

FARMHOLD STRUCTURE IN A DISTRICT OF
PIECEMEAL ENCLOSURE:
THE MANOR OF ASKWITH FROM 1596 TO 1816¹

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Introduction

The removal over a period of time of the common fields of a township by piecemeal methods is well established in districts as far apart as East Anglia, Somerset and Lancashire.² The impact of these changes on individual villages and farmholds has been difficult to assess: specialised maps and surveys were drawn up to implement Parliamentary and general enclosure but were apparently not required by the more informal process of piecemeal enclosure. Its protracted and erratic course, perhaps without documentation or supervision, could lead to a continuation of scattered holdings long after the open fields had disappeared. In some districts this fragmentation of holding continued into the twentieth century, preserving the worst defects of the medieval farming arrangements.³

For the township of Askwith, in middle Wharfedale in the Old West Riding of Yorkshire, a series of estate documents exists which shows how enclosure proceeded over a period of two centuries. All Askwith's town fields save one had been divided as early as 1596 into small, narrow, sometimes curving strip-like enclosures though individual holdings were still dispersed. By 1716 the piecemeal process had eliminated the final open field, yet farms were not consolidated. Even as late as 1816 some farmholds were fragmented and very small.

Askwith is unusual both in respect of topography and tenure. Unlike most of its nucleated village neighbours on the Wharfe, Askwith's territory extends over the watershed where small scattered hamlets and single farmsteads are the norm. Tenurially, the township was divided at least since the middle ages between the neighbouring lords of Denton, Weston and Middleton (Fig. 1).⁴ Denton has always dominated, owning in the seventeenth century 22 tenancies (Appendix A) as against Weston's 16⁵ and Middleton's 2.⁶ The documents upon which the present study is based all relate to the Denton holding which is known as the 'Manor of Askwith'.

In parts of the Danelaw a manor in a multi-manorial township coincided with an internal hamlet division;⁷ but with Askwith this was not so. The three separate manors' territories were intermingled across the township and were not held in discrete blocks

1. The authors are indebted to Bessie Maltby for many helpful suggestions made during the planning stage of the present study. We are grateful to Victor Bosworth and Helen and Charles Pickles for assisting us to make the maps. Our thanks are also due to Sylvia Thomas for help with the transcription of the 1596 document and to Moira Long for her helpful comments on an earlier draft. The responsibility for the final version, however, is ours alone.
2. J. A. Yelling, *Common Field and enclosure in England 1450-1850* (London 1977), 71.
3. Halton East, North Yorkshire. *Personal communication* from Mrs Kate Mason. See also Yelling, *op. cit.*, 126.
4. The Lords of Denton and Middleton are described in a sixteenth-century Weston court roll as free tenants of Weston; both were fined for non-attendance at court. Leeds Record Office (hereafter LRO) Weston 286.
5. Weston Court Roll, 1641. LRO, Weston 288.
6. 1673 rental, Middleton collection; Yorkshire Archaeological Society (hereafter YAS) MD59/19.
7. S. A. Moorhouse, 'Township boundaries in West Yorkshire', *Sciart Presentes* (Medieval Section of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society), 15 (1986), 12.

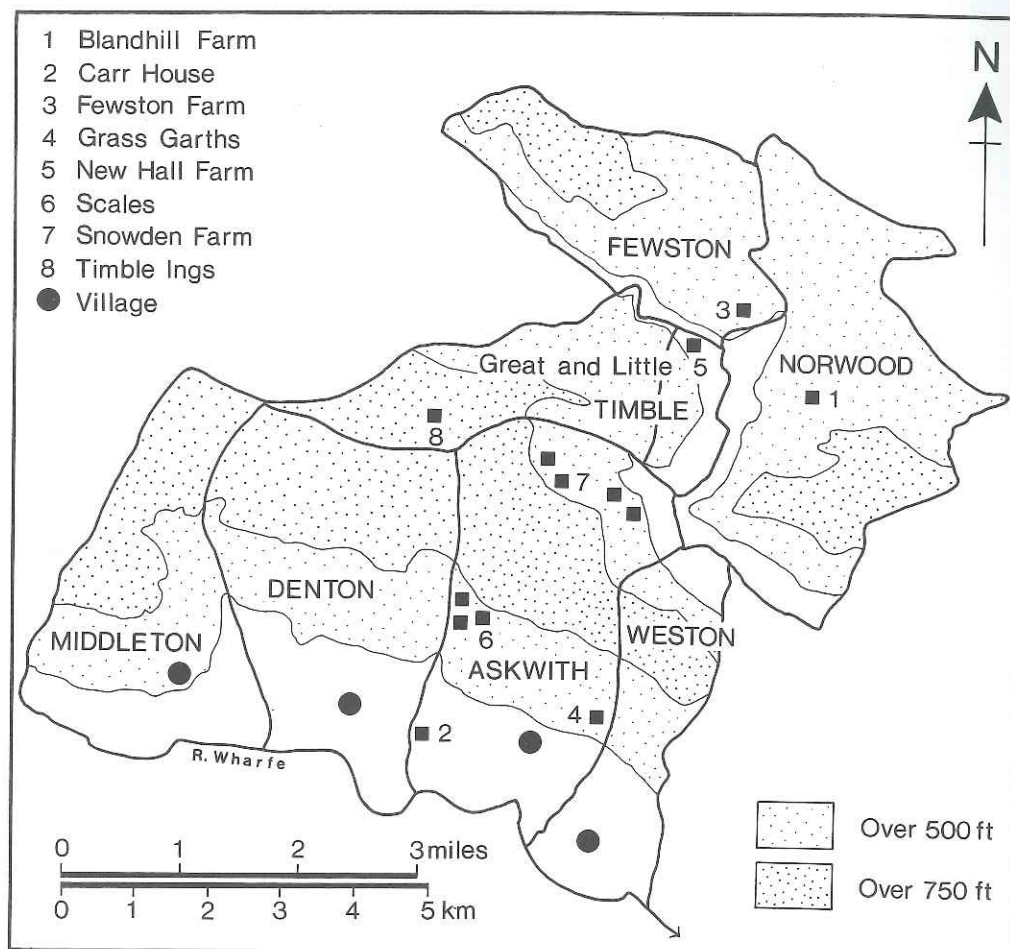


Fig. 1 Location of places mentioned in the text.

(Figs. 2a and 2b). The land around Askwith village belonged to all three lordships and one freeholder; Denton had a farm in Snowden, a hamlet lying close to the township's northern boundary; Scales, a hamlet located high on the Wharfe valley slope to the west of Askwith belonged to Denton and one small freeholder; the isolated farm Carr House, south west of the village was for a time part of the Denton demesne in Askwith; another isolated farm, Grass Garths, on the eastern boundary, was also freehold.

The documents

This remarkable collection consists of a map of Askwith and three manorial surveys of the manor of Askwith made between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They are a tenancy listing dated 1596,⁸ a tenancy listing⁹ and associated map dated 1716¹⁰ and a tenancy list of 1816.¹¹ In addition some use has been made of J. C.

8. Survey book of Denton, 1596. North Yorkshire Record Office, ZFW, 4/2.

9. Wakefield Registry of Deeds, West Riding Deeds, Vol. B, ff. 118-28.

10. The original map on parchment is at Weston Hall, Weston and measures approximately 2'6" x 3'. Traced copies are deposited at LRO, Weston 349 and YAS, MS1209, ADD/1.

