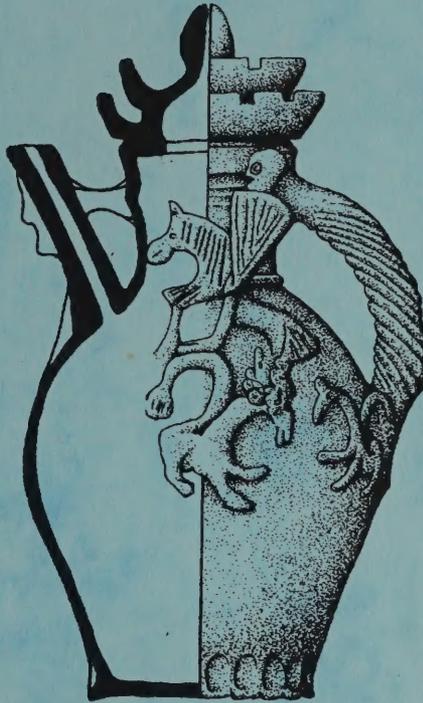

TRANSACTIONS



of the
SCARBOROUGH
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
AND
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NUMBER 37: 2001-2002

SCARBOROUGH ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Edited by
Trevor Pearson

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EDITORIAL

In March 2002 the Society began a major project called the Scarborough Community Heritage Initiative and it is therefore appropriate that we begin this year's Transactions with a short introduction to the project from its co-ordinator, Chris Hall. The Community Heritage Initiative has already had a number of notable successes and yet there are still many more months of hard work ahead for the Society to bring it to completion.

The other articles in this year's Transactions cover an impressive range of topics from archaeology and landscape detective work, through village and church history, to biography and we also have the first major article to appear in the Transactions on a 20th century topic with Keith Johnston's paper on the proposal for a motor racing track on Seamer Moor. By setting out the arguments raised for and against the scheme, the article gives us a clear view of local politics on the eve of the Second World War. Chris Evans turns landscape detective in a thought-provoking article on how various boundaries along the north side of the Vale of Pickering might indicate the locations of vanished medieval and earlier settlements. Medieval settlement is also the subject of John Rushton's major study of the parish of Scalby. In this article we are presented with the details of village life and landscape centuries ago from long-vanished field names to local byelaws governing the pasturing of livestock and the maintenance of roads and tracks. The amount of information that John Rushton has managed to gather on Scalby parish is truly impressive and reminds us of what a rich area of research village history can be. The photographer Oliver Sarony was a well-known figure in mid-Victorian Scarborough and for the first time the details of his life have been pieced together in a thorough piece of research by Anne and Paul Bayliss. As well as Sarony's business life in Scarborough, we also learn about his very different beginnings carrying beaver fur and contraband silk between Canada and New York whilst his various photographic inventions also make for impressive reading.

Yet again, there is little archaeological fieldwork to report although a short article on two bone objects found over twenty years ago is included because these finds could be slight evidence of the elusive 'viking' period settlement at Scarborough. There are two articles this year from the prolific pen of Jack Binns, who takes us first to the 14th century and the incident when the King's favourite, Piers Gaveston, was seized at Scarborough, and secondly to the 17th century and the reformation of St Mary's Church. His newly published history of Scarborough is one of three books reviewed in this issue which conclude with a detailed list of all the articles published in previous issues of the Transactions. Compiled by Vanessa Milner, the variety of subjects included in the list testifies to the enormous contribution the Transactions series has made to local historical research since the first issue was published in 1958.

Finally, it remains to thank the authors for their various contributions to this year's Transactions and to issue an appeal. The authors Anne and Paul Bayliss are currently researching the medical profession in 19th century Scarborough. Already about 130 names of apothecaries, physicians and surgeons have been identified from public sources of information. However, they would be grateful to hear of the whereabouts of any relevant private or business papers. They can be contacted on 01723507527 or by e-mail at p.f.c.b@tesco.net

Trevor Pearson

THE SCARBOROUGH COMMUNITY HERITAGE INITIATIVE

By CHRIS HALL

Scarborough has a long and fascinating history which deserves to be better known and appreciated nationally. For example it is one of the oldest fishing and trading communities on the east coast of England with roots that date back at least 1000 years. The wealth and prestige of Scarborough was such that in the 14th century it was one of the top five towns of Yorkshire and in the top forty towns in the whole of England. It has been estimated that in 1334 it was the 28th wealthiest town in England.

The Society has a long record of field research and in recent years we have been particularly active researching the archaeology and early history of the town. Since 1986, under the direction of Trevor Pearson and I, the Society has carried out about thirty excavations in Scarborough all of which have added piece by piece to our historical knowledge of the town. The value of this work was recognised in 1990 when we were joint winners of the Pitt-Rivers Award and again in 2000 when we were runners up.

Some of the findings have been published the book *Medieval Scarborough - Studies in Trade and Civic Life* which we jointly published with the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, for which we held a very successful launch event at the Stephen Joseph Theatre in September 2001. More recently however we have obtained Heritage Lottery funding of nearly £20,000 through the Local Heritage Initiative to further publicise our researches and bring them to the attention of a much wider public. Naturally we have had to put together a package of match funding and we have benefited by support from The Robert Kiln Trust (£1000 in 2000 following the Pitt-Rivers Award); from North Yorkshire County Council (£1,500) and from Scarborough Borough Council's Community Revenue Grant scheme (£500). We are putting in £4000 from the Society's own resources as well as a very substantial contribution 'in kind' through the time given and effort put in by the thirty or so members actively involved in the project.

We have called our project The Scarborough Community Heritage Initiative. It has been specifically set up by the Society so that it can share its discoveries with the wider community. The end result will be to provide a coherent and well-researched body of new information about the heritage of Scarborough's Old Town from prehistoric times to the present which will help strengthen community identity, encourage outsiders to visit and provide a platform for future heritage initiatives. The ways in which we are doing this are:-

- Publishing an illustrated guidebook to serve as a popular introduction to the heritage of the Old Town. The guidebook will increase the community's awareness of its own heritage and encourage outside visitors to the town, with consequent benefits to the local economy - like many seaside towns, especially in the North our economy is somewhat fragile. By including a town trail in the guidebook, residents and visitors alike will be encouraged to explore the heritage of the Old Town for themselves.

- Setting up a website to keep people informed about the progress of the Scarborough Community Heritage Initiative, thereby encouraging greater use of the web locally. It will also help people wishing to find out about the activities of the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society thereby encouraging them to participate in the activities of the Society. Producing a video documentary to introduce the work of the Society to individuals and other organisations in the Old Town.
- Publishing a detailed synthetic report on the discoveries made during the past fifteen years of archaeological digs in the Old Town. The report will assist those formulating future locally-based heritage initiatives.
- Undertake talks to local community groups and organise guided walks to promote the project and to explain the heritage of the Old Town to as wide an audience as possible. Our series of guided walks led by people in costume during July and August were particularly successful attracting over a hundred people on each walk.
- Making links with other volunteer and community groups through the Scarborough District Council for Voluntary Service and talks on the project and guided walks of the Old Town will be offered, tailored to the particular needs of each group. Feedback will be invited from these groups to help shape the development of the project.

This is an exciting project for us and while it is going to be hard work we are buoyed up by the level of interest in our project. At a time when Scarborough is looking to urban renaissance we hope our project will contribute by helping inform future ideas about the town, its sense of place, its environment and its historical attraction. We would like to encourage more of the members of the Society to get involved in the project - there are many ways in which you can help and share in this significant project such as by carrying out research or helping to organise and run events.

EARLY BOUNDARIES

By CHRIS EVANS

'Everything is much older than we think' wrote W.G.Hoskins in the 1976 introduction to his 'The Making of the English Landscape'. Does everything include boundaries? If not which boundaries are 'older than we think' ?

In this study I hope to bring to your attention some examples of what I believe to be early boundaries. The scope of the study has been restricted to a set of settlements whose boundaries were determined in response to similar geological constraints and opportunities; that is some of the settlements which lie at the foot of the dip slope of the Tabular/Limestone Hills.

Because some Domesday vills have either become one part of a nucleated villages; declined in status to farms; or been totally deserted there will be boundaries which have declined in status from settlement boundaries to field boundaries. Examples of such Domesday vills are Hoveton, Walton, Farmanby, Roxby, Leidthorpe, Marton, Preston, Newton and Thorpefield [1] and other shrunken/deserted revealed by later documents are Bowforth, Westwick [2] Puddingthorpe and Westhorpe. [3] Thus despite there being a much smaller population in 1086 than there is now, there may have been half as many again settlements as there are now.

The entries in the Domesday Inquest for such vills usually lack detail and were often described under the entries of other vills. Paradoxically this lack of information tells us something - that these vills were probably no longer independent entities and that their boundaries were obsolete by 1086.

In trying to identify early boundaries the methodology I have used is to search for :-

1. Discontinuities in parish boundaries
2. Continuities in field boundaries
3. Non-rectilinear field boundaries
4. Multispecies hedges

I am aware that Hooper's method for dating hedges (The number of species in a 30 yard stretch of hedge equals the age of the hedge in centuries) is only broadly true but it must remain the case that a multispecies hedge deserves more careful consideration than a monospecies hedge. [4]

Looking now at specific examples working from west to east:-

Stiltons

On the Rievaulx/Helmsley boundary lies Stilton's Farm. The general area in which Stilton Farm lies has the natural boundaries of two dales (Beckdale and Blackdale) but running between

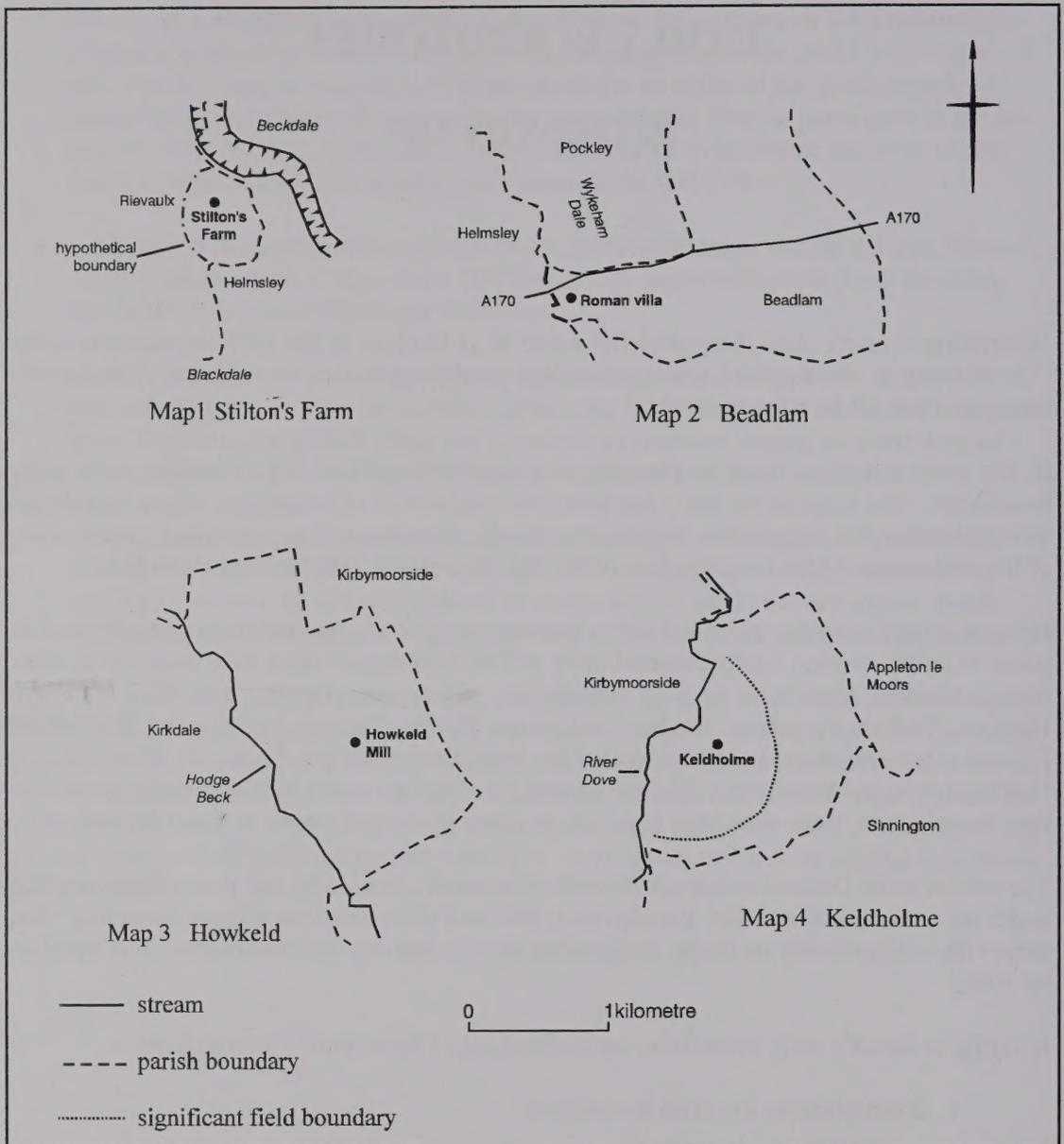


Figure 1. Schematic maps of Stilton's Farm (map 1), Beadlam (map 2), Howkeld (map 3) and Keldholme (map 4)

the dales is the boundary between Rievaulx and Helmsley civil parishes which pursues an anomalous course, bulging eastwards away from the farm (See Map 1). This may represent an inner boundary the Domesday vill of Stiltons in 1086 or more probably of the grange of Rievaulx Abbey which succeeded it. Regrettably there is nothing visible on the map westwards of Stiltons Farm which might be the western boundary nor can the western boundary be extrapolated with confidence but the whole inner boundary it might be an irregular circle centred on Stiltons Farm. The outer boundary is described in the Rievaulx Chartulary. [5] Both the inner and outer boundaries merit further study.

Beadlam

The boundary between the civil parishes of Helmsley and Beadlam is of particular interest because diverts westwards to include the site of the Roman Villa excavated by A.Pacitto and

I. Stead in 1970 (See Map 2). Immediately to the north of the villa is Wykeham Dale (the name derived, it is thought, from the Latin vicus - a settlement) emphasising the Roman connection. It is thus possible that these boundaries are those of the land of the Roman villa.

Kirkdale

Kirkdale with its minster, and whatever preceded it, must have had its own boundaries in the past but is no longer a separate entity. There are however extant boundaries to the east which may have been influenced by it (See Map 3). On the road to Fadmoor east of Kirkdale are multispecies hedges.

Howkeld

The Welburn/Kirbymoorside boundary takes in a block of land on the east side of Hodge Beck centred on Howkeld Mill. This block may well be the Hoveton of the Domesday Inquest (See Map 3). Unfortunately, in the Domesday Inquest, Hoveton is recorded together with Walton, Gillamoor and Hutton as a dependency of Kirbymoorside and only Walton appears in the 'Summary' where it has 1 bovate. Walton is said to be part of Welburn. So we are left wondering where exactly Walton was in 1086 and how big Hoveton was. The name Howkeld is more likely to have been derived from Hoveton than from Walton.

Like Stiltons, Hoveton was a grange of Rievaulx Abbey. Once again the boundary shown in Map 3 seems to be an inner boundary. The outer boundary is described in the Rievaulx Chartulary. [5] Once again the inner and outer boundaries deserve further study.

Keldholme

The eastern boundary of Kirbymoorside follows the River Dove for much of its course but diverts to the east to take in a block of land around Keldholme. The outer boundary of this block and a series of field boundaries are in the shape of arcs centred on Keldholme (See Map 4). Possibly these boundaries enclosed an inner parts of Keldholme Priory's land. The Priory's outer boundary as described in the Stuteville charters, [2] enclosed a much larger area and once again would repay further study.

Thorntondale

Thorntondale requires special consideration - it consists of the remnants of the Domesday vills of Roxby, Farmanby, Thornton, Ellerburn and Leidtorp. Once again the relative sizes of these vills at the time of the Domesday Inquest are not available as they were all (with the exception of Leidtorp's 3.5 carucates) recorded as part of the manor of Pickering. The 1841 census makes clear that Farmanby is now represented by Westgate to the south of Thorntondale, Roxby lies to the west, Ellerburn to the north and Leidtorp presumably somewhere to the east. On the 1854 Ordnance Survey map the area shown to the southwest of the village (See Map 5) consists of 81 numbered blocks of land of which, to quote the Ordnance Survey map,

'The portions numbered 2 to 3 belong to the Township of Thorntondale in the Parish of Thorntondale, those numbered 34 to 72 belong to the Township of Farmanby in the Parish of Ellerburn, those numbered 73 to 78 belong to both these Townships but the portions belonging to each cannot be shown by distinct boundaries and the portions numbered 79 to 81 belong to the Townships of Thorntondale, Farmanby and Ellerburn in the Parishes of Thorntondale and Ellerburn.'

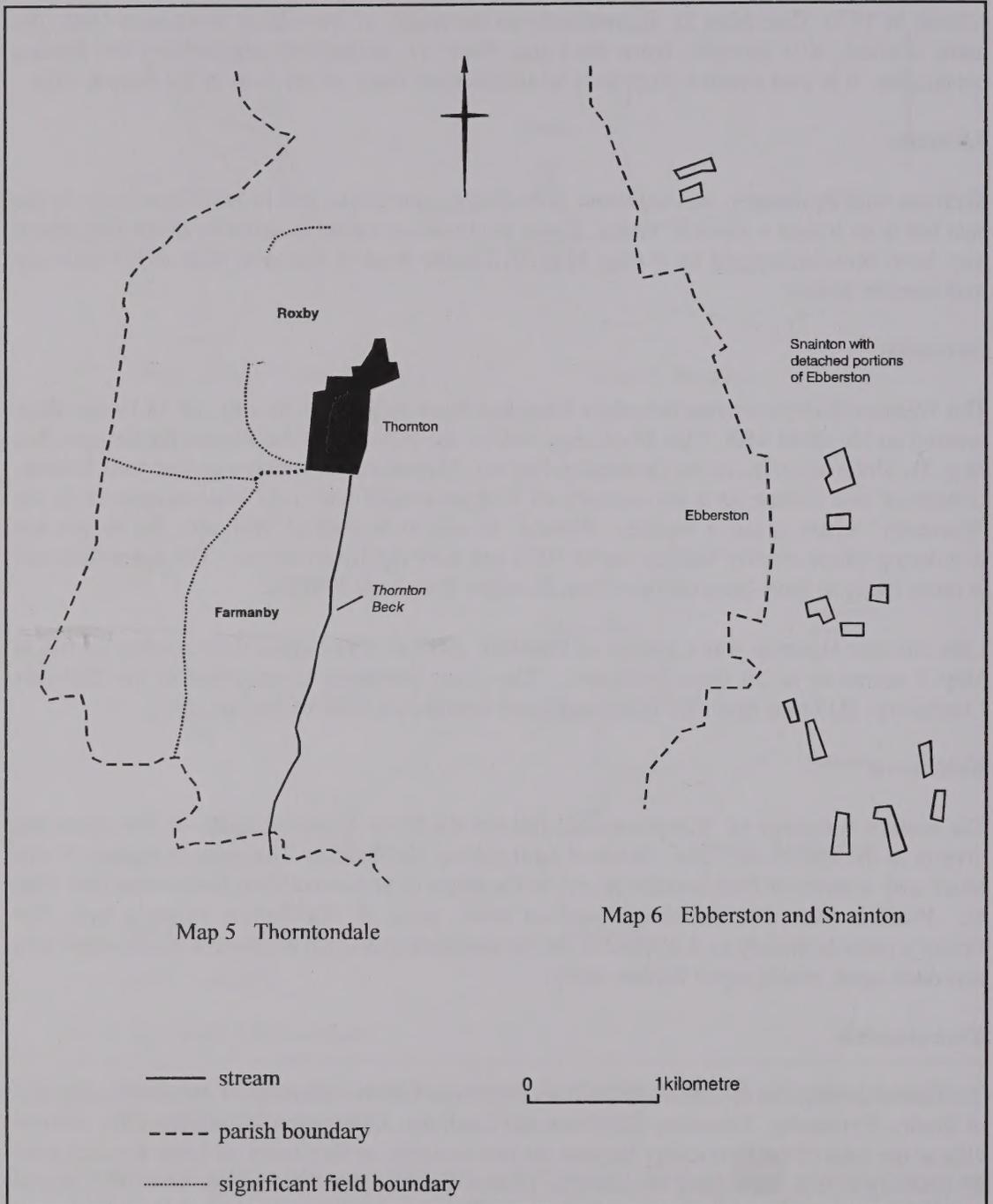


Figure 2 Schematic maps of Thorntondale (map 5) and Eberston and Snainton (map 6)

If you have some difficulty in grasping the meaning of this quotation you will have some sympathy with the staff of the Ordnance Survey in 1854 who were coping with what was probably an attempt, at some time in the past, to simplify management of the farming by combining intermingled strips from four townships. We can also gather from this that these blocks of ground was in some way different from the rest of the land. I suggest that at some time in the past Farmanby's fields occupied the south-western block and Roxby's fields the north-western block (See Map 5).

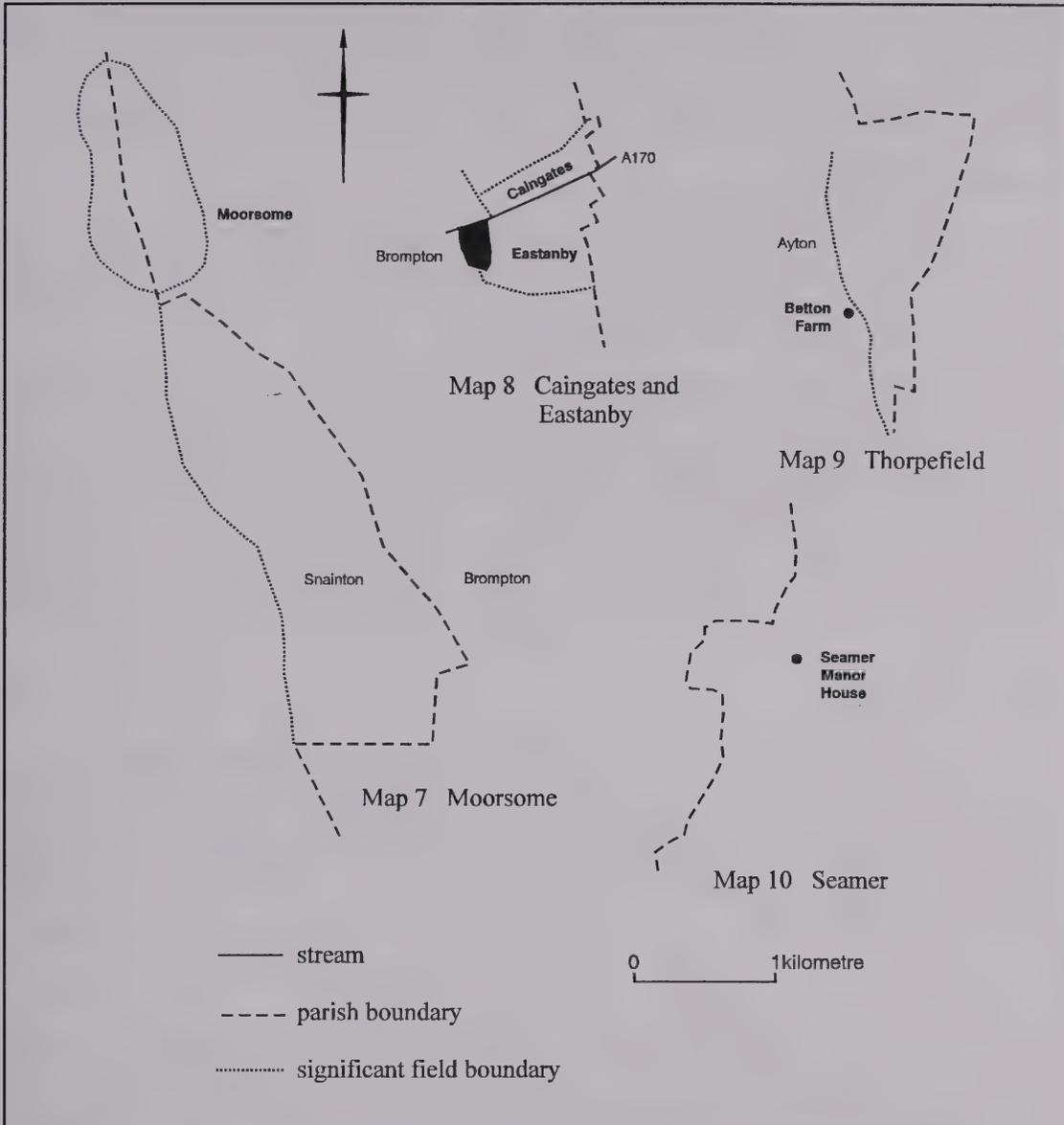


Figure 3 Schematic maps of Moorsome (map 7), Caingates with Eastanby (map 8), Thorpefield (map 9) and Seamer (map 10)

Ebberston/Snainton

The Snainton/Ebberston boundary pursues relatively smooth course from north to south. The oddity here is that chunks of Ebberston are randomly and inexplicably, strewn throughout Snainton (See Map 6).

Moorsome and Westhorpe

On the western boundary of Brompton, Snainton pokes, what John Rushton has graphically described as a pharaoh's nose, into Brompton (See Map 7). To the north the brow of the face can be one of three lines - the actual parish boundary; or the eastern or the western boundaries of the area known as Moorsome which is defined by field boundaries and in the case of the western boundary of Moorsome, partially by a linear earthwork. Moorsome in earlier spellings is Moorhusum - the houses on the moor, implying a settlement. Extrapolating the western

boundary leads one to the junction between the chin and the neck of the face suggesting that Moorsome and a southward extension to the nose and chin of the face may have been a separate tract of land. Additionally the portion beneath the 'nose' may have been a sub-division of this. An obvious candidate for these blocks of land is the lost village of Westhorpe (See Map 7).

Caingates and Eastanby

To the east of Brompton - between the village houses and the boundary with Wykeham, lie two named areas - Caingates (or Against Gates), north of the A170, and Eastanby, south of the A170. Air photographs suggest a Roman building in Eastanby. The element -by suggests that later a Scandinavian settlement occupied the area.

In either case it is suggested that Caingates and Eastanby formed an entity at some time in the past (See Map 8). The boundary between Brompton and Wykeham is most interesting in this region. Eastanby has an zig-zag eastern boundary suggestive of a division where the strips of two townships met. Caingates eastern boundary diverts to include Gallows Hill in Brompton (See Map 8). Gallows Hill on its elevated site with a supply of water is plainly a prime site on which one would expect to find settlements from every past age. It's name is very probably a corruption of Guild House Hill. Northern and southern boundaries of Caingates and Eastanby are multispecies hedges (the north much more so than the south).

Hutton Buscel

In the Domesday Inquest Hutton Buscel is divided into four vills of Marton, Hutton, Preston and Newton which have left the field names of Martin Garth, Hutton Field, Preston Field and Newton Field as a memorial. Each of these fields is of the order of 300 acres. The fact of division tells us that these settlements had much smaller area of cultivated land than modern villages and that here is a group of fields which it is difficult to fit into the orthodox idea of medieval three field system.

Thorpefield

East of Ayton close to Betton Farm a continuous field boundary runs north south enclosing the area shown in Map 9. This may well be part of the boundary of the Domesday vill of Thorpefield. That Thorpefield was counted in with Irton's 4.5 carucates in the Domesday Inquest which suggest that it had by 1086 ceased to be a separate entity.

Seamer

Around the site of the Seamer manor house the boundary bulges westwards as shown (See Map 10).

Of interest are the areas enclosed by the boundaries postulated above. The following table gives rough estimates of these areas:-

Settlement	Approximate area		Notes
	<i>Hectares</i>	<i>Acres</i>	
Stiltons	500	200	Grange of Rievaulx Abbey
Beadlam	475	200	Roman villa
	1350	550	The larger area
Howkeld	1650	700	Grange of Rievaulx Abbey
	2050	800	The larger area
Keldholme	675	300	Keldhome Priory
	1575	600	The larger area
Roxby	775	300	
Farmanby	850	350	
Moorsome	875	350	
Westhorpe	2850	1150	
Caingates/ Eastanby	650	250	Roman villa
Hutton	725	300	
Preston	675	300	
Newton	600	250	
Thorpefield	1000	400	
Seamer	300	100	Manor house precinct

Nearly 60% of the acreage listed above are in the range 200-400 acres.

Wheldrake (south east of York) has been thoroughly investigated by June A. Sheppard [6], who found that there had been an inner core of about 424 acres of improved land surrounded by an earthen dyke which in turn was surrounded by pasturable woodland. She suggests this was adequate to supply the needs of the 16 tofts of the village. This area is somewhat larger than most of those in the table above but not inordinately so.

It is clear that in the past is that at times in the past, possibly prior to the Norman Conquest and possibly very much earlier than that, there were many more settlements and that these settlements occupied smaller areas than to-day's parishes do and that remnants of this pattern can be detected occasionally in anomalous boundaries. In this article I have tried to identify some these boundaries and make a rough estimate of the areas they enclosed.

This study has by no means been exhaustive. There must be many more boundaries which would repay investigation both from their descriptions in chartularies, surveys and deeds, from maps and on the ground. Particular instances are the acre dykes forming a northern boundaries to many of the settlements on the Tabular/Limestone Hills. These are discussed by D. Spratt in both 'The North York Moors Landscape Heritage' and 'Linear Earthworks of the Tabular Hills of Northeast Yorkshire.' [7]

Hopefully this limited study will stimulate others to extend and emend the suggestions made here.

- 1 M. Faull and M Stinson, eds. Domesday Book: Yorkshire (Chichester, 1986)
- 2 C.T.Clay Yorkshire Charters, Vol. 9, The Stuteville Fee, p90 and p232
- 3 For example in R.B.Turton ed. The Honour and Forest of Pickering North Riding Record Society, New Series, Vols. 1-4 (1894-1897)
- 4 M.D. Hooper Hedges and Local History (The Standing Conference for Local History, 1971) and J. Hall Yorkshire Archaeological Journal (1982) p103
- 5 J.C.Atkinson, ed. Rievaulx Chartulary Surtees Society Vol. 83 (1889) p16
- 6 J.A. Sheppard Geografiska Annaler 48 B (1966:2)
- 7 D.A. Spratt Linear Earthworks of the Tabular Hills, Northeast Yorkshire (Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, Sheffield University, 1987) and D.A. Spratt and B.J.D Harrison eds. The North York Moors Landscape Heritage. (Newton abbot, 1989)

Many of the ideas propounded in this article originated with John Rushton to whom as ever I owe a great deal.

BONE WORKING DEBRIS FROM CASTLE ROAD, SCARBOROUGH

By TREVOR PEARSON

In 2001 a member of the public lent two bone objects to the Society found in Castle Road over twenty years previously. The objects were accompanied by a brief report from the York Archaeological Trust identifying them as blanks from the manufacture of bone beads. The date of the report and the location of the finds together suggest that the objects probably came from an excavation undertaken by P. Farmer at 148 Castle Road in 1979. The site supposedly uncovered large quantities of Scarborough Ware pottery, including wasters from pottery manufacture, along with quantities of bone-working debris and pits and postholes thought to be 11th-century in date. [1]

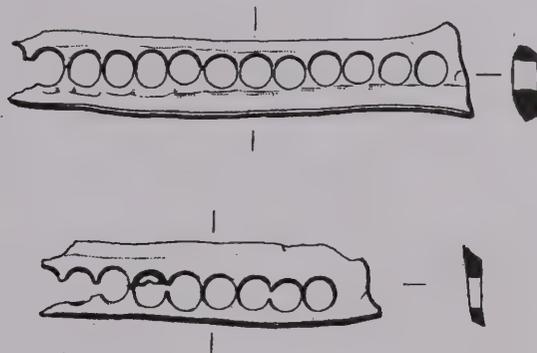


Figure 1. The two bone bead blanks. Scale 1:2

The report prepared by the York Archaeological Trust on 18 March 1981 states:-

‘Two bone bead blanks from Scarborough. These are particularly fine examples, considerably longer than the usual fragments of bead blanks found in York. The dating is rather uncertain - they are well paralleled on sites of the Anglo-Scandinavian period, 10th-11th centuries, such as Hungate and Coppergate, but they could equally well be 12th century. How much longer this type of bead manufacture continued is not certain, as no well-dated later examples have yet been found in York. Glass beads certainly seem to stop after the 12th century, but bone beads, being made by rather simpler technique, may have continued to be made, and the possibility of a later date for the Scarborough examples cannot be ruled out in view of the lack of associated finds’.

Although a large number of excavations have taken place in the Old Town since 1979, no other comparable evidence for the manufacture of bone objects has been found and the finds are therefore worth noting because of their rarity in Scarborough. The objects are also important because they might be 10th or 11th century in date and therefore evidence of settlement in the Castle Road area prior to the establishment of the medieval town in the middle of the 12th century, as P. Farmer concluded after the 1979 excavation. However, a recent publication of bone artefacts from excavations in York describes similar evidence of bone bead manufacture at the Bedern site in both late 13th-century and post-medieval contexts suggesting that the Scarborough finds could equally well date from after the founding of the medieval town. [2] Sheila Cadman is thanked for bringing these finds to the attention of the Society. The future of the objects has yet to be agreed, but hopefully they will pass into the care of Scarborough museum.

- 1 P. Farmer The dating of the Scarborough Ware pottery industry *Medieval Ceramics* Vol. 6 (1982) p74
- 2 A. MacGregor, A. J. Mainman and N.S.H. Rogers Bone, Antler Ivory and Horn from Anglo-Scandinavian and Medieval York *The Archaeology of York* 17:12 (1999) p1922

MEDIEVAL LANDSCAPES IN THE PARISH OF SCALBY

By JOHN RUSHTON

The landscape of the parish of Scalby was dramatically changed between 1771 and 1777. An Act of Parliament was obtained *'for inclosing and dividing open and uninclosed fields, lands, commons and wastes'* in *'the manor of Scalby in the North Riding of the County of York'* and *'a certain common called Throxenby moor otherwise Newby moor'*. The King held the Manor of Scalby, as part of the Duchy of Lancaster, and consequently claimed the soil beneath all the commons and wastes. Throxenby township was part of the Manor of Seamer and the Duke of Leeds claimed the soil below Throxenby Moor. Commissioners were appointed who judged the claims of manor lords, tithe-owners and freeholders to own land in the fields, and all claims to common rights in fields, commons and high moors. A massive document described the Commissioners' allocation of compact blocks of land in exchange for field strips and for manorial, tithe and common rights. This 'Inclosure Award', with its map, recorded the start of the transition from a Mediaeval landscape largely composed of open fields and commons to new, largely enclosed, farming landscapes. The outline of the earlier landscape can be recovered from those documents, except in the earlier enclosed area known as Northstead. [1]

Early Townships were Soke estates of Falsgrave Manor

Scalby entered recorded history as a township or 'vill', which was part of the 'soke' or outlying estates of the capital Manor of Falsgrave. This was probably centred on what would be called King's Close on the south side of the village of Falsgrave, a settlement well inland from today's coastal town of Scarborough, which had yet to come into existence as a Norman borough. The Domesday Book of 1087 assessed townships and estates in 'carucates', a word derived from the Latin 'carruca' meaning plough. The four soke townships of 'Tornelai, Steintun, Brinnistun, and Scallebi' were assessed together as fourteen 'carucates' (Thornley, Stainton, Burniston and Scalby). This linkage suggests that they shared something, possibly their commons. Another soke estate at 'Cloctune' (Cloughton) was separately given as 'four carucates' but that township included two other estates, which though small were called 'manors' of 'one carucate' and 'a quarter of a carucate'. At this time, the term 'manor' used in such cases, probably meant little more than an independant estate. Another township called 'Stemanesbi' had both a Falsgrave soke estate of 'one and a half carucates', another soke of 'two carucates' previously Ughtred's (perhaps a duplicate entry) and a manor of 'two and a half carucates'. All but Thornley (believed to be the modern Thirley Cotes area) were later in the church parish of Scalby but there is no evidence that they already formed a single parish or for a Scalby church at this time. Cloughton was later in Scalby parish but Thornley was in Hackness parish. Even Falsgrave itself is not known to have had an early mother church although it did have an early chapel on castle rock where some burials were made. The question of what early church parish embraced this entire area is an unsolved problem. [2]

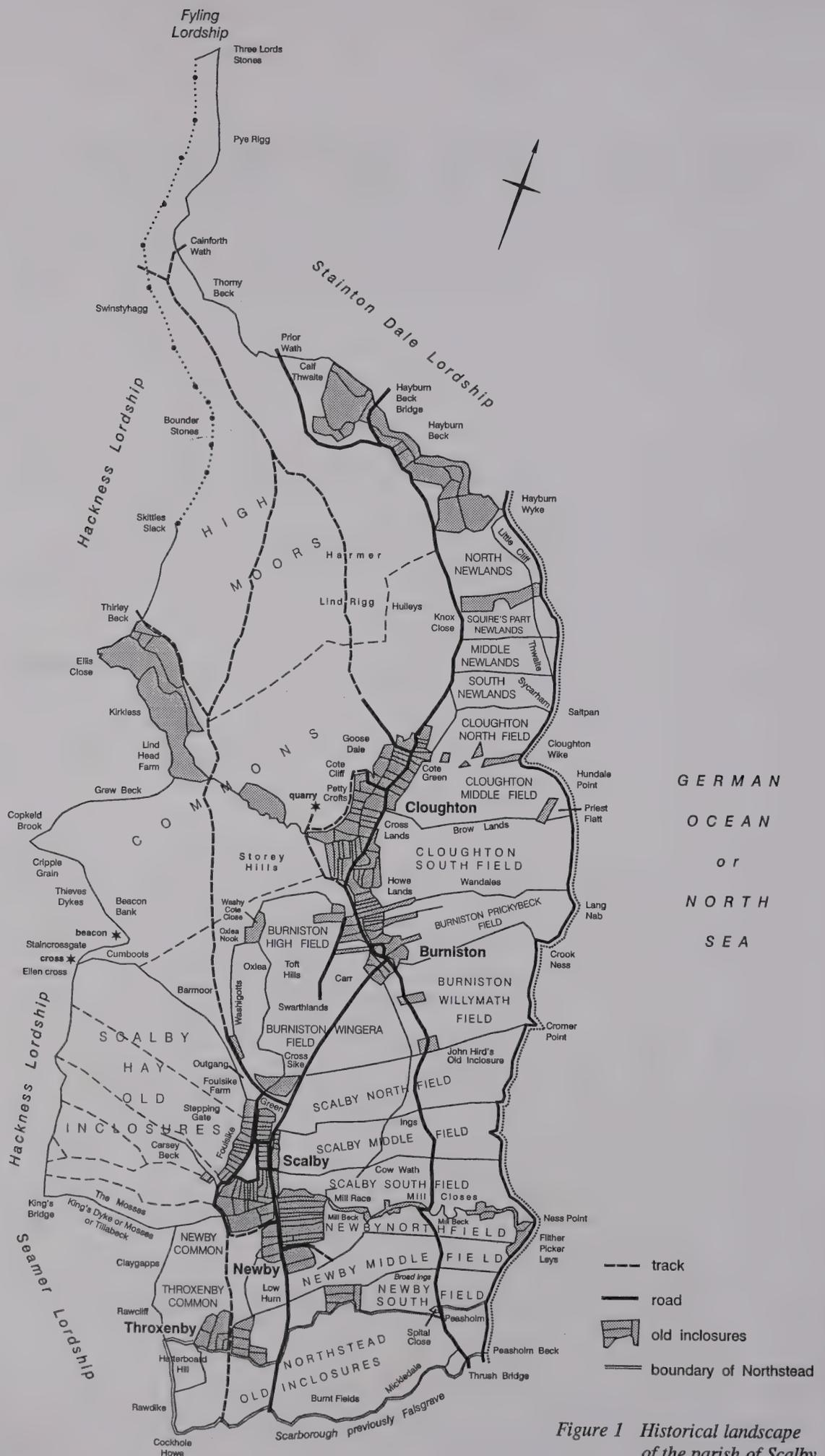


Figure 1 Historical landscape of the parish of Scalby

The Townships and their Rights

A 'vill' or township was a community and the land off which it lived. Some gained villages and some kept scattered farmsteads. Stainton, Cloughton, Burniston and Scalby were townships but it is not clear whether Throxenby and Newby were separate townships in all periods. They are not mentioned in Domesday Book. The same can be said of the area known at different times as Hatterboard and Northstead. All four may at one time have formed the township of 'Stemanesby' which has three entries in Domesday Book. In each case the 'field' land unambiguously belonged to a township, but townships sometimes shared rights in the commons and moors beyond the fields. This has come down to us as 'intercommoning'. Throxenby and Newby, most unusually, appear to have had shared fields as well as the Throxenby or Newby common, even in the middle ages. Some special explanation must be sought for this. Scalby, Burniston and Cloughton shared only commons and high moors. Elsewhere a township might appropriate all rights in a definite tract of common land, as at many places in Pickering Vale and Ryedale. This only seems to have happened in Scalby lordship as a result of the 18th century Parliamentary Inclosure, when areas of moor and common were allocated for rate paying purposes to each township, although earlier some commons areas may have been largely used by the adjacent township. The Tillabeck, sometimes called Mill Beck, as replaced c.1800 by the Scalby Cut, under the Muston and Yedingham Drainage Scheme, separated Scalby township from its southern neighbour. [3] It is not evident that the Lindhead beck separated early Burniston and Cloughton.

