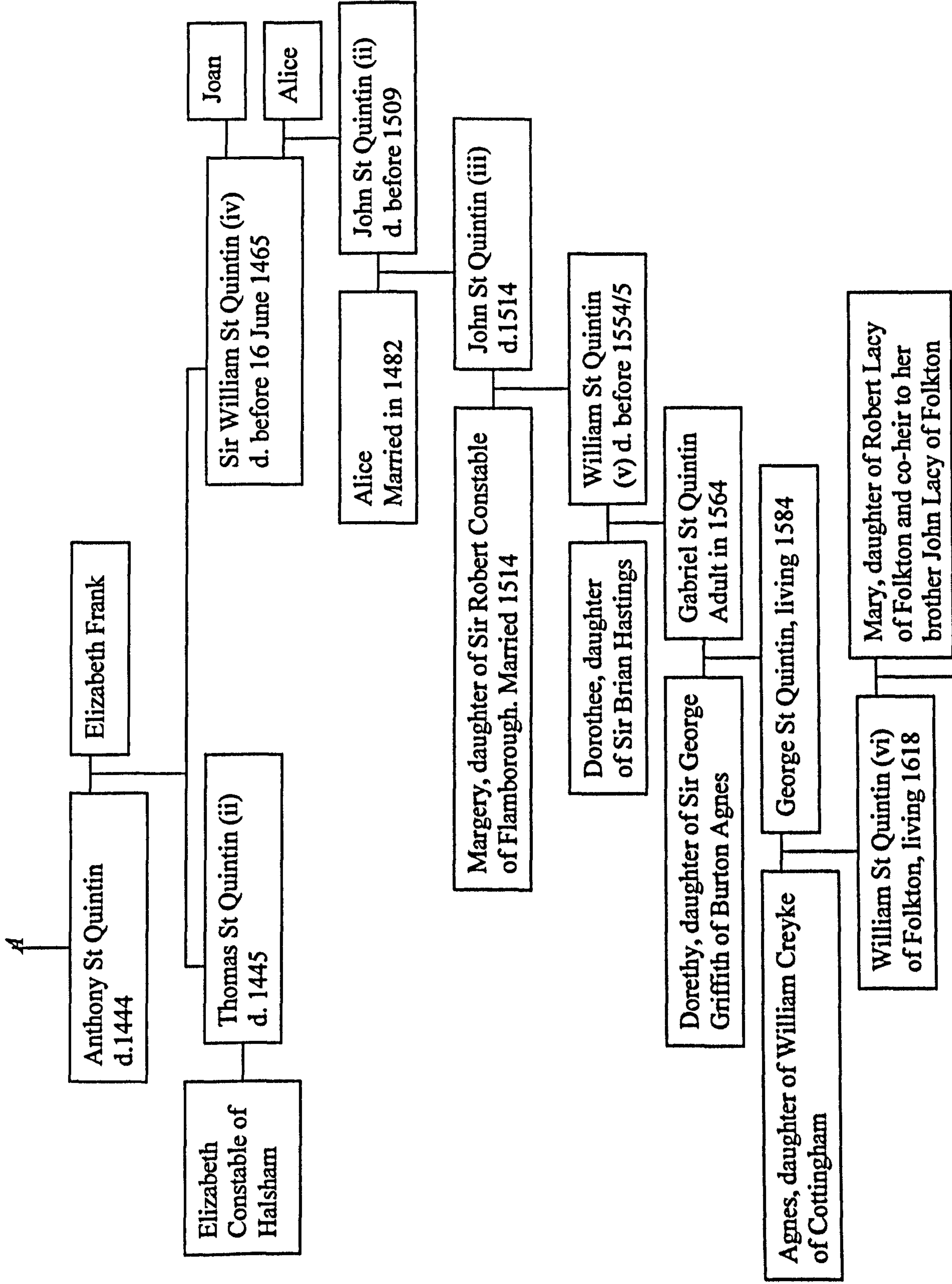
Appendix 1 Pedigree: Constable of Flamborough, fourteenth century to c. 1600



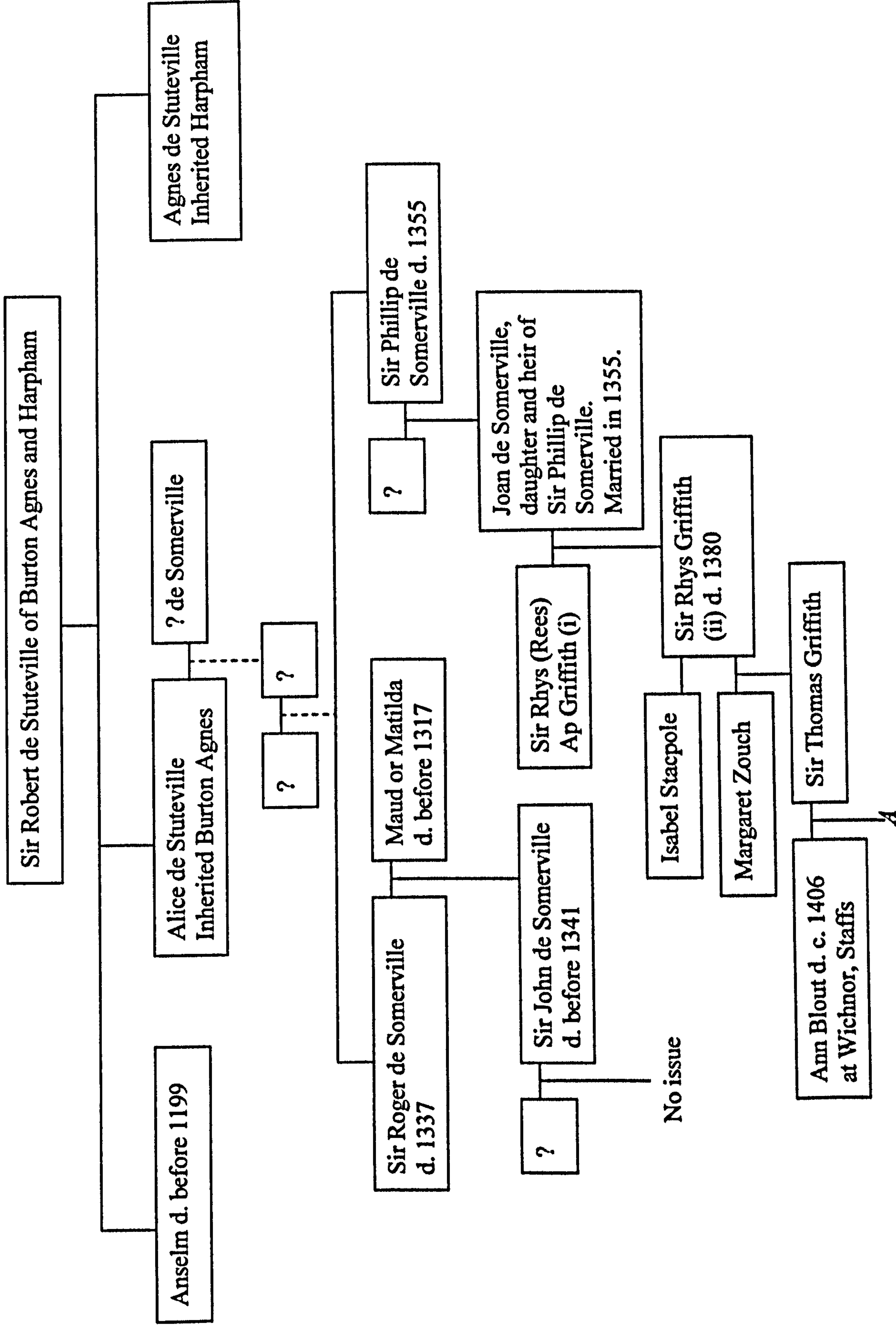


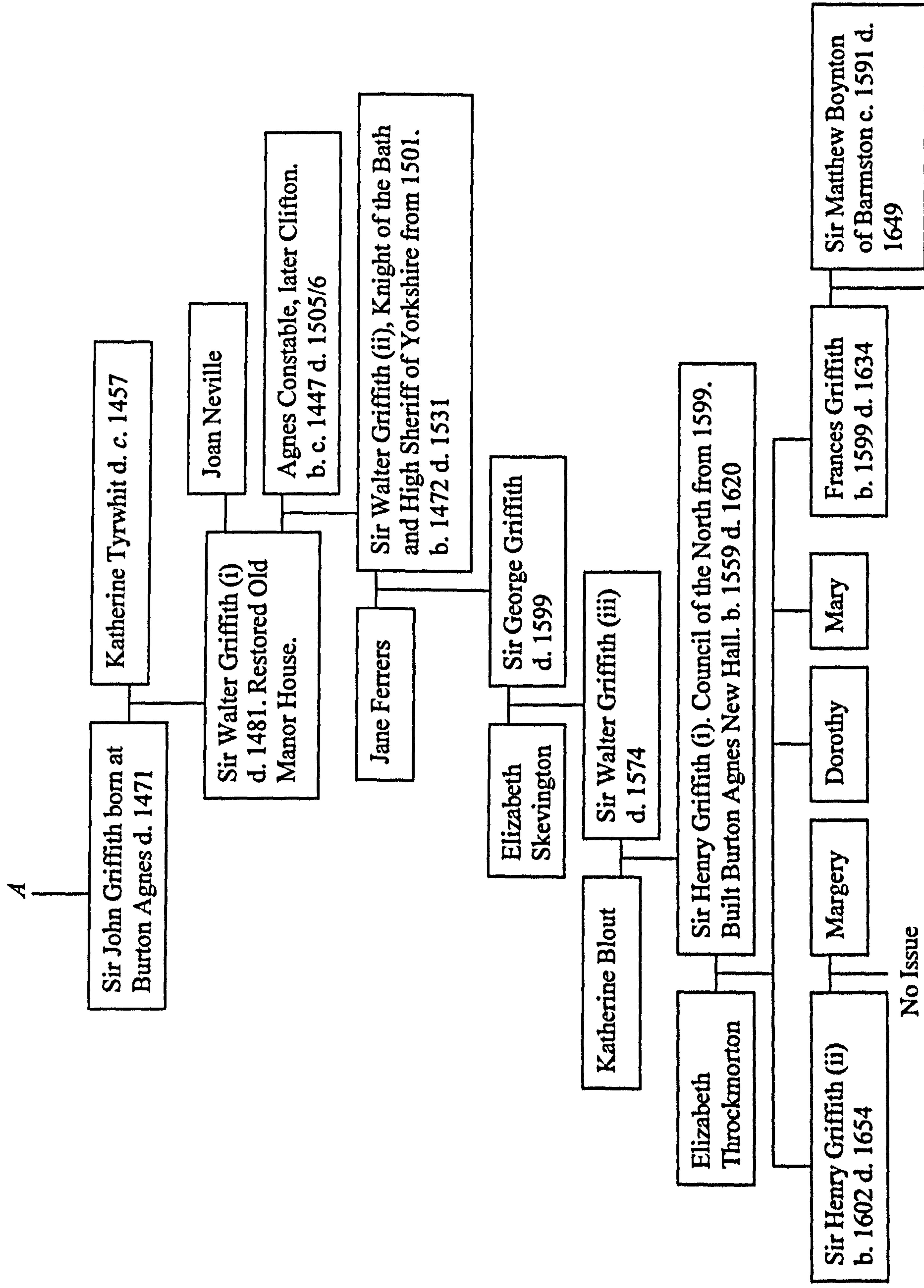
Appendix 2 Pedigree: St Quintin of Harpham and Brandesburton, twelfth century to c. 1600





Appendix 3 Pedigree: Stuteville, Somerville and Griffith of Burton Agnes, twelfth century to c. 1600





Appendix 4 Manor houses in the Yorkshire Wolds

	Date	Ownership and residency	Building materials	No. of hearths	Plan	Hall/Parlour/ Great Chamber	Chambers	Closet/ oratory/ chapel	Servants' accommodation and other rooms
Hunmanby	1303	Rosshall	?	?	?	Hall	Three chambers	?	kitchen
Hunmanby	1316	Tattershall, de Cailly	?	?	?	Hall	?	?	kitchen
Bishop Burton	1388 1524	Archbishop of York	?	?	?	Hall. Parlour recorded 1524	?	Chapel	barn
Etton (Langdale)	1412/3	de Etton and later Langdale lords of manor.	Tile and thatched roofs.	?	?	Hall	Chamber	Chapel in house in 1308.	Plus other thatched buildings
Sewerby	1468	de Sewerby family.	?	6 or 7	?	Hall	chamber	chapel	Kitchen, brewhouse, buttery, granary.
Flamborough	1518, 1573	Constable family (resident)	Stone, brick	Demolished	?	Hall and chamber over the hall. 2 parlours: the great parlour and the Lorde's parlour	Chamber over the porch	chapel	Kitchen, buttery, pantry (aka larderhouse), bakehouse, brewhouse, beerhouse. Chamber over the buttery and pantry, the tower, court house, mill house.