11. Valuation of Askwith; LRO, Weston 406.

Crossley's map of Askwith field names derived from various nineteenth-century estate plans.¹² Spellings of field names vary between the 1716 map and the related 1596 and 1716 tenancy lists and within as well as between the two tenancy lists. The map spelling has been used in this paper except where reference is being made to specific fields (see Appendices A and B).

Of these several sources the most important for the purpose of the present study is the 1716 map (Fig. 2a & 2b). This was made when Mr James Ibbetson, a Leeds merchant, purchased from Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton 'the Mannor or Lordship or reputed Mannor or Lordship of Askwith'. The manor consists of a substantial area of Askwith township and several isolated farms in the neighbourhood.

The map accurately depicts and names the entire area under cultivation in Askwith

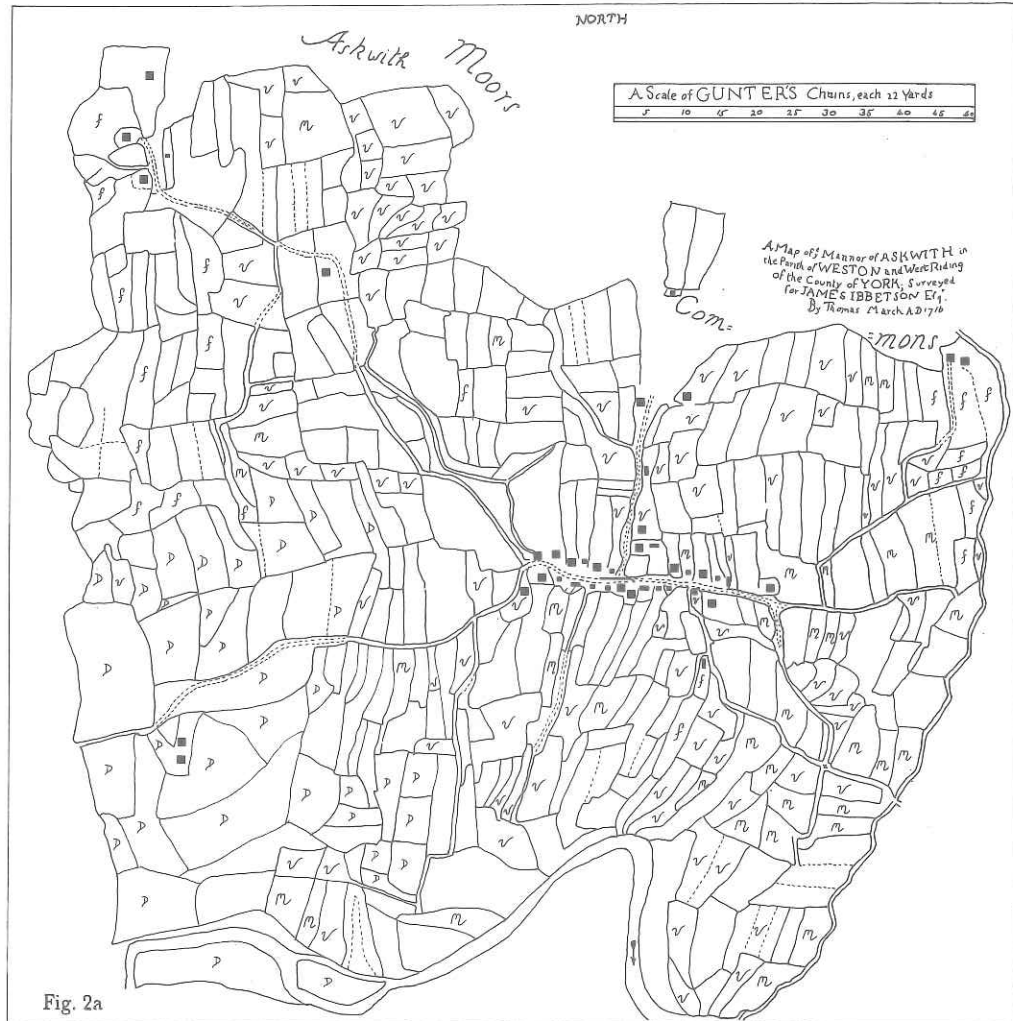


Fig. 2a

12. J. C. Crossley, 'On the Rural Landscape of middle Wharfedale', *Unpublished thesis no. 773* in Sheffield University Library. Mr Crossley's map (14B) is based on the first edition Ordnance Survey dated c1850 with field names derived from various Denton and Weston estate papers, namely a sale plan of 1902, a deed of exchange of 1870 and a petition document of 1855.

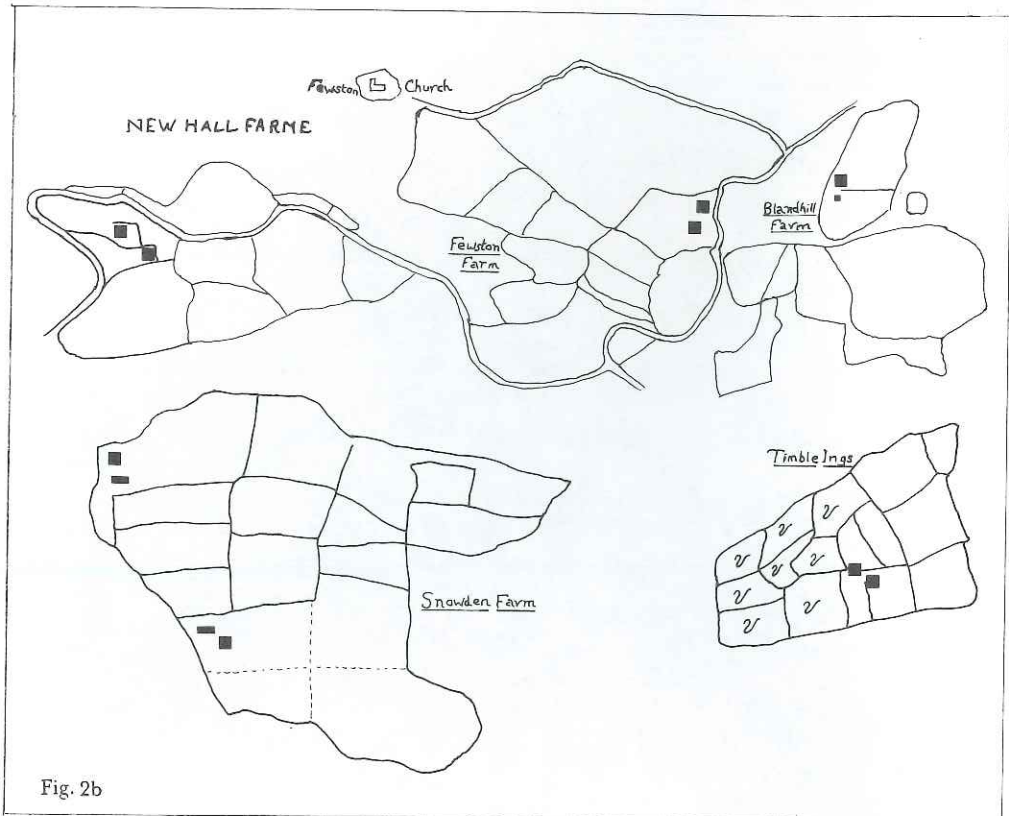


Fig. 2b

Fig. 2a & 2b Askwith landowners in 1716; James Ibbetson, Lord of the manor of Denton, unmarked; Denton demesne, marked 'D'; William Middleton, Lord of the manor of Middleton marked 'M'; William Vavasour, Lord of the manor of Weston marked 'V'; freeholders marked 'F'. and five farms around its border. The Snowden farm is within the township, Blandhill lies in the township of Norwood, Fewston in Fewston township, New Hall in Little Timble and Timble Ings in Great Timble (Fig. 1).

