

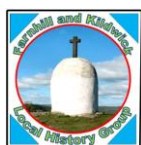
Chapter 6 – The Great Inflation and its Consequences (c.1520 – 1640)

During the later Middle Ages Europe experienced a great shortage of precious metals such as gold and silver but the position changed dramatically in the years after 1492 when Christopher Columbus made his first landfall in the West Indies. He was followed by other explorers who were able to tap new sources of wealth in Mexico and Peru. Soon large amounts of precious metals were flowing into the coffers of Spain, which was in the best position to exploit the resources of the New World. Its Hapsburg rulers used the money to pay its soldiers in their wars with France for supremacy in Europe. Soon rival states were competing for a share and the flow spread to other countries.

Unfortunately few of the rulers understood that one of the qualities which made gold in particular valuable was its rarity and that its increased availability decreased its usefulness. Economists believe that modest inflation can have a beneficial effect and the new money may have played a part in the recovery which marked the years 1480-1520. But large quantities of gold and silver coming on the market, especially when the population was recovering from its 14th century low, simply undermined every European currency that used them. So the gold and silver, which fuelled the wars of the 16th century, plunged one country after another into economic crisis. England did not escape the virus even though the country was a late comer in the rush to exploit the resources of the New World. It was an English economist of Queen Mary's reign, Sir Thomas Gresham, who expressed what happened best when he remarked that bad money always drives out good. There was an estimated inflation of around 30 % between the 1524 Subsidy and the sale of the monastic lands in 1540. The position got steadily worse as the century proceeded. In the end even such out of the way places, as the parish of Kildwick, were feeling its effects.

1. The Decline in Lordship

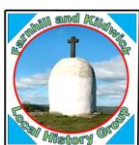
The last chapter showed how the fidelity of the first two earls of Cumberland to the Crown, combined with prudent financial policies and judicious marriages, had led to them becoming one of the most powerful families in the north of England. In the parish of Kildwick for instance the 1st Earl owned the township of Silsden, which had supplied the wants of the garrison and household of Skipton castle, since his family had inherited the Honour of Skipton in the 14th century. He was able to add to his holdings by purchasing the manor of Bradley in 1512. When Bolton Priory was dissolved the 2nd Earl acquired all its property in Farnhill and Cononley, approximately half the land area of the two townships, together with their three messuages in Sutton. Sir Ingram Clifford, a younger brother of the 2nd Earl, married into the Soteshill family. Most of their land was in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire but, as was noticed in Chapter 4, they also owned half of the manor of Steeton, so that when he died childless in 1579 it also passed into the possession of his nephew, George, the 3rd Earl of Cumberland.



George was only 12 when his father died in 1570 and Queen Elizabeth used her right of wardship to spirit him away from his Roman Catholic relatives in the North and deposit him in the firmly Protestant household of the Duke of Bedford at Battle in Sussex. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge and Christ Church College, Oxford. His only visit to the North during his formative years was to celebrate his mother's 40th birthday in 1576. At the age of 21 he was introduced to the court of Queen Elizabeth and that was where his financial problems began.¹

The great inflation hit those whose income came from land hardest. We have seen that during the later Middle Ages the aristocracy began to lease out their lands for money, instead of exacting labour services, which was then used to pay feed retainers. Leases were usually for 99 years or three lives, whichever was the shorter, and it was therefore often very difficult for them to adjust to the rapidly upward spiraling prices of the Elizabethan era. Even where the old relationships remained attempts to levy increased entry fines met with resistance from their tenants. Opposition to such upward adjustments by the 1st Earl was one of the grievances which fuelled the Pilgrimage of Grace in Upper Airedale. The largest landowner of all was the Crown and Queen Elizabeth's parsimony became notorious. Her annual summer progresses were, in part, an economy measure. One visit by the Queen was bad enough for the courtier concerned, two could ruin him. Even for those, like George Clifford, whose lands lay in the North, which she never visited, attendance at court was ruinously expensive. Six years there plunged him deep into debt, so when war broke out with Spain in 1585 he decided to try and solve his problems by privateering.²

