THE RICHMOND REVIEW 2020

RICHMOND & DISTRICT CIVIC SOCIETY



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Contents

Chairman's Report...	*John McDonald*	*4*
Collectanea...	*Tina McDonald*	*7*
Henry Bradrigg...	*Mike Wood*	*15*
The Rising of the North...	*Doug Waugh*	*20*
The Fleece Hotel: What Lies Beneath...	*Oliver Cooper*	*27*
A Radical Reader in Georgian Richmond...	*Jane Hatcher*	*41*
Echoes from Ancient Skeeby...	*Gordon Alexander*	*45*
Richmond's War Memorial...	*Andrew Horn*	*52*
The Home Guard at 80...	*Brian Benson*	*54*
Recollections of Ravensworth...	*Dennis M. Edmondson*	*59*
New Life for an Old Shop...	*Sheila Russell*	*68*
Ann Bowman: Richmond's Forgotten Authoress?...	*John Place*	*71*
Knitting in the Dales...	*Jane Hatcher*	*77*
Richmond 950 – the Harrying of the North...	*Rod Flint*	*80*

Tributes and Obituaries *90*

The Lecture Programme 2020 *95*

Officials for 2020 *96*

Chairman's Report

John McDonald

Welcome to the 2020 edition of *The Review*: we trust that you will find in its pages many things of interest. The range is, as usual, wide, from personal memoir to historical research, all drawn from the lives of people living in Richmondshire. As editors, we would like to thank all the contributors. They have given generously of their time and expertise and without their commitment there would be no *Review.*

2020 has been a year like no other in living memory, a year when everything including our activities as a Civic Society has been disrupted. Since it took hold in the late spring, Covid 19 has made us all rethink our lives and how we live them and for the Society it meant the immediate cancellation of our whole programme. However, a small team quickly realised that we needed to adapt to survive and saw a way this could be done. Our lecture programme has continued as planned, and in fact expanded, using the internet platform Zoom as our lecture hall. All of these lectures are now available on the Society's website. This has all been made possible by the determination and hard work of Colin Grant, our lecture secretary, working with William Gedye who has fast become our internet guru and life-saver. We owe them both a very great deal. Indeed, it may well be a considerable time before we can safely resume our public meetings in the Methodist Church. This means we have not been able to offer activities to those members who do not have computer access and this has been and continues to be a great concern to us all. I would like to thank all of you for staying loyal to the Society throughout these troubled times.

While we all wait for the return of normality, we have been able to prioritise other projects. The Society has always contributed to the tourism economy of Richmond by, for example, creating the plaque tour and more recently maintaining the information boards which help to

explain the history of the town. Again, thanks to Colin Grant's ability to collaborate with other groups, we have been able to update and relaunch the audio guide to the town, including the tour of the plaques. This can all now be accessed on-line to help visitors planning a trip to Richmond. Going alongside, there is a town trail with map and guide to the town for visitors. The whole pack is now available to people through the new tourist information centre in the Market Hall. This whole project has involved several months of painstaking detail and I want to pay Colin full credit for the achievement. We have featured some of the thirty-three plaques on our back cover this year: thanks go to Carol Hillyard for creating the design.

Next year, as we all now know, is the 950th anniversary of the founding of Richmond Castle and a team of people, coordinated by Carol Watson and Original Richmond, has been working hard to ensure that the date is marked by a series of events in celebration. This has been by no means easy since virtually all national and regional money has been absorbed by the ongoing costs of dealing with Covid 19. The Civic Society has come forward to help with finance for one vital event and again it has been Colin who has been the driving force. We are funding a community archaeology project inside the Castle itself, hoping that our initiative will attract other funding so that the 'dig' can be as extensive and revealing as possible. We will all be hearing more about this in early 2021.

Covid 19 has caused all of us to work behind the scenes, away from risk of infection and this has certainly applied to both our planning group and our committee. Chris Shaw has taken over as the Chair of the planning group which has been 'meeting' every three weeks throughout the year, scrutinising all the planning applications involving listed buildings and conservation areas within Richmondshire but outside of the National Park. We have been doing this for many years now and increasingly we find that our advice is respected and welcomed. Yet, this year we became notorious for a short period of time on social media when we objected to a mural painted in the Market Place on the grounds that it was done without correct permission. People rallied to protect and praise it without understanding the difficulty it created. The planning process is often cumbersome but its great benefit is that it is democratic. Before any building can be built or altered, the general public and any interested

organisations as well as the planners and councillors themselves, can express their opinions. This prevents towns and villages being changed by property owners doing what they want without regard to other residents. The architectural integrity of historic towns such as Richmond depends absolutely on this safeguard being firmly in place and followed.

Occasionally, we find a piece of Richmond's history that has been neglected and we are able to protect it. This year it was the water supply pump and lamp standard at the bottom of Cornforth Hill. We have been successful in having it listed but it is not yet clear who owns the wall to which the pump and lamp are attached. The wall is dangerous and in need of re-mortaring. Until this is done, the pump, lamp standard and wall all remain at risk.

Finally, I always want to thank individual members who have worked to make our year's programme a success. But what do I say in a year when no normal programme has been possible: no lectures in a public space, no holiday in May, no summer day-trips and, as a result, no opportunity for members to keep close and friendly contact with each other? All of this has been a very great loss. And yet, we have not only survived; we have kept our lectures programme going and our planning scrutiny and we have laid plans for next year. I have already paid thanks to Colin Grant and William Gedye for rescuing the lecture programme by inventing an internet equivalent. I want to close by thanking other people who have simply refused to give up the society's work, seeing 2020 as a time to delay not to cancel: Tina McDonald for making sure that this Review was written and edited as normal; Dorothy Clague for her eagle-eyed proof reading; Margaret Lowery whose delayed trip to the Isle of Man will run next year and to the whole committee for keeping close contact with each other and meeting whenever possible via the internet or in gardens, Graham Barber, Peter Cardwell, Colin Grant, Carol Hillyard and Simon Scott-Priestley. To all of you a big thank you.

Collectanea

Tina McDonald

Compiling Richmond's calendar of events for Collectanea has always involved sifting through a plethora of possible inclusions: plays and parades, music and museums, convivial fundraising coffee mornings.

This year, of course, Richmond's ledger remained regrettably blank. Cancellations and postponements of all the major events and many minor ones escalated as coronavirus swept through the country and the county. In early March the World Health Organisation (WHO) declared the outbreak to be a global pandemic and on March 23rd England found itself in lockdown. As schools and businesses closed and the streets emptied, we all watched with increasing dismay the rising numbers of infections and deaths. Ultimately, Richmond was more fortunate than many areas and, while we extend our heartfelt sympathies to those who did lose friends and family members, we give thanks that in this particular area losses were comparatively small.

The goodness of the human spirit is always the most desperately needed antidote to any kind of catastrophe, and it was never more evident than during this pandemic. Doctors, nurses, care-workers and many ancillary hospital staff worked tirelessly and heroically, often in underfunded and ill-equipped circumstances. The weekly round of applause which we joined in willingly was small recompense, but gladly done. Long overdue feelings of gratitude and respect for the many who have always enabled the country to operate efficiently, began to emerge and rightly grow, as we all began to rely on the shopkeepers, delivery drivers, public transport operatives and many more who continued to work and provide essential services. Voluntary workers and various organisations, existing often to facilitate Richmond's cultural and sporting life, quickly re-established themselves to provide practical care and moral support. The shopkeepers of Richmond were quick to organise deliveries for the many shielding and

self-isolating, and re-organised their shops and businesses to make social distancing work, responding swiftly and often with ingenuity, to the changing needs the pandemic necessitated.

Most gratifying was the reaction of the many young people determined to make a contribution. Henry Bushell, a pupil from Richmond School, worked with his mother making scrubs for healthcare workers in the area and five year old Harry Sangster from Richmond Methodist School made a delightful video exhorting people, in a very determined way, to remember social distancing. There were many more, of course, not least those who cleared up the appalling mess left at the Falls by drugged and drunken visitors. After six months of Covid, with many restrictions lifted and some new ones (like the wearing of face masks) enforced, concern is still felt by many, particularly the older members of society, and reports of new spikes are still a cause for concern. However, we can, in Richmond, take comfort from the fact that there are many who continue to work to make the town safe and many too who are already working for a future when life can return to normal.

When lockdown restrictions began to be lifted and even the weather improved, we all looked forward to an outdoor life that had been largely denied to us. Unfortunately, so did a great many other people and the Batts and Falls became magnets for literally hundreds of young people from Teesside, Tyneside and even further afield. Rules about travelling and social distancing were discarded like old clothes and Richmond began to resemble the Spanish Costas in August. Cars blocked roads and entrances, parking restrictions were completely ignored and the police found it difficult to cope. People partied, lit barbecues, organised discos and engaged the services of a popular DJ from Ibiza! Apparently, 'Richmond Falls' became the most googled term on the internet. A hundred and twenty bags of litter, drug paraphernalia and human waste were collected in one day. Richmond's residents stayed indoors and prayed for rain. Enormous credit must be given to the volunteers who cleaned up after these events and the police and council workers who tried to restore order. The councils are working to address the problem with the installation of CCTV cameras and the use of dispersal orders and public space protection orders.



Richmond Falls under siege during the Covid outbreak

Richmond's Information Centre, formerly known as the Tourist Information Centre, has provided useful resources for the many thousands of visitors keen to learn more about the town and its activities. Indeed, residents also frequently benefit from its services. Started in 1973 in a wooden building in Friary Gardens, it then moved to the rather elegant, stonebuilt public lavatory in Victoria Road built in 1931 and designed by Ashley Lawson, a Richmond resident. Readers can learn more about that building from Andrew Horn's article in the 2014 Review. Later, after a brief sojourn at Rodbers, the centre moved again, somewhat inconveniently, to the town's library.

Last year, Nick Reckert and Donald Cline, volunteer co-ordinators for the Centre, instigated a better move to Richmond's historic Market Hall and, with a successful grant application to the District Council's Community Investment Fund and funds from other sources, were able to reveal plans for a striking modern construction within the Market Hall, considerably larger and an interesting contrast to its historic surroundings. Longer opening hours and more volunteers are promised to make this a success. As the Centre receives no regular funding, it raises money by the publication of various guides and books about the area. One of their latest publications is the Little But Wondrous Guide (LBW for short!). It is a compelling collection of facts and fables, character sketches, photographs and illustrations and is, indeed, a wondrous guide to the town, particularly

as it is priced at only £2, is conveniently pocket-sized and is available from shops throughout the town as well as from the Centre.



Volunteers Christine Bartrum and Pam Heseltine in the new Information Centre

In August, Jane Hatcher published her latest book, *Timothy Hutton (1779-1863) of Clifton Castle and Marske-in-Swaledale.* Sub-titled *The Life and Times of a North Yorkshire Gentleman*, it is exactly that, providing readers with an excellent in-depth and detailed picture of Yorkshire life, as well as a fascinating portrayal of the man himself. Based on the diaries Timothy Hutton kept for almost half a century and much additional research, with some excellent illustrations and interesting family trees, it offers an engaging picture of life at that time for not just the gentry, but the many who served them.

The Richmond and Dales Talking Newspaper deserves enormous credit for refusing to let Covid and lockdown halt their service to the blind and partially sighted of Richmondshire. This organisation collects and collates local news from the area, records it on CDs, using a rota of readers, and posts it to the visually impaired. Unable to continue normal recording sessions because of lockdown restrictions, the group mastered

the intricacies and demands of recording at home, using phones, tablets and computers. With the help of their volunteers and the Post Office they were able to continue mailing their twice-monthly CDs to their grateful listeners.

While theatres across the country were forced into closure and concern about their future viability grew, Richmond's own Georgian Theatre Royal found itself better placed than most. Able to take advantage of emergency funding, business rate reductions and the much appreciated furlough scheme, the theatre felt cautiously optimistic about its own future. Donations and patrons' refusals of refunds for tickets already purchased added to this security. When a generous donation from Hamish Ogsten CBE, Vice President and long-standing supporter, was made available, their future seemed even more certain. The long-desired auditorium improvements, involving new seating and improved views of the stage at last became viable. Compulsory Covid closure provided a serendipitous opportunity for these works to be carried out without further future disruption.

The theatre plans to re-open in Spring 2021; sadly, the much-loved pantomime, this time *Beauty and the Beast*, will be delayed until the end of that year. However, the theatre is now open for tours, enabling theatre-goers to monitor work in progress and news of the project is regularly posted on the theatre's website.

Many readers, and particularly dog-walkers, will know Richmond's racecourse well and many will have observed, with some dismay, the continuing deterioration of its once elegant grandstand. Designed by John Carr, it was built using public subscriptions for the first running of the King's Plate event in 1777. This was a prestigious event usually run at Hambleton, near Thirsk and the ability to be there in person was probably a great incentive to subscribers who paid five guineas each. For this they received a specially minted token allowing access to the grandstand for life! The course was spoken of in its day as one of the best in the North 'for trying the goodness of a horse's bottom'.

A stewards' stand and judges' box were built in 1814, adding style and status. Sadly, by the end of the nineteenth century, the Jockey Club had

decided that the turns were too tight for safety. Horses were faster, better bred and better trained, and so in 1891 the last race was run there. The grandstand was kept in reasonable repair until the 1940s but, when Richmond Corporation removed the lead from the roof, the building quickly deteriorated. In 1969, a further decision was taken to partly demolish the building. Since it is the world's oldest, stonebuilt grandstand, Grade II listed and regarded as an important icon of Richmond's racing history, this decision seems ill-considered. In 1968, with encouragement from central government, the local authorities added the land, complete with its buildings, to the national registry of common land and village greens, making future development impossible. The racecourse is now maintained by the Richmond Burgage Pasture Committee, under the chairmanship of the Earl of Ronaldshay. This committee has made a request to de-register the buildings, as acknowledgement that many buildings in earlier common land registration have mostly been included in error. A successful outcome to this application will allow the Burgage Pasture Committee more control and extend its ability to better restore, at last, this elegant reminder of Richmond's racing history.

The death of George Floyd in Minneapolis in May this year aroused anger across the world and gave enormous momentum to the Black Lives Matter movement started in 2013. In June, hundreds of anti-racism campaigners gathered in Richmond's market place for a largely peaceful protest. The BLM event was organised by the newly-formed 'Anti-Racism in Richmond' group. Sarah Noel, one of the organisers, gave an impassioned speech and supporters knelt for almost nine minutes in recognition of the appalling manner of George Floyd's death by white officer Derek Chauvin. Counter-protesters worked hard to disrupt proceedings, claiming that they were there to protect historic statues and monuments. They surrounded the obelisk aggressively, unaware that it had no connection with slavery, exploitation or racial inequality and was unlikely to be attacked by this largely civilised group of BLM protesters most of whom knew that the obelisk marked only a reservoir, completed in 1771, a facility much appreciated by the town at that time.

On August 14th residents across the town were alarmed by huge plumes of thick, black smoke emanating from the Victoria Road area. Dozens of

firefighters from across North Yorkshire and County Durham raced to control a blaze at the Harvest Energy fuel station where, we learnt later, the shop and a storeroom had been completely gutted by fire and the roof of the building destroyed. Concern about petrol and diesel fuel on site was paramount. Firefighters battled throughout the afternoon and evening, a cordon was set up with help from the Military Police and many residents were evacuated. Thankfully there were no casualties: quick-thinking employees had disconnected the fuel tanks before escaping and the reaction of the police and the fire service was rapid. Others played their part; enterprising passers-by moved roadwork barriers to cordon off the road before the emergency services arrived and Richmond School offered shelter and refreshments to those affected by the blaze. Lorraine Hodgson, Richmond's mayor, visited the site the next day to thank the firefighters.

Richmond would not be Richmond without people organising charity events. Obviously, Covid has curtailed many such happenings but in June, Ian and Val Hepworth opened their beautiful garden at the Manor House, Skeeby. With careful attention to social distancing rules, and an appointment system, visitors were able to stay safe and enjoy one of the area's most delightful gardens. The event raised £1200 for Yorkshire Cancer Research.

In August, Dennis and Marcia McLuckie opened Mr Yorke's Walled Garden to the public. The garden was built by John Yorke who lived at Yorke House close to the Green. Sadly, the house was demolished at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the walled garden was eventually used as a market garden, before falling into disrepair. Dennis and Marcia McLuckie have worked hard for the last eight years to restore the garden, developing new borders, rose and vegetable gardens, planting new trees and lawns while still retaining original paths' outlines. The garden was open to raise money for Just the Job, the local charity established in 2005 which enables adults with disabilities to work in and for the community. Richmond Soroptimists provided refreshments and organised raffles, as Just the Job is one of their presidents' chosen charities this year. Just the Job has an ambitious fund-raising project for new accommodation on land close to Gallowfields Trading Estate, and were delighted to receive a substantial contribution towards this.

St Mary's Church should have provided the perfect venue for the socially-distanced business awards this year. Originally planned to be held in March, in the Kings Head, the pandemic forced a postponement and change of venue. The Original Richmond Business and Tourism Association (ORBTA) joined with The Company of Mercers, Grocers and Haberdashers of Richmond to establish these annual awards which are greatly appreciated by local businesses. Sadly, government guidance changed just days before the event was due to take place, allowing only six people to be present. Nevertheless, David Kerfoot, the High Sheriff of North Yorkshire, was delighted to be able to announce the winners, and praised the organisations involved for their determination to proceed with the event. This year, the overall winner of the David Doorbar Award for Excellence was presented to Purple Creative Studio. Now residents can view the full awards ceremony on YouTube.

Richmond residents were, perhaps, not surprised to learn that a survey by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) found that Richmondshire is the happiest place in the country to live. Carried out in March 2020, it fortunately avoided any Covid bias. The District had the highest score in the UK, 8.3 out of 10. While the national trend showed a decline in happiness, Richmondshire's result showed an increase. Personal well-being questions such as 'Overall, how satisfied are you with your life nowadays?' and 'Overall, to what extent do you feel the things you do in your life are worthwhile?' were given a very positive response in Richmondshire. This is not the first time that Richmond has found itself at the top of national surveys and residents are becoming increasingly blasé about such accolades; or, as one very elderly local put it when I spoke to him recently, "Just stating the bloomin' obvious, aren't they?".

