Chapter 2 - Early 14th Century Kildwick

1. The Development of the Parish (1086-1295)

When the Saxons first occupied Airedale in the early seventh century they would have found a valley which, south of Skipton, was marshy at its bottom, because of frequent inundations when the river broke its banks, and with sides almost entirely covered by trees. 'Ley' names like Cononley and Bradley indicate clearings in woodland. Significantly all ten settlements are sited well above the river to avoid flooding. The roads connecting them would have stuck to the higher ground wherever possible and for most of their length would have still been passing through woodland in 1086. By the early fourteenth century the main valley would have looked very different. Most of the trees would have been cleared away and the marshy margins of the river drained and protected by embankments.

The pattern of development which emerged can still be recognised by looking at nineteenth century maps. Glusburn is a good example.[1] The maps show that the centre of the old village lay between Green Lane and Townend Place with the tofts and crofts attached to the houses clearly marked on the north side of the road, their limits being indicated by the names Croft Head and Green End. Beyond them on the Crosshills side lay the arable fields. The three field system beloved by school text books was rarely found in this part of the world, partly because there was not enough cultivable land to accommodate the three fields of approximately equal size, which were needed, and partly because the wetter climate made the growing of wheat and other hard corn crops on a large scale impossible. The name Wheatlands Lane shows that some wheat was harvested and a little rye was produced which is still commemorated in the names 'Ryecroft' and 'Ryelands Road.' Beans were also grown around the present Beanlands Nursing Home but the Priory tithe accounts show that all three were of relatively small importance, the main crop being oats. Most of the open fields are now covered by Crosshills village so it is difficult to gauge their extent but it is likely that there were just one or two large fields cultivated on the in-field out-field system, similar to the one in operation at Keighley described in my earlier book. Each household would have a number of different strips scattered about the same field, which would be cultivated one year and then left waste the next.

Bordering the tofts and extending roughly to High Gate Lane was Glusburn Green. This was the 'stinted' common on which each household was allowed a strictly limited number of animals in proportion to the strips which it owned in the open fields. They would also have had access to the pasture land often indicated by the field name 'ings'. The permanent pasture land was often termed 'hard ings' as in Hard Ings Houses marked on the nineteenth century maps between Eastburn Bridge and the Railway crossing. This distinguished it from the 'wet' ings and 'soft' holmes, which fringed the Aire and Sutton beck and which flooded each year, still remembered in Holme Lane which connects Crosshills and Sutton. They were essential for their hay crop which fed the animals during the winter.

Beyond the village lies Glusburn Hall. The present building only dates from 1637 and we have already seen that most of Glusburn was part of the manor of Steeton but there is a strong possibility that there was a medieval house on the site belonging to one of the free tenants mentioned earlier. He would not have been important enough to have had his own demesne so his strips would have been mixed in with those of the villagers. A medieval village also needed woodland, where pigs were kept and which provided timber for building and wood for fires. Glusburn names like 'Shaw Top' and 'Leys Lane' suggest that much of the land to the west of Green Lane would have been covered with trees in the early Middle Ages. Most Airedale townships also had access to moorland. This was essential for sheep farmers and even as late as the nineteenth century most households had turbary rights on the moor, which allowed them to dig stones there and cut peat, a valuable source of heating. Access to the moor was usually via a 'gate'[2], probably High Gate. The moor is described on the map as 'Glusburn Moor' so the medieval township was probably a bit more extensive than Alec Wood thought because his boundaries exclude it altogether.

Glusburn probably had the most compact piece of arable land. Other townships were not so well favoured. A map of Cononley dated 1813 shows a similar arrangement to Glusburn with nine houses fronting onto the beck with their tofts behind them. There are what appear to be the original open fields on the upper valley side but the field names reflect the irregularity of the land with open field arable mixed in with pasture.[3] There is also a Swinewath marked on the other side. The 1846 Farnhill tithe map shows the old village not where it is now but at High Farnhill with the houses and their tofts arranged like the top half of a wheel. Sutton village was grouped around the present High Street with Croft Head behind the King's Arms marking the edge of the crofts. The open fields would have been spread out on the flat land lower down and the 1850 map marks extensive 'wet ings' on the slopes between Sutton Mill and Eastburn. Some of the woodland up the clough is still there. Steeton village too may well have been crammed into the bottom of its clough with the open fields below it together with the lord's demesne around the present Steeton Hall. The place name Hollins and the field name Hollins Bank on the edge of the moor indicate a valuable resource. Sheep loved holly leaves and they sprouted a month before the grass began to grow, reducing the time that the flocks had to be folded in the winter. Sometimes the land was too poor for regular cultivation, so the arable would have had to revolve round a large number of fields, each being cropped for one year and then returned to grass to recover its fertility until the remaining fields had been used in turn. Much of Cowling would have been like this. At Cowlinghead for instance, there was a Town Field on the road to Kildwick and a number of communal fields north and west of the village such as 'High Field', 'Over Field' and 'Eagland' and the remoter 'Farrestrypes'.[4] Most of the townships simply produced food for themselves but there were two exceptions. Silsden contributed to the support of Skipton castle. Kildwick similarly was part of the demesne of Bolton priory and had around 250 acres of arable at this time.

