Drystone Walls in Conistone Township, Upper Wharfedale:

A field and archival survey

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Upper Wharfedale Heritage Group

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Upper Wharfedale Heritage Group
Skipton

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Abbreviations

AOD Above Ordnance Datum
CW Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society
HER Historic Environment Record
LiDAR Light detection and ranging
OS Ordnance Survey
UWHG Upper Wharfedale Heritage Group

Conventions

Terminology amongst drystone wallers and researchers varies not by any fixed rules but rather by preferred usage. Some favour the form 'dry stone', others 'dry-stone', and yet others 'drystone'. The last of these is the editor's preference.

The uppermost stones on a drystone wall are variously called *cams* or *topstones*, often contracted to *tops*. It is the editor's preference to use 'topstones'. In the past they were often called *capes* or *cobbles*: for example, such and such a wall should be built '... with Cape and Coble' (Whiteside 1903, 155).

Similarly, the long stones that tie together both faces of a drystone wall, often sticking out on one or both sides, are called *throughstones* or just *throughs*: the latter is used in this publication.

Where wall heights and widths are given, imperial units are employed along with metric equivalents as wallers in the past obviously did not use the metric system. Metric units only are reserved for items of wall furniture (Appendix A) and relict walls or stone banks and total wall lengths.

Where specific mention of parliamentary enclosure is made in the text it has been given an upper case E to distinguish it from the word enclosure used generically.

A Glossary of terms italicised in their first mention in the text is provided on page 89.

Each section of the ranging poles shown in the photographs is half a metre.

Acknowledgements

Given that the committee of UWHG readily took on board the concept of its undertaking a drystone wall survey within its area of interest, namely Upper Wharfedale, they are to be thanked – and even congratulated – for recognising the potential outcomes of this type of field research as well as the need for similar surveys to that in Asby. Committee members Maurice White and Mark Woronowski provided the necessary logistical help with setting up the project and securing consents; committee member John Street took on the task of liaising with volunteers: all three are warmly thanked. The enthusiastic volunteer cohort: those on the field surveys, or who added extra nuggets, and those who took on archival research, are also warmly thanked. The co-operation of landowners and graziers was exceptional and not one request for access was refused. Attendance at the pre-survey Taster and Training Day in Kettlewell was overwhelming in terms of numbers attending and showing real interest.

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Unless otherwise acknowledged in the text, all photographs were taken by David Johnson.

Foreword

Anyone who has walked in or driven around the Yorkshire Dales – or any other upland area in the North for that matter – will be acutely aware of the network of drystone walls, in valley bottoms as well as climbing up sometimes crazily-steep fell sides. Surely, the majority must be in awe of the sheer effort that went into finding the stone, transporting to it where new walls were being built, digging out the foundation trenches and actually erecting the walls. Hopefully those who take walls for granted are in a tiny minority. A survey conducted across the (pre-2016 extension) Yorkshire Dales National Park in 1988 estimated that there were up to 8000km of drystone walls; given that the Park has grown in area by *c*. 25 per cent since then, and that the Westmorland Dales have the same intensity of walls, this figure must be commensurately greater. Walls – along with field barns – are an integral and iconic element of the fieldscape of the Yorkshire Dales.

How many people really look at walls with a keen eye, how many have any idea how old they might be, and how many know why they were built in the first place are questions that cannot be answered, but an educated guess will most likely be not very many. It has long been recognised that relatively few can recognise the differences between this drystone wall and that one, or can put them into even a vague chronological sequence (Newman 2005, 205). It is equally valid that there has been a general lack of archaeological approaches in research aimed at understanding and deconstructing rural landscapes; perhaps this reflects that, by and large and certainly until recent times, historians and, to a lesser extent, historical geographers rather than landscape archaeologists have been at the forefront of landscape interpretation. How many formally commissioned landscape-scale evaluations, or micro-scale conservation programmes, have involved detailed evaluation of the drystone wall resource; how many grant-funded or -aided wall repair schemes insist on walls being renovated in the style in which they were built rather than in the go-to modern approach of rebuilding in the ‘one-on-two, two-on-one’ wall style like a brick wall?

The main author of this publication began his adult life as a historical geographer and historian who through the years came to see himself, and to operate, as a landscape archaeologist. This study is firmly based on that latter tradition where field walking, detailed field survey and – crucially – archival research are equally paramount.

After two introductory chapters setting the survey area in wider contexts, the emphasis is on a detailed examination of the Conistone drystone wall survey carried out in 2024, considering the reasoning behind the survey, methodologies employed and the findings. This is followed by a discussion of the extent to which walls in Conistone fit into the typology drawn up in the 2022 Asby survey in the Westmorland Dales. It concludes by briefly comparing the broad picture of dateable drystone walls in Conistone with dateable walls elsewhere in the Yorkshire Dales and Cumbria.

1

Introduction

Background

The project was conceived by David Johnson for the committee of the Upper Wharfedale Heritage Group (UWHG). It followed on from the successful Lottery-funded community drystone wall survey project that he ran in 2022 for the Westmorland Dales Landscape Partnership Scheme (WDLPS) in Asby parish between Kirkby Stephen and Appleby. One of the key intended outcomes of the WDLPS was for it to act as the catalyst for future wall surveys conducted elsewhere by local historical or archaeological groups. The UWHG committee had approached Dr Johnson with a view to his suggesting and conducting practical work that Group members might engage in.

The UWHG project summary was set out as follows:

To undertake a historical and condition survey of drystone walls throughout the chosen project area; and to seek to understand the historical processes of enclosure through the patterns of field walls in the chosen area.

A key aim of this project was to engage Group members and local residents in developing a greater understanding of the history, archaeology and heritage conservation of the chosen area. The survey was conceived as entailing a Level 2 survey of a specific area in UWHG's area of interest, namely Upper Wharfedale; Level 2 surveys provide a basic description and interpretive record of an archaeological monument or landscape, as a result of field investigation (Historic England 2017, 33). The project leader's strong desire was to approach and undertake the specified programme of archaeological fieldwork as a community engagement event, not only by setting up and running the project but also by providing support and training in relevant archaeological survey skills to participating volunteers.

Survey area location

By dint of UWHG's area of interest, the survey area had to be selected from within Upper Wharfedale and two areas were considered, each known anecdotally to have a variety of wall types and accessible archival material. That part of Buckden civil parish between Yockenthwaite and Cray and the nascent River Wharfe and the main watershed along the top of Yockenthwaite and Chapel Moors was one such area; the township of Conistone within the parish of Conistone with Kilnsey the other. On grounds of accessibility and prior knowledge the latter was chosen. The whole township was included in the survey area, rising from the Wharfe in the west to the parish boundary on Conistone Moor – historically known as Conistone Out Moor or Conistone Commons in the east – and between the Kettlewell parish boundary in the north and the Grassington parish boundary in the south (Fig. 1).