East Heslerton	1559	de Heslerton family (resident)	?	?	?	Hall; inner and outer parlour.	Two chambers	?	The corn chamber and kitchen chamber, buttery, brewhouse and presumably also a kitchen.
Boynton Hall	Mid 16 th C	Walter Strickland, Esq.	Stone, later stone and brick.	23	H-plan	Hall, two ground floor rooms in parlour wing.	Two storey house, presumably with chambers above parlour wing.	?	Service wing.
South Cave East Hall	1574/5	Edward Vavasour	?	14	?	Great chamber	?	Chapel or study chamber	?
Leconfield	1577	Earls of Northumberland, resident part-time.	Stone, brick and timber	Demolished	Courtyard	Hall and chamber over the hall. Great chamber (aka Dining Room); New chamber; Carved chamber; Drawing chamber;	My lord's chamber	Gallery and chapel. Study called Paradise .	The gentlewomen's chamber; The nursery; My Lady's closet. 21 service rooms. c. 40 offices, lodgings and storerooms, plus towers, gatehouse and stables.
Leconfield New Lodge	1520s	Earls of Northumberland	Brick	? demoli	Compact	Hall, chamber over the hall,	Chamber next to the chapel,	chapel	Garret, kitchen

		nd, resident part-time.		shed		Great chamber, chamber in the end of the Great Chamber,	chamber over the kitchen.		
Londesboro ugh	1581	Clifford, earls of Cumberland	Stone	21	H-plan	Hall 2 parlours	6 chambers	?	Buttery, larder, kitchen, brewhouse, stable, hay barn and corn barn.
North Newbald	Late 16 th C	Prebendary of North Newbald	Stone, brick, timber.	?	?	Hall, parlour	3 chambers	?	Kitchen and little house adjoining, garner chamber (granary), stable, 2 barns, kiln, dovecote and mill.
Burton Agnes New Hall	c. 1600	Sir Henry Griffith	Brick	32	Compact block with small internal courtyard.	Hall, at least three parlours.	Several chambers.	?	Western service range with servants' hall, kitchen, offices and accommodation for servants.

Appendix 5 Private Oratories and Chapels in the Yorkshire Wolds

Place	Date	Source	Additional evidence	Individual to whom licence granted or owner of estate.
Bishop Burton manor house	1300	VCH ER IV, 5; YCS ii, 377; Mem. FA I, 201.	There was a chapel in the manor house at Bishop Burton by 1300 and it is recorded again in 1340, but there is no indication as to whether it was incorporated within the manor house or was a free-standing building in the manorial complex.	Archbishop of York
Etton, Templars.	1308	TNA, E142/18 m 9.	The Knights Templars' manor house at Etton included a chapel in 1308. The inventories of 1307/8 and 1310 list a granary, kitchen, brewhouse/cellar and chapel and the custody of the ornaments of the chapel was granted to the Earl of Athol in 1312. Professor Varley's excavations of 1965-66 did not reveal the chapel, although a broken holy water stoop was found indicating there may have been a chapel on the site. ¹	Knights Templars.
Harpham manor house	1314	Reg Green III, 220	Domestic oratory licensed in 1314. No reference to a chapel.	Geoffrey de Sancto Quinton, knight
Flamborough Castle	1315	Reg Green III, 245; VCH ER II, 155; TNA, E178/2564.	William the Constable was licensed to have an oratory, presumably within the manor house at Flamborough, in 1315. An inventory of 1537 refers a chapel.	William le Constable
Folkton	1315	Fasti Parochiales iii, 24.	Oratory in his manor house licensed to the rector of Folkton.	Rector
Sewerby	Founded 1414 and	VCH ER II, 96; SS 45, 163.	An inventory of 1468 lists a chapel in the manor house at Sewerby.	Robert de Sewerby / Thomas Warter / Elizabeth de Sewerby

¹ White, 1992, np.

	1468			
Leconfield	1481	TE III, 345; TE III, 273; NHB, 463.	<p>Marriage licence of 13th January, 1480-1481: letter to the rector of Leconfield that he may sanction the marriage of Stephen Coppendale of Beverley and Eleanor Forster of Leconfield in the chapel within the manor-house at Leconfield. Similar licence dated 1484.</p> <p>In the early 16th century, both the main house and the new lodge within the park appear to have included a chapel.</p> <p>There was also a chapel in the lodge in Leconfield Park.</p>	Percy Earls of Northumberland
Leconfield New Lodge	c. 1520	NHB, 383.		Percy Earls of Northumberland.
South Cave	1574/5	HUL, DDBA (2) 6/42.	An indenture of 10 February 1574/5 mentions "the Chappell Chamber or Studie Chamber".	Edward Vavasour.

Appendix 6.1 Deer Parks in the Yorkshire Wolds

	Place	Date of earliest reference and source	Type of evidence	Additional evidence	Owner at time park was first mentioned	Size known if
1.	Bentley	c. 1280	Richard de Bentley claimed the right to keep his wood enclosed c. 1280.	1361 reference to parker of Bentley (Cal Pat 1361-4, 148). 16 th and 17 th C references to the park.	Richard Bentley de	44 acres in C16 th .
2.	Bishop Burton	1323 Cal Pat 1321-1324, 318 and 386	Several men "broke [the Archbishop's] park at South Burton, co. York, hunted therein and carried away deer".	1353 and 1375 complaints that various men had broken his park. New 'out-garth' mentioned in 1352-3 (VCH ER IV, 5: TNA, C145/140 f.7). Pasture called New Park mentioned in 1388, when the park contained meadows, grazing, timber and underwood (Cal Inq Misc IV, 213). The distinction between the Old and the New Park was still current in 1587 and 1603 when the pasture called the New Park was mentioned in addition to the herbage and pannage of the [old] park of Bishop Burton (HUL, DDGE/3/25 and 27).	Archbishop of York	
3.	Butterwick	1365 Cal Pat 1364-7, 137	Joan de Greystock complained that named men prevented the courts, broke parks and closes etc at Butterwick.	None.	Joan Greystock de	

4.	Carnaby	1368 Cal Inq PM xii, 181	1368 ref to the manor house of Walter Heslerton, which stood in the park.	The area south of the village still known as The Parks in mid C19 th .	Walter Heslerton	de	
5.	Etton	c. 1154-1189	Henry II (1154- 1189) licensed a deer park to Thomas of Etton.	The park was known as the park in Etton field, Laurence Park and Etton Park in the C14 th , and lay in the north-east corner of parish. It then included a house, arable land, a meadow called Mykeleng, a pasture called the Holmes and inclosed woodland in the east (VCH ER IV, 109). Etton Park was mentioned again in 1685, when tithes were paid on it, but the park had probably been disemparked by that date (VCH ER IV, 112; Neave, 1991, 31). The boundaries of the park can still traced on its western edge, where a bank and ditch are visible.	Thomas Etton	de	
6.	Ganton	1494 YAS, DD15 (Tempest G7)	1494 reference to a close called Le Parke	Neave (1991, 56) notes a reference to a close called 'le Parks' in 1587.	Isabel Willesthorpe		The close called Le Parke was said to be 5 acres.
7.	Hunmanby	Late C12 th or early C13 th Yorkshire Deeds VIII, 75, no. 217	An undated Gant grant to Peter de la Stane refers to a croft held by Arnald the parker (<i>parcator</i>).	None.	Unknown		

8.	Knapton	1414 Yorkshire Deeds VII, 143, no.417	Reference an acre of meadow in the park of the said vill.	None.	Acquired by feoffees from John Symson of Knapton.	1 acre of meadow in the park.
9.	Leconfield	1314 VCH ER IV, 127.	1314 reference to the park at Leconfield.	<p>In 1338, Henry de Percy complained that various named men broke his parks at Spofforth and Leconfield, hunted and carried his deer and possessions (Cal Pat 1338-40, 147).</p> <p>In 1512 there were said to be 249 deer in the park. 1538 description of the park as six and a half miles in circumference.</p> <p>The estate forfeited to the Crown in 1537 and under Henry VIII's control in 1542 more land was emparked and the park divided into three.</p> <p>In 1554/5, the pales were described as in good repair and the Old Park contained 300 fallow deer and 25 red deer, whilst the New Park contained 400 fallow deer and the Coursing Park 260 fallow deer.</p> <p>Disparking occurred in the late sixteenth century. By 1603 each park was let to a single tenant, and the 1616 map shows the parks to have been divided into closes (Neave, 1991, 40).</p>	Prob. imparked by Henry Percy, first lord Percy (1273-1314).	Three parks totalling 1404 acres in the late 16 th C.
10.	Londesborough	Late sixteenth century.	Neave, 1991, 42.	The deer park was apparently recreated before 1650, and it was extended southwards in c. 1700 to include land in Easthorpe township.	Francis Clifford, later 4 th Earl of Cumberland.	

11.	Risby	c. 1540 BIHR CP G 2654	A witness in a 1592 tithe cause deposed that the "first inclosure and impaling" of the park had been undertaken about 46 years previously.	Witnesses deposed that the park had been extended into arable land lying to the west of the park at least twice in since c. 1584. Particulars of Mr Ellerker's demesnes at Risby included with the books of depositions from the court case refer to "the pastures and dowses and other the grass groundes which are inclosed about the house", implying that the house was set within parkland (BIHR, CP G 2654/6). The park was still in existence in the 1760s, and a new landscaped park was laid out to the east of Risby Hall before 1787 (VCH ER IV, 147).	Prob. imparked by Sir Ralph Ellerker the younger (d. 1546), head of one of the county's leading families.	
12.	Scorborough	c. 1488 - 1517 TRHS n.s. VII, 248	The imparking of 80 acres was reported to the inclosure commissioners in 1517.	The park was extended on the eastern side in the late sixteenth century. Park shown on c. 1616 map of Leconfield. The deer park was probably abandoned when the Hothams left Scarborough in c. 1705 (Neave, 1991, 50).	Sir John Hotham	80 acres, later extended.
13.	Sewerby	1377 HUL, DDLG 30/72; Yorkshire Deeds VI, 128, no. 422.	Sir John de Siwardbi leased his chief messuage with parcels called Le Park and Le Frith.	Park Close was mentioned in 1626 (HUL, DDLG 30/158) and 1637 (DOG 6/1(a)).	Sir John de Sewerby	
14.	South Newbald	c. 1630-4 UNL, Ga 12527	An undated document (of c. 1630-1634) makes	None.	Prebendary of South Newbald, leased to Francis	

			reference to "the parkes and Coney Clappers wherein the manor house stood inclosed". ¹		Tindall.	
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Appendix 6.2 Suspected Parks in the Yorkshire Wolds

	Place	Date of earliest reference	Type of evidence	Additional references	documentary	Comments
15.	Boyn-ton	1362 Cal Pat, 1361-1364, 206 Neave, 1991, 56.	Peter de Mauley complained that trespassers "broke his close, entered his free warren, hunted therein and felled his trees, carried away the trees and other goods as well as hares, conies, pheasants and partridges..."	None.		
16.	Buckton	1734 ERYARS, DDWR/6/1	Closes of meadow called Great and Little Parks.	None.		
17.	Burton Agnes	Late C13 th (post 1276) HUL, DDWB/5/11.	Reference to the windmill on the holme below the park ("sub vivario").	None.		Could be either a park or a fishpond.
18.	Cherry Burton	1851	Large field with distinctive	None.		No documentary reference to

¹ The document was written after the Sand Flatt was enclosed in 1630 (VCH ER IV, 136), and before the manor and prebend was transferred from Francis Tindall to Sir John Vavasour in 1634 (NUL, GA 9683).

		First Ed. OS map.	curving boundary.		park.
19.	East Heslerton	1583 HUL, DDSY/25/3	Reference to fishing and fowling in the Hollow Carr and the Parke.	None.	The park was probably disemparked by the late sixteenth century.
20.	Etton (Knights Templars)	1227 Neave (1991, 31)	Reference to 'le Parc' belonging to the Knights Templars.	Temple Wood and Temple Park were mentioned in the 1320s. The Knights Templar reared large numbers of livestock, grew crops and kept peacocks. ²	Neave considers it unlikely the park was used for keeping deer.
21.	Hanging Grimston	1373 Cal Pat Rolls, Edw. III, 1370-1374; cited in Shepherd (1928), 106-107.	Complaint by the Abbot of St Mary's, York that various besieged, broke and hunted in his parks and free warren in Yorks.	There was a warren mentioned at Hanging Grimston in the 1660s. (NRO, C 3018).	Probably a warren for small game rather than a deer park.
22.	Kilnwick Percy	1851 First ed. OS map and Neave (1991, 56).	Distinctive curving boundary bank along SE boundary of later landscape park.	None.	No documentary reference to park.
23.	Octon	Undated ref in Meaux chronicle. Neave (1991, 57)	Reference to " <i>parcum in grangia nostra de Oktona, ad imparcanda averia</i> ".	None.	Neave argues this was an enclosure for stock rather than deer.