Boundaries of the Lordship

A number of surveys made from the 13th to the 18th centuries recorded the boundaries of the manor or lordship of Scalby. This included the townships of Newby, Scalby, Burniston, Cloughton and Hatterboard but the surveys commonly ignored Throxenby and the other small independant manors. The boundary records differed in detail at different times and some copies contain errors of transcription. The source documents are not always locally available and may themselves be copies. The boundaries in the main follow the seacoast and streams, or run across areas of common and moor, marked with boundary stones, banks and ditches. The word foss has been rendered as ditch, though bank and ditch commonly co-existed. [4]

A brief summary of the boundary sites mentioned includes-

- The sea side at Peasholm
- westwards along Peasholm Beck, to Thrush bridge by bounds between the Manor of Northstead and town fields of Falsgrave (Peaseholme Howe, Mickleldale moor near Northstead howe, Mickleldale, Cockhole howe)
- northwards by the Rawdike (ditch to Ragh as far as Scarth; Crumbker as far as Haterbergheved) (ditch of the Ragh between Thurstanby and Racliff) (ditch between Newby and Racliff called Raff-dik) place called the ClaggGapps (Claygapps)
- northwards to the ditch called Kyngesdik (King's dyke) (Mosedikes) (Doubledykes) (Talebecke)(Teleybeck) (middle of the Moss)
- westwards to the King's Bridge (far end of Fewsters close next to Scalby)
- northwards to Ellen cross (Elsycroft) Greatay Head (Grenehead, Greetehouse), Steancrossegate (Stonycrossegate) (Ditch made 1624 between Scalby Hay demesne and

Suffield commons in Hackness) boulder stone with a hole in it, in the head of Cowme Bought (Combotes, Cumbouts), the Thevisedykes (Thieves dykes), Cripple Grains (Capillgrave), Kirklaw along the brow of the hill to Copkeld Brook and to Grew beck

- eastwards down Grew Beck (Grenebeck, Grenehede), to boulderstone in its nether end
- northwards along a beck between the ditch of Ellis Close (Elsy Croft) and Hackness lordship
- eastwards up Thorlawe beck (Thirly or Thirley) to a standing stone at the Beck head
- northwards up Skitby brow, stone to stone to stone on the height of Skitby and a standing stone in Hardas (Hardies) dale end
- northwest to a howe on the height of Hardas, a spring in Tadale end
- north to Swinestie hagg, to Sandhillhowe, a howe in Sand Hill, Rowantree Howe, a boulder stone at south end of a little gill called Piridge (Pyrig) about a rood from the hill, a little howe on the south side of Piridge sike
- west to Piridge, howes on the height of Piridge, on the.....of Piridge and on the north end of Piridge (Pyrighow)
- east to three boulder stones (Three Stones), to west end of Green Dyke down Piridge (Pyrig) Syke to the head of Thorneyebec,; down Thorneye beck, south to Haybron (Hayburne) bridge and beck east to the sea (Hayburnewick)
- southwards by the sea bank (coast) to Newland and Little Cliff and by Cloughton fields, Burniston fields, Scalby fields, Newby Fields, 'Throsanby' fields to Peaseholme where it began.

An old landscape

Within these boundaries, the broad belt of common cultivated fields ran inland from the coast towards the villages, filling much of the boulder clay land. At Burniston it extended some way beyond the road that linked the settlements. This belt was primarily arable field but included areas of ing or water meadow and some carr near the beck that ran broadly north-south near the villages of Burniston and Cloughton towards the main Scalby stream and at watered sites in Newby-Throxenby fields. Each township had its share of the arable land divided into large common fields. They were subdivided into furlongs which were usually clusters of strips. Northwards, the whole tract ended short of Hayburn beck, beyond which comparable land was worked quite differently in inclosed blocks belonging to the scattered farmsteads of Stainton dale, where there were common pastures and moors but no sign of common fields. South of Scalby, Newby and Throxenby, common arable fields continued in and beyond 'Hatterboard' and 'Northstead', into Falsgrave township, while narrow fingers of that township's arable even ran between moors into Burtondale (along Seamer Road) and to Wheatcroft on the coast. On the rising ground behind the fields were the grazed commons and beyond these the high moors. These were sometimes called 'wastes' but this under values their role in stock husbandry.

Estates

Scalby Manor and Parish.

The Mediaeval church took tithes, commonly tenths of the annual produce of the villein farmers and others. The existence of the church parish of Scalby is implicit in a charter issued by Eustace FitzJohn in 1135-38 granting to the Canons of Bridlington Priory, the church of 'Scalleby' with its chapels, lands and customs, which was confirmed by Archbishop Thurstan.[5] An earlier date before 1125-30 for the actual gift is suggested by its confirmation by Pope Honorius II. The parish included all the townships of the lordship of Scalby, but also Throxenby, Stainton and the area later called Northstead. Eustace Fitzjohn appeared in the Pipe Rolls when he was active in the King's service in 1130-31. He appears to have had custody of part or all of the local Crown Estate and made his Scalby gift from Crown land. King Henry I gave baronial rights at Brompton manor to Eustace Fitzjohn and he would hold Malton Castle after marriage. The formation of the Scalby church with a sizeable parish, already equipped with one or more chapels, may also mean that a manor of Scalby had been formed from the soke and that other soke estates in the townships came to form part of it, as they were later. They would sometimes be called 'soke of Scalby'. Fitzjohn later opposed King Stephen in alliance with the Scots before the battle of the Standard in 1138 and thereafter for some years forfeited his Yorkshire estates, but the King did confirm the church to the Priory. [6]

Scarborough and Scalby.

William of Aumale, a victorious leader on King Stephen's side at the battle of the Standard, against the Scots, had custody of the Crown lands after Fitzjohn. He was made Earl of York. He erected Scarborough Castle within the Crown land of the manor of Falsgrave, and held it until Stephen's successor, King Henry II, obliged him to release it in c1155. Either Aumale or the King created the old and new Boroughs of Scarborough along the spur inland from the castle. Aumale also seems to have secured grants of Crown and Whitby Abbey estates to his own men at Burniston. After Aumale's eviction by the new King, by 1163, the King's Sheriff accounted for an increase of £6 from Scalby mill. This could be the period of the grant of the Scalby manor estate to a group of free men. The 'men of Scalby' contributed 8 marks towards a royal taxation in 1165 and in 1168 the Scalby mill farm was raised another £4. Scarborough borough itself from 1163 made a £20 annual payment to the Crown, raised to £30 by 1169 and £33 by 1172. Falsgrave with its mill was demised to the men of Scarborough by King John in February 1201 and that year the men of Scalby held their vill or township at farm for £24 blanche 'which used to pay £15.16s'. John raised the Scarborough payment to £76 a year. In 1275 Scalby with its soke was said to be in the hands of 'the men of that soke at farm' for £35 by grant of Henry III. [7] The payments for the estate had risen steadily and were comparable to those paid for Scarborough.

Percy Estates within Scalby Parish

The Norman Percy family added small independant holdings at 'Thornelaie', Cloughton and in 'Stemanesby' to their considerable local holdings at Seamer, Hackness and Whitby. William and Alan de Percy gave their Whitby and Hackness estates to the Benedictine monastery that they established at Whitby, with a cell at Hackness, and Thornelaie was included in the gift. [8] At Cloughton the estate rated at 10 oxgangs was held by Percy tenants called Richard in 1087, Henry of Duggleby by 1235 and Adam of Duggleby in 1285. Adam's eight manorial under-tenants paying rents by that date were the Prior and Convent of Bridlington 1s, Stephen Pye 2s6d, Ann Burger 2s6d, Ivo of Clocton 1s3d, Lambert of Clocton 4s3d, William, son of Ivo 1d, Peter of Bradeley 1s and John son of Henry 6d, clearly a sizeable proportion of the

village farmsteads. [9] An estate in Stemanesby recorded as 'Throxenby', was held from the Percy family by William de Mirath 1276-1285 and William de Morers, perhaps the same man in 1315, who had the manor, forty-five acres of demesne, a park, a wood with nine tenants at will for the two carucates and five cottagers. His 'Thorstanby' tenants in 1301 included men holding Northby and Westby farmsteads. [10] Throxenby manor passed from the Percy family to the Crown in 1536-7.

Aumale (later Bigod) and Ughtred Estates within Scalby Parish

Another estate in 'Stemanesby' was held by Ughtred in 1066 and continued as a separate estate. A Roger of 'Turstanebi' was active at Scarborough Castle in 1202 and may be Roger Ughtred. [11] Later in the 13th century, a Roger Ughtred was the principal land holder in Scarborough and descendants of the same name held an estate in the area of Hatterboard south of Throxenby. An early Ughtred, supposedly son of Thorkil de Cleveland, gave two carucates at Burniston quit of danegeld and with a mill to Whitby abbey. [12] King William probably confirmed this grant. Ughtred could have been one of the few sokemen to survive the conquest years, but the omission of this Burniston estate from Domesday Book is a possibility. It is not clear whether we are dealing with one Ughtred or two. Abbot William of Whitby conveyed an estate of 12 oxgangs at nearby Broxa, bounded by woods and St Cuthberts toft in Hackness, for 5s4d rent and the boon day services of his men to a Ughtred of Allerston, son of Gospatric, who had given the monastery two carucates at Cayton. The Abbey's two carucate Burniston estate was later held as a tenancy by Everard brother of Robert de Ros, son of Earl William of Aumale's Steward Peter de Ros and Aumale's sister Adeline in c1150-53. He released it to Whitby abbey with their man Norman of 'Brochese' and 3 oxgangs there before his death in 1153. [13] During these early years Earl William of Aumale had also destroyed Whitby Abbey stock farms (vaccaries) at Keysbeck and Biloche and houses at Thorneley to make a hunting chase, reasonably close to his Scarborough Castle. Aumale's successors retained a feudal interest in Burniston. By 1285 this had passed to the Barony of Roger Bigod as overlords of the Prior of Bridlington holding fourteen oxgangs and the heirs of Roger Moraunt another fourteen oxgangs. [14]

The estates of Knights Hospitallers

Stainton had quite a different history. Some lay settlement had presumably occurred before Henry son of Ulf in 1135-54 gave a Stainton estate to the Knights Hospitallers. King Stephen is said to have confirmed this grant. King Richard I gave all of Stainton as a separate lordship, indeed a 'liberty', outside the normal manorial system, which the Hospitallers retained until their dissolution in 1538, after which a manor of Stainton was sold to freeholders. [15] Stainton remained in Scalby parish but not Scalby lordship. However, the Hospitallers did acquire some small properties around the parish. The Percy tenant, Adam son of Henry de Duggleby at Cloughton gave their Beverley preceptory a share of new land called Brackenthwaite and Storthes. They let it to Robert Inglebert, a Beverley burgess by 1235. [16] The Hospitallers had a cottage, two free hold flatts and a tenement at Cloughton at the time of their dissolution. [17] In 1584 Laurence Woodnett and Anthony Collins of London conveyed a close near Scalby church yard and a piece of land near the house lately belonging to St John of Jerusalem to yeoman William Wetherell. [18] The Stainton Hospitallers had a regular income from 'ling' sent to Scarborough and a house in that town beside the Aldbrough Gate on the road to Stainton. An unexplained small Spittle close was on the Scarborough-Whitby Road in Newby township, just north of Peasholm and may also have some connection or it could be a hospital site unconnected with the Hospitallers. In 1775 the King exchanged an old inclosure of one acre called Spittle close in Newby with Robert Duesbery for 25 acres of Scalby common. [18]

The Bridlington Priory estate

Bridlington Priory acquired extra privileges and lands after gaining Scalby church with its chapels, tithes and glebe land. Here were many desirable woodland assets rare in the immediate vicinity of the monastery. The monks claimed a grant from King Stephen of the right to keep unlicensed dogs in Scalby soke, free of hound-geld, a levy that evolved into an early dog licence. The monk's pigs were free of pannage except in Scalby Hay. [19] At Cloughton, the canons early received two flatts from Eustace Fitzjohn but were later granted Adam of Duggleby's capital messuage, three oxgangs and four tofts, as well as gifts and purchases from small holders of individual strips, and a plot to build on south of the village, 4 perches wide between the road to the borough and Kirkmar. [20] At Burniston, William, son of Henry de Cayton, grandson of Durand de Cliff (or de Cayton) confirmed fourteen oxgangs to Bridlington Priory and a 5s rent from twelve of them. The Priory still had five tenements and eleven oxgangs there in the 16th century. At Scalby they had another four tofts and oxgangs. The combined holdings amounted to more than just a rectory or even a substantial grange. This became a significant estate. The Prior of Bridlington entered under Cloughton in 1301 was the largest taxpayer by far in the entire parish. [21] The early 14th century forest court records mention eight of the Prior's hogs taken in the woods in one mast season, along with nine pigs in Scalby Hay and ten pigs in the fence month at Fullwood. The Prior's wagon and four oxen were in Langdale, and his servant Simon took wood for building the Priory sheep fold at 'Neulond'. An unusual agreement between the Prior and Convent and William a Scalby chaplain provided that he should receive the Prior and his company 'in hospicio' once a year. This might have some bearing on the forming of the Guildhouse at Scalby. [22]

The Whitby Abbey Estate

The Whitby Abbey estate at Burniston seems repeatedly to have been held by tenants and not worked directly by the monks. It was administered as part of the Manor of Hackness. At the end of its days, the Abbey had 74s9d annually in rent from Burniston out of ten tenements, a close, and 25 or more oxgangs. [23] There were incomes from such feudal dues as 'merchet', a marriage licence fee and 'multure', a charge for milling. Rights of wreck along the coast where strips of the manor field land abutted the sea cliffs passed with the Burniston property to the later owners of the Hackness estate. Burniston tenants were subject to the Hackness manor court. The character of the estate has already been examined in an earlier issue of the Transactions by Christopher Evans, who estimated that at the time of the 1771 enclosure, the estate consisted of 224 acres out of a total of 985 cultivated acres. [24]

Manor of Scalby

The Scalby lordship remained the principal estate. The 'men of Scalby and soke', later given as 'the bailiff of Scalby and free men' clearly had some corporate identity and included freeholders from each township. This has been wrongly called a 'borough' but the term is nowhere used at the time. [25] An early levy for 'picage and stowage' at Scalby, Burniston and Cloughton might suggest possession of some trading privileges but this was subject to a separate payment and not part of the farm. [26] Single manor lords holding by barony, knight service or serjeanty were the norm. The holding of a manor by a group of free men from townships within it was unusual and the amounts paid were substantial, probably influenced by the birth and growth of the borough of Scarborough next door, which initially lacked agricultural land. It seems likely that a small group of the 'Scalby' men were rather more significant than others. Some of these claimed forest privileges. Robert Lambson and Alan son of Alan de Cloughton said that they were free of 'pannage', a payment for pigs in the forest, due to their 'frank fee' tenure. This was conceded by the forest courts for the 'mast season'

from 14 September to 18 November, but denied for the 'fence month' from 19 June to 9 July. [27] The men could take all kinds of seaweed thrown on the seashore, the strand or sea coasts for use within their townships, though the independant Burniston manor had the same rights where its strips touched the coast. Some earlier rights may have been lost when Scalby manor was granted to the holders of the new Earldom of Lancaster in 1267. The Crown rent of £35.0.0 from the manor was then paid for escheats, courts, mills, fines and ammercements. Earl Thomas of Lancaster's bailiff, Richard de Skelton ousted some tenants from ten oxgangs and from common pasture in east Langdale and Fullwood.

The larger tenant estates

Few tenant holdings extended beyond one or two oxgangs but the exceptions could be important in local history. The Stápleton family, branch of a well known Yorkshire gentry line, were important mediaeval figures in the locality. A Cloughton family descending from Lambert was similarly significant. The 1301 taxation has Geoffrey son of Bartholomew de Cloughton paying 11s10d at Scalby. Also mentioned is John of the Hall. In a 1327-8 taxation list the main payments in Scalby and soke came from the Prior of Bridlington (7s) Robert (4s6d) and Stephen (4s1d) two sons of Lambert of Cloughton, Isabella (4s2d) and Roger de Stapleton (2s0d). [28] By 1332-3 the Prior paid 26s8d, and the Stapletons 8s, Robert 7s2d. Roger 6s2d and Isabel 8s6d. [28] Ralph de Cloughton and William de Stapleton were parties in a fine for a messuage, 2 tofts and 6 oxgangs at Cloughton in 1368. [29] William Place of Scalby was a significant wool buyer in 1367. [30] Later figures of some substance included William Gower of Cloughton, buried in the parish church in 1448 and Ralph Conyers at Burniston. In 1688 at Cloughton, Brian Cook with 6 oxgangs, John Harrison with 4 oxgangs and Mr. North with 3 oxgangs were the only sizeable freeholds. [31]

Farming Land

Oxgangs

Estates were estimated as so many 'oxgangs', a unit reflecting the primacy of arable cultivation outside the dales. Eight oxgangs or bovates made one carucate just as eight oxen made an ideal plough team. These units were used for roughly estimating taxable capacity. In the 11th-14th centuries, whole townships and estates within them were assessed in 'carucates' and 'bovates' rendering them roughly comparable for making levies. The former term eventually dropped out of use and the bovates were spoken of locally as oxgangs. Within any one township the oxgang was one holding of strips in all the furlongs that made up the fields of a township. This was one share of the arable field land under cultivation at any one time, but with the oxgang went the house, its land called the 'toft and croft' and rights in meadow, common pasture and moor. An oxgang's strips were usually held in a regular sequence in each furlong. Descriptions mirror this. Roger of Burniston's oxgang in 13th century Scalby was between two oxgangs of William the chaplain and another one sometime belonging to Ralph de Bolbech in all the furlongs. [5] Later some oxgangs were sub divided and then we get lists of strips, lands, doles or parcels, and the furlong blocks in which they stood.

The expanding and contracting Oxgang

The amount of land in the oxgang could vary over time, at any one place, depending on how much was taken in for cultivation in a season. From the 11th to early 14th centuries the general trend was growth but in many communities thereafter there was contraction and even the conversion of arable to pasture. A mediaeval deed of Adam de Duggleby for a Cloughton oxgang provided that if any land should be broken up in the moor, or waste, the oxgang holder

should receive the share of one oxgang. During King John's time, acres newly taken into cultivation for oats and corn were recorded at Scalby and Stainton. [32] Oxgangs were often not the same size at one place as another. John Lownsbrough in 1688 at Cloughton had six acres, three roods in small parcels in the common fields, called half an oxgang while a full oxgang was 13 acres, 2 roods. Christopher Evans study of 17th century Burniston found that on one estate, each of sixteen oxgangs held about fifteen acres, scattered among seventeen furlongs or falls. Scalby and Newby on occasions recorded ten acre oxgangs. One land from Mrs Dorothy Clark's two oxgangs in 1727 had gone '*into the sea*'. The extent of an oxgang was specific to time and place. Although the total number of oxgangs in many places never changed, there are signs that the total number was increased in Burniston, but this may merely indicate correction of an omission in the Domesday Book. The farm holdings tenanted and actually worked by a household rarely exceeded one or two oxgangs.

Fields and Furlongs

The oxgangs were primarily arable land held in common fields. Early documents sometimes speak of a single field. A hunting party from Scarborough were recorded taking a hare with bows and arrows in the fields of Scalby and Newby during May 1311. [33] Eventually, three or more fields became a commonplace in local townships. These 'fields' were large and stable, and sometimes but not always used as units of cultivation. They consisted of clusters of strips called furlongs, flatts or falls. The 'field names' could change but furlong names seem to have been more fixed. Most furlong names are plural, recalling the numerous strips, variously referred to as lands, ends, crofts, doles or dales, of which they consisted. If all the strips within a furlong had belonged to one person or institution, it was commonly called a flatt.

Field boundaries

The field boundaries reached in the 13th century broadly remained until the 18th century in many of the best recorded townships of Pickering Lythe and in other districts. Their fixity was confirmed by the 'acre dykes' which marked their limits. Throxenby fields ended westwards in the 'hurndyke', around Low hurn, apparently old English for a corner. Scalby North Field ran from the sea cliff to Ings Beck, then across it to a field dyke. Burniston Wingera Field was bounded by the 'moor dyke', 'oxlea gutter' and the 'washigote sike', a water channel probably used as a sheep wash. Willymath Field reached Ings Beck westwards and the cross neb dyke eastwards. Fallgate field had the same boundaries but also touched 'carswelldyke' west and carr close on the east. Pricky Beck Field stretched between Pricky Beck, Breckon close, and 'Crookness dyke' on the west, with 'low syke' and the cliff on the east. Some furlongs edged these same boundaries but could also end in a headland where ploughs were turned or on an unploughed baulk. Some Cloughton headlands abutted on 'Humber bridge syke' and some furlongs ended at a dike, the beck, Letekeld, Deepdale and Ragitt. Hatterboard field boundaries included a Mere, Outcote Marr, and a syke on 'Scharebergh'. Newby strips ended at Croft ends, Kirksty, Hackerdyk, Crossik, and the Mere in the field of Hatterboard.

Strips

Strip lists tend to be late rather than early but are implicit in any mention of oxgangs before consolidation or inclosure. As late as 1772, the Kings lands in Scalby lordship were said to chiefly consist '*of uninclosed arable lands, lying dispersed in the common fields*'. Furlong names described the strips and an individual strip in a furlong was commonly known by the furlong name. We hear of 24 'barley lands' in the hands of 24 people at Cloughton making 7 acres, 2 roods, 39 perches, or of thirteen 'hundills' making 13 acres, 1 rood, 11 perches, while 26 'Bottom Lands' made 9 acres, 1 rood and 10 perches and 8 'Crosslands' totalled 1 acre, 3

Table 1. Field and furlong names [34]

Township	Fields	Furlongs etc.
Hatterboard	<i>Field (Burnt)</i>	Dunyghacker, Kilneland, Peseholm
Newby/Throxenby	<i>North</i>	Witters, Topcrofts flat
	<i>Middle</i>	Low Hurn, Long dales, Pye Riggs, Wranglands, Brigg Sykes, Crossgate lands, Hassokmar
	<i>South</i>	
	<i>Unlocated</i>	Crosslands, Wandales, Hingamdale and Hengandhil, Freeridge flatts in all three fields, Arkilhou, Carrackleys, Whinney leas, Loutandthorn, Moldewarpmar, Caldhou, Hengandhill, Broadlands, Shortbutts, Smalschornemar, Eluynhou, Midelsmar, Trehoustie, Langnorthdale, Chutdayll, Bradengate
Scalby	<i>North (Great field)</i>	Widleys, Scatten becks
	<i>Middle</i>	lands under headland, Tibby (or Tippa) butts, Clotty lands, Wranglands
	<i>South</i>	(Little Field next to Newby field)
	<i>Unlocated</i>	Longlands, Sadlanstor, Garrocke leyes
Burniston	<i>Wingera</i>	Lane end, Swatheland (swarth) and Wingera falls, Crosssike,
	<i>High (Little)</i>	Fallgate, Wandills
	<i>Fallgate /Toft Hill</i>	Carr lands, Wandells, Keldsyke, Toft hills and Oxley Falls
	<i>William Wath</i>	Kerthorne (Ketton) fall, Geering crook ends, Whatain Fall, Breherhow, Broad cliff, the ings, Averhill flatt.
	<i>Prickeybeck (Low)</i>	Ling howe, Mickle how, Crookeyness, Craka clott and Lingy leys fall, Wycham garth ends flatt, Cruckenham (Prickybeck is said to be a reference to sticklebacks)
Cloughton	<i>North</i>	Barley lands, Thring Weangs, Bank lands, Maw ness, Saggitt, Keaby lands, Howick daleflat, Dikelands Humberbridge syke
	<i>Middle</i>	Hundills, Headlands, Headflatt, Banklands, Browlands, Thornhows, Priestflatt
	<i>South Field</i>	Crosslands, Bottom lands, Sty lands, between Sykes, Crockey dyke, Wandills, How lands, Dockon lands, Mill ing, Below syke, Bank land, Sockdale butts, Thorne pitts, Howdike dales, Dikerland, Fieldgate butts
	<i>Unlocated</i>	Welledale, Letekeld

roods and 23 perches. Occasionally a group of strips were known by the name of some long vanished person or institution. Three Scalby parcels, one in the ings and two in the field were called 'Stapleton dales', centuries after that family had left the village.

Ings

'Ings' were the most extensive water meadows of Yorkshire, commonly floodable land stretching along either side of main water courses, with a drain cut on the inner side, often parallel to the river. Sometimes the 'Ings' broadened out where low lying level land was extensive, as at Pickering, adding considerably to estate valuations. Meadow was commonly worth much more than similar extents of arable. Annual flooding renewed fertility and the hay crop determined how much stock could be kept through the Winter. The 'Kirkbecks' south west of Scalby village and the 'CowWath beck' or 'Cowgill' and the 'Keld runnel' running through Scalby fields northwards to become Burniston and Cloughton becks gave the right conditions for ings rather than the sides of the Scalby mill beck and the mosses in which it terminated westwards. 'Holmes' were also meadow but usually natural nooks near the twists and turns of upper streams. The ings were held in strips often called 'swathes', but we also hear of holdings of two 'delphs' in Scalby Nether Ings totalling two roods and in 1728 of twenty 'doles or delfes'. Some Ing furlong names are known. Dow or Fouldeal Ings were in Scalby. In 1687 Gooseholme was identified with Newby West ings. Newby Ings *'in the common field'* included doles in Braythmar, Herthwardker, Crossik, Brigisyk, Kaldhoumar and 'At-Clives'. [35] The mars and sykes suggest a wet landscape. Scalby South and West Ings were nearer the houses than is usual in most townships. Newby men of the Georgian period were banned from taking carts through Broad Ings and Renard Marr flatt from Lady day until the hay had been taken off.

Wastes

The Commons and Moors

The other great tracts of township land were the commons and high moors carrying roads which were often little more than accepted routes across them to merge insensibly in lower ground with village outgangs and greens. These areas may have seen little visible change since Iron age and Roman times, apart from woodland loss at the fringes but their use and management must have altered a great deal. They carried most of the surviving earthworks and standing stones of the 'prehistoric periods', for these were denuded in the areas later intensively cultivated. Here were banks and ditches called Thieves dyke, Cross ridge dyke, Cloughton plantation dyke, Stain dyke, War dyke and Green dyke. More extensive prehistoric earthworks, with quern finds nearby, suggesting both habitation and cultivation survived at Hulleys and near Thorlaw. The burial mounds included those at Pye Rigg, Rudda howe, Sandy hill howe, Leper howe, Ripley Howe, Hunter howe and Hulleys, one with a ring of large stones fifty feet in diameter. Knox found seventeen or eighteen howes near what the ancient's called a Druid's circle. [36] A Coom Boutts tumulus was opened in 1843. Such features may also have once been numerous on lower land, as evidenced by the Bronze age barrow on Northcliff golf course [37] and another in Throxenby fields south of Caldhill. [36] Rarer early finds include a girdle of pure gold of 2 ounce weight which turned up in a field near to Scalby village and worn by the finder's bride. The hills, dales, streams and howes in the commons had a great many distinguishing names, often descriptive of the terrain. The stone circle was in Morfardale. Near Scalby were Hoggit hill, Beacon bank, Oxlea nook, Harford nook, Barmoor, Foulsyke and Oxdale. North of Burniston were Ripleys and Storry Hills. Beyond Cloughton were Ouse dale, Lindrigg, Skitless slack, Burk Carr, Holmslack, and Hardhurst slack. The name Fullwood or

Fughelwood, perhaps meaning dirty woods was applied to the whole wide area of the commons and moors north west of Burniston, Cloughton and Scalby in the Middle Ages.

Forest Management of Woods, Commons and Moors

The Royal Forest of Pickering was established as a preserve for the King's wild game, notably deer and boar and the woodland that gave it shelter, by King Henry I in c. 1106. Thereafter, Forest Law was applied to the whole tract of countryside known as Pickering Lythe, from the river Seven at Sinnington to the coast, and from the Rivers Derwent and Hertford on the south up to the high moor bounds of the wapentakes of Langbargh and Whitby Strand which latter came to include Hackness parish. For much of the 12th century, the royal forest was further extended to embrace Whitby Strand, Ryedale, Ouse and Derwent, Haverford Lythe and Galtres, a vast precinct stretching from the coast to the gates of York. King John later disafforested the fringe areas leaving only Pickering and Galtres Forests. The Forest Law and the officers and courts who applied it, covered the entire townships, fields and moors but in practice it was the uncultivated ground which was the natural home to the deer, boar and other game, and it was there that surviving woodland edged the dales. The creation of the Forest changed wood and moor management. King Henry II re-organised Pickering Forest quartering foresters on the land, with estates at Kingthorpe, Lockton/Levisham, Aislaby and Scalby. The Forest was divided into two wards, the east ward, embracing the area east of Ruston beck including Scalby lordship, but also embracing some high moors towards Goathland.

Scalby forest

The east ward of Pickering Forest was sometimes called the Forest of Scalby and an independent organisation may have been the original intention. The west ward had an early 'hay', provided as a safe breeding ground for the deer, later made into a walled park at Blansby. The east ward was given a 'hay' at Scalby. There were probably separate officers for the east and west wards by 1171-2 when Ralph Bolebeck and Alan the forester were foresters. In 1168 and 1179 Ralph de Bolebeck paid in 38s as minister of the king's demesnes of the forest. He was a prominent house owner in Scarborough by 1184 and in 1203-4 Osbert de Bolebeck had a hereditary grant from King John of '*the Hay of Scalby and the bailliwick of Scalby Forest as in King Henry's time*'. [38] The Bolebecks also held land at Levisham, Lockton, Newton, Pickering and Scalby. One sold his Scalby land and Levisham manor to Hugh le Bigod who in 1256 had a royal grant of the forest office, termed the bailliwick. It was said in 1313 that the appurtenances of this forestership included honey, nutgeld, after-pannage and treetops, chips and bark of trees sold, windfall trees, herbage, browsewood, and the dry and dead wood in the woods of Langdale and Allentoftes, to be taken without waste or damage to the trees. [39] Langdale and Fullwood eventually had their own underforesters. Fullwood also had its own woodward to protect local interests with a wage of 6s8d but the men of Scalby, Burniston and Cloughton gave him half a peck of oats yearly for each oxgang they held. Pleas of the Forest recorded occasional hinds and stags taken in the forest and even in the hay for delivery to Roger Ughtred's Scarborough and Ebberston houses. [40] Roger de Comeregeshead and Richard Swan took a hind at Fullwood Hepping. The boundaries of the bailliwick of the Hay and Forest of Scalby also included lowlands, where there was some fowling, stretching south to 'Tursebridge' in Filey Carr and the great road through Filey and Haverford vale towards Heselton. [41]

Early Wood management

Forest law protected the woods as the natural homeland of the deer, limiting the felling of main timbers, controlling pig pasturing in woods, and restraining encroachments. There were exemptions. Pigs needed to grub the forest floor and King Henry II made Bridlington Priory

free of pannage, a charge for pigs to run in Scalby Forest. [42] Scarborough was paying pannage for its pigs as early as 1171. Such charges often replaced prohibitions. All the townships except Throxenby seem to have had timber rights in Fulwood including tenants of the Abbot of Whitby, the Prior of Bridlington and Alexander de Barugh. [43] Exercise of these rights was supervised by the Forest officers who tended to become wood mongers. Richard Skelton sold many alders in Foulwood to William Harom and John son of Walter of Scarborough, probably the borough bailiffs. William Gower forester of Fullwood in 1335 was fined 1s for bartering dry firewood for poultry and he lived partly off the country, claiming board and sheaves in Autumn. [44] Heath and turf in 'Ffoglewood' was sold to John Forester in 1342 for £2.13.4 but in 1351 after Black Death outbreaks for £1.13.4. The foresters did catch offenders such as carrier Reginald of Scalby in Fullwood at night for the Prior of Bridlington with a four ox wagon. [45] Stray sheep in flocks of a hundred came from Silpho and stray pigs and horses from several townships.

Ancient Inclosures

Villages

Inland behind the arable tract were the villages with their ancient inclosures. There is much current debate as to when our villages had their origin, and whether and when they replaced earlier scattered settlement. The answers are not really known. We have no evidence earlier than the 12th century when rows of tofts are recorded in charters. House plots and their immediate closes were anciently called tofts and crofts, eventually 'fronsteads and garths'. Roger de Burniston's toft in Scalby given to Bridlington Priory in 1231 was south of the toft once held by Gilbert son of Godfrey. Reyner de Scalby & Milisand gave or sold the toft that William de Maram her father had in the village. This was between Alexander son of Amfr's toft and another once held by Wiiliam Braidharing. [46] A William at the corner of Scalby is listed after Robert at the church in 1285. Robert son of John Scalby in 1311 took a hind deer to the Scalby vicar's house which had been killed in Robert's own croft near Scalby Hay. [47] Robert Playce who had land previously of Robert Stapleton had a grant of extra land in Scalby next to his house, measuring 80 ft by 14 ft, at a rent of 6d a year. [48] Burniston in 1301 held people described as Thomas of the green, Walter beyond the stream, Thomas over beck and Robert at the church. Such documents hint at identifiable locations. Scalby became a village around a long broad green, turning south from the 'outgang' near Foulsyke pond. On the west side, crofts backed on to Foul Syke beck but on the east the through road formed a back lane. The same road was the main street of the presumably later Newby, where the east side crofts were unusually large, reaching to a minor stream. Late 18th century inclosure awards made front gardens out of Scalby 'town green' narrowing the green and giving a triangle of roads near the Nag's Head. The Burniston and Cloughton town streets, lined with tofts and crofts, were also wider in places before 18th century inclosures reduced them. Cloughton crofts ran eastwards to the fields, but westwards to the beck. The reverse was the case at Burniston. Both Scalby Kirkbecks and Burniston south end, or Prickybeck island have the appearance of hamlets arising from separate developments.