His first expeditions failed to bring him any profit so from 1589 he had to resort to raising money from his properties, including those in the parish of Kildwick. Financial success continued to elude him despite the famous capture of the *Madre de Dios* in 1592. Only one of his expeditions made a profit, all the others simply pushed him further into debt. In 1597 he again resorted to raising money from his tenants in a last attempt to use privateering to restore his fortunes. The subsequent attack on Puerto Rico was militarily successful but ended in financial disaster. Even the grant by the Queen of the profits of a license to export a thousand white cloths in 1600 was not enough to satisfy his creditors and land sales became inevitable. Two of the three messuages in Sutton were sold and the third was to follow in 1608.³ All the properties owned by the Cumberland estate in Bradley were also disposed of including the water mill. In Steeton the half manor itself was sold to William Slater of Keighley and John Midgley, together with the half shares of 34 messuages for £700.⁴ Only Silsden remained sacrosanct because its retention was essential for the maintenance of the household of Skipton castle. Even there the tenants tried to claim that their 99 year leases were, in actual effect, freehold and a long legal wrangle ensued which was only resolved in favour of Lady Ann Clifford in 1654.

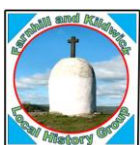


The problems experienced by the Clifford family were greatly aggravated by the privateering activities of the 3rd Earl but they were not its basic cause - that was the great inflation which hit all landed families hard. How hard is often disguised by the failure to distinguish between the three different types of income which medieval manors provided to their owners. The most important was from the rents paid by their tenants. They were supplemented by fines for breaches of the rules levied by the manorial courts and by the rights which the lord held over the wastes. What was happening in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was that economic circumstances were forcing one family after another to sell off their property, leaving the manor as a hollowed out shell.

Some lords clung on to their rights even after they had lost control of the property within the manor. The Clifford estate for instance continued to hold manorial courts in Farnhill and Cononley long after it had sold out most of the property it owned there which it had purchased from Bolton priory. What happened to the parts, which the Eltoft family had acquired in the later Middle Ages, is more obscure. Most of the property, together with the combined manor itself, appears to have passed into the hands of Sir Richard Tyrell, the property speculator. This suggests that Edmund Eltoft had been forced to sell because he was short of money. Subsequently the combined manor was purchased from Tyrell by Robert Bradley one of Cumberland's Cononley tenants who then sold it to him, so that by 1624 the Cliffords owned the manorial rights to both halves. Thomas Eltoft, Edmund's son is shown as still owning the Farnhill sub manor with lands attached but not much more.⁵ When the sale to Tyrell took place is not clear but it may have been around 1589 at the same time that he was mortgaging his Oxenhope property. He also disposed of Rishworth Hall in 1591.

Yet Thomas Eltoft, Edmund's son, still had a residual interest because he appears to have been the lord of a third Farnhill manor for which court rolls survive for 1628, 1634 and 1636.⁶ The name 'Farnhill' is a misnomer because it contains property in every one of the townships in the parish of Kildwick. As David Gulliver has correctly surmised, the description of the locations corresponds to the estate restored to the Knights' Hospitallers during the reign of Queen Mary and which were presumably taken away again when she died and was succeeded by her sister, Elizabeth. The income cannot have been very great because Eltoft is not listed among the tenants most of whom are described as being free.

Others accepted the inevitable and sold out completely using the money to purchase unencumbered estates elsewhere. The purchase of the manor of Kildwick by John Garforth the elder described in the last chapter must have strained his resources and there is evidence to suggest that much of the money was borrowed and not paid back, John and then his son, John the younger, simply paying the interest on the money. This was a quite common occurrence and the debt could similarly be passed on from one creditor to another. Even so the family seems to have been hard put to it to keep its head above water. In 1559 three messuages were sold to Henry Currer⁷ and two years later John the younger was prosecuted for non-attendance in the Court of Common Pleas to answer John Thornhill 'merchant' and Richard Harrison 'glover' both of York in a plea of debt of 20 marks. He surrendered himself to the Fleet prison and then apparently paid the debt because on 23 June 1561 he was given a 'pardon for his outlawry.'⁸ Further strains appeared in 1581 when John the younger seems to have arranged a mortgage for his Kildwick property.⁹



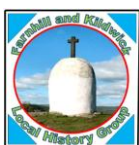
The reckoning in such transactions came when the man who had borrowed the money died, because it was usual for his heir to pay off his debts. When John the elder's death took place is unknown. The 1581 mortgage may have been connected with it but the family experienced a serious crisis when John the younger died in 1595. He had four sons, Thomas, Dennis, John and Richard but three of them, Thomas, Dennis and John predeceased him. Thomas, the eldest, had two children, John and Elizabeth, but they were only seven and five respectively in 1595 and so Richard the surviving son seems to have exercised the rights of the lordship of Kildwick on his nephew's behalf.