² White, 1992, np.

24.	Potter Brompton	1558 YAS, G20 and 21.	Reference to a parcel called Brompton Parks with pasture for 400 sheep, warren and woods.	1570 reference to 2 oxgangs called le Parkland, previously belonging to Brid. Priory.	This may have been a warren for small game rather than a deer park.
25.	Sancton	1617 ERYARS, zDDBV/56/1	Reference to Park Close bequeathed in the will of William Carr of Sancton.	Mentioned again in 1622, 1721 and 1723. ³	
26.	South Cave East Hall	1702 HUL, DDBA(2)/6/64.	Reference to The Park.	c. 1748 reference to closes called the park.	There was certainly a rabbit warren appurtenant to East Hall in 1574/5, but there is no earlier evidence for a deer park.
27.	South Cave West Hall	1749	Reference to Park Close, part of West Hall.	1762 reference to the park, HUL, DDBA 4/300.	West Hall was abandoned and demolished before 1788 (VCH ER IV, 45).
28.	Wharram Percy	1320	Beresford and Hurst, 1990, 47.	None.	The park lay next to the North Manor house and "an acre enclosed by a ditch" in 1320. Neave (1991, 57) considers the enclosure to have been a paddock too small for deer.
29.	Walkington	1348 Cal Pat 1348-50, 163	Trespass in the bishop of Durham's free warren at Walkington.	Similar complaint in 1398, Cal Pat 1396-9, 432.	

³ ERYARS, zDDBV/56/2.

Appendix 7 Standing Buildings Evidence for Churches in the Yorkshire Wolds

The table was compiled using the following sources: fieldwork, *Victoria County History*, *List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest* and Pevsner (1972). Other sources are noted in the table below. Significant points of contention between the existing sources are noted in the table below.

Parish	Norman standing fabric (c.1066-1190)	Early English fabric (c.1200-1280)	Decorated fabric (c.1280-1380)	Perpendicular fabric (c.1380-1540)	Post-medieval fabric/ restorations	Documentary evidence and fonts.	Tomb monuments, brasses and inscriptions
Argham	No structural remains. Site unidentified. Norman tub font reputedly from Argham now at Grindale. ¹						
Bempton		Early C13 th tower arch. Early C13 th arcades of round arches on alternating round and octagonal piers and abaci.	C14 th west tower with west window of two trefoil-headed lights with quatrefoil over. Octagonal belfry stage with two-light belfry openings with curvilinear tracery. Battlemented parapet.		Chancel of 1829. South clerestory windows of 1906. Nave windows with C19 th cusped tracery.	Early C13 th font with stiff-leaf ornament on base.	
Bessingby					By Temple Moore, 1893-4.		
Birdsall (10m)	Norman chancel arch with		Early C14 th arcade.	1601 datestone on tower probably	New church built by Hodgson Fowler		Effigy of a lady C14th. ²

¹ Church guide.
² Part of 'Wolds series' identified by Gittos and Gittos (1989).

east of Birdsall House).	nailhead and volute capitals.			resited. Square-headed window and Tudor-arched door in tower.	in 1823.		
Bishop Burton	VCH dates the gabled west doorway into nave as late C12 th . Small C12 th carved figure in south wall of nave. ³	Early C13 th tower, with slightly earlier tower arch and early C13 th nave.	C14 th aisles (cf. four bay arcade of double-chamfered arches on octagonal piers in Dec. style – VCH; LOB), rebuilt c. 1821. Med. arches, 1821 piers. ⁴ Four Dec. aisle windows of two-light pointed windows with Dec. tracery under hoodmoulds with face stops; similar fenestration on north of nave; all renewed and rebuilt 1821. ⁵	Four two-light square-headed clerestory windows with cusped ogee tracery, all under hoodmoulds with face stops – renewed or rebuilt 1821, but probably copying earlier medieval windows and incorporating some earlier work (esp. in interior). ⁶	Chancel and vestry of 1865 by Pearson, in EE (Geom.) style on old foundations. Nave and aisles taken down and rebuilt in 1821-2, “presumably with little change to the style” (VCH ER IV, 9) and possibly using old materials.	The church guide suggests a spire was demolished during Cromwell’s time. Other alterations may have been underway by 1494, when 10 marks were left to the church works. ⁷	Peter Johnson, Vicar (d. 1461) chalice brass with inscription Johanna Rokeby (d. 1521) brass and black letter inscription. Lady Isabell Ellerker (d. 1579) with one of her husbands, probably Sir John Ellerker (rather than Christoper Estoft). Brass inscription.

³ Fieldwork 25.3.06; LOB, accessed 17th Nov 2005.

⁴ Fieldwork 25.3.06

⁵ Fieldwork 25.3.06

⁶ Fieldwork 25.3.06; LOB, accessed 17th Nov 2005.

Boynton						<p>C14th piscina in south east corner of chancel with cusped ogee arch with foliage sprigs.</p>	<p>Perp. C15th west tower of three stages with moulded plinth, diagonal buttresses and string courses; two-light belfry openings with Perp. tracery under hoodmould; battlemented parapet (with C18th pinnacles).</p>	<p>Church rebuilt 1768-1770 on old foundations (according to VCH). Modern figure of St Andrew in SE buttress of tower.</p>	<p>Late C12th tub font.</p>	<p>Tombs recorded by Dodsworth inc. Sir Thomas Newport (d.1400) and his wife Elizabeth (nee Boynton, d.1423); William Newport (d.1480); Robert Newport (d.1483) and his wife Margaret (d.1493). Stained glass with Boynton</p>
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Bumby	Late C12 th nave and Norman arcades. c. 1200 low-side window.	Early C13 th chancel with lancet to centre and tall round-headed with nook shafts and late C12 th waterleaf capitals and nailhead ornament. Pointed double-chamfered priests' doorway with C13 th ironwork hinges. Arcade to north chapel – cylindrical pier with round abaci and cylindrical responds with octagonal abaci,	Three-light pointed east window with intersecting tracery. Ogee-headed lancet at west of nave.	Three square-headed two-light windows with Perp. tracery in nave. Altered square-headed two-light window with Perp. tracery in chancel.	Chancel rebuilt 1583. West end and bellcote rebuilt in 1840s. Church restored by Giles Gilbert Scott in 1908.	C12 th tub font with later painted inscription. Ashlar patched with rubble and brick. Infilled arcade to demolished north aisle of nave; and infilled 2-bay arcade to north chapel of chancel.	arms in south window.
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Burton Agnes	Norman nave and blocked window in south nave wall. Poss. the much altered chancel arch (VCH). c. 1150 two-bay north arcade (dated to c. 1200 by VCH).	supporting double-chamfered arches. Three early C13 th sedilia with trefoil heads, and damaged trefoil-headed piscina.	North aisle rebuilt and widened in assoc. with founding of chantry in 1313. It has buttresses with offsets and a C19 th two-light window with reticulated-type tracery (given as Dec. two-light straight-headed window by Pev). South aisle rebuilt or refenestrated at same date. It has buttresses with offsets and recut	C15 th Perp. clerestory with three-light, trefoil-cusped, straight-headed windows. c. 1500 west tower with plinth and diagonal buttresses with offsets. West face: pointed plank door in triple-chamfered cavetto-and ovolo-moulded surround; three-light late Perp. window above, with partly recut mullions under hoodmould with angel stops, on	Easternmost bay of north aisle C18 th with Boynton family box pew. Chancel rebuilt and shortened in 1730, as well as rebuilt or restored in 1840. No med. features remain in chancel. South arcade rebuilt in C19 th and quatrefoil window inserted at W end of south aisle. C19 th porch.	First mentioned. 1100-15, but nothing remains of this early church, except a circular font poss. of C12 th origin, now largely recut.	Sir Roger de Somerville (d. 1337), tomb chest with quatrefoils. Sir Walter Griffith (d. 1481) & wife, alabaster knight and lady on a tomb chest with fourteen figures under ogee gables: Annunciation, female saints including St Anne teaching
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			two-light, cinquefoil-cusped windows under straight-heads. Both aisles have east windows with earlier C14 th cusped interlacing tracery.	cavetto-moulded continuous sill band; above, twin-light flat-headed opening under hood-mould, between canopied niches for statues; three-stepped cinquefoil-light bell openings under four-centred arch surrounds; eaves band with gargoyles at diagonals and battlements. North chapel (now demolished) with four-centred arch. Embattled parapet to nave with gargoyles and griffins, probably of c. 1500. LOB notes the remains of Perp. traceried screen to rear of south aisle.			Virgin to read, male saints and angels with shields. Also a figure of a child as a knight lies next to mother, having been originally next to his father but was moved when the female figure, originally in this position, was stolen.
Burton Fleming	Norman south doorway with reset C12 th jambs and waterleafs	Early C13 th west tower of four stages and massive buttresses to NE	C14 th chancel. Two-light west windows with Dec. tracery.	C15 th square-headed east window of three-lights with Perp. tracery. Left abacus of south	Church was probably reroofed in 1576, the date cut into one of the beams.	First mentioned in 1115, when it was a dependent	

	capitals and south arcade (demolished in 18 th C and now incorporated into south wall). Rebuilt chancel arch contains C12 th jambs and scallop capitals.	and SE angles (LOB; VCH suggests tower in C14 th). Lancets to belfry enriched by balls, chevrons and cusping. Early C13 th tower arch with double-chamfer under hoodmould with roundel stops.		door recut in late C14 th or C15 th .	Former south aisle removed probably in 1720, when the chancel, south wall and porch renovated in brick. Wooden-framed windows were inserted in the south wall and three square two-light windows in north wall. C19 th iron-framed window in nave. Further restorations in 1887 and 1930.	chapelry of Hunmanby. C12 th circular font.	
Butterwick (par. Foxholes)	Poss. Norman masonry west of the masonry break in both N and S walls of nave. NB. Pevsner was of the opinion that all the dateable		External masonry in west wall poss. renewed in C14 th (VCH ER II, 198). Two (much restored) C14 th windows with curvilinear tracery in south wall, together		Bellcote replaced in brick in late C18 th or early C19 th . Restored in 1882 by G. Fowler Jones (east end rebuilt with square-headed three light window and south doorway added in Perp. style).	Norman drum font. Trances of Norman chancel arch revealed during C19 th restorations and Norman corbels and stones found	C14 th monument of York workshop. ⁸ Sir Robert Fitzralph (d. c. 1317) Lord Grimthorpe and Greystock cross legged knight, feet on

⁸ Gittos and Gittos (1989).

	features belonged to the restoration of 1883.		with blocked lancet, probably date to partial rebuilding of C14 th .		Mullions and tracery in windows renewed, the bellcote repaired and church refloored and plastered.	beneath floor (VCH ER II, 198). No windows in north or west walls. The chapel had a steeple in 1552, which was probably wooden as it was in 1786 (VCH ER II, 198). Plain piscina and aumbry in chancel south wall and low segment-arched tomb niche in north wall (LOB).	dog and angel (LOB). Coffin Lid (early C13th) with sword, shield and vines.
Carnaby			Late C13 th or early C14 th rebuilding including: south	C15 th west tower of three stages with twin-light traceried bell openings with	Chancel rebuilt in brick prob. in late C17 th or C18 th . South porch	First mentioned c. 1148-1153, but only early	

			<p>aisle and arcade of five double-chamfered, pointed arches on octagonal piers with moulded capitals and nailhead; triple-chamfered, pointed tower arch on octagonal responds with moulded capitals and nailhead; paired lancets (one with early plate tracery) and single lancet in south aisle. Church possible extended westwards in C13th (cf. short length of wall between most westerly and next bay of south aisle).</p>	<p>double-chamfered surrounds and under hoodmoulds and Perp. west window under hoodmould (mostly recut). Double-chamfered plinth, full-height diagonal buttresses with offsets; first stage band; embattled parapet and corner pinnacles. LOB and Pevsner suggest the tower was heightened rather than rebuilt in C15th.</p>	<p>removed c. 1830 and most westerly bay of aisle converted into entrance passage. Brick clerestorey added in 1830 and square-headed windows inserted in north wall (later replaced by traceried Gothic windows).</p>	<p>standing buildings evidence is a C12th font. Nave and chancel in disrepair in late 16th and 17th centuries.⁹ The church possibly previously had a north aisle of unknown date.</p>	
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Cherry Burton							The medieval church consisted of chancel, nave, west tower (the steeple of which was rebuilt in 1786) and porch. A new church was built on the same site in 1852-3 (VCH ER IV, 18).		
Cottam							Church of I. 1890.	Norman font (now at Langtoft).	
Cowlam							Church of 1852.	Norman font.	
East Heslerton							Church of 1877 by Street for Tatton Sykes.		
Etton	Lower parts of tower, tower arch and (heavily restored) south doorway Norman.			c. 1300 south aisle with quatrefoil filleted piers and quatrefoil abaci carrying pointed arches of two filleted orders.			Tower top repaired in brick in early C18 th . Church restored 1844-6 in Romanesque style south doorway reset in reconstructed walls. Perp. style east	C15 th south doorway replaced by a neo-Norman doorway during restoration of 1867 (according to local	Fragmentary effigy of a Lady found beneath the church floor, now in chancel. ¹⁰ Poss. Leonora Langdale with two heraldic

¹⁰ Gittos and Gittos (1989).

					window.	tradition).	shields (LOB).
Fimber					By Street for Tatton Sykes 1871.		
Flamborough	c. 1100 chancel arch (largely rebuilt in 1864).	Aisles added in C13 th , the south earlier than the north aisle of cobbles. Nave arcades with octagonal piers and pointed arches of 2 orders and two-light windows with cusped ogee tracery.	South arcade.	Perp. chancel chapels, rebuilt C19 th . North arcade. C15 th chancel screen, probably from Bridlington Priory.	Steeple in decay in 1600 and fallen "almost to the bottom" by 1640. Rebuilt in stone only in 1864-9, when parts of the fallen masonry were used in churchyard wall. C17 th clerestorey, replacing a C16 th one. Chancel and south aisle by Smith 1869. West tower and tower arch rebuilt by Hodgson Fowler 1897. Square-headed windows with Dec. tracery in nave are prob. C19 th	Norman tub font of c. 1100. Until 1897, there was an EE pointed arch in the west wall of the nave, suggesting a tower (and poss. a west porch) existed by c. 1300.	Brass to Sir Marmaduke Constable (d. 1520) with 26-line verse and a "picture of dethe" ¹¹ . Fragment of an effigy (beneath brass) with a toad at the heart.