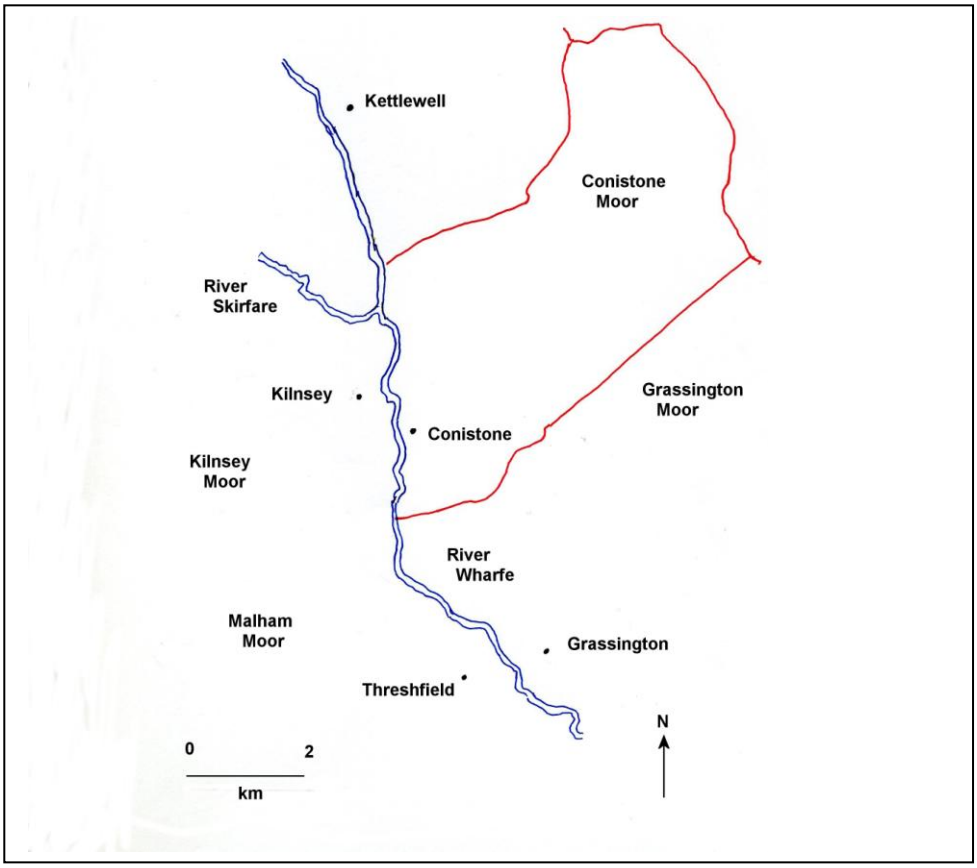


Fig. 1 Location of the survey area

Geological context

Several bedrock types dominate across Conistone: Lower Carboniferous Limestone underlies most of the township west of the Moor while the latter is underlain by Upper Carboniferous sandstone beds (Fig. 2). The latter are composed of Grassington Grit beds which outcrop in the distinctive and prominent crags running south from Great Whernside through Capplestone Gate and across Bycliffe (historically Bycliffe Pasture) and Black Edge into Grassington parish. Much of Conistone Moor is underlain by the same strata with a surface veneer of peat. Exposed along river valleys on the moor are narrow outcrops of mudstones, siltstones and sandstones within the Millstone Grit Group.

The limestone is seen as a series of stepped benches each with an eastern scar and with limestone pavement either exposed on the surface or masked by a thin veneer of soil and grasses. Extending north-south to the west of the gritstone scars are Carboniferous Alston Formation beds: mudstones with some associated limestone and sandstone, limestones with no superficial veneer and those with a covering of diamicton (Quaternary glacial deposits).

Between the Alston beds and the road through Conistone village, and across Nook and Old Pasture the area is underlain by Great Scar Limestone beds: those above Knotts, Swineber Scar and Hill Castles Scar having no surface veneer, but those below being masked by diamicton.

Past tectonic activity is visible as structural faults running through Mossdale and Bycliffe and also in the limestone steps dropping westwards in Old Pasture, which has been described as having the ‘finest’ limestone pavements in Wharfedale (Webb 2013, 104).

Immediate postglacial meltwater channels, carrying unimaginable volumes of water from decaying ice sheets on the moors, have been carved out in the Dib and Gurling Trough above Conistone village

and in Mossdale. The valley floor either side of the Wharfe was most likely a postglacial moraine-dammed, ribbon lake and the valley floor has a considerable depth of lacustrine silts deposited on the lake bed, with thick alluvial deposits above.

It is probably axiomatic that drystone walls were built using local bedrock so it might follow that where limestone dominates the walls will be built of either quarried limestone or stone removed from nearby limestone pavements. Differences of lithological and stratigraphical detail between the Great Scar and Alston limestones are reflected in the details of walls built using each rock type. Where gritstone is dominant walls were built of that material. This is largely true for Conistone though those Enclosure-period walls running across New Close on a north-east to south-west trajectory, and Wall no. 17 alongside Bycliffe Road, have lengthy stretches where the walls were built with both rock types. It is not a case of gritstone suddenly giving way to limestone in the walls; rather a gradual transition.

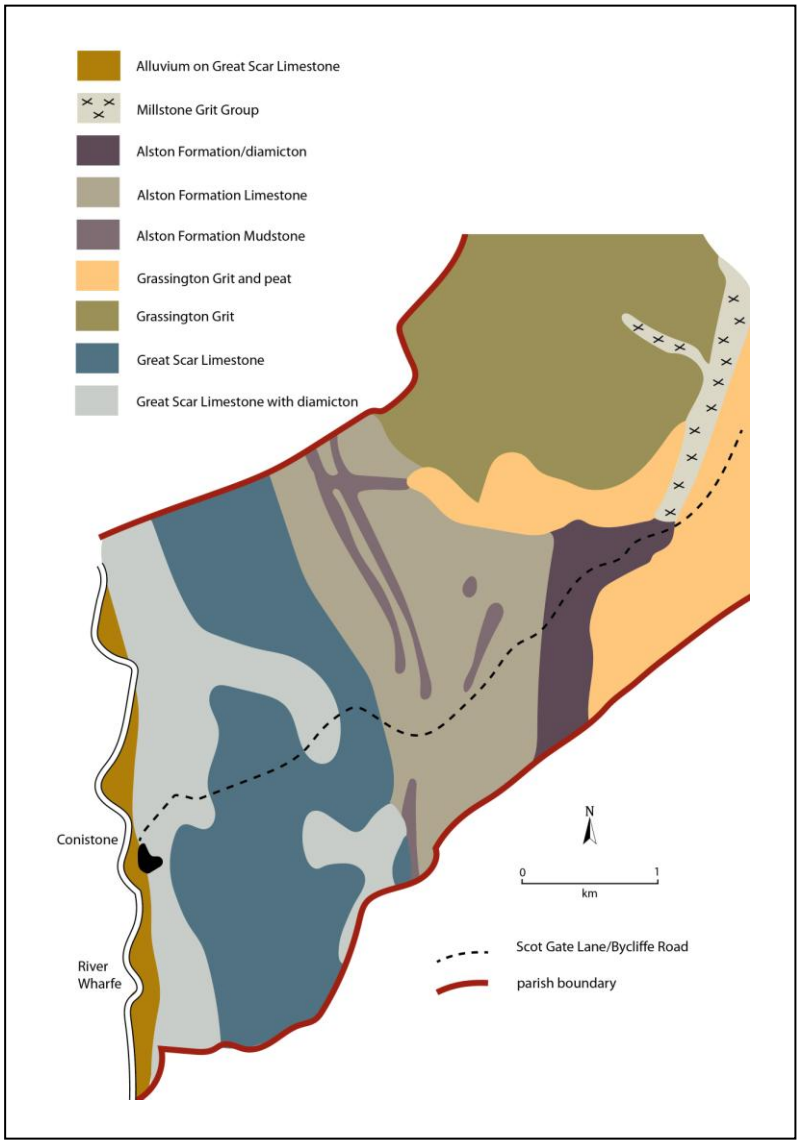


Fig. 2 Simplified geology.
(This map contains British Geological Survey material © NERC)

Historical context

The intention here is not to provide a detailed account of Conistone's growth and development through time – that is beyond the scope of this publication – but to briefly summarise how landscape development and land ownership have impacted on the landscape and fieldscape of Conistone manor and township.

As shown in Fig. 3, a significant proportion of the parish was enclosed as a result of parliamentary processes between 1801 and 1803.