In Silsden most households were headed by bond tenants or villeins and they were not allowed to leave the lord's land without his permission. He also controlled who they married and their children were his property. In practice, however, the court rolls of the neighbouring manor of Bradford show that he usually limited his interference to charging a fine whenever a daughter married in proportion to the value of her father's holding. When the tenant died it was the almost universal custom for his tenement to pass to his eldest son to maintain the integrity of the holding, so younger sons were squeezed out and their search for land of their own fuelled the expansion of the amount under cultivation. In return for their tenements they were also expected to perform customary works on their lord's land. Whitaker notes that as late as 1437 the Silsden tenants are described in the compotus of Thomas, Lord Clifford, as 'nativi', though by this time their 'base services' had been largely commuted to 'pecuniary payments.' The passage he quotes lists the services that the Silsden villeins had been expected to perform. 'There were in Sighelsden, Brynthwaite and Swarthowe, LXVIdi (di = $^1/_2$) oxgangs of bond-land subject to the following payments - In Christmas term every oxgang paid instead of carriage of wood to the castle 1d. In Easter term instead of carrying the lord's provisions VId. At Pentecost and Martinmas XII*d.* In the term of St. Cuthbert, in autumn for reaping corn at Holme and the grange of Skipton Castle, by ancient custom XVIII.*d.* In Michaelmas term for repairing the roof of the bakehouse and brewhouse in the castle, and the Moot-hall in Skipton, together with the corn mill there, IV.*d.* And for the carriage of the lord's provisions, as often as they are called upon, within the distance of XXX miles (*leuca*) from the town, IV.*d.* Lastly for tallage of every oxgang IV.*D.* In all IV.*S.*I.D, per one oxgang '[5]

Silsden was part of the demesne of the honour of Skipton so it is not really representative. In most of the townships it is not at all clear how many of the tenants were bond or free. Bradley seems to have been dominated by free tenants, but the proportion of free to bond in the other townships is difficult to estimate without more detailed information because it was possible for 'free' tenants to be poorer than villeins. In most of them the lords were absentees and though, in theory, the tenants may have been required to perform works on their other properties it seems rather unlikely. The customary services would probably have been confined to looking after the lord's strips in the local open fields and his animals on the stinted common, everything else being commuted to money payments.

The period between the granting of the church and manor of Kildwick to Bolton and the beginning of the compotus accounts reveals a sharp rise in the amount of land under cultivation to satisfy the needs of a rapidly growing population. Eastburn rose in status from being the site of a tithe barn to a fully fledged farm listed separately from Steeton. By 1300 Cowling had three different hamlets, Stothill, sometimes called Newbiggin, Ickornshaw and Cowlinghead, of which Newbiggin appears to have been the most recently established. Sutton expanded from its original base to include Malsis. The Danish element in its name suggests that Hamblethorp was a pre-Domesday farm but the split between Upper and Lower Bradley may well have been a later development. A vaccary was also established at Kildwick and evidence from Great Slack suggests that parts of the moor were occupied in the thirteenth century. Curiously Silsden does not seem to have expanded at all. In 1314 it had 68$^1/_2$ bovates, the same as in 1086, possibly because it was held in demesne for the entire period.

This does not necessarily mean that Silsden still had the same number of inhabitants as at Domesday. Another way of accommodating a growing population was by subdividing the existing holdings.

Charter evidence shows that most of the land brought into cultivation was in the Aire valley and other lowland areas not on the moors which remained the preserve of sheep. Sheep were not of much direct importance to Bolton priory's economy in the Aire valley south of Skipton, which accounts for the little interest it showed in Bradley and Cowling but they would have been kept in larger numbers by those parts of the parish outside their control. A lawyer writing in the late 17th century claimed that 'the said township of Cowling or Cowlinghead was anciently far the greatest part of it in Mores and Commons which lay open and unenclosed, whereupon great flocks of sheep were kept, the Tyth wooll & Lambs whereof amounted to considerable value.'[6] Reginald Revel left land in Sutton to Bolton at an early point in its history but the charters show little attempt to add extra property to the bequest probably because Sutton had no frontage on the Aire.[7]

One of the reasons for this focus on the river was the interest the priory took in acquiring water mills. It is a common belief that little of technological importance took place between the end of the Roman occupation and the Renaissance, when scholars who fled from Constantinople brought with them books containing knowledge which had been lost during the age of migration. Nothing could be further from the truth. One example of medieval ingenuity was the mill, powered by wind in flat lands like the Netherlands or East Anglia and by water wheels in river valleys like the Aire, which were unknown before the tenth century. They were usually occupied in grinding corn into flour but they could be used for other purposes and they were money spinners for their owners.