¹¹ According to Dodsworth, who visited on 15th December 1620.

Folkton	Norman aisleless nave with blocked north door. C12 th responds to chancel arch (three shafts with volute and scallop capitals, one of a rabbit's head).	C13 th lower stages of tower (much repaired and top stage 1877-81) with angle buttresses, lancet and slit windows in W and S face and triple chamfered tower arch. C13 th trefoil headed lancet in north wall of nave. Chancel prob. rebuilt in C13 th (cf. blocked lancet in N wall and C13 th chancel arch of two chamfered orders on C12 th responds).	C14th stained glass.	Perp. nave windows (three-light straight-headed windows with panel tracery).	Partially rebuilt in 1771, when the nave width was reduced by c. 10 ft (cf. off-centre chancel arch and nave roof-line on tower suggest a south aisle was demolished). 1772 faculty to shorten chancel by half (cf. quoins and much of east wall date of 1772. 1854 – east window and trefoil window above inserted. South side of nave rebuilt in C19 th (cf. south wall, two windows and door poss. date from 1850s). 1877-1881 repairs to tower and top-stage added. New roof of 1906.	Norman tub font with cable moulding.	
Fordon	South doorway				Church rebuilt or	Poss. C13 th	

	inc. Norman reset shafts, poss. previously part of chancel arch. Reset C12 th responds with scallop capitals in chancel. Norman masonry in south wall.				restored 1768. Possibly restored or rebuilt in late C17 th century (168? above doorway and 'churchwarden gothic' windows in south and west walls). Thoroughly restored in 1876 when the present chancel arch and brick were built, and the Geom. East window inserted (VCH).	font with inverted stiff-leaf foliage on C12 th base.	
Foxholes					1866 by Fowler Jones in Neo-Norman style.	Old church described as a "small ancient building" with a Norman chancel arch, west door and bell turret in 1856. ¹²	
Fridaythorpe	South door of three orders and	C13 th north arcade of			C17 th chancel E window and	Norman font with arcading	Priest's graveslab

¹² Sheahan and Whellan, 1856, 475.

	chancel arch of c. 1140. Norman west tower, west window and tower arch of c. 1190 with pointed double-chamfered tower arch.	double-chamfered pointed arches on cylindrical piers and S chancel lancets.			clerestory windows. Restored for Tatton Sykes by Hodgson Fowler in 1902-3. S porch and N aisle (previously demolished) were rebuilt by Fowler.	and octagonal base, partly recut.	with incised cross of c. 1350.
Ganton		13 th C chancel arch and south transept arch (Pev; LOB).	Church rebuilt in late C14 th and early C15 th . Late C14 th doorway and north arcade of wide, double-chamfered pointed arches on octagonal columns and responds. Capitals alternate between fleurons and rosettes. Carved stops in nave arcade. N aisle W	Perp. C15 th west tower with diagonal buttresses. Pointed three-light west window and four paired louvred bell openings, all with panel tracery. Octagonal recessed spire set behind embattled parapet pierced at SE corner by a quatrefoil. Perp. (C15 th) south porch with diagonal buttresses, gable, rib-vaulted roof and double-chamfered	South transept used since the late C17 th as the Legard family mortuary chapel. Chancel partly rebuilt in 1843.	Nothing of C12 th church survives. ¹³ Tub font .	

¹³ Brid Charty 137; EYC ii 427.

Garton-on-the-Wolds	Norman church of c. 1132. Cf. west tower and south wall of nave. Round-headed arched entrance in west face of tower, with round-arched window with volute capitals and chevron moulding.		niche above. South nave window of three lights with ogee heads and flowing tracery.	Perp. upper stage of west tower with clasping full-height pilaster buttresses with off-sets. Two-light four-centred arched belfry openings with Perp. tracery and under hoodmould. Embattled parapets with stepped corner and central pinnacles Tower arch heightened in C15 th cf. single order of nook-shafts with scallop capitals, frieze, abaci and double-chamfered pointed arch.	North door of nave walled up in 1721. Windows in tower and west end reopened and north door in chancel walled up in 1723. Restored for Tatton Sykes by Pearson in 1856-7, who rebuilt nave and chancel in Norman style (inc. south doorway and east window), and by Street in 1865 (given as 1872 – 1880 by VCH).	The church at Garton was recorded in the Domesday Book of 1086.	Effigy of a Lady (c.1350), her head under a canopy. ¹⁴ C14 th semi-effigial monument in churchyard, showing Lady's head and feet in sunken recess. C14 th monument of lesser or poor condition. ¹⁵ Medieval knight with crossed legs.
Goodmanham	LOB notes church's C7 th origins. ¹⁶	Squint to chancel. Blocked round-	Three-light square-headed Dec. E window.	C15 th or early 16 th roof roof, restored 1923.	Tower probably heightened and bell-stage rebuilt	Two fonts. One prob. C12 th font	C14 th stone cross. Two C14 th

¹⁴ Part of 'Wolds series' identified by Gittos and Gittos (1989), produced in a Beverley workshop active between the 1320s and c. 1360 and made using a fine-grained brown sandstone from an unknown source. The effigies have a characteristic canopy shape and tight fit around head and shoulders of the figure.

¹⁵ Gittos and Gittos (1989).

¹⁶ "This church is almost certainly on the site of a pagan temple ritually defiled then burnt by the high priest Coifi following his conversion to Christianity by Paulinus in the year AD 627" (LOB).

Early C12 th nave; later C12 th tower (with blocked west and south doors) and north aisle and arcade of c. 1190, with small E lancet. Remains of two round-headed openings to original west wall of early C12 th nave (LOB). Norman south doorway and chancel arch.	headed doorway. C13 th tower arch, inserted when the tower was heightened. C13 th chancel with four lancet windows and a square-headed low-side window. Two square-headed priests' doors with continuous hollow chamfer, the most easterly blocked.	Straight-headed Dec. nave windows (two in north wall of north aisle and one in east wall) and remodelled chancel lancets. Two Dec. windows in south wall of nave (two square-headed two-light windows), the most westerly of which sits hard up against the porch. ¹⁷ C14 th porch with pointed arch on hollow-chamfered imposts.	C15 th square clerestory windows.	with new bell openings of two lights with four-centred arches under square-heads and under hoodmould bell openings in late C16 th or C17 th . Crenellated parapet with grotesques and gargoyles.	retrieved from farmyard in c. 1850. The other font is of c. 1530, with plea to pray for the souls of Robert Cleaving parson and Robert Appleton. Long and low church built of roughly or uncoursed ¹⁸ masonry. There is some evidence that the church was rebuilt after the C14 th cf. masonry break above	semi-effigial monuments. ²⁰ Font with plea to pray for the soul of Robert Clevyng parson (d.1520) and Rt Appleton (d.1555). Undated monument in west wall. Indent of a lost Series O (York) ²¹ brass.
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¹⁷ Fieldwork, 27.03.03

¹⁸ Fieldwork, 27.03.03.

¹⁹ Fieldwork, 27.3.03.

²⁰ Gittos and Gittos (1989).

²¹ Illustrated in Badham, 1989, 170.

									Dec. windows. ¹⁹	
Gransm oor								Church of 1839, with C18 th font.		
Grindale	Some C12 th work in chancel arch.							Church of 1875, replaced building of 1830, itself on the site of an earlier building (VCH).	Norman tub font, reputedly from Argham. ²²	
Harpha m	Norman round- headed and deeply splayed window in south wall of nave. Probable Norman masonry visible in external walls of nave and chancel.				Church remodelled in C14 th , when the chapel and tower were added and the chancel was refurbished. C14 th chancel (with chamfered plinth, diagonal buttresses, two two-light windows with reticulated tracery under square heads, square- headed priests'		Brick chancel of 1827, with east window by Temple Moore of 1909- 1914.	Church first mentioned in c. 1100-1115.	C14 th effigy of a lady (c. 1360-70) William de St Quintin (ob 1349) & wife, alabaster tomb chest with incised figures of c. 1400, under a canopy. Sir Thomas de St Quintin (ob 1418) & wife. knight/lady brass under a	

²² Church guide.

				<p>door, three-light E window with ogee tracery). Two two-light windows with reticulated tracery under square heads in north nave wall. C14th chapel with reticulated tracery. Late C14th west tower (triple- chamfered plinth, angle buttresses with offsets, small square- headed window to second stage, pointed belfry openings with Y- tracery, west window with Perp. tracery).</p>				<p>double canopy. Thomas de St Quintin (ob 1445), a military brass. Dodsworth noted heraldry commemorati ng John St Quintin (d.1575) who married Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Constable of Flamb'gh.</p>
Helperth orpe						<p>1875 by Street for Tatton Sykes. N aisle by Temple Moore of 1893.</p>		
Holme-	C12 th origins cf.		Dec. two-light			Late C18 th north		

on-the-Wolds (Dalton Home)	string of re-used C12 th stones at W and E end, reused scallop capital and voussoirs, reused gargoyle on south wall and cavities previously housing c. 1190 sculpture now at Etton.		pointed east window flanked by face-stops under a raised coped gable. C14 th east wall of chancel with chamfered plinth and flanking buttresses with offsets.		and south walls incorporating reused medieval masonry. West wall and bellcote of 1862. Surviving structure is only the chancel; the rest demolished in 1862.	
Huggate	Norman chancel arch of three square orders with scallop and one volute capital. North arcade of later C12 th . Two small round-headed Norman windows left and right of chancel arch are probably not <i>in situ</i> . They are possibly part of	South arcade of c. 1190. C13 th chancel.	Early C14 th west tower and recessed spire, with dwarf diagonal buttresses and Y-tracery windows. Belfry openings with two trefoil-headed lights under pointed arch. Crenellated parapet with cusped running scroll under blank quatrefoil panels. Crocketed corner	Perp. clerestory of three C15 th square-headed windows with cusped tracery.	Pointed three-light E window with C19 th Geom. style tracery.	C15 th octagonal font with bases to colonnettes (now removed) to diagonal sides, set on square plinth with cusped, pierced panels.
						Medieval cross base.

	an aisle-less Norman nave or earlier clerestory.		pinnacles. Two three-light square-headed windows with ogee tracery to south aisle.				
Hunman by	Fragments of crosses and Saxon cross-head in north aisle wall. High nave and low chancel of late C11 th or early C12 th . Unbuttressed Norman west tower of later 12 th C with slit and round-headed windows. ²³	North aisle added in C13 th or C14 th . N arcade with alternating octagonal and cylindrical piers with pointed double-chamfered arches.	C14 th tomb niche in south nave wall.	Belfry stage of the west tower - C15 th Perp. with square-headed two-light bell openings, battlements and pinnacles. ²⁴ Pevsner suggests that the two most westerly bays of the north arcade are Perp.	South porch of disputed date (attributed to C15 th by VCH; C17 th by Pevsner; C18 th by LOB). North wall of chancel rebuilt in C18 th . The church was restored c. 1845, and the Dec. windows in south nave wall and two-light windows in north aisle were added at that date, although the LOB suggests the priet's	Church first mentioned 1086. ²⁷ Plain round Norman font. Chain bible of 1541.	