Next year, Richmond has a big birthday. It is 950 years since the Normans began building the castle. Richmond's Business and Tourism Association is planning a year of celebrations. These will encompass every period in the town's history from Norman to Medieval, Elizabethan, Georgian and Victorian, right up to the present day. Sadly, the National Lottery Heritage Fund has suspended its normal grant programme but the organisers are undeterred. There may be a shortage of cash but there is no shortage of enthusiasm for the project; it promises to make 2021 a very exciting year and a perfect antidote to the depressing events of 2020.

Henry Bradrigg

Mike Wood

I think that this year bears a remarkable resemblance to a situation in Richmond in 1645. As a member of the Company of Fellmongers, I am particularly interested in Henry Bradrigg as he was a Pelliparius (Skinner) and undoubtedly a Fellmonger and possibly Warden of the company. The records of the company unfortunately do not start until 1666 but I am confident that in my ongoing research into the guilds, fraternities and chantries of Richmond I will eventually come across him.

Henry's story is well documented and was the subject of an article in the 1995 Review. Even so, I think that it is worth reminding ourselves of his self-sacrifice and other information about him that has survived. The account below of the actions of Henry Bradrigg during the year of the plague has survived by accident. None of the town's histories contains any reference to the events in 1645. Henry survives as a footnote only.

Some years ago the Fellmongers' archivist, Ralph Waggett, was researching in the Public Record Office when he came upon a little file of papers relating to an action in the Court of Common Pleas. The file was very incomplete but it contained the defence lodged in the action. The defendants were Henry Bradrigg and his three Constables and the plaintiff was the owner of one of the houses used as a pest house. The date on the papers was 1651, several years after the plague had occurred. The plague struck at a time when the country was in the throes of civil war. The battle of Marston Moor had been fought outside York in 1644 and subsequently the Scottish army was quartered at Richmond. It is known from contemporary accounts that they did not act out of tender concern for the inhabitants. Rather they took whatever food or accommodation they required in the manner of an occupying army. For a population already suffering from the hardship of war, the effect must have been harrowing.

Worse was to follow. While they had occupied the town, the Scottish army had requisitioned many houses as billets to accommodate their men. Not surprisingly, when the army left it was found that these properties had suffered great neglect. Tragically, no sooner did the soldiers go than there was a virulent outbreak of the plague. It continued for some months during which five hundred and fifty townspeople died. It is not necessary to stress the fear engendered by the plague. There was no safe cure. In the cramped living conditions of the old town it would have spread quickly. The outcome was a swift death and the impulse would have been to take to the countryside.

That was the situation, which faced the Alderman, Henry Bradrigg. He afterwards said that *'the rest of his brethren did for their safetyes leave their habitations and dwelling houses, and did remove into other places in the country thereabouts'.* Henry Bradrigg did not do so. He determined to stay and do his best for the stricken people. He had the assistance of three unpaid constables and, to prevent the plague from spreading, *'he made use of all such houses and buildings standing in the open fields or in the remotest corners of the town distant from other houses as were empty for pest houses and places whither to remove the infected persons out of the town and wherein to keep them from wandering abroad within the town or going forth of it to the endangering of the country'*.

So the Alderman did his best to limit the spread of the plague. But he did more than that. He endeavoured to look after those infected. With the help of his constables he *'did daily or frequently repair to the said houses to visit the sick persons therein and to carry them victuals and other provisions for their relief and sustenance and to take care over them for their cures and recovery'.*

Eventually the plague ended with the onset of colder weather. According to the Parish Records many were buried in Castle Yard. I once asked the local electricity engineer if they had found anything whilst laying cables in the area near the castle but they had not.

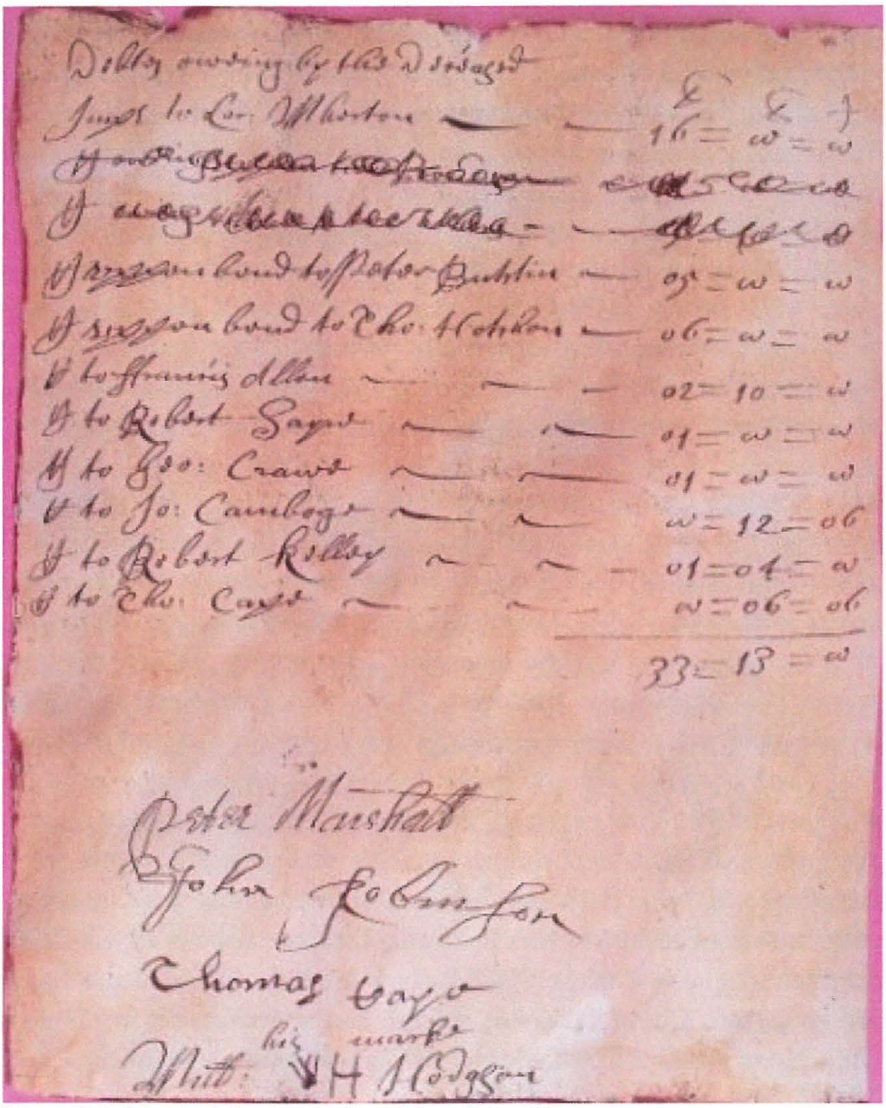
It needed courage and resource and determination as well as humanity to do as Henry Bradrigg did. Moreover, he did not escape personal tragedy. During a period of fourteen days in July 1645 he lost his wife and his

grandchild and his maid. So he had private sorrows as well as his public burden. Looking back at a distance of three hundred and fifty years it is hard to see what other or better measures he could have taken to deal with the situation. He must have been a source of inspiration and confidence to all those under his charge.

It appears that in consequence of all these troubles which befell the town he was *'inforced to lay down soe much of his moneys for the relief of the poore, whoe otherwise had been in great danger of death by famine whereby hee hath much impoverished himself'*. So stated the County Magistrates sitting in Quarter Sessions. They ordered that he should be re-imbursed by money contributed from the rest of the North Riding.

Henry Bradrigg served as an Alderman again in 1662 by which time Richmond had been given a Mayor. Then on 12th November 1672 it is recorded that *'Mr Henry Bradrigg did for sundry causes best known to himself freely and voluntarily resign into the hands of the Mayor and Aldermen his office of Aldermanship. Whereupon the Mayor and Aldermen out of their affection and in recompense for the good service of the said Mr Bradrigg did order that he should have the annual summe of £6.13.4 yearly paid to him during his life upon the feast day of St Martin the Bishop in Winter or within 20 days then following the first payment to begin within 20 days next following'*. This was a most unusual act of benevolence. There appears to be no other precedent for such an annuity in the annals of the town and it must reflect the respect in which the Alderman was held. However, he did not live to benefit. He died early the following year. I have a copy of his will and reproduce below his debts owing. Notice that his Constable, John Robinson, was a witness.

On the 25th April 1673 his widow Mary (whom he must have married after the death of his first wife) took out a Grant of Administration to his estate. His inventory reveals that he was a poor man. He lived on the north side of Finkle Street. His assets were valued at £26.16.4 and his debts totalled £33.13.0. These included £16.10.0 in rent owed to Lord Wharton for land at Gingerfield, then and now part of the Aske estate. The rent was £3.10.0 per year and he was presumably three years in arrears.



Henry Bradrigg's debts, reproduced from his will

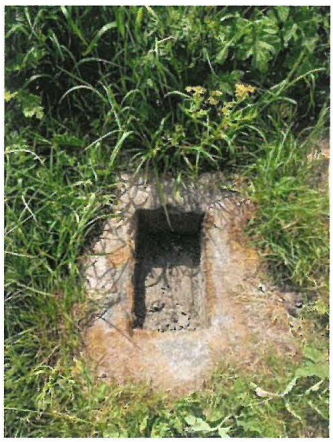
On the 20th February 1674/5 Lord Wharton wrote to Philip Swale, his agent: '*Give me notice what hopes there are of Widow Broderick paying any part of the £13.10.0 arrears and when and out what it may be paid if she be solvent, be earnest with her for the payment'.*

On the 13th March, Philip Swale replied: *'Widow Broderick I would hope might pay part if times prove good, but the last years and two years before she had meane crops, which put a strayte on her: her daughter marrys not*

yet. I would hope if she get a good husband, he might order things to more advantage and make better payment than the Widdow doth'.

As yet I do not know what the final outcome was. However, we can think for a moment of Henry Bradrigg and his three valiant constables, George Middleton, John Robinson and Richard Smith.

As a postscript: several people have asked me recently about the plague stone on the Richmond to Ravensworth road (picture below). It is scheduled as a medieval cross base known as 'the plague stone' and is located at the intersection of three boundaries. Possibly it was a marker for these boundaries.



Folklore has it that the name 'plague stone' indicated the place where goods could be collected by people quarantined by the plague. The trough was filled with vinegar in order to disinfect their hands and money.

This sounds very familiar over three hundred years later.

Mike Wood is a Past Master and Clerk to the Company of Fellmongers of Richmond.

The Rising of the North, 1569, and Richmond's Role

Doug Waugh

When Jane and I, as recently-marrieds, first came north we ended up buying a derelict end-terrace in the village of Brancepeth near Durham. It had stood empty for four years, had no internal plumbing, mushrooms grew in the kitchen - indeed it still had an outside netty and another outside room with a copper washtub. Ah, the optimism of youth!



The Corner House - now!

The village is notable for a quaint main street and a castle - today a most desirable location. But - hard to believe now - when we bought the Corner House in 1978 we were actually given a 50% Council grant towards the repairs to encourage us to buy and fix the house, which we did. We loved living in that village and often go back to see the village and old friends. We also keep an eye on 'our house'.

When we first moved into the village, I met an elderly man who had been the Estate Manager and he told me of the Rising of the North in 1569 when the rebel army had come out of the Castle. He also told me of two

men being hanged at the crossroads in the village after the failure of the rebellion.

Therefore, when I read Chris Lloyd's article (excellent as always, though incorrect in seeing the Rising as starting at Barnard Castle rather than Brancepeth) in the D&S Times on the 450th anniversary of the Rising, I was intrigued, particularly as there was no mention of my two poor executed men, though there was of deaths at a number of other sites. This was of even more interest as, by coincidence, I was having lunch in the village on the actual day (November 14th, 2019) when, 450 years before, the army of rebels had marched out of the Castle and towards Durham.

More intriguingly still, on my visit for lunch no one that I spoke to in the village had any knowledge of two men meeting their ends at the crossroads. So, now thoroughly challenged, I started on research into the rebellion and its aftermath. And what did I find? Well, most interestingly, Richmond was very much a part of the rebellion. This indeed is the heart of my article: the town's role, which seems little known, in this pivotal rebellion.

Surprisingly, I have found few references to the Rising in books on Richmond and most of the information I have found comes from just two books, the only dedicated ones I found. One was published in 1840 (Cuthbert Sharp's *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569*, abbreviated here to MotR and with the language updated) and the other in 2010 (K.J.Kesselring's *The Northern Rebellion of 1569*, abbreviated to TNR). Much of the picture of what happened comes from the correspondence of Sir George Bowes, who lived at Streatlam Castle but removed to Barnard Castle during the rebellion - MotR contains many of his letters. It is obvious that bias and political needs colour many accounts and that, in any case, much of what happened simply was not documented.

The rebellion was the culmination of the religious turmoil begun by Henry VIII. Under him and Edward VI the change to Protestantism moved apace before Mary turned back the clock (making a martyr in Newbiggin of poor Richard Snell, just two months before her death) before Elizabeth became Queen and restored the move to Protestantism.

In brief, in the late autumn of 1569, eleven years into Elizabeth's reign, the 'Rising of the North' took place the aim of which was to re-establish the old Catholic religion, although the instigators still pledged fealty to the Queen. It began when two Earls, Northumberland and Westmorland, were summoned to Court to answer for their disaffection but they had already gone too far to trust themselves in the Queen's hands, and they, therefore, chose to rebel. I have to say, calling it 'the North' is a bit of an exaggeration as its geographic scope was limited mainly to County Durham and North Yorkshire.



Brancepeth Castle, as it is now (rebuilt in the nineteenth century)

Brancepeth was the origin of the rebellion as it was the Earl of Westmoreland's Castle. The Earl of Northumberland (who is of particular interest to us as he was the High Steward - again surprisingly - responsible for the Crown lands in and around Richmond) joined him there. Other gentlemen, with their armed retainers, also came to Brancepeth, ready to rebel. To stiffen any waverers and to stir the blood, Lady Westmorland, in tears, harangued them: "*We and our country were shamed for ever, that now in the end we should seek holes to creep into*".

Thus it was that, on the 14th November 1569, the rebels marched to Durham, half-a-dozen miles away, and occupied the City, reconfigured the Cathedral and held Mass with the old ceremonies. Some then

marched southward, restoring the ancient service at Staindrop, Darlington, Richmond and Ripon.

Sir George Bowes, writing a biased account for the Queen, recorded that on 17th November '*They, this day, at Richmond, made a great muster*' with demands for men to be provided for the rebels with '*threats of burning and spoiling'*. Richard Mylner, the Bayliff, is named as *'one honest man'* for rejecting the rebels; later, on 29th November, there is a note of '*spoiling Richmond as they would not send them such men and aid as they sent for'*. However, there is actually evidence of Richmond having allegiance to the old religion : the large numbers supporting the rebellion (see below), sixteen burgesses being in the rebel army; the regular discovery of items relevant to the old religion around the Town and even the behaviour of assistant curate John Acrige, caught as a rebel, who perished in York prison having refused to abandon his renewed faith. There are also records, it seems, of the Market Place hosting demeaning public penances by those caught in the old religion (TNR).

There is early reference to this somewhat unclear position of Richmond - Sir George Bowes manages to portray the area in two different ways, possibly playing more to the recipient of his letters rather than to writing what he actually thought. As the rebellion started (November 14th), Sir George wrote to the Queen's Northern commander, the Earl of Sussex, '*the gentlemen and commoners in Richmondshire are both dutiful and ready to serve as they shall be commanded by you, so that the Earl of Northumberland shall be able to do small there'* (MotR). However, he also wrote to the same Earl of Sussex on the very next day, having received instructions to raise 2,500 men, which may have swayed his opinion, that '*the inhabitants of the Town of Richmond being the only people to be doubted in these parts.'* (MotR) The one thing you can be sure of in the documentation is bias!

However, there are listed the following gentlemen who did come from Richmond to enlist for the Queen at Barnard Castle: Christopher Wandysforthe, Christopher Rookbye, William Wyclyff, Anthony Kateryck, Marmaduke Vincent, John Wytham, Nycoles Gyrlyngton, Nynyan Gyrlyngton, Francys Gyrlyngton, Roger Menell, Henry Francke, all interesting names.



Map based on Fletcher, A. and MacCullogh, D: Tudor Rebellion

The rebels proceeded to Clifford Moor intending to proceed to York but, receiving intelligence of a powerful army against them, returned north to Barnard Castle which they besieged for eleven days from 2nd December, before the fortress surrendered on honourable terms with Sir George Bowes leading out the remaining small garrison. Many had earlier leapt the walls to desert to the rebels, often breaking bones in the process. They also sent a party to Hartlepool to take the Town. However, on the 13th December the Earl of Essex marched out of York at the head of 7,000 men followed by a still larger army of another 12,000 under the Earl of Warwick. The rebels retreated further northward, first to Raby then to Auckland and Hexham and lastly to Naworth Castle. They disbanded their forces on December 20th, and fled.

Life must have been so complicated for the people of Richmond, a civil war within the Town. There is a letter (MotR, dated 8th January) from the Earl of Sussex to Sir William Cecil saying that Mr Sayer of Richmondshire has been with Sir George Bowes in Barnard Castle all the time of the rebellion while his eldest son, a very young man, was a servant of the Earl of Northumberland and with him throughout the rebellion. Upon Mr Sayer's '*earnest suite*' for his son's life, the Earl of Sussex granted pardon for a fine of five hundred pounds, a considerable amount, noting that if the son was executed the Queen would receive nothing. The Queen did well, financially, out of the rebellion, seizing assets. The Castle at Brancepeth was forfeit and went into the royal estate. Those in charge, such as the Earl of Sussex and Sir George Bowes, did exercise considerable discretion, often leaving widows with goods. Bowes writes, '*where I find widows with many children I take nothing at all*' (MotR). But it is worth noting that the Earl of Sussex complained that various semi-official lords had been about the area seizing assets with little justification '*and none has done more extremely than Lord Willoughbie in Richmondshire who takes all and leaves nothing and drives more cattle than all the lands he has can feed, by which means her Majesty has lost more than 10,000 pounds*' (MotR).