Church and chapels

We can only speculate as to why the sites for Scalby church and the Burniston and Cloughton chapels were chosen. These were 'common' institutions but it is not clear that they were sited on waste or common ground. Scalby church stands in the lower south west end of the village, perhaps originally a little hamlet apart from it, near a stream suitable for baptisms, but not obviously adjacent to any significant patron's garth. The rectory was possessed of eight oxgangs of land throughout the parish. A vicarage was formed in 1236-7. Clergy farming was later well

evidenced by vicar John Trowsdale who here or at Westerdale in 1588 had two yokes of oxen and a flock of sheep. [49] The vicarage house was moved to the upper end of the green before 1627 between the village street and the through road. The chapels appeared in the 12th century, sited at the lower end of Cloughton village and in the lower part of Burniston. Eustace Fitzjohn gave ten acres and the advowson of the chapel at Cloughton to Bridlington Priory. In 1548 William Knaggs was incumbent of the chapel with £3.16.8. a year. After the dissolution of monasteries, this became a separate rectory. A village cross and stocks stood opposite the Blacksmiths Arms. The Cloughton church demolished in 1830 was recalled as a building covered in straw and moor ling. An agreement for Burniston chapel in 1235 guaranteed specified services and by 1244 there was a resident chaplain, with a house provided. [50] 'Robert at the church', owner of twenty pigs was recorded there in 1334. Tradition claimed that Burniston was once a separate parish, with the church in a garth below the garden belonging to the Ship inn. [51] The Queen in 1590 granted a house, garden and a butt belonging to the former chapel lately occupied by John Walker. [51] Edward Robinson in 1620 had a Burniston house and garden with highways north and south, King's land west and the chapel garth north. [52] Chapell garth later held a beast house and in 1688 Robert Trott had the parcel within the wall of the chapel and the little court belonging. [53] When the highway was widened at the bottom of Burniston chapel garth, steps leading up from an old gateway were unearthed. [54]

Private Village Inclosures

Most of the ancient village closes, the 'tofts and crofts', contained the mediaeval houses and their successors with associated buildings. A few early frontsteads were unoccupied house plots. Foregarths remained uncommon until Inclosure, when some front gardens were carved out of village greens. Some of the more significant house properties added several closes for private use at unknown dates. James Harrison at Cloughton in the 17th century had a house and garth, orchard, paddock, beck garth, stack garth with Fog and Watson closes. John Hird at Burniston had a house, garth, Watery, Orchard and Hill closes. The village had three 'butts' in one croft, and four 'selions' (strips) in another, suggesting the expansion of house plots over some old field land which is evident in air photographs of the west side of that village. Newby had Hunter close, Cristell close, seven Pippin closes, Whinney, Carrack leys and Outs closes and Burniston a Holland close and two Haggit Hill closes. Some inclosure names simply record the names of past owners. Scalby had Gibson garth and Hodgson house which had a close behind called Cuddy garth, interesting as it is sometimes locally a reference to St Cuthbert. Cloughton had a Monkman house and garth. A change of use for a croft is evident at William Storr's house at Cloughton which in 1688 had a 'hemp garth', a term which in parts of Ryedale became almost synonymous with a croft in the era of village linen manufacture.

Houses

Documents rarely throw much light on early buildings but sometimes separate the capital messuage (or chief house), often a manor house or monastic grange, from the messuage (commonly a farmhouse) and the cottage. By the 17th century, deeds also frequently mention such special purpose buildings as barn, beast house, cowhouse, wainhouse, turf house or kiln. Scalby had several 'named' houses, the significance of which is not clear. The 'Horbell' house with a barn, a little orchard and a croft on the west side of Scalby was at different times in the hands of Thomas Coulson, Elizabeth Cawood and John Pickering. Nothing has been found to confirm a suggested link with the site called the Holt. A cottage and little garth called White Hall adjoined Thomas Harrison's house on Scalby Green. Ann Hodgson once held it from Thomas Fox at a halfpenny rent while James Linsley held Stapleton Dales linked with White Hall in 1742. William Stapleton was a wealthy verderer here in 1334. The King exchanged the old inclosure called White House in the 18th century with Robert Fox for three acres on Scalby

Green. A Beckhillhouse occurs with croft and oxgangs occupied by William Raditt. Thomas Boyes had a house, barn and little garth called Kirkhouse in Scalby and a little close in Newby previously church land. Scalby Low Hall has been said to be the site of Churchbecks House, reputed 300 years old. At Cloughton, Elizabeth Richardson in 1728 had Cherry garth, a name that sometimes indicates a manorial site. A capital messuage called Whyte Banbire with oxgangs occurred in 1587. Leonard Bower acquired West Hall from Richard Dutton in the 17th century with its orchard, garden, buildings, stables, carrs and six meadow closes, two on the west side of Stapleton beck or lowbeck called Uttris closes, petty croft close, and three adjoining tenements totalling eight acres of meadow with four oxgangs of arable. A separate property acquired from C Parker included a dovecote close with a decayed dovecote, Stonecroft close, Brigg close, and Toadpipes. Dovecotes were early restricted to manors and monastic properties. Mr. William Bower died at the Hall in 1698. John Rhodes, with a ruined house at Burniston, gave William Wasling permission in 1729 to set his hay within the walls. Tanner John Trott had a parcel called 'Arbor walls' in 1623 which in 1741-2 adjoined a house adjoining the house of Scarborough gentleman Thomas Sedman. A 1742 lease from Scalby widow Ann Readhead to her grandson Henry included both a messuage called Manor House and a piece called Arbor Walls. [55] Throxenby manor house, apparently known as Forester's Lodge, was held by Christopher Keld of Newby in 1645. [56] More work is needed to identify most of these sites. Significant perhaps in their day, they leave little impact later. The 1673 hearth tax shows few sizeable houses. Only eight houses in the parish had three hearths, Burniston none with more than one or two. Under Scalby, Mrs. Sarah Thompson had one four hearth house. Mr. Thomas Keld at Throxenby Hall had five and at Cloughton Hall, Mr. William Bower had four.

Communal village Inclosures

Other ancient inclosures in or near the villages were set aside for some special communal purpose, such as a mill, smithy, pinfold, quarry, or chapel. Two forges had been founded at Newby by 1314 suggesting early use of the cliff iron, and both a limekiln and a bakehouse were set up on wasteland at Burniston by 1322. A Manor order of 1517-18 that Scalby town cause its smithy to be well repaired before the end of Whitsuntide suggests a communal origin for such developments. This is confirmed by an Elizabethan record for Burniston where '*a house called a smithy in the street with no courtyard or croft*' had been '*built by the inhabitants for the use and profit of the said village of Burniston*'. Cloughton, Burniston and Scalby also had Guildhouses, probably property of religious guilds until their dissolution in the 16th century. The Burniston Guildhouse with barn and croft of 2 roods in 1608-9 belonged to Thomas Coulson, a Scarborough gentleman. Lands and tenements in Scalby lately belonging to the Guild of Scalby were leased to Edward Forthes in 1572-3 and to Thomas Shotten, for 21 years in 1586-7. Before 1621 we hear of a house in the tenure of Henry Gates called the Guildhouse lately destroyed by fire. [57] Cloughton guildhouse garth of half an acre probably passed to Richard Dutton.

Management of the landscape

The later Manor court of Scalby

After the Duchy of Lancaster estates returned to the Crown, the tenure of Scalby Manor became leasehold for terms of years to changing groups of locals at rising rents. The Manor was demised in 1520-21 to John Hastings and others with the old rent of £35 increased to £40. The position of the 'men of Scalby' was challenged by Thomas Williamson as farmer of the manor of Scalby in 1564-5 when it contained 40 tenements, 30 cottages, 10 closes, 89 oxgangs, of which 2 tenements, 6 cottages, 4 closes and 17 oxgangs were demesne, the rest freehold but the

freeholders had held the demesne paying the £35 rent. Williamson's lease was questioned in the Duchy court and was said to have impoverished and disquieted the freeholders. It was cancelled and the demesne reverted to them. The '*Manor of Scalby and hamlets*' went to Richard Dutton, gentleman, William Clerionet and others for 31 years in 1578-9 at £43.19.9 & 1/2d rent. A Crown survey of the manor was made that year. Manor courts continued to be held and men within Scalby lordship were tried by a Scalby jury. A court baron was held every three weeks and two head courts yearly which all tenants had to attend. The court leet of the Manor of Scalby made orders and bye laws called pains for the several townships. Their breach was punished by fines. Manorial officers included the bailiff, constables for the townships and byelawmen in 1622. [58] Early Bailiffs were appointed at St. Luke's Tide. By 1745 there were four byelawmen each for Scalby, Burniston and Cloughton, two each for Throxenby and Newby, while George Pickering and William Ness were sworn ale tasters and bread weighers for Scalby, John Pickering and Richard Hodgson for Cloughton. Burniston had its own pindar. [59] The court leet is said to have appointed constables for Newby and Scalby alternately, each to serve two years. This gave rise to a saying '*when the constable goes up Newby Hill, then beware of hungill*' (the dog licence charge). However, in 1789 a lease of the manor of Scalby with farms in Cloughton was made to Richard Hill of Thornton Dale for 31 years. [60]

Scalby Manor Byelaws

Other manor courts at Hackness and Seamer had jurisdiction over their tenants at Burniston and Throxenby while the Prior and Convent of Bridlington once held manor courts for its tenants in the lordship. National legislation over the centuries removed many manor court responsibilities to higher courts, but in the early days they regulated many aspects of social and economic life. A Scalby court in 1517-18 decreed that Ellen Todd who '*will not be governed, remove herself out of the lordship before the end of Whitsuntide under the penalty of 6s8d.*' while '*Agnes Horn was to be of good behaviour for the future and not to receive neighbour's servants*' (penalty 40s). No-one was to receive any neighbour's goods brought them by boys or servants (6s8d) nor were they to allow any boys or servants to play at cards, after the end of the twelve days of Christmas (6s8d). An inquiry led by Richard Dutton had to deal with many affrays or fights, apparently then fairly frequent. A list of pains survives that was confirmed on 8th April 1657. Many are detailed prohibitions arising from things done in specific places in one or more townships and it is not always clear whether or not a general rule can be assumed. No inhabitant was to give another railing speeches. None was to sue others for debt or trespass out of the court, unless above the value of 40s. Prohibitions also covered washing clothes or anything else above Kirk Beck bridge at Scalby, heating ovens between sunset and four in the morning, using the Scalby bull without contributing to it and throwing weeds and stone on neighbour's land. Foot causeways had to be before houses by June 24th and kept in repair afterwards.

Manor courts and the field farming calendar

The 1657 bye laws suggest the traditional method of common field management. The Scalby fields acre dykes were made up to exclude stock and the field furrowed on the second of February. Tenants were not to bait or tether animals in any cliffs and banks or the field until it was broken by common consent. Farmers of Newby and 'Throxenby' had to bring out their animals on the tenth of March. During the next week, fields were fenced and fences made against the common. Henceforward, a sixpence fine fell on strangers or inhabitants leaving any gate open leading into a corn field. After All Saints or Lady Day, draught animals were excluded from the headlands of the hard corn field on which the ploughs were turned and the draughts forbidden to turn there. Townships north of Tillabeck were not to tether mares with foals in their fields from Midsummer day to Michaelmas, unless a person was there to attend

the foals and stop them destroying grass nor corn. Horses were not to be tethered or cattle baited on corn or stubble in Cloughton field except when loading hay or corn. The common bank above the beck between Scalby and Burniston fields was denied to stock from May day to Michaelmas. A Spring sown crop, a Winter crop and then a fallow were the usual rotation. As late as 1735 a rent from Scalby was paid in stooks of oats, wheat, bigg and barley, loads of hay, and wheat sown for the winter, with only some bushells of potatoes as a recent innovation.

Average & Fallow

The fields were treated as common pasture in two seasons. Once a crop had been lifted, the stubble was grazed as 'average'. Secondly, when a field lay 'fallow (faugh)' to rest during the crop rotation, it was again grazed, for pasture, to apply manure and to limit weed growth. Access was limited by a 'stint' expressed as so many 'pasture gates'. A land holder's 'average gates' had to equal his 'faugh' gates and the beasts had to be marked in 'averidge' time. Only certain Burniston inhabitants were allowed to bring more cattle into Burniston and Scalby Fields in '*average or herbage time*', beyond eight beasts and four horses for each oxgang. Pigs and geese were excluded from the Winter corn fields while swine were only to go into the average if ringed and there were fines if they broke earth or corn. Ploughing in the fallow field between Lady day and Midsummer was banned at Burniston and none was to put any cattle in the 'Faugh' until the neatherd had gone in. Holders of 'faugh gates' at Newby were not to put animals in before the neat herd took the whole herd in and they were urged not to put in 'overpluscattle'. Scalby men were banned from folding sheep in the faugh field before Midsummer day and even then not in certain areas before the hird went into the stubbles. No Cloughton inhabitant was to fold any sheep before the hird went forth out of the field, in a large bounded area. At Burniston no one was to have horses in any of the field corn or faugh field in the night between May day and Michaelmas day. No one of Newby or 'Throssenby' was to have their cattle in the Fough field to bait in the morning before the neatherd went in, nor after he came out at night, except it be draught oxen working the same day.

Clearing Water courses

Blocked dykes damaged other's lands and manor courts were much involved in their maintenance. Several main water courses traversed the townships, some passing through the fields. Acre dykes bounded the fields and none were allowed to make gaps in them. Other dykes and ditches bounded house crofts and some furlongs. Inhabitants with water gutters or sewers about their grounds were obliged to scour them so that water had free passage without damaging main roads. The Turn Court required William Husthwayte to clean Peseholme sewer and wanted all other sewers in the lordship cleaned before the end of Whitsuntide in 1517-18. Seventeenth century bye laws requiring that all between Foulisike and Kirkbecks in Scalby were to scour water sewers at stated times applied to all the ditches behind the houses along the west side of Town Green. Between William Wath gate and Scalby Ings, the beck had to be cleared each side to at least two yards width before MayDay. Scalby and Burniston men with lands in town felds were to cut their becktrees till the beck was two yards wide at least between Burniston town end and Burniston wath in Scalby. Burniston inhabitants were to scour ditches and make up fences between Oxleyes and the field and all other dykes belonging to their winter corn field before Martinmas. Everyone with dykes between Throssenby Fall gate and Stepping Stones or between Ing Field and Newby gate had to scour the dyke or cast up fences three days after warning by the byelawmen. Cloughton men had to make up their land ends at Hare Lane so that water could find its usual way down a common balk. When Cloughton South field was fallow, the field-surveyors called a 'day work' to scour the sewer from Bottom Lund head land to Scarborough highway. Cloughton beck was scoured to four feet wide from west lane southwards to Sheep Lane bridge.

Manorial management of commons and moors

Manorial and monastic 'vaccaries' or stock farms were early users of the moor fringe but eventually sheep became the main animals of the high moor. Only those with recognised rights of common were allowed to graze animals or to take turves on the commons. Every person keeping above ten ewes or gimmer sheep was to keep a tup in riding time in 1657. Tups and riggins were to be taken up by inhabitants at Michaelmas yearly. Tups were kept up till All Saints Day, riggins till St Andrews Day unless they were with their ewes and tups in their own ground. Heather and brushwood sales were substantial in 1314. The woodland vanished over the centuries, surviving best in the sea coast undercliffs and about Hayburn. Manorial management became confined to preventing the Cloughton inhabitants from selling thorns or other wood at Newland within ten yards of the cliff and felling or cutting any hirsells or thorns in Newland dales for purposes other than hedging. They were not to fell wood in Little Cliff and leave the tops behind. Bracken was another moor resource. John the Forester sold heath and fern in Fulwood worth £2.13.4 in 1342. By the 17th century the Scalby inmoore breckons were not to be mowed or cut before St Matthew the Evangelist and the whins on Quarrel head and Quarrel carr were not to be cut at all. Newby and Throxenby inhabitants were allowed two loads of whins a year. As of old, wood, whins and turves from the 'kings' woods and commons were not to be carried on horse or foot or wain to Scarborough. But it happened.

Turf management

Inhabitants of the lordship at this time were prohibited from burning moor for turves or any other purpose except in March. Then, the 'Burns' were treated as a property but subject to stints. Extraction was limited to certain areas by the manor courts. You couldn't grave turfs on another man's burn, nor grave more than four mans work on your own burn on the first two working days. Under Haggit Brow there was a limit of three wainloads per house. Turf grafts were banned on Riplays and Little moors and every where south of the sike from Ellis close end to Hebb cross stile at Newland side. Turfs were not to be taken from the south side of a spring at Browfoot, down Cragelle syke on the east side to Black mires, through Great Mires to the Gray Stone and down the Mires to the Grave beck. Graving of turves and peats stopped on the last day of May because many of those previously dug towards Midsummer had never been led away and so rotted upon the commons. None were to lead turves off the lords moor in the night or before sun rise.

Other moor assets

Iron was worked from natural coast outcrops in the Middle Ages. A bowl furnace for iron working, of unknown date was found at Hulleys. [61] The sale of ironstone from the cliffs is recorded in 1314-22 as well as from Fullwood moor and Cloughton. Forges were set up on Burniston common and at Newby. [62] Cliff iron extraction was revived in the 18th century within the bounds of Scarborough for shipment to County Durham. The Johnstones, lords of Georgian Hackness still claimed the cliff iron opposite their lands. [63] During 1801 Richard Fishwick of Newcastle paid £250 for a fourteen year lease of ironstone and the rock from which it could be extracted on the seashore from Peasholme beck to 'Ibran' Wyke in the parish of Scalby, within 20 yards of the cliff. Fine building stone was also quarried near Cloughton and Burniston. Millstones and tombstones were cut from Cloughton moor and Fullwood in 1322. [64] The freestone quarry there became very large and traditionally was believed to be that from which stone was obtained to build Scarborough Castle. In Henry VIII's reign the farm of the heath and stone of Gateley and Fullwood in the lordship was leased to Robert Goldsbrough. [65] However, the 1657 proviso that no Cloughton inhabitant was to lay stone on another mans ground but to remove it within two months reflects local rights to stone. In

1733 Mr Rudsell of Burniston had the lease of all quarries in the parish and insisted on the freeholders getting their stone in his quarry. A 1742 letter from Charles Cartwright to Mr. John Hill suggests that the Marquis of Annandale as lord of the Burniston tenants of Hackness manor also had some control over access to the same quarry. Since that manor had previously belonged to Whitby abbey, it would be interesting to determine if any of the stone found its way northwards. It is also possible that the Cloughton-Burniston workings represent the 'Grimsland' quarry, lost by 1617. [66] The sea cliffs provided more resources. Matthew White and James Luisley leased the scarrs and seaweed at £1.11.6 in 1741-2. The burning of seaweed and kelp served to provide an essential material for the alum industry active at Stainton and Fyling in the 17th-19th centuries but outlasted that industry to provide manure, possibly at the Thorn Pits south east of Cloughton in 1823. [67] Salt pans Road near Cloughton recalls a vanished unrecorded industry and the Scalby 'Flither Picker' leys were a valuable source of fishbait.

The Roads

Roads were rights of way more often than surfaced tracks. You made a road by going along it in commons but through the fields they became fixed. The Scarborough-Whitby Road and several other through roads were 'kings highways' and consequently subject to statutes, requiring some maintenance especially after the 16th century. Locals, on foot or with carts, were repeatedly advised to keep to ancient highways as soon as they came to them and not to go up and down other peoples grass or corn. Seventeenth century landowners in Scalby field were required by the manor court to make a sufficient highway through their field from Hirds flatt in Burniston to Scalby beck. Travellers along this coast road had to keep to the usual highway and not bait horses or loose cattle between the Spittle close in Newby field and Burniston town end. Stainton had a 12th century hospital founded subject to obligations to give hospitality to travellers on the continuation northwards of the coast road. Tradition has claimed that the Falcon Inn was founded to replace the hospital after its dissolution in the 16th century though it is on the inland rather than the coastal road. Roads crossed water courses at Lind head wath, Cow Wath, Prior Wath and Gainforth wath leading into Stainton, but bridges were built over Mill beck. Crosses at road junctions included the Cloughton cross, on a rise a small way north of the church, moved for road widening in 1814, the cross near the beacon west of Comboots and probably a cross near Cloughton Newlands. Cloughton quarry made metalled roads there a little more likely. A byelaw required its men to cover stone put into the highway with earth. John Hay and Thomas Storr annually had to cut wood in either side of Hare lane, Cloughton to allow corn and hay to be led from the field. Newby village had a foot causeway (trod) on the east side from the bridge to the south end from which horses were banned. Some old footpaths traversing Northstead diagonally heading for Scarborough may also have been paved trods. Cloughton had a cliff top Rodger Trod.

Inclosures

Ancient Outlying Inclosures

New is a relative term. Some 'New Inns' are hundreds of years old. In local landscapes a number of 'new' isolated outlying inclosures were made outside the villages for special purposes at very different dates, and collectively made the landscape different from the original mediaeval pattern. Many are identified in the 18th century Inclosure Award as 'ancient' and 'old' inclosures. Some were very ancient indeed. When an area of common was taken in, during early days, this could perhaps be done at the fiat of the lord. Later the agreement of common right holders would be needed. Making inclosures in fields and meadow was a greater threat to the common field system and was hard to achieve wherever there were several land owners with average and faugh rights, beside the lord and the church, which was always possessed of

tithe rights. On a large scale, Scalby Hay was converted from common into a mediaeval deer inclosure. At Ellis Close and Hayburn, scattered dales type farmsteads were also carved out in the Middle Ages, in the valleys edging the high moors. Quite differently, a broad tract embracing Peasholm, Northstead and Hatterboard was inclosed from both field and common in the late mediaeval period between the township lands of Newby-Throxenby and Falsgrave.

The Mill Closes

Early records of the mills are sparse but the mill sites are set in distinctive inclosures, often determined by the construction of the mill race to form a head of water. Burniston mill was given with a manor to Whitby abbey in the early 12th century. It's mill race appears to have formed the Pricky Beck Island at the south end of the village. A thirteenth of the ground grain was paid as 'multure' by the tenants. [68] Cloughton's lengthy Mill race was made south of the village. In 1322 Lambert of Cloughton held twelve perches by the milldam. [69] Bridlington Priory had 'Housthalm' east of 'Milnbrig'. [70] Richard Duttons estate at Cloughton later included the watermill and a mill 'staigne'. In 1670 John Dickinson and Robert Trott had a horse mill and were challenging the monopoly of William Bowers' Cloughton soke mill. Timothy Foord held Cloughton mill in 1680 with four mill holmes, and other mill closes bought from C Parker. The site has yielded a font, dovecote, pounding stones and other finds. [71] A Scalby Mill was mentioned in 1163. Four mill races were formed along the Mill beck, two for Scalby Mills and two for Newby Mills. Henry the 'Stracour' of Scalby used a Scalby Hay oak for the upper mill at Scalby near Cowath beck in the 14th century. In 1581 Thomas Broke left an interest in the nethermost mill on Scalby beck on Newbyside with the land belonging and a close near upper mill. A mill in Scalby passed to James Conyers in 1597-8. The Crown sold two Scalby mills, one at Cloughton and another at Longdale End in 1609-10, the latter apparently also a location at Scalby. [72] In 1609 Conyers mill went to John Lacey for 31 years at 13s4d rent. Crown rentals in 1680 included a mill in Scalby beck for 13s, a mill late Conyers mill for 13s4d, Burniston mill and a fulling mill at 11s8d at Scalby. Newby mill farm and house occur in 1697 and the Newby mill below the bridge on the Burniston road is said to have been the last to work. The low mill was often damaged by high seas.

Scalby Hay

In the early 12th century, Scalby Hay was established on old commons as a large royal demesne 'hay', an enclosure where the deer could breed in safety. Even now it has old common names within it, Swinesale, Scalby Nab, Wreahead Rigg, and Hollin rigg. Scalby Hay ran from the end of Scalby village, its boundary between the 'Cliff' and the 'Moss' as far as the vanished 'Kingsbridge', then north to a ditch in 'Elsarcroft', to 'Grenehead', a ditch against Suffield Moor, a stone on 'Stanerigg', the end of the ditch, and near the outgang leading from the village. Robert Wigan as keeper of Scalby Hay had wages of £2.5.6 a year. [74] The East Ward riding forester kept his mare and two colts there. [73] The inclosure was nonetheless very attractive to poachers. A roe deer was taken to Scarborough in 1286 by a Cleveland party. People came from a distance to poach, from the Vale of York, Egton, Whitby and Scarborough Castle. The timber was slowly denuded. Over a few decades, 300 oaks were felled in the Hay, with individual trees sent out for buildings, mills, the Scarborough Greyfriars and for William Carter of Seamer. [75] John Dalton, the Pickering Castle constable, consulted with Elias de Stapleton about timber sales. Richard Skelton once sold 30 dry oaks from the Hay at 4d each and Bartholomew, son of Geoffrey, obtained 21 oak shingles. [76] Many took dry wood for fuel, while alder wood went to make charcoal. Scalby men ran their colts and even hogs in the hay. Suffield sheep came in and stock from Scalby, Everleigh and Newby. Some forest road tolls on carts and carriages called 'cheminage' were levied generally in the east ward but also in the hay which seems to mean that there was a road through, perhaps to Kings bridge, and

this may have fostered much of the trouble. Toll income must have been reduced when Scarborough burgesses were given exemption from payment of cheminage in 1252. The town relied on its rural neighbours for timber, brushwood, turves, heather and fern. The income in 1314 was 13s4d which being two thirds of a pound sounds like a rent but the yield was down to 2s9d in 1351. The levy was sometimes called 'gatelawe'. It could no longer be collected by the 17th century.

Agistment of the Hay

In the end, as with so much else in the Forest, management turned to raising income rather than preventing the reduction of the woodland in the interests of the deer. The Hay became an agistment, popularly a 'geist', good pasture rented out for whatever it could get. The income from agistment in 1342 was £3.16.8 and 1/2d for cattle in Scalby Hayes. A few years after the Black Death, in 1351, the yield was down to £1.3.1 and 3/4d. In more prosperous times, values rose again. Edward Williams in 1561-2 farmed the agistment of Scalby Hay for £12.12.3 a year. By 1591-2 eleven tenants rented the agistment and the cheminage for themselves and all the inhabitants. By then, it was virtually an enclosed pasture ground. Only one early enclosure is known within the hay. Elias de Stapleton held a meadow plot for life by grant of the Earl of Lancaster in 1314 at five shillings rent. He was an executor of the Earl's will. and the most prominent local figure. A 1342 rental has '*one place of meadow in Scalby Hayes which Elias de Stapleton formerly held at 6s but it could not be let that year*'. The making of further inclosures is not well evidenced. Thomas Hinderwell in 1619 paid 1s10d rent for 'park farm' and John Trott 6d for 'bridge farm'. He also held a 'close of 3 beastgates' in the hay. [77] William Readhead's will of 1631 mentions his beastgates in Scalby Hay '*as now enclosed*'. A 1641 lease to John Dring mentioned John Dickinson, John Covell and Grace Harrison with parts of 'Hay close'. Robert Robinson in 1697 had 'haytofts' closes. The nonconformist minister William Hannay lived at Scalby Hayes in 1718. By 1778 small inclosures dominate, though in the hands of rather few people. James Bland messuage and farm had ten closes comprising just over twenty one acres. [78]

The Moss Closes

Some closes south of the Scalby Hay but north of the Mill beck seem to have been known as the Moss or Moyses, a name also applied to the whole water side area embracing the beck of which it was no doubt once descriptive. The Moss closes seem sometimes to be referred to as part of the Hay. The forester in Scalby Hay took a pricket in a nook called 'merswra' in 1323. [79] Robert Goldsbrough held a forty year lease of a two acre parcel in Scalby Hay near the 'meis' on the south and the Hayes on the north in 1518-19. By 1623 Thomas Hinderwell, and Richard Hopper had Moss Closes while John Trott was at Bridge farm but in 1641 John Trott had eleven acres of Moyses close on the west side of Scalby town. The Cockerell family had seven Moyses closes between the Hay and Seamer in the early 18th century. The moss ran between Scalby and Seamer lordships continuing westward between Hackness and Seamer lordships. The area has unexplained ancient dykes. The 'old dyke' or 'Kingesdike' is an impressive earthwork north of the river in Hackness lordship. A field line continues eastward in Scalby Hay. Within Seamer lordship, Galfrid de Geddinges in the Middle Ages held land beyond the 'foss', between Ravenscliff park and the river Derwent, apparently the Thorn Park area. Eleanor de Percy took Raincliffe Wood outside the view of the royal foresters and was accused in 1275 of having obstructed the road in the moss called 'Kyngesbrigg' between Scalby Hay and Raincliffe. The King's bridge apparently carried the old Cuddestie (Cuddy for Cuthbert, 'stie' for an uphill path) road and other tracks out of Seamer lordship into Scalby but this is puzzling with no obvious purpose. Bridges involved investment and were rare enough, usually carrying major roads. The title is significant, being very rare indeed, and the road leads

to or around the King's Hay. During the 17th century, Scalby tenants or occupiers of ground adjoining each of the double mosse dykes within that lordship were obliged to cut the main sewer or water course betwixt Seamer lordship and Scalby lordship from the Watergate unto Kings bridge in breadth and depth sufficient to convey the water, and to yearly cut and scour the moss dykes as far as their ground stretched.

Ellis Close in Fullwood

Earl Thomas of Lancaster inclosed an eighty acre parcel of land at Fullwood (Fouelwode) with a ditch and granted it by deed for life to Elias Stapleton at a 6s8d rent in the early 14th century. [80] Although the meaning 'ellers' for alders had been suggested, it seems likely that the personal name Elias has been enshrined. William Gower held the close in 1336 described as in Henry Percy's fee of Burniston. This seems to be identical with 'Alescroft in Fullwood' or '*a certain inclosed waste in Ffoghelwood called Thorlaw*' which Elias de Stapilton had held and was demised to Ralph de Hastings for life in 1342, for 13s4d payable at Easter and Michaelmas. [80] Thorlaw, sometimes Thynlaw, names an area of which the close is a part. [81] A 1351 rental has £1. 6.8 farm for the same 'waste'. Under King Henry VII, Roger Cholmleye had his servant William Sleightholme living at Ellis Close. He was reported to have taken huge loads of wood daily to Scarborough and other places over two years to the value of £10. [82] Sir Thomas Posthous Hoby of Hackness paid the £1.10 for Ellis close in his day, William Boynton in 1538, Robert Goldsbrough for 'Elliscroft close' in Elizabeth's reign and William Thompson Esq of 1565 was 'of Ellis Close'. The inclosure still had a hundred timber trees in 1587 but the timber was reserved for the repair of Pickering and Scarborough castles, only the 400 dotted trees being sold for firewood. Ellis Close near Harwood dale was held by William Fisher in 1619 and in 1651 John Keld held lands in Fullwood called Ellis close. [83] Many of these people were locally important and the site of a significant house might be looked for.

Woodholes or Outlawe Bowers

The nearby site known as 'Outlaw Bowers' seems to date from much later as an inclosure but the name probably recalls earlier earthworks. Henry Parker held 32 acres of waste called Outlaw Bowers near Ellis Close for 3s4d rent. A later grant of thirty acres of waste at 'Wood Holes als Outlaw Bowres' in the Manor of Scalby was made to John Farside at a rent of ten shillings a year in 1613-14. Thomas Farside conveyed it to Christopher Keld in 1621. The boundary ran '*from Ellis Close Wood end on the north side, down the inside of the way, till you came to the intack at the east side occupied by William Hird of Burniston, then along that intake wall untill Lendheade beck on the south side, next up the beck till Lend headend, up Lend head side till Ellis close on south side and along the beck to Lend head end and up Lend head side to Ellis close end and south along it till where it began*'. The grant to John Farside was made '*with liberty to inclose, improve and build houses*'. [84]

Lind Head

Lind Head itself could be a mediaeval clearing called Linthwaite or Lindrik. [85] More certainly, a parcel of land in tenure of Christ Parker called Lune Head perhaps 20 acres in extent at a rent of 10s a year in King Charles reign was said to have been first granted in 1592-3. Edward Robinson bequeathed Cloughton chapel and Lindhead intack in his will. [86] Ralph Betson held old inclosed lands called Lindhead containing 45 acres 1 rood and 39 perches in c. 1806 while John Hird held Lindhead Wath farm of 23 acres 2 roods and 12 perches.

Moor Houses

A licence to enclose waste called Moor Houses in Scalby went to John Farside for 6s8d a year for 31 years in 1614. It had previously belonged to John Carpenter. This intake boundary began at Thirley beckend, on the west side, then up the beck till it came to Swinstie on the north, up the north side till the meeting of the ways, and down east side of the howes, till it came to a stone in Brown Beck Wayes, then along to Keld Close Head on the south, and along Hill Close Dike to Thirley beck.

The Washigotts

The Washigotts look like a late Burniston inclosure of pasture added west of the fields from common, but no evidence has been found. They were divided in six parts by 1729 when closes there were called Butlers and Sedmans intakes.

Hayburn

William Earl of York in the period 1138-54 confirmed pasture in Hayburn to the canons of Bridlington Priory as fully as they had it in the time of Walter de Gant. A Hugh of Hayburn occurs before 1334 implying some settlement. [87] A survey of 1729 mentions a house with cowhouse and close adjoining Hayburn and a large woody close near Hayburn. A new house was built near 'Haybron' beck for Sam Waynman, 49 ft by 15 ft, c.1734 at a cost of £44.16.10

Calf Waite Farm

Calf Waite farm near Hayburn Wyke comprised a house, garth and old inclosures including woodlands amounting to 39 acres 3 roods and 36 perches. [88] This seems to refer to a part only for another account in the same source for 'Haybron Wike or Calf Waite farm' has 81 acres 3 roods and 16 perches let to Robert Tindell and 25 acres 1 rood and 23 perches of woods kept in hand. The thirty closes include Timmoth Howe and an area called Little cliff on the beck. This farm was tithe free, and almost certainly takes its origin, with other adjacent farms in Stainton Dale, from the Bridlington Priory vaccaries or stock farms established at Hayburnia in the early 12th century. Intercommoning between Stainton and townships nearby was abandoned by agreements between Bridlington Priory, the Knights Hospitallers and Whitby Abbey a little later.

Brackenthwaite & Storthes

Adam son of Henry of Duggleby granted new land called Brakenthwaite and Storthes in Cloughton to the Dean and Chapter of St John Beverley before 1235. Fifty years later, another Adam of Duggleby provided that one of his tenants should take and cultivate as much as belonged to the oxgang, if any land had been or was in future broken up on the moor or waste or elsewhere. The location of the new clearances is uncertain but was probably the 'Newlands'.