In fact, the vast majority of the total area of Conistone township was subjected to formal enclosure:

Table 1 Conistone enclosure statistics

Area	Acres	Ha
Old Pasture	496	200
New Close	1026	415
Nook	176	71
Kelber	109	44
Bycliffe Pasture	220	89
Total	2027	819

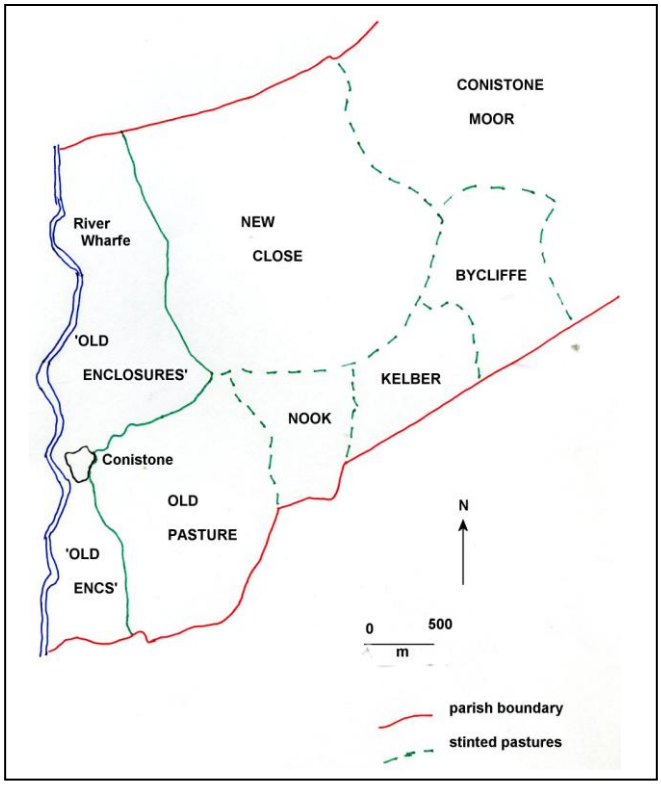


Fig. 3 Areas subjected to parliamentary enclosure in Conistone

The balance partly consisted of what enclosure awards invariably termed 'old' or 'ancient enclosures' which meant land divided up and enclosed by walls or hedges before the time of anyone then living. Thus, 'ancient' fields could have been created at any time before the end of the 18th century or, potentially, in the medieval era. By examination of an Ordnance Survey map, aerial photograph or LiDAR image, of any given area, it is easy to distinguish between an ancient and a parliamentary

landscape, as will be discussed later. In Conistone these 'ancient' townfields ran in a strip north and south of the village between the Wharfe and the base of the scars – running from north to south, the scars are variously named Knotts, Swineber Scar, Hill Castles Scar and the southern edge of the Dib and Gurling Trough.

Also excluded from the formal process of sub-dividing former common stinted or pastures was Conistone Moor which was cited in the Act of 1801 as 'inclosing and reducing to a stint the several commons and moors called...Conistone Moor': this did not entail physically sub-dividing the commons but formalising and regulating the *depasturing* of livestock there by tenants of the manor/township.

Drystone wall terminology

In modern times the word 'wall' would no doubt induce the same cognitive recognition in most people: a wall is a solid boundary made of stone, but historically – and regionally – that was not necessarily so. Until relatively recent times stone walls were known, unhelpfully perhaps, as 'fences' or, rather more helpfully, as 'stone fences'. In many parliamentary enclosure awards across the North the word fence referred to any kind of fixed boundary so it included stone walls, cast-iron or wooden fences and even hedges or hedgerows. In America walls are often still called stone fences, a survival of early settler vernacular language. In Scotland, notably in Galloway, walls are commonly known as *dykes*, but therein lies another set of confusions as the word dyke can mean a stone wall, an earth bank or a ditch.

Historical sources make frequent mention of *intake*, or *inbye*, walls on the lower slopes of upland valleys and/or along the edge of the valley bottom dating from the 16th to the 18th century when much land was taken in from common land or the *waste* (hardly ever waste as we would interpret that word nowadays). In Cumberland, Westmorland and the North Riding such intake walls were variously called *head dykes*, *ring garths* or *outring fences* – the term fence here generally meaning stone wall.

It is often said that walls replaced earlier field boundaries; for example, bank and ditch networks or hedges/hedgerows. There are proven instances of this: the Thorns project, focussed on a former estate near Ribblehead in the Yorkshire Dales, found a complex network of massive ditches and banks surrounding the estate with less prominent banks and ditches subdividing the area into smaller parcels of land to facilitate livestock management (Johnson 2019). Certainly, banks will prove to be early, either medieval, early medieval or even late prehistoric, and many hedges could also have medieval origins. In the medieval era there were two kinds of hedge – live or *quick* hedges and *dead* or *dry* hedges, the former mostly planted with fast-growing blackthorn or hawthorn. A dead hedge was made up of stakes driven into the ground (or bank top) with smaller rods or withies interwoven to render it stock proof. Sometimes small thorn branches – historically called *trouse* – were woven in to really deter sheep (the manorial hayward had responsibility for ensuring hedges were kept in good order).

The genesis of drystone walls

Walls developed for a number of reasons and fulfilled a range of functions but the most basic of all was the catalyst for creating the first walls. As far as is currently known, from archaeological evidence, the earliest systematic system of drystone walls in Britain and Ireland can be seen at Céide Fields in Co. Mayo. Here, rectilinear walls from the Neolithic, long since buried under metres of peat until exposed nearly a century ago, and up to 2km long, cover an area of 10km^2. It was a staggering achievement and who knows how many hundreds – thousands? – of hours went into sourcing the stone, carting it to where needed and building the walls. It is not possible now to say why the system

was built or what was in their minds but it may well have been the case, as elsewhere, that to create a set of decent crop or pasture fields needed all the stone to be grubbed out and removed. This must have been the prime catalyst in many areas: the nearest place to move stone from within 'your' patch was your boundary. Walls consumed field-clearance stone and excellent examples of what have been termed *consumption* walls can be seen in Wasdale and Eskdale in the Lake District; they are massive in width and sometimes in height.

Once built – once accepted by or imposed on a given community – walls acted as property boundaries between different manors or townships or tenements; as a means of managing livestock rotating them from one walled enclosure to another; and divided inbye land in the valleys from lower fell pastures and, in turn, from the open fell. This latter is termed the 'mountain wall' in the high fells of Cumbria: it was the last wall going from valley to hilltop and marked the ultimate boundary between individual and common grazing.

Regional walling styles

Walls take many forms and there are distinct regional styles. The Galloway dykes are a sight to behold and a challenge to many an English waller; *Cornish hedges*, also seen in Devon, are actually banks topped with stone; the Irish boulder walls seem to defy gravity; and the historical Welsh *cloddiau* (sing. *clawdd*) can take the form of hedges, hedgerows, hedgebanks or even dykes (Fig. 4). In some historical landscapes cast (or *casten/kest*) banks are a common feature taking the form of an earthen bank (sometimes with a ditch running alongside) formed by casting or throwing up earth to form the linear bank and, again quite commonly, with a stone revetment along one face. Thus, in cross-profile, a typical cast bank will have one face near vertical and the other convex.

Fig. 4 Two cloddiau (stone-cored) banks on Llŷn Peninsula

Regional variations in walling style have been discussed in detail by this editor elsewhere which the interested reader may wish to consult (Johnson 2023, 7-11).

2

Previous Wall Surveys

The discipline of landscape archaeology requires the practitioner to fully engage with what has been called the 'muddy boots' approach (Fleming 2007). This involves spending time in the field to methodically examine visually and to record and interpret whatever landscape features are being focussed on – in this case drystone walls across Conistone township. We will address the archival element in Chapter 5 but in this chapter the emphasis is on summarising previous wall surveys undertaken elsewhere in the northern half of England.

Compared with studies of, say, upland lead mining landscapes, agricultural land use or field barns, there is a paucity of detailed material on drystone walls. True, much tourist literature draws the visitor's attention to the complexity of walls in the high fells, often stressing the impact they have on the landscape or the sense of awe one might feel looking at walls marching in an arrow-straight line up the fell sides, but serious studies of how and why walls came into being, how building styles changed over the centuries, and how they were put together, are in relatively short supply. From his own long experience of leading themed walks in the uplands, this writer – hopefully not unkindly – tends to the view that many people take walls for granted and think of them as 'just another wall'. The rich story that many drystone walls can tell is so often overlooked.