Sir George Bowes estimated some six hundred rebels perished on the gallows, many in their home towns or villages (sixty-six people were executed in Durham market place) and fifty-seven noblemen and gentlemen had their estates confiscated '*under the flimsy pretence of indemnifying government against the heavy expenses incurred by the rebellion*'. (The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, William Hutchinson, 1794).

After the rebellion failed, the Earl of Sussex invoked martial law, then a regular event, allowing the due process of law to be circumvented and Sir George Bowes was appointed Provost Marshall and given the task of rounding up and executing rebels. He did this via a trip that started in Durham on January 6th and continued to Thirsk on the 24th January. He names twenty three places of execution, including Richmond, though without detail of the actual site, and also noted that others were executed in their home towns or villages.

Bowes writes on the 8th Jan that Richmond is very full of prisoners with no room for more. On the 10th January, Bowes details (MotR):

'*The total number who joined the rebels within the liberties of Richmond and Richmondshire: 1241*

The total number appointed to be executed: 213

Serving men appointed to be executed in Richmondshire: 18

The total number appointed to be executed in Richmondshire: 231'

However, there is another comment from Bowes: '*I find the constables, in sundry places, have accused those that did least and excused the greatest offenders. Many of them, who denied being with the rebels, were with the rebels throughout'* (MotR). This cannot have been easy to sort out! There are comments against those scheduled for execution that it would be better to find rebels more deserving of execution: '*these four are stayed to see if they can get two of a worse sort to be executed in their place'* (TNR). Of the men named for execution, seemingly only those who had marched willingly and to the end paid the final price.

The later Bill of Attainder ('Attainder' meaning the forfeiture of land, hereditary titles and civil rights suffered as a consequence of a sentence of death for treason), passed by Parliament on 15th May 1571, named two Richmond gentlemen amongst the chief instigators of the rebellion. One, John Gower, was eventually pardoned while Robert Heighington, secretary to the Earl of Northumberland, fled to the Low Countries.

In conclusion, I still have no proof of those poor men meeting their end at Brancepeth crossroads, although it is hard to believe that, when many were being executed in their home villages as a lesson, none would meet his end at the very place where the rebellion began. Furthermore, although detailed information about Richmondshire is limited, more than anything else, this research has brought home to me just how tempestuous those times were and the degree to which Richmond people were caught up in those turmoils.

What Lies Beneath: a Segment of Richmond Town Ditch at The Fleece Hotel

Oliver Cooper

Introduction

It is widely known that Richmond, like other medieval towns, once had a defensive wall and ditch. Of the former, there are two surviving gateways (and recent memories of two others), but the ditch has now vanished, seemingly without trace. This is due to the later medieval expansion of the town gradually creeping outwards, filling in and then building on top of the ditch, such that even the route it once took is uncertain.

Consequently, the only opportunity for observing part of the town ditch arises through groundwork associated with the development of properties on the periphery of the Market Place, and the following report documents one such opportunity, at The Fleece Hotel.

As part of the 2017 renovation of The Fleece, the cellar floor had to be lowered to provide sufficient headroom for modern safety requirements, and further excavations were needed to create additional basement space. These excavations, using a mini-digger and motorised wheelbarrow, were covered by an archaeological watching brief, undertaken by the author while working for Northern Archaeological Associates Ltd (NAA).

I would like to thank Peter Coulson and Within Reach Developments Ltd for funding the work (and for their patience), and the following people for their contributions to the excavation report (Cooper 2018), from which some of the following text is borrowed: Greg Speed for providing much of the historic background; Dawn Knowles for digitising the illustrations; Dr Hannah Russ for assessing the animal bone; Drs Elizabeth Foulds and Jonathan Baines for assessing small finds (all former colleagues at NAA) and finally Dr Chris Cumberpatch for assessment of the medieval and later pottery. The finds and data collected from the excavation are archived at Richmondshire Museum.

Archaeological and Historical Background

Although the history of the town has been addressed in great detail elsewhere, it is worth summarising the evolution of its defences, and providing some background to the location of The Fleece Hotel, to place the new discovery in its setting.

The town defences had their origins in the horseshoe-shaped outer bailey of the castle. Several published sources, such as Clarkson (1814), suggested that there were originally timber and earthwork ramparts, only later to be replaced by a stone town wall, although little physical evidence for the earlier defences has come to light.

Norman defences

Examples of Norman castle defences have been investigated elsewhere in Yorkshire and give some idea of what may have been constructed at Richmond. Beresford (1987) has noted that 11th-century Norman statutes limited the defences that could be erected to ditches '*not more than one shovel's throw deep*', (thereby limiting the amount of resulting spoil available to construct a bank) and a single line of palisade. Most investigated examples conform to this standard.

At Pontefract Castle, only a small section of bank was observed (Roberts, 2002, 35), but this measured 7m from tail to apex, suggesting an overall width of around 14m, and it survived to a height of 1.7m, perhaps half its original stature. The Norman bank at Sandal Castle appears to have been of similar dimensions (Mayes and Butler, 1983). More recently, investigations within the later 11th- or early 12th-century castle at Wetherby indicated that the rampart on either side of the gateway was up to 12m wide, but probably never more than 3m high (Speed, in prep.).

In Richmond, the existing topography between the Market Place and Victoria Road features a slight, but noticeable ridge, most clearly seen when travelling along Friars Wynd (but also visible on King Street, or the driveway immediately to the west of The Fleece Hotel). Heading northwards from the Market Place along Friars Wynd, the ground rises gently to the surviving medieval gateway, before falling more steeply to Victoria Road. This form probably represents the last vestiges of the Norman bailey rampart. Speed (2009) suggested that, although not

recognised as such at the time, another section of this rampart may have been encountered during excavations at 2–4 Finkle Street in 1989, 50m to the south-west of The Fleece Hotel. There were no natural deposits observed, and dumps of clay were recorded at a depth of 2m below the modern ground level. Towards the northern part of those excavations, the footings of a 1m wide 14th-century wall were tentatively identified as the medieval town wall (Finney, 1989, Area B, Wall M).

Medieval expansion

There were two civilian suburbs outside the outer bailey: Newbiggin and Frenchgate. As a result of Scottish raids, the civilians began to move into the outer bailey and obtained permission to defend it and a slightly larger area with a town wall. Therefore, the area that had been the outer bailey of the castle became the Market Place, although it continued to be referred to as '*The Bailey*' in old documents. The Market Place retained the horseshoe-shaped plan of the former outer bailey, and burgage plots followed that plan. A '*Grant of Murage*' (permission to construct a defensive wall) was made by Edward II to John, Earl of Richmond, in 1313, with successive grants made in 1334, 1338 and 1400. These grants have been discussed in detail by Drury (2001).

The walls seem to have been quite modest, and there is no certainty about their precise form or circuit. The two main gateways, one in Finkle Street and the other in lower Frenchgate, were supplemented by postern gates in Friars Wynd, and 'The Bar' on Cornforth Hill. The walls do not seem to have retained their significance beyond the medieval period. In the 16th century, they were described by John Leland (1549) as *'ruinous'*, while John Speed's map of 1610 showed only a hint of walling between the Market Place and Waterloo Street, and no trace of the gateway on Frenchgate. The Finkle Street Bar was removed in 1773 to make way for vehicles.

Parts of the town wall have been tentatively identified during archaeological interventions to the west and north-west of the Market Place. At College Square, immediately to the south of The Fleece Hotel, work identified a 2m-wide mass of stonework some 1.5m below the ground level in the square, and therefore 0.5m above the ground level in

The Fleece Hotel's courtyard. (Robinson, forthcoming). Similar wall foundations, albeit with the facing stones removed, were recorded at Bank Yard (Clarke, 1999; Turnbull, 2002) and the similar discovery behind Finkle Street has already been mentioned.

The town ditch has not been positively identified during any previous excavation and its route is uncertain. Deposits tentatively interpreted as fills of the ditch were recorded during archaeological monitoring of a test pit at the Georgian Theatre annexe (ASUD 2002).

Post-medieval development

The earliest clear reference to the plot now occupied by The Fleece Hotel was in 1679, following the grant of a Charter to Richmond by Charles II, when the burgage was in the possession of 'Mrs Issabell Heardson' (Wenham, 1978, 15). In 1773, it was owned by Gregory Elsley Esq. and occupied by Henry Sparrow (*ibid.,* 28–9), and by 1820 the owner and occupier was Mr Ibbetson (*ibid.*). Although the nature of Ibbetson's occupancy in 1820 was not specified, only three years later a certain J. C. Ibbotson (sic) was listed in Baines' Directory as the proprietor of an inn called The Fleece on Friars Wynd (Genealogy UK 2018). Pigot's Directories of 1829 and 1834 showed the landlady of The Fleece to be Elizabeth Ibbetson, possibly the daughter (or daughter-in-law?) of J. C. Ibbotson, while White's Directory of 1840 gave the landlady's name as Martha Loftus, and in Bulmer's Directory of 1890 it was Mrs Sarah Herring (*ibid.*).

Not long after Bulmer's directory was published, the old Fleece was replaced by the splendid Gothic building designed by G. G. Hoskins (CLB 2015). The decorative plaque on the east side of The Fleece states that it was '*rebuilt*' in 1897, confirming that the earlier Fleece Hotel had stood in this location. However, Ordnance Survey mapping of the 19th century shows that the shape and alignment had changed notably: the earlier building had been parallel with Victoria Road.

Results

For those readers without experience of archaeological recording nomenclature, each archaeological event identified in the excavations (e.g. the digging of a feature, or the dumping of debris), whether natural or man-made, was allocated a unique 'context number', shown in parentheses, to enable careful tracking of any finds or environmental data. A total of six areas of excavation were monitored within and adjacent to the basement (labelled Areas 1–6 on Figure 1). These comprised a new lift shaft (Area 1) and store/boiler room (Area 5), both excavated from ground level, and four existing basement rooms, whose floors were lowered by 500mm (Areas 2–4 and 6). Areas 1 and 6 demonstrated that the cellars of the 1897 Fleece Hotel were dug into dense boulder clay, with boulders up to 1m across. Areas 2, 3, 4 and 5 also had natural deposits of boulder clay, but in these areas the remains of the town ditch were visible, cut into the clay.

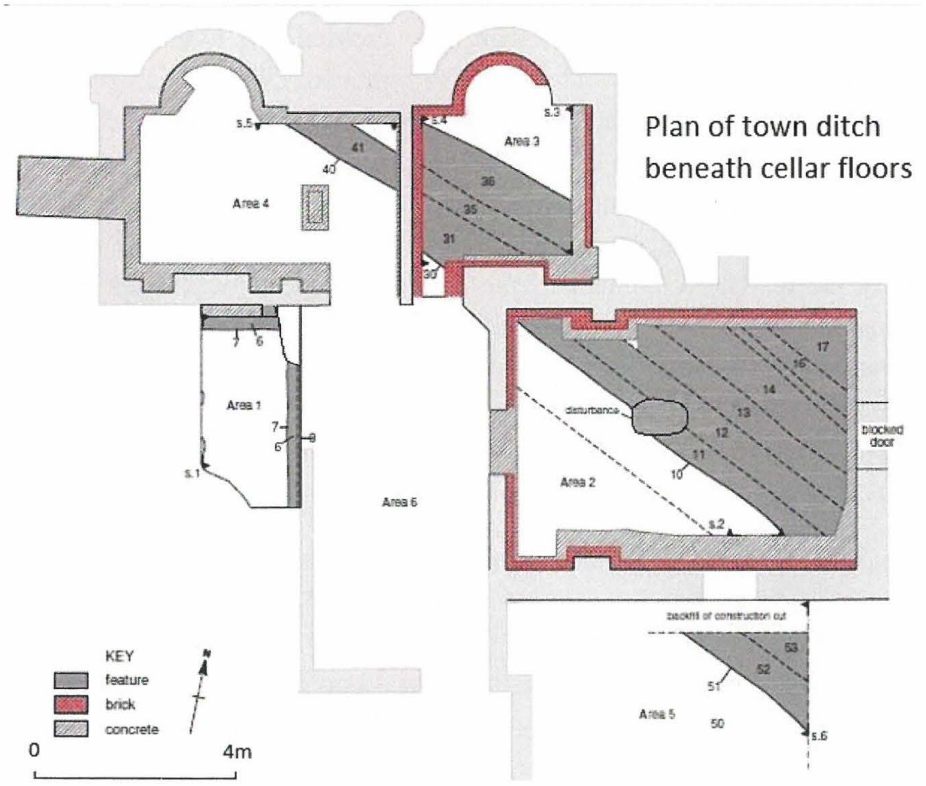


Figure 1. Plan of basement of The Fleece Hotel showing location of ditch. ©Northern Archaeological Associates 2018

Areas 2–4

These were the three principal rooms within the basement, beneath the bar and lounge areas facing onto Victoria Road and Friars Wynd. Archaeological investigation within these three areas was limited to the cleaning up of the base of the rooms following removal of concrete and hardcore, and recording a small number of sections beneath the existing foundation walls. For safety reasons, especially given the constant upwelling of groundwater, there was no opportunity to excavate any deeper than already undertaken by machine.

The largest of the three rooms, Area 2 measured approximately 7m by 5m. The walls were of lime-washed brick, and approximately mid-way along the eastern wall there was a blocked-up archway (visible on Plate 1) that represented the original barrel drop from Friars Wynd.

Removal of the concrete floor and underlying hardcore revealed a disturbed dark, silty deposit that was crossed by two 19th-century stoneware sewer pipes, which were also removed. During this exercise, it was assumed that the dark silt was a re-deposited, post-medieval soil, which had been dumped during the hotel's construction. It produced an assemblage of animal bones, including those of pig and cattle, and sherds of 12th- to 14th-century pottery, amongst which was a jug handle in a buff sandy fabric. The remainder of the disturbed deposit was scraped off to expose natural boulder clay on the southern half of the room and a series of bands of dark silt (11–17) running east-to-west across the northern half (Plate 1). These represented a series of consecutive deposits within a large ditch. The size of this feature indicated that it was part of Richmond's town ditch.

The ditch in Area 2 occupied an area of the floor at least 4m wide, running on an almost east-to-west alignment, and the level at which it was exposed lay some 2.2m below the external ground level at the northernmost corner of the hotel. It had been cut into the natural boulder clay, and the earliest layer of infill was a pale grey-brown silt, probably derived from the natural subsoil. Overlying this layer was a firm, dark grey silt deposit with an 'organic' odour. It was thought likely that many of the displaced finds

derived from this deposit. The other deposits included dark grey gravelly silt, and a thin band of grey-brown silt at the approximate centre.

In order to attempt to ascertain the depth of the ditch, an auger transect (a series of hand-drilled holes) was carried out across its widest point. Water ingress and the relative friability of the material prevented recovery of individual deposits, but there was a notable stiffening when the auger encountered the boulder clay. This allowed an estimate of depths to be made, as listed in Table 1. A hypothetical cross-section through the ditch along this transect, taking into account the various recorded fills, and also the ground level in Area 5 to the south, is shown in Figure 2.

Table 1: auger transect across possible ditch, Area 2.

Distance from southern edge	0m	1m	2m	3m	3.5m
Estimated depth below cellar floor	-	1.04m	1.17m	0.5m+; failed due to large rock	0.71m
Extrapolated depth below street level	2.2m	3.24m	3.37m	-	2.91m



Plate 1: Area 2 facing east, looking along multiple fills of the town ditch. The arch of the blocked-in barrel drop is faintly visible on the east wall (far left)

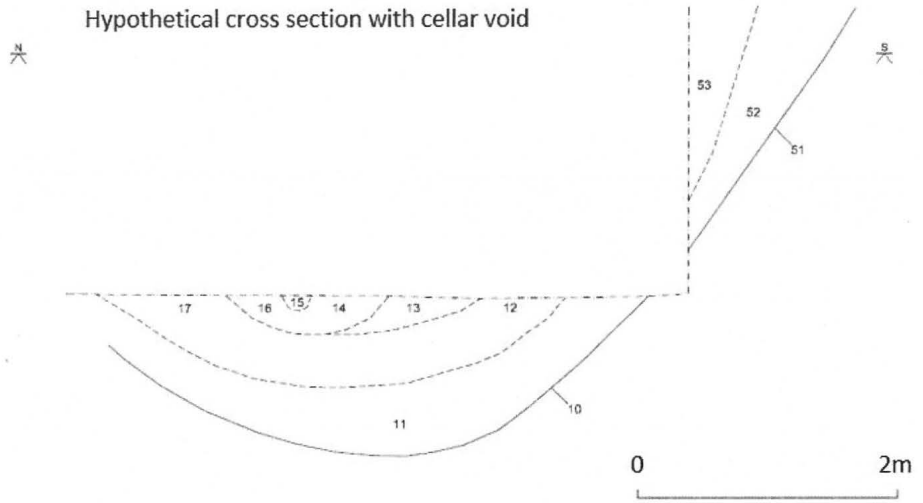


Figure 2. Hypothetical cross-section of the ditch cut by the later cellar, as suggested by mapped deposits and augering across Area 2. ©Northern Archaeological Associates 2018

Area 3 was to the north-west of Area 2 and comprised a much smaller room, measuring 4m into the semi-circular footing of a bay window, by 3.25m. A small cupboard to the east was not excavated.

The ditch was visible across most of the room, with a width of up to 3.2m. Although some fills of the ditch were again mixed into a single layer by construction disturbance, it was possible to obtain small environmental samples from two undisturbed deposits, and sections were recorded beneath two of the wall foundations. The depth of ditch visible in the sections was 0.45m, although the base was not reached (Plate 2).

There was evidence in this room for the ditch having been cleaned out at some time, with a notable change in some of the infilling deposits, which ranged from silty clay to gritty silt. The soil samples from Area 3 produced small sherds of medieval pottery, bones of goose and marine fish, a scrap of leather, pieces of slag and hammerscale (the residue from the sparks caused by a blacksmith striking hot metal).