Cloughton Newlands

The 'Newlands' became virtually a second field system north of the main block of Cloughton fields. Sheepfolds were sited nearby. William son of Ivo had made a sheepfold at 'Neuland' field in Cloughton in the 13th century. This was contrary to the 'assize of the forest' and he was ordered to pull it down, but Ralph, son of William, still held it in 1334. [89] The Prior of Bridlington also built a sheepfold at 'Neulond', 100 ft by 12 ft, and he was allowed to have it for a 6d rent. [90] By 1562 the area had been put down to pasture but the plural name suggests

earlier division into arable strips and it was still owned in several parcels. A royal grant of 1597-8 was made to trustees for the tenants of the manor of eleven beastgates or pasture gates in Newland . At 1612-13 Leonard Bower of Cloughton had fifteen gates in Newlands and little cliffe. The 'several pasture' in Cloughton called Newland was enclosed with a stone wall and with another parcel enclosed with it called 'Little Cliffe' was estimated at 200 acres. Cloughton tenants stinted their beasts there by agreement. [91] All Cloughton inhabitants had to go to common works to make Newland Cliff Dyke when notified by the four byelawmen. The Newland farmers were to keep their north end dykes between Francis Robinson's intack and New Land in good repair all year and a dyke or fence between the upper end of Little Cliffe and the intack. Everyone had to scour the Humber bridge syke so that the water had free passage to Newland side. The south end of Newland was a field dyke from Newland Gate to the sea cliff. Eventually several farms were erected at Newlands. [92]

Hatterbergh settlements

There are unsolved problems about the the relationships between Hatterberg, Northstead and Peasholm and their early landscapes. Most of the available sources have been fully explored by Frank Rimington in his 'History of Hatterboard'. 'Haterberg' is mentioned with Throxenby in 1167-8. The village site appears to run southwards from Throxenby and the two settlements may have once been one. A William, son of Robert the smith of Hatterboard, occurs in 1218 and a family taking the settlement name appear for many years under Scalby and elsewhere. The Knights Hospitallers also held a toft and one and a half acres of land here. Excavations by the Scarborough Archaeological Society found 13-14th century buildings along a road and sherds of late 12th century to late 14th century pottery. [93] The King licenced the Friars Minor from Scarborough in 1245 to erect and occupy a house and other buildings between Cokewaldhull and Milnbeck. [94] William son of Robert de Morpeth quitclaimed the land he held as a tenant in chief in 'Haterberg in Scalby parish' to make this possible, while Roger Ughtred gave the land to the King. [95] The site appears to be at the west end of the township area on old common land. The Friars returned to Scarborough about 1281, leaving a church and buildings, and the Friars estate reverted to the Earls of Lancaster, as successors to the Crown by the grant of 1267. A local chaplain is mentioned in 1285 who had eight acres let to a Falsgrave man. Another chaplain Henry of Hatterboard was buried at the Scarborough Blackfriars c1305 and candles were stolen from his grave. Earl Thomas granted one and a half acres of walled ground containing buildings to Master William de Pickering in 1304. Sir William de Braose was his successor holding the Friary site and he granted land to Alexander de Barugh. Robert, son of Alexander de Barugh, rented a toft in 'Haterbergh' linked with the Scalby clerk's house. [96] A local in 1563-4 could point to the place where he '*heard say Hatterboard was*' and Northstead was then sometimes called Hatterboard. [98]

The field land belonging to the settlement partly seems to be represented by the 'Burnt fields' marked on early 19th century maps. The Duchy had a tower (towen?) called Hatterburghe but this was in decay in the time of Richard Duke of Gloucester, who annexed 16 or 17 oxgangs '*lying to it*' to Northstead house which Richard enclosed with quicksets. [97] There was '*a decree for land in Newby and Atterborough not in the Manor of Northstead*' of 1564-5 when the manor of Scalby extended into 'Hatterbargh otherwise called Northstead' but 13 and a half oxgangs in Northstead were excepted. They belonged to the Queen and were enjoyed by Sir Richard Cholmley by letter patents of King Edward VI. The property is elsewhere described as fourteen oxgangs in the fields of Northsteede and Atterbargh and an oxgang in Newby. The fourteen oxgangs were equated with 280 acres as part of the manor of Scalby. John Talbot had a grant of 1612-13 for 16 oxgangs of land called Hatterbergh. [98]

Northstead Manor

By 1229 Rievaulx Abbey had a claim against William de Ros for four carucates in a 'Norstede', which could apply to this Northstead, but this is unproven. [99] John Sparrow of the 'Northstede' by 'Scharburh' occurs in 1413-14. [100] There was a sixteenth century tradition that Richard III bought Northstead (manor) from one Sparrow. [101] Alexander Sparrow, a gentleman who made his will in 1487 lived in Scarborough but made bequests to Scalby, Burniston, Cloughton and Falsgrave. [102] King Richard inclosed his manor of Northstead. He excluded both the castle and the manor of Northstead from his charter to Scarborough borough. [98] Henceforth, castle and manor were normally linked in life leases to castle constables. After the death of King Richard III, William Tunstall Esq of the royal body guard was given a life appointment of the custody of Scarborough castle and also had custody of Northstead. In 1537, Sir Ralph Eure held Northstead but let the manor house decay. Under King Edward VI, Sir Richard Cholmley used timber from the stricken manor house for a new hall built onto the parlour. There were barns and a chapel. The old low house held a shepherd till it fell down. A Crown grant was made to William Thompson in 1609 [103] and assignments for half of the manor in 1609 and a quarter from Richard Conyers in 1612. By 1650, the house was gone. The Parliamentary Survey of that year records a close where lately stood the manor house and one other close where a house had stood. The estate was highly valued, consisting of just over 500 acres, of which more than 424 acres were pasture. Mr. Thompson had three quarters of the manor and Mr. Keld a quarter and between them held 234 acres, the rest being tenanted by Scarborough and Scalby inhabitants. [104]

Peaseholme

Low Peasholme was in Northstead and High Peaseholme in Falsgrave. King Henry III is said to have given the Cistercians of Scarborough a Peaseholme site for a farm building. [105] The tradition claimed that the manor of Northstead or Peaseholme was reserved to supply the monks with food. When alien monastic houses were seized, Scarborough church was granted to Bridlington Priory but the King is said to have retained Peaseholm. The story has yet to be confirmed. Hinderwell spoke of the ruin of a manor house supposed to be a farm or grange belonging to the Cistercians. The ruins were modest with low walls in a sheltered spot. Buildings were excavated in 1911 on the west side of the road. There was field land attached to Peaseholm, presumably as flatts, for William Clerionet had two oxgangs in Peaseholme while Christopher Keld of Newby assigned 3 oxgangs in Peaseholme in Scalby to William Thompson, part of an estate later recorded as a messuage, 50 acre pasture close and two closes of meadow in 30 acres. William Thompson paid a rent for Peaseholm in 1681 of £1.11.6. [106]

Intakes

Small scale intaking was undertaken from moor edges in the revived farming expansion of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Leonard Bower acquired forty acres of waste heath in Burniston at 3s4d rent in Elizabethan times. Of a different character were John Hirds' inclosure adjoining Willymath fields and inclosures of John Hodgson south of Burniston village. These appear to be flatts taken into closes from the open fields. Different again, the manor court jury viewed and staked out a frontstead on the Burniston waste, 42 ft by 18ft, for Henry Cleathing to build a barn, rented at £6 in 1745. [59] A lease to John Iveson of 1592-3 includes a two acre close in Cloughton called 'Cawburr' intake, apparently the site of today's Cober hill. A parcel of waste in Cloughton held by Robert Coulson in 1612-13 consisted of ten acres let for 21 years at 3s4d rent, with liberty to inclose and build houses. The enclosure ran from north end intake gate, north along black ridge dale, north to the south west corner of George Heyes intack, east to Heyburne beck and along Richard's intake and by Todds dyke west of it to Edward

Robinson's intake dyke to the starting point. [107] Clearly a cluster of intakes were in the same area. The 18th century saw renewed intaking. By 1728-9, Cloughton closes called the Pettycrofts were said to '*belong to the oxgangs,*' broad close was '*part of an oxgang*' and there were four Fox intack closes. By 1740, there were seven little Field closes and nine 'Habron' closes. At Scalby, several intack closes of more than an acre each were made at the north end of the village near the high green, perhaps thirteen in all and by 1728 two had houses on them. The village was growing northwards.

Possibilities

Much remains unresolved. The internal development of the villages and identification of mediaeval sites could perhaps be furthered by study of the County Deeds Registry dating back to the early 18th century and by solicitor's deed collections as yet not made available for study. Crown records at London and Thompson family records in Humberside Record Office offer hope of unravelling the early landscape of Northstead. Aerial photography already available offers the prospect of mapping the rigg and furrow landscape within the furlongs and fields.

Sources

The main source used is a collection of documents in private hands, referred to as the 'Hill Mss'. I am grateful to the late Major Morgan and Mrs. E.Morgan of Thornton Dale for permission to make use of these over a long period. Members of the Hill family of Normanby and Thornton Dale held leases of many of the offices and estates of the Duchy of Lancaster in Pickering Lythe through much of the 17th to 19th centuries, as well as being lords of the manors of Thornton Dale and Farmanby. The collection includes copies of older documents made for purposes of estate management.

The documents relating to Scalby lordship include Scalby, Burniston and Cloughton rentals, accounts, surveys including a copy of John Norden's survey of 1619, another of 1660, Foster Pleasance's survey of the honour of Pickering in 1679 and another survey of 1717, also leases, deeds, Steward's memoranda, including Mr. Aylofffe's Book of Demises, copies of manor court rolls, reeves and bailiffs' accounts, and 18th century accounts of tree felling for house repair. Some detail comes from 'Scawby' rental 1562; Certificate of Woods 1587; Survey of Leaseholders of the Manor of Pickering 1651; the Pains of Scalby 1657; 1688 Cloughton survey of lands and houses; Particular of Demises to Thomas and Edward Keld of Scalby 1715; Cloughton Fields Flatted 1729; Burniston survey 1728-9; an undated copy of the Ancient court Rolls of the Mannor of Scalby delivered to John Hill, and a Rental of the Manor of Scalby 1741-2.

Other sources include:-

A map of the county of York. C. Greenwood 1817; A map of all the field lands and inclosure at the town of Burniston in the Manor of Hackness belonging to John Bempde Esq. 1725 (North Yorkshire Record Office. ZF9/1); A plan of the Manor and Estate called Northstead within the Parish of Scalby in the North Riding of the County of York belonging to the Crown 1806 P.R.O. MPE 1045; Plan of Farm in Cloughton called Calf Whait or Hayburn, early 19th century; Village Tales, The Story of Scalby and its Residents by Alan Whitworth, 1993.

Abbreviations and References

- BC Bridlington Chartulary, ed W.T. Lancaster (1912)
- EYC Early Yorkshire Charters, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, Extra Series, Vols. 1-3 ed. W. Farrer (1914-1916) and Vols. 4-12 ed C.T. Clay (1935-1965)
- NS North Riding Record Society, New Series, Vols 1-4 'The Honour and Forest of Pickering' ed R. B. Turton (1894-1897)
- RS Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series
- TSAHS Transactions of the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society
- VCH Victoria County History of Yorkshire, North Riding 2 Vols. (London, 1914-23)
- WC Whitby Chartulary, Surtees Society, Vols 69, 72, ed J.C. Atkinson (1879-81)
- 1 Scalby Inclosure Award, (1777) with 'A plan of the several townships of Newby, Scalby, Burniston and Cloughton within the Manor of Scalby in the North Riding of the County of York and of the Lordship of Throxenby within the same Riding divided and inclosed by Edward Cleaver, William Willmott, Edward Hebb, John Butler and John Foord, Commissioners under an Act of Parliament in the year 1771
- 2 M.L. Faull and M. Stinson eds. Domesday Book: Yorkshire (Chichester, 1986)
- 3 An Act for draining, embanking and preserving divers tracts of land within the township of Muston.....etc. (1800)
- 4 Boundary descriptions are printed in NS Vol. 1, p5, p21-25 and p26; Vol 4. p109 also at WC Vol 1, p35, p339, p485-6. *A true bounder of the lordship of Scalby taken the 18th day of February in the 20th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* is in the Hill Mss, along with several others.
- 5 BC p268 also EYC p282
- 6 RS Vol. 135, p99 also P. Dalton, Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship (Cambridge, 1994)
- 7 Yorkshire Hundred and Quo-Warranto Rolls RS., (1996) and EYC.Vol.1 (1914) p285
- 8 WC.Vol 1, p 3 and p34, also The Percy Fee EYC Vol. 9 (1935) p20
- 9 BC 279
- 10 Yorkshire Lay Subsidy RS. Vol. 21 (1897) p58 note
- 11 EYC.Vol. 1, (1914) p285
- 12 WC. Vol.1, (1879) p4
- 13 WC. Vol.1, (1879) p199 and RS.Vol. 72 p368
- 14 R.H. Skaire ed. Kirkby's Inquest for Yorkshire Surtees Society, Vol. 49 (1867) p140
- 15 F. C. Rimington The History of Ravenscar and Stainton Dale (Scarborough, 1988)
- 16 BC. p279
- 17 R.S. Vol. 94 p86 and p94

- 18 Scalby Inclosure Award
- 19 NS. Vol. 3 p6 and p125
- 20 BC. pp275-284
- 21 RS. Vol. 21 p60
- 22 BC. p269
- 23 WC. Vol. 2 p752
- 24 C.P. Evans Burniston's Open Fields TSAHS, Vol. 31 (1995) pp35-44
- 25 VCH.Vol. 2 p479
- 26 NS. Vol. 1 p21 and p36
- 27 NS. Vol. 3 p95 and 117 also RS (Hundred and Quo Warranto rolls) pp114-5 and pp243-4
- 28 RS. Vol. 74 p112 and NS. Vol. 4 p141 and p161
- 29 RS.Vol. 52 p135
- 30 Yorkshire Archaeological Journal Vol. 41 p447
- 31 Hill Mss, rentals
- 32 NS. Vol. 2 p215
- 33 NS. Vol. 2 p105
- 34 Hill Mss, Deeds, Inclosure Award, and EYC. Vol. 9 (1935) pp154-157
- 35 Transactions of East Riding Antiquarian Society Vol. 19 p11
- 36 R. Knox A map of the Country around Scarborough (Scarborough, 1821)
- 37 Yorkshire Gazette 4.8. 1933
- 38 NS. Vol. 2 p223
- 39 NS. Vol. 2 p35-7
- 40 RS. Vol. 44 p136
- 41 Hill Mss, boundaries
- 42 NS. Vol. 4 p97
- 43 NS. Vol. 2 p176
- 44 NS. Vol. 2 p7 and p138 also NS. Vol. 3 p14 and p37
- 45 NS. Vol. 3 p54
- 46 BC. p268
- 47 NS. Vol. 2 p106
- 48 NS. Vol. 2 p189

- 49 Yorkshire Archaeological Journal Vol. 36 p436
- 50 BC. p273
- 51 J. Cole Historical Sketches of Scalby, Burniston and Cloughton (Scarborough, 1829)
- 52 Burniston Local History Group A Brief History of Burniston (1995) p17
- 53 Hill Mss. 154b
- 54 Harwood Brierley articles, No 49
- 55 Vavasour Mss. 844, 847 and 849
- 56 VCH. Vol. 2 p479 and NS. Vol.1 p35
- 57 NS. Vol. 1 p47
- 58 NS. Vol 2 p8
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- 60 Hill Mss. 158
- 61 F. Rimington The Hulley's Stone Circle Transactions of the Scarborough and District Archaeological Society Vol 1. (1958) p23
- 62 NS.Vol. 2 p26
- 63 Hill Mss. 75
- 64 NS.Vol. 4 pp195-200
- 65 NS. Vol.1 p131
- 66 NS.Vol.1 p20 and p39
- 67 North Yorkshire Deeds Registry EU 197.162
- 68 WC. Vol. 2 p368
- 69 NS.Vol. 2 p25
- 70 BC. p275
- 71 Yorkshire Illustrated October 1951
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- 73 NS. Vol. 3 p14
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- 81 NS. Vol. 1 p20
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GAVESTON'S GHOST

By JACK BINNS

In the summer of 2000 a leading national newspaper invited its readers to visit any one of its list of 'haunted sites'. The list included Magdalen College, Oxford, Dunstanburgh castle, Northumberland, Whitby abbey and Scarborough castle. At the last named, adults for £2.30 and children for £1.20 might encounter the ghost of Piers Gaveston, Edward II's lover. The feature explained that '*the Earl of Warwick*' had '*driven Gaveston into the castle*' and there '*beheaded him*' and as a result '*the headless ghost still haunts the remains and is said to try to push sightseers off the castle battlements*'. (Observer, 23 July 2000)

Leaving aside this serious and silly attempt to lure gullible holiday-makers up Scarborough's Castle Road, it might be considered worthwhile to explore the historical evidence concerning Piers Gaveston's associations with Scarborough.

If Scarborough castle has ghosts, one of them is unlikely to be that of Piers Gaveston, with or without his head. Those who still believe in spectres of the dead might visit Blacklow Hill, between Warwick and Kenilworth castles, where Gaveston was murdered by the hired butchers of Thomas, earl of Lancaster (not Warwick). Alternatively, they might search for the place of his funeral at King's Langley in Hertfordshire, though they might be disappointed to discover that before burial Gaveston's head had been expertly sewn back on to his body.

When Piers Gaveston left Scarborough for the last time on 19 May 1312 in the custody of earls Pembroke, Warrenne and Percy he was alive, well and in one piece.

Piers Gaveston was a Gascon knight favoured by Edward II above all others in his kingdom. There can be no doubt that the two young men were physical lovers: as the chronicler of Meaux abbey in the East Riding crudely expressed his contempt: the king '*particularly delighted in the vice of sodomy*'. [1] However, Gaveston was hated by the English barons not because he was a lowly-born foreigner and the king's lover, but because of the excessive wealth and power granted to him by Edward: their grievances were personal and political, not moral.

As soon as he succeeded to the throne in 1307 the young Edward had summoned his favourite back from exile in France, made him the earl of Cornwall (a title hitherto given only to members of the royal family), and conferred upon him for life the lordship of five honours which included Knaresborough and its castle. Lesser but still heartfelt injuries suffered by his fellow earls were Gaveston's habits of beating them in armed tournaments and calling them by insulting names. For instance, the earl of Warwick he described as '*the black dog of Arden*'. [2] Such indeed was the strength of baronial hostility to the Gascon that, to avoid civil war, Edward had to consent most reluctantly to his favourite's banishment to Ireland in 1308, and later, for the third time, his exile to France in 1311. Consequently, when the king once again defied the English earls by permitting his favourite's return at the end of 1311, civil war seemed certain. Both sides now prepared for it. The outcome would decide the fate of Piers Gaveston.

In January 1312 the king and Gaveston were again together at York. There Edward announced that his companion was a loyal subject, his banishment had been illegal, and that all his titles

and lands were restored. In reply, the earls declared Gaveston an outlaw, and the archbishop of Canterbury pronounced him excommunicate. Two earls, Pembroke and Warenne, were authorised by the others to seek out and arrest him. [3]

York was not well fortified. Gaveston might have sought the security of one of his Yorkshire castles at Knaresborough or Skipton, but instead he chose Scarborough's, presumably because it gave him an escape exit overseas should it be necessary. In March Gaveston strengthened the castle garrison with his own forty-eight men-at-arms and foot soldiers, and soon he was joined at Scarborough by his brother, Arnand-Guillaume, who brought with him another eleven men from York. Between April and July 1312 a total of £48 was spent on repairs to the castle and provisions for its stores. To win the support of Scarborough's burgesses, Edward confirmed their charters of liberty and granted them the right to levy and collect harbour dues or quayage for the next eight years. [4]

At York, on 4 April, the king had given Gaveston custody of his castle at Scarborough and a mandate to hold it indefinitely at all costs. Piers swore that he would not yield the castle to anyone, not even to the king himself if he came to claim it as a prisoner of the earls. If Edward died Piers was assured that he could keep the castle for himself and his heirs. On the same day, a royal writ, addressed to 'the mayor, bailiffs and good men of the town of Scardeburgh', notified them of this extraordinary arrangement. [5]

The following day Edward and Gaveston left York and travelled north to the greater safety of Newcastle. There they remained for several weeks because the earl was ill. A doctor and a local monk were each paid £6 13s. 4d. for providing him with a cure. [6] However, before the royal party was ready to depart, an army led by the king's cousin, Thomas, earl of Lancaster, Robert de Clifford and Henry de Percy, suddenly and unexpectedly reached the Tyne.

Percy had his own particular grievance against Gaveston. Four years earlier the king had given him permission to live with his wife and household in Scarborough castle, and later, in October 1311, he had been made 'superior custodian' there. However, the following January, Percy received an order from the king at York to deliver up the castle to William le Latimer, and, when he failed to do so, he was summoned to the royal presence to answer for his open disobedience. Distrusting Edward now that he was accompanied by Gaveston, Percy defied a second instruction from York to surrender the castle to Robert de Felton. Only when the king gave him assurances of safe conduct for fifteen days did Percy finally and grudgingly consent to vacate the castle and allow Gaveston to occupy it. [7] He must have been more than a little displeased to have lost a home as well as the strongest fortress on England's east coast to Edward's detested favourite.

The surprising appearance of the northern barons outside Newcastle prompted the pell-mell departure of Edward and Piers down river to Tynemouth. In their extreme haste, the two fugitives left behind their treasures, arms, and horses, as well as the pregnant, sixteen-year-old queen Isabella. From Tynemouth they took the first available ship to Scarborough. [8]

At Scarborough, king Edward made a decision which he was to regret deeply for the rest of his life. Assuming that from there he could raise an army sufficient to overawe the rebellious lords, he went on to York, leaving Gaveston behind in the castle. It was a fatal miscalculation. Lancaster, Clifford and Percy, now joined by earls Pembroke and Warenne, descended rapidly on Scarborough. Gaveston was besieged in the castle and effectively separated from his royal guardian.

The siege of Scarborough castle lasted about ten days; Edward commanded his barons to lift it but they ignored him. Lancaster's three hundred soldiers, *'all clad in green jackets, arrayed and led by John Dalton, his bailiff of Pickering'*, sealed off all Gaveston's escape routes. [9] Gaveston surrendered himself because his supplies were running low, there seemed no hope of rescue, and he was offered terms more than generous. On 19 May 1312, at the altar of the church of Scarborough's Friars Preachers, Pembroke, Warenne and Percy swore on the consecrated host that they would conduct the earl of Cornwall in complete safety to St Mary's abbey at York where they would discuss a settlement of his future with the king and the earl of Lancaster. If no agreement could be reached by 1 August, Gaveston would be allowed to return unharmed to Scarborough castle. In the meantime the castle garrison there would be provisioned and permitted to remain in occupation. [10] Later it was rumoured that the earl of Pembroke had accepted a bribe of £1000 from the king in return for his guarantee of Gaveston's physical immunity. [11]

At first all seemed to be going well for Gaveston. Though he was kept in confinement away from Edward, his captors met the king at York and there agreed that a parliament should be called to Lincoln on 8 July to determine his fate. On 3 June an order went out from the king to the keeper of his manor at Burstwick in Holderness to ship three hundred quarters of wheat to Gaveston's garrison at Scarborough. [12] Edward raised no objections when Pembroke took Gaveston into his personal custody and took him south where he was thought to be safer. Of all the rebellious lords Pembroke was the one that Edward distrusted least.

Unluckily for Gaveston, however, the earl of Pembroke could not resist a visit to his wife and left his prisoner insufficiently guarded. The following day, Guy Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, seized Gaveston by force and carried him off to his castle. As the author of the life of Edward II wrote gleefully, *'he whom Piers called Warwick the Dog has now bound Piers in chains'*. [13] Nine days later, 19 June, Gaveston was executed by two Welsh swordsmen in Lancaster's employ: one ran him through the body and then the other struck off his head. [14]

Edward had no other political choice than to pardon Gaveston's murderers, but privately he could neither forget nor forgive what had been done by them. Towards the end of July 1312 the sheriff of Yorkshire was given a royal order to seize Henry Percy and all his lands on the grounds that he had been a principal surety for the safety of Gaveston and had failed to surrender himself to the king after the murder. [15] Yet before the end of the year Percy's lands were fully restored, though not his custody of Scarborough castle. [16]

The king found it easier to punish Scarborough than to revenge himself on his powerful barons: 'for certain causes', wholly unspecified but not inexplicable, the town lost all its corporate privileges and was brought directly under the control of Edward's appointees. [17] At least four Scarborough men - John Lok, Robert Fitzrobert, Reinard le Charetter and Robert le Coroner - were named in the general pardon, published in October 1313, of those known to have been involved in Gaveston's betrayal and death; [18] but this was small compensation for the tribulations that were soon to descend on the whole community. For the next fifteen years, as long as Edward II remained on the throne, Scarborough was subjected to the most ruthless exploitation to which its people retaliated with exceptional violence.

A succession of constables of Scarborough castle, who were also given the title of keepers or wardens of the town, now acted as virtual dictators. Scarborough was bought and sold like any market commodity. In 1317 John de Mowbray in effect paid £100 a year to the king for a lifetime possession of Scarborough. According to the terms of their bargain, if Edward decided to restore the borough to its burgesses, Mowbray would have their fee-farm of £91 a year and the remaining £9 from other royal revenues. [19] Sometime later, Robert Wawayn

paid the king's new favourite, Hugh le Despenser the younger, £120 a year for custody of both town and castle. [20]

Local resentment against Robert Wawayn is well reported. In 1316 an investigation was made into his complaint against eighteen townsmen that they had plotted his death. Wawayn alleged that they had hired William of Filey as an assassin, assaulted him, dragged him out into the street by his hair, and abducted a minor and heiress in his custody simply because 'he wished to bring them to justice for certain trespasses'. It seems that Robert had found it impossible to hold courts in the town, levy fines or even collect customs. [21] Some indication of what 'trespasses' were being committed in Scarborough at this time is to be found in this and other subsequent inquiries. Twenty-three Scarborough men were accused of intercepting incoming fishermen while they were still at sea, seizing their catches, and then selling them illegally at profit, thereby forestalling the market. These same men had also taken wreck of sea which by rights belonged to the king, refused to pay his custom dues on exports of wool and hides, and even stolen corn which was intended to supply the king's garrison at Berwick-on-Tweed. [22] Early in 1319 the king had to send an armed force from Beverley to rescue Wawayn who was beleaguered by Scarborough men in his own house. [23] Only after most of these named wrongdoers had been convicted and heavily fined for their '*divers trespasses and usurpations against the king*' were they granted royal pardons. [24] Not even the king's freshwater fish were safe. Wawayn was one of the royal commissioners charged with investigating losses from the king's millponds, stanks and stews; [25] and Henry Carter was actually imprisoned for daring to take a royal pike. [26]

A glance at the list of Scarborough lawbreakers during this period of extraordinary lawlessness reveals that the culprits were not common criminals: among them were several leading burgesses and at least two priests. Roger Ughtred had sat for Scarborough in no fewer than four parliaments; John of Hatterboard, Robert of Helperthorpe, Adam of Seamer and Henry of Ruston were also former or future members of parliament. Wawayn had had to contend with four of the Carter clan - William, Reginald, Henry and Adam - who were all major property and office holders in the town. [27] On the other hand, that Adam of Seamer joined Wawayn as collector of the wool custom in 1320 and Reginald Carter was appointed with Wawayn as customer two years later suggest that at least two of the former 'poachers' had become 'gamekeepers'. [28]

Nevertheless, not surprisingly during these turbulent times, the economy of the town suffered losses. Though there is no truth in the repeated Scottish propaganda that Scarborough was burned to the ground by Robert de Brus in 1318 and plundered again by the Scots in 1322, [29] there is evidence that its trade was damaged by Edward's disastrous wars and the misgovernment of his favoured appointees there. For instance, in 1316 there was a complaint that, though 'large sums' were being levied on merchants bringing goods into the port, the collectors of quayage had converted the receipts to their own use and spent '*little or nothing to the repair of the quay*'. [30] Judging by Wawayn's well-kept accounts that have survived for eighteen weeks in 1320, he had tried to restore order and efficiency into harbour management and maintenance; [31] but later reports of serious damage there indicate that he had been unable or unwilling to effect more than temporary improvements. The quay provided more than essential refuge for shipping: without its sure protection the whole length of the Sandside frontage was at the mercy of tide and gale.

The deposition of Edward II and the succession of his son in 1327 brought Scarborough prompt relief. Within days the town's precious liberties were restored in full. [32] Moreover, when the burgesses petitioned that they had paid a double fee-farm of £91 13s. and a fine of £14 17s.6d. when the crown took over in 1312, the barons of the exchequer were instructed by the

king's council to allow Scarborough this credit when the next fee-farm was due. [33] When Robert de Baumbergh was made 'watchman' of the office of quayage at Scarborough for life in 1330 in reward for his service to queen Isabella, it seemed that the era of exploitation by favourites had returned, but the grant was soon revoked. The men of Scarborough must have been delighted to read that 'it appears to the King and council that the quayage should be collected by men of the town and not by others'. [34] From now in if Scarborians had complaints about the condition of their harbour they had only their own number to blame.

Abbreviations and References

CCR Calendar of Close Rolls

CFR Calendar of Fine Rolls

CPR Calendar of Patent Rolls

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- 1 E.A. Bond (ed.), Chronica Monasterii de Melsa (1868), ii,355
- 2 H.R. Luard (ed.), Flores Historiarum, Rolls Series (1890), iii, 152; McKisack, p.9, n.3
- 3 McKisack, pp.24-5: Hamilton, p.94
- 4 Hamilton, p.94; CPR 1307-13, pp.441,447. The confirmation of charters and grant of quayage cost the burgesses 100 marks (£66).
- 5 CPR 1307-13, p.454
- 6 Hamilton, p.95
- 7 CPR 1307-13, pp.391, 413, 429-30
- 8 Hamilton, pp.95-6
- 9 R.W. Jeffrey, Thornton le Dale (Wakefield, 1931), p.42; R. Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster (1953), i, p.23, n.3
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- 11 Hamilton, p.96
- 12 CPR 1307-13, pp. 461, 464
- 13 N. Denholm-Young (ed.), Vita Edwardi Secundi (1957), p.25
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- 16 CFR 1307-19, p.156
- 17 CPR 1307-13, p.532
- 18 CPR 1313-17, pp.24, 25
- 19 Ibid., p.25, 18 Sept 1317
- 20 CCR 1327-30, p.45, 8 Mar 1327
- 21 CPR 1313-17, pp.586-7
- 22 CPR 1317-21, p.304
- 23 Ibid., p.264, 6 Jañ 1319
- 24 Ibid., pp.304, 384, 593
- 25 CPR 1324-7, p.138
- 26 CCR 1318-23, p.574. The pike was said to have been taken from the king's fishpond in Ramsdale.
- 27 Hinderwell, pp.182-3; CCR 1318-23, p.592
- 28 CCR 1318-23, pp.274-5
- 29 J. Binns, 'Did Scarborough Burn?', TSAHS 35 (1999), pp.12-15
- 30 CPR 1313-17, p.586, 21 Aug 1316
- 31 Rowntree, pp. 168-9
- 32 CCR 1327-30, p.25
- 33 CCR 1330-3, pp.353-4, 24 Oct 1331
- 34 CPR 1330-4, pp.9, 96, 207, 220

ST MARY'S REFORMATION

By JACK BINNS

A former vicar of St Mary's, the Rev. J Keys Fraser, once described Scarborough's parish church building as '*something of a puzzle to architects and a challenge to historians*'. [1] Architectural experts continue to discuss some of the unusual features of the construction of St Mary's, [2] and the purpose of this introductory paper is to throw some light on the fragmentary records of the church that have survived from the early seventeenth century.

For long it was assumed that all Scarborough's parish church records that predated the Civil-War castle sieges of 1645 and 1648 were destroyed during and as a result of them. We know that St Mary's was twice occupied for several months by parliamentary troops as their forward infantry and artillery stronghold; that then its wooden pews were broken up for fuel; that most, if not all, of its windows were smashed by musket and cannon fire; that its north aisle, north transept and eastern chancel arm were so severely damaged that the repair bills proved beyond the parish's resources; and that the foundations of the great central tower were so weakened that in 1659 a gale blew it down on to the nave roof. As for St Mary's documentary history, none of the original registers of parish baptisms, marriages and burials before 1690 are extant, and the historian has to make do with very imperfect bishops' transcripts, not so much running as stumbling from 1602 onwards. [3] Parish registers are food and drink to demographers and genealogists, but historians of the culture of early modern England and, in particular, the character and pace of the religious reformation, find churchwardens' accounts especially relevant and rewarding. Here again, however, it once seemed that St Mary's cupboard was bare - until that is a surprising discovery was made there, in April 1981.

Amongst the contents of a vestry safe was found a large ledger, bought from T Taylor & Son of 37 Westborough and dated 10 March 1909. [4] On to its blank pages were pasted by William Robinson of 6 Queen Street some 77 documents, described by him as 'Accounts and Papers relating to Scarborough Parish Church 1607-1698'. The first papers were two letters dated 1607 from William Ward, '*your careful pastor*', who was St Mary's vicar from 1602 until his resignation in 1608; the last of February 1698 recorded a Minute of the Common Hall authorising a rate to be levied on parishioners for church restoration. Though some of these manuscript folios had been dated in a later hand - possibly that of Joseph Brogden Baker, the Victorian antiquarian - neither he nor any previous or later historian seems to have known of their existence or regarded them as valuable sources. Only after they had been deposited in the County Record Office at Beverley was their presence there first noted by Ronald Hutton. Along with 700 other churchwardens' accounts he claimed to have consulted, Scarborough's was named in the appendix to Hutton's masterly work The Rise and Fall of Merrie England, published in 1994. Nevertheless, there is no specific reference to Scarborough in Hutton's text, index or footnotes, even though the churchwardens' accounts of the parish churches of York, Ripon and Beverley are frequently quoted. If Professor Hutton did read St Mary's surviving churchwardens' records of the seventeenth century then he must have found them irrelevant to his purposes. [5]

Apart from the two letters already mentioned and some miscellaneous material, the 'Accounts and Papers' consist mainly of four different kinds of evidence. One of the largest number is

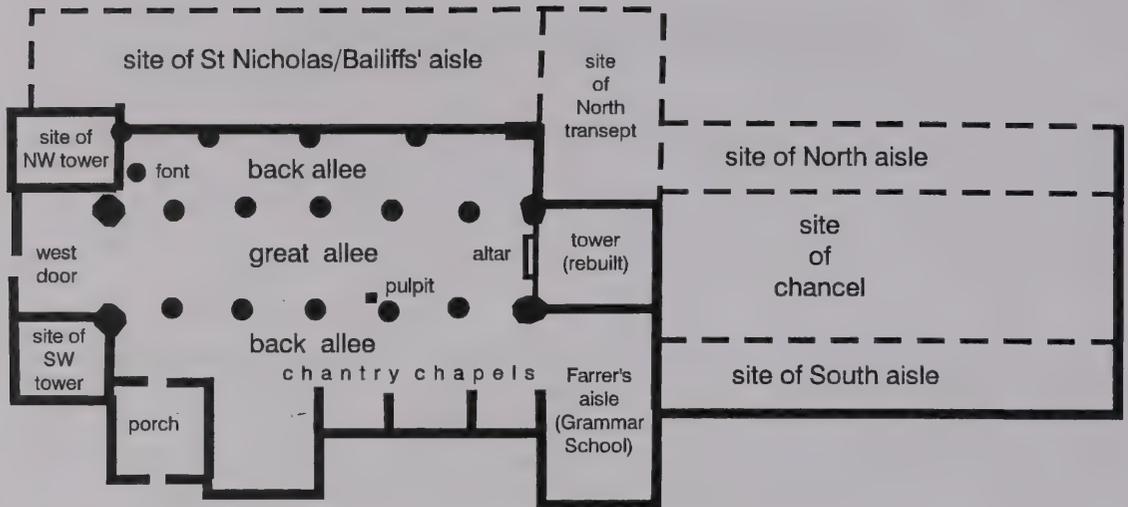


Figure 1. *St Mary's Church after Civil War damage and partial restoration*

of receipts of annual and half-yearly rents from church properties in the town and dues paid for burials, baptisms, marriages and communions. From these, for instance, we learn that what was once the church of the Holy Sepulchre (or variously 'St Pulker' or 'St Pulchor') by the seventeenth century has become no more than a plot of ground for which a year's rent is 6s. 8d. and that this sum would then be sufficient to pay for the burial in St Mary's of two children. The receipts run at fairly regular intervals from 1622 until 1689. Second in number are the payments made by St Mary's four churchwardens for church repairs and upkeep, visitation costs, bell-ringers' fees and officers' expenses. The first in this series is dated 1637 and the last 1685. Thirdly, of special value, are assessments of town householders for the poor rate, tithes and extraordinary charges on the parish such as for repairs to St Mary's chancel windows in 1638 and that of 1660 for general restoration. Scarborough's residents are listed in their four Quarters, Newborough, Oldborough, St Mary's and Undercliff. Finally, there is a complete list of 155 pew holders, their newly-built pews and the rates they were required to pay for them, dated March 1635.

In addition to these four categories, some of the many miscellaneous documents are of special interest. One page of what was a three-page notebook records two indenture notices on one side and on the other is written '*Everlasting most holy and most glorious omnipotent only wise imortall Lord God*' 31 times and signed '*Francis Rosdaile his booke*'. Rosdaile, Rosdell or Rosdale was a common Scarborough family name at this time, but a particular Francis Rosdale was a member of the Common Hall from 1645 until 1664, either in the Second or First Twelve, and on more than one occasion one of the town's four chamberlains for the year. [6] By trade he was a shoemaker and lived first in Newborough and later in Oldborough or Auborough. [7] Whether Francis was just practising his handwriting or paying some kind of penance cannot be determined: all we know is that 'Francis Rosdayle' (yet another spelling of the surname) was one of the churchwardens in 1637, the year when the two indenture notices were written.

Another stray document is a copy of an inscription that once appeared on '*a wooden frame*' on the northern wall of the chancel of St Mary's, '*near to the tomb of Mr Timothy Fysh*'. It was once the custom to record the names and gifts of benefactors who were buried there on nearby wooden notice boards and this particular inscription refers to the will of Mr Gregory Fysh, made in 1640. Since the board was almost certainly yet another casualty of the Civil Wars and Gregory Fysh's will does not seem to be among those preserved at the Borthwick registry, this document might well be another unique source. It is well documented that Gregory gave a

close called Worlington or Warlington Grave in Falsgrave to pay for the tuition of four poor scholars at the town's grammar school, [8] but there is no other record which lists his other grants of land - a close in Market Gate (now Castle Road) to pay ten shillings a year for repair of St Mary's leaded windows, another 'parcel lying at Sprite(Spreight) Lane head' also to St Mary's, and St John's House, near New Dyke Bank, to the hospital of St Thomas. [9]

Yet these are relatively trivial revelations compared with what must be one of the most important informative sources of Scarborough's post-Reformation and pre-Civil-War history - the allocation and valuation of new pews in St Mary's in 1635.

On the subject of St Mary's original seating the published histories are almost silent. Hinderwell could manage only a cryptic footnote, [10] Baker, as usual, merely followed him [11] and Maurice Horspool referred only to the '*ugly box pews and uglier staircases and galleries*' which came to clutter St Mary's after 1660. [12] Even the most detailed and thorough description of old St Mary's at the time of its radical transformation in 1850 adds only one interesting point: only the pew reserved for members of the Corporation had a canopy or cover, which in the author's outraged view served '*to keep up that unhappy distinction in the House of God which every good churchman cannot but deplore*'. [13]

One of the earliest references to lay seats in St Mary's is to be found in the Common Hall's Minute Book, dated 19 August 1629. '*Mr Lancelott Alured*' was then permitted to '*build a lofte in the backsyd of the chancell whear the pulpitt standeth upon the right hand of the pulpitt in Scardbrough Church for his use to sytt in for hearing divine service upon the north syde provyded allways he do nott deface anything for the maykyng thereof!*' [14] So as late as 1629 the chancel of St Mary's was still in use for services and sermons and occupied, not just by the tombs of prominent local families such as the Peacocks and Fyshs, but by the vicar's pulpit and a new loft seat on its north wall. That Mr Alured was granted a raised private pew indicated that he was a man of means and local importance. It seems that some gentry - like the Cholmleys whose balcony pew had been built across the chancel arch of Whitby's parish church - required elevated places to express their superiority to the groundlings of the congregation. Mr Alured's loft was only the latest of its kind in St Mary's chancel, but it was also the last. Though no mention is made here or elsewhere of the altar, presumably it was still positioned at the eastern end of St Mary's, as it had been before the Reformation.