Nevertheless, serious work has been done by various practitioners, as is discussed in the following paragraphs but walls from prehistory have not been included here because they show in the landscape as shadows or *relict* features rather than upstanding, stockproof walls.

The reader is encouraged to read Angus Winchester's ground-breaking book on drystone walls for further background (Winchester 2016).

Pennine walls

The first attempt to 'deconstruct' drystone walls was published by the pioneer Dales archaeologist Dr Arthur Raistrick based on his fieldwork before and during the Second World War. He did not describe walls in great detail, and did not undertake any formal surveying, but posed several questions: when was the wall pattern superimposed on the landscape? Who built them, why and how? He drew attention to what he perceived as three broad categories.

1. 'Irregular crooked walls' (Raistrick 1946, 4) following a 'grotesque' pattern around isolated farms and rural settlement nucleations: these he saw as originating in the 16th century.

2. The more rectangular walled fields beyond the immediate vicinity of settlements, across the valley floor and on the lower fellsides - these he saw as having been erected in the late 18th century as populations and the need for more farmland grew.

3. The straight 'bee-line' walls marching up the higher fellsides forming a geometric pattern of fields – to Raistrick these were put up in the early 19th century.

He drew on documentary evidence, especially monastic cartularies, for evidence of boundaries being physically defined on the ground, and discussed the impact of parliamentary enclosure which led to a

mushrooming in the number of walls built. Much of what he wrote still holds up today though one has to question his three tight chronological periods. Many of his first category date from much earlier than the 16th century; his 18th-century walls may well have appeared a full century earlier; and in many parts of the Yorkshire Ridings parliamentary enclosure began in the middle of the 18th century.

Roystone Grange

A project launched in 1978 at Roystone Grange in the White Peak of Derbyshire focussed on its multi-period landscape within a 4km^2 area and in particular on the 72km of drystone walls within the area (Wildgoose 1991). Roystone had been the site of a Cistercian grange. Five discrete wall types were recognised in that survey.

1. Straight walls dating from the parliamentary enclosure era composed of quarried limestone with regular throughs and a *battered* cross-profile (narrowing from base to top).

2. Walls that are generally rectilinear but with a tendency to 'wander' slightly. These walls are bedded on large limestone boulders laid directly on the ground surface rather than dug in; stones used to build the wall are sub-rounded utilising field-clearance stone. These walls are slightly battered. The interpretation is that this type of wall can be attributed to the 17th century.

3. Short lengths of wall are bedded on massive dolomitic boulders that were manoeuvred into place from where they had been deposited, presumably by ice flow. Whereas Types 1 and 2 were double-faced, this type had only single basal boulders with other large boulders laid on top to give a finish that looks parlous to say the least but which is known to deter sheep from trying to clamber over them. Type 3 walls are lower than Type 1 and 2. These walls were attributed to the 13th and 14th centuries, thus most likely associated with the monastic grange.

4. Type 4 walls are relict *orthostat* walls, meaning walls composed of large limestone slabs set vertically to form the two wall faces with rubble infill. These walls tend to be sinuous in plan form and in places were diverted to take in large earthfast boulders. These walls were interpreted as relating to a Romano-British settlement site at Roystone.

5. Type 5 had only one example forming a small enclosure; it comprised single, large recumbent blocks set end to end surviving as just the foundation blocks. A Bronze Age date was ascribed to this wall.

The Roystone Grange survey was of huge importance in developing an understanding of drystone walls in a limestone landscape, and its findings have direct relevance to the interpretation of walls in Conistone parish.

North York Moors

A mixture of archival and cartographic searches and field walking examined 37 examples of orthostat walls in the western part of the North York Moors as one important element in the landscape; three variations on the orthostat theme were recorded in the survey (Spratt 1988). Some (Type 1B) were built with a series of tall orthostats interspersed with 'normal' walling and with the same style above the orthostats; Type 1C was described as a boulder wall having large basal slabs with 'normal' walling above; and Type 1D comprised walls originally constructed with orthostats but rebuilt at some later date with the orthostats laid flat at the base of the walls with horizontal walling above them. From archival sources confirming extensive intaking of land associated with wall building, the

conclusion reached was that orthostat walls were most likely erected between 1550 and 1750. There are clear parallels between these walls and some in Conistone as will be shown later.

The Yorkshire Dales

A rather romanticised account of the history of walls in the Yorkshire Dales describes orthostat walls built in the Romano-British period but this is probably because the authors were influenced in their thinking by the Roystone Grange conclusions (Muir and Colbeck 1992, 12), though they did acknowledge that little was known about the development of walls within the Yorkshire Dales. However, they assert that 'so much of the fieldscape' of the Dales resulted from work in the 18th and 19th centuries (ibid 14), an oft repeated claim that does not necessarily stand up to scrutiny.

Upper Ribblesdale and Malham Dry Stone Wall History Project

Two studies undertaken in Upper Ribblesdale and Malham in the Craven district of North Yorkshire were serious and important accounts of the evolution of drystone walls in this limestone landscape which was also dominated by monastic houses (Lord 2004; Lord 2008). Lord concluded that medieval walls were very distinctive in appearance having straight rather than battered sides and being significantly higher than later walls (Fig. 5), with orthostats commonly incorporated into the walls. He believes that the concept of drystone walls in the Dales most likely had its genesis in the 13th century and that building styles remained little changed until the 16th.

Fig. 5 A medieval wall in Watlowes valley above Malham Cove

Hebden, Upper Wharfedale

A community-based project broke new ground by surveying the fieldscape across an entire parish – Hebden – in Upper Wharfedale (Beaumont 2006) with a particular emphasis on surveying field boundaries which here are mostly drystone walls rather than hedges. By examining the construction and style of all field walls the team set out to establish a chronology of enclosure as well as the relationship between different wall types and changes in land ownership and management through time. Five types – groups, as the team termed them – of wall were identified and mapped dividing them into two broad categories, namely parliamentary enclosure walls and pre-Enclosure boundaries.

1. Group 1 are medieval walls constructed with a large proportion of boulders, recumbent blocks and orthostats (Fig. 6). They take a *sinuous* form and made use of natural features such as rock outcrops or natural breaks of slope. Most stone was sourced from field clearance, the walls are wide and high, not regularly coursed and are parallel sided.

Fig. 6 A Group 1 wall at Scarside, Hebden

2. Group 2 walls are generally crudely built, sometimes just of single thickness, and most stone was angular and quarried. It was assumed these walls dated from the 16th century.

3. Group 3 walls were described as 'irregular' and gently sinuous, tall, composed of both field clearance and quarried stone, with some orthostats and large basal boulders, and some topstones projecting beyond the edge of the wall top. These walls were ascribed to the period *c*. 1690-1770 based on documentary evidence of intaking.

4. Group 4 walls were described as 'regular' and contemporary with parliamentary enclosure in Hebden but not part of actual formal awards; they share the same characteristics as Group 5.

5. Group 5 covers walls built as a result of the Enclosure Award of 1857. They were built to a specification as were most Enclosure walls – battered, narrow, set with regular courses of throughs, regularly coursed and graded, and entirely built of quarried stone.

As will be seen, there are also close parallels between some of these groups and walls in Conistone parish.

High Close, Grassington

On a much smaller scale – one single oval enclosure called High Close above Grassington in Upper Wharfedale – another community group surveyed that enclosure's external 1700m-long wall (there are no internal sub-divisions), in 2009, with the aim of dating when the enclosure was created by contrasting its features with known parliamentary enclosure walls in the same general area. The survey was not published but a report was prepared (uwhg.org 2009). The High Close wall is very tall, not coursed or graded, and is dominated by field-clearance stone. An essential tool used in this survey was a specially-designed frame to accurately plot cross-profiles at intervals along the wall.

Bordley Township

A further community project, in Bordley township between Malhamdale and Upper Wharfedale, included a wall survey among its aims of investigating the fieldscape and history of the township (Armstrong 2009). Archival research was included in the team's panoply of methods. Several categories were identified:

1. Wide-top medieval walls that are straight sided and adjacent to a (possibly earlier?) ditch; they may relate to monastic ownership of the whole township.