Plate 2. South-west end of Area 3, showing the multiple, dark deposits infilling the ditch beneath the internal wall foundations. Pale brown primary silting can be seen overlying darker grey boulderclay (far left). Scales are 1m long,

Area 4 lay to the west of Area 3 and was larger, with a modern barrel drop at the west end, and a brick pillar towards the east. Once again, the ditch was visible after removal of disturbed deposits, crossing the northern corner of the room, but here it was no more than 2.7m wide, with a very shallow U-shaped profile. The base was visible in the section, the only place where it was observed, although large cobbles in the natural clay obscured it a little. In the base of the ditch was dark grey-brown silt, overlain by a slightly paler layer – which produced two sherds of 12th- to 13th-century pottery – and a second layer of dark grey silt. Other finds from disturbed ditch fills comprised an equine bone and a strip of leather, which was possibly a strap or clothes fastener.

Area 5

To the south of Area 2, where the doorway from Friars Wynd leads into the hotel, a new cellar was excavated from ground level for the construction of a boiler room. The excavations commenced immediately beneath the floor joists and continued to a depth of 2.2m. Due to the depth of excavation, and the potential instability of the sides, no access to the workings was allowed, so all recording was undertaken from ground level.

While the majority of this area comprised boulder clay, a small section of ditch (51, see Figure 2) was visible in the north-east corner, aligned broadly east-to-west. The side of the ditch curved steeply to a depth of 1.9m, where it was intercepted by the cellar wall. It was up to 1.4m wide within the excavated space. Pottery of 12th to 13th-century date was recovered from the ditch in this area.

Discussion

Although this was by no means an orthodox archaeological excavation due to the safety limitations, it nevertheless represents the first recorded excavation of Richmond's town ditch. The only other occasion where the ditch may have been seen was in a test pit dug prior to construction of the new atrium of the Georgian Theatre Royal, some 50m to the east.

Beneath the ground floor of part of the east wing of The Fleece, and continuing below the floor of the cellars along the northern frontage, were the remains of a substantial ditch. The late 19th-century cellars, and probably earlier buildings on this site, had thoroughly truncated the infilled ditch. The preparation of the original cellar floor had churned up a further 0.5m of the remaining deposits, and it was only following the removal of this intermingled material that the ditch became evident. Extrapolating between the recorded sections and the auger transect, the ditch would have been over 7.5m wide and at least 3.5m deep; commensurate with this being Richmond's town ditch. At York, the ditch accompanying the bar walls was of similar depth to that at Richmond but was up to 18m wide. Scarborough, whose Oldborough defences were constructed somewhat earlier, appears to have had a ditch of at least 7m wide by 3.8m deep (Pearson 1992). At Beverley, there was a series of

existing watercourses connected by short lengths of ditch, which tended to be broad (c.10m) and relatively shallow (Evans and Atkinson, 2010, 316–7; Collins *et al.*2017).

This section of the Richmond town ditch was located some 16.5m to the north of the line of the wall at Friars Wynd and on an alignment some 10° north of east, broadly parallel with Victoria Road. It has long been assumed that the area enclosed by the 14th-century walls, following the Grant of Murage of Edward II, maintained the line of the rampart of the outer bailey of the castle. This suggestion may be corroborated by 11th- to 13th-century pottery recovered from the earliest deposits in the ditch (some possibly hand-made in the Richmond area). However, this section of town ditch deviates notably from the assumed line of the wall, and might indicate that the ditch was realigned to encompass a larger area, perhaps to include the extra-mural area now known as Bargate (whose name may refer to another gate or *bar* in the town wall, with *gate* being the old word for street).

The Fleece excavations found that the town ditch remains became progressively shallower to the west, suggesting that the ditch probably maintained a regular depth, following the natural slope that is now ascended by Victoria Road. The hotel cellars were cut to a horizontal base-line, hence the variation in the depth of ditch remains encountered. A different sequence of deposits was recorded in each of the four rooms crossed by the ditch, which suggests that there was a series of small-scale, local infilling events rather than deliberate, wholesale backfilling. Lenses of gravelly silts on the southern edge of the ditch in Area 2 possibly represented sudden inwash of material from the town rampart, while the pungent deposit in the same room indicates rotting plant matter accumulated in standing water. Later deposits in the ditch produced typical domestic pottery of 13th to 14th-century date, including some Tees Valley ware; the lack of later material probably reflects the fact that most of the upper deposits had been removed by the original cellar excavations.

The cellar of The Fleece Hotel might seem an unusual place to find a major archaeological feature, but if the line is extrapolated around the presumed circuit of the ditch, it is quite likely that further sections of the ditch remain to be discovered in similar circumstances.

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A Radical Reader in Georgian Richmond

Jane Hatcher

In the 2016 *Richmond Review*, Bob Woodings wrote about what many Richmond people seemed to be reading in 1794, as indicated by George Cuit's aquatint of the Richmond bookseller Isabella Tinkler. Evidence of a different sort, from slightly earlier in the Georgian period, comes from what is known of the somewhat unexpected reading habits of Thomas Tate, the father of the boy who would become Richmond's distinguished headmaster James Tate.

James Tate's extraordinary career and achievements, despite his humble origins, is largely attributable to his mentors, notably his own headmaster, Anthony Temple, and the rector Francis Blackburne, but his parents also played a critical role. His mother, Dinah, had a strong and unswerving faith that her son was destined for great things, while his father, Thomas, influenced him with a rather surprising early introduction to classical literature.

Thomas Tate was born in Richmond in 1738, typically, for the time, to a family which had moved into the town from outside, in this case from Northumberland. Thomas's father had found work in the up-and-coming town of Richmond as a maltster, the trade which turns barley from the fields into the malt used to make ale or beer. The ripe barley is first spread out in a dark space, and dampened, to encourage it to sprout. The sprouting process is then inhibited by quickly drying the barley in a kiln. It now becomes malt, the starches produced by the sprouting process being what causes the beer to ferment.

In his youth Thomas Tate had been apprenticed to a leather-worker, before becoming a maltster like his own father. There were several malt-kilns in Richmond, and Thomas may have worked on a casual basis at any of these, but it is also known that he sometimes travelled out into the countryside around the town to set up a temporary kiln in which to create

malt. This malting process would take several days, and for at least part of the time he would have to stay on site to monitor the kiln fire. Such periods away from the family home in Bank Yard would provide Thomas with ample opportunity for reading. On occasions he took his son James with him, and they shared time studying books.

Some personal reminiscences of the Tate family were written down by Maria Macfarlan, the daughter of Richmond attorney Philip Macfarlan. Maria was a contemporary and friend of Deborah, James Tate's younger sister, and her brothers George and Edward would eventually become two of 'Tate's Invincibles', going up from Richmond Grammar School to Trinity College, Cambridge, George in particular achieving great academic success.

Maria Macfarlan remembered Thomas Tate as being

> '*of the middle size, smart and active with a round face and good deal of colour, and of a cheerful lively temper. He was an excellent reader, and had a most tenacious memory. These and other qualifications, particularly his singing well, caused him to be much noticed, and he was frequently invited to gentlemen's parties, where he was the life of the company.*'

These qualities were clearly inherited by his son James, whose cheerful and sociable disposition gained him a high reputation as being good company wherever he went: a good memory would considerably aid the future headmaster's depth of scholarship and a good singing voice must have been an advantage to a clergyman.

More details of what Thomas Tate was reading are contained in a letter which James Tate wrote much later to his close friend and patron, John Hutton, the squire of Marske, shortly after James Tate had moved to London to become a Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral.

> '*I consider myself one of the most favoured children of poverty that ever lived. My father's attachment to reading, especially of politics, (and always on the Whig side), was for his rank of life extraordinary; as newspapers, magazines, North Britons &c. in the days of Wilkes and Junius (to which he was a subscriber, via old Philosopher*

Metcalfe), now extant, sufficiently show. For my destination to scholarship, I am indebted to that love of books which he singularly indulged. [.....About the year 1778.....] when my father made malt not far from [Scorton Grammar] school..... a curious interchange of civilities took place betwixt the working maltster, and the non-working scholars: they lent him such books as Goldsmiths' History of Rome &c. &c. and he allowed them to roast potatoes under the kiln-fire. On the 10th May 1779 he placed me at the Low [Grammar] School of Richmond; and boasted of me afterwards ..... for reading Ovid when xi years old, or in my xiith year.'

These papers which Thomas Tate read are very significant, showing that he was well aware of current political ideas, particularly those of a radical nature. *The North Briton*, the journal produced weekly by the highly-controversial figure John Wilkes, was furiously anti-government and anti-monarchy, while 'Junius' was the pseudonym of a writer, never actually identified, but equally scurrilous, whose letters were printed in the *Public Advertiser*. Both originated in London. Their route to their readers in Richmond was, according to the Hutton letter, via the shop of confectioner Reuben Metcalfe, rather than to the News Room which had been established at the King's Head Hotel in 1788. The London and provincial publications to which that institution's respectable clientele subscribed are unlikely to have included such controversial works!

Particularly contentious was Thomas Tate's avowed support for John Wilkes. It seems likely that in 1770, four years into his marriage to Dinah, and before their children were born, Thomas had taken part in demonstrations marking the release of John Wilkes after his highly controversial prison sentence for outlawry. The cry "Wilkes and Liberty" was a popular chant among many radically-inclined working men. Richmond's huge public celebration, including the drinking of forty-five loyal toasts, the illumination of people's windows by forty-five candles, and a huge bonfire, even reached the pages of the *Newcastle Courant.*

Another particularly revealing detail in the Hutton letter is that Thomas Tate could educate his young son in the works of the Latin poet Ovid. By the 1760s, several cheap versions of his works were in print, but how many maltsters, one wonders, owned a pocket edition? Oliver

Goldsmith's *History of Rome* was also available in cheap editions aimed particularly at schools, so it is no surprise that the boys boarding at Scorton Grammar School had access to a copy. One wonders what else the idle boys lent the hard-working maltster? His own library would likely include Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, but Thomas Tate died in 1790 shortly before the publication of another foundation stone of the English working-class movement, Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man,* in 1791. And by then his son James had gone up to Cambridge.

Echoes from Ancient Skeeby

Gordon Alexander

Skeeby is an ancient village, familiar to many throughout time, yet it remains a 'village without a history'. In most written local history or local interest works, Skeeby receives little attention, possibly because of its varied ownership, since time immemorial being neither wholly part of a single estate nor a manor, and never having had a resident of significant wealth, fame or notoriety. However, one or two echoes from the village's early history can still be heard today and still continue to emerge.

'In Schirebi ad geldum VI carucates et IIII carrucæ possint esse'.

This medieval Latin comes from the Doomsday Book, the record of the survey of England and Wales ordered by King William the Conqueror in 1085. It can be translated as:

'In Skeeby there are six carucates and there could be four ploughs there'.

Like many local settlements, Skeeby has origins older than Richmond town itself. Until the seventeenth century, several versions of its name were used. In the eleventh century its name was *Schirebi*. During the twelfth *Scythebi, Scideby or Scyrheby* and, from the thirteenth century to the close of the sixteenth century, *Schideby, Skitteby, Skytheby, Skiteby Skeitby and Skeby.*

The origins of the name are not known but it has been suggested that they lie in the name of Skith. 'Skith's settlement' becomes 'Skiteby' Skith being the holder of the land before the Norman conquest in 1066. Whilst some local names are recorded in the Doomsday Book, that of Skith is not. Skith's presence would have been much earlier and possibly during the period of Norse expansion and settlement.

Another origin advocated for the name is that it was derived from a seventh century female saint called Scyth, also known as Saint Osyth, Osgyth or Ositha, or even from Scythia (now the Ukraine and Romania) from whence she came. Scyth, or Osyth, was a patron saint of wells and springs and a sixteenth century survey records a *'frounte'* at Skeeby, possibly a reference to a well or spring. There are eighteenth century references to an early notable well (not unlikely since small streams flow through the village) and some also tell of the existence of an early chantry chapel sited in the village and dedicated to St Osyth. Such a building is not in the 1546 chantry survey of the holdings of the Benedictine Hospital of St. Nicholas at Richmond following the dissolution, but a small parcel of land is recorded and this could have been the site of a small chantry. This reinforces the idea of a settlement founded around an early holy well. Many such wells and springs were held sacred in early Christian and also pagan practice and they also had medicinal uses. Before the Springfield housing estate was built in the nineteen sixties, a spring outlet or well existed near the entrance to the estate. It was removed as the road into Springfield was laid down. The housing construction company intended to place a fountain head and trough at the spring but this did not happen. Water still bubbles from a stone now beneath a cast iron manhole and, channelled underground, emerges nearby as a small brook and what once may have been St Osyth's holy water now trickles down through gardens and patches of watercress in the meadow land to make its small contribution to Skeeby beck. Lined with alder and willow this seemingly tranquil beck gathers streams from the high ground around Dalton, Gales and Kirby Hill. It can become rapid and deep after heavy rain especially in the winter.

There is an ancient record of a death by drowning which took place in 1196 during an attempted crossing of the ford through this unforgiving beck. The ford probably existed at the site of the present stone bridge. The water must have been treacherous but this event was notable as it involved a mounted horseman bearing the name of Rodger de Midelton, no doubt a person of some note. Perhaps there were further tragedies in the years following this event and involving lesser folk and so unrecorded, because a hermit, Robert de Skitheby, sought to ease the difficulty in crossing the beck. He belonged to 'the Order of St. Paul the first Hermit', a branch of

Augustinian friars. He actively sought out '*carriage and alms*' in order to build a bridge over the beck at the site of the ford. The success of Robert's fundraising is recorded in patent rolls dated 1328 which form the earliest record of a bridge at Skeeby. This first hermit bridge would most likely have been built from wood, but may still have been substantial, to withstand damage in the spates of winter and spring. Robert the hermit could have acted as the bridge warden, living nearby and collecting alms and carrying out repairs. Later years saw a narrow arched stone bridge without parapets, to permit pannier-carrying ponies to cross. Twenty marks were spent on repairing it just after the dissolution of the monasteries in the mid-1530s. By 1606 the bridge was said to be in very great decay and almost two hundred pounds, a considerable amount, was spent on repairs through the seventeenth century. This included what amounted to a rebuild of the downstream structure. Furthermore, a narrow, but very long bridge with the ford still on its upstream side is shown on a map of 1779.

It is well known that John Carr of York, the noted architect and North Riding Bridgemaster, planned and superintended the widening of the bridge during 1781-2. The dressed stone used was quarried on Gatherley Moor and, on the widened side, beneath the bridge, the stonework still bears the masons' marks from this work. It remained substantially as Carr left it, being listed to mark its historic and architectural significance in 1986.

At the time of writing, a major rebuild of this ancient structure is underway. Both the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and The Council for British Archaeology objected to these works during the planning stage, mainly out of concern over inadequacy in planning to consider how the layers of history contained in the structure would be protected. Concern was also expressed that the structure could be ruined by the alterations which will consist of dismantling and rebuilding the downstream parapet wall, the dismantling and repair of the upstream parapet wall, plus removal and repair of the central section of the spandrel wall, with excavation around the bases of the arches to install new stonework. Whilst admitting that harm could be caused by these works, proponents considered that maintaining road safety and good

communication were paramount. The Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government determined that the repair work should proceed.



The first section of the downstream parapet wall removed, Skeeby Bridge renovation, August 2020

As with most villages, where in years gone by middens ended up being spread on the fields, echoes from the past turn up especially after ploughing. Clay pipe fragments are common as are bits of pottery, many of blue and white transfer ware, but occasionally fragments of handmade and glazed medieval vessels can be found. Metal detectorists and archaeologists are still not close allies and detectorists have been accused of pursuing their interest with little regard to archaeological context, especially since archaeology continues to evolve on a more scientific basis. The environs of Skeeby have, over the past few years, been the focus of several outings for metal detectorist clubs and societies and while many horse shoes, metal toys, plough tips and occasionally the odd copper Roman coin have been found, few finds have warranted submission under the Portable Antiquities Scheme. This scheme is run by the British

Museum and was set up to encourage the recording of archaeological objects found by members of the public. During May 2019 a medieval silver annular brooch, complete with its pin, was found at Skeeby and submitted to the scheme. It was decorated with two double headed 'beasts' with square snouts possibly representing dragons, which were fairly ubiquitous in medieval art. Later in June of the same year, a coin hoard consisting of twenty silver pennies from the reign of Edward I and including two Scottish coins was recovered from a field on the edge of the village. They were found fairly close together and it was concluded by the Finds Liaison Officer for the area that they had been buried in a pottery container possibly to hide them but then never recovered. It seems likely that concealment of these pennies took place in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century but it cannot be known. This unsettled period saw Scottish incursions into County Durham during Edward I's wars with John Baliol and William Wallace. Someone may have wanted to protect their savings; these twenty coins would represent ten days of wages for a skilled craftsman. Interestingly one of the two Scottish coins depicts John Baliol. No doubt some international trading had taken place or possibly even raiding, the English coins being stolen and mixed with a Scotsman's own money!

Another very early Skeeby site is the mill. The nineteenth century echo of the original medieval mill building still stands alone in the meadow land on the eastern side of the bridge. It was a corn mill powered by water channelled from the beck, collected in a weir pool part of which still remains, surrounded by alder trees. There is some confusion surrounding its early feudal 'ownership' but some time after the Conquest, the settlement and lands of *Scideby* were held (under the monarch who alone 'owned' all the land of England) by Harsculph Musard. In the twelfth century, a Robert Musard, probably a direct descendant of Harsculp, passed the mill, along with some land, to the Abbey of St Agatha at Easby. The Victoria County History records that by 1205 the Abbot of St Agatha's at Easby held the mill under freehold tenure from the King and was paying the appropriate rent or feudal relief.