Naturally the family's creditors found this situation a worrying one. Apparently John Garforth the elder and John the younger had borrowed £200 from a James Bailey, which became due for repayment on John the younger's death. Before negotiations could begin Bailey himself died, and his heirs offloaded the debt to John Godfrey of Spafforth. He began a court action, alleging that Richard Garforth had no title to the lordship of Kildwick. Garforth contested it and raised enough money to pay off the debt. In the meantime Godfrey himself had attempted to sell parts of the lordship, which led Richard to take out a civil action in the Chancery Court in 1598 against him for fraudulently selling properties. He appears to have won his case because after his death in 1599 the manor court was held regularly by Francis Atkinson, the guardian of young John for the rest of his minority.¹⁰

The whole affair throws an interesting light on the original purchase of the manor. We know that the third of the manor purchased by John the elder in 1548 from Robert Dean cost him £77-13s-4d. This suggests that the other two thirds were worth around £150 which would make the amount he paid for the entire manor about £230. He may well have only put up £30 himself and borrowed the rest. Then he and his son simply paid interest on the outstanding capital, leaving Richard to sort out the resultant mess.

By the time young John reached his majority in 1609 he was no longer living in Kildwick parish. He spent some time at Gray's Inn in London. This did not always mean training as a lawyer. Residence at an Inn of Court was the traditional way in which the heir to an estate learned about land law. He then moved to Kirk Levington in Cleveland, North Yorkshire, where he and Francis Atkinson bought the Castle Levington estate from Sir William Gascoigne in 1611. John Garforth financed his part of the purchase by selling his property in Kildwick parish, including the manor, between 1610 and 1614.¹¹

Garforth was not alone. Another example of the process in action is provided by Sutton. The earliest fines by Alvery Copley of Batley the manorial lord, in 1562 and 1564, are simply transfers of specific properties to his brothers Thomas and Henry.¹² Alvery died in 1597 to be succeeded by his son Edward, who made only one or two minor sales. He died in 1616 and the Copley estate passed to another Alvery. In the same year this Alvery married Elizabeth Savile and there is a fine in which Sir John Savile and Richard Beaumont appear as plaintiffs and Alvery Copley, as the defendant, covering the manors of Batley and Sutton, 50 messuages, 30 cottages, 2 corn mills, and lands in Batley, Sutton and other places.¹³



This could either be a mortgage or just a marriage settlement but it is significant that four years later in 1620 Alvery sold 17 messuages in Sutton then three more in 1622 totalling 20 in all, which must have been his entire holding there.¹⁴ At the same time he disposed of the manorial rights to John Parker. Alvery Copley was also the manorial lord in the Cowling Hill part of Cowling and here too he sold out his property in 1616 and then disposed of the manor itself to Edmund Laycock in 1630.¹⁵

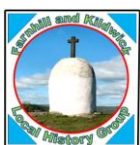
The situation in Glusburn is very difficult to interpret. In the Middle Ages four of the six carucates belonged to the manor of Steeton and the remaining two passed into the hands of the Knights' Hospitallers. The Steeton Manorial Court Rolls do not contain any Glusburn names but the surveys of 1582 and 1602 do. The discrepancy seems to be due to the existence of a sub-manor whose courts took place at Ridge Hall, which the 1846 6 inch map shows to have been on its border with Cowling.¹⁶ It was almost certainly this sub-manor which was the subject of the fine of 1577 by which Christopher Malham transferred his manors of Elslack, Glusburn and Coniston to Edward Malham.¹⁷

The 1522 Loan Book lists a William Scarbrough as the chief lord and the 1543 subsidy list is headed by a Peter Scarbrough taxed at £13 which suggests a rich man¹⁸ but most if not all their Glusburn property appears to have been in the two carucates owned by the Knights Hospitallers so the family probably never had the right to hold courts.