2. Relict medieval walls surviving as isolated lines of orthostats.

3. Other medieval and pre-1600 walls that are irregular with orthostats and basal boulders and are much wider than later walls.

4. Straight-sided walls dating from *c*. 1600 composed of both field-clearance and quarried stone with throughs; fillings are generally absent;

5. Enclosure-period walls of *c.* 1800 which follow the widespread parliamentary template of being narrow and strongly battered.

Scales Wall Survey, Chapel-le-Dale

This writer conceived and led a field survey within the manors of Ingleton and Twisleton-and-Ellerbeck between Ingleborough and Whernside in the Yorkshire Dales, focussed on an area known as Scales above the hamlet of Chapel-le-Dale (Johnson 2013; Johnson 2015). It formed part of a wider programme of research into the landscape history of the valley. In all, 92 discrete walls bounding 46 fields were surveyed following a template specially devised for the survey. Detailed notes and measurements were taken and a full photographic record was compiled. A typology was drawn up setting the walls into four broad categories.

1. Type 1 walls are straight sided and have topstones generally laid flat; coursing and grading is absent; wall width and height are greater than more modern walls; and many have orthostats, single or paired, and/or large recumbent blocks at the base (Figs 7 and 8). Almost all – if not all – stone was derived from field clearance. A sub-division is walls that look like 'singled-up' walls, meaning

lengths of wall where stone has been loosely piled up to make it temporarily stock proof before the farmer (or whoever) can rebuild it permanently. These are interpreted as medieval or early post-medieval walls.

2. Type 2 walls are low (no more than 1m high) and have a pronounced flattened A-shape with very wide bases. These are also interpreted as medieval or early post-medieval.

Fig. 7 A reduced Type 1 wall, with a later wall beyond, at Scales, Chapel-le-Dale

Fig. 8 A Type 1 blocky wall at Scales with later coursing at the top

3. Type 3 walls are narrow, battered, coursed and graded with topstones set at a raked angle. This category is interpreted as dating from the 18th century.

4. Type 4 walls are those of unknown age that were completely rebuilt in the 1930s by the tenant of one of the farmhouses in return for being allowed to live there rent free.

Thorns, Ribblehead

One of the main historic heritage projects of the Ingleborough Dales Landscape Partnership, operating as Stories in Stone, was a three-year investigation of a former estate, called Thorns, between Ribblehead and Newby Head in the Yorkshire Dales; it was led by this writer. One of the elements of work at Thorns was a detailed survey of all drystone walls: being a community project, volunteer teams were tasked by this writer with completing different aspects. The wall survey was put in the hands of Phil and the late Pat Carroll (Carroll and Carroll 2019). Across the estate 39 walls were surveyed in detail, including using the cross-profile method. Only 14 of the walls have survived intact so there was an unavoidable degree of subjectivity in drawing conclusions. Three broad types of wall were recognised and mapped (Fig. 9).

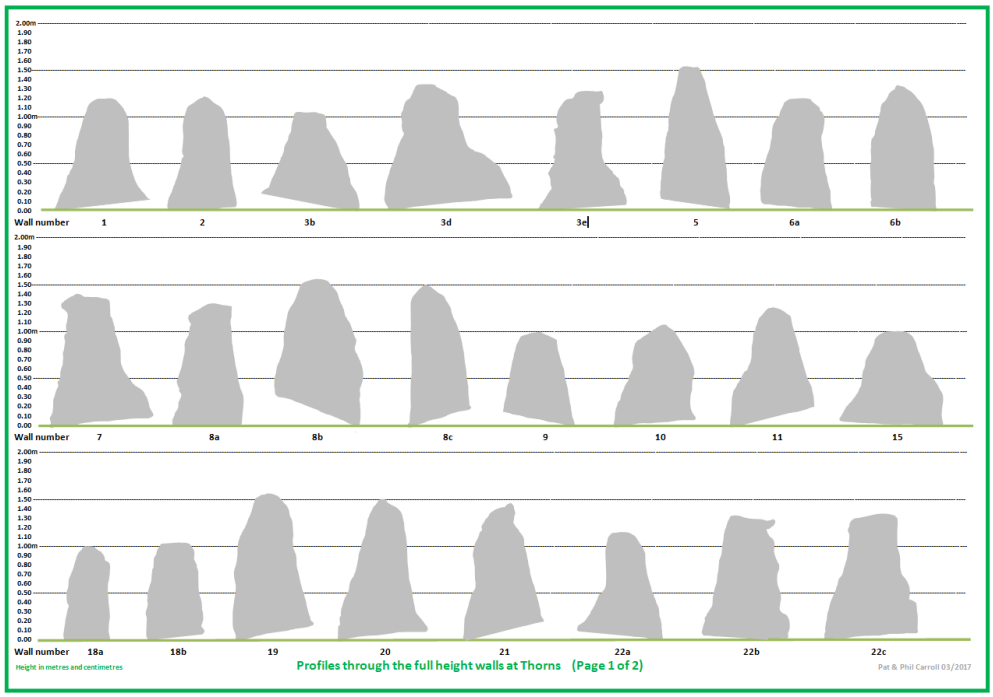


Fig. 9 A selection of wall profiles at Thorns, Ribblehead
(Pat and Phil Carroll)

1. Pre-1700 walls are sinuous in plan form and have minimal batter and no coursing or grading. Few throughs were noted, stone was sub-rounded from field clearance, and some of the wall lengths have orthostats or recumbent blocks; wall corners tend to be rounded rather than squared. About one-third of the 39 walls fitted these characteristics.

2. Post-1700 walls, in complete contrast, were battered, coursed, graded, with raked topstones and regular throughs; stone is mostly angular sourced by quarrying and corners were invariably angular. One-third of all the walls definitely fitted this category.

3. A third grouping is composed of walls that have characteristics of ‘old’ and ‘new’ walls so they can be seen as hybrid, potentially old walls that have seen multiple phases of repair and rebuild.

Westmorland Dales

Detailed studies of drystone walls in Westmorland – and Cumberland for that matter – were hard to locate prior to the WDLPS survey in Asby parish in 2022. However, the external boundary wall of the 324ha deer park surrounding Wharton Hall in Mallerstang, south of Kirkby Stephen, was investigated nearly 40 years ago (Blackett-Ord 1986). Much of it has been reduced in height over the years but one stretch at the north end of Nateby village has retained its original height and integrity. Basal width here is 40 inches (1m+) and width below the topstones about 20 inches, these having been laid flat. It was built entirely of local limestone on a prominent protruding plinth. It is an impressive wall by any standards. The conclusion drawn by the surveyor is that the wall was erected at the behest of Lord Wharton in the middle of the 16th century.

Another, even more impressive, Wharton edifice surrounds a former park at Ravenstonedale to the west of Kirkby Stephen. Along one unaltered stretch on Ash Fell it still stands to a maximum height below the topstones of 9 feet (2.8m) (Fig. 10). Archival sources show that it was ordered to be erected in 1560-61 (Blackett-Ord 1986; Hoyle 1995).

The historical geographer Brian Roberts undertook an exhaustive study of walls in and around Maulds Meaburn village and he suggested a classification of five boundary feature categories, two being most likely medieval in origin, namely ‘boulder dump’ walls and boulder walls containing orthostats (Roberts 1996). Other categories are walls containing orthostats with a mix of quarried and field-clearance stone, similar walls lacking orthostats, and those composed only of quarried stone.