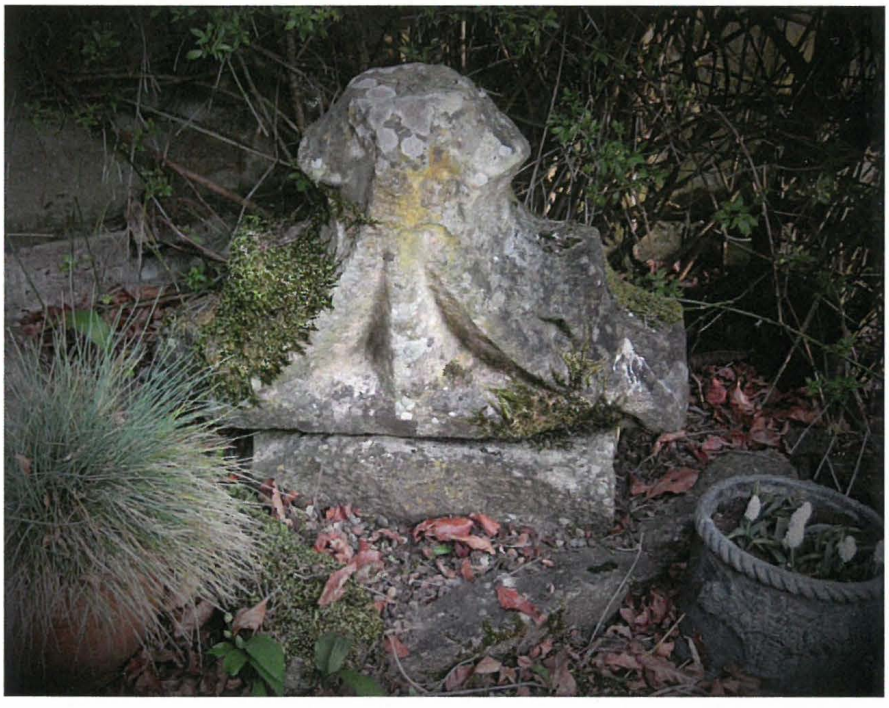
When the Abbey of St Agatha was dissolved, all its land and property tythes, including those in Skeeby, returned to the Crown. During the reign

of James I they were sold to Francis Morrice and Francis Phillips, both from London, who bought them speculatively to profit through selling on which they no doubt did, as seventy four years later Percivall Cooke of Skeeby was the mill owner. In 1686, Skeeby water corn mill was leased from him by Thomas Gill of Barton for ninety nine years but six years later the lease was assigned by Gill to Christopher Cooke from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. By the mid seventeen hundreds, the Cooke family were in possession of the freehold and around 1890 a disastrous fire burned the early mill to the extent that a major rebuild was required resulting in the building of today. Possession eventually passed to the Jacques family of Easby in the early twentieth century. Although the waterwheel was still usable in the nineteen fifties, the building had ceased to be used for grinding corn well before that. For a number of years in the 1970s the mill building was used as a warehouse which sold tiles and at that time several large mill stones could be traced, buried just below ground next to the building. The original mill race can still be seen as a long dip in the ground running from what remains of the sluice and weir pond. The weir was removed in the nineteen nineties to reduce flooding.

Few echoes of ancient Skeeby remain, but when you drive through the village, you pass through what was once a series of quarries. Signs of these have been largely obliterated by development but some traces remain set back on both sides of the road. Records show that in the early seventeenth century limestone was being supplied from Skeeby. A survey of 1790 confirms limestone workings and stone was still being cut and transported at late as 1914. Much of this will have gone into lime kilns and field walls as well as into village buildings but apocryphally these quarries at Skeeby were used by the Abbot of St Agatha's before the dissolution. So, whilst people have been known to collect ancient stones to ornament gardens, could the evidence of several pieces of medieval stonework, shaped as for ecclesiastical architecture and unearthed in village gardens even as recently as the nineteen nineties, be echoes from Skeeby's past, even perhaps remains of the long-lost chantry of St Scyth?



Remains of Skeeby mill sluice with the mill building in the distance



A medieval stone unearthed in the author's garden just over eighty years ago. A large gargoyle fragment was dug up in an adjacent property in the 1990s.

Richmond's War Memorial

Andrew Horn

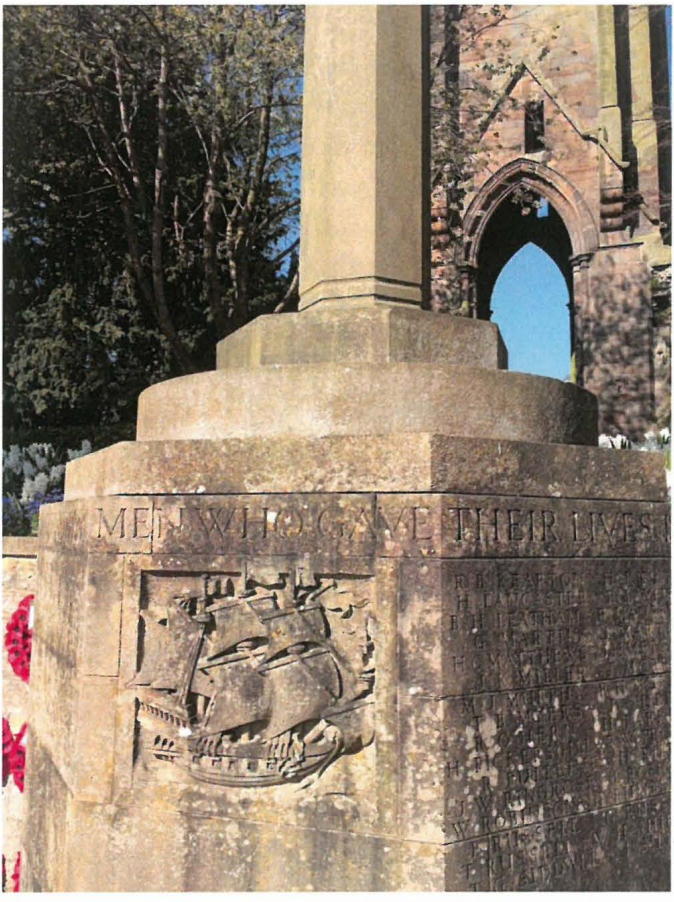
Question: why does Richmond's War Memorial have a ship as a prominent motif when the town is almost thirty miles from the sea?

In 2017 Historic England commemorated a hundred years of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission with fifteen new or upgraded listings of war memorials by one of the Commission's principal architects, Sir Herbert Baker. Baker designed a hundred and thirteen cemeteries on the western Front and twenty four war memorials in towns and villages in England. He also designed the Bank of England, buildings in South Africa, and collaborated with Lutyens in some of New Delhi's most notable government structures.

Baker had a profound interest in symbolism. A recurring design of his is a cross with an octagonal shaft on an octagonal plinth, with carved stone roses and lilies representing England and France, and forming a circlet around the cross, as well as a Crusader warship, reversed sword, St George killing the dragon, and heraldic devices.

Richmond's memorial in Friary Gardens, one of these fifteen by Baker, and newly listed as Grade II, is built in Staindrop stone. It includes Baker's plain Latin cross head with a deep octagonal plinth, ornamented with his warship motif. Unveiled in 1921, the memorial commemorates a hundred and one local servicemen who died in WWI. Following WWII the names of fifty four men were added, recorded on metal plates fixed to the memorial's retaining wall.

The mystery of the ship is solved.



The War Memorial in Friary Gardens

I am grateful to Carl Watts, the Green Howards Museum's Learning Officer, for his help in guiding me to the above information on Historic England's website.

The Home Guard at 80

Brian Benson

This paper has been written to mark the 80th anniversary of the formation of the Home Guard.

In early May 1940, the 'phoney war' that had lasted since Great Britain's declaration of war on Germany in September 1939, was over. The German blitzkrieg had begun and its troops were advancing rapidly into France through the Low Countries. Allied forces, including the British Expeditionary Force, were being steadily pushed back towards Dunkirk, on the coast, from where they would be evacuated in early June.

On the home front, this led to a growing fear of invasion, and the Churchill government rushed to bolster the nation's defences. In a radio address on May 14th, Anthony Eden, the Secretary of State for War, announced the formation of the Local Defence Volunteers (LDV). Men aged 16-65 were invited to join by registering at their local police station. Within 24 hours, 250 thousand had signed up, and by the end of June, the LDV numbered nearly 1.5 million, almost the size of the regular army. In July, Churchill renamed the new force the Home Guard.

At first, the official remit of the Home Guard was non-combatant. Its men were to be observers and reporters. They were to patrol their local area and report to the police any signs of saboteurs or enemy invasion. On the continent, the Germans had made significant use of paratroops, so scanning the skies for parachutes was a key task. The British press was also obsessed with the existence of so-called Fifth Columnists. So the Home Guard were on watch for traitors and spies bent on sabotaging the war effort.

Across the country, the Home Guard was organised into battalions of approximately 1000 men. Below battalion level were companies of around

200 men divided into platoons of about 30 men. Directly above the battalion was usually the county level. The North Riding comprised 13 battalions, three of which, the 11th, 12th and 13th, roughly covered an area taking in Swaledale and Wensleydale and extending as far east as Yarm. They were headquartered on Catterick Garrison and commanded by Col. Cuthbert Vaux, of Moulton Hall, near Richmond, a decorated veteran who had seen service with the Northumberland Hussars. Col. Vaux was a director of the family brewing company, C. Vaux and Sons, of Sunderland, a horse rider and a keen follower of the Bedale and Zetland packs.



The Queen reviewing Richmond Home Guard with Col. Vaux in attendance

From the start, there was agitation to expand the military uses of the Home Guard. Many of its members were, like Col. Vaux, veterans of the First World War who had seen action and were retired officers, often very senior men with considerable influence in their home county and in Whitehall. They wanted a more mobile and offensive role to play. Major obstacles to this, however, lay first in the reluctance of the regular army to share resources with the new force and second, the lack of uniforms,

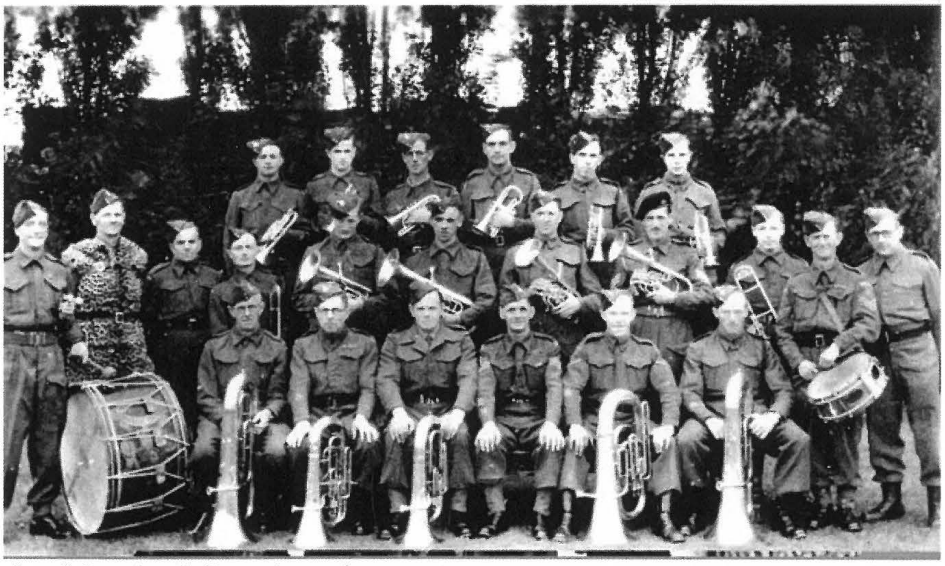
weapons and training that characterised the early months of the Home Guard's existence. In the rush to meet the perceived crisis of May 1940, little thought had been given to ensuring the Home Guard was fit for purpose, and so for example, by Autumn 1940, nearly half of the 1.7 million strong force were still without any weapons. The memories of one local man, Ernest Sargeant, bear this out:

'I would be around ten years old when the Richmond and District Home Guard unit was formed, and I do remember them marching in Richmond up and down Hurgill Road, of all places I always felt I could join them. The various members were always dressed in civilian clothes at first and carrying faux rifles that were broom handles or similar. I cannot remember any of the names unfortunately, but do remember that they always finished marching practice outside the Turf pub and they all rushed in for a restorative pint. Another thing I do remember is that at first they all wore Armbands with LDV printed on them which stood for Local Defence Volunteers and finally I can remember when the Richmond Unit first received their uniforms and people gathered to watch them march and applauded vigorously even though most of the uniforms were too big or too small for the wearers. My Mother was one of many ladies in Richmond who were busy for weeks altering uniforms and were always rushing around looking for reels of green cotton!! My Dad who was a Special Police Constable was always very jealous of them having uniforms whilst he went about his Policing duties with only a steel hat and a gas mask which both had the word POLICE stencilled on to them.'

These administrative and logistical issues were slowly dealt with, and by the Spring of 1942, the Home Guard had been largely transformed from the amateurish, shambolic picture portrayed in TV's Dad's Army, to a skilled and well equipped defensive force through training and the arrival of sufficient arms. Conscription, which replaced voluntary service in December 1941, also helped to regularise the intake. Some further memories follow.

My uncle, Robert Hutchinson, (Bertie), was born in February 1912. His eldest brother John was captured at Dunkirk and spent three and a half years as a POW before being repatriated. His second brother Sydney (my

Dad) was a police officer during the war and his next brother Fremont spent the war in the RAF and saw active service in Italy. That left Bertie as the youngest son to stay at home and manage the family farm owned by his mother. This was Satterthwaite Hall in Arkengarthdale. I am uncertain when the Arkengarthdale Home Guard unit was formed but I know for example that in 1943 Uncle Bertie was attending parades every Sunday afternoon either in the school in Langthwaite or the gun room at Scar House. In addition he attended NCO lectures in Reeth on a Monday evening. There were also meetings at the rifle range and 'big gun practice'. On Tuesday 9th February his diary notes that they 'went on HG manoeuvres to attack the regular soldiers at the CB': this conjures up quite an image. The final mention of the Home Guard in Uncle Bertie's diaries is on 3rd November 1944 as follows 'played with HG band in Leyburn in the morning and Richmond in the afternoon for the stand down of the Home Guard'. Running a farm was no mean task and to add to that the additional commitment of parades and training was a tremendous effort.



Reeth Band with Barry's uncle

However, by mid-1942, it was becoming clear that the prime reason for the Home Guard's creation, a German invasion, was never going to happen. Inevitably, this led to questions regarding the continuing need for the force and to corresponding problems with morale. The Home Guard

continued to serve a useful purpose. It continued, for instance, to release regular soldiers for duty at the front. By 1944, in addition, over 150 thousand men were serving in anti-aircraft units, coastal batteries and bomb disposal units. Furthermore, the Home Guard, being an unpaid force, was not expensive and offered great value for money. Nonetheless, by early 1943, the Home Guard faced an uncertain future,

From summer 1944, with the allied invasion of France going well, the War Office began to take action to shut down the Home Guard. Conscription of men to the Home Guard finished in September 1944, and the official 'stand down' from duties commenced on 1st November. On 3rd December, a march in front of the King took place in London, with smaller parades, like those accompanied by bandsman Bertie Hutchinson, taking place all over the country. That evening, the King, Colonel-in-Chief of the Home Guard, expressed his thanks to the nearly 1.8 million men who had served in it. Stand down was completed at the end of December. This marked the effective end of the Home Guard, although it was not formally disbanded until 31st December 1945.

Ernest Sargeant again:

'That's really about it, apart from the fact that when the Richmond unit was first formed and they had the armbands, the local jokers used to maintain that LDV stood for (wait for it): "LOOK—DUCK—VANISH'

Fortunately for the war effort, the Home Guard did much more than this.

Erratum:pages 56-7. The paragraph beginning *My uncle, Robert Hutchinson...* should have been printed and attributed to Barry Hutchinson. In the picture, Robert is in the back row, third from the left. Our apologies to both Barry Hutchinson and Brian Benson for this error in editing Brian's article.

-Editors

Recollections of Ravensworth in the 1930s

Dennis Mark Edmondson

Ravensworth has ancient origins dating back to Viking times and its name derives from Hrafn, the founder of the settlement. Over the centuries its name and spelling has varied: in the C11th it was Ravenswet, in the C12th Rasueswalt and Ravenswath from the C13th to the C16th. After this Ravensworth became the accepted name. To me, however, it was simply home. Born there in the late 1920s it was a safe and happy place to grow up.



The cruck house before it was demolished

One of my early memories was moving house, from a cottage on Low Green that was eventually pulled down, to a house next door to the Bay Horse Inn. I learned later that this house was the oldest in the village, probably fifteenth century in origin and was called a cruck house because

of its construction. The origin of cruck houses is uncertain and there are not many examples in the Yorkshire Dales. Such was its rarity, that when the house was eventually demolished in the 1970s, the crucks were taken to Richmondshire Museum and re-created there.

To support the roof of the house there were three timber crucks in the shape of a wishbone, joined at the top with wooden pegs. The sides came three quarters of the way down and were built into the wall. The first floor rooms were supported by ceiling joists 16 inches square. The bedrooms were so low at the wall sides that it was difficult to stand up and the windows were nearly at floor level. All the timber used was solid oak, and apparently, the house had been thatched in the past. Downstairs, two large fireplaces divided the main rooms. One had a hot air oven with a boiler at the side. The floors were flagged and laid on clay; on wet days they were very damp. One of my mother's main problems was that on baking days she could not get the oven hot enough. To do this she would resort to using oven sticks pushed under the oven. Sometimes, they were so long that they met you at the door as you came in. The house had an adjoining field which enabled us to keep poultry and sell eggs. One of our main customers was Mr Wardle from Darlington; he would collect his eggs and go round the village collecting shoes that needed repairing. The shoes were always returned, carefully repaired, the following week.

The early thirties were hard times for the villagers, most of whom earned two pounds a week on average. Most of the men who worked as joiners or masons were self-employed. Some of the men worked at the three main farms in the village, but the majority worked at Forcett Limestone Quarry which was about four miles away. Until the advent of the bicycle this meant a long walk for them. Passing the Fox Hall Inn on the way home was always a temptation and on Friday nights, the weekly wage was often depleted by the time the men arrived home.

At the quarry the men worked on a bonus system, blasting off from the rock and then breaking it up with a hammer. Pieces had to be small enough to go through a six inch ring. It was loaded by hand into railway trucks and sent to the ironworks at Teesside. Lunch or bait, as they called it, was always bread and cheese, but they might be lucky enough to have a





Two early views of Ravensworth

beef sandwich if the Sunday joint had been large enough. This was followed by cold tea until the introduction of the thermos flask.