Other reports of the fabric and furnishings of St Mary's are scattered, uninformative and rare. We know that the town made contracts with local glaziers and plumbers to renew and repair its windows and leads. In 1597 Robert Browne was employed for the next eleven years, '*or the terme of his natural life*', at 26s. 8d. a year to maintain St Mary's leaded lights, [15] but a similar agreement with George Fletcher, plumber, made in 1624, to repair the town conduit and church with '*lead and sowder and workmanship during his natural life*' had collapsed within less than four years. Fletcher had forfeited his bond with the Common Hall '*for his badd usadge and carriadge*'. [16]

Fletcher's failure to fulfil the terms of his 'bargain' might help to explain why a few years later St Mary's received a particularly unsatisfactory report. According to the archbishop's visitors in 1633 the church was then '*in decay, in the timber, lead, glasse, rooffe and workmanship*'. The lay rector, Stephen Thompson, was rebuked '*for suffring the Chancell to be in decay in the roof thereof and glass, some of the windows being walled up*'. In addition, St Mary's also lacked '*a booke of homilies, a poore mans box and a booke for the names of strainge preachers*'. There was no reference in the report to pews or lofts only to the gross misbehaviour in church of several parishioners. Mirabella Thompson and Maria Matthew had disturbed the congregation during divine service; Catherine, wife of Gregory Fysh, gentleman, and

(altar)

Mrs Ellinor Conyers

Mr Bailiffs

Two sub-Bailiffs

Steven Walker and
Richard Bilbrough

Four antient
Aldermen

Edward Lawson

Mrs Farroe

Four youngest
Aldermen

Mr Coroners

Mr Henry Touteville
and Mr Gregory Fysh

Mr Robert Fysh

Four middlemost
Aldermen

Mr Robert Fysh for
Robert Tythes

Mr Gregory Fysh

Rector

Mr William Fysh

Mr Ric. Thompson

Mr. Wm. Thompson

Mr John Harrison

Mr Wm. Battie

Mr Fra. Thompson

(28 more
pews on
the north
side)

Mr Ric. Thompson for
Mr Bawen

Mr John Harrison

Mr Tho. Foord

(25 more
pews on
the south side)

Mr Christo. Thompson

Mr W. Conyers

Mr Wm. Headley

Edw. Hird

Mr Wm. Foord

Mr Simpson
(pulpit)

Hen. Nicholson

Mr. Wm. Tenantt

Mr Timothy Thompson

Wm. Nesfield

Mr Martin Atmar

Mrs Eliz. Peacock

Fra. Fawether

Mr Clark

Peter Rosdell

Wm. Chapman

Sam. Hodgson

Robt. Salton and
Isabel Gill

Mr Wm. Battie for
Mr Broughouse

BACK ALLEE

Rich. Mathew

GREAT ALLEE

George Pearson

BACK ALLEE

Hen. Coward

James Readhead

Christo. Headley

Roger Nightingaile

Robt. Midhall

Edwa. Headley

Wm. Poskitt

Tho. Gill

Peter Hodgson

C. Poskitt and
Wm. Sedman

John Rosdale

Tho. Dunsley

M. Fowler

Tho. Noble

Robt. Woolfe, Ed. Boyes
~~Henry Swaine~~

John Allen

Wm. Gratin and
Ralph Robinson

~~Geo. Boyes~~ and Parkinson

M. Potter, Wm. Boyald,
T. Coverdale

Tho. Carr and Mr
Robt. Salton

Jo. Hickson and his
mother

Jo. Brasse, Ro. Johnson,
Jo. Wilson

for children to sitt in that
comes to be baptized

(*font)

(West door)

*Figure 2.
St Mary's nave pews
in 1635 (source: HUCRO,
PE 165/241, p6)*

Elizabeth, wife of William Batty, were guilty of *'undecent behaviour'* and *'talking together ... in the time of divine service'*; and John Garrat and Edward Hodgson were both accused of *'beating and striking'* in the church, the former having kicked Alice Russell *'with his feet'*. [17]

The first reference to pews in the Corporation records is a Minute of 18 February 1634 when it was decided that the initial costs *'of buildinge of pues in the church'* would be borrowed from the members of the Common Hall. According to their rank, the First Twelve would lend 20 shillings, the Second, 13s 4d., and the Third, 6s. 8d. each. [18] Given the novelty and urgency of this order it must have been an immediate and direct response to the adverse report of the archbishop's visitors. Soon afterwards it was followed by articles of an agreement between the two bailiffs and four churchwardens on the one hand and six workmen, three of them called 'Blaike', on the other to build *'with all speed all the pews and stalls for St Mary's church'*. The town undertook to provide all the necessary wood. In return the carpenters were required to remove the old pulpit and pews then standing in the chancel and set up new ones with doors, desks and seats in the body of the church. The new pews were to be modelled on those at St Mary's Beverley. Wages would be paid weekly or fortnightly. The working day was to be 12 hours, from 6am to 6 pm, and no one was allowed to leave the work without the written consent of the bailiffs. [19]

It might have been assumed that before the Civil-War sieges of the castle destroyed St Mary's chancel, the eastern end of the church was still occupied by altar, pulpit and pews; but clearly a decade earlier it had been effectively abandoned and vacated and all the church's activities had been transferred to the area west of the central or crossing tower. Indeed, it seems unlikely that ordinary parishioners alive or dead had ever been allowed to occupy the chancel during services.

In the second half of the fifteenth century the Augustinian canons of Bridlington priory had re-built the eastern arm or quire of St Mary's 'in grand style'. [20] At considerable expense the new quire or choir was constructed in the contemporary perpendicular style and consisted of five bays with both north and south aisles; measuring 90 feet long and 52 feet wide it almost doubled the length and space of St Mary's. [21] However, as in a monastic church, for daily masses and offices, the quire was reserved for the clergy and their assistants. Except on high feast days, such as Purification, Corpus Christi and Assumption, when the two bailiffs and other members of the commonalty took their places there, the stalls were occupied only by deacons, chaplains and boy singers. [22]

The Reformation therefore made St Mary's chancel almost redundant and nearly empty. The images of saints, such as Martin of Tours, Peter and Anne, that once adorned the new choir could not be tolerated by Protestants. The canons of Bridlington disappeared and soon afterwards the chantry priests and guild chaplains followed them. The dissolution of Bridlington priory in 1537 meant that the rectory passed to the Crown which leased it out to local gentry or court favourites who had no regard for the fabric of the chancel for which they were legally responsible. Neglect was bad enough, but there is evidence of criminal theft. The first lay rector, Sir Ralph Eure, used his lease to strip lead off the parsonage roof. [23] When a great storm in 1555 blew away roof lead from the two western towers, instead of replacing the lead it was sold by the Corporation at eight shillings a hundredweight or three hundredweights for twenty shillings and the towers were dismantled. Part of the money raised was used by the churchwardens to repair St Clement's aisle, but most of it went towards maintenance of the harbour pier. [24] Eure's absentee successors showed little more interest in the wellbeing of St Mary's and William Thompson of Humbleton was the first rector to have a home in Scarborough. By the time of archbishop Neile's visitation in 1633, as already noted,

the rectory had been inherited by William's grandson, Stephen Thompson. Before the Reformation St Mary's two churchwardens were often concurrently the two bailiffs or past bailiffs, the town's most senior and powerful official; [25] but by the seventeenth century four churchwardens, who were responsible for St Thomas's church as well as St Mary's, were normally chosen for the year from amongst the junior Second or Third Twelve of the Common Hall. After the closure of Scarborough's three friaries in 1539, the final demolition of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1564, and the relegation of St Thomas's to little more than a lecture hall for weekly sermons on Thursday market days, St Mary's had become Scarborough's only place of religious service in its widest sense, yet as the Neile report revealed its sad condition was an indictment of the town's neglect. [26]

The election of Richard Neile in February 1632 to the archdiocese of York marked a new and potentially revolutionary stage in the history of the Church of England. Neile was the chief Northern instrument of the national reform programme of archbishop William Laud of Canterbury and the Supreme Head of the church, king Charles I. Together all three were determined to stamp out what they detested as alien Puritan or Calvinist innovations and to restore what they regarded as integral and necessary features of church furniture and service practice. Since Puritans believed that the Bible was the sole and supreme authority, they placed much greater value on biblical exhortations in sermons than sacraments, and on preaching pulpits than altars. They had no reverence for the fabric and furnishings of the church: stained-glass windows, church bells, church organs and decorated, railed altars were to them at best distractions and at worst papist idolatries. The dilapidated condition of St Mary's as described in 1633 might therefore have been as much the consequence of local Calvinist indifference as the lay rector's dereliction of duty.

However, what we know of William Simpson, who became St Mary's vicar in 1630, suggests that he would probably have leaned strongly in favour of Laudian reforms. Subsequently, he declared from his new pulpit that *'Anabaptists, Brownists, Separatists and Schismatics were worse than papists and bloody-minded'*; sided with Sir Hugh Cholmley when he defected to the king in 1643; and as a result was deprived by Parliament of his vicarage, stipend and parsonage until the Restoration of 1660. [27]

On the other side of the religious divide was Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby of Hackness whose Puritan persuasion was famous, and his persistent interference in the affairs of Scarborough notorious. By the early 1630s Hoby's powers and local influence were waning, but he was still actively involved in the town's government and still bitterly at war legally with the Thompson family, Scarborough's leading oligarchs. Hoby's peremptory insistence that the town had the benefit of weekly Thursday sermons preached in the church of St Thomas is well reported in the Corporation records. Without mincing his words he ordered the Common Hall not to *'nourishe any opposition'* to the list of ministers appointed for these sermons. One of the clergymen named on the list by Sir Thomas was his own *'Mr Jackson of Hackness'*. [28]

Though Hoby had not sat in Scarborough's Common Hall since his year there as senior bailiff in 1610-11 and not in the House of Commons as the borough's senior representative since 1610, the dominance of the Thompsens in the town was a matter of extreme displeasure and irritation to him; and in every way he tried to undermine their authority from outside. The conflict culminated in a suit brought by Sir Thomas in Star Chamber against the Thompsens in general and godfather William Thompson in particular which eventually Hoby was persuaded to drop in 1632. Nevertheless, when it came to matters of religious practice and observance, Hoby was both dictatorial and indefatigable. Since he was not a resident of the parish he had no right to a place in St Mary's, but in his office of ecclesiastical commissioner in the province of York he claimed and exercised a right to supervise and approve the allocation of new pews there in 1635. [29]

Given Hoby's puritanical addiction to sermons and his hostility to the Thompsons, who were responsible for St Mary's chancel, he must have been pleased to read the uncomplimentary report of the archbishop's visitors and even more pleased to witness the revolution that took place in the parish church's seating accommodation two years later. Thompson's chancel was effectively abandoned; all the new pews were built west of the crossing in the nave and side aisles; the altar was brought westwards and placed below the chancel arch; and Mr Simpson's new pew and pulpit were built on the south side of the 'great allee' (as locals called the nave aisle), surrounded by the new pews of his parishioners. Nearly a century after the start of the Reformation, Scarborough St Mary's had at last become a truly Protestant church. [30]

The new seating arrangements satisfied all the main interested parties. The Thompsons no longer had the burden of looking after the interior of the chancel. They also were given the best preferential pews, all at the highest rate of £2 13s 4d, and all close to the vicar's preaching pulpit. Hoby would have been glad to note that there were now seats for about 250 of Scarborough's families, more than half of the town population. [31] Furthermore, from now on the churchwardens could keep a much closer check on Sunday attendances, which they were obliged to record, and find it easier to identify absentees. Also, the unruly conduct during church services which the archbishop's visitors had reported would be less common when parishioners were separated into families. When everyone was seated, anyone 'walking' during services would be conspicuous, and in family pews parents could be expected to have more control over their children. Already the churchwardens had the power to impose a standard fine of sixpence on parents of children under three years old *'that cryes and disturbs the church'*. [32]

Having filled the nave and aisles of St Mary's with new pews, the town's rulers then set about clearing out what still remained in the chancel. In March 1637 the churchwardens were permitted to pull down the lofts in the chancel and sell them if they wished to pay for repairs to the chancel windows. [33] Subsequently, with the consent of the church commissioners and the Common Hall, three churchwardens struck a bargain with Gregory Fysh gentleman to sell him *'all the lofts laityly builded in the quyer or chancell ... for the some of twentie pounds of lawfull English money for and towards the repaireinge of the said chancell windowes'*. Within three weeks, however, Mr Fysh withdrew from the agreement because he thought it *'a greate scruple of conscience to convertt any wood work or other thing once dedicated to the churche to any other use'*. As a result, *'being not willing to bind him to the bargaine contrarye to his conscience'*, Scarborough's burgesses unanimously consented to release Mr Gregory Fysh. [34] Finally, according to a nineteenth-century copy of the churchwardens' accounts for the year 1637-8, they eventually received £13 3s. for the chancel lofts and another pound *'for the Captains pew'*. [35] The 'Captain' was almost certainly our Mr Lancelot Alured, who appears frequently at this time in the Corporation records with this title. Two years earlier he was described by Sir Edward Osborne, then vice-president of the Council of the North at York, as *'a gentleman ... of good experience in matters of fortification'*. [36] Subsequently, Captain Alured of Rudston served in the Civil War under Sir Hugh Cholmley and changed sides with him. [37]

After the devastating impact of the first castle siege in February-July 1645 the chancel of St Mary's was reduced to a roofless shell. Nevertheless, even then, something was salvaged from its remnants. A year after Cholmley's surrender the restored Common Hall ordered an assessment of £110 on the whole town for major repairs to the roofs, leads, windows and pews of their parish church. A colossal burden such as this on a deeply impoverished community was more than it could bear, and the burgesses looked for any means that might reduce it. A month later they discovered that some expense could be saved by re-using *'the frame of timber which standeth in Peacocks Ile att the East end ... for sole trees for pewes in the bodye of the said church'*. [38]

The 'frame of timber' then 'conceived altogether unusefull where it now stands' might have been the remains of the carved retable behind the high altar which had been one of the last pieces of pre-Reformation decoration added to the chancel. [39] Peacock's Aisle was so-called because it contained the tombs of a family that had once played a leading role in Scarborough's public life. As recently as 1602, senior bailiff William Peacock had asked to be buried 'in the East Ile or walk of the chancel', and in 1630 his son, Richard, another former bailiff, had preferred the south aisle of the chancel for his burial place. [40] However, not surprisingly, after the Civil Wars requests for burial at the eastern end of St Mary's ceased altogether. Possibly the last one of this traditional kind was that of William Fysh who, in February 1644, asked for a final resting place 'under his father's stone or so neare to it as thou thinkes convenient'. [41]

Just over 300 years ago the antiquarian, Richard Gough, wrote what he called his 'Observations concerning the Seates in Myddle and the families to which they belong'. Despite its long-winded and unpromising title, Gough's pioneer adventure in local history is now admired for its originality and remarkable insight into the society of a seventeenth-century north Shropshire rural parish. Gough drew a seating-plan of Myddle church as it was in 1701, noted the names of the occupants of some 50 pews, and then gave a detailed account of their family histories.

Gough wrote candid, graphic and humorous descriptions of men and women who were his contemporaries. David Higley was 'a good husband by fitts. What he got with hard labor hee spent idely in the Alehouse'; a certain gentlewoman 'wanted beauty' but 'had a large share of tongue'; and Richard Wicherley 'had noe gutts in his braines, but it seems hee had geare in his britches, for hee got one of his uncle's servant maids with child'. [42]

Unfortunately, seventeenth-century Scarborough had no contemporary chronicler to match Richard Gough, and at this distance in time we lack personal evidence of the men and women who in 1635 took their privileged places in the new pews of St Mary's. Moreover, even if such evidence had survived it would be only of an elite. Whereas Gough's Myddle had then about 450 parishioners, Scarborough's population in the 1630s was at least four times that number, and nearly half of it was unseated and unnamed in the churchwardens' list. Indeed, once all 155 pews had been built in the nave, aisles and side chapels, there was scarcely standing room for anyone else. The only free seating available in St Mary's was on a long bench running inside the outer wall on the north side of the Bailiffs' or St Nicholas Aisle, probably reserved for the elderly poor, and the pews 'intended for the scollers', the boys of the adjacent High School. Nevertheless, 'a true and p(er)fecte note of the Pewes appointed for the Inhabitants of the towne of Scarbrough together with the raite of every p(ar)ticular pewe' remains a unique documentary source in its own right, and an invaluable introduction to Scarborough's society on the eve of the Civil Wars. [43] Along with the other churchwardens' records re-discovered in 1981, perhaps it makes the post-Reformation fate of St Mary's less of a mystery to historians.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

The following abbreviations have been used:-

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| Ashcroft | M Y Ashcroft (ed.), <u>Scarborough Records 1641-1660</u> , 2 vols (Northallerton, 1991) |
| Baker | J B Baker, <u>The History of Scarbrough</u> (1882) |
| Binns | J Binns, 'A Place of Great Importance': <u>Scarborough in the Civil Wars</u> (Preston, 1991) |
| Borthwick | Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York |

Chapman	J. Chapman (ed.), <u>Scarborough Records, MSS, 3 vols, Scarborough Room, Central Library, (1909)</u>
Crouch and Pearson	D Crouch and T Pearson (eds.), <u>Medieval Scarborough: Studies in Trade and Civic Life</u> (Leeds, 2001)
DC/SCB	Scarborough Corporation records
ERCRO	East Riding County Record Office, Beverley
Hinderwell	T. Hinderwell, <u>The History and Antiquities of Scarborough</u> , 3 editions, 1798, 1811, 1832
L and P	<u>Letters and Papers of Henry VIII</u>
Mic	microfilm edition
NYCRO	North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton
Rowntree	A Rowntree (ed.), <u>The History of Scarborough</u> (1931)

- 1 M Horspool, The Stones of St Mary's Scarborough (1972), Foreword
- 2 See the latest published account L Hoey, 'The Medieval Architecture of St Mary's Scarborough' in Crouch and Pearson, pp63-77
- 3 The bishops' transcripts of Scarborough's seventeenth-century parish register are most accessible on MIC 5582 in Scarborough Central Library
- 4 I am most grateful to Mr Frank Sutcliffe for this valuable discovery
- 5 Since these manuscripts were too fragile to be detached from the ledger they have been left as found and referenced collectively as PE 165/241 in ERCRO. Isolated items from St Mary's churchwardens' records of the sixteenth as well as the seventeenth century can be found scattered in the three volumes of Chapman
- 6 NYCRO, DC/SCB, Book of Elections 1645-63; 1664-94
- 7 ERCRO, PE 165/241, pp9, 12, 38
- 8 Baker, p300; Rowntree, p360
- 9 ERCRO, PE 165/241, pl3
- 10 Hinderwell (1798), p99; (1811), p104
- 11 Baker, pl60
- 12 Horspool, Stones of St Mary's, p8
- 13 J Fawcett, A Memorial of the Church of St Mary's, Scarboro (1850), p81
- 14 NYCRO, DC/SCB, Minute Book 1621-49, f89; Ashcroft, i, p203
- 15 Chapman, iii, pl40
- 16 *ibid*, pl41; Ashcroft, i, pp125-6, 187

- 17 Borthwick, Archbishop's Visitation Court Book, 1633, pt2
- 18 Ashcroft, i, p250
- 19 *ibid*, p257
- 20 Crouch and Pearson, pp72-3
- 21 Fawcett, pp60,67; Hinderwell (1832), ppl24-25
- 22 Crouch and Pearson, p57
- 23 L and P, XII(1), 248
- 24 Chapman, i, pp29-30
- 25 Crouch and Pearson, p57
- 26 NYCRO, DC/SCB, MIC 1356/1226,1790,1806; Ashcroft, i, p250
- 27 Binns, ppl37, 175-6, 266
- 28 *ibid*, pp40-7; Ashcroft, i, p56
- 29 P W Hasler(ed.), The House of Commons 1558-1603, ii (1981), pp323-4;
ERCRO, PE 165/241, p7; Ashcroft, i, p270-1
- 30 ERCRO, PE165/241, p6
- 31 *ibid*; In a letter, dated August 1635, the town bailiffs told the Privy Council that Scarborough had about 450 resident families (Ashcroft, i, p278)
- 32 Ashcroft, i, p218
- 33 *ibid*, p301
- 34 *ibid*, pp316-17
- 35 ERCRO, PE165/241, p11
- 36 Ashcroft, i, p277
- 37 Binns, p94
- 38 Ashcroft, ii, pp78,82
- 39 Crouch and Pearson, p57
- 40 BIHR, Registry of Wills, V31,f201; V41,f225
- 41 Rowntree, p398
- 42 R Gough, The History of Myddle, D Hey ed. (Penguin, 1981), pp193, 140, 139
- 43 ERCRO, PE165/241, p6

OLIVER FRANÇOIS XAVIER SARONY 1820-1879

‘Scarborough photographer par excellence’

By ANNE AND PAUL BAYLISS

Between 1857 and his death in 1879, a major international business was developed on Scarborough’s fashionable South Cliff by the Canadian photographer Oliver Sarony. Such was its success that at the time of his death the business was believed to generate £10,000 per year and was valued at £30,000. 110 people were employed in purpose-built premises comprising 98 rooms ranging from public galleries and studios to tradesmen’s workshops. [1][2] The success of the business was fuelled in part by the entrepreneurial drive and personality of the proprietor, Oliver Sarony, in part by his skill in creating profitable enterprises from the then rapidly developing field of photographic technology and in part by his ability to gain the patronage of the gentry, nobility and even royalty who visited Scarborough in the season.

The aim of this article is to present an account of the life of Oliver Sarony and of the rapid development of his Scarborough-based business. Because much of its success depended on Victorian technological advances, the account cannot be presented without some technical content. However, this has been kept to a minimum and, if required, further details can be found in one of several textbooks of the history of photography e.g. [2][3]

ORIGINS AND EARLY LIFE (1820 - 1842)

Virtually no biographical details of Oliver Sarony’s early life seem to have been recorded during his lifetime. Information about his origins and formative years comes from two obituaries [1][4] and from an obituary to his brother Napoleon (1821-96). [5]

Oliver Sarony was born in February 1820 in Quebec, Canada. His father, Adolphus, was of Italian origin and had served as an officer in the Austrian army - the ‘Black Brunswickers’, and was decorated with the Iron Cross after the Battle of Leipsic (sic). After the Battle of Waterloo, Adolphus emigrated to Canada and married a French Canadian lady of ‘great artistic skill’ from whom Oliver and his younger brother Napoleon are said to have inherited their love of art. [1]

In 1831 the family moved to New York but Adolphus Sarony died soon afterwards leaving his wife and two young sons to fend for themselves. In his early teens Oliver began travelling from Canada to New York carrying beaver furs for hats and also carrying contraband silk while Napoleon was apprenticed for six years to a New York lithographer. [6] One day Napoleon showed Oliver a wonderful new machine that took portraits. Oliver was so taken by this totally new technology of photography (Daguerreotypy) that he sold his silver watch and used all his money to take lessons in the technique and buy the necessary equipment. The Photographic News reported that he first began professional practice in Canada, afterwards working in New York and around the United States with ‘*varying success*’. [7] However, early in his career a captain of a ship, whose portrait Sarony had taken, urged him to go to England where he might



Figure 1. *Oliver Sarony photographic portrait*

make his fortune. He took this advice, sailed with the captain to an Irish port and by 1843 began to practise in Ireland moving to work in England in 1844. [ibid.]

EARLY PHOTOGRAPHY

At the beginning of the 1840s there were two newly invented methods of photography. An Englishman, William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-77), had patented his process in 1841. [2][8] This was based on impregnating high quality paper with silver salts, exposing this in a camera and then developing and fixing the resulting 'Talbotype' or 'Calotype'. Earlier a Frenchman, Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, had perfected a different process, called the Daguerreotype, in 1839. The French Government, with the intention of making it 'free to the world', acquired rights to it. [2] However, just before the Government's intervention, Daguerre, acting through a London agent, acquired an English patent to his process, the rights to which were then acquired by a London entrepreneur, Richard Beard. [9]

The difficulty for the would-be commercial photographer in the 1840s in England was that whichever process he or she chose they needed to obtain a licence from either Fox Talbot or Beard. The Fox Talbot process was slower than the Daguerreotype, had less definition and was suitable mostly for photographs of buildings or as a photographic base for over painting (see below). In addition, Fox Talbot imposed numerous restrictions on his licensees. Commercial photographers therefore opted for the faster Daguerreotype process for which they could usually obtain an exclusive licence from Richard Beard provided he had not set up his own studio in a particular town. Richard Beard did, in fact, open Scarborough's first photographic studio in June 1842 - the 'Royal Photographic Institution' at 8, York Place under the supervision of one of his skilled London technicians. [9] Photography was a novelty at this time and many photographers (daguerreotypists) operated on an itinerant basis. There were several advantages to this. A photographer who did not hold a licence for an area could move in for a short period, operate profitably and quickly move on. This avoided confrontation with the licence holder as well as with any dissatisfied customers should his photographs fade or otherwise be unsatisfactory.

SARONY'S PRE-SCARBOROUGH PERIOD (1843-1856)

It was this itinerant life that Oliver Sarony adopted until he settled permanently in Scarborough in 1857. There is some evidence that, during this period, he also spent some time in Paris with his brother Napoleon visiting artistic and photographic studios. [6][10] As an itinerant photographer much of Oliver Sarony's work seems to have been in the Eastern Counties of England. Inevitably, there is not a complete record of his movements prior to 1857, but much can be deduced from newspaper advertisements. In 1846 he was working in Bradford, [11] and he was in Chesterfield and Mansfield in 1852. [12] The following year he was working in

Hull and Beverley [13], and in Wisbech in 1854. [14] In November of that year he moved to Cambridge [15] where he remained for at least 13 months. This period of stay may have been associated with the volume of patronage he found in the University City. [16]

Itinerant photographers of this period would operate either from rented rooms fitted out as a studio, from wooden prefabricated studios which could be dismantled and crated for transport or from fully equipped horse drawn mobile studios. Sarony worked from temporary studios and mobile carriages. The Hull Advertiser reported in 1853 that he had '*constructed a Carriage which, in all its arrangements, is more complete for the Daguerian (sic) purposes than any other Establishment in the Kingdom*'. It was at that time '*located in Paragon Street near the Railway Station*'. [17] When Sarony arrived in Cambridge for the winter of 1854 he had two such mobile studios, the Cambridge Chronicle reporting that '*Two remarkably neat houses upon wheels have probably arrested the attention of those who have passed the entrance to Parker's Piece, near the University Arms. They are the photographic portrait rooms of Mr. Sarony.*' [18] According to a letter to the Scarborough Mercury in 1959 one of Sarony's mobile studios had ended up at the back of a house in Scalby (near Scarborough) and been converted to a hen house by the correspondent's grandfather when he bought the property. [19]

OLIVER SARONY'S MOVE TO SCARBOROUGH

In July 1857 the Scarborough Gazette carried advertisements from Oliver Sarony, who had arrived from Norwich '*with 16 years experience of photography*' and had '*just completed, at great expense, his Photographic Institution*' in Alfred Street on South Cliff, Scarborough. [20] The establishment of a permanent studio suggests that Sarony's intention was to settle in Scarborough but in November he announced that he was closing his Alfred Street studio and moving to Newcastle upon Tyne for the winter [21] where he set up his studio at 69, Blackett Street. [22] However, Sarony returned to Scarborough in 1858 having commissioned the Scarborough architects' firm of Messrs John & David Petch [23] to design for him a purpose built studio on a plot of land opposite to his earlier premises in Alfred Street. The new premises were opened on Monday 12 July 1858. [24]

Why Oliver Sarony chose Scarborough as a permanent base, apparently on the experience of one season (1857) is not entirely clear. Certainly, as a major seaside, spa and health resort, the town attracted many wealthy visitors in the season who might give Sarony their patronage. It has been suggested by Linkman, who analysed the reminiscences of John Beattie, a retired itinerant photographer, that Sarony had previously worked in Scarborough. [16] Writing under the nom de plume of 'Scintilla', Beattie recalled that he had been in partnership in 1850 with someone he referred to as 'Mr. Underreach' at a town described as '*a fresh little watering place on the Yorkshire coast*'. Linkman suggests that 'Mr Underreach' was Oliver Sarony and that the watering place was Scarborough, although no corroborative evidence has come to light.

Scarborough, in the 1850s, was served at various times by about 27 different photographers, all attracted by the seasonal influx of rich and fashionable visitors who had previously been catered for by visiting miniaturists and portrait painters. [9] It may be assumed that Sarony saw these photographers not primarily as competition but as evidence of the potential market that Scarborough represented for his photographs provided he could distinguish his work from that of the others. By now Sarony had apparently acquired sufficient capital to allow him to build a grand studio which would differentiate his business from that of other photographers in the town.

OLIVER SARONY'S BUSINESS EMPIRE IN SCARBOROUGH (1857-1879)

For 22 years until his death in 1879 Oliver Sarony personally directed and managed a cluster of related business enterprises from his grand studio on Scarborough's South Cliff. Although Sarony was, and still is, usually thought of as a 'photographer', this term is inadequate fully to describe his many and varied activities, although the rapid technical development of photography over these 22 years formed the basis of his numerous enterprises.

SARONY'S SCARBOROUGH STUDIO

In 1857, Sarony's first season in Scarborough, he had a studio in Alfred Street in what his advertisements called '*New Scarborough*' i.e. the most southerly part of the town which was then just beginning to be developed near Esplanade. [20] To offset any problems associated with a non-central site, Sarony arranged for examples of his work to be displayed at Mr Theakston's Library, Mr Beeforth's Library [25] and at the 'Repository', all of which were situated in St Nicholas' Street in the centre of the town.

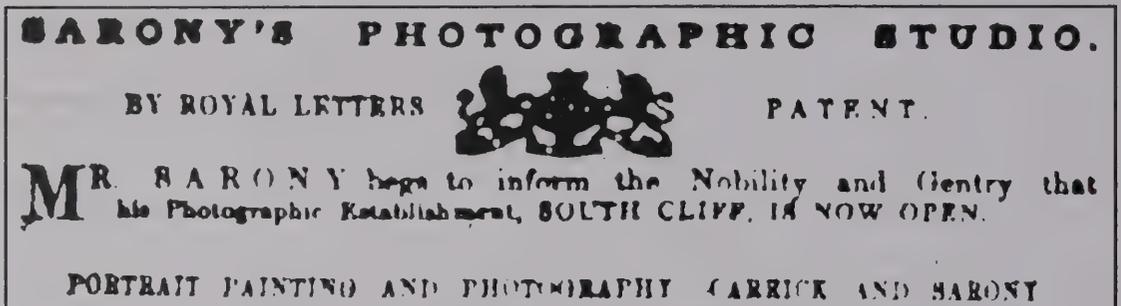


Figure 2. A Sarony advert from the Scarborough Gazette in 1858

In 1858 Sarony formally opened a new studio on 12 July 1858 explaining that he had encountered problems with his premises in Alfred Street. The studio there was not sufficiently long to achieve a great enough distance between the camera and the sitter to avoid distortion. To rectify this he had commissioned the local firm of architects Messrs J & D Petch to design a new studio which allowed the camera to be placed forty feet from the sitter. However, the building was more than just a long studio, as a letter to a local newspaper from one of Sarony's visitors described. [26] The basement floor contained an exhibition of Sarony's photographic portraits. A flight of stairs led to the main gallery which was described as '*a large airy room, with a beautiful view of the surrounding country to relieve whatever tedium might be felt by an impatient sitter*'. On the same floor was a drawing room with mirrored walls and richly carved furniture where a range of paintings was displayed. One of these was 'Wellington and Lord Raglan crossing the Pyrenees' by Thomas Jones Barker (1815-1882) [27] copies of which Sarony was selling for two guineas, one third of which would be donated towards the cost of '*the much required church on South Cliff*' (St Martin's on the Hill by George Bodley 1863). [23] Beyond the drawing room were retiring rooms for ladies, while on the ground floor there were the various workshops associated with photographic processes.

In 1859 Sarony described his studio in his advertisements as '*Sarony's Royal Photographic Studio and Art Repository*' and the room in which he exhibited paintings was now called the 'Wellington Gallery' containing, as it did, memorials to the illustrious General. [28] By 1861 the studio was recognised by visitors to Scarborough as one of '*the*' places to visit and be seen in. Several articles appeared in local newspapers and technical photographic journals



Figure 3. Oliver Sarony's Studio (from the Scarborough Pictorial)

describing such visits, the area occupied by the building now being referred to as 'Sarony Square'. [29]

A comprehensive description of Sarony's Studio was given in *The Photographic News* of 1868. [7] The studio was described as the '*largest and handsomest establishment devoted to photography in this country; probably in the world*'. '*A magnificent building in the middle of a square of handsome residences*'. On first impression '*it is a Town hall or some other public institution*'. The building itself was 153 feet by 66 feet surrounded by a garden of ornamental lawns and shrubs (240 feet x 180 feet). The studio was entered by a broad flight of stairs into a vestibule with a series of reception rooms, each displaying a different aspect of Sarony's work such as plain photographs, photo-crayons (see below) porcelain pictures, water-coloured photographs, oil paintings etc. Each room had its name and purpose inscribed in gilt letters above the door. The main reception room, labelled 'Drawing Room', was 50 feet long and 33 feet wide, had cost £2,000 to equip and in the season was thronged with visitors. There were 59 rooms in all, each devoted to some particular purpose from dressing rooms, painting rooms, enlarging rooms etc. etc. The *Photographic News* stated that the main studio was 27 feet long and 10-12 feet wide, suggesting that advances in camera design since 1858 had allowed Sarony to re-use some of his original 40 feet studio. The article described in some technical detail Sarony's photographic practices and stated that the natural top lighting of the studio allowed an exposure of 5-7 seconds in January and suggested that in the summer the exposure must be almost instantaneous, a matter of great importance to his sitters.

The next year, 1869, a visitor to Scarborough wrote an article in a local newspaper reporting his visit to the studio, giving the impressions of a client rather than a professional photographic journalist. [30] He described following direction boards on Esplanade to 'The Studio' and approaching through neatly planted gardens. In the building he commented on '*a singular combination of business pursuit and the cultivation of art. The former is hidden in the latter*'. He feels like a guest in a friend's house rather than '*customers on a mere business errand*'. He visits the 'Drawing Room' on the upper floor and comments on the numerous painted

portraits of the famous. He is told that 40 of the rooms in the studio are dedicated to specific processes and that about 50 people are employed there. He is shown Sarony's several letters patent granted for various technical inventions (see below). His tour of the building concludes with a visit to see the six-horse power steam engine in a 'little crystal shade of its own outside the walls of the house.' This was by Messrs Wilkinson & Clarkson of Scarborough, installed for Sarony's carbon printing process (see below) as well as to support the nearby frame making shop.

A report in the Scarborough Gazette in 1871 stated that although long admitted to be the largest photographic gallery in Europe, Oliver Sarony's premises had recently been extended to meet its business requirements. [31] Two new ground floor photographic galleries had been erected and several rooms had been appropriated to the carbon printing process which was an important part of Sarony's business (see below). There were now 42 'apartments' in the premises. In the same year a visitor to Scarborough described Sarony's as '*the Kursaal of Scarborough, without any roulette. It's a place for conversation and manipulation and recreation, and a little flirtation*' [32]

By 1873 the Photographic News was able to report that Mr Sarony's studio was '*probably the largest establishment devoted to photography in the world.*' [33] The journal commented on the growth of the studio since its last report (1868) from some 40 rooms to over 70. It covered an area of 240 feet by 180 feet, and part that was previously used as a private residence had now been incorporated into the studio. A major change was a new 'glass room' (i.e. the naturally lit studio in which the photograph was actually taken) now on the ground floor so that clients need not ascend from the reception area to have their likeness taken. The room was 60 feet long by 16 feet wide, and divided in the middle to make two studios. Natural lighting came mostly through the opaque glass roof. Sarony did most of the posing of the sitters himself moving rapidly from one studio to the other. By 1876 a commentator reported that there were four photographic studios arranged so that at whatever time of day a sitter called he or she will never be told that '*the light does not suit*'. [34] The commentator went on to say that a new feature was an artificial grotto outside the studio, which could accommodate a large party of sitters, and constructed to look like '*a favourite nook or a naturally picturesque resort for a pic-nic party*'

Oliver Sarony's Scarborough 'Studio' was, therefore, a remarkable combination of photographic studio, picture gallery and workrooms for a wide range of crafts and trades from photography, printing, painting, frame making etc. It became very much the place for the rich visitors to Scarborough to frequent whether or not they wanted their portrait taken.

OLIVER SARONY'S SCARBOROUGH CLIENTELE

The grandeur of Oliver Sarony's Scarborough studio was matched, if not exceeded, by the grandeur of his clientele. As an itinerant photographer in the 1850s Sarony's sitters would have been limited to those who could afford the high price of a portrait which in 1854 cost 'from six shillings'. [14] However, these prices did not seem to deter East Anglian farmers as in the same year in one of his Cambridge advertisements he stated 'Harvest being over orders pour in from the country'. [ibid.] An interesting ploy was adopted in Hull in 1853 when Sarony's advertisements stated that he 'would be most happy to treat with members of religious Communion or of Scientific and Literary Institutions for portraits of their pastors or Patrons' in other words he hoped that a group of people might share the cost of the portrait. [17]

During the 1850s new technology (mainly the wet collodion process) had caused a crash in the price of a portrait. [2][35] By the time Sarony set up in Scarborough local



Figure 4. *Photographic portrait of the Prince of Wales by Oliver Sarony, used as the centrepiece of the Spa Promenade painting (see overleaf)*

photographers, such as Henry Pickering, were offering ‘correct and permanent portraits from oneshilling’ [9][36] The wording of Sarony’s first advertisement in Scarborough, by contrast, stated ‘*To save trouble, the Public are respectfully informed that Portraits of the cheaper and commoner description are not taken at his Establishment*’ but that he offers ‘*a first rate production at a reasonable price*’. [20] Once his grand studio was opened in 1858, Sarony addressed his advertisements to ‘*the Nobility and Gentry*’ [37] although by 1859 this has become ‘*the Nobility and Gentry visiting, and resident at Scarborough.*’ [28]

At this period of the 19th century, Scarborough was a seaside spa resort that was frequented very much by the ‘nobility and gentry’. As already described, Sarony made his studio a place to visit and a place to be seen visiting. A picture gallery and extensive displays of his work were mounted to attract this class of client. By the end of the 1860s Oliver Sarony had secured his clientele from the nobility and gentry and also from royalty, both British and overseas. Thus a visitor to the studio in 1869 reported seeing portraits of H.R.H. the Duchess of Cambridge, H.S.H. the Prince of Teck, Countess Fyfe, Countess Yarborough, the Earl of Tankerville, Earl de Grey and Ripon, Lord Wharnecliffe and Lord Londesborough amongst others. [30] It was, in fact, through Lord Londesborough that Sarony obtained a particularly important sitter - the Prince of Wales. Lord Londesborough had a house in Scarborough - ‘Londesborough Lodge’ in The Crescent, where he entertained many significant guests. H.R.H. The Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) was the guest of the Londesboroughs in 1869 and 1870, and again in 1871 when he was accompanied by the H.R.H. The Princess of Wales. [38]

By July 1870 Oliver Sarony was describing himself as ‘*Photographer to Her Majesty the Queen, HRH The Prince of Wales, H.R.H. The Prince of Teck and Princess Mary of Teck*’ [39] In the autumn of 1869 The Prince of Wales had commissioned Sarony to produce a large painting of himself at a shooting party at Grimston Park. This picture was produced by a combination of

photography and painting on canvas for which Sarony was now renowned (see below). A companion picture of the Prince of Teck shooting at Grimston Park was also produced and both pictures were on display in Sarony's studio in the summer season of 1870. [ibid.]