The parish registers record the burial of a Peter Scarbrough of Glusburn Hall in 1582. No sons are recorded but the baptism register only begins in 1575, so the John Scarbrough, who appears to have mortgaged all his property to Bernard Parker and John Drake in 1594 was probably one of his children.¹⁹ The next occupant of Glusburn Hall was another Peter Scarbrough. Again the registers have no son Peter. This omission could also be due to his birth before 1575 if he was 31 or over at the time of his son's marriage in 1606 which was quite possible.²⁰

In 1606 Peter's son Nicholas married Florence Nowell and early in 1607 he assigned property containing 30 messuages, 5 cottages and lands in Glusburn and elsewhere to Roger Nowell, Florence's father, Roger her brother and Edmund Bawdwen.²¹ This total shows a sharp fall from the 40 messuages, 30 cottages and lands of the 1594 fine and could indicate that financial stress between 1594 and 1607 had forced the sale of over a quarter of the Scarbrough estate. There is, however, an alternative explanation, which was that the fine represented a marriage settlement not a sale. It was the usual practice that when the eldest son married, his father would make arrangements for his whole estate, so that the wife's family would know how much he was going to inherit and how much would be reserved for the widow (if he died first) and his other children. In which case there could be more property which was not included in the fine.

The Scarbrough family was certainly prosperous enough to replace the old Glusburn Hall with the present building which dates from 1637, the year Nicholas' widow, Florence, died. Peter had died sometime before 1628 and Nicholas himself died in 1632 leaving only a daughter Mary who married Robert Parker of Entwistle near Blackburn on 24 September 1627. The name Scarbrough continued to occur in the parish registers of later centuries. There were families at Owlcoates in Cowling and Kildwick Grange after the Restoration for instance but none of them appear to have been of gentry status.²²



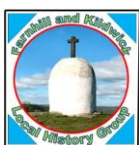
2. The Beneficiaries

The individuals best placed to take advantage of the decline in the fortunes of the old manorial lords were their principal tenants, many of whom would have had long term leases which would have protected them from the inflationary price increases. In 1522 John Malham was already the principal tenant in Bradley, the Loan Book describing him 'as dwelling in his awn house' and assessing him as being worth 10 marks. He also figured in the Lay Subsidy lists for 1524, 1525, 1543 and 1547 as the principal tenant. The Loan Book showed too that he was lord of the Manor of Coniston and had property in Skipton. The 1577 fine quoted earlier showed that Edward Malham his grandson had acquired the manors of Elslack and Glusburn as well. It should therefore come as no surprise that Edward was the one who acquired 'the capital messuage' in Bradley, which was probably High Bradley Hall, and the water mill in the 1604 Clifford sale. He was wealthy enough to buy property in Gargrave from them at the same time.²³

A very similar progression can be seen in Steeton where the most important family was the Garforths. The earliest traceable was Richard Garforth who died in 1497. He was succeeded by his son Dennis who was important enough to preside at the manorial court in 1545.²⁴ Dennis was long lived, dying in 1579, but well before then his son Anthony appears to have been directing family affairs. In 1562 he was already living at Steeton Hall and in that year he negotiated an 80 year lease from Sir Ingram Clifford, which insulated him from the price rises and laid the foundation for the family's later acquisitions.²⁵ When he died in 1587 he split his inheritance, giving two thirds to his elder son, William and one third to his younger one, Edmund. In 1592 Edmund sold his share to William for £200.²⁶

The death of Sir Ingram Clifford childless in 1579 left the manor divided into four. His two, which represented the Sotehill part, descended to the Earl of Cumberland. In 1600 William managed to buy one of the other two Rawcliffe parts from William Oglethorpe plus 7 messuages and the water mill for £460.²⁷ In 1602 the Cumberland estate sold its half to Slater and Midgley. Two years later they in turn sold it to William Garforth. As they had originally purchased the half share for £700 Garforth must have paid at least that and probably more for it. William died in 1605 but in 1614 his son, another William, bought the remaining Rawcliffe quarter which by this time had descended to Sir Gervase Clifton.²⁸