The field pattern shown on the map reflects a medieval open field system of husbandry (Fig. 3). Numerous small fields sharing the name Hallams to the east of the village and Leafields towards the north give evidence of two former arable fields. From the position of seven tiny closes named West Fields or Ellershaw alias West Field it is probable that a third arable field lay on either side of the road leading westwards from the village. Lying between Leafields and West Fields is a large block bearing the name Hall Closes but there is no evidence to indicate whether the Askwith demesne was originally scattered or not. The field name Hall Closes and a Hall Lane which runs along their eastern edge suggest the existence and location of a very early hall in Askwith, since we know that in the middle ages there was no resident lord.

Meadowland and pasture are indicated on the map by blocks of fields sharing the names Middop, Monk Ings, Ing Dales, Milscows, Bare Banks and Anums. By contrast irregularly shaped closes bearing unique or little used names chiefly occur on the periphery of the township area. The map gives each enclosed field a letter and a number but the explanatory key is missing.

The two manorial surveys dated 1596 and 1716 respectively relate solely to the Askwith manor. Like the estate map the Indenture of 1716 (Appendix B) came into being when the manor changed hands; the origin of the sixteenth-century survey

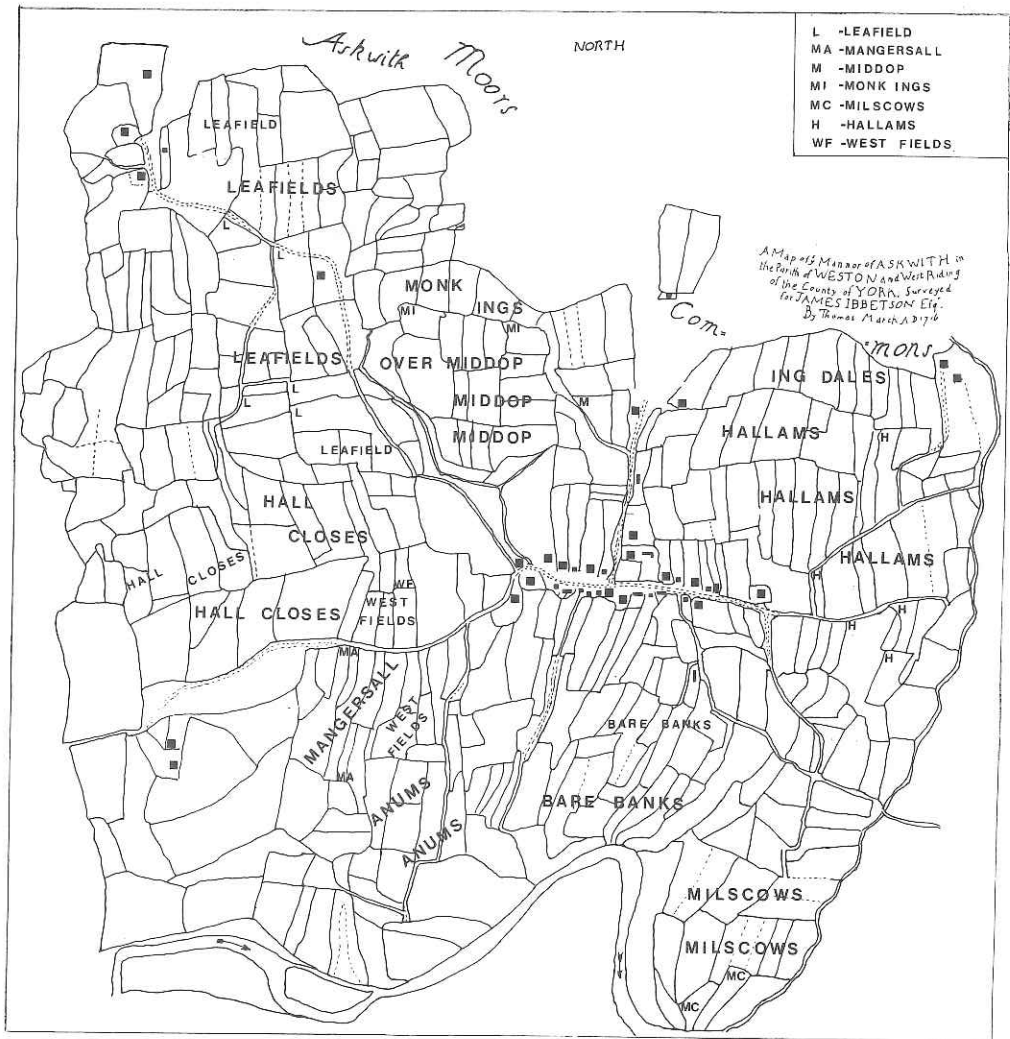


Fig. 3 The former common and shared fields of Askwith (field name spellings as on the 1716 map).

(Appendix A) is not known. Both surveys name the Askwith tenants and the fields they rent and in addition the 'measure of all the closes and grounds in acres' is given in 1596. A comparison of the tenancy lists shows that the named fields in each document are almost identical though there is one important exception.

It would appear that between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries Askwith's last remaining open field was enclosed. The terminology in the early document when referring to the Leafield area takes the form 'in the Lea Feild' (Appendix A) but in the later document this phrase is not used and only the words Leafields, Upper Lea Field and Lea Field (Appendix B) are used. The significant lack of the definite article coupled with the closes depicted on the map is presumptive evidence of a former common field since being farmed in severalty. Confirmation of the Leafield's unenclosed status in the later sixteenth century is provided by a manor court roll of Weston dated 1581.¹³

13. LRO, Weston 286.

There are slight discrepancies of spelling between the two tenancy lists some of which are ascribed to phonetic transcriptions of Yorkshire dialect. The term Mangersall in 1596 has become Magna Cells or Monga Cells in the later document, similarly Tryester Hill has become Craster Hills. Inevitably some fields named in the lists cannot be identified on the map and on the map there are a few unnamed closes. However, the essential similarity of terminology between the two periods means that the earlier tenancy list can be used in conjunction with the 1716 map.

The 1816 tenancy list came into existence when the township was valued for taxation purposes. It describes 23 farmholds and 10 cottages in this manor, approximately the same as the earlier documents, but field names have changed considerably since 1716 and a few field boundaries have been removed. Most named fields in the list however, can be identified on the Crossley field-name map on which Fig. 4 is based. Unidentified fields in the tenancy list refer to new enclosures (intakes) on the former waste whose locations are not precisely known.