²³ Fieldwork 12.03.06

²⁴ Fieldwork 12.03.06

Kilham	Norman nave with Norman doorway of five orders. There is zig-zag work built into the tower masonry, which Pevsner argues implies there was once a spectacular Norman tower arch.					door is reset medieval work. ²⁵ The north and west galleries were apparently removed at this date. ²⁶ West window C19 th Dec. tracery.	First mentioned between 1100 and 1108. ²⁸ C12 th font with incised arcading.	Dodsworth noted heraldry on outside of the steeple – “lyon rampart within a border engrailed, a miter for the crest. Within nothing”.
						C17 th porch. Pointed Georgian nave windows of c. 1800.		
						C15 th west tower of three stages with hollow chamfered plinth and diagonal buttresses. Pointed belfry openings of two lights with cusped Y-tracery under stopped hoodmoulds. Crenellated parapet. Pointed W door with hood mould. Pointed three-light W window with Perp. tracery under stopped hood-mould. Heraldic shield over, under		
						Late C13 th or early C14 th chancel with pointed three-light windows of intersecting tracery under hood-moulds with human head stops. Pointed E window with intersecting tracery and stopped hood-mould. C14 th chancel arch.		

²⁵ Fieldwork 12.03.06

²⁶ www.churchplanonline.com, accessed 26.06.06.

²⁷ VCH Yorks ii, 271.

²⁸ EYCL 333-7.

Kilnwick Percy	N doorway <i>in situ</i> . Norman S doorway reset as N porch entry cf. Norman capitals with volutes.				crocketed ogee canopy.	Jacobean and C18 th woodwork. Rebuilt 1865 by JB and W Atkinson in ornate Norman style.	Church built of sandstone ashlar with limestone dressings.	Black letter inscription to Thomas Wood (d.1584) in chancel of church. ²⁹
Kirby Grindaly the	C12 th west tower and tower arch. Norman west door with shafts and orders. C12 th tomb with arcades on south side of tomb chest, under zig-zag arch (prob.	C13 th piscina.	C14 th bell-stage with paired opening with quatrefoil tracery, recessed in pointed arches with hood-moulds. Plain parapet with restored pinnacles over corbel table with waterspouts.			C18 th recessed octagonal spire. Church rebuilt by Street for Tatton Sykes in 1878, reusing Norman chancel materials. Street added the Dec. windows and N aisle lancets.	Tombstones reused in chancel S wall – three crossheads and three sundials. Crosshead in E wall of chancel. Crosshead in second stage	Three C14 th stone crosses. ³² C12 th arcaded tomb chest, attributed to Walter Espec, ³³ the founder.

²⁹ Stephanson, 1893, 510.

³⁰ Fieldwork 11.03.06

³¹ Fieldwork 11.03.06

	C19 th) in vestibule to C19 th vestry. Attributed to Walter Espec, the founder of the church. ³⁰						of tower S wall. ³¹	
Kirby Underdale	Late C11 th aisleless nave and W tower. Herringbone masonry on west front of tower; inside and outside of aisle walls. Two deeply splayed round-headed windows in north and south walls of nave. Remains of	C13 th south doorway with nailhead. Original C13 th east window of north aisle remains in situ. ³⁵	Two C14 th pointed three-light windows with reticulated tracery in north aisle (the most easterly much renewed) and piscina. ³⁶ North aisle converted into chantry, prob. in the C14 th .	1532 tombstone of Roger Wilberfoss of Garrowby in porch.	Restored by Street in 1871. C19 th chancel. ³⁷ Belfry openings of two square-headed mullioned lights and crenellated parapet – presumably C19 th work.	Roman carving in N wall of tower embraced by north aisle.	C14 th stone cross. ³⁸ Large slab with black lettered inscription to Roger Wilberfoss (d. 1532), in the porch. Cross-base to south of church. Probably late mediaeval, subsequently	

³² Gittos and Gittos (1989).

³³ Fieldwork 11.03.06

³⁴ Fieldwork 11.03.06

³⁵ Fieldwork 11.03.06

³⁶ Fieldwork 11.03.06

³⁷ Fieldwork 11.03.06

³⁸ Gittos and Gittos (1989).

	fresco work in NE window, cut by transitional period arcades set on round columns and half columns. ³⁴ Unmoulded tower arch with blocked window or doorway above opening into nave. Mid C12 th west doorway, aisles and chancel arch.						re-cut to form a stone seat. This stone, which was formerly at the top of Garrowby Hill. It is known as King Harold's Chair from a local legend that he sat in it in order to admire the view after the battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066 (LOB).
Knapton	Norman corbels and other masonry in south of nave attest to earlier building on the site.				Church rebuilt in the 1870s.		
Langtoft	Norman lintel with sculpture.	Early C13 th west tower of	C14 th Dec. chancel including	C15 th Perp. chancel arch.	Church restored by Hodgson Fowler	The existence of a C12 th	Dodsworth noted

	<p>three stages with clasping and pilaster buttresses and lancets, presumably added to an earlier church on the site. Twin pointed belfry openings below later parapet with moulded coping. South aisle and arcade (much restored) added in C13th (cf. circular piers with water-holding bases) and later extended eastwards.</p>	<p>two-light pointed windows with Curvilinear tracery inc. large mouchettes. Double-chamfered trefoil-headed priests' door under stopped ogee hood-mould with crocketed finial. Three trefoil-headed sedilia and piscina in ogee-headed opening with finials. Late C13th or c. 1300 south porch entrance. Nave and south aisle extended eastwards when the chancel was (re)built.</p>	<p>Two C14th windows from north wall reset in north aisle and a late Perp. window reset in c. 1903 vestry.</p>	<p>for Tatton Sykes in 1900-1903, who added the north aisle. The south aisle was demolished before 1903 and parts of south arcade and windows incorporated into south wall (two C13th lancets and two C14th traceried windows). C19th or C20th east window. New south porch and south aisle, and south arcade reconstructed partially from surviving material. Church reroofed.</p>	<p>Norman font at Cottam suggests the mother church was also in existence by the Norman period. In 1472, the stalls in the chancel were in disrepair and the glass in the windows broken. In 1481, there were said to be no stalls, the windows were still broken and the chancel roof in disrepair. In 1521, the vicar bequeathed 20</p>	<p>Mowbray, Nevill and Clifford arms.</p>
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³⁹ VCH ER II, 270.

							lambs for the mending of the roof, and the chancel was again repaired in the early C17 th 39	
Leconfield	Small segmental-headed pre-Conquest window with head cut from a single block, in west wall of south aisle. Church of C11 th or early C12 th date cf. blocked window in west wall of south aisle.	C13 th south aisle and arcade of three bays with double-chamfered pointed arches and octagonal abaci, raised in C14 th . North aisle with double-chamfered pointed arches on round abaci. Octagonal piers in both aisles.	Late C13 th chancel arch and chancel with two two-light windows with Geom. tracery and pointed priests' door. East window of three stepped lancets. Dec. three-light straight-headed aisle windows with cusped ogee tracery under hood-moulds.	C14 th and C15 th stained glass fragments in north chancel (heraldic) and north aisle (figures). Perp. window in east wall of north aisle, incorporating south jamb into brick north wall of chancel. Similar window in east end of south aisle, much renewed and reset in brick wall.	Brick tower with ladder and south porch of 1684. Victorian chancel windows in Dec. style. Tower repaired in C19 th . Whole church much patched in brick.	Stone tower under repair in 1582.		
Lockington	Norman south doorway and chancel arch.	C13 th westward extension to the nave and lower	Chancel with pointed windows of two ogee-	Perp. south arcade of two bays with pointed arches on	South chapel reused in 1635 as Estoft shrine. Constructed		Mary Moyser (d. 1633), but the tomb must	

	C12 th nave.	<p>stages of west tower inc. west door and three lancets, all now blocked.</p>	<p>headed lights of c. 1330 and low-side windows formed by lengthening west windows. Much restored five-light east window with reticulated⁴⁰ tracery. C14th two-bay south nave chapel.</p>	<p>octagonal piers and abaci. C14th fragments of stained glass in E window and chancel lights.</p>	<p>of ashlar, but much patched in brick and with C17th windows in south and east walls, crenellated parapet and coat of arms of Estoft family. C17th brick tower without vice (ladder). Tower set within westward extension of nave, creating two inaccessible areas north and south of tower to (wooden panelling of c. 1893 separates them from the nave). Two lancets in west wall, blocked by rendered/whitewashed brickwork at inside edge of jambs.</p>	<p>have been made before her death.⁴¹ Indent of a lost Series O (York)⁴² brass.</p>
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⁴⁰ Fieldwork 24.4.06
⁴¹ According to Pevsner (1972).
⁴² Illustrated in Badham, 1989, 171.

					Restored in 1851 by William Binks and by Temple Moore in 1893.		
Londesborough	Anglo-Danish C11 th cross-shaft above Norman rounded-headed S doorway. Early C12 th nave.	Priest's doorway and north arcade of c. 1200 (with cylindrical piers on raised waterholding bases, with nailhead and chevron decor. on capitals; pointed double-chamfered arches).	Square-headed windows unevenly spaced in north aisle. Early C14 th west tower, north aisle and chancel chapel. Pointed double-chamfered tower arch. NB. Pevsner dates north chapel and tower to EE period cf. tower lancet windows.	Tower heightened in late C15 th cf. square-headed two-light belfry openings, crenellated parapet and corner finials. West tower top stage with twin belfry openings, battlements and four pinnacles. Perp. east four-centred window of five-lights, under hoodmould. Round-headed three-light window with Perp. tracery in south nave wall (much renewed).	Porch of 1678.	Early C13 th scalloped font. Church built of coursed rubble with freestone dressings. Nave roof previously higher cf. east face of tower. ⁴³	C13 th Purbeck marble coffin slab. ⁴⁴ Margaret Lady Clifford and Vescy (d.1493). Brass inscription in chancel. Richard Overgent. (d.1600) brass inscription in chancel. Francis Clifford (d.1619). Griseld, countess of Cumberland (d.1632).
Lund				C15 th Perp. west	Chancel of 1845-6.	C12 th Norman	Effigies of

⁴³ Fieldwork 27th March 2003.

⁴⁴ Gittos and Gittos (1989).

				<p>tower of two stages with moulded plinth and diagonal buttresses with offsets, and vice to NE.</p> <p>Small trefoil-headed light to lower stage; two-light pointed belfry opening with cinquefoil heads under hoodmould with face stops and angel at apex; crenellated parapet; three-light pointed W window with Perp. tracery under hoodmould with grotesque stops; above, figure of a praying priest.</p> <p>Pointed double-chamfered tower arch dying into responds. Traces of red ochre paint to arch.</p> <p>Above tower arch,</p>	<p>Rest of the building mostly of c. 1853.</p>	<p>tub font.</p> <p>No standing buildings evidence for the c. 1500 chapel, except sculptures now built into interior east wall of tower above tower arch, apparently placed there in 1853.</p>	<p>two ladies in NE and SE corners of chancel, one bearing her heart in her hands.</p> <p>Identified by modern plaques in the church as Edmund Thwaites Esq. died 1500 and his wife Joan, died before 1500.</p> <p>Perp recess for monument.</p> <p>One bay of an alabaster tomb-chest with an angel holding a shield beneath a crocketed ogee.</p>
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				three equidistant praying angels, the central angel apparently supporting a rood. C15 th panelled Perp. recess to north wall of chancel (now used as portal to vestry).					Upper half of a C14 th recumbent priest praying (now set above west window in exterior of tower). ⁴⁵
Middlet on-on-the-Wolds	South doorway of c. 1180, possibly rebuilt using old material (cf. re-used nook shafts).	Early C13 th chancel (with angle buttresses with two offsets, and four lancets to each side, three sedilia with pointed chamfered heads) and nave arcades (on round piers and one octagonal pier, supporting round capitals and pointed arches).				The tower was apparently repaired in 1830. ⁴⁶ Church mostly of 1873-4 by JM Teale, using old masonry.	C12 th tub font with stylised palm design and intersecting round arcading resting on attached colonettes with nailhead to capitals).	Four medieval monuments in the churchyard, probably C13 th . Three slabs with incised crosses, and one human effigy supported on C13 th colonettes with dog-tooth. Probably all re-set (LOB).	
North	Pre-Conquest	Round-headed		C15 th west tower of	Church restored	C12 th tub font			

⁴⁶ churchplans online.

Dalton	interlace slab in north side of W wall. Norman south doorway (of three orders with chevron and roll moulding) and chancel arch (elliptical with chevrons). C12 th nave.	priest's doorway of c. 1200. Pointed north door under hood-mould with nailhead and human head stops. Early C13 th chancel with two lancets under hood-moulds with foliage stops (heavily restored in the C19 th).	three stages with moulded plinth and string courses, and diagonal buttresses. Pointed two-light belfry openings with ogee tracery under hood-moulds with heraldic stops. Cusped running scroll under pierced crenellated parapet (similar to Wetwang). Vice to SE corner to 2 nd stage, poss. with internal stair to belfry stage. <u>NB.</u> C19 th corner pinnacles. Pointed two-light cinquefoil-cusped west window with Perp. tracery inc. two brattishedtransoms, under hoodmould continuous with stringcourse. ⁴⁷ Perp. tower arch.	1892 by Morris & co. Restored 1872 (LOB). 19 th C lancets in nave and E gable of chancel (LOB).	(LOB).
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⁴⁷ Ornamental cresting usually formed of leaves, Tudor flowers or miniature battlements (Fleming et al, Dictionary).