Kildwick mill does not appear to have been included in the original grant to the monks of Embsay but it was added soon afterwards.[8] A later confirmation lays out the priory's rights in detail. 'So verily, that another mill shall not be made or had within the said soke by any man without the will and consent of the canons. And, if any man of the aforesaid soke refuse to come to the above said mill, and be found coming from another mill which is not accustomed, his sack and his corn and his horse shall be forfeit to the canons.'[9]

There does not appear to have been a suitable site for a corn mill on the Kildwick side of the river so the canons secured grants of land on the opposite bank. The importance Bolton attached to the mill is shown by the careful way the priory got Richard Revel of Cononley to confirm the gift in pure and perpetual alms of the 'mill pond of Kildwick in the water of the Aire.' Reiner son of Suain of Glusburn was persuaded to grant the land that his sub-tenant, Gervase of Kildwick held in Glusburn, 'next to the mill of Kildwick' and then more land 'next to the river Aire in which the canon's mill is situated by the land of Gervase.'[10] The land in question which the 1846 6 inch map still identified as part of the township of Kildwick stretches from near the present Kildwick bridge to the boundary of Eastburn and must have bordered the mill race.

Silsden mill was acquired by a grant from the Rumilly family at much the same time but with slightly different conditions. Alice de Rumilly's confirmation of her mother's grant laid it down that if any man violated the conditions of the grant his corn and sacks should be forfeited to the canons, as at Kildwick, but his horses to herself and her heirs.[11] Farnhill and Bradley mills did not pass into the priory's hands until the early thirteenth century. Farnhill was granted by William son of Adam of Farnhill sometime before 1222 'with all fishing rights, pools and appurtenant rights and water courses and with the working of his men, as well as five roods of *cultura* called *Milneflat,* for the relocation of the mill if they wish.'[12] Mills at both High and Low Bradley came to Bolton at around the same time as the result of a gift by William Forz II, count of Aumale, the current owner of the Skipton fee, together 'with all suit of court and repairs of the mill and pool in free, pure and perpetual alms setting down rules for the use of the mill, with right of forfeiture of sacks and corn to the canons and of horses to William and his heirs, with provision that if the said mill cannot grind then meanwhile the men of the said vill should use that to which they owe multure in the parish of Kildwick, with timber from the wood at Kalder to repair the mill'.[13] When Cononley mill passed into the hands of the monks is not clear because the original grant is not among the extant charters but it appears to have been in the later thirteenth century. There is a quitclaim dated between 1257 and 1305 by William Todd of Cononley to the canons of Bolton 'of all right and claim to all of the lands as well as the site and water passage of the mill of the canons, with appurtenances in Cononley that the canons have by the gifts of his ancestors.'[14]

There are also charters concerning a mill at *Ravenswath.* The context suggests strongly that this mill was in the township of Cowling and was probably the one later known as Lumb Mill. This mill was originally owned by the canons but then granted by them to Lord Geoffrey de Nevill in return for an annual rent of 10s.[15] There are no references to mills at Steeton or Sutton but this does not mean that these townships lacked them. The one on Steeton beck is mentioned indirectly in a bequest made by Alexander son of Ulf which is described as extending 'up to *Milleholme'* [16]It was just that canons did not own it because Steeton, Eastburn and most of Glusburn were part of the Percy fee which had no ties with Bolton. Similarly the lack of references to a mill at Sutton was due to it being a sub-manor of the Vavasour manor of Addingham, and not to the township being without one. Altogether by the early fourteenth century the river banks must have been hives of activity with five mills on the Aire together with two more on Glusburn beck one on Steeton beck and a ninth at High Bradley. The Bolton priory accounts show how important the mills were to its finances. In 1288 the Airedale mills brought in £5-18s-1d. This rose to £11-1s-6d the following year and £12-13s-4d in 1297. By 1311 they were bringing in £13-6s-8d almost as much as the entire rental of its Airedale farms which amounted to £16-13s-4d.[17]

Bolton's interest in the land bordering the river was far from confined to water mills. By the early twelfth century the burgeoning population was leading to an expansion onto usable land outside the open fields. A 'Fieldhead' farm was usually situated just outside the original fields. Those with the element 'stubbin' or 'shaw' in their names, like Stubbin Hill in Sutton and Stubbing, High Stubbing and Low Stubbing at Gill in Ickornshaw, were established on former woodland.