Throughout 1870, the Londesboroughs brought new clients to Sarony's Studio. In October, Lady Londesborough brought H.R.H. the Princess Christian (Princess Helena, daughter of Queen Victoria) to tour the studio, and later the Duke of Beaufort and the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury. [40] In November, Lord Londesborough brought a party of guests to the studio this time including H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, Lords Chesterfield and Bingham and a Colonel MacDonald. The Duke had his portrait taken with which he expressed *'his satisfaction at the admirable and artistic manner in which (it) had been produced'*. [41] Commenting on the visit the local newspaper said *'It is gratifying to the inhabitants of Scarborough to have in their midst a photographic establishment of such unrivalled celebrity'*. [ibid]

During his 1869 visit to Sarony's studio, the Prince of Wales had his photograph taken on 5 November and the Scarborough Gazette of 11 November advertised small 'carte de visite' photographs of the Prince *'photographed from life by Messrs Sarony & Co.'* which were on sale at Mr Theakston's Library priced one shilling. [42] This photograph became the nucleus for a major group portrait. In 1870 Oliver Sarony offered to take portraits of eminent townfolk, for a fee. [43] These photographs were passed to one of his artists, Thomas Jones Barker, who arranged the likenesses in his painting of the Prince of Wales walking on the Spa Promenade entitled 'The Spa Promenade' (as were many paintings of the period). Progress was slow as by 1874 The Scarborough Gazette reported that *'Those who would like their portraits introduced in the subject of the 'The Spa 1874' should loose no time in giving their orders, as we understand that positions in the picture are being rapidly appropriated'*. [44] Sarony had hoped to get 200 people on the painting but in fact only achieved 82, this number including many non-Scarborians, places being filled with people from the West Riding of Yorkshire, Lancashire and with London actors and actresses. [43]



Figure 5. 'The Spa Promenade' by Thomas Jones Barker (reproduced by permission of Scarborough Borough Council; photograph by Max Payne)

The painting, which can be seen in Scarborough Town Hall, is 11 feet by 6½ feet in size and has at its heart the Prince of Wales in the same pose as Sarony's 'carte de visite', the people nearest to the Prince being those who paid the highest fees. The practice of paying different sums for different positions in a painting was not new. Rembrandt's 'The Night Watch', now in Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum was financed in just this way. [45] The Scarborough scene is, of course, fictitious and has been described by a 20th century commentator as a '*gigantic fraud*'. [43] However, contemporary opinion in Scarborough saw it differently. The Scarborough Gazette commented '*Of course, the composition, both as to the choice of subjects and the grouping, is arbitrary; and herein lies at once very much indeed of the artistic character of the work and its value in point of interest, for we find grouped, as it were, on one particular occasion, such an assemblage of notables as were perhaps never under other circumstances, so happily brought together*'. [46]

DEVELOPMENTS IN PLAIN PHOTOGRAPHY BY OLIVER SARONY

Photography was, of course, the mainstay of Sarony's business. However, just as he sought his clients from high society in order to be able to charge high prices for his services, he sought and developed aspects of 'plain photography' that likewise would command a premium in the marketplace. These developments were mostly modest adjustments to existing inventions and present-day photo-historians do not consider these to have been major advances in photographic technology. [47] However, they made a major contribution to Sarony's financial success. The chief developments were - a method of producing distortion free photographs; photographs resembling those printed on ivory; the use of a camera that produced eight pictures in as many minutes; the invention of a universal rest; photocrayon vignettes; improvements in the colouring of photographs and the production of photographic borders. In all of these examples (see below) Sarony's practice was, where possible, to obtain a patent(s) for the invention and to build a business department to commercialise the development. Oliver Sarony reserved one public area of his studio for the display of his many UK and overseas patents. [30]

Distortion-free photographs

One problem with photographs of the human form in the 1850s was that there was often distortion in the proportion of various parts of the body, a defect unacceptable to Sarony's high-class clients. His justification in 1858 for building his new studio to include a forty-foot long room had been that the greater the distance between the camera and the sitter the less the distortion. [37] However, in the same year Oliver Sarony was granted a British patent that took a different approach to this problem. [48] The patent describes possible defects in photographic portraits as threefold - some areas being out of focus; some parts, especially the hands, being exaggerated in size and the body appearing stunted. Sarony's 'invention' was to produce the final portrait from two negatives, one taken to get an accurate representation of the head and neck, and a second with the camera in different position to obtain the rest of the body in proportion. The two resulting negatives were then combined, '*putting the head further from the waist to correct the stunting*' to produce the final portrait. [ibid.] An artist filled in any resulting gap. This was not a new technique but Sarony had patented a specific application of it. He then featured his distortion-free photographs in all of his advertisements. For example in 1859 he claimed that he had '*entirely succeeded in removing that greatest defect of Photographic Portraiture, the undue enlargement of the hands, the waist and other portions of the human subject.*' [28]

Ivory-like photographs

Prior to the invention of photography, portraiture was the province of the portrait painter who produced either large portraits to hang on walls, or miniatures, some small enough to be worn as a locket or brooch. The highest quality and most expensive miniatures were painted on

ivory. [9] In the 1850s photographers developed processes to produce their work on ivory, which could then be coloured by a skilled artist but this was still an expensive process. [49] In 1858 Oliver Sarony obtained a patent for a method that produced photographs on paper that resembled those on ivory. [50] The aim of his process was to ‘*destroy its (the paper’s) opacity and to allow the artist’s work to appear floating within the substance of the paper*’. The process involved stretching the photograph, printed on paper, and in this condition colouring it with watercolours. It was then placed on a hot metal plate and impregnated with bees-wax, varnish, oil or gum to produce the required translucency. Again this was a process by which Sarony could add further value to his plain photography and charge a premium price.

Eight Likenesses on one photograph

In 1862 Oliver Sarony began to use a camera which would take eight ‘carte de visite’ photographs, in different poses, in about five minutes. [51] Sitters would then be presented with the eight versions in order to choose the one(s) they preferred. The camera that achieved this had been invented in France and was used there by the distinguished Parisian photographer André Disderi (1819-1890) and Sarony commissioned the inventor to make such a camera for him. Sarony found benefits for both himself and his sitters in the eight-exposure camera. Rather than taking a single photograph, showing it to the client and it being rejected so that further photographs had to be taken, the process was now speeded up for the photographer and the sitter. The novelty factor for the client would also, no doubt, have been an attraction. A technical article in 1868 in *The Photographic News* further described Sarony’s use of this camera. [7] For his ‘cartes de visite’, Sarony now always used the eight-exposure technique, sometimes taking eight views of a single sitter, but more usually taking the portraits of two or sometimes four different sitters on one plate. The article commented that such a technique risked the plate drying out before being processed and that different exposures might lead to images of different density. However, neither of these was a problem for Sarony because with

his experience he worked both rapidly and uniformly. Most of the commentaries on Sarony’s practice suggest that, in spite of employing a considerable number of staff, it was Sarony who actually posed and usually took the photographs. *The Photographic News* also suggested that Sarony’s success with the eight-exposure camera was in part due to his use of his own patented posing apparatus (see below). [ibid.]



Figure 6. Reverse of a Sarony ‘carte de visite’

Sarony’s eight-exposure camera was the source of a brief outbreak of public animosity on the part of several other Scarborough photographers. *The Leeds Mercury* had reported in 1862 that it was believed that the new camera was in use only at Sarony’s in Scarborough. [52] Sarony then used this quotation in his 1862 advertising in *The Scarborough Gazette*. This, together with a *Gazette* article at the end of July at the height of the season, praising Sarony’s work upset other local photographers. [51] They took exception to what they saw as *The Gazette*’s excessive praise for Sarony and, by implication, criticism of their work. The newspaper had called Sarony ‘*an artist par excellence*’ while of other (unnamed) photographers they wrote of ‘*bungling in the manipulation, resulting in an imperfect likeness or a blemished picture.*’ [51] Possibly suspecting that

Sarony himself had written the article, another Scarborough photographer, James Wigney, wrote to the newspaper the next week. [53] He complained that the article implied that there was only one establishment in Scarborough where good apparatus was in use and good portraits taken. This he contested vigorously, saying that all of his own lenses had been personally tested by Mr Mayall, the well-known London photographer. He ended his letter by writing *'If any of my patrons wish to be taken in 50 different positions, I shall be most happy to do it, - if the body can be twisted into as many different ways'*. The Gazette printed this letter immediately above an advertisement from Sarony featuring quotations from 'Art News', 'Illustrated London News', 'Morning Post' and 'Leeds Mercury' praising his work. Sarony had added on the bottom an invitation to people *'dissatisfied with photographic portraits of themselves taken elsewhere, either in London or Paris, to visit his studio'*

Two weeks later a letter from another local photographer in a similar vein appeared in the Scarborough Gazette, again placed next to Sarony's advertisement. This time the letter was from John Inskip. [54] The letter took up Wigney's point that the Gazette article implied that there were no photographs in Scarborough to equal Sarony's, a claim Inskip strongly denied. Inskip was careful not to accuse the Newspaper of what he called *'false motives'* but concluded that the article was written from *'want of a closer knowledge of the art'*. Equally he was careful not to criticise Sarony's present work but of his former years he wrote *'Mr. S's photographs have not been equal to some second-rate photographs in the Town'*. Another Scarborough photographer (and pharmaceutical chemist), John Beckett joined the anti-Sarony cry stating in his advertisements that it was he and not Sarony who had first introduced the eight exposure camera to Scarborough but unlike Sarony he used it to take just four photographs *'with what success is best known to the hundreds of visitors to his Gallery, at The Medical Hall, 20 Newborough'*. [55] Oliver Sarony did not respond to any of these letters. It may be assumed that these tensions amongst Scarborough's photographers about Sarony's predominant position continued it but was only in 1862 that they were aired in public.

Sarony's Universal Rest and Posing Chair

In the 1860s photographic exposure times were such that it was essential to secure the sitter's head using what the Photographic News described as *'...an iron vice into which the victim's head is screwed - the sole remnant of the Spanish Inquisition'*. [56] The apparatus was greatly disliked or even feared by sitters but without it, involuntary movements of the head gave an out of focus portrait whereas with it, it was suggested, a *'frightened, frowning or fatuous'* image was produced. [ibid.] Use of the headrest limited photographers' choice of poses as even if the head was held immobile that was of little value if the rest of the body could move.

It was this problem that Oliver Sarony addressed when he patented his 'Posing Apparatus' in 1865. [57] The patent specification included detailed engineering drawings of the construction of the rest. In essence Sarony's rest consisted of a vertical metal post screwed to the floor to which were attached an adjustable support for the head and another for the body. The principle was to support the head and body rather than to restrain it, and complicated poses, even such as ones taken up by ballet dancers, could be sustained comfortably for the required exposure time. [56] Oliver Sarony began to use his 'universal rest' in the winter of 1865-66 when low light required longer exposure times and achieved immediate success with an increased number of sitters as the word spread in Scarborough. In 1866 he exhibited his invention at the Yorkshire Fine Art and Industrial Exhibition in York. The apparatus was put to the test by a panel of experienced photographers at a meeting in London chaired by John Mayall (1810-1901). [58] After extensive testing of the new apparatus using men of every shape and size it was unanimously agreed that the invention was a major advance for photographers and several present declared their intention to use the new system. Sarony's London agent for the sale of the new rests was James How of Foster Lane and such was the success of the device that by

1872 it was said that Sarony had sold such immense numbers of them that they had become '*universal in use*'. [59]

Sarony's Photocrayon Vignettes

In 1869 Oliver Sarony obtained a patent for what he termed photocrayon vignettes, although the name photocrayons was generally adopted. [60] A positive image was printed onto glass and backed with drawing paper on which a series of hatched lines had been lithographed. [ibid.] By the use of various colours of paper and patterns of hatching a photograph resembling a crayon portrait was produced. Sarony obtained patents for this technique in a range of European countries and in North America. However, the invention was a source of criticism amongst some photographers, many of whom considered that others had already patented very similar if not identical techniques. The Photographic News looked into these assertions and published a long and detailed analysis of all of these other techniques and patents. Oliver Sarony will have been gratified that the journal concluded that '*On carefully examining every published record and recalling every similar method we have seen or heard of, we do not find that the same combination as that patented by Mr. Sarony has ever been tried*'. [61]

Based on his new patent Oliver Sarony established a photocrayon business at his premises in Scarborough. [30] To help him manage this new business Sarony took into partnership George Reeves Smith (see below), the business being now known as Sarony & Co. The Photographic News gave an account of the process and Sarony's associated business. [61] The journal praised the effect produced by the process, its only criticism being that the term 'photocrayon' was already in use to describe photographs actually finished by artists in crayons, this no doubt being Sarony's intention. The hatched backing papers were designed, in a dozen different designs, by Sarony's brother Napoleon in New York. Sarony & Co. supplied these backing papers to photographers, and it was reported that just one house in Paris had placed a single order for 4,000 sheets. [62] Alternatively, photographers could send their negatives to Scarborough where Sarony & Co. would produce the glass positive, mount it on the hatched backing and return the finished photocrayon. The charge for this service was '*half of the profit*'. [ibid.] Sarony's photocrayons were said to be so effective in mimicking a highly finished crayon portrait that an experienced miniature painter could be deceived. [63]

A Method of Colouring Photographs

In 1872 George Reeves Smith applied for a British patent for a new process for colouring photographs on behalf of Henry Vander Weyde and Oliver Sarony, both of whom were in New York at the time. Henry Vander Weyde had invented the method to avoid the lengthy and costly process whereby a skilled artist would colour a photograph by stippling with a fine brush dot by dot. [64] Vander Weyde, an American-born artist who later established the first photographic studio in London to be exclusively lit by electric light, [2] had reached some sort of agreement with Oliver Sarony to apply for a British patent. [65] The process involved pushing particles of dry colour and fine pumice into the thickness of the albumin body of the photograph. The provisional patent specification claimed that the new method was different to applying dry colours to a photograph, as the latter technique was only superficial. The patent examiner obviously did not agree that there was sufficient novelty in the invention to grant a full patent and provisional protection was all that was obtained in this country.

Nevertheless, Oliver Sarony visited America in the first quarter of 1872 to promote Vander Weyde's method of colouring. [66] The aim of Sarony's visit was, of course, to sell licences under the U.S. patent to American photographers. These sold for vast fees of up to \$2,500-3,000 and even in Canada, where there was no patent protection, one photographer paid \$1,000 merely for the instructions. [65] The Scarborough Gazette reported that licences '*had been eagerly purchased*' and went on to describe the highlights of Sarony's tour. [66]

This included visits to Mobile, New Orleans, Memphis, St Louis, Chicago, Louisville, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Buffalo, Rochester, Albany and Troy all between 4 and 22 March 1872. He also visited the principal towns of Canada and California. The journey was all by railway which was sometimes flooded and sometimes had rails so loose that the guards felt it necessary to instruct the passengers what to do in the case of a derailment. While in North America Sarony took photographs of many people including Jefferson Davis, the ex-president of the Southern States, and Buffalo Bill.

Producing Borders on Photographic Pictures

To add value to finished photographs they were often given decorative borders, titles or other ornamentation. This was achieved by a second printing onto the photograph using a 'registering press' to add the ornamentation. In order to save the cost and time of this second step Sarony devised a single-pass process for which he obtained a patent in 1876. [67] Like many of Sarony's inventions the process was simple. The required ornamentation etc. was printed onto a sheet of glass. This was placed next to the glass photographic plate and was mounted in a frame that had two apertures. The central aperture was the shape of the photograph while the peripheral one was the shape of the outer border. A shutter device allowed the operator to open the central area and take the photograph, then close the central area and open the surrounding area to expose the border. The result was a photograph produced with its border at a single step. The technique could also be used with pre-existing negatives without the need for a new sitting.

PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION AND ENLARGEMENT

Like many other photographers, Oliver Sarony sought new and attractive means of printing his photographs as a way of adding value to his product. Just before his arrival in Scarborough he had been producing photographs printed in '*bright violet brown*'. [68] Once in Scarborough he began addressing the issue of printing full sized photographic reproductions of works of art using the '*new patent Elliotttype process*' which had been invented by Robinson Elliott (1814-1894) an artist and art teacher of South Shields. [26][69] Elliott's patent listed the problems associated with taking photographs of large paintings as loss of size, '*a head the size of a penny becomes so diminutive as to be almost valueless*' and the fact that painted blues became white while reds became black when photographed. [70] Before the advent of photography the only means of producing copies of a painting etc. (other than making a single painted copy) was to use a printing process such as lithography. Such processes required a second artist to engrave or etch his copy of the painting onto a printing medium such as stone or copper. The cost of engraving a large picture could be several thousands of pounds and take one to three years. [71] Elliott's process was an intermediate stage between engraving and photography. It required an artist to trace or copy the painting onto a large sheet of glass which was then painted with a single colour (white lead), ensuring full gradation of light and shade. What was in effect a hand painted negative was then exposed to photographic paper and a full sized print was produced. [70] Such a process still could not guarantee a faithful copy of the original whereas, in theory, straight photography could. A purely photographic copy had other advantages in that it could be available within a few days and at a fraction of the cost.

Sarony's 'Art Union'. It may be assumed that the Elliotttype process was not a success for Sarony as he only featured it in his advertising for one season (1858). Two years later, in 1860, when he launched his 'Art Union' he returned to an engraving process for reproduction. One of his artists, Thomas Jones Barker, had painted 'Wellington Crossing the Pyrenees' and Sarony had the painting engraved by Greatbach and Wallis [72] and 80 copies printed. A subscriber to the 'Union' paid one guinea for which he had his photographic portrait taken by Sarony plus a chance of winning the original painting (said to be worth £700), one of the 80

copies or one of 20 other engravings. [73] Sarony sold subscriptions to the scheme in Scarborough, and also in Belfast where in the winter/spring of 1860/61 he had a studio in Bridge Street while his Scarborough premises were closed for the winter. [74] Although Sarony had originally announced that the draw would take place in Scarborough, it was held at the Belfast Corn Exchange in June 1861. There were 1,000 subscribers and the winner of T. J. Barker's painting was Mr. Hampton Macnamara of Belfast with ticket number 399. [75] The painting is now in the possession of The National Army Museum in London.

The Carbon Printing Process

The carbon printing process was originally invented in 1855 by Alphonse Louis Poitevin (1819-1882) but had been considerably improved in 1864 by Sir Joseph Wilson Swan (1828-1914) who patented his improvements. [35][76] The process, which did not use silver and produced more distinctly black and white prints was soon recognized by Oliver Sarony as ideal for printing full size photographic copies of paintings. He obtained an exclusive licence to operate Swan's patented process in Scarborough and set about installing the necessary equipment at his studio which required a two horsepower steam engine for making and drying the carbon tissue. [7] In 1869 Sarony announced that his Company had been made a branch of the London Autotype Carbon Publishing Company, which business arrangement cost him *'upwards of £2,000'*. [30][77] A report of a visit to Sarony's studio in 1869 stated that *'the carbon process must shortly revolutionise the publishing department taking the place, as it does, of the costly styles of engraving hitherto in vogue.'* [30] Already, the two horsepower engine had been superseded by a 6 h.p. [ibid.]

The technology that Sarony and his operators developed to produce the large negatives required in reproducing paintings (e.g. 42 inches square) was described in an article *The Photographic News* in 1873. [71] The negatives were produced in a building that had been purpose-converted from a stable and was in effect a large walk-in camera. The painting being copied was in the open air and the lens of the 'camera' was in the front wall of the building. The large sensitive glass plate was inside the building and manipulated on a frame to focus the image. The glass was nearly half an inch thick and needed two operators inside the 'camera' to adjust its position. Once the operators had left the 'camera', an exposure lasting about one and one half hours using natural light ensued. There were technical challenges in coating these large glass plates with light sensitive materials and also in handling them for development. In spite of this very high quality results were obtained. [ibid.]

Besides reproducing pictures on a large scale for art publishers using the carbon printing process, Oliver Sarony also offered private clients a subscription scheme likened to a club. The client paid a subscription of ten guineas and was entitled to a copy of whatever painting Sarony had in his studio. To satisfy annual subscribers Sarony either bought in a new painting each year or commissioned his artists to produce new ones. [30] When buying in paintings for reproduction Sarony always obtained the copyright so that he could guarantee to his clientele that no other copies would circulate except those produced at the South Cliff Studio. Copies of the group portrait with the Prince of Wales (see above) were produced by Sarony using the carbon process. [43]

As with other techniques Sarony looked for patentable improvements to the carbon printing process. In 1878 he, together with John Robert Johnson of Red Lion Square, Middlesex, obtained a patent for improvements to the technique of producing the gelatine-impregnated paper used in the printing process [78] and another for a machine to simplify the coating of the paper. [79] John Johnson (1816-1881), a chemist by training, was a joint director of the Autotype Company which held rights to Swan's Carbon Printing patent (see above). [77]

Photographs on Canvas

At the same time that Sarony's studio was producing full size copies of paintings, it was also enlarging photographic portraits onto canvas which were finished in oil paints by skilled artists thus achieving a near perfect likeness. A report in the *Photographic News* in 1868 described how Sarony persuaded his sitters to order a large painted portrait. A transparency was made from the negative by use of a copying camera, placed in a huge magic lantern and projected onto a screen. The sitter could now see what his or her portrait might be like when enlarged to the dimensions suggested by Sarony. [7] Where several portraits had been taken each would be projected in this way, so, as the *Photographic News* said, '*the convenience and satisfaction of the sitter are consulted and expansion of the business promoted*'. The apparatus used to enlarge the portrait was either illuminated by 'oxyhydrogen light' - a dangerously explosive mixture, or by sunlight. The latter method required the use of 'Monckhoven's apparatus' a particularly expensive piece of equipment (80 guineas) which, as one modern commentator has pointed out, only commercially successful operators like Sarony could afford. [35]

By 1873 the *Photographic News* reported that '*the most prominent branch of Mr. Sarony's business at Scarborough consists in producing large portraits finished in oil by skilful painters*'. [80] The article, which suggested that photography onto canvas was carried out on a more extensive scale at Scarborough than anywhere else, gave some details of the process. The *Photographic News* had interviewed Mr W. E. Palmer, the operator responsible for the process, who, naturally, was a little reticent to give full details. The process for impregnating the canvas was derived from the calotype process (see above) invented by in 1841 by William Henry Fox Talbot [8], and Dr Monckhoven's solar camera was used as an enlarger. To avoid vibration the equipment was fixed to the studio walls rather the floor. When the reporter visited the Studio a four-foot long canvas was being exposed. [80]

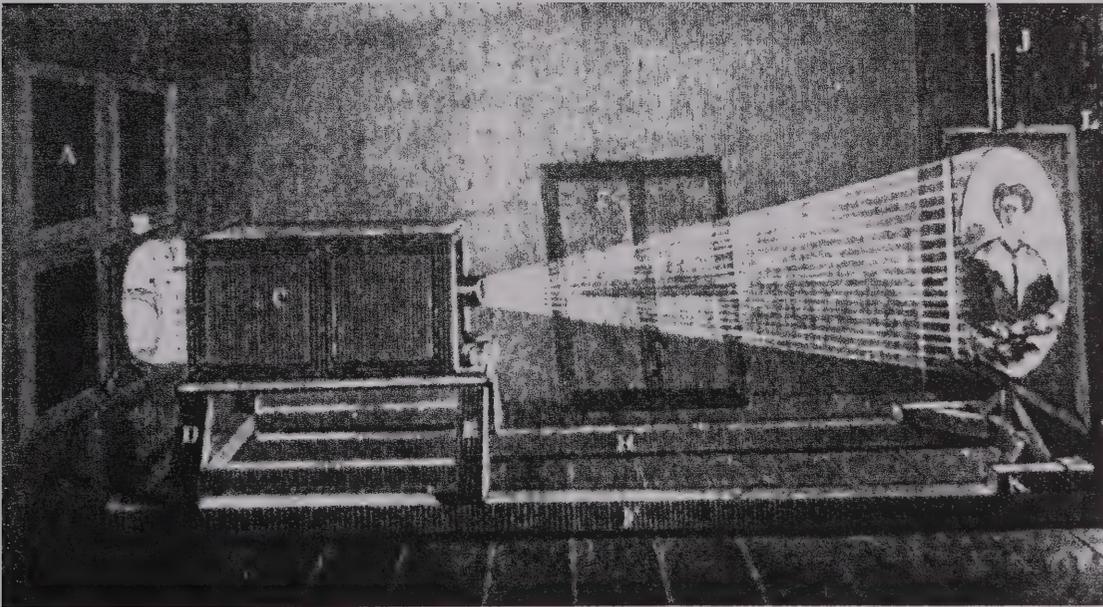


Figure 7. *Monckhoven's Solar Enlarger as used by Oliver Sarony (from The Photographic News 1 July 1864)*

OLIVER SARONY'S ARTISTS

It has already been noted that a key part of Oliver Sarony's business in Scarborough was the production of coloured portraits in monochrome, watercolour or oils, using a photographic base of any dimension up to life size. The advantage to Sarony was that the coloured portrait added considerable value to the photographic base. For example, in 1869 a simple 'carte de visite' portrait might cost about one shilling while one of Sarony's painted portraits would cost anything from 15 to 150 guineas. [30] There were advantages also for the sitter. He or she would only need one sitting rather than a series as with a conventional portrait painter. They would receive a more lifelike image given that it was based on a photograph, fading would not be a problem, and the cost would be about five times less than a conventional painted portrait. [33] It is not surprising, therefore, that Sarony employed many skilled artists. The working relationship between artists and photographers in the mid 19th century has been examined elsewhere in detail. [49]

Sarony was producing coloured portraits well before arriving in Scarborough as a review of his work in 1854 states that his '*colouring is exceedingly good*'. [18] An early Sarony advertisement in Scarborough in 1857 quotes the Norwich Mercury saying that his 'sun picture' (i.e. photograph) is merely the basis on which the finished work in tint or colour is created by '*an artist of evident talent*'. [20] No evidence has been found that Sarony ever coloured his own photographs and it may be assumed that, from at least 1854, he employed artists for this purpose. For example, in an advertisement of 1858 he clearly stated that he had '*secured the services of several first-rate artists*'. [22] In the same year in his Scarborough advertisements he stated that he had made an arrangement with Thomas Carrick (1802-1875) to finish his portraits. Carrick was a well-known miniaturist who also worked in Carlisle, London and Newcastle. [81] He seems to have worked in Scarborough for only two or three seasons (1858-60).

In 1858 Sarony began a working relationship with another artist, Thomas Jones Barker which lasted until Sarony's death. Barker was responsible for many of the grand historical paintings that Sarony had on exhibition in his studio, copies of many of which he published using the carbon printing process (see above). Barker's paintings included 'Wellington Crossing the Pyrenees' - the prize in Sarony's 'Art Union' of 1860-61, and also the fictitious scene of the Prince of Wales and others on the Spa Promenade now in Scarborough Town Hall. Barker also painted many of Sarony's grand portraits on canvas but seems to have worked on a freelance basis. However, another artist, William K. Briggs (1816-1884) was employed on a permanent basis as head of the portrait-painting department. [27] Oliver Sarony was responsible for many other artists settling in Scarborough including several from continental Europe. These included the Frenchman Paul Marny (1829-1914), and the Belgians André van Achter (born 1842), Henri Neumans (born 1847) and Alphonse Neumans (c.1853-1893). [ibid.]

Oliver Sarony paid his top artists well. In 1868 it was reported that several of his best artists would earn £500-600 per annum while one miniaturist, who was guaranteed a salary of £1,000 p.a., actually earned more. [7] Some artists were in Sarony's permanent employ while others worked on a seasonal basis. As was conventional in large studios each artist specialised in his particular painterly skill such as the representation of drapes or flesh.

STUDIOS OUTSIDE SCARBOROUGH AND BUSINESS ASSOCIATES

While it is clear that Scarborough was the centre of Oliver Sarony's business from 1857 to his death in 1879 he also had branch studios outside the town. Using newspapers and directories these other studios can be partly identified. He is listed in 1857 and in 1861 with a studio at

12, Bridge Street, Belfast. [74][82] In Newcastle upon Tyne he is listed in 1858 with a studio at 69, Blackett Street [22] and in 1870/71 he is listed at 32, Grey Street as 'Sarony & Co.' [83] In 1860 Saroney (sic) had a studio at 6, Stephen's Green North in Dublin [84] and in 1864 he is listed as a photographer at 15, Park Place, Leeds. [85] It is difficult to know whether these studios were seasonal (winter) or more permanent.

Although Oliver Sarony was clearly the driving force behind his enterprises, from time to time he took partners into his business. From 1860 to 1862 he was in partnership with the London photographers and portrait painters Messrs Dickinson & Co., calling the business 'Sarony & Dickinson'. [86] Messrs Dickinson of New Bond Street London, 'photographers to Her Majesty' had visited Scarborough for the 1858 and 1859 seasons. In 1858 their studio for the season was at 24, Esplanade - very close to Sarony's studio while in 1859 they had more central rooms on St Nicholas Cliff. [9] Sarony's motivation in the short-lived partnership no doubt was to limit competition and to benefit from an association with a fashionable London studio.

In 1869, in connection with his photocrayons business (see above), Oliver Sarony took George Reeves Smith as a partner, the business now being called 'Sarony & Co.', [62] although on one occasion the name 'Messrs Sarony & Smith' was used. Smith, who had been a protégée of Sir Joseph Paxton, was general manager of the Scarborough Cliff Bridge Company, which owned and managed the Spa, a post which he seems to have combined with his duties at Sarony's at least for a while. [43] G. R. Smith continued to have an active interest in Sarony & Co. until about 1874 when he left Scarborough to manage the Brighton Aquarium. [87] However, Oliver Sarony continued to describe his business as Sarony & Co. Also in connection with promoting his photocrayons, in 1870 Sarony employed his two nephews T. H. N. Lambert and N. A. P. Lambert to visit America to teach the methodology. [88]

OLIVER SARONY'S NON-PHOTOGRAPHIC INTERESTS

As with many businessmen in the mid-Victorian period, a time when the South Cliff area of Scarborough was expanding, Oliver Sarony invested some of his wealth in property development. [89] In 1860 he submitted plans for two houses in Ramshill Road and three in Alfred Street, these latter houses were (and still are) adorned with tondi (roundels) with relief sculptures of heads of artists. [90] This large block was opposite his studio and complemented it in design. In 1861 he planned the conversion of a stable to a house; in 1866 further houses, cottages and villas in West Street and Ramsdale Road; in 1869 a cottage and stables on West Street; in 1876 houses and shops in St Thomas Street; in 1877 two houses in Grosvenor Road while in 1879 he was planning alterations to several lock-up shops he owned in Ramshill Road. [91]

In 1876 it was announced that Oliver Sarony was going to build a permanent circus in St Thomas Street, Scarborough on the site of Lott's Yard. [92] There were to be five large dwelling houses and shops and a circus for equestrian and gymnastic performances with a frontage onto St Thomas Street of 82 feet all to be built in red brick with stone dressing. Mr. Petch of Bar Street was the architect and the development was forecast to cost £2,500. Even before its completion the circus proprietor, Charles Adams, had already booked the circus and a temporary wooden structure was erected. It was said that the permanent circus, which could seat 2,500 people was 'the finest in England'. [4] Known as 'The Prince of Wales Circus', the building housed many events such as concerts and lectures out of season as well as a traditional circus in the season which also included a riding school. After Sarony's death, Sarony & Co. continued to own 'The Prince of Wales Circus' at least until 1897. [93] The building was later known as Zalva's Hippodrome, and in 1908 it was altered and a theatre 'The Opera House' was built inside the circus building and re-opened in July. [94]

PUBLIC PERSONA AND PRIVATE LIFE

Oliver Sarony's public image was one of a confident outgoing entrepreneur with fine artistic taste and technical skills. [4] In spite of making no truly original developments to photographic technology, he was able to build a very successful business on patents for small but important practical improvements for photographers. In his business he was clearly mentally and physically energetic, and retained many of the skills of persuasion learnt during his early itinerant days. His business was divided between his own photographic work at Scarborough and what was called '*process vending*' i.e. selling techniques under licence to third parties. On this aspect of his work the Photographic News commented in his obituary that this form of business can '*rarely be carried out without gaining obloquy, as the purchaser of a process which he fails to work satisfactorily rarely blames his own want of skill*'. [ibid.] His skill as a salesman was generally acknowledged. In 1873 he was described as '*very skilful, but never unfair, in pointing out the advantages of the coloured work, and generally a dead shot in securing an order at which he has aimed*'. [33] Likewise, in an obituary, it was recalled that '*Mr Sarony's especial delight and pride was to take an order for an oil painted enlargement from a customer whose original purpose was to have a dozen card portraits*'. [4]

By contrast very little can be gauged about his non-business life. An obituary in the Scarborough Daily Post described Oliver Sarony as a '*conspicuous citizen*' having the '*respect of his fellow-townsmen*' and that he was '*of a kindly and generous disposition, and was ever ready to assist any project that had for its object the amelioration of the condition of his less fortunate brethren*'. [95] However, unlike some other Scarborough businessmen of his time Sarony did not involve himself in local politics or the civic life of the town. If there was any public role it was always on the sidelines as for example his scheme to raise money for the construction of St Martin's on the Hill (built 1863) (see above). He seems to have been a relatively enlightened employer by the standards of the times. He held an annual dinner, usually called a *soirée*, for his employees and on occasions stepped in to help their families. For example in 1874 he employed Fred Dade, a London painter, who died soon after arriving in Scarborough leaving a pregnant wife and 6 children. Sarony immediately organised an appeal in the town for the family and, including his own contribution, nearly £100 was raised. [96]

A somewhat unexpected aspect of Oliver Sarony's life emerged in 1861 when he rescued Lord Charles Beauclerk from a storm in Scarborough's South Bay. [97] [98] On 2 November, while attempting to enter Scarborough harbour a schooner, the '*Coupland*', became wrecked near the Spa. The lifeboat '*Amelia*', newly commissioned in Scarborough, was dragged to the Spa to be launched as near as possible to the Coupland, but was itself wrecked when the storm drove it against the sea wall. Most of the crew escaped but two became stuck in the mud and two men from the crowd, Lord Charles Beauclerk and another ran into the sea to help the stranded lifeboat men. Beauclerk was dragged in to the sea by a great wave only to be thrown back against the wreck of the lifeboat. At this stage Oliver Sarony jumped into what was clearly a dangerous sea and rescued Beauclerk, a rescue that took Sarony 15-20 minutes. Sadly, what Sarony dragged to the shore was Beauclerk's drowned body. For this act of bravery Oliver Sarony was awarded the silver medal of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution for the Preservation of Life from Ship Wreck, which was thereafter proudly displayed at his studio.

EPILOGUE

Oliver Sarony died at his home on Saturday 30 August 1879 after collapsing in the town. [89] He was only 59 and at the height of his business career. Although he had been suffering from diabetes for some while, he had not been sufficiently concerned about his health to make a will. [99] Sarony's wife Elizabeth had worked as his cashier and the couple had no children to



Figure 8. Albion Street car park today - the site of Sarony's Studio

continue the business. However, less than two years after Oliver's death Elizabeth married Thomas Dawes (1852-1894) who soon took the name Thomas Dawes Sarony. Dawes, who was some 30 years younger than Sarony's widow, had previously been married to one of Oliver Sarony's nieces, Ida who had died in 1878. Elizabeth and Thomas Dawes Sarony managed the business, extending the photo gallery in 1890. [91] After Thomas's death in 1894 the business was managed by Samuel Waind Fisher, a photographer, who had been Sarony's business manager from about 1876 and who married his other niece, Jennie (Jane). [9] Early in the 20th century Sarony & Co. moved to smaller premises in 7, St Nicholas Street. The business was bought in 1925 by the photographer Ralph Clarke and ceased operations in 1960. Oliver Sarony's grand South Cliff Studio became derelict and soon after the First World War Scarborough Corporation bought the building and it was demolished. Tennis courts were built on the site which is today Albion Street Car Park.

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The Motor Racing Track Scheme of the 1930s

By KEITH JOHNSTON

In the 1930s a scheme was devised which might have extended Scarborough's season, boosted the town's prosperity and brought a great deal of publicity. The Council proposed to build a nine-and-a-half mile long race track on Seamer Moor and in Raincliffe Woods on which, among other things, international car and motor bike races would take place. However, it was not to be. The ratepayers voted against the proposal in a postcard referendum. This article will examine the background to the scheme, the details of the proposal itself, the arguments used in favour and against the scheme and the reasons why the ratepayers did not want the motor racing track. The conclusion will consider the significance of the controversy.