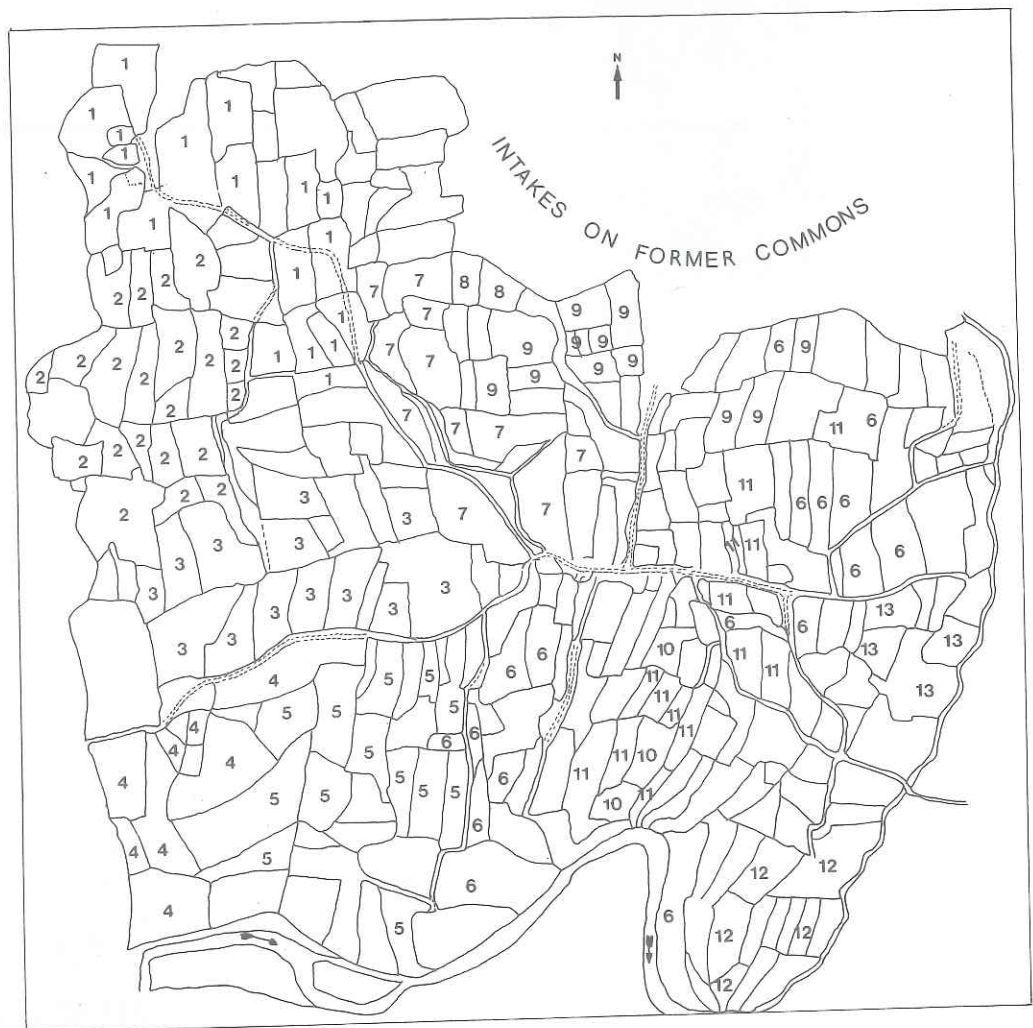


Fig. 4 Some consolidated and dispersed farmholds in 1816. Each number represents a holding.

An examination of the sources described above has provided a great deal of information about one manor and by implication about the organisation and functioning of a whole community.

The manor in 1596

The reputed manor of Askwith contained by estimation 770 acres in 1596. Of these, 190 were in demesne at Carr House and 16 lay in the township of Great Timble at Timble Ings (Fig. 1). Eighteen tenant farmers and 4 cottagers shared the residual 564 acres of which approximately 71 lay in unenclosed strips in the Leafield.

These 564 rented acres were divided unevenly between the 22 tenancies (Table 1). Those worked from the central core of the village (14) average 29 acres and range from 4 to 52. The three farmholds in the peripheral hamlet of Scales are fractionally larger at 54, 22 and 19 acres respectively. The largest holding of all, however, is the isolated Snowden farm with 76 acres. The four landless cottagers facing the village street have orchards and garths totalling less than one acre each.

Table 1. Tenancies in 1596

<i>Place</i>	<i>Farmholds</i>	<i>Cottages</i>	<i>Totals</i>
<i>Askwith township</i>			
Village	14	4	18
Scales hamlet	3		3
Snowden hamlet	(1)*		(1)
<i>Great Timble township</i>			
Timble Ings	1		1
TOTALS	<u>18 (1)</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>22 (1)</u>

*A tenancy with two holdings; the other is a farm in Askwith village

Farmhold structure in the different parts of the manor is also immensely diverse. The three separate farms of Snowden, Carr House (Denton demesne land) and Timble Ings (Great Timble) form well-defined blocks of irregularly shaped large fields. Grass Garths, the small freehold, appears to be cut out of the hallams area and consists of several small fields along the north-east boundary beck. Scales' land lies against the western boundary beck in a consolidated block and includes a portion of the Leafield. In contrast the 14 tenant farmholds and one freehold worked from the core of the village lie in fields both open and closed and encompass all types of terrain. Table 2 when used in conjunction with the field name map (Fig. 3) illustrates the scattered nature of the 17 tenant farmholds (Appendix A) worked either from the nucleated village or Scales in 1596. All but two of the 14 Askwith farms have former arable land lying in two or three areas of the township, and six have meadowland or pasture lying both north and south of the road line.

This pattern reflects an open field system of husbandry though by this time many individual strips had been laid together in anticipation of enclosure'.

The Manor in 1716

By 1716 there are some important changes in farm organisation on the manor although the overall pattern of land holding is strikingly similar to that of 1596. The tenancy list now mentions 35 tenancies but when this figure is broken down and allowance is made for the different basis on which the count was made the situation is not so different from 1596 as it would first appear.

The principal change is the complete enclosure of the leafield area. Closes here are

Table 2. Tenants' holdings in the former town fields and closes in 1596

Tenants	Arable		Pasture / Meadow			Other closes
	The L'fields	Hallams	postulated West Fields inc. Mangersall	North Middop Ing Dales Monk Ings	South Bare Banks Milscows Anums	
<i>Scales</i>						
Uxor Ratclyf 22 ac.	X					X
A. Wadinton 19 ac.	X					X
R. Wicylfe 54 ac.	X					X
<i>Askwith</i>						
J. Faucet 4 ac.		X			X	X
T. Flathers 25 ac.	X	X		X	X	X
J. Fontance 16 ac.	X	X		X		X
T. Foster 34 ac.	X	X	X	X	X	X
Uxor Foster 20 ac.	X	X		X	X	X
R. Holgate 6 ac.	X	X	X			X
J. Holmes 11 ac.	X	X	X			X
W. Kendall 44 ac.	X	X		X	X	X
T. Lacok 37 ac.	X		X	X		X
R. Mauson 37 ac.	X	X	X	X	X	X
C. Muschamp 52 ac.	X		X	X	X	X
T. Netherwod 50 ac.		X			X	X
G. Rauclif 23 ac.	X	X	X	X		
R. Ward 48 ac.	X	X	X	X		X

now referred to as Leafields or Upper and Lower Lea Field. However, the closes are not in the hands of one farmer but spread among many. The 1716 estate map confirms that virtually the whole of the township was now enclosed from the river to the edge of the moor and between the east and west boundary becks. This is in line with the general findings, that, in semi-upland areas of the dales, common fields were for the most part enclosed before the early seventeenth century, yet some common field husbandry persisted.¹⁴

New tenancies occur mainly outside the core of the village. There are some encroachments on the waste and additions to the estate outside the township area. The three farms which have been acquired in neighbouring townships are represented as blocks of isolated contiguous fields at the top of the map, but are not in their correct topographical location nor drawn to the same scale (Fig. 2b). There are 24 acres at New Hall (Little Timble), a 47 acre holding at Fewston and a small new tenancy of under 3 acres at Timble Ings (Great Timble). This brings the total acreage of the Askwith manor to 844.