Another manor in which the principal tenant succeeded to both the manorial rights and most of the rented property was Kildwick, where it was acquired by the Currer family. As with the Malhams the name occurs in places outside Kildwick suggesting an extensive family network. The first Currer mentioned as living within the parish is Henry Currer, who is listed among those from Farnhill as bringing 'a bow and horse & harnes' to the Flodden muster of 1510-1. He is almost certainly the same man as the Henry Currer of Hamblethorp, just over the border in Bradley, whose goods are valued at £40 in the 1522 Loan Book, more than all the rest of the tenants put together! He is also listed under Bradley in the 1524 and 1525 subsidy lists. A William Currer is in the Kildwick township lists for 1522 and 1524. He may well be Henry's son and the same man who is in the Bradley subsidy list for 1543 and whose widow is taxed there in 1547.²⁹



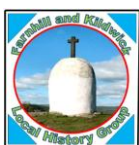
In 1559 as we have seen a Henry Currer bought 3 messuages in Kildwick from John Garforth the elder but it is not clear whether this was Henry of Hamblethorp or his third son another Henry. What appears to have happened is that the latter took over the Kildwick tenancy from William when he moved to Bradley. William was also involved as one of four plaintiffs in the 1581 fine about the manor of Kildwick with John Garforth the younger which appears to have been a mortgage.

But it was not until the Garforths decided to sell out that the Currers got the opportunity to replace them. In 1614 John Garforth sold to William Currer and Hugh Currer, the two eldest sons of Henry of Hamblethorp, together with Hugh's three sons, Henry, Hugh junior and William junior, the manor of Kildwick, 3 messuages, 10 cottages, a water corn mill, lands and rents in Kildwick Grange, Silsden, Bradley, Glusburn, Sutton, Newsholme and Bingley.³⁰ William Currer had already purchased an estate at Bank Newton, ten years earlier,³¹ so it was the second son Hugh, who became the effective owner of the manor and the occupant of Kildwick Hall. He was not destined to enjoy it for long, dying in 1617, when it was inherited by his eldest son, Henry. By this time the family had also acquired the property in Steeton known as High Hall, which passed to Hugh junior. The third son William got a messuage at Kildwick Grange bought from Roger Garforth in 1623.³²

In other parts of the parish, however, events took a different course, with the manorial lord negotiating directly with the sitting tenants. In Farnhill and Cononley in 1589 for instance Cumberland offered five tenants, Hugh Wilson, James Bradley, William Townley Edward Dixon and Thomas Dixon 5,000 year leases in return for ready money, which in effect, guaranteed that in time their farms would become freehold. In 1602 a further seven were also to claim they had 5,000 year leases – John Windle, Thomas Moore, Edward Jenkinson, James Dixon, William Hargreaves, Robert Bradley, Peter Baldwin and Thomas his son.³³ Then in 1597 Clifford persuaded them to advance him 40 years rent⁴ to help finance the Puerto Rico expedition and in 1602 to cough up yet another 20 years rent. Those not already on 5,000 year leases were guaranteed leases for 99 years or three lives in return.³⁴

Again Cumberland was not alone. In both Cowling Hill and Sutton Alvery Copley sold all his messuages to the sitting tenants in 1616 and 1620 respectively. There is much less information about Stothill but the Fair Place deeds show Miles Hargraves purchasing 2 cottages as early as 1572 and then in 1578 acquiring two messuages and 31 acres of land. Hargraves retained one of the messuages, which was probably Fair Place itself, and then leased the other for 100 years to one Bryan Maude, a labourer, for an annual rent of 5s-4d a year.³⁵ The vendor was Richard Tempest, son and heir of Henry Tempest of Tong, the family which appear to have owned the manor in the later Middle Ages, suggesting that other sales were taking place at the time.