Royd names like 'Greenroyd' and 'Royd Hill in Sutton, 'Greenroyd' in Steeton, and Roydhouse, Glusburn also show overspill land brought into cultivation at this time. Another example is the royd land marked on the map in Trevor Hodgson and David Gulliver's *History of Cononley* and there are references to 'roid' land at Bradley as well. The farm listed in the Bolton compotus as Gill Graynes may have developed from it.

Another medieval innovation gave an enormous boost to the process. Early ploughs were only suitable for use on well drained and relatively light soils but the introduction of the wheeled plough made it possible for clay soils and riverine ones, made heavy by occasional flooding, to be brought into cultivation for the first time.

The Scots had hardly withdrawn from Craven and the move to its new quarters at Bolton completed in 1155, before the priory began taking an interest in what was happening. At the time the canons first began acquiring property in the Aire valley outside the manor of Kildwick in the later twelfth century, they were largely dependent on gifts which must have made planning difficult, but there were occasions when they did deliberately buy pieces of land. The original bequest by Alexander son of Ulf of 'eight acres of land in the township of Eastburn, namely three in a tenement next to the Aire and the boundary of Steeton with part of a wood in the same place, three acres under *Ricroft,* with the house Uctred held, and one acre of meadow next to the boundary of Steeton, and all common of the vill of Eastburn' was in free, pure and perpetual alms. The additions to the holdings listed in later charters, however, were bought. By one of them Alexander granted them three and a half more acres 'in return for which the canons have given Alexander 7s-6d through Robert their chaplain.' Then by another charter Simon, Alexander's son, added an extra rood to his father's bequest 'to build houses for the use of the canons' men.' There can be little doubt that the canons' men were attached to the tithe barn built to accommodate the grain collected after the Steeton tithe rights were transferred from Ilkley to Bolton.[18] A similar motivation can be seen in Bradley, where Herbert de Camera granted to the canons in free, pure and perpetual alms one and a half roods of land in the township 'namely in *Leierlandes,* next to *Kekelfeed* for the building of one barn for the collection of the tithes.'[19] In Cononley too tithe collection played a part with the confirmation 'in free pure and perpetual alms by Elias son of Osbern of Cononley to the canons of Bolton of his toft in the vill of Cononley next to the granary of the canons, with a way leading to their granary being 18 feet in width and 10 perches in length.'[20]

The Priory's interest was far from confined to tithe barns. No less than 70 charters have survived for Cononley which enable us to analyse the gifts they received. The earliest ones are three separate bequests to the priory of a bovate each. Their location is unspecified but they were probably in the original common fields. There is then a large bequest of twelve bovates by Walter le Fleming, which gave the priory a considerable interest in the township and may have stimulated the canons to put discreet pressure on the parishioners to leave more property in their wills. By the time Roger de Montbegon confirmed the charter of Walter le Fleming in 1222 the total in Cononley and Farnhill combined had reached 16 bovates.[21] It is from around this time that we get evidence of expansion by the villagers into the land down by the river, with bequests to the canons of land in the open fields and common rights, combined with named fields which can be identified as being by the Aire. By 1260 the priory owned at least part of all but one of the fields painstakingly identified by Hodgson and Gulliver as bordering the river.

Most of early thirteenth century bequests were of this mixed type, which assumed that the occupants of the tenements needed each part to support their families, but as the century progressed they largely disappear to be replaced by gifts of specific pieces of land usually outside the open fields. For instance the grant of *Cockholme* in Steeton is not accompanied by any other property.[22] The trend is particularly marked with woodland where all the bequests recorded after 1210 are individual ones. Many of them are not down by the riverside and contain evidence that the intention was to chop down the trees so that the land could be used for crops or pasture. This was particularly marked in Cowling, where the only property acquired by the priory in addition to the mill was in *Trepwood.* A charter dating from between 1220 and 1260 records a gift by Adam of Baildon to the canons of Bolton of land in *Trepwood.* An earlier charter by which Adam purchased the land from Richard of Tong shows that it was in Stothill and that it was already arable. Both charters also allow for further enclosing and the cutting down of trees for the construction of houses and for fuel. The later gift by William Revel of all his arable lands in the territory of *Trepwood* suggests that the destruction of the wood was by that time far advanced. [23]