Fig. 10 An original length of wall surrounding Ravenstonedale Park (NY7320 0506)

The Asby survey undertook a comprehensive field survey, along with archival research, across the former manors of Asby Winderwath and Asby Coatsforth (Johnson 2023). Five categories of walls were recognised, based on 14 wall-characteristic variables enabling them to be placed in a loose chronological sequence of building. Type 1 walls are described as relict walls, cast banks and those containing orthostats and/or large recumbent blocks, most likely erected in the monastic or pre-Conquest eras. Type 2 walls are categorised as tall and broad walls that lack grading and coursing and describe a sinuous course when seen in plan view; they most likely date from the very late monastic era to the late 1600s. Type 3 walls are those known to have been put up as a result of parliamentary enclosure, here implemented in 1849, 1855 and 1874; they share common features being battered, lower and narrower than Type 2 walls, and clearly both graded and battered. The designation Type 4 was accorded to walls having the same characteristics as Type 3 walls but not within areas formally enclosed. Type 5 contained just one recorded wall which was described as hybrid with elements from several periods obvious in its current state.

* * *

To what extent these earlier surveys relate to the picture that has emerged from the Conistone survey will be discussed in Chapter 6, but it is pertinent here to draw out some common themes. There seems to be a broad consensus, from Raistrick's pioneering observations in the 1940s to the Asby survey in 2022, regardless of the different geologies across all the survey areas, that drystone walls have been built over many centuries and that adopted styles have changed in some instances quite dramatically. Walls predating 1700 or thereabouts are almost universally irregular in form – 'grotesque' is how Raistrick perceived them – with significant numbers of vertically-set orthostats and/or very large recumbent blocks at the base, where the descriptor 'massive' can be appropriately applied to width, height and overall proportions; they also tend to be sinuous, not because they have slumped over time but because that is how they were built. Later walls – those erected in the 1700s and 1800s – are almost invariably regular, smaller in every dimension, battered rather than straight sided and, importantly, they run across the landscape, even up steep slopes, in ruler-straight lines. 'Early' walls can be seen as having developed over a lengthy period of time organically, informally and piecemeal expanding generation by generation by encroaching onto the 'waste' as needs and resources demanded or permitted. On the other hand, 'later' walls hint at regimentation, top-down diktat and conformity to a specific regimented template: they suggest imposition on the physical and agricultural landscape rather than partnership.

3

The Conistone Survey: Rationale and Methodology

Aims of the project

From the perspective of the project leader and the UWHG committee members who formed the project management team, the stated primary aims of the survey were:

First, to contribute to a greater understanding of drystone walls focussing on a particular area, and to evaluate the nature, form, extent, date and condition of the surviving archaeological resource.

Second, to provide professional support and hands-on training in archaeological field survey to local volunteers, with the intention of promoting a greater appreciation and enjoyment of the heritage of Upper Wharfedale as well as an active involvement in its conservation. This would ultimately raise awareness and understanding amongst the general public of the historical significance of drystone walls.

In addition to these aims, in the mind's eye of the project leader another key objective was that this survey should not be perceived as a stand-alone exercise undertaken only for the sake of self-enjoyment and learning but must contribute to a wider appreciation of historical landscapes and landscape features such as drystone walls, field barns and field systems by disseminating the results and findings of the survey.

In any given area the local geological base was often very important in determining what materials a given wall was constructed with and also how completed walls look. A wall constructed of laminated sandstone or flagstone will look much more regular and 'neat' than one built with rock that does not cleave, such as many pre-Carboniferous metamorphosed rocks; one built of limestone will be different from one built of Millstone Grit or shale/mudstone; one built with slabs of limestone ripped off limestone pavements will be different from one built with quarried limestone; and one built with sub-rounded field-clearance stone very different from one built of angular quarried stone. Thus research into the geological base was undertaken.

Methodologies

The project required various tasks to be undertaken.

Archival research was organised with the involvement of willing participants in order to inform a greater understanding of the nature, development and significance of the archaeological resource. The project leader provided a list of documentary and cartographic sources that offered potential for providing information on walls in the survey area (see Chapter 5 and Appendix B).

It is the editor's firmly held opinion that no landscape feature should be seen in isolation as individual elements within a landscape did not operate or function without all the others. Thus, any given landscape being studied must be seen in wider contexts. One such is comparison of historical mapping with what is seen on the ground today and the most opportune means of achieving this is by using the technique known as *map regression analysis*. The starting point is current 1:25,000 OS mapping,

working back through previous editions particularly First Edition and Second Edition mapping at a scale of 6 inches to the mile (1:10,560), surveyed or revised respectively in 1844-50 and 1907. Equally useful is the Enclosure Award map of 1802, tithe apportionment mapping from 1849, and other cartographic sources (see Chapter 5). All these maps depicted field boundaries though they did not distinguish between drystone walls, post and wire or iron fences and hedges. They also often included useful ancillary detail.

To facilitate the most effective method of recording wall characteristics in the chosen survey area, the Asby field survey proforma was used (see Appendix C): one form was completed for each length of wall surveyed. For many of the surveyed walls a cross-profile graph was drawn in the field to show what each looks like when viewed in cross-section (see Appendix D); in a few cases, only one side of the wall was accessible, so a half-profile was drawn (Fig. 11). To guarantee locational accuracy each survey point was pinpointed by a 10-figure National Grid Reference logged on a Garmin 60Cx GPS handset, accurate to ±3m. A measuring frame was used, originally conceived by Phil and the late Pat Carroll for the High Close survey in Grassington (Johnson 2023, 25-27).

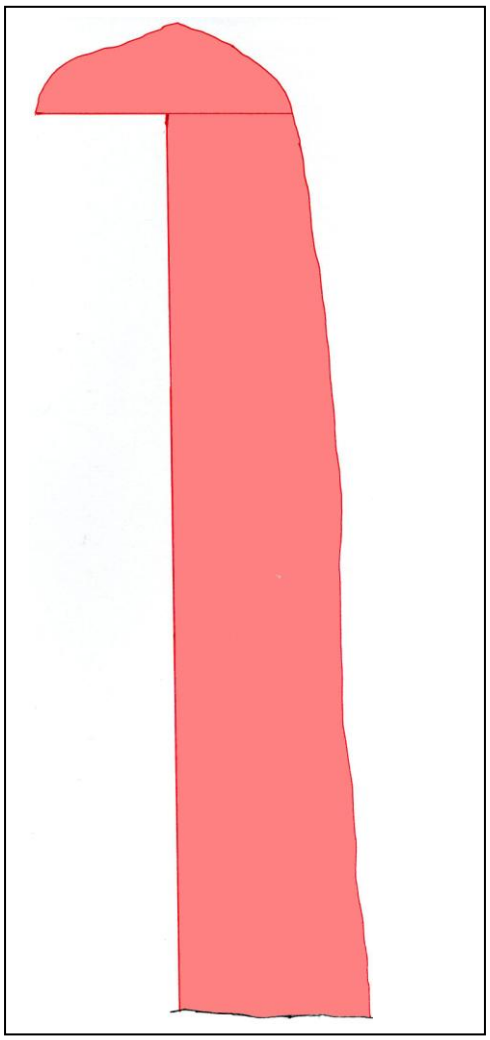


Fig. 11 A half-profile of Wall no. 23

The west side of this wall was not accessible. The topstone, as drawn, indicates the width of the wall's topmost course (18 inches/450mm) and the eastern profile shows that this wall was virtually straight

sided from top to bottom; it can be extrapolated from this that the base of the wall is double what is drawn on the graph (3 feet 7 inches/c. 1.1m). Thus, even though only one side could be surveyed in detail, it is acceptable to extrapolate in this way, especially if it is possible and safe to look over the wall to double check.

One particularly interesting length of wall (No. 25) was also recorded at its northern end as a long profile at a horizontal scale of 1:50 and a vertical scale of 1:10 (see Figure 24). This stretch incorporated ten orthostats and three large recumbent blocks.

To promote the project and its rationale an initial survey taster and training day was held, in Kettlewell, including relevant visual presentations and a guided walk looking at walls in that part of Upper Wharfedale.

To ensure the project's success, volunteers were trained in the necessary survey skills to produce a Level 2 survey of selected drystone walls to establish the presence or absence, location, extent, nature, character, quality, probable date and condition of any surviving drystone walls and wall features.