Perhaps most remarkable of all was the sequence of events in Ickornshaw. There the disintegration had begun much earlier than in the other two villis. In 1546 Hugh Laycock was already buying two messuages and lands in Cowling from Dennis Garforth of Steeton and his wife Elizabeth, without reference to a manorial lord.³⁶ In 1562 six tenants bought messuages from the property speculator Sir Richard Tyrell and in 1565 three more, showing that the land had left the control of the manorial lord concerned.³⁷

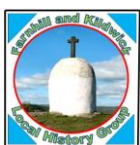


In 1586 the process went a step further when a whole list of 24 tenants bought the manor as well as 4 messuages from Edward Tyrell, presumably Sir Richard's son.³⁸ Apparently four of them got the messuages and the remaining 20 shared the manorial rights, because in 1604 Hugh Currer and Edmund Bawdwen bought three messuages and a 20th part of the manor from one of them, John Emmott.³⁹ This purchase allowed the 20 to share out the rights over the waste as well, which was apparently divided into 304 parts. Some of the later fines specifically mention them. Lawrence Robert, for instance, acquired property in 1598 which included rights to 11 parts, and in 1613 Christopher and Edward Smyth purchased a messuage, cottage and lands in Ickornshaw and Cowling plus 12 parts.⁴⁰ The freeholders continued to control the waste as did those in neighbouring Stanbury.

These examples demonstrate that principal tenants were far from the only people who benefited from the volatile land market but isolating the sources of the wealth which enabled so many families to arrange profitable long leases on the farms they occupied or even turn them into freehold can only be guesswork as we have little firm evidence. Where for instance did the 24 tenants of Ickornshaw obtain the money to buy not only 4 messuages in 1586 but all the manorial rights as well? How did Cumberland's tenants in Farnhill and Cononley get the money to buy 5,000 year leases from him in 1589 and then advance him 40 years rent in 1597 and another 20 years in 1602? How were Copley's Cowling tenants apparently able to buy him out in 1616 and his Sutton tenants in 1620? These acquisitions are only the most striking examples because the feet of fines contain evidence of similar bargains with individual tenants in all of the townships in the parish.

There is also abundant evidence of the expansion of the land area under occupation. We have deeds for the first time of farms at Reed Carr in Steeton, Brow farm in Sutton and Fair Place in Stothill⁴¹ and they are only the tips of the iceberg as the Cumberland survey of 1602 shows quite graphically. Of the 18 leaseholders in Bradley, 12 are paying rent for improvements and all the tenants at will have them. So do six of the seven in Cononley. Even in Silsden the majority of the tenants at will are paying rents for improvements showing that there is extensive encroachment taking place onto the moor.⁴²

John Garforth's occupation as a drover shows that the economy of Kildwick parish was largely a pastoral one, with only enough crops being grown to feed the population. This is important because where crops like wheat predominate the work involved is spread evenly throughout the year and fully occupies the energy of the tenantry. The pastoral economy is very much more uneven and provides scope for secondary occupations. Its vibrancy shows that these secondary occupations were there but we have only limited evidence as to what they were.

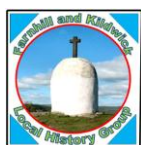


There are a number of possibilities. One is that some of the tenants were making money by mining. Later evidence shows that the moors in Glusburn and Cononley townships contained lead and open cast coal was being mined sporadically at Holden in Silsden Township. Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland leased it to local men. Between 1615 and 1617 for instance the lease was held by Thomas Barker of Cononley and Roger Barker of Skipton. It must have been profitable because they were expected to pay a yearly rent of £90 and deliver 300 loads a year to Skipton Castle and still made a profit in two out of the three years.⁴³ Stone quarries could also have proved profitable for a few families but the impression that one gets is that the main contributory source of income must be from the manufacture of textiles in some form or other.

When I examined the issue in my earlier book on Haworth I found the same lack of information. Only three of the 40 wills I had predating 1600 mentioned textiles at all but I was able to demonstrate how production spread from the Halifax hotspot by the influx of people with surnames from the area. There is much less surname evidence in Kildwick except for the appearance of Shackletons and Briggs in Sutton. Of course this does not mean that textiles were not made for sale, only that Halifax was not the sole market. The parish bordered on Lancashire where textiles were also becoming important. Manchester was producing fustians and by the outbreak of the Civil Wars weaving was well established in Pendle and Trawden. We have evidence that Cowling was involved. George and William Tillotson were named as clothiers in 1616, so were Henry Dixon of Far Carrhead and William Smith of Gamsgill.⁴⁴ In 1617 Alexander Hartley a Lancashire clothier, who was also active in Haworth, was recorded as buying land at Stonehead in Cowling and the will of John Dransfield of Sutton shows that he too was a clothier.⁴⁵ These men may well have been collecting cloth from other weavers so the lack of evidence from the other Cowling vills, Cononley, Glusburn, Sutton and Steeton does not mean that they were not there.