A similar process was taking place in Cononley. The earliest stage appears to have been gifts or purchases of woodland next to pieces of land already in the possession of the priory. The references to the wood at *Le Fall* which was by the river come into this category but the extension of their interests soon took the canons away from the Aire. For instance there was the gift of two acres of wood by Ambrose of Cononley at the southern end of Linthwaite and two more by William son of Richard Bott of Skipton. Linthwaite wood is shown on the map above the present road from Cononley via Carleton Woodside to Skipton. In the same period they received a bequest from William son of Elias of Cononley of two and a half more acres of woodland between 'the royal highway and the moorland edge'. The royal highway appears to have been the road from Lothersdale to Skipton, which joins the Cononley road at Woodside just short of the Carleton boundary. [24]

These acquisitions were all part of the general clearance which was taking place at the time. A quitclaim shows that there was a general share out of 'all the wood lying between the large way extending in the wood from the vill of Carleton to the vill of Cononley, up to *Foldeyerd,* excepting common pasture.' The lion's share went to William of Farnhill and Ambrose of Cononley with Bolton getting just one bovate and Elias Black two perches. On the surface this appears to have been a bad bargain for the canons but they may well have known about a gift which they were soon to receive. By charters from the same period Ambrose of Cononley first gave to the priory 'all his wood in Cononley containing 14 acres with 12 virgates, lying between Carleton wood on the north, and a syke called *Lingethwaytsike* on the south.' And then 12 more acres and one rood between the road which leads through Cononley wood and a hedge called *Feldegard*, which divides the said wood and the field to the south.'[25]

By the time the Bolton priory accounts begin in 1295 it owned around three carucates in the combined township of Farnhill and Cononley, approximately half the total acreage. By that date too in most of the Aire valley the trees would have been removed both along the riverside and from suitable slopes, so that the land could be devoted either to arable crops, meadow or pasture.

2. Harvesting the Tithe

An examination of the Bolton priory compotus gives us a fascinating insight into the parish of Kildwick as it was between 1286 and 1325 though the material is very uneven in its spread. All the townships contributed tithes in kind but we only get information about the great tithes because the lesser tithes were for the support of the vicar of Kildwick so they do not figure in the priory accounts. The great tithes consisted of sheaves, wool, lambs and white tithes. Sheaves were the main source of tithe income, the references to lambs, wool and milk products clearly relating to the priory's manor at Kildwick itself. All the four principal grains - wheat, rye, barley and oats were grown within the Kildwick parish. Relatively insignificant amounts were collected with the notable exception of oats. In a good year like 1312 the parish of Kildwick supplied Bolton with 20 quarters 2 bushels of wheat, 28 quarters $4^{1}/_{2}$ bushels of rye, 25 quarters of barley but no less than 605 quarters 6 bushels of oats.[26]

Customary services appear to have been light and seasonal paid labour was used instead. The reaping of the grain would have been supervised by monastic officials to make sure that the priory got the tenth sheaf. A close watch had to be kept because tithe was unpopular and a favourite ploy was to count ten and then give the monks the eleventh instead of the tenth. Reaping was costly at 2d to 3d a day for each labourer. Apart from their wages tithe collectors and stackers could expect food and drink for the two harvest months or its equivalent money value. In 1309 the wages of three stackers and nine collectors in Kildwick parish totalled 16s-6d but expenses on food and drink for these men for eight weeks together with a gift of gloves and various tips was £1-14s-$1^{1}/_{2}$d.[27]

There is little information on the threshing and winnowing, which would have been done before the grain was transported to Bolton. Alice de Rumilly gave 'a good piece of land in all her vills and hamlets for the tithe barns of the canons',[28] which would have been where it took place. There were separate tithe barns for Bradley, Silsden and Cononley. The tithe barn at Eastburn stored the grain from both Eastburn and Steeton, Brigglath was the centre for Sutton and Glusburn and Helm took Farnhill and Kildwick. The combined figures for these places make attempts to estimate the proportion each township supplied unrewarding. In addition the demesne at Cononley was leased from 1302 onwards. Kildwick's tithes too were leased to Roger de Skipton between 1294 and 1299, while he was vicar of Kildwick, and he was given them for life after 1304, while he was vicar of Long Preston. This was done in return for an agreement securing the reversion of Long Preston's tithes to the priory after Roger's death, which took place in 1310. Another complication is that there are no separate figures for Cowling until 1306. This may indicate that the monks thought the yield there too small to bother about but it is significant that the proportion supplied by Sutton and Glusburn declined after figures for Cowling began to appear. Brigglath may well have been on Glusburn beck somewhere near the corn mill at Glusburn bridge on the Cowling road so the pre 1306 figures for Sutton and Glusburn could have included contributions from Cowling.