Furthermore, a gazetteer suitable for uploading onto the Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority's (YDNPA) Historic Environment Record (HER) was prepared in the post-survey phase and this included an assessment of the significance of the drystone wall archaeology surveyed. This was aimed at helping to inform future management of the wall resource base in the selected survey area by providing a preliminary assessment of condition, vulnerability and potential management recommendations for each surveyed wall.

This final project report was conceived as combining all elements of the project, crucially involving willing volunteers in its writing.

The final act of the project was designed as a presentation of results and conclusions at a community feedback event (a drystone wall Open Day) held in Conistone with Kilnsey Village Hall on 12 April 2025.

4

The Conistone Field Survey: Results

Beverley Rymer

Forty-six walls were surveyed in total, selected with the intention of including walls of different periods; namely, those likely to have a monastic or early post-medieval origin, some known to be relict walls and others from the 1803 Enclosure Award area (see Figure 39).

Landowners and tenant graziers were consulted in advance in relation to every day of fieldwork, particularly as it was important to assess and minimise any contact with livestock in those areas with no public rights of way or Open Access availability. The former townfields between the road and the river north of the village were not formally surveyed but were looked at prior to the survey from the road; similarly, south of the village, after the field survey was completed. It was deemed unnecessary to survey formally any walls in these areas as they mostly conform to the wall type seen between the townfields and the Scars.

This chapter focuses on the surveyed walls in Conistone: the sequence in which the individual walls are described in no way follows the order in which they were surveyed; rather it concentrates on assigning the walls to a time slot based on their detailed characteristics by comparing them to the results and conclusions of the 2022 Asby survey and typology.

Type 1 Relict walls and walls with orthostats and/or recumbent blocks

Wall no. 34, above Swineber Scar, centred on SD 9851 6975

This 40m-long stretch of wall runs north-west to south-east and lies within stinted pasture just to the north of Swineber Scar. Built of angular limestone, it amounts to little more than footings which include large basal recumbent boulders (Fig. 12). Its corners are rounded and at the base it is 900mm wide, rising to no more than 600mm in height. A relict wall, it is now not possible to discern its former height.

Wall no. 35, Old Pasture, centred on SD 9925 6803

Wall no. 35 lies near the Dales Way to the east of Conistone Dib. It shows as a stone-cored earthwork bank rather than an upstanding wall (Fig. 13). Composed of large limestone facing blocks and rubble infill it is largely turfed over. The *c*. 200m length is a maximum of 1.5m wide at the base and 470mm in height. It may originally have had a dead or live hedge running along it to render it stockproof.

Wall no. 37, Old Pasture, SD99678 67937 to SD98987 68980

Not an upstanding wall as such, Wall no. 37 is a very long cast bank (total length 1400m) with an adjacent ditch (Fig. 14). Its southern end lies near the junction of Walls no. 22 and 41, on the tip of a limestone scar at SD99678 67937. It is difficult to see in summer growth until it approaches a sheepfold at SD9982 6811; it then turns and heads in a straight line NNW. Although at first disappearing, it re-emerges on the same line and is again very clearly defined in the field immediately south of Bycliffe Road (which it crosses at SD99553 68544). It then continues on, to cross Wall no.

16 at SD 99734 68299, after which it follows a magnetic bearing of 325 degrees. The 200m length surveyed at SD 99033 68941 varies in height from 450mm at the north end to 240mm at the south while width at the base is 1.9m; the ditch here is narrower, at 1.45m. This cast bank lies in pasture land throughout its entire length and comprises footings of blocky sub-rounded limestone, including large boulders with occasional stone revetting on both sides. This very significant earthwork may have been topped by a hedge of some type in its original form. It is clearly of early construction.

Fig. 12 Wall no. 34 above Swineber Scar, at SD9851 6976

Fig. 13 Wall no. 35, a stone-cored bank, at SD9925 6803

Fig. 14 Wall no. 37, a 1400m-long cast bank, at SD9903 6894

These three Type 1 walls are classified as having been constructed in the early medieval or monastic period, remaining now as only relict walls or revetted stone-cored cast banks.

Type 2 Tall and broad walls lacking grading and coursing, describing a sinuous course

Wall no. 1, New Pasture/Conistone Moor, SD99744 70785 to SE0077 6963

This is a 1650m-long wall that lies at the very edge of a former stinted pasture, with the rough moorland of Conistone Moor to its east. It runs south-east from SD99744 70785, starting at a *wallhead* on the boundary with Kettlewell parish that is formed by Wall no. 8. It proceeds through Capplestone Gate to terminate where Wall no. 1 abuts no. 4. A sandstone wall of quarried stones throughout, at the survey point it is very high (5 feet 8 inches/1.75m below the topstones), 32 inches (800mm) wide at the base narrowing only to 20 inches (500mm) below the topstones, which are laid either raked or flat. Following a sinuous line, it has rounded corners. It is only partially graded from the base to the top with no through courses visible (Fig. 15). The condition is sound and it has a high number of items of wall furniture: four gateways, four stone stoups, one blocked cattle creep, one blocked sheep creep, a stone step stile and a rabbit smoot.

One of the most interesting and unusual features of this wall is the number of stints, straight joints and Commoners' Identification Marks that it displays. A total of thirty-one straight joints were identified (no other wall was found even to approach this number). The stints that were measured range considerably in length, between 3.7 yards (3.4m) and 86 yards (79m). Also twelve Commoners' Identification Marks were recorded (almost unique to this wall in the survey area), of which ten are initials and two symbols (see Appendix A, Table A4).

Two full cross-profiles were compiled for this wall (see Figure 42).

Wall no. 2, Conistone Moor/Bycliffe, SE0077 6960 to SE0158 6972

Wall no. 2 starts at the point where Wall no. 1 terminates and its west to east arc divides the open moorland to the north from the former stinted Bycliffe Pasture; it is 850m in length. Essentially it is a ruined sandstone wall although it contains limestone at the eastern end by the Bycliffe Road, where it disappears into a marshy area about 100m short of the track. It stands 4 feet 8 inches (1.4m) high below the raked topstones where it is 18 inches (450mm) wide broadening to 28 inches (700mm) at its base, thus having a slightly battered profile (Fig. 16). Built of random sub-rounded field clearance stone with some grading from base to top and large filling stones, there are occasional throughs but no regular courses. It contains one straight joint, two gateways (one blocked) and a stone stoup. Although Wall no. 1 abuts this wall and is also of sandstone they are quite dissimilar: Wall no. 2 notably differs in having far fewer straight joints and no Commoners' Identification Marks, and indeed it becomes Wall no. 4 as it runs due south to the Bycliffe Road.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 42).

Fig. 15 Wall no. 1, an impressive sandstone wall on the moor edge

Wall no. 3, Black Edge/Bycliffe, SE0158 6972 to SE0180 6887

Commencing on the east side of Bycliffe Road, across from the point where Wall no. 2 ends, and rising steeply up the hillside, Wall no. 3 also separates the open moor (of Black Edge) to the north, from former stinted pasture. In some respects they are similar, both mostly sandstone, with average height at 5 feet (1.5m) and width 17 inches (400mm) below the topstones. It too is sound and curving in form with rounded corners, raked topstones and large filling stones, but there are some differences; it is somewhat broader at its base (36 inches/900mm), has two through courses and is graded from base to top. There was one sheep creep and a gateway in the 950m surveyed.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 42).

Wall no. 4, New Close Allotments/Bycliffe, SE0067 6896 to SE0077 6960

This wall is in fact an extension of Wall no. 2 and runs due south; here it bounds former stinted pasture on both sides rather than edging the moor. It is similar to Wall no. 2 at almost 5 feet (1.5m) high and 22 inches (550mm) wide below the raked topstones but much more battered, being broad at its base (39 inches/1m). It is a mixture of limestone taken from nearby pavement (about 95 per cent) and sub-rounded sandstone. Random and ungraded in construction, there are some gaps where its mixed-size fillings are visible. Slightly sinuous through its 670m length, it has rounded corners. In places there are *coverband* sections, a most unusual feature in the area surveyed (only two walls have it). There is one rabbit *smoot* and a gateway. At its southern end it continues as Wall no. 17.