Arriving home at night, one of the first jobs was bringing water from Far Lark, previously known as Hungerams Well. This was the old water supply for Ravensworth Castle and was never known to run dry. The men went armed with two buckets and they took a wooden square which was to prevent the buckets from swaying and losing half the contents. It would take at least three quarters of an hour to do this job. Piped water first came to the village in 1938. A small reservoir was made in the Gill Wood at the top of Flats Bank and water was piped to about five taps in the village. Electricity did not arrive till after the war, in about 1946.

The village, with a population at the time of about 200 people, was well supplied with various trades: four masons, two joiners and undertakers, one butcher, two farriers and blacksmiths, one dressmaker, a post office and shop, a midwife, two pubs and, over a period of time, three fish and chip shops!

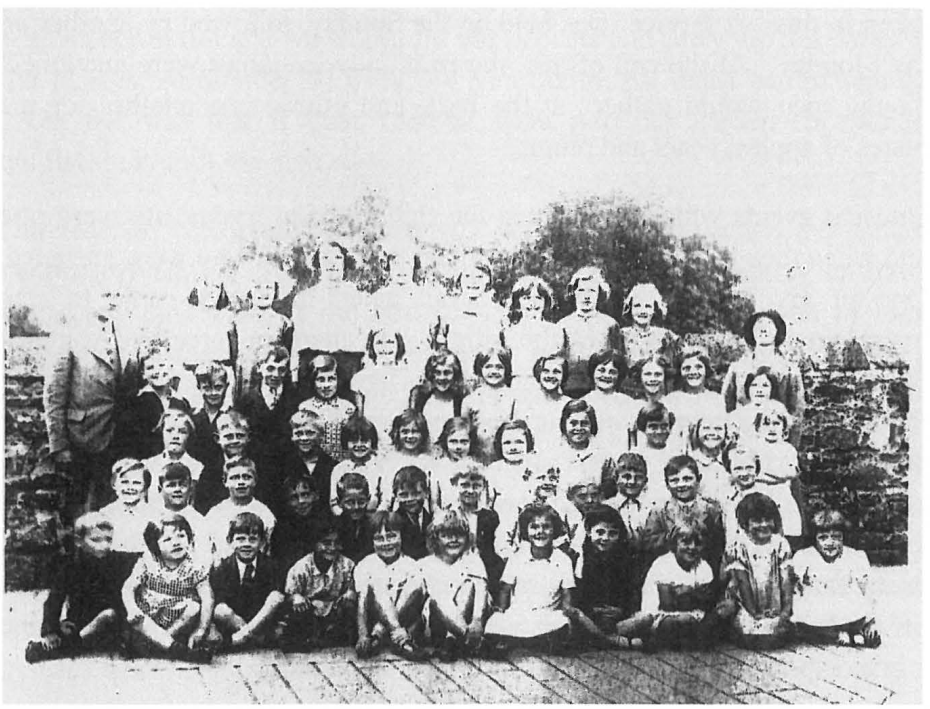
Apart from the village shop, traders would come from Richmond once a month and take orders for groceries. People always had a sack of potatoes or two in the house, and a ten stone flour bin – nobody starved.

For the children of the village, life was good even if we had few material possessions. We could wander safely about the countryside and the only threat was coming across a bull in a field. We made our own entertainment: we enjoyed making bows and arrows from willows growing by the beck side, playing marbles, playing cricket on the village green, and watching the village team play more professionally on Saturday afternoons. All the girls enjoyed skipping with homemade ropes and our parents did not worry about us as long as we turned up for mealtimes and were back by bedtime.

The autumn break from school was potato picking week and the farmers employed local children to help. It was really hard work: a rowing plough was pulled by two horses up the centre of the row, then you had to kick the potatoes out with your feet. Later, a potato scatterer was used; this spun the potatoes out and made it much easier to pick them up. Smaller children would get about one shilling and sixpence per day and the older

ones two shillings. At the end of the week, we were allowed a bucket of potatoes to take home. Sometimes if you had over-filled the bucket, the farmer would level it off.

The village school had been built in 1841 and in 1935 about fifty children were taught there. It was divided into two classrooms. Mrs Harding taught the 5–8 year olds and Mr Thompson taught the 9–14 year olds. The senior girls were also taught cookery. Every summer a large van appeared, pulled by two horses; an extension was pulled out and placed on wooden trestles. The girls provided the ingredients and were taught what to do with them, taking the (sometimes rather strange) cooked dishes home at the end of the day for the family to enjoy. I remember one year the van got stuck, and two more horses were required to move it! The van stayed for about a fortnight and then moved on to another village



Ravensworth School, early 1930s; Dennis is on the second row, the second from the right. The teachers were Mrs Harding and Mr Thompson.

The Methodist Chapel was an important part of village life when I was young. It was well supported with farmers being the backbone. My Sundays always started with chapel Sunday School during the morning, church Sunday School at Kirby during the afternoon and chapel with my parents at 6.30pm.

Two major events were the Summer Anniversary and Harvest Festival in the autumn. At the anniversary, songs and recitals were given by the Sunday School pupils and others. A platform was raised around the pulpit and we all sat on forms. One service was at 3.30pm, followed by another at 6.30pm. The chapel was always packed for both services. The proceeds and collections went to our annual seaside outing fund.

The other event was the Harvest Festival; a number of people would gather on Saturday morning to decorate the chapel and great pride was taken in this. A service was held on the Sunday, followed by another on the Monday. At the end of this, the fruit and vegetables were auctioned. Young men would gather at the back and outbid one another for the plates of apples, pears and plums.

Unusual events which interrupted the rhythm of everyday life were rare and when they did happen it was not just the children who were intrigued. One of my earliest recollections was when the army came to stay overnight at Tofta. Most of the village was there in force and watched them marching down Washton Road. The Royal Horse Artillery, my father's old regiment, saw four hundred men marching on foot with full packs and rifles, led by six officers on horseback. There were mobile kitchens pulled by horses and some artillery pieces as well, no motorised vehicles at all. Small tents were erected and meals prepared before settling down for the night. They had marched from Catterick Camp and moved off the following morning. This was a route march in the old tradition and a grand spectacle for the village.

There were many interesting families in the cottages around the Green. Frank Coates, with his wife Ada, lived in the middle cottage of a row of three. He was a joiner and undertaker although his workshop was in East Layton. A tale goes that he received a message one night from an old lady who lived in the little bungalow by the Fox Hall Inn on the A66, saying

that his services were required as her husband had passed away. He duly arrived, complete with measuring tape, but on applying the mirror test, realised that the old man was still alive. Not wanting to walk back to Ravensworth when the old man's death was clearly imminent, he told the old lady that he was just slipping next door for a quick whisky. When he returned an hour later, the old man had obviously breathed his last and Frank's services were definitely required. An old saying about Frank was that if he went whistling past your window three mornings in a row, you'd better watch out!

At number 30 lived Mrs Gibbon, a very small, neat, old Victorian lady. She still wore buttoned boots and once a week would visit relatives at Gayles, walking and even running the distance. At number 34 lived Mrs Sowerby and her family. If we managed to get hold of a penny in summer we would call at her house to buy apples. She would come to the door with an apron full and we would fill our pockets and carry the rest away in our jerseys. At number 44 lived old Mrs Smith. All that I can remember about her was that if your football went into her garden she would confiscate it until the next day.

Our teacher, Mrs Harding, lived at Foster House and when the school dentist arrived, her front room was used as a surgery. Walking up there with your pink card, it did seem a long way, with not much to look forward to at the end! I once came away minus eight teeth in one go – a day to remember! Over Holme Beck bridge lived Mr Thompson, teacher for the older children; we always gave his house a very wide berth.

Below the shop was the village policeman's house, a Mr Spruce. He had an Austin 7 car which was one of the first cars in the village. I had my first ride in this car when he took his daughter and me up the Marske road to a piece of unfenced land called No Man's Land. This was to warn gypsies who were camped there that they must move on in seven days.

Round the corner from the Spruce's house lived Lizzie Blackburn, a very quiet type of woman who supported her aged father by being a seamstress and dressmaker, as there were no old age pensions then. Once you had ceased work, often due to poor health, your future was bleak if you had no family to support you. I had to go there to be measured for a pair of

trousers. In the living room was the old man in a four poster bed, complete with night cap and a long flowing white beard, which must have been twelve or fourteen inches long. I've often wondered about the saying, 'Did Santa Claus sleep with his whiskers over or under the sheet?'

Mr and Mrs Hird lived on Low Green and while Mr Hird worked in the quarry Mrs Hird was the midwife and also laid you out after you were dead, so she met you at both ends of the spectrum! In those days, you were born at home and died there, nursed by your family and any good samaritans in the village. When my grandmother died, my father asked Mrs Hird for the bill, but all she wanted was a small ornament or keepsake from the house.

People in those days did not hesitate to offer help and support when it was needed. My aunt, Hilda Edmondson, later Smith, was the school caretaker and I used to go down on Saturday mornings and make paper fire lighters with a stair rod, for the school fires. Her husband, my father's brother had been killed in the 1914/18 war and she brought up her two sons on a widow's pension of ten shillings a week. She also brought up my father's two younger sisters with very little help, after their mother died. I remember my cousin telling me once that she pushed him all the way to Richmond in a pushchair, had some teeth taken out and pushed him back home again, some twelve miles!

The Chilton family lived opposite our gate and Mr Chilton was our village butcher. He killed his own cattle, sheep, pigs etc. The animals were kept in the hunger house for twenty four hours prior to killing, and we could hear the pigs squealing and the cows bellowing. There were no humane killers or stun guns in those days, a hammer and a punch were the tools of the trade. It wasn't very humane but country people just accepted it. On Fridays and Saturdays he would walk round the village with a large basket taking orders. My mother's roast for six of us would come to about four shillings in old money or twenty pence nowadays.

Our village postman was called Jack Cook. He had a wooden leg and three smart daughters. The wooden leg was the result of injuries sustained in the 1914/18 war, but this did not stop him delivering the mail in all weathers. He also kept poultry in a large way in Calf Garth. I remember

walking with Betty, one of his daughters, as she walked home from the shop. One of her purchases had been a tub of glace cherries which she opened and tried. By the time I left her at our gate the tub was half empty! I often wondered what her mother had to say about it.

Fred Wardle ran The Hare and Hounds pub. At the rear of the pub was a wooden hut where dances and sixpenny hops took place to the strains of an accordion and a fiddle. The school, being Church of England, would not allow its premises to be used for dances but did later relent and allow dances and whist drives to take place there. Our cruck house was opposite the pub and one bonfire night we let off our fireworks on the garden wall. My mother put a rocket in a glass bottle, lit the touch paper and stood back. To our amazement it flew across the road and went straight through the open window of The Hare and Hounds. Needless to say, our festivities came to an abrupt end! In later years Fred's customers had to go down to the cellar and draw their own beer. This lasted until the day someone went down and found the cellar completely flooded with beer!

I hope this gives you some idea of what life was like for the people of Ravensworth in the 1930s. Life was not easy but people were resourceful and resilient and not afraid of hard work. Monday mornings always resounded with the sound of loud banging as the women almost knocked the bottoms out of wooden tubs with their poss sticks, trying to get the weekly wash clean.

As children, life was not all work; we had fun and could roam the countryside without fear. Traffic was light and we could, for instance, sledge in winter, from the top of Robinson's Bank, across the top road, and finish up in Park Farm, without seeing any traffic, apart from the odd Meynell's lorry or a farmer, returning from the fields with a cartload of turnips. Our days were full and we valued simple events like carol singing at Christmas, when we sang till our voices were hoarse or New Year, when we went first footing and might get a sixpence if we were lucky. Life felt good: we knew how to make our own fun and we always felt safe.

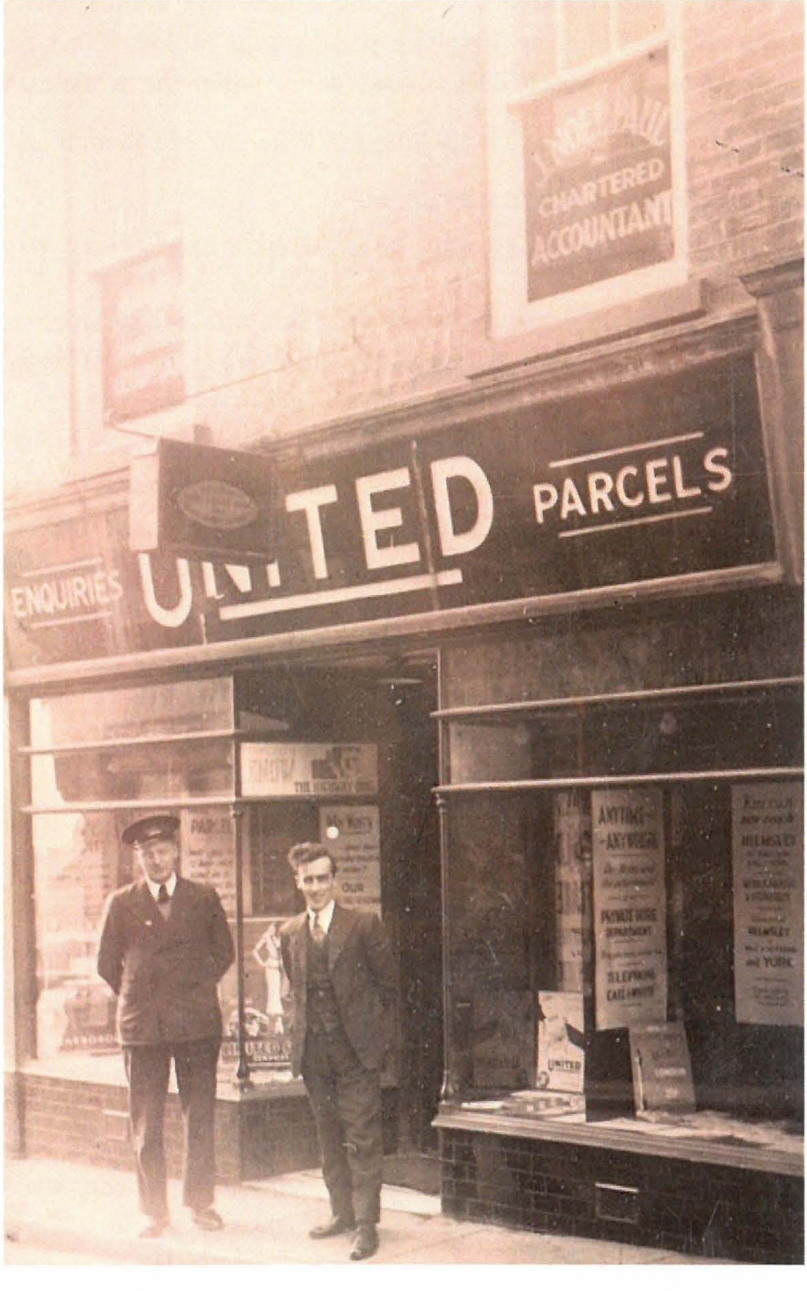
New Life for an Old Shop

Sheila Russell

After the NatWest Bank closed its branch on the corner of Finkle Street and the Market Place, locals wondered what would become of the imposing building with its secure, blank wall running along Finkle Street. Now we can see that the building has been transformed into units with the old blank wall looking like this:



For the older members of the community that will bring back memories: memories of previous, very similar shop fronts. Here is a photo that will endorse those memories.



This photograph was taken in the late 1920s when the United Bus Office was situated here at the east end of Finkle Street. My father, Arthur Wood, is on the right and was a ticket clerk; the gentleman in uniform is Jim Power. The United Bus Company closed this office and moved into the Market Place (where the Cross View Cafe is now) and I think that would have been in the 1930s or 40s. The premises in Finkle Street became Swaledale Cleaners, which later closed down when the NatWest Bank took over the premises.

It is good to see the shop as it used to be!

Ann Bowman – Richmond's Forgotten Authoress?

John Place

The Richmond and Ripon Chronicle of 31st July, 1886 published the following:

'FUNERAL OF MISS BOWMAN, THE RICHMOND AUTHORESS

The remains of this old and very highly-esteemed Richmond lady were consigned to their last resting place in the family burial ground in St Mary's Churchyard at noon on Monday. The funeral was of a private nature, there being only the mourners, the medical gentlemen – Dr Bowes and Dr Williams – the servants, and a few neighbouring friends present. The coffin was of polished oak, with massive brass mountings, and bore the inscription, in plain letters with scarlet initials:

Ann Bowman

Born May 3rd 1796
Died July 23rd 1886

The coffin, which was covered with splendid wreaths and crosses, was borne shoulder height. The chief mourners were the Rev. T.C.H. Croft, Mr C.G. Croft, M.A., Mr Walter Bowman of Newcastle, and Mr George Buchanan of Whitby, all nephews of the deceased lady, who earned great reputation as an authoress, having written many valuable and interesting books.'

Ann Bowman would appear to have slipped quietly out of the memory of the inhabitants of Richmond – I could not find one mention of her in the Richmond and District Civic Society Reports, these dating back some forty-two years. Her father, Thomas Bowman, is better known, as printer and publisher of the two printings (in 1814 and 1821) of Christopher

Clarkson's *The History of Richmond, in the County of York (Printed by and for T. Bowman at the Albion Press)*. Thomas Bowman (1771-1862)[1] was to become one of Richmond's leading printers, also running a lending library from his premises at 27-27A on High Row in Richmond, a premises which was to see the printers and stationery businesses of C.E.Cookes (1887-1914/1915) and G.E. Austin (1932–1970s) in later years.

Ann (also at times spelt 'Anne') Bowman was born at Stanwick St. John in North Yorkshire (between the A66 and A1M junction at Scotch Corner) in 1796, the eldest child of Thomas Bowman and his wife Ann Pulleine Johnston (1770-1852) who had married in 1795. Ann had two sisters, Margaret and Eliza Bowman, and two brothers, Thomas Johnson and Robert Benson Bowman. Robert Benson Bowman has become better known to us as the recipient of correspondence from Henry Wood, and we learn much about the lives of the two Bowman brothers and life in Richmond and around from *A Voice from Richmond Yorkshire, The Letters of Henry Wood* 1825-1832 by Leslie Anne Hendra[2].