The Carr House area is greatly changed. It is no longer held in demesne but has been divided up and leased out. A block of fields immediately around the house is leased to one tenant, Stephen Braithwait (Appendix B, 31); a substantial acreage is used to enlarge several existing farms in Askwith and five tenants living in Denton similarly benefit. The enlarged holdings are even more dispersed than they were before the reorganisation. In addition, the Snowden farm is no longer rented by a village farmer as in 1596 and one of the 1596 Scales' holdings has been divided into two. There are only two 1716 farms, Edward Greenwood's and Widow Pickard's (Appendix B nos. 3 and 9 respectively), which cannot be matched with a predecessor and one, Edward Greenwood's may have been transferred from another landowner. These changes account for some of the discrepancies in the totals of tenancies between the two lists (Tables 1 and 3).

14. R. Fieldhouse, 'Some evidence of surviving open fields in the seventeenth-century Pennine dales and the gradual elimination of communal agriculture', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 54 (1982), 111-18.

Table 3. Tenancies in 1716

Place	Farmholds	Cottages	Closes only	Totals
<i>Askwith township</i>				
Village	15	3+1*	5**	23+1
Carr House	1			1
Intake	1			1
Scales hamlet	4			4
Snowden hamlet	1			1
<i>In other townships</i>				
Blandhill***	1			1
Fewston	1			1
Timble Ings	1			1
New Hall	1			1
TOTALS	26	3+1	5	34+1 = 35

*Three tenants plus one tenancy of two cottages with encroachments.

**These tenants live in Denton.

***This may be the 16 acre holding described as Timble Ings in 1596.

The lay-out of the nineteen 1716 Scales and Askwith farms lying dispersed across the township is markedly similar to that in 1596. Even more astonishing is the discovery that individual farms described in 1716 can be identified on the 1596 tenancy list; in some cases they are still being farmed by tenants bearing the same surname. A comparison of the two complete tenancy listings in Appendices A and B will illustrate the essential continuity of the farmholds between the two periods.

Out of the seventeen 1596 Askwith and Scales tenancies five can be precisely identified on the 1716 tenancy list. Thomas Lacok's farm (VI on Appendix A) is identified as Robert Smith's (2 on Appendix B); John Holme's farm (XIII) as William Smith's (4); George Rauclif's farm (XVI) as John Walter's (14); Robert Wiclyfe's farm (XIX) as Thomas Mawson's (16) and Anthony Wadinton's (XX) as Richard Waddington's (17). Richard Waddington has acquired one more field, Hall Closes, formerly part of the Denton demesne in Askwith.

Two 1596 farmholds have been enlarged by one field. Richard Ward's farm (VII) is identified as George Booth's (7) with the addition of Cross Ing; Richard Holgate's farm (XV) is identified as Martin Bowling's (13) with the addition of Nan Rudding lately in demesne. These additions to existing farmholds have not led to consolidation.

Three 1596 farmholds have each lost one field. Thomas Netherwod's farm (VIII) is essentially the same as Widdow Foster's (6) with the loss of Beck Hoole; Thomas Foster's farm (XII) is the same as Thomas Foster's (10) except for the loss of Cearle Inge; and William Kendall's farm (XVII) is the same as John Thackeray's (11) with the loss of Edde Garth, presuming Wytte Ing and Wett Ing to be the same field.

Two other farmholds have lost and gained one or two fields. Uxor Foster's farm (XI) is substantially the same as Richard Sowden's (5) except that two fields Middop and Lea Feild have been lost and Serle Ings added. Cuthbert Muschamp's farm (I) is the same as George and John Muschamp's (1) except for the loss of Milscowe and the addition of Mire Cells and Gills; the croft referred to in 1716 is taken to be the same as the 'rest of the grounds about his houses' which in 1596 is estimated at approximately ten acres.

Two 1596 holdings have been amalgamated by 1716. Thomas Flathers' (X) and John Faucet's (XIV) farms were amalgamated to make John Whitfield's (12) in 1716 except that Stryalls has been lost and Seavy Carr added. Again the amalgamation has produced a greater dispersal.

By contrast one 1596 farmhold has been divided. Uxor Ractlyf's farm (XXI) is shared between Thomas Mawson (19) and John Mawd (18). Thomas Mawson's 1716 farm has

two extra fields Browns Holme north and Hall Closes, both lately in demesne; and John Mawd's has one former demesne field, Browns Holme south and one other, Hollin Close.

Finally, there are two 1596 farmholds which cannot be satisfactorily identified on the 1716 tenancy list. Richard Mauson's farm (XVIII) may be the same as Thomas Mawson's (8) having lost three fields, Stubbing Inge, Water Sydde and Barbanke Knowle and gained two, Cow Closes and Hob Nook. Joseph Fontance's farm (IX) might be identified as William & Widow Crook's (15) having lost five fields, West Croft, Chappell Close, Myddop, Hallam and Lea Feild and gained four lately in demesne, Carr Wood, Broad Ing, Anums and Hall Closes and six others, Tenter Garth, Long Croft, Nan Rudding, Pitt Ing, Tibb, Mitchel Croft and Edith Garth; this latter may have been the subject of transfer from William Kendall (XVII) whose loss of Edde Garth is noted above. Neither 1596 farmhold is well matched on the later tenancy list.

A few 1596 farmholds have lost or gained one or two fields over the period which cannot be traced either on the tenancy lists or the map. These fields may have been purchased or exchanged between one lord and another or between a lord and a freeholder. It is also possible that fields became unidentifiable through a change of name.

Despite these small inconsistencies a remarkable picture of continuity emerges from a comparison of the two tenancy lists. It would appear that the Askwith farms were passed down from one generation to another, more or less intact, over a considerable period of time. Modifications would of course be expected and these are evident in the enlargement of several farms, the division of one into two, and the exchange of particular fields between the farmholders. The similarities are nevertheless sufficient to justify the assertion that the tenancies in the 1596 survey can be identified in the later tenancy list.

The 1816 manor

By the early nineteenth century some features on the Askwith manor and in the township generally have begun to change. More land on the Askwith moors and commons has been taken into cultivation; farmholds are generally larger, and, on the whole, much more consolidated than they were in 1716.

The 1816 Askwith valuation shows that the township's cultivated area has increased in size to over 2,350 acres and includes several new intakes on the Askwith and Snowden commons. These new intakes are undatable. They first appear on the first edition ordnance survey (c1850) as large rectangular fields lying immediately north of an area of 'ancient enclosure'; in the Enclosure award 1779-82,¹⁵ however, which chiefly deals with the fencing round the highest points on the moorland waste and the establishment of a road across the waste, they are conspicuously absent.