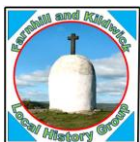
The developments had political and social as well as economic consequences because the interests of the manorial lords and those of the new middle class which lived on a combination of farming and textiles or other by products of the dual economy were no longer the same.

For the Cliffords and the Eltofts retaining the manorial rights and for William Garforth, Hugh Currer, Edward Malham, Michael Gledhill, Sir John Ramsden, John Parker and Edmund Laycock acquiring them, brought a higher status in the community. But the courts were a wasting asset and as time went on the fines brought in less and less until the costs of holding them were more than the income. Potentially of greater importance were the rights to exploit the waste. Where they contained valuable minerals which could be exploited the effect was to turn their owners from manorial lords into business entrepreneurs. Where they were only useful for game preservation the effect was to create a barrier between their owners and their neighbours who relied for their income on the dual economy in some form or other. This division of interests was to play an importance part during the Civil Wars.



Footnotes

1. Spence pp25ff
2. Spence pp55ff
3. When the other two were sold is not clear but only one is listed in the 1602 survey YAS DD187/3
4. Spence p199
5. Deductions based on Gulliver, David: Cononley Manorial Courts, Kiln Hill, Cononley 2007 pp21-9
6. Gulliver pp66-72
7. CPR Eliz. 1558-60 p10; Tudor Fines I, p225
8. CPR Eliz. 1560-3 p209
9. Tudor Fines II p169
10. Complaint of Richard Garforth of Kildwick 17th November 1598 Chancery Proceedings Elizabeth I, GG7/53 Copy in Cliffe Castle Kildwick Box 1 I am indebted to Robin Greenwood for drawing my attention to this source.
11. VCH North Yorks vol.II p260; Stuart Fines II pp17-8
12. Tudor Fines I, p281
13. Stuart Fines II, p68. The marriage partner shows that it was probably his son but it could possibly have been his brother.
14. Stuart Fines II, pp157, 160 and 185.
15. Stuart Fines II p107; Gulliver, David: A South Craven History- The Tillotson Family and Its Neighbours p19
16. Dawson, W.H. – Loose Leaves pp136-7; YAS DD187/9/4/4
17. Tudor Fines II p112.
18. Early Tudor Craven p18 & p67
19. Tudor Fines IV p10
20. My Family Reconstitution shows no son in 1606
21. Stuart Fines I p74



22. Details from my Family Reconstitution and T.D. Whitaker-History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven 1878
23. Spence pp199-200
24. BK10/535 Brigg Notebook 15
25. BK10/577;
26. Dawson, W.H. -Loose Leaves p254
27. Tudor Fines IV, p153
28. Dawson — Loose Leaves pp267-8
29. Early Tudor Craven pp8, 34, 52,53, 59, 67, 98 and 117 for the various Currer references
30. Stuart Fines II p18 for the purchase from Garforth; 63.Hugh was living there when he died in
31. Stuart Fines I p17 for Bank Newton
32. Hugh junior was living there when he died in 1636; for William see Stuart Fines II p215
33. See Tudor Feet of Fines III 1588-9 p108 & for Cononley Gulliver: Cononley Manorial Courts p32 & YAS DD187/3
34. Spence p194
35. KLSL BK10/8, 10/9, 10/11
36. Tudor Fines I pp265, 266, 269, 270 and 315
37. Tudor Fines III p58
38. Stuart Fines I p14;
39. Tudor Fines IV p105
40. Stuart Fines I p215
41. KLSL BK10/8,10/90 and 273;
42. Craven Rentals YAS DD187/3
43. Gulliver-Tillotson p24
44. Ibid pp16 & 18
45. Baumber: Haworth p42; Yorkshire Wills for Dransfield