Newbal d (North and South) (118 and 118A)	Church recorded in 1086, but replaced by a new building in the mid C12 th . Large (6-bay nave; 2-bay transepts) Norman cruciform church without aisles of c. 1140. Nook shafts and zigzag arches of apsidal chapels extant. ⁴⁸ Norman south transept doorway.	Tower heightened or finished c. 1200 (cf. chamfered lancets). C13 th south transept window of three stepped lancet lights beneath a pointed hoodmould, later than tower.		C15 th three-bay chancel with high chamfered plinth and buttresses with offsets. Cusped ogee- headed niche and similar piscina. Three 4-centred windows with Perp. tracery under hoodmoulds in south wall of chancel (no windows in north wall). Coped parapet. Two-light four- centred E window with Perp. tracery (renewed) under hoodmould. ⁴⁹ C15 th north vestry. Transept apses presumably removed at rebuilding of chancel, and new three-light windows with Perp. tracery put into their blocked	Church built of coursed ashlar on a cruciform plan, with apsidal chapel to transepts. C12 th tub font with foliage bands and columns.	Dodsworth noted glass in choir window – heraldry quarterly with De la Pole, Metham, Percy and Lucy arms and a table hanging on the wall to George Fowbery ⁵⁰ (d.1592).
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⁴⁸ Fieldwork 27.03.2003 and 02.04.2006.

⁴⁹ Pev and LOB suggest windows are medieval. Fieldwork on 02.04.06 – windows appear to be post-medieval in date, probably 19th century (but they are perhaps copies of the original windows). Check date of masonry and interior features.

⁵⁰ George Fowbery of Newbald signed the 1584 visitation. He married Katherine, daughter of Thomas Langdale of Sancton. Cf. Glover's visitation.

North Grimston	Norman chancel arch with zigzag. Round-headed chancel arch, off-centre. Round-headed north and south doors.	C13 th tall, slim west tower (with double-chamfered lancet and clasping buttresses), south doorway and two lancets in north wall of chancel. ⁵¹	Square-headed and pointed two light windows in nave.	Three-light C15 th east window.	round-headed openings (now much renewed). Two C15 th windows, one in west wall of nave (four light Perp. window under hood-mould) and one in south wall of nave. Pinnacles and parapet added to the tower in C15 th .	South side of chancel remodelled in C18 th , with square-headed windows.	Anglo Saxon or Norman drum font. Nave roof previously higher and steeply pitched. Blocked doorway in nave north wall. Poss. extension to north wall of	C14 th coffin lid with foliated cross. ⁵² Brass plate with inscription of Elizabeth Cracroft (d.1602).
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⁵¹ Fieldwork 25.01.2003.

⁵² Ginos and Ginos (1989).

							nave. Church interior whitewashed.	
Nunburn holme	Anglo-Saxon cross. Norman chancel arch reused as tower arch. Norman nave and chancel cf. Norman window in north wall of nave; Norman north doorway.	Lancet in chancel.	Dec. windows in chancel (mostly with straight heads and reticulated tracery). C14 th stained glass.		Repairs and new pews 1854-8 under architects Andrews and Gould. ⁵³ Tower of 1901 by T. Moore.			
Reighton	An aisleless Norman church cf. Norman jambos of north and south doorways. Chancel arch of three orders on clustered columns, perhaps c. 1130.	Small lancet windows in south and east walls of chancel and east end of north aisle.			Small brick tower added in C17 th or C18 th . Tower and much of the west end of the naverebuilt 1897- 1905. Porch rebuilt 1901.	Norman square font with cable moulding to rim and carved faces.		

⁵³ Churchplansonline.

	North aisle dated by VCH to c. 1170-1200 referring to circular piers with nail-head and water-holding bases, with semi-circular arches. Pev dates arcade as EE. Chancel rebuilt at a similar date (cf. poss. squint remaining from C12 th chancel).						
Rowley	Late C12 th transitional era three-bay south aisle and arcade.	EE N arcade. EE south doorway and S lancet in tower. Early C13 th lower stages of tower with lancet.	Chancel rebuilt in C14 th . Buttresses with offsets; two-light square-headed window with cusped ogee tracery; three-light pointed east window with Perp. tracery.	Perp. exterior. Tower raised in C15 th . Two-light pointed belfry openings with Perp. tracery. Crenellated parapet with corner finials. Two-light pointed west window with Perp. tracery.	Medieval wall painting and post-Ref'n scripture found beneath later memorial. Aisle walls rebuilt with two-light square-headed windows, poss. in C 16 th . Cf. Tudor	Parson at Rowley mentioned in c. 1150, by which point the church must have existed. NB. the building	Indent of a brass, identified by G&G (1989) as London-made.

				Two two-light square headed windows with Perp. tracery in nave, three two-light square-headed windows in N wall, two-light square-headed window with Perp. tracery in south chapel. Poss.	window in middle of north aisle. Restored Tudor window (found in organ bay), now in south-west nave wall. ⁵⁴ South chapel rebuilt 1730, but its north arch appears to be an early C17 th tomb canopy (VCH). Church completely restored in 1852. C19 th three-light window with Perp. style tracery in N chapel and C19 th chancel arch.	fabric is much altered making it difficult to determine phases of construction. Early C13 th font.	
Rudston	C12 th west tower below belfry stage, west doorway (now blocked with trefoil-headed lancet) and plain	Early 13 th nave aisles and arcades (NMR; LOB).	Three-bay aisles of c. 1300 (VCH). Piscina in both aisles and partially blocked squint in north aisle. Early C14 th		Restored 1861 by G Fowler Jones who added belfry stage of tower, rebuilt aisles and south porch and reroofed church. East aisle windows	Church first mentioned c. 1100-1122. Round C12 th Norman font with diaper pattern.	Brass with inscription to Sir William Constable of Caythorpe (d.1526) and his wife Jane (d.1540?).

⁵⁴ Fieldwork.

⁵⁵ Fieldwork 11.03.06

	round-headed tower arch.		chancel arch and sedilia (Pev; late 13 th C – LOB; NMR). Chancel rebuilt in C14 th cf. piscina, sedilia, priest's door, and two most westerly windows original, with Geom. tracery (of 2 lights with pointed heads and quatrefoil oculus) (rest of the chancel windows are C19 th facsimiles – VCH). Chancel possibly extended eastwards cf. blocked squint no longer aligned with altar.		with reticulated tracery and square-headed aisle windows (with flowing tracery) are 1861, but may copy earlier originals. ⁵³	In 1540, Jane Constable left £1 to repair “the body of the church”. By 1676, the chancel need repair. ⁵⁶	Recorded by Dodsworth, and still in existence in 1904 (according to editor's notes). Also arms in a window including Lacy, Fulthorpe and Thwing.
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Ruston Parva					Church of 1832, but with C18 th gravestones.	Chapel mentioned in 1312. ⁵⁷ Circular Norman font. C12 th tub font with leaf and chevron frieze beneath cable moulding.	Medieval cross-base approximately 130 metres north of church (LOB).
Sancton		Original low-side window?		Octagonal west tower of two stages (at least partially rebuilt using old material 1869-71). Diagonal buttresses with offsets and crocketed pinnacles. Lower stage: pointed three-light west window with Perp. tracery, with trefoil headed lancet above. Top stage: two-light pointed belfry openings with Perp. tracery and double	Church rebuilt in 1869-71, and the detail for lancets and priest's doorway copied from old masonry. C19 th work in Gothic Revival style (cf. two two-light with Perp-style tracery to west of nave).	C15 th font.	Beatrice, lady Greystock, wife of Robert Constable (d.1505). Her will specified that she should be buried in the choir. ⁵⁸ Dodsworth noted slab or tomb monument to Peter Langdale (d.1617) with

⁵⁷ Reg Greenfield iii, 203 (SS cli); cited in VCH, 323.

⁵⁸ TE IV (SS LIID), p237.

					transoms; crenellated parapet with crocketed pinnacles; short flying buttresses to diagonal buttresses with pinnacles.	Church 1857-9 by Pearson.	1616 map depicts church with tower and spire, south aisle and south porch.	Unclassified but good quality C14 th effigy. ⁵⁹ Grave slab to Henry de Middleton, priest, early C16 th in NE corner of chancel. Slightly sunk panel with figure in low relief bearing chalice under round cusped arch (LOB).	
Scorborough					Early C16 th grave slab to Henry de Middleton priest in NE corner of chancel. Slightly sunk panel with figure in low relief bearing chalice under round cusped arch.				
Sewerby with Marton						1848 church by Scott & Moffat on a new site.	Norman font found at Sewerby (now at Thwing).		

⁵⁹ Gittos and Gittos (1989).

Sherburn	Norman west tower and nave. Chancel arch of before c. 1150.	C13 th north arcade (restored by Hodgson Fowler).	Doorway above tower arch of c. 1300. ⁶⁰ Dec. south wall of the chancel with two-light windows.	Perp. west window (NB. upper parts rebuilt by Hodgson Fowler).	?1857 repairs to roof and walls. Much rebuilt in 1909-1912 by Hodgson Fowler for Tatton Sykes ie. rebuilt Norman doorway and south arcade.	Pre-Conquest stone grave covers. ⁶¹
Sledmere	Norman corbels <i>ex situ</i> in room above the organ.			Lower parts of tower genuinely medieval <i>in situ</i> – but what date?	1897-8 by Temple Moore for Tatton Sykes in Dec. style.	Church previously rebuilt in 1758, when it was described as “a very ancient building and much out of repair”. Richard Sykes was “desirous to pull down the same and to apply the old materials as far as they

⁶⁰ According to Pevsner, 1972, 338.

⁶¹ Gittos and Gittos (1989).

⁶² 1755 document from Archbishop of York to Richard Sykes, giving the latter permission to rebuild the church; a copy is displayed within the modern church.

South Cave	Poss. Saxon font and ancient carved stone. ⁶³	EE stiff-leaf arch to south transept.	North chapel added, chancel refurbished and chancel arch reconstructed in early C14 th . Dec. north chapel arcade now blocked, but cf. Dec. arch behind organ. Dec. chancel arch including reset C12 th responds. Three-light pointed E window with Dec. tracery	C15 th west tower with diagonal buttresses with offsets (cf. Henry Lound leaves money to cover steeple with lead in 1426). North clerestory med. square-headed two-light windows (each light is a trefoil-cusped ogee). ⁶⁵ Perp. font, possibly re-cut in 1601.	West tower heightened in the 17 th C. Two-light square-headed belfry openings with pointed inner lights and crenellated parapet of 1601. Inscription on the west respond of the N arcade saying the church “structa fuit” 1601. Local tradition suggests that the north part of the church was rebuilt	will go in rebuilding the same and the erect at your [RS’s] own expense an handsome new church”. ⁶²	Fragments of a coffin lid with foliated cross. Fragment of a bust (male).
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				(medieval curvilinear). ⁶⁴		in 1631 after a great fire in 1600. C19 th Perp. style west window of tower. South transept repaired in 1633 according to inscription. Church much restored in the C19 th ie. chancel in 1847 by Pearson, south transept 1848; north aisle 1859.	church is uncertain”. ⁶⁶	
South Dalton						Church built by Pearson 1858-61.		
Speeton (par. Bridling ton)	Largely of early 12 th C origins inc. most of nave and chancel housed under one continuous roof.		Two trefoil-headed piscina in north chancel wall, with a crudely craved stone above.	Two square-headed windows (one in nave and one in chancel). Late med. canopied niche and money box in chancel east wall.	Two modern lancets in west wall flanking tower. Restorations 1905, 1911, 1976. Upper parts of chancel apparently	Norman tub font. No openings in north wall. Carved stone cross previously in		

⁶⁴ Fieldwork 02.04.06 Medieval or 1847 by JL Pearson like the rest of the chancel (LOB)?

⁶⁵ Fieldwork 02.04.06

⁶⁶ VCH ER IV, 56.

⁶⁷ VCH ER II, 103.

	Norman west tower of three stepped stages separated by string-courses, with round-headed bell openings to all faces. Early C12 th chancel arch. <i>Agnus dei</i> , perhaps of c. 1120-5, found over south door in 1965. ⁶⁷					rebuilt at unknown date.	outside of west wall, now inside church.	
Thixendale						1870 by Street for Tatton Sykes.		
Thwing	South doorway and chancel arch of c. 1150.		Late C13 th or early C14 th C (with north door) and four-bay arcade with pointed arches and octagonal piers. North aisle extended	Three-light C15 th pointed window with Perp. tracery under hoodmould in south wall, west of porch. C15 th Perp. north arcade of octagonal piers supporting pointed double-chamfered arches.	New chancel with east window of 1836 and C19 th south window with curvilinear tracery. Much of the rest of the church is Victorian, c. 1897-1900. cf. new vestry windows;	C12 th font said to come from Sewerby (design similar to that at Flamborough).	C14 th effigy of a young priest. Unclassified but good quality C14 th monument. ⁶⁸	

⁶⁸ Gittos and Gittos (1989).