Of the c2350 acres under cultivation Mr Middleton has three tenants on 104 acres and Mr Vavasour 17 tenants on 655. The Ibbetson estate has increased in size to over 1,000 acres let to ten landless cottagers (one is a smith) and 23 tenant farmers (Table 4). The residual c590 acres are divided between one vicarial holding and eight small proprietors who were either letting the land or farming it themselves.

15. LRO, Weston 350.

Table 4. *Tenancies in 1816*

<i>Place</i>	<i>Farmholds</i>	<i>Cottages</i>	<i>Small holdings 3 and 4 acres</i>	<i>Totals</i>
<i>Askwith township</i>				
Village	14	10		24
Carr House	1			1
Scales hamlet	2			2
Snowden hamlet	1			1
Unidentified			2	2
<i>In other townships (?)</i>	3			3
TOTALS	21	10	2	33

These figures show that the number of farmholds on the manor has not substantially increased, and therefore the farmholds have been enlarged. They now range in size from under 4 to 111 acres, averaging 44 acres. The enlargement of farmhold size can often be traced to a field described in the valuation as an 'intake'.

Apart from these intakes the main fields in the 1816 valuation can be located on the Crossley map on which Fig. 4 is based. The familiar Snowden farm is identified in the valuation but not shown on the map. This leaves only three sizeable holdings which cannot be traced and it is probable that these are the peripheral farmsteads outside the township.

On eight of the seventeen Askwith and Scales farms identified there is now a marked degree of consolidation (Fig. 4). This is especially noticeable on the former demesne land at Carr House (no. 4 on map) and Hall Closes (3) and in the hamlet of Scales (1 & 2). In these areas solid blocks of fields are being worked as a unit with only the occasional intake lying at a distance on the former moorland waste.

Consolidation has produced several farms consisting of meadow and pastureland only, presumably indicating that changed farming practices eliminated the need for access to arable land in order to sustain a living.¹⁶ On six other farms there still is a degree of scatter of fields but with one exception (6) nothing like the enormous spread across the township which existed in 1716. A comparison of the two Figs. 2a and 4 will show how in some cases consolidation was prevented by the position of fields belonging to other landowners in Askwith.

From these two nineteenth-century sources it appears that those changes in farming practice and land organisation whose beginnings were detectable in 1716 developed further during the succeeding century; strip exchange was followed by exchange of closes to produce more compact units on which specialised stock production could be practised and the traces of the medieval farming community have almost disappeared.

Conclusion

The Askwith documents have provided a rich source of information on the evolution of agrarian practice from simple strip cultivation towards a more modernised English farming system. The reallocation of strips in the open fields was generally recognised as beneficial to farming during the middle ages. In Askwith strip exchange was usually, though not invariably, followed by physical enclosure. Hall Closes has already been cited as a possible example of early strip exchange and enclosure. Another is Monk Ings which lie adjacent to Middop; in 1176 Walter of Denton granted to the monks at Sawley

16. The agrarian economy of mid-Wharfedale was predominantly pastoral from the later seventeenth century onwards. May F. Pickles, 'Agrarian society and wealth in mid-Wharfedale 1664-1743', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 53 (1981), 65.

'my meadow in Midhope'.¹⁷ This land reverted to lay ownership in 1191 and for the 'monk' nomenclature to have become attached to the area it must have been a parcel of land by that date, not individual strips.¹⁸

Similarly in Hallams, West Fields and Leafields the long narrow strip-like closes testify to the reallocation and fencing of holdings in the former open fields. Exceptions existed; the 1716 map divides one close in Hallams by a dotted line and according to the tenancy list the close was shared by two farmholds. Other large closes in Bare Banks and Milsnows were similarly marked, though their occupation seems to have been rationalised and there is now no sharing. By 1596 most strip aggregations were fenced with walls, trees or hedges and Fitzherbert's familiar advice that every man is 'to change with his neighbour, and to leye them together, and to make him one several close in every field' had apparently been followed in Askwith almost to the letter.¹⁹

Having 'laid their strips together' the tenants continued farming on the medieval pattern of immensely dispersed farms despite the inconvenience. This 'inconvenience' was still being demonstrated in 1716; many families had persisted on the same land, identical or recognizable, and all the peasant holdings show elements of the medieval period.

Farmhold consolidation was, for the most part, not undertaken until long after 1716. The preamble to the Askwith Enclosure Act (1779-82) argues that 'it would be a public advantage and also of benefit to the owners . . . if ancient inclosed lands were exchanged and laid more contiguous'.²⁰ Complete 'contiguity' had not been achieved in 1816 but a great deal of progress had been made.

The causes of this procrastination are not known though several inter-connected explanations are possible. It is probable that consolidation of farmholds was less relevant in pastoral districts such as Askwith than where ploughing and harvesting in small dispersed closes would be uneconomic. In pastoral Askwith both landlords and tenants were presumably satisfied for generations by familiar methods whose results were at least predictable.

Nineteenth-century consolidation was restricted to Ibbetson land and the other estates remained fragmented. It seems likely that the process of consolidation was made more difficult by the complexity of a multi-manorial arrangement. In Askwith we are very fortunate to be able to see this development of farming and estate administration by the happy survival of several informative documents. Only when further evidence is assembled will it be possible to discern regional trends and make generalisations.

17. Joseph McNulty ed., 'The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven' II, *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series XC* (1934), 76.

18. *ibid.* 67.

19. Fitzherbert, *The Booke of Surveying and Improvements* (1539) quoted in R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (London 1967 edition), 152.

20. Notes of an Inspection of the Askwith Inclosure Act dated 1779 or 1778 and held by Messrs. T. I. Clough & Co., Bradford as solicitors for Colonel Dawson of Weston Hall, Weston.

APPENDIX A²¹

The measure of my M[aste]r his land in Askwith as it is occupied by the tenantes there at this p[re]sent, 4 die Maii 1596.

	A	R	P
I			
CUTHBERT MUSCHAMP farmhold			
Garding, orchard, foregarthes			
and the rest of the grounds about his houses	10	3	20
The Hall Heads	10	0	20
Myddop	5	1	8
Ellershaw [alias West Fields]	3	0	34
Cearle Inge	9	2	16
Mylscowe	5	1	8
In the Lea feild	8	2	0
In this tenement there is A.52 R.O P.26 (<i>sic</i>)			
His farmehold at Snawden in the whoole is	76	0	20
Acres in both the whole tenements (<i>sic</i>)	129	0	6
II			
WILLIAM DYGHTON house & garden lying to the street upon the sone & Thorp Garth upon the north			10
III			
ELIZABETH MAUSON her house and garth adioyning upon John Syles on the west & the street upon the north		1	0
IV			
LAWRENCE BROWNE house and garth adoyning to the little garth to the hind bank ²² head upon the north west			18
V			
AGNES MAUSON house and croft caled fyve ²³ hooles		2	0
VI			
THOMAS LACOK farmehold			
Thorp Garthes, the Gyll the Flatt and the Myddop	16	1	0
Nan Garth		3	36
Stryals	7	1	20
Monke Inge	3	2	0
White Wals [pt Mangersall]	1	2	0
Pytt Inge			30
In the Lea Feild	7	3	6
Acres in the whoole tenement	37	2	12
VII			
RICHARD WARD farmchold			
Orchard garth & crofte		3	16
Hallams	3	2	10
Myddop & Gylls	10	1	10
Monke Inge	2	2	0
Elleirshaw [alias West Fields]	1	2	24
P[ar]trycke Holme	3	2	20
New Close & West Feild	7	2	20
Stryalls	3	1	16
Cragg Close	3	2	14
Wood Close	1	2	22
In the Lea Feild	9	3	26
Acres in the whoole tenement	48	2	18

21. In the 1596 and 1716 documents there are two manorial surveys, Denton and Askwith. We have extracted from each document the essential information about the Askwith tenants and the farmholds and cottages they rented. The tenancies have been ordered as in the original but the numbering system is ours. The original spelling has been retained throughout but the use of initial capitals has been regularised. The 1716 document is written in continuous prose and without punctuation.