Background

In the 1930s there was a considerable interest in Scarborough in the racing of cars and motorbikes. The Scarborough and District Motor Club, founded in 1903, claimed to be the oldest in England. [1] It organised circuit races and what were known as freak hill climbs, first in Mr. Webster's field at Stoney Hags, where on 8 July 1934 3,000 spectators watched the events. *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post* commented on this particular event as follows: 'There can be little doubt that these motor club events are rapidly assuming a marked value to Scarborough. No less than 16 clubs were represented in a record entry, fifty per cent bigger than the entry for the June event, and motor cyclists and car drivers had come from all parts of Yorkshire to see the racing.' [2]

In 1935 the club had a new freak hill to use, at High Deepdale, and over 5,000 people were present at the hill climb on 23 June as part of the Home Week events. This hill, part of the old South Cliff golf course on Oliver's Mount, enabled a run of 136 yards, the climb starting with a rise of 1 in 10, and increasing in steepness to 1 in 7, then to 1 in 3 near the top, and finishing with a hazardous gradient of 1 in 1½. The events of this day were recorded by Pathe Pictures and were to be shown in cinemas all over the country. [3] Later freak hill climbs were organised at Scalby, including at Beacon Farm. [4] The popularity of these hill climbs was such that in a four year period 20,000 people attended them. [5]

There were other events also. In August 1935 the Yorkshire grass track racing championship races were held at High Deepdale; the following year they were held at Seamer. On this occasion *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post* commented that could such an excellent course have been obtained nearer Scarborough the attendance would have been even bigger. The crowd was composed mainly of holiday-makers, many of whom had come especially for the races. [6] In addition there were races on the sands at Filey organised by the Hull Motor Club which were watched by many spectators. [7]

The Scarborough Club, however, was ambitious and wanted greater things. The writer of *Motoring Notes* in *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post* wrote it May 1935 that he had heard it whispered that there was every likelihood of a T.T. event being staged in the district. The Scarborough Club wanted to be involved in national and international events, not just local ones. [8]

Also ambitious in this period was the Town Council which desired to promote Scarborough as a holiday resort. There had been some successes, such as the Open-Air Theatre with its staging of light operas, but there was a desire to do more and the Council had a Development Committee to consider possibilities. In 1935 it began to work with the Scarborough and District Motor Club on the possibility of organising motor cycle races on Oliver's Mount.

In July 1935 the Club asked the Council for the use of certain roads round Oliver's Mount for motor races, and also asking for certain improvements to the roads. [9] The Council responded positively and in October the Chairman of the Property Committee had an interview with officials of the Auto Cycle Union (A.C.U.), the governing body of motor cycle racing in Great Britain. [10]

The Council supported the idea because it wanted Scarborough's season extended, something which had been desired for many years, in fact for decades. The idea was to have races before the end of June, thereby starting the season earlier. In December 1935 noise tests were made and then a Town Council meeting decided that motor racing should be held on Oliver's Mount providing satisfactory financial arrangements could be made. [11]

In January 1936, by which time car races were being considered as well as motor cycle ones, representatives of the Council travelled to London to meet with representatives of both the R.A.C. and the A.C.U. [12] The seriousness with which the Council regarded the idea of using Oliver's Mount for racing is suggested by the composition of the delegation – the Mayor, the Deputy Mayor, the Chairman of the Property Committee, the Town Clerk, the Borough Engineer and the Estates Manager. [13]

Those who supported the scheme thought that it would extend Scarborough's season. Councillor Kipling at a Town Council meeting on 9 September 1935 said that the Motor Club was intending 'a miniature Isle of Man business', which would be in the early part of the season and likely to extend it. [14] H. A. Reussner of the Talbot Hotel wrote to *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post* to say that many people applauded the proposal to try to lengthen the season, which was too short. [15] Supporters also emphasised the appeal of motoring events. Norman Edward Skinner, Chairman of the Scarborough and District Motor Club, believed that if a week's events were organised, tens of thousands would be attracted. [16] Councillor Kilburn, Chairman of the Property Committee, was confident that races would bring thousands of visitors and thousands of pounds into the town. [17] Another argument in favour of the scheme was the publicity that it would bring to Scarborough. [18]

However, there was also opposition to the proposals. Oliver's Mount was regarded as a peaceful and beautiful part of the town that would be adversely affected by motor racing. *Scarborian* claimed that he was speaking for ninety per cent of his fellow townsmen and that everyone he had approached thought the proposal was an 'ugly' thing that would do infinite harm to beautiful surroundings. [19] It was also a mainly residential area, and there were fears that the value of property in the district would fall if races were held. [20] Noise was a particular concern and one correspondent to *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post* cast doubt on the tests that had been held. [21] Others believed that there would be betting which would attract a rowdy element, just as had happened when there had been horse races at Scarborough, [22] and also a problem with litter. [23] The belief was also expressed that the sort of people who would come to the town for the races would be the sort who would spend little money in the town, most of them coming in by car for the day and bringing their own food. [24] Jos. S. Rowntree did not believe that motor trials for a few days would bring about a June season. [25] It was also suggested that Oliver's Mount was not a suitable location for motor racing because it was the site of the town's war memorial. *Objector*, writing to *The Scarborough*

Evening News and Daily Post, said that motor racing on this site would be as much out of place as if it were run amongst the tomb-stones in the cemetery, while Councillor Webster told a meeting of the Council that he regarded Oliver's Mount as very sacred and that it would be almost bordering on sacrilege to use it for the purpose suggested. [26]

Early in 1936 the Council decided not to proceed with the plan for motor racing on Oliver's Mount. [27] However, this does not mean that the Council had lost interest in the idea of motor racing as such. Far from it. A much bigger scheme was now in prospect, one which would make use of the Scarborough Racecourse land which the Council had recently acquired.

The motor racing track scheme

Horse racing on the Racecourse on Seamer Moor began in 1868 but ended in 1893. Then the area was used briefly for National Hunt racing in 1906 and 1907 and for point-to-point races organised by the Staintondale Hunt in the 1930s, as well as for military summer camps between 1907 and 1914 and for occasional aviation displays. In 1932 Scarborough Council decided to buy the Racecourse [28] and, after some delays, it became Council property in 1934. [29]

However, it is not clear exactly why the Council bought the area, which totalled approximately 195 5/6 acres, as it does not seem to have had any fixed purpose in mind for it. Nevertheless, a variety of uses was soon found, including as an aerodrome [30], for aviation displays [31], for military camps [32] and a variety of sporting uses, including football [33] and hockey. [34] Soon it was realised that this area would be an ideal place for motor racing. Oliver's Mount was not regarded as suitable for this purpose, but the Racecourse and adjoining land would be ideal as it was a large area that was not close to many houses.

As early as December 1935 a correspondent in a letter to *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post* said that according to a recent article in a London newspaper, Scarborough was preparing to embark upon a most ambitious scheme for motor-car racing on a large scale, and had already sent to Germany for plans of the famous Nurburg course, with a view to constructing a similar racing circuit near the town, at a cost of £150,000. [35] The writer said that his townsmen did not seem to have heard even a whisper of this grandiose project. However, even if the people of the town were unaware of it, the Council was already considering motor racing on Seamer Moor. In March 1936 the writer of the *Jottings* column in *The Scarborough Mercury* was able to report that '*Among the many things that are talked about in the Town Hall is an outstanding proposal which involves the building of a super motor racing track upon the Racecourse and in a portion of Raincliffe Woods*'. [36]

Soon, even before the details had been publicised, protests were being made, for example by the Scarborough Philosophical and Archaeological Society and by the Derwent Anglers' Club. [37] Nevertheless, those at the Town Hall who supported the scheme continued to work at it during 1936 and into 1937. In April of that year an interview was held in London with representatives of the R.A.C. and the A.C.U. [38] Then, at a special meeting, the Property Committee decided on 5 May 1937 to back the motor racing track scheme. It was resolved that the Town Clerk be authorised to insert in the proposed Parliamentary Bill that the Corporation intended to promote provisions to enable the Corporation to acquire compulsorily all necessary land in connection with the making of a motor racing track; to construct the track and all necessary works; to enter into agreements with any body or association for the holding of motor races and other purposes; and to do all other things necessary or desirable in connection with such motor races. [39] Later in the same month the General Committee of the Council gave its backing to the scheme [40] and in August decided to proceed with its negotiations with the R.A.C. and the A.C.U. 16 Councillors voted in favour, 4 voted against and 1 abstained. [41]

BOROUGH OF SCARBOROUGH
PROPOSED MOTOR RACING TRACK

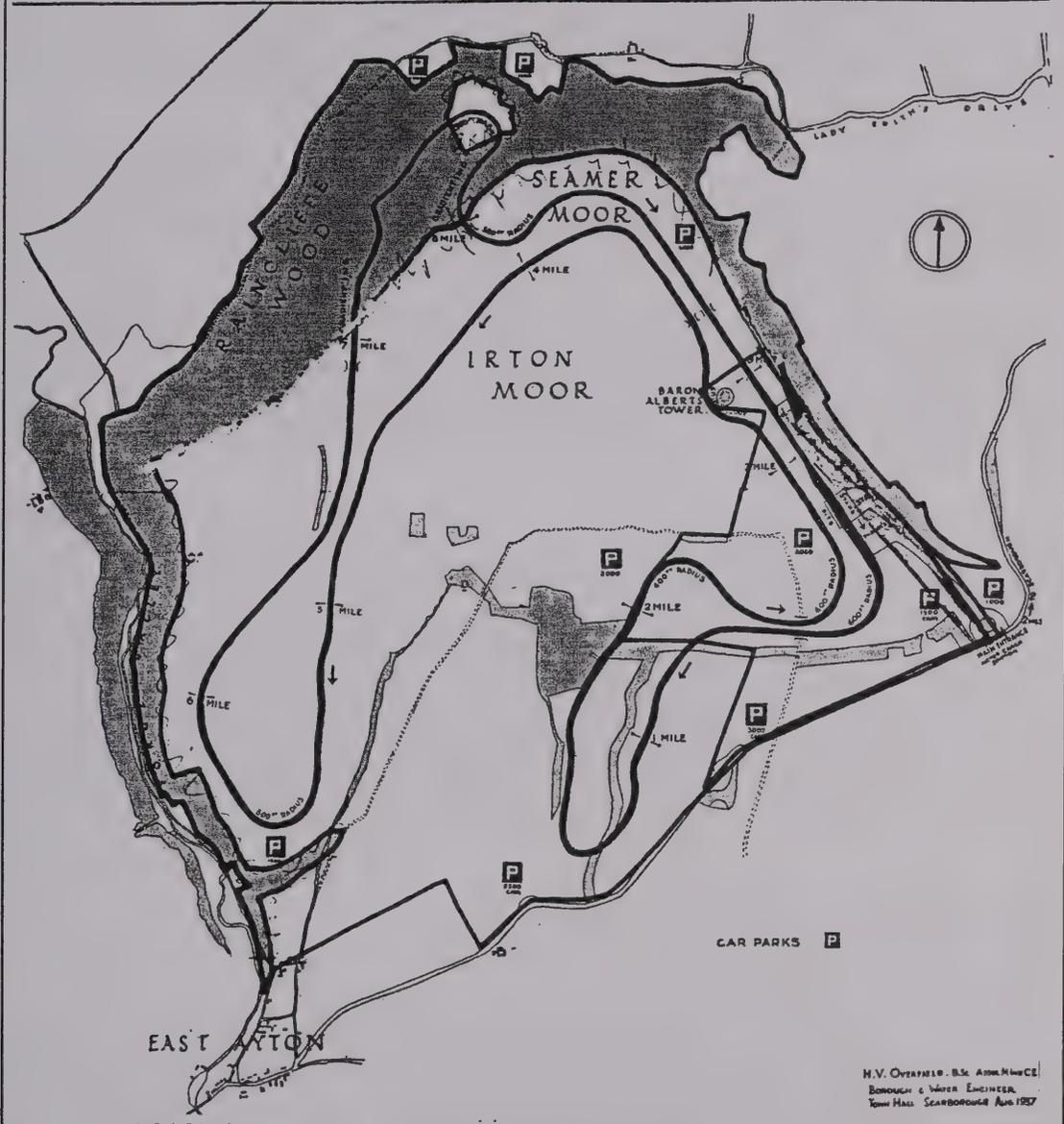


Figure 1. Plan of the motor racing track prepared in August 1937 by the Borough Engineer, H.V. Overfield

In September 1937 two representatives of the Council, Councillor Kilburn, the Chairman of the Property Committee, and the Borough Engineer, visited Germany to inspect the Nurburgring. [42] They produced a report of their inspection which all members of the Council had an opportunity to study. [43]

The scheme itself involved the Council buying an additional 1,200 acres of land. On this, and on the land the Corporation already owned, there would be constructed a concrete road thirty feet wide and 9½ miles long (though people at the time often referred to it as 10 miles in length, presumably because that sounded more impressive). In places, such as in Raincliffe Woods,

it would be built over existing cart tracks. The track would feature several long straight stretches, in one case nearly two miles in length to enable the maximum speed of vehicles to be tested. But it was not all about speed. The land on which the road was to be built slopes gradually down from its highest point on the northern boundary to the lower end near East Ayton, so that the track was to have varying gradients. There would be steep gradients, 1 in 6, on the section through Raincliffe Woods. As a correspondent to *The Evening News and Daily Post* wrote, after making a detailed study of the scheme, the intention was to reproduce all the varied conditions found on public roads in touring. The corners would be super-elevated for safety, but this was to be like the banking used on modern highways rather than the steep banking at Brooklands. [44] Car parks for over 19,000 cars were to be a feature of the site, and there was to be a motor coach station near the main entrance. In addition to the main grandstand near the site of the old horse-racing course grandstand, the slopes of Seamer Beacon, Baron Albert's Tower, would provide a natural grandstand, from which thousands of spectators could watch the racing.

The Corporation was to provide the track, fully equipped with bridges, stands, refreshment rooms, inspection pits, etc., and fenced along its whole length, and the R.A.C. and A.C.U. were to organise the races, for which they would be paid. In addition, in the event of a profit, fifty per cent would be taken by the Corporation and the other fifty per cent would be divided between the clubs.

The A.C.U. was to hold motor cycle races in June over several days and the R.A.C. was to hold a one-day car race in September, international if possible, but in any case a major event. There would also be an annual Yorkshire motor cycle event in the summer. The road would be closed from ordinary use by the public for about a week in connection with the motor car race in September and the Yorkshire event, and for about a fortnight in connection with the A.C.U. motor cycle races in June. The agreement with the two organisations would extend for not less than ten years. If the agreement was not continued after ten years, the R.A.C. and the A.C.U. would annually issue an equal number of permits for races for a further five years. After that it would be open to the Corporation to approach other motor racing organisations. It was not proposed to allow the road to be used for motor rallies or by motor firms for testing. [45]

Arguments in support of the scheme

(a) Motor racing would be an attraction

Supporters of the scheme naturally claimed that it would bring many visitors to the town, Norman Skinner of the Motor Club and Councillor Tom Laughton both speaking of hundreds of thousands of people [46] Figures from the Isle of Man and from Belfast were quoted to illustrate the popularity of the sport. [47] Councillor Storry referred in September 1937 to a recent meeting at Donington Park which had been attended by 60,000 people. [48] *Autocar* referred to the closeness of the track to the big industrial centres from which motor cycle enthusiasts were drawn. [49]

(b) In fact, motor racing would be a unique attraction

The writer of the *Jottings* column in *The Scarborough Mercury* several times referred to the proposed race track as a unique attraction, something which no other resort had. Uniqueness pays every time, he stated. [50] Interestingly enough, Brighton seems to have realised the possibilities of the scheme. An account of it in a Brighton newspaper was headed 'Brighton's Lost Opportunity'. [51]

(c) The site could also be used for other attractions

Enthusiasts for the proposed development referred to other possibilities in addition to the use of the track for racing, including cycling races. [52] Among these possibilities were military camps – many of which had been held on the old Racecourse site during the 1930s, [53] the Great Yorkshire Show, [54] the Northern Command Tattoo, [55] polo, [56] football and hockey. [57] It was envisaged that when not in use for practising or racing, the road might be used for pleasure trips. [58]

(d) Season extension

A frequently quoted argument in favour of the scheme was that it would extend Scarborough's season. In December 1936 the writer of *Motoring Notes* in *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post* said that Scarborough Corporation and the Townsmen's Association had been striving to obtain for many years something that would give an earlier opening season and an extended season. The opportunity had come and Scarborough should grasp it at once, before it was too late. [59] Councillor Kilburn, widely regarded as the father of the scheme, also referred on more than one occasion to the extension of the season, something which Scarborough had desired for over half a century. [60]

(e) Publicity

Publicity was another reason given for going ahead with the scheme. The races would advertise Scarborough all over Europe, according to Councillor J. W. Wilkinson, and would be worth a considerable amount of money from an advertising point of view. [61] W. L. Woodcock, in a letter to *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post*, argued that money must be spent to make money, writing '... surely nobody, even if the worst happened, will grudge a sixpenny rate for the money which the motor track would undoubtedly bring. The publicity alone would be worth it.' [62] Another letter-writer said that it was practically certain that the races of national importance would be broadcast. [63]

(f) Sports centre of England

Several supporters of the scheme argued that, with the sporting facilities and events Scarborough already had, the motor racing track would make Scarborough a great sports centre. In 1936 Alf Wood, the Progressive candidate for the Woodlands Ward, stated in his election address, 'Very few people seem to realise the enormous benefits the town would receive from this venture, which would make Scarborough the sports centre of the British Isles'. [64] Edward C. Tasker wrote that the combination of motor racing of the standard proposed and the present facilities as regards first-class cricket, golf, tennis and big game fishing would make Scarborough a town of international repute and undoubtedly the sports centre of the north of England. [65]

(g) Provide work and reduce unemployment

Councillor Kilburn argued that the construction of the race track would provide work and bring about a reduction in unemployment, saying that 60 per cent of the monies expended upon construction would go to pay for labour and that 'Instead of people having to rely on public assistance they will be able to work during the time of year when work is scarce in Scarborough'. [66] Other writers echoed him. [67]

(h) Attract new industries

Norman Skinner and Jack Claxton, President and Secretary respectively of the Scarborough and District Motor Club, claimed to have evidence that if Scarborough could make provision for some of the world's great motoring events, new industries employing large numbers of people might be opened up in the town. [68]

(i) Need for a long view

Several supporters of the scheme claimed that it was necessary to take a long view. The writer of an article published in *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post* on Saturday 2 October 1937 was just one of those who made a comparison with the construction of the Marine Drive. He wrote that when the Marine Drive was built there was great opposition to it. Fortunately, the work was carried to completion. Thus the first step was taken to making the North Side what it had become. It would be the same with this proposal. [69]

(j) And if all failed, the land could be used for a building estate

And if this particular scheme failed, the Council would still have a valuable asset, the land, which would make a magnificent building estate, according to the writer of the *Jottings* column. [70]

(k) Arguments to counter opposition:

Some arguments were advanced to counter the claims of the opponents of the scheme:

- The beauty of the area would not be destroyed

Various supporters of the scheme suggested that far from destroying the beauty of the area, the track would open up one of the most beautiful pieces of moorland and rural country in the district, which would, according to Councillor Kilburn, become as popular a drive as the one around Oliver's Mount. [71] *Townsmen*, in a letter to *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post*, claimed that photographs of the Nurburgring showed that a track could be constructed with very little detriment to the natural beauty of the countryside. [72]

- Minimum of inconvenience to neighbourhood

The fact that there would only be a few meetings a year was held to indicate that there would be a minimum of inconvenience to the neighbourhood. [73]

- Noise not a problem

The Autocar claimed that as the moor is situated on a level which is generally higher than the town, and is fringed on three sides with woods, the noise problem from racing cars should not be serious. [74] Others made a similar point. Councillor Kilburn said that noise would not be a problem and referred to the Donnington Park races he had attended. When they had got a hundred yards away from the track on leaving there was very little noise, so the noise could not affect the Hospital, which was practically a mile from the racecourse. [75]

- Gambling would not be allowed

Councillor Kilburn stated categorically at a Town Council meeting on 7 June 1937 that gambling was not allowed by the R.A.C. and the A.C.U. on any track they had anything to do with. [76] *A Business Man*, in a letter to *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post*, stressed that gambling was not a feature of motor races. The average class of spectator attending motor race meetings was far removed from horse race meeting crowds. [77]

- Variation of the scheme might be possible

Supporters of the scheme suggested that the design of the track might be varied, for example to leave Raincliffe Woods untouched. [78]

Arguments against the proposal

Many different arguments were made against the proposal.

(a) Cost

One of the main objections to the scheme was its cost, partly because it was not entirely clear how much expense would be involved; the lack of precise figures or even reasonable estimates was in itself a cause of opposition. [79] Some believed that it would cost £250,000 rather than the £150,000 often mentioned. [80] Whatever the actual amount, there would be a cost, and critics believed that a return on the money invested was not certain to be forthcoming. [81] A. I. Wallis had heard that two other motor tracks were being contemplated in other parts of England, which would make four including the Scarborough one. He believed three would fail to pay, making the scheme highly speculative. [82] The scheme was described as a huge gamble by one letter writer [83] and as a wicked waste of ratepayers' money by another. [84] Some resented the fact that the A.C.U. and R.A.C. would be paid for the services they provided and would share in any profits. [85]

The perhaps not unreasonable point was made by some critics that if those who desired the course were so sure of its financial success, the obvious course open to them was to raise the money privately. [86]

(b) But no benefit

Some did not believe that Scarborough would benefit from the project. C. H. Gore believed that the scheme could not possibly help the hotel and boarding house proprietors or tradesmen of the town, for not only would hordes of spectators not stay in Scarborough itself, but their incursion day by day and the resultant traffic on the roads would certainly deter many people from making it their holiday resort. [87] *Ratepayer* asserted that the vast majority of those who attended race meetings went in cars and trains and went away again as soon as the racing was over. There was no reason to suppose that there would be any difference with the projected races at Scarborough. [88] *Another Business Man* and E. Arnold Wallis were among those making similar points. [89]

(c) Attract undesirable element

Those who were attracted to motoring events were not the sort that some wanted in Scarborough. *Ratepayer* said that motor racing would attract great crowds of a mostly

undesirable character; he referred to those who attended local hill climbs as a rabble. [90] *Resident* claimed that the proposed motor racing track would lower the quality of the town, and would attract the motoring riff-raff of the country [91]. A writer who labelled himself *Another Old Scarboroughian* said that the track would be a means of bringing a type of visitor Scarborough did not want, and who would give the town a bad name. [92]

(d) Sports lose their popularity

Even if motor racing was popular at the time, would it continue to be so? This was a point raised by some critics. E. Arnold Wallis wrote that it was quite probable that by the time the track was paid for, and was no longer a charge on the rates, the town would be in possession of some ten miles of concrete road that would be of no earthly use to anyone, as interest in this form of sport would have been replaced by something else. [93] C. H. Gore claimed that motor racing was a dying sport. It had had its day. '*In twenty years time,*' he wrote, '*we shall race only in the air*'. [94]

(e) Gambling

As with the proposal for racing on Oliver's Mount, another objection was to the prospect of gambling. H. Davies asked whether bookmakers and their impedimenta were to be allowed on the motor racing course and referred to some bookmakers' stands being smashed at Donington motor races on the previous Saturday. [95]

(f) Natural beauty and ancient remains would be destroyed

The scheme was also criticised for its impact on the natural beauty of the area. Norman W. Hick, Secretary of the Scarborough and Pickering Branch of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, said that Scarborough's greatest financial asset would always be the natural beauty of the place and the neighbouring country, and natural beauty was easily destroyed. [96] Councillor Cowton referred to derelict moor and woods. [97] Norman Black wrote about the unspoilt country in Raincliffe Woods and the Moor above them and described them as a valuable asset to the town. [98] *Another Old Scarboroughian* claimed that visitors from America and various parts of the British Isles came to the area to enjoy this very countryside. [99]

Sidney Rowntree, President of the Scarborough Field Naturalists' Society, said that the track on Seamer and Irton Moors would destroy a great part of the heather which was the nearest to the town of any in the district. [100] He also presumed that footpaths in Raincliffe Woods and across the Racecourse and Seamer Moor would be closed, [101] something that also concerned other correspondents to *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post*. [102] Rowntree also mentioned the destruction of ancient remains, suggesting that numerous ancient British tumuli and earthworks would be destroyed. [103]

(g) Raincliffe Woods

One of the most controversial features of the race track proposal was its likely impact upon Raincliffe Woods, which many believed had been given to the Council in order that they might be preserved as they were. Several letter writers said that the Council would be committing a breach of faith if it allowed the track to go into Raincliffe Woods. [104] Sidney Rowntree said '*... Scarborough's chief attraction lies in the natural beauty of its surroundings and it would be a crime of the first magnitude to spoil Raincliffe Woods and Forge Valley by making a track of the kind proposed*'. [105] He and the writer of the *Jottings* column in *The Scarborough Mercury* differed considerably about the extent of the impact the race track would have upon

the woods. [106] The issue was raised at the Town Council meeting on 6 September 1937 when Councillor Walsh said that those who had saved Raincliffe Woods would not have done so if they had known that a racing track was going through the woods and Alderman Smith spoke of their 'cutting a gash like a quarry in Raincliffe Woods that you will see from the top of Prospect Road'. [107]

(h) Disturbance of residents, of Hospital and of High School for Girls

Another frequently made point was that residents would be disturbed by the racing and its accompaniments, for example increased traffic on the roads. The Stepney, Scalby Road and Lady Edith's Drive areas were mentioned in this connection and C. H. Gore suggested that many residents of this part of town would leave if they could sell their houses. He added that if the scheme was proceeded with it would not be possible to develop the district from Stepney Road up to the old Racecourse as a residential quarter. [108] In a later letter the same writer suggested that if the scheme went through the Stepney district would not long remain residential; shops would inevitably creep up Stepney Road from Falsgrave to the Racecourse. He hoped to be able to sell his own house in Stepney Grove to the writer of the Jottings column, a supporter of the motor racing track scheme. [109] E. Arnold Wallis felt that property in the area would tend to be depreciated in value [110] and Councillor Cowton, never one to understate his case, claimed that there would in all likelihood be a derelict residential district. [111]

Concern was expressed particularly about noise, which E. Arnold Wallis claimed would be intolerable for residents in the area [112]. Much concern was expressed about the noise affecting the new hospital [113] and also the new Girls' High School. [114]

Also mentioned as consequences of motor racing and its crowds were dirt, litter and danger. The latter was something that it was felt would affect competitors, spectators and residents. [115]

(i) Roads

Some concern was expressed about the ability of the roads to cope with the increased traffic that they would have to carry. Councillor Cowton pointed out that there was no money in the estimates for road improvements [116] and *Another Business Man* asked if the County Council would be agreeable to widening all the approach roads to Seamer Moor. If not, and the races did prove to be an attraction, there would be a traffic jam from Malton onwards. [117] A correspondent calling himself *Westborough* went even further and claimed that on racing days the whole of the roads for fifty miles away would be so congested that the present ordinary traffic would be heavily handicapped. He also referred to the congestion of traffic there would be down Stepney and on Lady Edith's Drive, which would put people off coming into Scarborough for lodging. [118]

(j) Other priorities

The money intended for the race track scheme might be better used for other things. This was a major theme of opponents of the project. North-West preferred tennis courts and a first-class bowling green on the Racecourse to a motor racing track. [119] A writer rejoicing in the pseudonym *Very Much In Doubt* said that other schemes seemed more urgent, such as widening the South Bay Foreshore. [120] *Wise Spending* said that the town needed a conference hall, swimming baths and a new slaughter house. All these things were necessary, better investments and would find employment for townspeople. [121] *Westborough* wondered what Professor Adshead, the town planning consultant who was devising proposals for Scarborough's future, thought of the proposed track. [122]

Interestingly, given the strong feelings that had been expressed against it in the past, a number of correspondents to the paper advocated horse racing instead of motor racing. [123] W. Goff P. Evans advocated dog racing as well as horse racing. [124] *Take My Tip* wanted horse racing rather than motor racing but suggested that if the motor track was built there ought to be provision for a horse track too. [125]

(k) It was not the time to waste money on mere amusements

C. H. Gore and E. Arnold Wallis both suggested that the international situation, grave according to the former, unsettled in the view of the latter, made this an unsuitable time for such a scheme as the motor racing track. [126] *Just A Scarborough Resident* argued for the construction of underground shelters in case of war rather than spending such an enormous sum of money on making a motor track, adding that some other paying use might be made of the shelters if they were never required for use in war. [127] *Another Old Scarborian*, a self-proclaimed hard-working tradesman, maintained that there was already abundant provision for pleasure: *'I feel that many people are spending money on pleasure while we tradesmen are struggling to pay our way.'* [128]

The postcard referendum and its aftermath

The scheme was proving so controversial that on 27 September 1937 the General Committee of the Council decided to take a postcard vote of the townspeople on the motor track project. [129] The Mayor wrote a letter to accompany the postcards, which were intended to reach the 22,158 electors on Monday 4 October. They were to be returned by Friday 8 October. [130]

While the electors made their minds up, controversy continued to rage, although nothing came of the public debate which Councillor Cowton, a strong opponent of the scheme, tried to arrange with Councillor Kilburn. [131] On Tuesday 5 October the Board of Management of the Scarborough Hospital passed a resolution expressing grave apprehension about *'the harmful effect which may ensue to the patients in the Scarborough Hospital should the proposed Motor Racing Track be constructed'*. They made sure that their resolution was well publicised, sending a copy to *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post*. [132] Later in the week the writer of the *Jottings* column, a supporter of the scheme, was to criticise the Hospital management for becoming involved in local politics; he in turn was criticised by correspondents who supported the action of the Hospital management. [133]

Sandwich boards and notices on cars were also visible during the week of voting. Musings, a writer to *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post*, wondered who was paying for them. [134]

At 2.30 on Friday 8 October the counting of postcard votes began at the Town Hall. At about 4 o'clock the result was known. 62.35 per cent of those entitled to vote had done so. 5,478 had voted in favour but 8,050 against, a majority of 2,572 against the scheme. [135]

On Monday 11 October 1937 the General Committee of the Council resolved that in view of the result of the recent postcard vote no further steps be taken at present to proceed with the proposal outlined in the Mayor's letter to the electors with regard to the proposed motor race track. [136] Notice the at present. Perhaps some Councillors hoped, as one letter writer to *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post* certainly did, [137] that the project might still be proceeded with. But in reality the scheme was dead. That week's *Jottings* column in *The Scarborough Mercury* contained a great deal of bitterness, but included the statement *'Majorities rule and their decisions must be accepted, no matter how wrong they may be'*. [138]

The decision not to proceed with the scheme did mean that it was not an issue at the 1937 municipal elections, held on Monday 1 November. However the controversy had had an impact. Only one sitting Councillor failed to retain his seat, and that was Councillor Kilburn, who was defeated in Northstead Ward by the Independent Jackson, an opponent of the project which Kilburn had been so involved in. The turnout was the highest of any ward. [139] The writer of the *Jottings* column believed that Kilburn was unfortunate in being caught on a wave of popular resentment at this proposal. [140]

After that, however, the scheme faded from people's attention. If the report published in *The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post* of the annual meeting of the Town Council on 9 November 1937 is to be believed, the retiring Mayor, Alderman Butler, made no mention of the motor racing track proposal in his review of his Mayoral year. [141] However, new proposals for the use of the land continued to be made. Late in October 1937, only a few weeks after the postcard vote, *Onward* proposed that the Racecourse and Raincliffe Woods be laid out as a Whipsnade type of zoo, which would, he claimed, be an enormous attraction and an almost certain profit-maker. His letter did, however, hark back to the racecourse controversy – he did stress that the zoo would not include the large carnivore who would undoubtedly disturb the patients in the Hospital! [142]

So why had the scheme been rejected? Some contemporaries had very clear views about this. *Townsman*, an enthusiastic supporter of the scheme, thought the opponents could be divided into three types: those genuinely alarmed at magnitude of scheme and large sum of money to be expended; those misled by ill-advised propaganda from certain quarters; those who oppose scheme by reason of their inherent bigotry and selfishness. He believed that the greatest body blow to the sponsors of the scheme was the letter written by the Management of Scarborough Hospital. [143]

The writer of the *Jottings* column said that the proposal was defeated because it was not understood and because there were far too many people in Scarborough who had no thought beyond their rate demand note. [144] Cost was also referred to by Councillor Webster who, addressing a meeting at the Liberal Club, said that when the deputation returned from Germany the case for the track had definitely weakened and, no convincing figures having been produced, the prospect of a £250,000 gamble with the ratepayers' money was the deciding factor. [145] If only it were possible to know what Webster meant by his comment on the case for the track having weakened when the deputation returned from Germany.

C. B. Thompson believed that the postcard vote was a rap on the knuckles for bringing forward a scheme of such proportions without first obtaining and giving details and accurate information. He criticised the Mayor's letter as the world's worst sales letter, its only possible effect was to obtain adverse vote and to torpedo whole scheme. [146]

W. Smith claimed that the motor racing track proposal has been bungled by its close association with the Conservatives. He was thinking of Councillor Laughton and some of his remarks upon the scheme. One gets the impression from the sources that this particular councillor rubbed people up the wrong way. [147]

Contemporaries had their biases, of course, and a reading of the sources makes this clear, along with the fact that many of the arguments advanced were really just assertions. However, some of the reasons why the scheme was rejected can be discerned from the evidence. Cost was a major consideration, along with the fact that precise details of the proposed expenditure were lacking. Some argued for a long-term view to be taken but to no avail, perhaps because, as *A Business Man* suggested, the ratepayers were becoming accustomed to an annual reduction of

their rates [148]. Certainly many believed that they personally would not benefit from the scheme and could not be persuaded of the need for investment to attract more visitors. In addition, the arguments about Raincliffe Woods and the hospital may have had an impact. However, perceptions of what sort of resort Scarborough should be were also important, some of the opponents of the scheme believing that it would change the nature of the resort while supporters believed that the town must continue to develop.

Conclusions

Even if the postcard referendum had supported the motor racing track scheme, it is not certain that it would have gone ahead. There were other obstacles to be surmounted, including the fact that some of the details of the agreement with the A.C.U. and the R.A.C. had not been finalised. More importantly still, the Mayor, at a Town Council meeting on 6 September 1937, revealed that he had some doubts as to whether Scarborough would be successful in getting the races, the executives of the motor racing organisations still having to be convinced that Scarborough was the ideal place and not somewhere in the south of England. [149] Opponents would also have had other chances to defeat the scheme. A town's meeting would have had to be held before a parliamentary bill could be proceeded with and the strength of feeling suggested not only by the postcard vote but also by Kilburn's defeat in the municipal elections might lead to the belief that the scheme would have been rejected at that stage.

Yet what matters historically is that this is more than the interesting story of something that might have been. The whole controversy reveals a great deal about divided attitudes towards change and development in Scarborough in the 1930s and contains echoes of more recent controversies also. Can resorts continue to prosper by staying the same or must they adapt to changes in society? If they are to change, who is to pay for the new developments?

- 1 The Scarborough Mercury (hereafter SM), 25 January 1935, p. 15.
- 2 The Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post (hereafter SEN), 9 July 1934, p. 3.
- 3 SEN, 27 May 1935, p. 2, and 24 June 1935, p. 2.
- 4 SEN, 24 July 1937, p. 3, and 23 August 1937, p. 3.
- 5 SEN, 12 October 1936, p. 5.
- 6 SEN, 26 August 1935, p. 2, and 24 August 1936, p. 2.
- 7 SEN, 7 May 1935, p. 2, 29 May 1937, p. 6, and 31 May 1937, p. 4.
- 8 SEN, 25 May 1935, p. 3.
- 9 Borough of Scarborough. Minutes of the Town Council 1934-35 (hereafter Borough Minutes), p. 888.
- 10 Borough Minutes 1935-36, p. 85.
- 11 SEN, 10 December 1935, p. 3.
- 12 Borough Minutes 1935-36, p. 283.
- 13 Borough Minutes 1935-36, pp. 208-9.
- 14 SEN, 10 September 1935, p. 3.
- 15 SEN, 18 December 1935, p. 5.

- 16 SEN, 11 September 1935, p. 5.
- 17 SEN, 10 December 1935, p. 3
- 18 SEN, 18 December 1935, p. 5, and 1st January 1936, p. 5.
- 19 SEN, 14 October 1935, p. 5.
- 20 Objector in SEN, 16 September 1935, p. 5.
- 21 Resident in SEN, 14 December 1935, p. 5.
- 22 Objector in SEN, 16 September 1935, p. 5. See also A Townsman in SEN, 16 December 1935, p. 5. Clearly there were long and unpleasant memories of horse racing on the Racecourse, which had ended in the 1890s.
- 23 H. E. Bentham in SM, 13 September 1935, p. 4.
- 24 Resident in SEN, 14 December 1935, p. 5.
- 25 SM, 27 December 1935, p. 8.
- 26 SEN, 16 September 1935, p. 5, and 10 December 1935, p. 3.
- 27 Borough Minutes 1935-36, p. 283. See also Motoring Notes in SEN, 22 February 1936, p. 3.
- 28 Borough Minutes 1931-32, pp. 935-6.
- 29 SEN, 6 February 1934, p. 2; Borough Minutes 1933-34, p. 279 and p. 574.
- 30 There are many references to this use in the Minutes of the Town Council for the period 1934 to 1936.
- 31 See, for example, the Minutes of the Town Council 1933-34, pp. 505, 647-8.
- 32 For the use of the Racecourse for military camps see the Minutes of the Town Council for the years 1934 to 1937 and also references in SEN during the same period, for example 14 August 1934, p. 3; 17 June 1935, p. 2; 5 August 1935, p. 3.
- 33 Borough Minutes 1934-35, p. 416; Ibid. 1935-36, pp. 1104-1105; SEN, 6 October 1936, p. 3.
- 34 Borough Minutes 1934-35, p. 416; SEN, 4 January 1937, p. 6.
- 35 Richard E. Clarke in SEN, 18 December 1935, p. 5
- 36 SM, 6 March 1936, p. 14.
- 37 Borough Minutes 1935-36, p. 665.
- 38 Borough Minutes 1936-37, p. 736.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 SM, 21 May 1937, p. 8.
- 41 Borough Minutes 1936-37, p. 1079.
- 42 Borough Minutes 1936-37, p. 1083; Ibid., p. 1180.
- 43 SEN, 28 September 1937, p. 4.
- 44 SEN, 4 October 1937, p. 4.