If the grain from Cononley, Cowling, Glusburn, Sutton, Eastburn and Steeton was to reach Bolton it had to be transported across the Aire and sometimes across its tributaries as well so good communications were vital to the priory's prosperity. The Sutton and Glusburn tithes were housed at Brigglath where there was a bridge over Glusburn beck by 1295. The 1313 accounts record the payment of 1s-4d on works around it. This is followed by a reference to the 'small bridge in Cononley fields' to distinguish it from the bridge over the Aire in the township. The Cononley Aire bridge figures in the 1310 account which provides for 1s spent on its repairs, 14s on the wages of Hugh, the master mason, 10s. for William, another mason, 2s for John the carter and his assistants and a further 2s for John the turner and the boys who broke the stones.[29]

The most important bridge of all was at Kildwick which provided access to the shortest route over the moors to Bolton. The charter of Reiner son of Suain, mentioned earlier in relation to the grant of Kildwick mill to Bolton, dated between 1155 and 1210, refers to a ford near where Kildwick bridge now stands but a subsequent bequest by Walter Revel shows that by the mid thirteenth century a bridge had been built.[30] This bridge seems to have been swept away in the bad weather of 1305, necessitating the building of a completely new one. This proved to be difficult and costly. Although the spur on which Crosshills now stands narrowed the marshy area fringing the river sufficiently to make a bridge feasible, there was still the need to take into account the possibility of the river changing its course altogether, as can be seen even today where much of the bridge's length is over dry land.

The £21-12s-9d spent in 1305 proved to be far from enough and the following year's account found the priory scraping together sums from diverse sources. Thomas the mason received 26s by the hand of W. Desert, £11-16s-4d by Brother Simon of Otley, 26s by Henry de Pontyngton and 4s-5d for other different works. The alteragio at Kildwick, that is the fees for baptisms, churchings, weddings and funerals, was raided for 9s-5d and a gift of 1s-10d from some women at Bradley was accepted.[31] Further heavy outlays followed of £22-14s-1d in 1307 and £25-11s-7d in 1308, including the gift of an ox which was sold for 7s-6d. There were further small sums expended in 1312, 1313 and 1314, giving a final quite staggering total for the Middle Ages of £94-14s-4d which must have imposed a great strain on the priory's finances. Even this sum does not take into account the doles of bread which the workers expected. For instance in 1304 the carter, who brought stones for the bridge was given 5 quarters 7 bushels of wheat and the following year bread for the mason and other labourers consumed 3 quarters 1 bushel. [32]

The whole tithe operation was an expensive business. In the last year of the accounts, 1325, stacking, collecting and transporting the grain from Kildwick parish cost £6-4s-8d. At the beginning of the 14th century the organisation was being done by Henry Croykbein of Cononley and there are references to debts incurred 'during his time.' John Croykbein, the son of Henry's brother, Robert, also seems to have been involved. From 1306 to 1309 the supervisor in the parish was Brother Simon of Otley but by 1313 he had disappeared and it is difficult to isolate a single organiser, though the frequency with which Robert Cobbe, one of the prior's pages, is mentioned in connection with Kildwick, suggests that he may have played an important linking role. In the 1313 accounts Thomas de Farnhill is listed as owing the priory 20s for the Cononley tithe for the previous accounting year and John de Farnhill 13s-4d for the Yolosom tithe. Yolosom was Yellison in the parish of Carleton. Thomas drops out after paying his debt in 1314 but John continued to figure in the tithe collection records in the following years being mentioned in connection with those of Cononley, Lothersdale and Long Preston.[33]

John was used because he had enough capital to pay the collections' expenses and then claim them back. On a number of occasions the accounts record debts to him of around £5 which were then paid off in the succeeding year. This facility was especially valuable in the bad years after 1315.[34] Another mutual advantage arose from him being a horse dealer. He could make a profit by using his own animals and the priory was saved the trouble of hiring them separately. The 1313 accounts record the priory buying a horse from him for £5. The following year he received £6-6s-8d in part payment for a palfrey for the use of the prior. A colt was purchased from him in 1315. In 1316 a horse was bought which he delivered to the church at Long Preston and another colt. Later the prior gave another horse, purchased from him, also costing £5, to the chancellor at York. John dealt in other animals as well. The accounts record him as being paid for pigs supplied to the priory kitchen and four oxen sent to York.[35]