22. This word could be read as 'bawk'.

23. This word could be read as 'fyne'.

	A	R	P
VIII			
THOMAS NETHERWOD farmehold			
Orchard garthes & croftes about his house	4	0	20
The Anames	8	3	20
Fox Garthes & Beck Hoole	4	0	8
New Close	8	0	0
Crosc Inge	1	0	16
Mylscowe	10	3	28
Welkell	3	3	14
Dauslacke & Hallams	9	0	20
Acres in the whoole tenement	50	0	6
IX			
JOSEPH FONTANCE farmehold			
Orchard gardin & croft	2	2	20
Chappell Garth		2	24
West Croftes	2	0	28
Chappell Close		2	20
Myddop	1	0	22
Eastan Inge	1	0	10
Bastanbank and the Cowpastures	6	0	8
Hallam		3	32
In the Lea Feild	1	1	26
Acres in the whoole tenement	16	2	30
THOMAS FLATHERS farmehold			
Orchard gardin and crofte	2	0	0
Stryalls	3	2	10
Monke Inge	2	3	10
Barbanke	1	2	0
Hallams	7	3	20
Tryester Hill	3	2	8
In the Lea Feild	4	1	0
Acres in the whoole tenement	25	2	8
XI			
UXOR FOSTER farmehold			
Orchard & gardin		2	12
Mauson Garth			28
Myddop	1	0	4
The Water Flattes	6	1	10
Thorne Acres	1	2	16
Barbank	5	1	0
Hallams	2	2	8
In the Lea Feild	2	2	26
Acres in the whoole tenement	20	0	24
XII			
THOMAS FOSTER farmehold			
Orchard croft Gill & Hallams	9	1	16
Barbanke	8	1	36
Mylscow	5	2	20
Mangersall	2	1	16
Cearle Inge	1	2	22
Inge Dayles	1	3	32
In the Lea Feild	5	1	10
Acres in the whoole tenement	34	2	32
XIII			
JOHN HOLMES farmehold			
Orchard gardin & crofte	2	0	26
Beane Close	1	2	6
The Leas	1	3	0
Hallam	3	1	10
Mangersall		3	14
Stubbing Inge Nooke		2	2
In the Lea Feild	1	0	10
Acres in the whoole tenement	11	0	28

	A	R	P
XIV			
JOHN FAUCET farmehold			
Orchard garding & Croft		2	10
...ke ²⁴		2	4
Barbanke	2	0	0
Dove Hills [pt. Hallams]		3	36
Acres in the whoole tenement	4	0	10
XV			
RICHARD HOLGATE farmehold			
Garth & crofte	2	3	0
Hallams	1	1	36
Ellershaw (alias West Fields)	1	1	30
Cearle Inge			36
In the Lea Feild	1	0	10
Acres in the whoole tenement	6	3	32
XVI			
GEORGE RAUCLIF farmehold			
Orchard garth & croft	1	1	10
Myddop & Monke Inge	6	3	10
West Feild Close	4	2	8
Mangersall	2	0	4
In the Lea Feild	4	1	0
Hallams in the occupacion of William Gill	4	1	16
Acres in the whoole tenement	23	1	8
XVII			
WILLIAM KENDALL farmehold			
Garth croftes & Gill	2	1	0
Wallay crofte	2	0	8
West Garth		1	12
Edde Garth	2	0	20
Hallam & Ingdales	8	2	20
Myddop	6	1	4
Monke Inge	2	3	0
Anams	4	0	36
Cearle Inges	1	3	16
Longe Close	2	0	10
Wytte Inge		2	0
Water Close and Thorne Ridding	5	1	4
In the Lea Feild	6	1	20
Acres in the whoole tenement	44	2	30
XVIII			
RICHARD MAUSON farmehold			
Orchard croft & groundes about his house	14	1	10
Ingedales & Hallams	9	2	28
Mangersall	4	3	20
Stubbing Inge	1	1	10
Water Sydde	1	3	17
Hall Flatte	2	2	0
Barbanke Knowle		2	20
In the Leafield	2	2	26
Acres in the whoole tenement	37	3	11
XIX			
ROBERT WICLYFE farmehold ²⁵			
Garth croft west croft & Lodgber	5	3	20
Stones garth	2	3	0
Watt Garth		2	0
Crabtre Flatt and the rest of the Inges thereabout	19	1	0
Windhill Wyndhill Banke and the litle garth	5	3	28
Megg Flattes	8	3	36
In the Lea Feild	11	1	0
Acres in the whoole tenement	54	2	4

24. An illegible word.

25. The word 'Scalles' is written above 'Wiclyfe' in another hand and appears to refer to the two next farmholds as well.

	A	R	P
XX ANTHONY WADINTON farmehold			
Croft and gardinges		2	0
Windhills	2	0	16
Coote Garth		2	6
The Longe Landes	2	1	20
The Wood Close, Bullock Ridding the Nether Flatt with the little lyne buttes	5	1	36
The Neyther Inge	2	1	20
In the Lea Feild	5	2	26
Acres in the whoole tenement	19	0	4
XXI UXOR RATCLYF farmehold			
Gardinges and crofte	1	1	10
The Fyve Landes Crane Heades Helme Closes and Crag Closes	11	0	12
The Day Mawing	2	0	8
Myres	2	0	6
In the Lea Feild	5	2	26
Acres in the whoole tenement	22	0	22
XXII UXOR GYLL her whoole tenement at TYMBLE INGES is	16	0	0
In the whoole number of acres of my M[aste]r his land within the manner of Askwith together with Snawdon and Tymble Inges is (<i>sic</i>)	580	2	33

APPENDIX B

An INDENTURE made the fourteenth Day of July, 1716 between Lord Thomas Fairfax and others and James Ibbetson of Leeds, merchant, in respect of the Mannor or Lordship or reputed Mannor or Lordship of Askwith with the Rights Royaltys Members and Appurtenances thereof situate lying in the parish of Weston etc.