				<p>eastwards later in C14th to accommodate chantry. Features include an (lateral) arch between aisle and chapel, relief figure kneeling at an altar on east wall, reset C12th grotesques, trefoil-headed projecting piscina and long squint. Original later C13th trefoil-headed lancet reset in c. 1900 tower.</p> <p>Poss. C14th stoop in modern south porch (also fragments of ancient crosses). Three-light C14th windows with reticulated tracery (and tomb recess beneath) in south</p>		<p>removal of north galleries.</p> <p>Aisle windows all c. 1900 except C17th window in north wall and two windows in south wall.</p> <p>West tower of 1901 (before 1900 the tower was incorporated within body of nave with vestry to north at west end of north aisle)</p> <p>C20th roof incorporating reset C15th bosses.</p>		
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Walking ton	C12 th origins.	Transept arches and south doorway of c. 1200.	wall. C14 th effigy of a young priest, thought to represent a member of the Thwing family.	C15 th west tower of three stages on chamfered and moulded plinth. Moulded stringcourse and diagonal buttresses with offsets. North side has pierced quatrefoil to first floor and above a canopied niche with crocketed finials. Two-light pointed belfry opening with Perp. tracery under hoodmould. Crenellated parapet with crocketed corner finials. Three-light pointed west window with Perp. tracery of	The church is much rebuilt. North side of the church is brick of 1818. North porch of 1921.	Prob. C18 th century font.	Medieval stone coffin at rear of tower (LOB).
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Warter				same design as north and south nave walls, north transept, south transept, south chancel wall (all much renewed). ⁶⁹ East window of chancel of five cinquefoil cusped lights and super-transom		By Habershon and Pite 1862-4.			William de Malton, Gilbertine Prior (1279) incised slab with inscription. Found in excavations of Warter Prior and moved into parish church Incised figure slab of Prior Thomas Bridlington
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⁶⁹ Fieldwork 25.3.06

								(d.1498) uncovered and reburied at Warter.
Weavert horpe	Norman tower, nave and chancel.				Late C13 th and mid C14 th windows of pointed lights with ogee heads in nave and chancel. Square- headed window of two ogee- headed lights in chancel. Square- headed three-light east window with reticulated tracery.		Restored by Street for Tatton Sykes in 1872.	Graveslab and C14 th recumbent effigy praying. Much decayed. Now in churchyard.
West Heslerto n		C13 th EE chancel (partly rebuilt in 1859) including two original lancets in south wall (the westernmost a later insertion), two lancets in north wall (east			Late C13 th or early C14 th segment-arched Easter sepulchre beneath crocketed gabled canopy with crocket finial. Below: low tomb- chest with two- light panels		Nave and bellcote mostly of 1886 restoration by Hodgson Fowler. East window rebuilt with stained glass of 1893 by Kempe.	Low tomb- chest with two-light panels with encircled quatrefoils.

			of vestry) and quoined doorway (now blocked).	beneath a band of encircled quatrefoils. Piscina beneath restored pointed arch in chancel south wall.					
West Lutton							A new north aisle, new roof and repairs to walls were apparently made in 1864-9 under W. Baldwin Stewerd. ⁷⁰ Church later rebuilt by Street for Tatton Sykes, 1874-5.		
Wetwang	Norman north arcade. Norman nave south windows.	Lady Chapel (much restored c. 1900) with east window of plate tracery and three trefoil-headed lights. Wall painting on east wall. Top of a scallop capital	C13 th tower with clasping buttresses with offsets; lancet window to west; twin-light Geom. traceried belfry openings within round arched surrounds; earlier shallower roofline	Late C14 th or early C15 th west tower parapet and battlements. SE vice carried up to belfry stage. Poss. added after tower was built (vice integral to east face of tower above nave roof). ⁷³ Corbel table of masks	Restored by Hodgson Fowler for Tatton Sykes 1901-2.				

⁷⁰ www.churchplansonline.com, accessed 26.06.2006.

		reused as table below tabernacle in east wall. ⁷¹	shows on east face of tower. Sharply pointed tower arch with filleted piers and round abaci. ⁷² Two lancets to east and west bay of north arcade. Late C13 th north transept Early C14 th north doorway.	and flowers and projecting embattled parapet with a band of mouchette decoration (similar to North Dalton) and pierced quatrefoils to merlons . Tower out of alignment with nave; west window, tower arch and nave don't line up. ⁷⁴ Two Perp. style windows in western bay of north aisle.			
Wharra m le Street	Tower and nave (arguably A-S but recent scholarship suggests it is Norman).		C14 th north aisle.		Chancel rebuilt 1862-4 by Atkinson.		
Wharra m Percy	West tower and south arcade.		Late C13 th north arcade and chancel arch.		C17 th chancel.		

⁷¹ Fieldwork 24.4.06
⁷² Fieldwork 24.4.06
⁷³ Fieldwork 24.4.06
⁷⁴ Fieldwork 24.4.06

Willerby	No remains from C12 th church, though building is mentioned in early C12 th . ⁷⁵		Largely C13 th church, cf. west tower of two stages with west window of three lancet-shaped lights, and north arcade of five and a half bays with four round and one octagonal pier. Tower cuts off half a bay of the arcade, and is of the same or slightly later date. Tower and arcade arches identical.		Two square-headed windows in south wall of nave date from modern restorations, but may be copies of C16 th or early C17 th originals. Church partially rebuilt in C18 th and C19 th . Chancel shorted and arcade narrowed in late C18 th . Restoration of 1881-2 seems to have obliterated C18 th features. C19 th lancets in aisle and chancel, and east window.	Structurally undivided nave and chancel.	
Wintringham	Norman chancel. Norman sculpture displayed in church.		Dec. arcades, chancel arch and niche in south aisle. Late C14 th stained glass.	Nave, aisles and west tower with diagonal buttresses at NW and SW angle; angle buttress at NE; and vice at SE. Recessed spire. Straight-headed C15 th	Jacobean pews and pulpit panels.		

⁷⁵ Brid Charty 100; EYC ii 427.

Wold Newton	Norman south doorway of earlier C12 th poss. c. 1140-50. Norman chancel arch. Small round-headed window high up in south wall near east end. Norman masonry in south and west walls of nave.				windows in aisle. Perp. chapels in north and south aisles with carved wooden screens. Straight-headed three-light Perp. window in south wall. Three-light east window poss. of C15 th date (though subsequently renewed).	Chancel rebuilt 1850. Modern bell-turret. The masonry of the west gable-end is carried upwards suggesting there was always some provision for a bell, though there were no bells recorded in 1552.	Later C12 th font.	
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Appendix 8.1 Known Chantries in the Yorkshire Wolds

Church	Date of foundation	Founder	Source	Dedication of chantry	Comments	Standing buildings evidence
Staxton	Late C12 th	Richard of [de] Ganton	Brid Charty 92-3, 99, 104.	Unknown.	Right to have a chantry quitclaimed back to Brid Priory in 1295 – chantry probably ceased to exist.	None.
Langtoft	1274	A condition of the vicarage's ordination in 1274 was that the vicar should maintain a chantry with two chaplains in both the church and Cottam chapel.	VCH ER II, 269	Unknown.	No other evidence for existence of the chantries at either Langtoft or Cottam. There was a gild dedicated to St Katherine mentioned at Langtoft in 1528.	None.
Cottam	1274	As above	VCH ER II, 269	Unknown.	As above.	None.
Buckton (par. Bridlington)	1304	Arnald of Buckton	Yorks Inq ii 151; iv 12-13; Cal Pat 1301-1307, 215.	Unknown.	There were two chaplains there in 1525-26 (<i>East Riding Clergy in 1525-6, 77-8</i>).	None.
South Cave	1310	Alexander de Cave [Lound?]	Cal Pat 1307-1313, 289.	St Mary (according to 1314 indulgence – VCH ER IV, 56 and 1426 will NCW I,	There were two chaplains at South Cave in 1525-26, as well as the vicar Adam Car. A pension was also paid to John Symson	North chapel added, chancel refurbished and chancel arch reconstructed in early C14 th .

Burton Agnes	1313	Roger de Sommerville	Cal Pat 1313-1317, 29.	34-35.) St Mary.	There was a cantarist at BA in 1525-6.	North aisle chapel with east window with earlier C14 th cusped interlacing tracery.
Sewerby	1319	Rt de Sewerby	Cal Pat 1317-1320, 346-347.	Unknown.		None.
Boynnton	1324	John de Boynnton (owner of at least one carucate in Boynnton, though Nicholas de Meynell was returned as sole lord of B in 1316).	Cal Pat 1321-1324, 414.	St Mary.	There were possibly two chantries dedicated to St Michael and St Lawrence (Fasti Parochiales iii, 3-6).	None.
Octon chapel (par. Thwing)	1327	William de Thweng	Cal Pat 1327-1330, 145.	Unknown.	For a chaplain to celebrate daily in the chapel of St Micheal, Octon.	None.
Towthorpe (par. Wharram Percy)	1327	Scrope chantry	Beresford, 1954, 70.	Unknown.		None.
Gardham (par. Cherry Burton)	1336	Henry de Wyghton of Beverley, merchant	Cal Pat 1334-1338, 333.	Unknown.		None.
Harpham	1340	William St Quintin.		St Mary (TE V, 54).	There was a cantarist and five chaplains at Harpham in 1525-26. 1560/1566 reference to "the chantry of St Mary	c. 1340 north aisle chapel with reticulated tracery and ogee-headed arch to chancel.

Lund						in Harpham" (TNA, C3/141/57).	
	1340	William de Twenge	Cal Pat 1340-3, 59	Unknown.		None.	
Thwing	Before 1348	Advowson of the chantry held by Thomas, lord Thwing in 1348 and 1374, and the foundation has been subsequently attributed to him (VCH, ER II, 329).	BIHR Reg 10 f 192; Cal Inq PM xiv pp53-9.	St Thomas the Apostle (dedication mentioned in 1386: Cal Pat 1385-1389, 241).	There was a chaplain at Thwing in 1525-26.	Earlier C14 th north aisle chapel with trefoil-headed projecting piscina and long squint.	
Etton	c.1350	Executors of John of Etton, rector in 1331 and later Parson of Great Massingham. ¹	Cal Pat 1345-8, 275-6; 1350-54, 108; Cal Close 1346-9, 258. Cal Pat 1370-74, 69; 297; 352.	The Holy Trinity and the Annunciation. C14 th reference to the "chaplains of the chantry of the Holy Trinity, Etton" (TNA, C143/380/24 and C143/307/9).	Chantry founded with three priests (only one by 1535) in a chapel which John de Etton had built in the church. Chantry augmented by grants of additional property in c. 1370. There was a cantarist and a chaplain at Etton in 1525-26.	c. 1300 south aisle with quatrefoil filleted piers and quatrefoil abaci carrying pointed arches of two filleted orders.	
Kilham	Before	Alan Kilham.	TNA,	St Mary and	There was a cantarist and		

¹ John de Messingham witnessed charters and quitclaims between 1309 and 1349 (*Etton: 1170-1482*, no.17-8, 21-3, 25, 27-30, 32 -6, 38-45, 48-50, 53-4, 56-7).

	1351			C143/304/4; Cal Pat 1350-4, 133.	St Lawrence.	a chaplain at Kilham in 1525-26. In c. 1547 at its suppression, the chantry was said to lie 1000 ft from parish church and to have been founded by the ancestors of the present lord of the manor (Chantry Surv. I, 139; Yorks Deeds ix, 111). ²	
Warter Priory	1356	John de Bentele		Cal Pat 1354-8, 382.	Unknown.	None.	
Flamborough	1359	Marmaduke Constable		Cal Pat 1358- 62, 214.	St Catherine	Mentioned in will of Marmaduke Constable (1376). There was a cantarist and two chaplains at Flamb. in 1525-26.	North aisle chapel now dedicated to St Nicholas. Poss. squint uncovered in 1860s. ³
Flamborough	Before 1376	Robert the Constable.		VCH ER II, 161.	St Mary [Magdalene?]	Altar to St Mary mentioned in will of M'duke C (1376: TE I, 97-9; Brid Charty 178; J Burton Mon Ebor 226).	Lady chapel now in south chancel aisle; contains tombs of Ogle and Strickland families.