3. Bolton's Estates at Kildwick and Cononley

For Cononley where the priory owned approximately half the manor and for Kildwick itself, where it possessed both the manor and the grange, the accounts are much more detailed particularly about the animals on their property. The largest in number were oxen. Horses were more efficient and the horse collar was known by the fourteenth century but they were more expensive to keep and oxen had the advantage that they could be eaten when their working lives were over. They were universally used for ploughing, horses being reserved for harrowing, carting and, if you could afford it, for riding. In 1297 at Cononley there were 20 full grown oxen plus a young one on the priory's land as against a colt and a filly.[36] Numbers at Kildwick reached a peak in 1304 when there were 37 mature oxen, plus three four year old and two three year old animals but only three horses plus a colt and a filly. One may have been used by the vicar, which would explain why they were deemed important enough to merit building a proper stable there.[37] The arable land at Kildwick was around 200-250 acres in size, only exceeded by Bolton and Halton, and which remained constant throughout the period of the accounts. At Cononley there was 150 acres to begin with which had fallen to around 70 in the later years. The figures suggest that between four and five oxen were used per bovate.[38]

There were only a small number of cattle on the priory lands in Cononley. The 1298 accounts describe the sale of two cows which was apparently all the estate had. They were replaced by a new cow and a stirk the following year.[39] Kildwick in contrast had a much larger herd. In 1296 there were 9 cows in milk and 5 dry, 8 stirks of which 2 were male plus 2 twinters and by 1302 a bull had been added, enabling it to function as a properly constituted vaccary. A 'bovarium' or cattle shed was built to accommodate the herd, where they and the oxen were fed during the winter months on hay from the meadows and some of the oats grown on the arable.[40] Mowing the hay was paid for by piece work usually at 4d an acre but at Kildwick 30 acres was mown at 5d, 12 acres at 6d 'because of the flooding of the Ayre' and 10 acres at 7d. Famine years always cost more, 5d or 6d and in very wet conditions 7d. From 1304 the vaccary was under the control of Roger de Skipton so no details are available until after his death in 1310. Between 1312 and 1318, however, either butter or cheese or sometimes both, figure every year. Butter production peaked at $27^{1}/_{2}$ stone in 1316 and there was a combined butter and cheese return of 32 stone 8 lbs the following year.[41]

No totals or valuations can be isolated for sheep in Kildwick parish but they were certainly there. New 'bercaria' or sheep folds were built at both Kildwick and Cononley during the period of the accounts so the flock must have been organised centrally. After Roger's death the accounts begin to record the sale of lambs at Kildwick. 89 in 1311, 82 in 1312 , 19 in 1316, 23 in 1317, 11 in 1318, 11 again in 1319 and 35 in 1321. In 1324 the priory sold 270 lambs but how many were from Kildwick we do not know. Wool only figures occasionally, 7 stone in 1317 and 12 stone in 1321.[42] The accounts also mention women taking milk for the new born lambs at Kildwick and when the cellarer visited gifts were given both to oxherds and shepherds.[43]

Other animals make fleeting appearances. The 1296 Kildwick account lists a boar and four pigs and in 1300 there is an item concerning goats bought for Cononley valued at £1-2s-8d. There were probably barnyard fowls too but the tithed eggs would go to the vicar, if he could collect them, as would the honey from the bees. The 1306 account also recorded the digging of a pond at Kildwick costing £1-13s-10d, probably for fish, though trout could be tickled in the local streams and salmon were being caught in the Aire as late as the early eighteenth century.[44]

At Kildwick Thomas the servant, appears to have been in over all charge, and there was a 'forestio' who was responsible for the vaccary, six oxherds and two shepherds. There are also references to a harrower and Hulle, who seems to have been a stable hand. At Cononley two oxherds are listed in the early years but there is no mention of shepherds. Officials were usually paid 5s so Thomas may well be the Thomas Puttock listed in the 1305 accounts as receiving that amount. The 'forestio' was paid 3s a year, the oxherds 3s-4d each, the harrower 2s and Hulle 1s.[45] Shepherds pay is difficult to assess as no numbers are given the entry being simply 'diversis bercariorum'. In good years when the grain was plentiful wages would be supplemented by payments in kind. The 1313 accounts contain the part payment to the families of the 6 oxherds at Kildwick of 56 quarters 6 bushels of oats. The same entry shows that arrears could be carried over from the previous year, because the forestio received 2 quarters and 1 bushel in full satisfaction and one harrower, shepherds and others 28 quarters and a half between them in part payment.[46]

Both Cononley and Kildwick had forges. In 1298 iron plus the blacksmith's wages at Kildwick amounted to 3s-2d, while making a scythe at Cononley in 1299 cost $11^{1}/_{2}$d.[47] In 1301 13s was expended at Kildwick on iron for horseshoes and for making them and in 1303 three more large scythes were made there costing 2s-3d. The following year, Paul, the blacksmith, was paid 6s-$5^{1}/_{4}$d for various items of work. Unfortunately after 1304 the accounts tend to lump all the ironwork together so that it is difficult to distinguish one forge from another. An isolated exception is a detailed breakdown of the 18s-$2^{1}/_{4}$d expended at Kildwick in 1313 in repairing an old plough and making a new one.[48]