Moving to Richmond in the late Georgian period of some prosperity, her father built up a business from 1799 as a combination of bookseller, bookbinder, printer, stationer, owner of a circulating library, and music-seller, a business which then passed to Ann Bowman and her younger brother, Thomas Johnston Bowman (1798-1871), in the 1830s. By 1851 they were employing five men, with their aged parents both still alive and living with them in Bank Yard. Ten years later, Thomas Johnston Bowman had joined his father in becoming a legal clerk, while Ann Bowman was to develop a career of her own from the mid-1850s in writing. She was an intelligent lady, having already tried her hand at education, running a 'Ladies Day and Boarding Academy' in 1829, together with her sister Margaret. Running the former Albion Press (now T&A Bowman) with her brother Thomas, Ann published *'Bowman's Guide to Richmond and the Neighbourhood'* in 1836.

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[1] *Thomas Bowman was thus born in the same year as James Tate II, the famous headmaster of Richmond Grammar School, and the building of the new market cross.*

[2] *See The Review 2014, pp 64 - 74*

In 1853 Ann Bowman decided to attempt a new career for herself, that of authoress. Although she never travelled abroad, almost all her stories are set in foreign countries, and for this she no doubt made full use of the books in the Bowman circulating library and the newspapers of the day. Her father had stocked the *'Radcliffe's New Novellist's Pocket Magazine of Entertainment and Delight, containing an elegant and chaste collection of Tales, Romances, Lives, Memoirs, Voyages, Travels, etc'*, and it is interesting to conjecture that these were to bring about her interest in writing for herself.

Her interests spread in several directions: as well as fiction for children and young people, she also wrote books of moral guidance, cookery books and 'puzzle' books, the latter based upon the then current fad for what were termed 'acrostic' puzzles. She published a book of these 'original double acrostics' in 1866 – it has to be said that they are particularly difficult for the modern reader! One (very simple) example is:

We love the night
And hate the light.

1. A world of fright = Boo = B
   Or childish spite.

2. A Scottish name = Andrew = A
   Of holy fame.

3. All joined in one, = Together = T
   Completely done.

= **BAT**

'Bowman's New Cookery Book' was published by Routledge in 1868, some eight years after *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management* had first appeared. Just short of eighteen hundred recipes are given in this book, of which one (a local one) is as follows.

1745.*The Mayor's Stoved Wine*

It is a custom of the North for the newly-elected mayor, on receiving the first congratulatory visits of his friends, to serve to them the ancient Wassail-Cup, with the accompaniment of 'Corporation Cakes' (No. 1522). This pleasant beverage is made by boiling in one quart of water for a quarter of an hour a dozen and a half of cloves, inclosed in a muslin bag. Take out the cloves, add half a pound of fine loaf sugar, and when this dissolved pour in a gallon of port wine. Let it be perfectly hot; then transfer it to jugs or a silverbowl, to be served to the guests in cups.

'Corporation Cakes' required butter, sugar, dried currants, candied lemon, powdered cinnamon and brandy. The which mixed up in to a paste, "*break the paste off in small rocky lumps, and bake on tin sheets for half an hour.'* Here is an old custom to restore to Richmond, although the arrival of the motor-car and drink-driving laws would render this problematical.

Other 'self-help' books included selected poetry for schools and families (1857); a home book of wisdom for mothers and daughters (1859); new reading made easy (1860) and how to make the best of it (1861).

However, it was as an authoress of children's novels that she should principally be remembered. The following is a chronological list of her seventeen or so publications:

Laura Temple, *A tale for the Young*, 1853 2s (believed to be her first novel)
The Travels of Rolando, 1853 or *A Tour Round the World*
Esperanza, or The Home of the Wanderers, 1855
The Exiles
Tom and the Crocodiles
The Castaways or The adventures of a family in the wilds of Africa, 1857
The Boy Voyagers or The Pirates of the East, 1859
The Kangaroo Hunters or Adventures in the Bush, 1859
The Young Exiles Or The Wild Tribes Of The North,1859
The Young Nile-voyagers (Illustrated by John Baptist Zwecker)
Among the Tartars Tents or The Lost Fathers, A Tale, 1861 *Or Lost in the Pamirs*
The Rector's Daughter, or, A Tale for the Young, 1864

The Young Yachtsmen or The Wreck of the Gypsy, 1865
The Boy Pilgrims, 1866
Adventures, wanderings and sufferings of the Merton family; Or, Life scenes among the South American Indians, 1868
The Boy Foresters: a tale of the days of Robin Hood.

Ann Bowman was to become one of the early front-runners as an English authoress writing adventure novels primarily for children. Thomas Mayne Reid's first novel (*The Rifle Rangers*) had appeared in 1850, H M Ballantyne's first book for children came out in 1856 (*The Young Fur Traders*), Manville Fenn's *Hollowdell Grange* later still (1867). Into this all-male group came Ann Bowman. It is perhaps the novels of Frederick Marryat that she most closely follows, but he had been a serving sea officer and was widely travelled; it is to Ann Bowman's distinction that she could rival his writing from her own front room in Frenchgate.

How good was her writing? Shi-Wen Chen (*Representations of China in British Children's Fiction 1851-1911)* writes:

"*Bowman explains in her preface to 'The Travels of Ronaldo, or A Tour Round the World, second series' (1853) that she had enjoyed reading 'The Travels of Ronaldo'* (by L F Jauffret, 1808) *as a child and 'pined to know the conclusion to the adventure of the hero and his friends.' Bowman professes not to have the 'fertile imagination of Jouffret or the polished style of Miss Aiken (*Cecily Aiken later published this geographical narrative as a piece of fiction*) but hopes to provide 'sketches which may excite enquiry' and 'suggestions which may encourage research.*

According to many of her books' prefaces, her primary purpose for writing was for children to gain a deeper appreciation of God by discovering more about nature. Bowman's statement also reflects the attitude of many 19th century children's authors who, according to Alan Rauch, believed that 'knowledge was not only a powerful tool used to instil young minds with a sense of the power and wonder of God, but also the means of inculcating patterns of moral conduct.

Ronaldo's trip to China is based around botany and biology, the great craze for which swept through middle-class England in the mid-1800s. Bowman's own brother Robert and her father had both been hectically involved in the searching out and cataloguing of flora and fauna throughout Richmondshire, Northumberland and further afield.

Bowman chose the adventure story genre to 'blend lessons of useful knowledge and Christian truth with a narrative of adventure."

In her later years Ann Bowman suffered much from rheumatism and poor eyesight and ceased her writing. She never married although, intriguingly, her diary of 1871 records[3]:

'March 17th: Letter from Robert, enclosing one from Mr C. asking me for the last time to become his wife – I dare not commit such folly – ten years ago it might have been possible. I write a positive refusal – a painful ending to a bright episode in my age.'

Perhaps the identity of Mr C. could be the subject of a future article!

[3] *With thanks to Richmondshire Museum for their assistance in my researches.*

Knitting in the Dales

Jane Hatcher

I recently came across a brochure from an exhibition put on in York for the Festival of Britain in June 1951. The exhibition was called "Grandmothers Treasures", and included "A Display of Knitting Implements and Photographs that depicts the story of the Hand-knitters in the North-west Yorkshire Dales". No fewer than forty-six knitting sheaths were included in the exhibition. The brochure contains a short essay written by those two great scholars of past life in the Yorkshire Dales, Marie Hartley and Joan Ingilby.[1] *In an era when fewer people regularly knit at all - let alone produce stockings using a knitting sheath! - it seemed worthwhile to reproduce this interesting historical record. The essay following is reproduced verbatim; the footnotes are mine.*

Wooden knitting sheaths, or sticks as they are sometimes called, are symbols of a bygone industry that flourished in England from Tudor times until the end of the nineteenth century. Shown here in a variety of shapes, they were used as an aid to knitting when speed was essential in order to produce garments as rapidly as possible. The knitters who used them were the middle link in the chain that began with the carders and spinners of wool and ended with the merchant, the hosier, who gave out the yarn and disposed of the finished goods.

Many of the first centres for hand-knitting were in south country towns; and in 1590 a knitting school was established in St. Saviourgate at York for poor children who were apprenticed to the trade. But whereas it eventually left the cities and towns, the industry settled in remote districts and became the chief support of the poorer inhabitants. Its doom was finally spelt by the gradual increase of machine-made goods, in particular stockings that had formed the main production of the hand-knitters.

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[1] *Their Dalesman publication, The Old Hand-Knitters of the Dales [various editions], expanded on this text.*

In the North-West Dales of Yorkshire the trade was already established at Richmond in the sixteenth century; and this town and Kendal in Westmorland served as markets for the surrounding countryside. From these centres yarn was despatched first by pack-horse, later by carriers' carts to Swaledale, Wensleydale, Dentdale, and Garsdale; and the following week the garments were taken back. Men, women and children knitted: in the evening the parents assembled at a neighbour's house, 'going a-sitting' as it was called, and continued to knit until midnight. It is the people of Dentdale, described as '*terrible knitters*'[2] by Robert Southey,[3] of whom we think when we speak of the old hand-knitters of the dales.

The method was to fasten a belt tightly round the waist, tuck a sheath into it at the right-hand side, and fix one of the curved needles into the hole at the top. The hands plied the needles up and down with an unceasing rhythmic motion and the body swayed in unison. So proficient were they that they could work in the dark or by the glow of a peat fire; the best ones could make a jersey, for which they were paid only a shilling, in a day.

The knitting sheaths were fashioned from either fruit-wood or the wood of forest trees, and were often given as love tokens by young men to their sweethearts. Very few exist from earlier than the seventeenth century and most of the surviving dales' specimens, shaped like a goose's wing, are nineteenth century. Those with two ends joined by a wooden chain are carved from one piece of wood; and in later days sheaths were sometimes made from metal. The beautiful gloves, mostly produced in Dentdale, show the knitters' skill, but they did not form the staple goods of the industry. Up to about 1800 these were stockings,[4] and after that jerseys, caps, mittens, and sailors' leg-coverings made from a coarse yarn called

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[2] *The word 'terrible' as here used represents an old usage, meaning very severe or violent, in other words at intense speed, and does not indicate that the resulting knitting was in any way terrible!*

[3] *The writer Robert Southey (1774-1843) was one of the 'Lake Poets' along with William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Southey was made Poet Laureate in 1813.*

[4] *Stockings were the long hose worn by men with britches which stopped just below the knee. The stockings were knitted on four needles, one of which was attached to the knitting stick.*

"bump". But now the industry has gone,[5] the unceasing click of the needles is no longer heard, and very few dalesfolk can knit in the old way.



Swaledale wooden knitting sheaths from the collection of Ralph Waggett

[5] *The late David and Grizel Morris established Swaledale Woollens at Muker to provide subsidiary employment in the dales using people's knitting skills.*

Richmond 950 – The Harrying of The North

Rod Flint

The Harrying of the North early in the new year of 1070 was regionally a millennial event that caused as much social and economic change in Yorkshire and the North East as the Roman invasion a thousand years earlier or the Industrial Revolution seven hundred year later.

The North, physically isolated from the rest of England by the marshlands of the Humber and Mersey headwaters, had by the start of the second millennium evolved a unique Anglo-Scandinavian identity. East of the Pennines this was epitomised by the rump of the old kingdom of Northumbria which saw the Angle 'House of Bamburgh' vie for power and influence with Danish York. This situation had been resolved in the 1030s by intermarriage, and the lands north of the Humber enjoyed economic and political semi-independence from the English crown.

All changed in the 1060s when Edward I appointed Tostig, from the all-powerful House of Godwin, as Earl. Tostig's imposition of harsh taxation was followed by a northern revolt. Tostig's brother, the future King Harold, was forced to side with King Edward and Tostig was exiled. He returned a year later with King Harald Hardrada of Norway in an attempt to claim the English throne from his newly crowned brother, only to be defeated at the Battle of Stamford Bridge. King Harold, though, was subsequently killed at the Battle of Hastings, heralding the new Norman age.

Northern unrest started immediately after the invasion. The Normans did not have a military presence in the North but, as elsewhere in England, they did impose a local Englishman to rule on the new King's behalf. This was Copsig, who had been Tostig's agent in the North, and was highly unpopular; he did not last long, barely two months. His attempt to subdue the House of Bamburgh by invading Northumberland resulted in

his death. Ultimately, Gospatrick of the House of Bamburgh bought the earldom. King William presumably wanted to buy into local support, as well as raise considerable funds to support his armies. Gospatrick is one of three of that name within the wider family. The first had been assassinated by Tostig a few years earlier. Earl Gospatrick was the grandson of Earl Uhtred of Northumberland and King Ethelred's daughter Aelgifu and, through his father, the Cumbrian prince Maldred, he was a great grandson of Malcolm 2nd of Scotland. The third Gospatrick was a major landholder across Yorkshire, including Richmondshire, and was one of a handful of the English nobility who survived and prospered under Norman domination.

In April 1068, the northern lords led a rebellion rather than tax their own people. It was a revolt against Norman tyranny, but was seen as a challenge for the crown and was the first in a series of uprisings that would culminate in the Harrying of 1070. King William reacted quickly, subdued Mercia by force, built castles en route north and at York, and the North yielded to him. Direct Norman rule was imposed through Robert Fitz Richard. Although northern assets were seized, northern power was not destroyed.

In Jan 1069 Robert de Comines was appointed Earl and moved to impose control over Durham. He failed, was ambushed inside Durham, and was killed with most of his men. This triggered a second rebellion by Earls Gospatrick and Maerlswein. They seized York and laid siege to the castle. The Yorkshire thegns, or local nobility, themselves predominantly of Danish extraction, rose in support. The King reacted quickly, marched north, broke the siege, plundered York and built a second castle, controlling both banks of the River Ouse. The rebels were then forced into the dales from where they mounted an effective 'hit and run' campaign throughout the spring and summer of 1069. Revolt turned to outright insurrection. King Swein of Denmark was encouraged, with Northern money, to take the English crown. The campaign was initially successful, destroying Norman power north of the Humber. The rebels, failing to understand how aggressive and mobile Norman warfare was, returned to their homes for the winter. The Danes, unable to maintain themselves within the ruins of York, moved to north Lincolnshire in October.

King William marched north, forcing the Danes back north of the Humber. The rebels managed to regroup and held the crossings through the Aire marshlands for three weeks until the Normans outflanked them, took York and bought an agreement with the Danes, who then left, raiding the Northumbrian coast. The rebels again retired to the sanctuary of the hills, assuming that the Normans would hold York over the winter. King William held his Christmas court in York then acted to ensure that the North could never again sustain a Danish force or a rebel claim against his authority and crown. Taking the rebels and the northern communities by surprise, he harried the land from the Humber to the Tees in early 1070.
The harrying would appear to have been pre-planned, structured and coordinated, with a multi-pronged advance through the Vale of York, the Vale of Pickering and possibly into Holderness, into West Yorkshire north of the Aire marshes, and eventually across the Tees as far as Jarrow and the Tyne valley.

It is hard to say exactly what happened as there are no immediately contemporary Northern accounts of the harrying and the assessment of other accounts varies. Orderic Vitalis, an Anglo-Norman monk writing fifty years after the event reported: '*To his shame, William made no effort to control his fury, punishing the innocent with the guilty. He ordered that crops and herds, tools and food be burned to ashes. More than 100,000 people perished of starvation. I have often praised William but I can say nothing good about this brutal slaughter. God will punish him'.* Whilst Oderic Vitalis is generally historically accurate in his accounts, he is prone to exaggerate. For example, his account of the Norman invasion of 1066 quadrupled the size of Duke William's fleet. I suggest that his account of 100,000 starving to death is also an exaggeration as that would have been about 5% of the English population of that time, and the North of course survived, and many of the old, pre-Norman, towns and villages survive to this day. I think that this is something we need to bear constantly in mind when assessing what the Harrying was.

John of Worcester, a contemporary monk who would have seen the refugees arriving in Worcester and listened to their tales, also reported: '*From the Humber to the Tees, William's men burnt whole villages and slaughtered the inhabitants. Food stores and livestock were destroyed so*

that anyone surviving the initial massacre would succumb to starvation over the winter. Some survivors were reduced to cannibalism. Refugees from the harrying are mentioned as far away as Worcestershire in the Evesham Abbey chronicle'. John reports that many, sadly, gorged themselves on food on arrival at Worcester Abbey and died almost immediately. His account is certainly credible. The dislocation of Northern society would have been immense and there probably would have been cannibalism somewhere along the way.

I would like to explore where I think the reality lies. What is clear is that the Norman attack was constrained by: forces available, a short time span of two to three months, sustainability whilst harrying and the need to maintain a sustainable Norman occupation. The harrying certainly did result in the destruction of settlements, slaughter and destruction of grain and livestock, resulting in destitution in the middle of winter, and the total dislocation of northern society. Harrying is, and always has been, an accepted form of warfare – from the Romans to the present day. The Normans practised it regularly when trying to impose control or prevent uprisings in both England and in Normandy. In modern warfare, we will deliberately destroy enemy logistics, industry, energy sources and communication centres as a matter of priority. The burning of grain, slaughter of livestock, and the killing of those people who work the land was the medieval equivalent. The reason the harrying was so severe is, I suggest, because it was in response to a rebellion against the crown.

The size of the Norman force and the manner in which it operated is not known but I suggest that small, coordinated groups of men, radiating out from York, would have destroyed crops and cattle and slaughtered men and women – but the limited force available to King William would not, I suggest, have had anywhere near total domination of the land. Estimates of the size of the Norman Army in England vary considerably but current assumptions are that the Norman Army at Hastings was perhaps 7500 strong and that approximately 8000 Normans actually settled in England over the next couple of decades. Many of the Norman knights and men at arms were Breton and Flemish mercenaries, hence the constant demand for high taxes with which to pay them. But, given that the Normans had to garrison castles and control unrest in the South West, on the Welsh

Marches and in East Anglia, even 5000 might be a generous estimate of the force available for the harrying.