- 1 GEORGE & JOHN MUSCHAMP farm one messuage or tenement with Barn, croft & garden Upper Lea Field, Lower Lea Field, Meddup, Hall Head, Gills, the Croft, Mire Cells, Serle Ings, Ellershaw.
- 2 ROBERT SMITH farm one messuage or tenement with Barn, stable & garth Gill, Thorp Garths, the Flatt, Middup, Nun Garth, Stryals, Monk Ings, White Wall, Pitt Ings, Leafields.
- 3 EDWARD GREENWOOD farm one messuage or tenement with Orchard Garth barn & stable the Little Croft, Monga Cells, Shool Breads, Gill, Crooked Moor Closes, Meddup, Pighill, Concl Head, Lea Fields, Hallums, West Hallums.
- 4 WILLIAM SMITH farm one messuage or tenement with Barn, stable, orchard garden & croft Bean Close, Leas, Hallums, Magna Cells, Stubbing Ing, Nook, Lea Field, Hallums (late Radcliffs).
- 5 RICHARD SOWDEN farm one messuage or tenement with Garth, Hallums, Waterflatts, The Lane or Mawsons Garth, Thorn Acres, Barr Banks, Serle Ings.
- 6 WIDDOW FOSTER farm one messuage or tenement with Barn yard & orchard the Croft, Lower Miskay, Midle Miskay, Upper Miskay, Cross Ing, the New Closes, Hallums, Dow Stacks, Well Kill, Fox Garth, Little Anum, Great Anum.
- 7 GEORGE BOOTH farm one messuage or tenement with Barns, garth & croft, Hallums, Cross Ing, Meddup & Gills, Monk Ing, Eller Shaw, Patridge Holme, New Close & West Fields, Stryals, Craggy Close, Wood Closes, Lea Field.
- 8 THOMAS MAWSON farm one messuage or tenement with Barn backside, 2 paddocks & orchard, Hob Nook, Cow Close, Hall Flatts, Little Layfields, Hallums, Ing Dale, Monga Cell.
- 9 WIDOW PICKARD farm one messuage or tenement with Barn, garden & orchard, the Moor Close, the other Moor Closes, the Well Close, Croft, Lea Field, Water Side, Stubbing Ing, Monga Cells.
- 10 THOMAS FOSTER farm one messuage or tenement with Barn & croft, the Gills, Hallums, Barrbank, Milskow, Monga Cells, Leafield, Ing Dales, another part of Lea Fields.
- 11 JOHN THACKERAY farm one messuage or tenement with Garth croft & Gill, Wally Croft, West Garth, Midup, Midup (late Steads) Hallums and Ing Dales, Midup, Monk Ing, Anums, Serle Ing, Long Close, Wett Ing, Water Close, Thorn Redding, Lea Fields.

- 12 JOHN WHITFIELD farm one messuage or tenement with a barn & croft, the Hallums, the Dove Hills, Lower Hallums, Upper Hallums, Craster Hills, Monk Ing, Barr Bank, Upper Lea Fields, Lower Lea Fields, Seavy Carr, together with cottage formerly in tenure of THOMAS LATHAM.
- 13 MARTIN BOWLING farm one messuage or tenement with Barn, garth & croft, the Hallums, the Ellershaw alias Westfield, Serle Ing, Lea Field, Nan Rudding.
- 14 JOHN WALTERS farm one messuage or tenement with Garth & croft, the Middup, Monk Ing, West Field Close, Manga Cells, Lea Field.
- 15 CROOK WIDOW & WM. CROOK farm one messuage or tenement with Barn, kiln, stable & foldstead, Tentar Garth, Long Croft, Chappel Garth, Edith Garth, Barston Bank, Cow Pasture, Pitt Ing, Eastern Ing, Tibb, Mitchel Croft, Carr Wood, Broad Ing, Anums, Hall Closes, Nan Rudding also a messuage or tenement with yard, outhouses & croft. One other Croft in occupation of WIDOW HARGREAVES.
- 16 THOMAS MAWSON farm in SCALES one messuage or tenement with Barn, stable, croft & West Croft & Lang Barr, Stones Garth, Wat Garth, Crabtree Flatt and the Ings about the same, Windhill & Windhill Bank, Little Garth, Mag Flatt, Lay Field.
- 17 RICHARD WADDINGTON farm in SCALES one messuage or tenement with Croft & garden, Windhills, Coat Garths, Long Lands, Wood Close, Bullock Rudding, Nether Flatt with the little Line Butts, Nether Ing, Lea Field, Hall Closes.
- 18 JOHN MAWD farm in SCALES one tenement with Barn & garden, the Five Lands, the Crane Head, Hollin Close, Cragg Close, Miers, pt Lea Field, Browns Holme (South side of river Wharfe) in tenure of . . . Mawd Gent.²⁶
- 19 THOMAS MAWSON carpenter farm in SCALES one messuage or tenement with Barn, garden & croft, the Lea Field, the Five Lands, Helm Close, Day Mowing, Browns Holme (north side of River Wharfe) Hall Closes.
- 20 GEORGE WHITAKER and WILLIAM ROBERTS in SNOWDEN farm with two messuages and several Closes and parcells of ground called . . .²⁷ in the whole seventy-six acres and twenty perches or thereabouts.
- 21 THOMAS and JOHN KENDAL two cottages, a piece of ground called the Intake.
- 22 JAMES HODGSON a cottage with a yard.
- 23 THOMAS FELL a cottage.
- 24 CHRISTOPHER KENDALL a cottage.
- 25 STEPHEN PARKINSON of DENTON two Closes, West Leas, Bridge Flatt.
All those free rents or rents of assize in Askwith of 7s 1d. a year²⁸
- 26 Two small cottages and the encroachments upon the waste grounds of Askwith.
- 27 CHRISTOPHER GREENWOOD [Denton] Halls Closes
- 28 WILLIAM FOSTER [Denton] Hall Closes
- 29 ROBERT LANE the elder [Denton] Halls Closes
- 30 JOHN HEBDEN [Denton] Abrahams Bosom
- 31 STEPHEN BRAITHWAIT farm one messuage or tenement with a barn & stable, Broadstones, two Ings next Carwood, part of Carwood
- 32 WILLIAM SLAYDON and JOHN WOODHEAD, farm in TIMBLE INGS in parish of Fewiston²⁹ one messuage or tenement with Barn & outhouses, several lands, meadow and pasture measuring two acres and one rood more or less

26. There is a small space between 'of' and 'Mawd' in the document.

27. There is here a gap in the writing equal to several words.

28. We have not been able to identify 'all those free rents'.

29. Timble Ings is in the township of Great Timble in the parish of Fewston.

- 33 Formerly WILLIAM DICKINSON now JOHN SIMPSON in FEWISTON one messuage or tenement with Barn, Dickinsons Close ten acres and two roods, Great and Little Kirk Banks containing fourteen acres one rood and eleven acres respectively, Kirk Holme twelve acres and one rood
- 34 HENRY WAKEFIELD, farm in BLANDHILL³⁰ in the parish of Fewiston one messuage or tenement with Barn Croft, Bullistree Flatt, Oak Flatt, Sheep Coat Flatt, the Pasture, the Tubb Garth, the Croft, the Garth, the Little Heads
- 35 WILLIAM ROBERTS, Little Timble, Otley, farm one messuage or tenement called NEWHALL with closes called One Close Pasture seven acres one rood Skinner Flatt five acres one rood Little Stone Flatts and Rowton five acres three roods Meadow above the house two acres Closes by river four acres two roods Whinney Close beyond the river one acre one rood.

30. Blandhill is in the township of Norwood in the parish of Fewston.