- 45 Details of the scheme can be found in SEN, 8 June 1937, p. 3; *Ibid.*, 9 August 1937, p. 5; *Ibid.*, 2 October 1937, p. 5; *Ibid.*, 4 October 1937, p. 4; *The Autocar*, 10 September 1937, pp. 444, 464-5; the Mayor's letter to the electors, 1 October 1937.
- 46 SEN, 21 January 1937, p. 2; SM, 26 February 1937, p. 7.
- 47 Jottings in SM, 6 March 1936, p. 14.
- 48 SEN, 7 September 1937, p. 3.
- 49 *The Autocar*, 10 September 1937, p. 444.
- 50 SM, 6 March 1936, p. 14; *Ibid.*, 28 August 1936, p. 12; *Ibid.*, 6 August 1937, p. 12.
- 51 Memos in SEN, 5 October 1937, p. 4.
- 52 A letter of 10 September 1937 from the National Cyclists' Union to the Borough Engineer asked whether the motor racing track could be available for massed start cycle races. Borough Minutes 1936-37, page 1098. The writer of *Motoring Notes* also mentioned the possibility of cycle races in SEN, 2 October 1937, p. 3.
- 53 Jottings in SM, 11 June 1937, p. 14, and 20 August 1937, p. 12; the Mayor's letter to electors, 1 October 1937; a correspondent in SEN, 4 October 1937, p. 4.
- 54 Norman E. Skinner in SEN, 4 October 1937, p. 4.
- 55 *Ibid.*
- 56 The writer of *Motoring Notes* in SEN, 2 October 1937, p. 3.
- 57 Norman E. Skinner in SEN, 4 October 1937, p. 3.
- 58 Councillor Kilburn, quoted in SEN, 8 June 1937, p. 3; the Mayor's letter to the electors, 1 October 1937; correspondent in SEN, 4 October 1937, p. 4.
- 59 SEN, 12 December 1936, p. 3.
- 60 SEN, 8 June 1937, p. 3, and 29 September 1937, p. 4.
- 61 SEN, 8 June 1937, p. 3.
- 62 SEN, 7 September 1937, p. 4.
- 63 Listener in SEN, 8 September 1937, p. 4.
- 64 Election address quoted in SEN, 31 October 1936, p. 7.
- 65 SEN, 2 October 1937, p. 9.
- 66 SEN, 29 September 1937, p. 4.
- 67 For example Edward C. Tasker in SEN, 2 October 1937, p. 9; Victor in *Ibid.*
- 68 SEN, 12 October 1936, p. 5.
- 69 SEN, 2 October 1937, p. 5. Comparisons with the Marine Drive were also made by the writers of the Jottings column in SM, 6 March 1936, p. 14, and *Motoring Notes* in SEN, 2 October 1937, p. 3.
- 70 SM, 13 August 1937, p. 12. Norman E. Skinner, making a slightly different point, suggested that if the Council did not buy the moorland adjoining the Racecourse, a speculative builder would undoubtedly take advantage of this cheap land sooner or later. SEN, 4 October 1937, p. 3.

- 71 SEN, 29 September 1937, p. 4.
- 72 SEN, 11 October 1937, p. 3.
- 73 Jottings in SM, 6 March 1936, p. 11.
- 74 The Autocar, 10 September 1937, p. 464.
- 75 SEN, 8 June 1937, p. 3.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 SEN, 27 September 1937, p. 4.
- 78 This point was made by the writer of the Jottings column in SM, 6 March 1936, p. 16, and by Richard E. Clarke in SEN, 15 March 1937, p. 4.
- 79 Against was going to vote for the scheme, but had decided to vote against it because no reasonable estimate had been given as to the probable cost. SEN, 4 October 1937, p. 3.
- 80 Another Business Man in SEN, 29 September 1937, p. 4; Another Ratepayer in Ibid., 30 September 1937, p. 4; E. Arnold Wallis in Ibid.
- 81 Richard E. Clarke in SEN, 15 March 1937, p. 4; T.M. in Ibid., 11 August 1937, p. 4; Wise Spending in Ibid., 5 October 1937, p. 3.
- 82 SEN, 6 October 1937, p. 4.
- 83 Frank Johnson in SEN, 2 October 1937, p. 9.
- 84 A Townsman in SEN, 3 March 1937, p. 4.
- 85 For example, E. Arnold Wallis in SEN, 30 September 1937, p. 4.
- 86 W. W. Smith in SEN, 29 September 1937, p. 4; E.D.I. in Ibid., 2 October 1937, p. 9; E. G. Potter in Ibid., 5 October 1937, p. 3.
- 87 SEN, 2 March 1937, p. 4.
- 88 SEN, 16 March 1937, p. 4.
- 89 SEN, 29 September 1937, p. 4; Ibid., 30th September 1937, p. 4.
- 90 SEN, 15 March 1937, p. 4.
- 91 SEN, 18 March 1937, p. 4.
- 92 SEN, 6 September 1937, p. 4.
- 93 SEN, 30 September 1937, p. 4.
- 94 SEN, 20 September 1937, p. 4.
- 95 SEN, 4 October 1937, p. 3.
- 96 SEN, 4 September 1937, p. 4.
- 97 SEN, 2 October 1937, p. 9.
- 98 SEN, 5 October 1937, p. 3.
- 99 SEN, 6 September 1937, p. 4.

- 100 SEN, 31 August 1937, p. 4.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 W. J. Clarke in SEN, 2 September 1937, p. 4, and Another Business Man in Ibid., 29 September 1937, p. 4.
- 103 SEN, 31 August 1937, p. 4.
- 104 Ratepayer in SEN, 15 March 1937, p. 4; Richard E. Clarke in Ibid.; E. Arnold Wallis in Ibid., 30 September 1937, p. 4.
- 105 SM, 5 February 1937, p. 7.
- 106 Jottings in SM, 20 August 1937, p. 12; Rowntree in SEN, 31 August 1937, p. 4; Jottings in SM, 3 September 1937, p. 14. The writer of the Jottings column was also critical of the Scarborough Field Naturalists' Society, though without naming it, in SM, 10 September 1937, p. 12, writing that *'no opposition worthy of the name has yet been advanced'*.
- 107 SEN, 7 September 1937, p. 3. Smith's statement was ridiculed by Alderman Whittaker, who pointed out that the track dropped into Forge Valley. Ibid.
- 108 SEN, 2 March 1937, p. 4.
- 109 SEN, 20 September 1937, p. 4.
- 110 SEN, 30 September 1937, p. 4.
- 111 SEN, 2 October 1937, p. 9.
- 112 SEN, 30 September 1937, p. 4.
- 113 For the hospital see, for example, Arnold Wallace in SEN, 12 March 1936, p. 5; C. H. Gore in Ibid., 6 April 1936, p. 5, 2 March 1937, p. 4, and 20 September 1937, p. 4; Ratepayer in Ibid., 15 March 1937, p. 4.
- 114 The Girls' High School is referred to by C. H. Gore in Ibid., 2 March 1937, p. 4, and 20 September 1937, p. 4, and by Westborough in Ibid., 4 October 1937, p. 3.
- 115 Dirt was referred to by H. E. Donner in SEN, 4 April 1936, p. 5, and litter by Donner in the same letter, by Not a Naturalist in Ibid., 28 September 1937, p. 4, and by W. W. Smith in Ibid., 29 September 1937, p. 4. Comments on danger were made by, for example, Arnold Wallis in SEN, 12 March 1936, p. 5; Resident in Ibid., 8 April 1936, p. 5; Douglas J. Boyle in Ibid., 9 October 1937, p. 4.
- 116 SEN, 7 September 1937, p. 3.
- 117 SEN, 29 September 1937, p. 4.
- 118 SEN, 4 October 1937, p. 3.
- 119 SEN, 13 March 1937, p. 4.
- 120 SEN, 10 August 1937, p. 4.
- 121 SEN, 5 October 1937, p. 3.
- 122 SEN, 4 October 1937, p. 3.
- 123 Wishing Well in SEN, 21 September 1937, p. 4; Sport Alive in Ibid., 4 October 1937, p. 3; E. G. Potter in Ibid., 5 October 1937, p. 3.

- 124 SEN, 11 October 1937, p. 3.
- 125 SEN, 5 October 1937, p. 3.
- 126 SEN, 20 September 1937, p. 4, and 30 September 1937, p. 4. R. Stait-Gardner responded to Wallis that if every time there was an unsettled outlook in the world notice had been taken and retrenchment pursued as a policy, there would have been no progress during the past three hundred years. *Ibid.*, 2 October 1937, p. 9.
- 127 SEN, 5 October 1937, p. 3.
- 128 SEN, 6 September 1937, p. 4.
- 129 SEN, 28 September 1937, p. 5.
- 130 For the Mayor's letter see Appendix A.
- 131 Cowton's offer is referred to in SEN, 2 October 1937, p. 9.
- 132 SEN, 5 October 1935, p. 3.
- 133 Jottings in SM, 8 October 1937, p. 16; E. Watson and H. H. Farwig in letters in SEN, 11 October 1937, p. 3.
- 134 SEN, 7 October 1937, p. 4.
- 135 SM, 8 October 1937, p. 16.
- 136 Borough Minutes 1936-37, p. 1260.
- 137 Townsman in SEN, 11 October 1937, p. 3.
- 138 SM, 15 October 1937, p. 14.
- 139 SEN, 2 November 1937, p. 3.
- 140 SM, 5 November 1937, p. 14.
- 141 SEN, 9 November 1937, p. 5.
- 142 SEN, 28 October 1937, p. 4.
- 143 SEN, 11 October 1937, p. 3.
- 144 SM, 15 October 1937, p. 14.
- 145 SEN, 27 October 1937, p. 3.
- 146 SEN, 20 November 1937, p. 3.
- 147 SEN, 11 October 1937, p. 3.
- 148 SEN, 27 September 1937, p. 4.
- 149 SEN, 7 September 1937, p. 3.

THE MAYOR'S PARLOUR,
TOWN HALL,
SCARBOROUGH.

1st October, 1937.

To each Elector of Scarborough,

Dear Sir or Madam,

Proposed Motor Racing Track

The Town Council propose during the next Session to promote a Bill in Parliament, seeking (among other things) powers to acquire land and to construct a Motor Racing Track, with the usual stands, buildings, etc. If such a Bill is promoted, then in due course after the Bill has been deposited, a Public Meeting of electors will, in accordance with the law, be held, and, if necessary, a poll taken. Before that stage is reached much preliminary work will have to be done and some expense incurred. The Council desire, before going to any great expense, to know (as far as it is possible to know) what generally is the view of the electors on this subject. The matter has been before the Council for some time and it is believed that the electors have some idea of what is proposed. I have been asked by the Council to give as briefly and as impartially as possible, an outline of the proposals.

I would preface my remarks, however, by stating that a sketch plan showing what is in the minds of the Council has been prepared by the Borough Engineer and will be exhibited in one of the windows of the Electricity Showrooms in Westborough, so that the public may see it. A copy of the plan is printed on the back page of this letter.

As is known, the Council already own the Scarborough Racecourse and certain land adjoining it. It is proposed to acquire (by agreement where possible – compulsorily where not) additional land, approximately 1,500 acres in area. This land lies between the Raincliffe Woods and the Scarborough-Ayton road. When possession of the land has been obtained, the Corporation will construct a 10 miles continuous road. This will be an ordinary 30 ft. roadway with wide grass verges, and may (subject to certain possible limitations) be used at times other than race times for purposes of say a pleasure drive, etc. The land may be used for agricultural purposes, Military Camps, games, etc. The track will be fenced. There will be the usual necessary bridges, approach roads, stands, parking places, inspection pits, refreshment rooms, repair shops, conveniences, etc., etc. Over this road races will be held. There have been negotiations intended to lead to an agreement between the Corporation and the Royal Automobile Association (R.A.C.) and the Auto Cycle Union (A.C.U.). These negotiations have not been completed, but I am able to give some general, though not definite, idea of the terms which it is proposed to include in the Agreement.

- The period of the Agreement will be not less than ten years.
- The R.A.C. will hold annually a one-day motor race in September.
- The A.C.U. will hold annually a three days' motor cycle race meeting in June.
- It is proposed, in conjunction with the Yorkshire Union, to hold a one-day race in the Summer.

- These races will necessitate the closing of the track for practice purposes on days previous to the race days.
- There will be charges for admission to the ground and stands, also for cars, and so forth.
- If there is a profit, that profit will be shared, in proportions yet to be agreed, between the Corporation and the appropriate Club. If there is a loss, the Corporation will bear it.

As to finance. I intend purposely to avoid quoting figures. The only figures that could be quoted are figures of estimates and as everyone knows, estimates are liable to be either too high or too low. There is, however, no doubt that for a town of the size and value of Scarborough, the cost will be great. It is urged by those in favour of the proposals that this cost will, by comparison, be no greater than the cost of other projects successfully carried out by the Council, regard being had to the size of the works and the times at which they were carried out. They point to the Marine Drive. They say that whilst the cost of the present proposals may, if carried out, be great, the ratepayers will have very valuable assets. Some go so far as to say that the nett receipts of the Corporation, after paying expenses and making any agreed contribution to the Clubs, will meet the annual sinking fund and interest charges. Others say that there is bound to be a loss which will fall on the rates, whilst some hold the opinion that, even if there were a loss, that loss would be slight and that the indirect benefit to the Town would more than set off that loss.

It is feared by some residents that the races will cause annoyance by reason of crowds, noise, etc., etc. Others think that these fears are unnecessary and that so far as noise is concerned, the situation of the track will be such as to obviate any annoyance. Again there is a very general fear that the amenities of the Raincliffe Woods will be adversely affected. Only for a short distance (little more than half a mile) will the proposed track run through the woods. It is believed – and the Council will see to it – that nothing will be done injuriously to affect the amenities.

I have tried to give a fair description of the proposals of the Corporation and the pros and cons. I think I can fairly conclude by saying that a substantial majority of the Members of the Council are of opinion that the proposals will form an unique and profitable attraction to the town, will extend the season, and bring benefit to a large number of the electors. You are asked to indicate by placing a cross opposite the word ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ on the enclosed postcard whether you are or are not in favour of the Council proceeding further with these proposals. I should be obliged if you would *mark* and *sign* the postcard in the places indicated and put it in a letter box before Friday, the eighth of October, 1937.

DO NOT STAMP THE POSTCARD.

Yours faithfully,

(Signature of John W. Butler)

MAYOR.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION AND FIELDWORK

5-6 COASTGUARD COTTAGES, SCARBOROUGH

(National Grid Reference TA 0478 8909 Site Code CC01)

Following the discovery of a small quantity of medieval pottery during minor building works at No 5 Coastguard Cottages, permission was granted by the owner for an excavation to assess the character of surviving archaeological deposits. The work was completed over two weekends in July 2001 with a second phase of work taking place in late August on adjoining gardens belonging to No 6 Coastguard Cottages. The area is on the north-east of the old town around 100m to the east of the St Mary's Parish church and 50m south of the castle entrance. The excavation found evidence of probable agricultural use of the area in the middle ages and of an 18th-century kiln for brick manufacture.

Medieval features

The only medieval structure to come to light was a rough floor of stone fragments and cobbles fringed by several postholes on the north side of the gardens. The crude construction and the relatively small quantities of medieval pottery found in association with these features suggest the remains were not part of a house. Instead, they are more likely to have belonged to some sort of temporary shelter, perhaps for livestock. Indeed the general lack of medieval building remains suggests the area may have been open, undeveloped land for much of the middle ages, and was therefore perhaps put to agricultural use. A shallow u shaped gully containing medieval pottery was discovered below, and on the same alignment, as the stone wall on the north side of the gardens. The gully may have served as a land division indicating the present stone wall is on a medieval alignment.

Eighteenth century

Part of a large, steep-sided hollow containing layers of ash, burnt clay and brick dust was revealed towards the south-west corner of the site. This is probably the remains of a kiln for firing bricks and is more than likely contemporary with the extensive mid-18th century clay quarries revealed by excavations further to the south in the late 1980s where the raw clay for brick manufacture was obtained. The hollow left by the kiln appears to have been rapidly backfilled with demolition debris containing complete bricks and roof tiles.

FALSGRAVE EXCAVATION PROJECT - VARIOUS SITES

Starting in May 2001 a series of small 'keyhole' trenches have been dug in various parts of Falsgrave to try and locate remains of the medieval village which, at the time of the Domesday Survey of 1086, was the most important settlement in the district. A total of 13 sites, mostly in private gardens, have so far been investigated across a 400m wide area stretching from the

valley bottom in St James Road in the south-east to the high ground behind Cambridge Place in the north-west. Although no medieval structures have been discovered, small quantities of medieval pottery from the Westbourne Park area and from Cambridge Place suggest settlement in these localities. In particular the finds from Westbourne Park include fragments of roof and floor tiles indicating a building of some distinction stood in this area. The pottery also includes several sherds in a coarse gritty fabric which appear to be older than any sherds found on medieval excavations in Scarborough town.

An excavation also took place at the well house in Falsgrave Park, traditionally the site of the spring tapped by the Franciscan friars in the 14th century to supply the medieval town with fresh water. The small stone building which protects the springhead is probably 18th century in date, whilst the excavation trench on the south and east sides exposed the shallow stone foundations of an earlier structure, possibly of medieval date. The excavation also discovered that the outflow from the present building was directed along a lead pipe which emerged about half way along the base of the south wall.

SEAMER MANOR HOUSE

(National Grid Reference TA 0132 8341)

Over the weekend of 29-30 March 2002, the Society undertook an analytical earthwork survey of the manor house site at Seamer on behalf of the Seamer Heritage and Research Project 2000. The survey defined the main earthwork components of the site and suggested several areas where geophysical survey might reveal buried features. [1]

The results of the earthwork survey indicate that the manorial enclosure was sub-divided into three compartments defined by earth banks with the surviving fragment of masonry occupying the most westerly of these areas. The building was probably part of the manor house and the surface evidence suggests it was originally about 25m in length. The lack of any substantial earthworks in the other two compartments suggest these were kept open as gardens or paddocks. Further afield, the survey noted trackways approaching the site from the south-east and east and the possible sites of buildings to the south-west, represented by shallow rectangular depressions. There are also the remains of field banks and lynchets created by ploughing. The most prominent earthworks within the manorial enclosure are large mounds of spoil from the demolition and robbing of the manor house and from later dumping.

1 [An Earthwork Survey of Seamer Manor House Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society Interim Report 34 \(2002\)](#)

REVIEWS

The History of Scarborough from the earliest times to the year 2000 by Jack Binns. (Blackthorn Press, 2001). ISBN 0-9535072-7-0. Price £25.00 (hardback).

Scarborough has long awaited a balanced history of the town. Earlier histories written or edited by Hinderwell, Baker, Rowntree and Edwards bore the stamp of their age. Each made its contribution but the last was written in 1966. A modern re-appraisal of the long history of this remarkable town from the pen of Jack Binns is warmly welcomed. He has taught generations of local children much national history at the Sixth Form College. Over thirty years, he has also made the the major contributions to Yorkshire History of the 17th century, with detailed studies of Scarborough and significant Yorkshire personalities in the period, not least during the Civil War.

Here was no ordinary local history waiting to be written. Scarborough touched national history frequently. On one occasion, and for much time afterwards, the town influenced world history. The early roots of Scarborough life are dealt with briefly. The great rock saw early Iron Age settlers, a Roman signal station and a pre-Norman chapel. The bay below attracted stories of Viking pirate settlement and of a Norwegian sailor king calling en route to his grave in battle at Stamford Bridge. A 12th century Norman Earl of York built a castle on the rock and King Henry II evicted him, built the first great high-rise royal castle in the shire in its place and created two boroughs on the spur below.

As the only royal town on the Yorkshire coast, until King Edward bought Hull, Scarborough saw kings in its castle, royal ships in its port and prosperous burgesses in its town. Among the five most populous mediaeval towns of the county, it lived largely by fish. Social life included clashes between boroughmen and sheriffs, with the kings favourites, with the church and with each other, rich against poor. Behind apparent disorder, the borough evolved a system of orderly government by an oligarchy of rich merchants, shipowners and craftsmen. Here was a rare early piped water supply built by friars. Here were guilds, hospitals, friaries, a great church and a high and low water port.

Late mediaeval decline was as evident as early success. Yet in the 17th century, two main developments brought recovery. Jack Binns portrays the rising coastal coal trade from the Newcastle field to the south as the stimulus that attracted the shippers, formed an important wooden ship building industry, and saved the port, especially by making its harbour maintenance a charge on the collier fleet. Earlier historians noticed little of this. They were too fascinated by the other development, the discovery of a sea side spa spring, which, in what proves a fascinating story, made Scarborough into the first seaside resort, focus of early sea bathing and of all those pioneering changes which came to create the character of the English seaside holiday.

Visitors seeking spa and sea water benefits brought others seeking high life, diversion and even matrimony. With little competition from any other coastal place, Scarborough in the early 18th century attracted the county gentry of the north and some of the vastly wealthy national aristocracy. The town was ill equipped to meet their expensive needs. The great adaptation began. Quaker merchants took to their cock lofts and let ground floors to barons and knights. New buildings, inns, houses of play, roads to sands and spa, shops, lodging and eventually boarding houses came from spurts of enterprise. When rival resorts proliferated around the coast and drew aristocracy away, the new wealthy northern middle class came to Scarborough fostering a new more sedate resort in the upper town.

Dr. Binns details the many social changes in all periods, the religious diversity of liberated nonconformity, the political life of a pocket borough, the great liberal-conservative struggles over reform of town government and a great deal more. Downtown Scarborough kept the port industries of ship building, fishing and sea faring, joined by resort employments. When the railways brought excursionists and eventually floods of working people to stay, new water supplies and sewage systems were as important as new hotels, lodging and boarding houses, and large scale entertainments in 'people's parks and palaces', in fostering a resort that long served most sections of society. Much of the modern Scarborough scene had its birth in those times.

A careful assessment of change in the 20th century proves as interesting as the rest of this scholarly but eminently readable book. Scarborough long kept its place as one of one of the great British resorts with Brighton, Bournemouth, Blackpool and Torbay. The town shared in the slow general social progress that brought effective local government, cleared slums, provided hospitals and health services, good council and private houses, effective education and longer, healthier lives. With a broader clientele, local government became heavily involved in providing and running resort facilities along side private enterprise. The age of sport, cinemas, parks, self catering, amusement machines, bingo, theme parks and motor cars brought endless challenges. Major conferences offered an important, if brief, support to the local economy. The new cult of the sun and warm seas aided by cheap air travel to hotter climates proved a bigger challenge which left Scarborough still a great resort but with a different and more modest role. The town has come to serve other industrial, retirement, residential and dormitory needs.

Scarborough sustains a remarkable heritage, amply portrayed in an attractive volume. Each chapter on any period is introduced by a brief summary of national trends, making the book doubly useful in the class room to scholars of all ages. There is a good bibliography. Above all, this is a book to be read and enjoyed. Dr. Binns has done his town proud.

John Rushton

Architects and Civil Engineers of Nineteenth Century Scarborough: A Biographical Dictionary by Anne and Paul Bayliss (A.M. Bayliss, 2001). ISBN 0-9506405-4-9. Price £4.95

Before reading this book, I could have named only three of the architects (Bodley, Brodrick and Goldie) and none of the civil engineers who did work in nineteenth-century Scarborough, so I have gained a lot of knowledge from it. I have also been reminded of the quantity and variety and buildings they contributed; but a large part of this legacy has already disappeared. The lamentable losses include Newborough Bar, All Saints' Church on Falsgrave Road and the Pavilion Hotel on Westborough. The last of these was demolished in 1973 to be replaced by one of this town's ugliest buildings, which ironically houses its main tourist information centre. Until very recently, Scarborough has not been kind to its historic buildings, and there is still a need for greater knowledge and appreciation of this heritage, with obvious benefits for tourism, education and the arts, as well as the everyday quality of life for all who live here.

My interest in William Morris and his associates determined that I looked first at G.F. Bodley's entry. I believe that all the details are correct and it is a fair account of Bodley's work in Scarborough and elsewhere; but I was surprised that the outstanding work by Morris and Edward Burne-Jones in the Church of St Martin-on-the-Hill, which makes it well worth visiting, is not even mentioned here. The authors do not describe this church at all, even by saying that

it is in a French Gothic style; nor that the nearby vicarage was a very early and influential example of the Queen Anne Revival style. Sadly, apart from their dates, this book only rarely provides any information about actual buildings, so the reader is reliant on his or her visual memory of them, or in many cases where the buildings have disappeared is none the wiser. Similarly, George Goldie's entry would be better if it mentioned that St Peter's was probably the first Gothic Revival church with a windowless apse, occasioned by its southern aspect on a hilltop. Prior to Goldie's commission to design St Peter's Church, A.W.N. Pugin, the leading architect of the Gothic Revival, was approached and agreed to undertake this project, but his declining mental health prevented him beginning it. This intriguing circumstance is missing from Goldie's entry.

Of course, Richard Hey Sharp, the remarkably talented York architect who designed the Rotunda Museum in collaboration with William Smith ('the Father of English Geology') is featured in this book, but the entry would have benefited from a brief appraisal of the Rotunda's exceptional qualities. However, I was interested to learn here that Sharp also designed the 'new' Trinity House on St Sepulchre Street.

Scarborough was fortunate to have some very capable and imaginative architects based here. This book rescues them from obscurity, allowing us to consider the scope of their work. They include Hall and Tugwell, a busy firm of architects whose work includes the Fish Salesmen's Offices on West Pier and the Liberal Club on Westborough (now the Lord Rosebery public house). Frank Alfred Tugwell's subsequent work focused particularly on hotels and public houses and included alterations to the Royal Hotel, rebuilding the Newcastle Packet, and modernising the Leeds Hotel and the Hole in the Wall. John Barry (senior) designed Wilson's Mariners' Homes on Castle Road and some monuments in St Mary's Church, though his best work - Newborough Bar and Wyatt's Spa Saloon - has been lost. John Caleb Petch, also based in Scarborough, gave us no spectacular buildings but many respectable ones, including the Hydropathic Establishment (now 'Green Gables') on West Bank, Friarage Board School and a new frontage for the YMCA at 82 Westborough. John Gibson is another notable figure. He began his career as a carpenter and joiner in Scarborough, eventually setting up his own builders firm in 1841, and that same year was appointed to design the Crown Hotel and Esplanade terrace, amazingly his first architectural commission. After this project was completed, he moved to Malton and became that town's leading architect, responsible for many of the fine Victorian buildings we see there today.

The entry for Verity and Hunt, the London architects who designed the new Spa Buildings in the late 1870s, includes some of those personal and circumstantial details which are scarce elsewhere in the book. Learning that both of them travelled on the Continent to study its architecture enhances one's appreciation of their work at the Spa. I was dissatisfied by the meagre entries for Stewart and Bury (Pavilion Hotel, 1870), John Dando Sedding ('Wheatcroft Cliff', 1878, later named 'Holbeck Hall Hotel') and Frederick Arthur Walters (Convent of the Dames de Marie, Queen Street, 1884) who were possibly interesting personalities as well as accomplished architects; but perhaps more information about them was unobtainable.

Many people consider that Scarborough's most impressive Victorian building is the Grand Hotel, designed by Cuthbert Brodrick shortly before his obsession with dramatic impact overcame the necessary functionality of architectural design. It is well known that the aptly named hotel has four towers, 12 floors and 365 rooms, but it is still worth mentioning these facts, which the authors have omitted from their account. The great expense to Scarborough Cliff Hotel Company of buying the site (£30,000), followed by the engineering demands and the extravagant scale of the new building, brought that company's bankruptcy before the development was finished. These are interesting aspects of the project which are not mentioned

in this book. On the other hand, the authors inform us that Brodrick submitted an unsuccessful design for the church of St Martin-on-the-Hill, something I did not know and which stimulated my imagination. Brodrick's other outstanding buildings include Leeds Town Hall and the Corn Exchange in that city, which are cherished there like the Grand Hotel is here, but ours is Brodrick's last major work that was completed. His design for Manchester Town Hall, which proposed a 120-foot staircase from the entrance up into a huge dome, was rejected and widely mocked. Apparently this humiliation put Brodrick into an almighty huff which made him abandon his career in architecture and go to live in Paris, where it is reputed he ended up working as a waiter.

I have concentrated on architects - as conventionally designated - because I feel competent to assess their representation, whereas I admit my ignorance of civil engineering. Therefore, without offering any analysis, I applaud the inclusion of civil engineers in this book, which might prove to be its greatest influence on future research and conservation in Scarborough. Significant figures such as John Outhett (Spa Bridge, 1826-7), Edwin Clark (Valley Bridge, 1862) and George T. Andrews (Railway Station, 1845) are given the due recognition usually denied them elsewhere; and it is gratifying that the easily unnoticed work of others such as Edward Filliter (Oliver's Mount Reservoir, 1881), Robert Stodart Wyld (Harbour extension, 1878-81) and the landscape gardener Sir Joseph Paxton is acknowledged and assigned to them.

The entries in this book are arranged alphabetically and thoroughly cross-referenced. It also has a classified list of significant buildings with the architects' or engineers' names by each one, indexes of people and places (further afield), and a substantial bibliography. This is a conscientiously researched, reliable and well-organised book which will be a useful resource for local historians and others interested in Scarborough's built heritage. Its only significant shortcoming is that the accounts of these architects and civil engineers are somewhat pedestrian. In most cases, we get mere summaries of their careers, whereas occasional anecdotes illustrating their personalities, additional information about the execution of their commissions, brief descriptions of representative buildings and more attention to the socio-cultural context for their work would have revealed considerably more about the subjects and made this a more engaging - albeit longer and probably more expensive - book. I hope that Anne and Paul Bayliss's valuable work will stimulate further research and writing on the individuals they have catalogued, along with a greater appreciation of what they left us.

Martin Haggerty

Medieval Scarborough: Studies in Trade and Civic Life edited by David Crouch and Trevor Pearson (Yorkshire Archaeological Society/Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society, 2001). ISBN 0-902122-96-7. Price £15.00. (£12.00 to members)

In 1322 Thomas the woodward of Scarborough and two unknown Gascons from the Scarborough castle garrison went poaching in Darncliff with bows, arrows and 'gaze hounds'.

Robert of Rillington and William Carter were ordered in 1384 to make a search for illegal gold and papal bulls entering into the country through Scarborough.

In 1390 Thomas Hall, who dwelt in the castle, drowned after falling into a pond while he was going from the castle gate to the chapel of the castle.

Details such as these appear in this collection of essays and will interest many readers. However, the main purpose of this very well-illustrated and well-produced volume is not to collect together facts in an antiquarian way but to make known to a wide readership the fruits of the latest research on medieval Scarborough. As the editors explain, 'The only previous attempt to write an academic history of medieval Scarborough was in 1931, and much has been discovered, edited and revised since then'. The result is a collection of essays that adds considerably to our knowledge and understanding of the early life of the town, even if, as many of the contributors are at pains to point out, the sources for this period of Scarborough's history are not as extensive as we would like them to be.

The contributors cover a wide range of topics. Following the brief *Introduction*, on which more later, there are two chapters on the very early part of the town's story, *The Foundation and Development of Scarborough in the Twelfth Century* and *The Legendary Origins of Scarborough*. In the first Paul Dalton traces the origins and early growth of Scarborough to the activities of William of Aumale and Henry II while also stressing the importance of trade and of the activities of those involved in it. There is much of interest here, particularly on William of Aumale. Then Martin Arnold suggests that it is possible that Scandinavian invaders and settlers adopted the Anglo-Saxon name Scarborough, derived from certain topographical features of Castle Hill. Only later did 'sceard' or 'skarð' become confused with the Scandinavian by-name 'Skarði'.

The third article, by Wendy Childs on *Mercantile Scarborough*, is the longest in the volume and traces the development of Scarborough's maritime and mercantile activity and the changes that occurred during the medieval centuries. Childs shows that fishing was more important than general international trade. Scarborough men seem to have lacked ambition, being content with a reasonable level of success in fishing rather than taking risks with active involvement in overseas trade. Those Scarborough men who did trade abroad were largely passive, their goods generally carried in foreign ships. Illustrated by a map showing the medieval ports trading with Scarborough and by four tables, this is an informative and important contribution to the volume.

Next Chris Daniell and Kate Bould consider *Markets, Mills and Tolls*. They point out that there is much less evidence for the internal trade patterns of Scarborough than for seaborne trade, but nevertheless manage to include important ideas and details about the harbour, mills and cattle, shops and trade, markets and tolls and the hinterland. Anyone studying this article in conjunction with Childs' contribution will learn a great deal about economic activity in medieval Scarborough.

David Crouch's articles on *Urban Government and Oligarchy in Medieval Scarborough* and *Church Life in Medieval Scarborough* follow next. The article on the government of the town

deals with both institutions and officials and, quoting Jack Binns, describes the rulers of Scarborough as a 'self-perpetuating oligarchy'. This essay contains much information about the Uthreds, interesting in itself and also very relevant to the town's earliest days. Particularly thought-provoking is the idea that the town grew 'as the project of a few leading developers'. In his second contribution Crouch manages, in spite of the limitations of the evidence, to write about various aspects of church life, including buildings, clergy – many of whom were local men – and the importance of the cult of the Virgin Mary throughout the middle ages in Scarborough. In some ways Scarborough reveals features typical of religion during this period, for example it participated in the wave of church reconstruction in the late middle ages, but in others it seems to have been rather isolated. In relation to both the secular clerical community in the town and the three orders of friars, according to Crouch, 'we can see the town standing out like an island of urban organisation and devotion on the edge of a wide and empty agricultural hinterland'.

The Medieval Architecture of St Mary's Scarborough by the late Lawrence Hoey, to whose memory this volume is dedicated, follows the article on church life. In a particularly well-illustrated essay, the author shows which features of the church are unusual, such as the west tower piers and the south nave chapels, and also those that are more traditional, and includes many comparisons with other churches. Although, as Hoey says, the church was not in any sense monastic, there being no evidence that it ever functioned as anything other than a parish church, it shared some features with monastic rather than parish churches. Even those who know St Mary's well should be able to profit from reading this contribution.

Two articles by Trevor Pearson appear next, the first being on *Falsgrave Soke and Settlement*. Stating that historians and archaeologists have focused on Scarborough and neglected its neighbour, Pearson attempts to redress the balance by casting light on the origins and layout of Falsgrave. Because of the lack of remains of the early settlement, at least so far, he focuses at first on the possible origins of the name. He then argues, I think convincingly, that medieval Falsgrave was situated further south than the modern one, at the head of Ramsdale where Stony Causeway, Wash Beck Lane and Folly Lane met. He concludes an article which repays careful study by writing 'And in glimpsing ancient Falsgrave we see the clue to the ancient landscape which existed before the construction of twelfth-century Scarborough'. In *The Topography of the Medieval Borough*, an article which ties in well with others in the volume, Pearson examines the origins and development of the town in the context of its topography. He suggests that claims about the continuity of settlement from the Viking period to the twelfth-century town should be regarded as speculative. There is no convincing archaeological evidence for a Viking settlement and it seems that the twelfth-century town developed on an unoccupied site. He then examines the Oldborough, the Newborough and the harbour in turn, before considering the later middle ages, a period in which the mendicant orders played a major part in shaping the town. For example, the inhabitants benefited from the piped water supply which the Franciscans brought in to the town from springs at nearby Falsgrave, 'a utility usually only enjoyed by the grandest of European cities'.

Because very little of the fabric of the medieval town survives above ground, Christopher Hall, the author of *Domestic Architecture in Medieval Scarborough*, has looked at a variety of sources in order to attempt to build up a picture of what the medieval houses in Scarborough may have looked like. He deals well with what is inevitably a difficult subject and comes to the interesting conclusion that the constructional quality of most buildings was above average, even if decorative features were few and far between, writing that 'this would be in line with what we know of the town's modest but persistent prosperity, based on a stable market in the fish trade'.

The final article is by Daniel Normandale and is on *Scarborough's medieval pottery industry*, which probably started in the twelfth century and ceased in the mid to late fourteenth century, a maximum life of only about two hundred years. While brief, the article does incorporate the latest thinking about the pottery industry in the town and casts light on Scarborough's far-reaching trade links in the middle ages.

One of the most interesting and valuable of the contributions is saved until the end. Jack Binns has produced a fascinating *Gazetteer of Scarborough's Medieval Place- and Field-names*, based on his extensive knowledge, which will be of great value to all interested in the town's history.

Why is this such an interesting and important work? Firstly, because the essays do reveal a great deal about medieval Scarborough and in places challenge accepted ideas. It used to be thought, for example, that the Newborough was a thirteenth-century addition to the town, developed some time after the Oldborough. Now, because of the publication of a document recording a legal dispute of 1240, it is clear that both parts of the town were founded by Henry II. Secondly the articles also, to some extent, put Scarborough in context, showing the ways in which the town was similar to others and also the ways in which it differed from them. Finally, in spite of the limitations of the evidence, the reader can piece together a picture of what it was like to live in the medieval town.

There are some ways, albeit relatively minor ones, in which this volume might have been improved. Information about the contributors would have added interest and enabled us to know our historians. The introduction might usefully have been longer, pulling the threads together and helping the reader to see the overall picture. It might also have done more to put the late medieval decline of Scarborough in context.

It would be very wrong, however, to end this review on a negative note. This splendid volume is a very valuable work indeed and can be recommended to all those with an interest in Scarborough's history. How fortunate we are to have both it and Jack Binns' history appear in the same year!

Keith Johnston

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Romano-British Dwelling Sites in North & East Yorkshire *by R H Hayes*
Archaeology and Fresh Air *by J H Martin*
A Baker's Oven in Cook's Row, Scarborough *by J G Rutter and F C Rimington*
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A Survey of Linear Earthworks and Associated Enclosures in North East Yorkshire
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The 'Deserted' Village of Osgodby in the Parish of Seamer *by F C Rimington*
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Excavations within an Embanked Enclosure at Westfield Manor, Snainton *by R H Hayes*

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