Paul, the blacksmith, and his wife, Isabel, figure a number of times in the accounts. In successive years 1312 and 1313 Bolton's treasurer received money owed by Roger de Hawkswick by the hand of Paul, the blacksmith. The 1319 accounts record that Isabel, his wife, gave 2s to the priory out of a legacy she had received which proved a good investment. In 1323, when its resources must have been stretched to the limit, the priory restored to her 12s which she spent repairing the house she held from it in Kildwick.[49] Other individuals flit tantalisingly into the accounts and then out again. There is William de Bradley who appears a number of times, twice in relation to the corn mills, so he may be the Bradley miller. Then there was Alexander de Eastburn, two of whose entries show him supplying the priory with bread. A regular fixture is the Gylyott family, John and then his son, Peter, who pay $1^{1}/_{2}$d each year for the Swynwath in Cononley. They may be the ancestors of the later free tenants holding part of Glusburn. Other Cononley residents are the colourfully named Richard le Leper, or Leaper, known perhaps for his athletic prowess, and Simon the Harper, whose musical skills may have beguiled many a long winter evening. Sadly the 1308 accounts record his farm as 'decasu' and in the prior's hand, so he was probably 'decasu' himself and in God's hand.[50]

Footnotes

1. This analysis is based on the three maps in *Wood, Alec*: *Glusburn, the Old Community* Crosshills 1999 pp8, 18 and 23 and the 1850 Ordnance 6" to the mile.

2. A 'gate' was a way not an obstruction in a hole in a wall, hence Highgate Lane

3. Hodgson and Gulliver

4. Tillotson p13

5. Whitaker

6. Tillotson p13

7. LC No. 6 pp2-3

8. LC Nos. 4 and 5p2 omit the mill but it is included in a separate grant by Cecily de Rumilly in No.6, pp2-3

9. Thompson p58

10. LC Nos.303 p153-4, 380 pp194-5 and 383 p196.

11. LC No. 281-2 p141-2

12. LC No. 286 p144

13. LC No. 297 p151

14. LC No. 337 p173

15. LC No. 378 pp193-4 and 379 p194.

16. LC No. 391 pp199-200

17. Compotus pp19, 36, 41, 65, 287

18. LC Nos. 388, p198, 389 pp198-9, 390 p199 and 393pp200-1

19. LC No.298 pp151-2

20. LC No.341 p175

21. LC No.305 pp154-5

22. LC No.403 p205

23. LC Nos. 374 and 375, pp191-2

24. LC No. 329 p169, No. 335 p172, No.358 pp183-4

25. LC Nos. 327 p167, 328 p168, Appendix II, No.37, pp274-5

26. Compotus pp324-9. The accounting year ran from November to October. When the text says 1312 for simplicity, the material comes from the account of November 1311 to October 1312 and so on.

27. Kershaw pp48-51

28. LC 20 p9

29. Compotus p341 and p272

30. LC Nos. 383 and 384, pp196-7

31. Compotus p181

32. Compotus pp181, 197, 207, 214, 229, 232, 240, 315, 341 and 365

33. For Henry see Compotus p107; for Simon, see Kershaw p51; Cobbe, Compotus pp305-7 and n.191; pp359, 401,440 and 449 for the Farnhills

34. Compotus e.g. p406 £5-6s-0d in 1317

35. Ibid pp340, 348, 361,384, 401, 410, 444 and 465.

36. Compotus p85. The demesne was leased from 1300 so there are no figures for later years

37. Ibid pp140, 141 and 271

38. Kershaw p33

39. Compotus pp76 and 98

40. Ibid pp129 and 141. The accounts do not distinguish between 'white' oats for human consumption and 'black oats' used as animal feed.

41. Kershaw p50 and Compotus pp418 and 437

42. Compotus pp309, 401, 420, 439, 458, 478, 526. The inclusion of the 'alteragio' shows that it was manorial not tithe income

43. Ibid pp108 and 368 for sheepfolds, pp303 and 365 for lambs' milk, p317 for gifts and p439 for tithe lambs.

44. Ibid p90 for goats p64, for pigs and p196 for the pond

45. Ibid p183, 295

46. Ibid p331

47. Compotus pp79 and 91

48. Ibid pp118, 147, 183 and 338

49. Ibid pp312, 337, 459 and 482-3

50. For William ibid pp65, 214, Alexander pp70, 516, Gylyots pp37, 41, 67 and every account to 1324-5; Richard le Leper p185, 277 etc; Simon pp147 and 230