² "Chantry chapels standing detached in churchyards were once quite common, but in England were mostly demolished at the Reformation and on the Continent when urban churchyards were paved over following their closure by Enlightened legislation at the end of the eighteenth century. In England a few survived by being converted into schools, as at Bray, Berkshire, and Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire. On the Continent surviving examples can be seen at Joigny, near Auxerre in France, and at Ulm in Germany. For early documented English churchyard chantry chapels, see *The Kalendar of Abbot Samson of Bury St. Edmunds*, ed. R.H.C. Davis (Camden Society, 3rd series, 84, London, 1954), 91-2 (dated 1205), and *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, New Series, 21, 1937, 268-9 (dated 1293)" (Colvin, 2000, 172).

³ Church guide.

Flamborough	C13 th or C14 th .	Robert the Constable.	VCH ER II, 161.	St Thomas		Decorated-period south arcade.
Flamborough	Before 1466/67	Unknown.	Will of Lady Agnes Constable (1467).	St Edmund the King and Martyr (in the choir)		
Gransmoor	1360	Walter de Harpham, chaplain.	Cal Pat 1358-61, 440.	Unknown.	Cf. also Cal Pat 1445-8, 371	None.
Cherry Burton	1366	Robert of Beverley and others	Cal Pat 1364-7, 233.	Holy Trinity (given in 1587 Letters Patent, HUL, DDCB/4/87).	There were two chaplains at Cherry Burton in 1525-26.	None.
North Grimston	Before 1436	Probably a member of the Nawton family of North Grimston.	BIHR Reg 3.482.	Blessed Virgin Mary	1453 ref to the altar of the BVM in the chapel attached to the parish church of North Grimston (TE II, 58 note). There was a chaplain in 1525-26.	
Lund	c. 1500	Edmund Thwaites (d.1500)	TE IV, 176.	St Mary	There was a cantarist at Lund in 1525-26.	c. 1500 angels, now above tower arch.
Burton Agnes	Before 1505	Walter Griffith (d.1531) and Agnes Clifton (d.1506).	TE IV, 242-3.	St Mary		Tudor arch to demolished chapel.
Speeton	1554	Unknown.	Cal Pat 1553-4, 294.	St Leonard (same)	Post-med refs to chapel property in Harpham: a	

					dedication as the church).	house, 5 bovates and four closes in Harpham were let to James Cokeson and others in 1554.	
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Appendix 8.2 Possible Chantries in the Yorkshire Wolds

Church	Date of foundation	Founder	Source	Dedication of chantry	Comments	Standing buildings evidence
Leconfield	No documentary reference to a chantry at Leconfield.					Piscina in easterly pier of north arcade.
Lockington	No documentary reference to a chantry at Lockington.					Squint from south chapel to chancel.
Wetwang	No documentary reference to a chantry at Wetwang.					Trefoil piscina in south wall, east of blocked arch to south transept (perhaps reset from demolished transept). Re-cut piscina in east end of north aisle (LOB).
Birdsall	1536	Unknown.	BIHR PR 11.215.	St Mary.	Ref to the Lady Chapel and the altar of our Lady, in the will of Thomas	None.

							Williamson who requested to be buried there. There was a chaplain at Birdsall in 1525-6.	
Sherburn		Before 1510	Unknown.	TE IV, 205.	St Mary.	1510 reference to the Lady priest at Sherburn. There was a chaplain at Sherburn in 1525-26.		
Potter Brompton or West Lutton		Medieval	Unknown.	<i>Cal Chanc R.</i> <i>Eliz, Vol I</i> Bb1/15	Unknown.	It is unclear whether this was a chapel or a chantry.	None.	
Burton Fleming		1657	Unknown.	HUL, DDBM/3/7.	Unknown.	A cottage called St John's House was mentioned in 1657.		

Appendix 9 Gilds in the Yorkshire Wolds, 1300-1570

As part of his PhD research at the University of York, David Crouch produced a list of medieval gilds in Yorkshire.¹ This research supplements his, using information gleaned from medieval wills and post-medieval property records to add both previously unrecorded gilds in the Yorkshire Wolds and additional manuscript references to Crouch's list. This information appears in the table below.

Entries in **bold** in the table below are those which do not appear in Crouch's gazetteer.

Church	Date first mentioned	Source:	Subsequent refs	Dedication	Comments
Bempton	C15 th	VCH ER ER, 14	1531 will (BIHR PR 2.474). 1569 (Cal Pat 1569-72, 38).	Corpus Christi gild	
Bempton	C15 th	VCH ER ER, 14	1569 (Cal Pat 1569 72, 38).	St Mary and St Helen gild	
Bempton	C15 th	VCH ER ER, 14	1531 will (BIHR PR 2.474). 1569 (Cal Pat 1569-72, 38).	St Michael gild	
Bempton	1528	BIHR PR 9.421		Unnamed gild	
Bessingby	1521	TE V, 133-134.	1549 ref to gild house (Cal Pat 3 Edw VI, 148). 1569 and 1570 ref to gild lands (Cal Pat 1569-72, 38).	Thomas Esheton, Gent. left 3s 4d to the gild of Mary Magdalene	
Bishop Burton	Before 1439	BIHR Reg 3.562		Blessed Virgin Mary.	The gild is recorded only once, though there were two chaplains at BB in 1525-6 (VCH ER IV, 9).

¹ Crouch, 1995.

					Not recorded by Crouch.
Burton Agnes	1505	BIHR PR 6.194.		Virgin Mary	1608 ref to close called Gildgarth in BA (HUL, DDWB/5/70).
Carnaby	1521	BIHR PR 9.205.	1526 (BIHR PR 9.348). 1571 reference to gild house (Cal Pat 1569-71, 237).	Gild of St John Baptist.	
Flamborough	1504	BIHR 9.209	1521	1521 ref to Trinity Gild	Agnes Somerby widow left 13s 4d for membership of gild post mortem in 1504.
Flamborough	1566	TNA, E310/31/183 no. 54	1571 (TNA, C66/1138 m. 15). 1633 (TNA, SC12/27/25 f.15; cited in VCH ER II, 161).	Gild of St Margaret	
Folkton	1527	BIHR PR 9.392		St John Baptist gild	
Garton on the Wolds	1430	BIHR PR 2.652		St Mary gild	
Hunmanby	1456/7	BIHR PR 2.345	1462 (BIHR PR 2.476). 1483 (BIHR PR 5.78). 1515 (TE V, 62-3). 1539 and 1569-72 refs to the house called gild-hall and	Blessed Virgin Mary. 1483 ref to St Mary's gild	NB. c. 1200 ref to a toft where the gild-meeting was wont to be. ² A house was given to Bardney Abbey to support a

² Yorkshire Deeds VIII, p76, no. 217. Undated deed, possibly c. 1200 (one of the witnesses Ellis Prior of Bridlington was prior 1199-1202, although another prior is not mentioned until 1218).

			former gild property (BM Lands Chart 458; Add MS 26718, f66; C142/389/12; Cal Pat 1569-72, 38).		lamp (VCH ER II, 242). The image of Our Lady of Pity is mentioned in 1515 (TE V, 62-3). Crouch cites thirteen wills at BIHR dated 1462 to 1539.
	1519	BIHR PR 9.78		Jesus gild	
Kilham	1493	Crouch citing YML L2 (5)a 5v.	1563 ref to gild property (Cal Pat 1563-6, 52).	St Laurence shrine	
Kilham	1528	TE V, 132 note.	As above.	St Mary?	A met of barley each to the Trinity and Lady gilds at Driffeld and All Hallows at Kilham.
Kirby Grindalyshe	1484	BIHR PR 5.226	1535 (BIHR PR 11.133)	Blessed Virgin Mary	Agnes Pickering of Towthorpe (1535) left 3 sheep to Kirkby church to find one light before our lady in the south aisle.
Langtoft	1528	TE V, 132 note.		St Katherine.	
Leconfield	1548	Cal Pat 1548-9, 38 (post-med refs to gild-house).		Unknown.	
North Dalton	1508	BIHR PR 7.10	1633 ref to a close called Lady Garth (HUL, DDLA/19/80)	John the Baptist.	Not recorded by Crouch. William Sherp, chaplain (1508) left 1

					quarter of barley to the gild of John the Baptist. There may also have been a chantry or gild to BVM in the south aisle or southern part of the nave.
Rudston	1514	BIHR PR 9.3.	1520 ref to images of St Mary and St James, and the honour of the Holy Cross [TE V, 116-7]. 1540 (BIHR PR 11.469). 1548-9 ref to a gild-house (Cal Pat 1548-9, 38).	St Mary.	Crouch cites 1540 refs only.
	1514	As above.	Referred to again in 1540 (BIHR PR 11.469).	Gild of the Trinity.	Crouch cites 1540 refs only.
Thwing	1387	BIHR PR 14.16.		Gild of the Holy Trinity	Crouch gives MSS as dated 1378.
Warter Priory	1521	BIHR Reg 9.212		Trinity gild.	Not recorded by Crouch. 1371 ref to Gildhousdale Cal Pat 1370-1374, 79).
Weaverthorpe	1387	BIHR PR 14.16		Corpus Christi gild	
	1516	Crouch citing YML L2 (5)a 109r.	1529 (BIHR PR 9.482). 1539 (BIHR PR 11B.688).	St Mary gild	1531 request to be buried at Weav., before Our Lady Pity (BIHR PR 10.75).
	1539	BIHR PR	1540(BIHR	Unnamed	May be

		11B.688	PR 11B.441).	gild.	identical to Corpus Christi or St Mary gilds.
Wintring ham	1515	BIHR PR 9.18	1546 (TE VI, 242).	St Mary (Our Lady Gild).	

Appendix 10 Perpendicular Towers in the Yorkshire Wolds

Boynton	None	N	Y	Height of buttresses	Perp. design with panel tracery and two embattled super-transoms producing grid-iron effect.	A later insertion beneath west window.	NE vice (to second stage?)	Three stages. Two-light trefoil-cusped belfry openings with super-transom and panelled. Canopied niche to SE buttress.	2 (3)	Early-mid C15 th	Suggested date
Burton Agnes	c. 1500	N	Y	To belfry openings	Simplified Perp. design without tracery. Three cinquefoil lights under a four-centred arch and ovolo mouldings.	Yes, with ovolo moulding	SW vice to belfry stage.	Second-stage glazed west window of two uncusped lights under square-headed surround, with canopied niches either side.	4 (6)	1500s	
Carnaby	None	N	Y	Full height	Perp. design with embattled super-transom and cinquefoil cusping.	No	NE vice to belfry stage.	Three stages. Two-light trefoil-cusped belfry openings with super-transom and panelled tracery. Head-stops to hoodmould.	3 great bells (6)	Early-mid C15 th	

Ganton	Arms suges t early C15 th date.	Y	Y	Full height	Three-light window with panelled tracery and broken embattled supertransom.	No.	SE full height	Two-light bell openings with panel tracery.	3 (4)	Early C15 th .
Harpham	1384	N	N	Full height	Perp. design with super-transoms.	No	SW full height	Three stages.	None mentioned	1380s- 1390s
Kilham	None	N	Y	Full height	Perp. design with panel tracery, supertransom and mouchettes in heads of outer lights.	Yes.	NE vice full height.	Single stage with parapet. Two-light cinquefoil cusped bell openings under hoodmoulds.	3 (5)	Late C15 th
Lund	None	N	Y	To just short of parapet.	Perp. design with panel tracery with mouchettes in heads of outer lights, similar to Kilham west window.	No	SE stair turret to middle stage.	Single stage tower on tall plinth, with belfry stage and tall parapet. Two-light trefoil- cusped belfry openings without tracery under round heads & hoodmoulds with headstops.	2 (2)	c. 1500
North Dalton	None	N	Y	T belfry stage	Two-light window with panelled tracery and two embattled supertransoms.	No	SE to second stage.	Pierced parapet (cf. Wetwang)	2 (4)	Early C15 th
Sancton	None	N	Y	To just	Three-light	No	SE vice	Octagonal tower.	3 (4)	Early

				short under parapet, finishing in pinnacles and flying buttresses.	cinquefoil cusped Perp. design. Panelled Y- tracery with super-transom.		to middle stage.	Long two tier bell openings with transom and panel tracery with super- transom. Eight pinnacles.		C15 th
South Cave	1426	N	Two diagonal buttresses to NW and SW corners.	To string course above first stage.	C19 th Perp. design with complex panel tracery.	No	None.	Single stage, with belfry stage heightened in 1601. ¹ Two-light uncusped bell openings without tracery.	3 (7)	1420s
Walkington	None	N	Y	To string course halfway up belfry stage.	Three light cinquefoil cusped Perp. design with panel tracery.	No	SW vice (to middle stage?)	String courses running around west window and belfry openings. Long two-light cinquefoil bell openings with panel tracery. Four pinnacles.	3 (4)	Later C15 th
Wintringham	None	Y	Two diag.	To belfry stage.	Three-light window with panelled tracery and broken supertransom.		SE vice to second stage.	Paired bell openings with Decorated-style tracery. Embattled and pierced parapet.	3 (5)	Early C15 th

¹ An inscription on the west respond of the north arcade suggests the church was built ("structa fuit") in 1601.