What is known is that the harrying was most intense in parts of Yorkshire and dissipated as it moved north of the Tees, and that it created a deliberate famine. There was mass starvation and subsequent disease, with displaced populations. Refugees fled as far as Scotland, Cumbria and the Midlands. Exhausted peasants struggled to survive, with too many for the weakened economy to support. There were simply too few surviving domestic animals and farm implements. Many were forced into servitude. People sold themselves into bondage, for food and there was considerable re-allocation of complete estates from English to Norman lordship.

There are accounts of widespread banditry in what became the 'Free Zone' of the upland areas, as well as an expanded wolf population. Wolf hunting was a traditional sport for the English gentry, many of whom had been killed at Fulford in 1066 and in the subsequent unrest. By the spring of 1070 there was no one left to control the wolves, and refugees would have been an attractive source of food.

English society across Yorkshire and Durham was totally shattered and the effects within Yorkshire are evident in the Domesday Book of 1086. Durham, which was placed under the control of the Church, was not included in the Doomsday Book. King William achieved his aim: the North could never again threaten his control of England.

We can probably assess whereabouts the Normans did harry. In the 1970s William Kapelle, in his book *The Norman Conquest of the North, The Region and its Transformation 1000-1135,* extrapolated research done by T.A.M. Bishop in the 1930s. He looked at where the Doomsday Book recorded functioning churches and, hypothesising that functioning churches would only exist where there was a surviving peasant population, he mapped out the probable route of destruction, with the presence of churches illustrating a continuity of population. The harrying would therefore appear to have been most destructive along the Vale of York and into the Vale of Mowbray, north of the River Aire into the

Pennines, and the along the Vale of Pickering into the northern Wolds. Kapelle also analysed the distribution of over-stocked manors in 1086. Whilst some communities are shown in The Doomsday Book to be unproductive, others are shown as having more ploughs and therefore employed and sustained a larger population than before the harrying. This shows that not only did some manors survive but that their populations increased, possibly as a result of moving people from ravished manors in order to intensify production in the lands the Normans considered most favourable, more secure and where they had a strategic interest – such as Richmond.

The structure of the manorial estates changed. In pre-Norman times, demesne land, that is land directly under the manorial lord's control, was rare. By the time of The Doomsday Book, the majority of manors had extensive demesne land indicating that land was taken from private ownership or custodianship, directly under the control of the lord of the manor, and through him, the King. The correlation of these manors with those having functioning churches is very close.

The Doomsday Book refers to villages with large tracts of waste land. This is often taken to mean that the land had been destroyed in the harrying, its inhabitants displaced and that it had lain empty since. Is that realistic? The villages' names have endured through the centuries. This would not have happened if they had been destroyed and left uninhabited over several generations. Villages, or manors, that are recorded in The Doomsday Book will have had some significance. Bearing in mind that The Doomsday Book was an accounting exercise to enable the King to identify how to tax his barons, I suggest that 'waste' means that the villages were not generating a taxable income, probably surviving at a bare subsistence level because they held no significance to their overlord; but they did exist and merited recording in the national inventory of assets.

Kapelle proposes that one reason that the Normans were less interested in the marginal lands is that, for social reasons, they would only eat bread made from wheat. There are accounts of Norman overlords giving up their estates because they could not feed their families on wheat bread.

Bread made from rye, oats or barley was considered too socially unacceptable. Medieval wheat would not grow in cool, damp climates, and land over 400 feet was found to be too marginal for its cultivation. This situation actually persisted until the early 12th Century when Henry Ist used less socially-picky knights from Brittany and Maine to settle Cumberland, Northumberland, Dumfries and Lothian. This could be one reason why the land of many upland villages was taken out of production and declared waste.

When looking at The Doomsday Book, comparison of the population densities of Yorkshire and the shires immediately to the south shows the impact of the harrying. Population densities in Nottinghamshire and North Lincolnshire are approximately double those in Yorkshire. The number of plough teams (usually eight oxen) also bears looking at. There are two to three times as many in Nottinghamshire and North Lincolnshire, but the number of plough teams is also higher in some parts of Yorkshire including Richmondshire, south of York, and south of the River Aire. The demography of Yorkshire would certainly have changed. It is probable that the young who were productive and valued, survived, whereas the elderly and infirm were left to starve. Population was higher where there was a strategic interest such as castles, communication and entry routes, and wheat production. Communities were probably moved from upland to lowland areas, though marginalised upland communities survived.

In summary, The Doomsday Book shows that sufficient people survived the harrying to ensure that the Normans could sustain themselves across Yorkshire and Durham and ensure that the people could not rise against them, or that the land could support a further Danish invasion. Some English lords did retain their lands, and gain further ones, but only as under lords. The third Gospatrick is an example. The people that did survive did so in a very different social environment. Freemen, including those with minimal landholdings, had largely disappeared. In 1066, there were more freemen in Northallerton and Scarborough (224) than the whole North and East Ridings in 1086. In 1086, there were three times as many freemen in Nottinghamshire as in Yorkshire. Most social classes were replaced by a disproportionate number of villeins, with 80% of the

Yorkshire population classed as such. Villeins were a class of feudal serfs who held the legal status of freemen in their dealings with all people except their lord. Holding a small amount of land from which to sustain their family, they typically owed two days' work a week to their lord and six days' a week during the five weeks of the harvest. This was the most efficient means of exploiting free labour. Although overall productivity was significantly lower by 1086, estates in the key areas were more productive, reflecting how the Normans directed the people's work to their will. Furthermore, there was a significant increase in the amount of demesne land retained for the manorial lord's own use.

We can see that The Doomsday Book indicates that the intensity of the harrying varied. It is quite likely that the Normans had decided in advance which were the strategically important areas that they wanted to settle in, and from where they would exercise control. These would not have been harried to the same extent as those areas of low importance, which could be destroyed to set a very clear example of Norman domination.

There were other changes too: some were imposed in order to further constrain English freedoms, others were consequential. The church became more Norman Catholic, being forced away from traditional English Orthodoxy and denying priests the freedom to marry. The use of written English was forbidden, thereby depriving the English of the ability to communicate, other than verbally, as very few knew Latin. This meant that the English really were the new underclass.

Norman domination of the lowland areas resulted in significant banditry in the uncontrolled upland zones. This enabled a resistance to develop. As Peter Rex explains in his book *The English Resistance – The Underground War against the Normans,* the 1070s is analogous to wartime France, with a fractured but organised resistance. The difference was that in the 1940s the French resisted in the increasing hope of the arrival of an army of liberation. As the hope of a Danish army of liberation faded in the 1070s, so the will and ability to rebel or resist the Normans faded. The initial resistance was considerable. The upland areas were known as a free-zone, the habitat of outlaws. The Normans called them the Silvatici – the men of the woods. We perhaps know them better

as the Green Men, or Robin Hood and his Merry Men. Simeon of Durham, a contemporary chronicler and monk of Durham Priory, reports that throughout the 1070s travel across the empty countryside that separated Durham and York was extremely dangerous on account of outlaws and wolves. Other accounts support this. The founders of Selby Abbey were harassed by outlaws who lived in the woods in the 1070s and Hugh FitzBaldric, the Sheriff of Yorkshire, is said to have had to travel around the shire with a small army because hostile Anglo-Saxons were still at large. Even the monks at Whitby were so troubled that as late as the reign of William II they tried to settle elsewhere.

To help protect the conquerors from being murdered by the English, King William introduced a new law known as the 'Murdrum' or, more probably, reintroduced an earlier law imposed by King Cnut for the murder of Danes. Marc Morris writes in his book *The Norman Conquest*: *'By this law if a Norman was found murdered, the onus was placed on the lord of the murderer to produce him within five days or face a ruinous fine. If the culprit remained at large despite his lord's financial ruin, the penalty was simply transferred to the local community as a whole, and levied until such time as the murderer was produced'.* This was a strong incentive to submit rather than resist. The safe haven of the resistance – The Greenwood – was also closed off as a sanctuary by the Forest Laws.

Laws were one of the hallmarks of the feudal system that King William imposed on England after 1066. The Forest Laws applied not just to woods, but also heath, moorland and wetlands superseding the earlier Anglo-Saxon laws in which rights to the forest were not exclusive to the king or nobles, but were shared among the people. The Norman laws were harsh, forbidding not only the hunting of game in the forest, but even the cutting of wood or the collection of fallen timber, berries, or anything growing within the forest. The punishments for breaking these laws were severe and ranged from fines to, in the most severe cases, death. Because of these forest laws the local peasants who lived on the land faced severe restrictions on their lifestyles. As the 'underwood' was protected they faced a severe restriction on their ability to gather wood for fuel. The risk for any resistance operating from the forest was significant.

Richmond itself is not mentioned in The Doomsday Book, but two manors are. One is called Hindrelag: this is possibly the original English settlement, which may have been located in the vicinity of St Mary's Church or, immediately above, on Anchorage Hill. The other was 'Neutone': this was possibly a new settlement. In *The History of Richmond*, Jane Hatcher suggests that it was built outside the bailey wall of the new castle of Richemund, possibly where Newbiggin is now.

The land around Richmond was granted to William's relative, Count Alan Rufus of Brittany, who was one of the most powerful amongst the Norman nobility. Count Alan focused on building one of the county's first stone castles at Richmond, which was known as 'the strong hill' in Norman French. It was to be the Norman's centre for their regional control, replacing Gilling West which had previously been the regional centre. Building started in 1071, perhaps indicating that the harrying had been strategically planned. Richmond would have been established as a strategic hub on the new northern border, controlling communication links and food production, and enforcing a barrier between the fertile valleys and the inhospitable and dangerous free-zone of the upland dales.

Rod Flint is the author of the historical fiction 'Harrying of The North' series of books. These are available on Kindle or in paperback from The Castle Hill Bookshop.

Tributes

Audrey Place



Audrey was born in 1933 in Norton, Malton, in a winter that saw the whole of Yorkshire covered with snow. So bad was it that her father, John Peach, had to lift the very small midwife through deep drifts, in order to reach his wife, Gertrude. When Audrey's father obtained a post as Head Gardener at Bedale Hall three years later, she began her education at Beechdene School. A further promotion for her father to the post of Head Gardener at Forcett Hall meant another move and change of school.

In 1944 Audrey won a scholarship to Richmond High School where she spent five happy years, gaining her School Certificate with two distinctions, four credits and two passes. She went on to Bishop's School in Darlington to study shorthand, typing and book-keeping and, even after

taking her first job at Stirling Poultry Products, she continued to demonstrate her academic prowess with courses in law, economics and accountancy. After acquiring a Teacher's Certificate in Shorthand, she added to this a diploma from the Society of Commercial Teachers and became a shorthand examination marker for Pitmans. From Stirlings she moved to Paton and Baldwin where she worked until her marriage to Stanley Francis Place, the son of Reginald Atkinson Place who was headmaster of Reeth School.

Married in 1954 at St Cuthbert's Church, Forcett, she and Stan were delighted to be able to hold their reception at Forcett Hall because of her father's position there. A long and happy marriage produced two children: John Francis and Wendy Jane. Yet, with characteristic energy, Audrey was back at work by 1961, teaching at Leyburn School in the evenings and day school teaching in Leyburn by 1964.

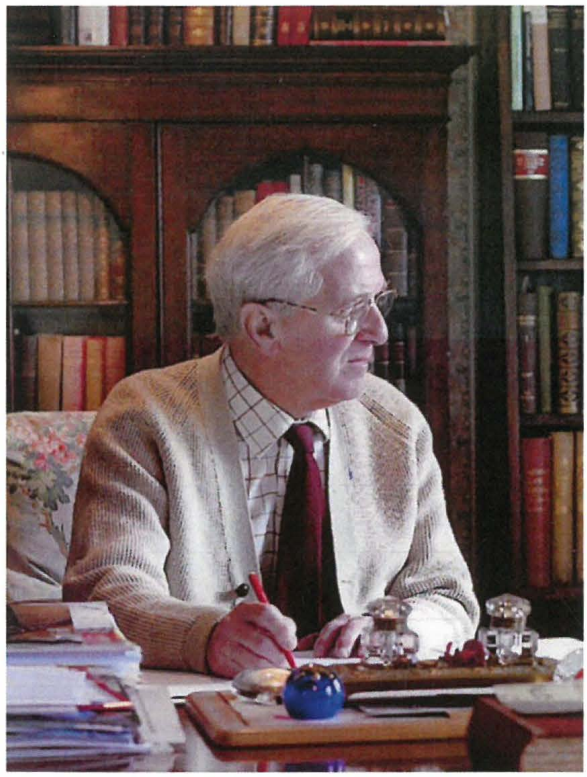
In 1991 she suffered the double tragedy of losing both her husband and her father. Determined to keep active, she went on several holidays abroad, renewing an earlier interest in travelling. Also in 1991 she joined the Civic Society where she remained a member until 2010. She quickly made herself invaluable; her immaculate grasp of shorthand meant that she could record a meeting verbatim and this proved especially useful when she was a member of the Planning Committee (1999-2010), negotiating with the District Council Planning Department. Added to this were her high levels of organisation and energy, again making her an indispensable secretary of the Society's main committee from 1991 until 1997. Committee members remember her generous hospitality when hosting many of these meetings.

Friends remember Audrey as a 'powerhouse', swimming regularly at Richmond Pool and, even when shopping, always being one of the earliest customers at the Saturday market. She was a tourist guide for the town and regularly attended classes in local history, as well as maintaining her hobbies of gardening, embroidery and knitting.

We who, sadly did not know her personally, pay tribute to her long and productive life and her dedication to our Society.

Editors

Ralph Waggett: Well-Known Richmond Solicitor and Local Historian who died in December 2019 aged 95



Ralph Whitell Waggett was born at Satron near Gunnerside in 1924: a Freeman of the City of London, Liveryman of the Worshipful Company of Glovers of London, Past Warden of the Company of Mercers, Grocers and Haberdashers and Past Master, Archivist and Father of the Company of Fellmongers both of Richmond; a member of Mensa and many other learned societies. He was even mentioned in Debrett's.

After education at Richmond Grammar School, Yorkshire he was called up for war service in 1942. He joined the RAF hoping to be a pilot but discovered that he was colour blind. He had an aptitude for Morse Code and trained Polish airmen before being posted to the West Coast of Africa

on an air-sea rescue launch. When he returned in 1946 he joined the local solicitors firm of Hunton and Garget and remained there until he retired as a senior partner.

As an early member of the Civic Society he contributed through writing several articles and always made his vast archive available to contributors. From his first day of employment he vowed to purchase a book every pay day and amassed a major antiquarian library. He also spent much of his holidays researching at The National Archive and extracting anything concerning his beloved Richmond and Swaledale. He spent many years researching at Northallerton Record Office, transcribing documents and helping catalogue them. Every month he spent a day at the Archive Services at Sheepscar, Leeds, copying Richmond and Swaledale wills some of which are in Richmondshire Museum. I am privileged to have known him and been able to share in his vast knowledge.

His love of history led him to recover and save many local historical documents and books. He published the history of the Worshipful Company of Glovers of London and other local history books and papers. His love of books led him to purchasing the 1666 minute book of the Company of Fellmongers. This resulted in the re-founding of the Company in 1981 and it still flourishes today.

Ralph loved walking in Swaledale and knew every track and cow house (it was sacrilege to call them barns!). He was also a member of Catterick Golf Club. He loved poetry and when we walked in the Dales with him, Sue and I were made to learn his favourite poems and, like school children, were made to recite them back to him or we would be discombobulated (one of his favourite words). I once asked him what were his greatest achievements in life and he gave me three. Firstly when he was asked to open the refurbished Gunnerside village hall, secondly the purchase of the Fellmongers' minute book and finally the discovery of Henry Bradrigg in the Public Record Office.

It is probably a fitting memorial to finish with one of his favourite passages from Ecclesiasticus as written in the King James Bible, as Ralph would have wished:

Let us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us.
Leaders of the people by their counsels, and their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions:
All these were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times.
And some there be, which have no memorial; who are perished as though they had never been; and are become as though they had never been born; and their children after them.
But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten.
Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth for evermore.

Mike Wood

Deaths

It is with sadness that we record the deaths of so many members this year:

Miriam Ingleby

Margaret Petche

Audrey Place

Anne Simpson

Molly Squires

Margaret Stegeman

Pat Swaby

Maj (Ret'd) R.A.J Tyler MBE

Ralph Waggett

The Lecture Programme 2020

January 15th	Henry Greathead, Designer of the First Lifeboat, The Zetland *Martyn Johnson, Zetland Museum, Redcar*
February 5th	Josephine Butler – Patron Saint of Prostitutes *Dr Helen Mathers*
March 4th	Binchester *David Mason, Durham County Archaeologist*
*May 6th	Barn Conversions *Nancy Steadman*
*June 3rd	Richmond's Abbeys, Priories, Monasteries *Mike Wood*
*July 1st	Lost Houses Revisited *Ed Kluz*
*August 5th	Vintage Photographs of Richmond *Mike Wood*
*September 2nd	North Yorks Moors National Park Land of Iron Project *Tom Mutton*
*October 7th	Quaker Origins of the Abolition of Slavery *Professor James Walvin*
*November 4th	Scruton Station HLF Project *Joan Walker*

*denotes a lecture on Zoom

Officials for 2020

Chairman:		Mr. J. McDonald
Secretary:		Mrs. C. Hillyard
Lecture Secretary:		Mr. C. Grant
Treasurer and Membership Secretary:		Mr. G. Barber
Honorary Architect:		Mr. J.G. Clarke
Editors:		Miss D. Clague
		Mrs. B. McDonald
		Mr. J. McDonald
Committee:	Mr. P. Cardwell	Retires in 2020
	Mr. T. Dykes	Retires in 2020
	Mr. S. Scott-Priestley	
Planning Sub-Committee:		Mr. D. Barraclough
		Mr. J. C. Clarke
		Mr. J. McDonald
		Mr. C. Shaw (Chair)
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		Mr. P. Cardwell
		Mr. T. Dykes
Auditors:		Paul Tranter & Co.



Civic Society Plaques

Design: courtesy Carol Hillyard

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