Fig. 16 Wall no. 2, separating Conistone Moor from Bycliffe

Wall no. 5, Kelber/Bycliffe, SE0124 6840 to SE00887 68988

The western section of this 900m stretch of wall, forming the south-western boundary of Bycliffe, meets and crosses Bycliffe Road. Composed of equal proportions of sandstone and limestone (a mixture of sub-rounded and angular) it is a partial ruin with mixed size fillings easily visible. It has occasional throughs and is graded with raked or upright topstones. At 3 feet 4 inches (1.15m) below the topstones it is extremely low in height; the base is quite wide (28 inches/700mm) with the width below the topstones 16 inches (400mm), giving it a slightly battered profile. There are two gateways in the survey length, allowing access between the former stinted pastures on both sides.

Wall no. 6, Bycliffe/High Allotment, SE0175 6880 to SE0124 6840

Walls no. 5 and 6 meet at the southernmost tip of Bycliffe where Wall no. 6 forms part of the boundary between Conistone and Grassington parishes. There are some gaps in its slightly sinuous 750m length so small fillings are revealed in places. It is a mixture of sub-rounded sandstone and quarried limestone but its character and some dimensions vary noticeably through its length. At SE01409 68550 it is very low (3 feet 8 inches/1.23m) and battered; 34 inches (870mm) wide at its base and 15 inches (370mm) below the raked or upright topstones; it is also slightly graded and coursed. Survey measurements at SE01283 68447 showed it to be much higher, at 5 feet 7 inches (1.7m) below the topstones with width 20 inches (500mm) below the topstones and basal width 38 inches (950mm). Where it meets Wall no. 5 at its southernmost point though, it is lower again at 5 feet 1 inches (1.55m) and far broader in width (26 inches/650mm) below the topstones, but still roughly the same at the base. Also, at this last location, whilst still with a mixture of limestone and sandstone, it is very blocky in appearance. Mostly of sub-rounded stone with one recumbent slab but no fillings, it is slightly coursed and graded, and straight sided. There are occasional throughs and the topstones are a mixture of flat and raked. A gateway, two rough sandstone stoups and a blocked *sheep cree*p were observed in this wall.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall.

Wall no. 7, Kelber/Green Hill, SE0091 6814 to SE0070 6796

As with Wall no. 6, of which it is a continuation, this 850m length of wall forms part of the parish boundary with Grassington, with former stinted pasture on the Conistone side. A sound limestone wall 5 feet (1.5m) in height below the topstones, it is rectilinear in plan. It has a random build of angular stone, with mixed size fillings and topstones that are variably flat and raked/upright. In width (28 inches/700mm at the base and 17 inches/420mm below the topstones) it is unexceptional. A stone step stile was recorded.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 42).

Wall no. 8, New Pasture, SD99744 70785 to SD98212 70034

Forming part of the boundary with Kettlewell parish, Wall no. 8 has former stinted pasture to the south. At the survey point of SD99665 70726 it is sinuous, built of sub-rounded sandstone and measures a very low 3 feet 5 inches (1.25m) in height. Whilst only 15 inches (360mm) in width below the topstones it is much broader at the lower level (49 inches/1.25m) so is very battered. It varies considerably in its composition as it runs south-west downhill; down slope it is entirely limestone ripped from adjacent pavements and far blockier in appearance, with occasional orthostats and a basal width of 24 inches (600mm). There are no visible fillings, topstones are either flat or raked/upright and there is a straight joint in this section. Its middle section is ruinous and 95 per cent angular limestone, taken from a low scar to the west. But as it approaches a possible monastic wall at the lower end it is once again in sound condition, terminating on a 2-3m high scar where it is tied into Wall no. 25 (which continues north into Kettlewell). Throughout its length it is of a random build with no throughs or coursing. The survey noted a water smoot, a collapsed sheep creep, a stone step stile and four gateways.

Wall no. 9, New Pasture, SD98212 70034 to SD9778 6985

A curving line of limestone footings, this is now barely a wall but rather a post and wire fence; it has either collapsed or been robbed out at some stage. Following the Kettlewell parish boundary towards the road for about 500m, it has former stinted pasture lying to the south.

Wall no. 10, Nook/Kelber, SE0024 6805 to SE0017 6734

This sinuous wall is composed mainly of angular limestone, most likely taken from an adjacent outcrop (Fig. 17). It includes a few single orthostats and some large basal slabs. There is also a very minimal amount of sandstone (*c*. 5 per cent). It is slightly graded with occasional throughs. There are predominantly flat topstones, although small lengths are set at a raked angle. It lies in a former stinted pasture and there are some gaps in the 450m surveyed. A slight bank runs along its western, downhill flank. It is very broad throughout its 4 feet 11 inches (1.5m) height (39 inches/1m at the base and 2 feet 2 inches/650mm below the topstones). A sheep creep and one gateway were noted.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 42).

Wall no. 13, Conistone Moor, SD99790 70769 to SD99808 70790

Extraordinarily high at 6 feet 8 inches (2m) below the topstones, Wall no. 13 butts up against Wall no. 1 then continues north into Kettlewell parish with moorland on either side (Fig. 18). Of quarried

sandstone it is slightly graded and coursed in part but without regular through courses. The sides are mostly straight (width 36 inches/900mm at the base, 24 inches/600mm below the raked/upright topstones) and it is in sound condition over the short sinuous 30m length that was inspected. Where there are corners they are rounded.

Fig. 17 Wall no. 10, a broad and sinuous limestone wall

Wall no. 16 (west), Nook, SD9933 6830 to SE0004 6835

Wall 16 was surveyed at two points, west and east (see below). The western part (centred on SD99482 68278) runs for 220m through former stinted pastures and is formed entirely of blocky angular limestone to a height of 5 feet 3 inches (1.59m). It includes two orthostats and shows no sign of coursing or grading. It is very notably straight sided with a consistent width of 23 inches (600mm) at the base and below the topstones, which are laid flat. A blocked sheep creep was reported as well as one gateway and a total of eight straight joints, with intervening stints of lengths between 6.5 yards (5.9m) and 34 yards (31m).

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 42).

Wall no. 16 (east), Nook, SD9933 6830 to SE0004 6835

In its eastern stretch of 80m, this wall is higher (5 feet 9 inches/1.75m below the topstones) and while it is the same width (24 inches/600mm) at the top, its base is very broad at 42 inches (1.15m). Built in a random manner, of sub-rounded field clearance limestone with only a very small amount of sandstone (*c*. 1 per cent), it is also in sound condition and sinuous in line (Fig. 19). There are large slabs in its footings and corners are rounded. Former stinted pasture lies on both sides. Only two straight joints were noted, along with a blocked cattle creep and a sheep creep. This wall continues north-east as Wall no.17.

A half cross-profile was compiled for this wall.

Fig. 18 Wall no. 13, a massively-built sandstone wall

Wall no. 17, Nook, SE0023 6839 to SE0068 6895

Wall no. 17 is the joint-highest wall in the survey area at 6 feet 8 inches (2.1m) and also exceptionally broad at its base (4 feet 3 inches/1.3m) though only 20 inches/500mm below the topstones, which are not uniformly placed (Fig. 20). It is the northern continuation of Wall no. 16 and runs along the west side of the Bycliffe Road above Kelber Gate. Almost completely built of quarried limestone, with *c.* 5 per cent sub-rounded sandstone, it is sinuous and random in build with some recumbent boulders at its base. It has 15 straight joints with stints ranging from 7 yards (6.4m) to 49 yards (44.7m), one gateway and two sheep creeps (one blocked, one partially blocked).

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 43).

Wall no. 18, How Beck, SD98397 68621 to SD98422 68638

Wall no. 18 stands in inbye pasture in the former townfields to the north of Conistone village. This 50m length is built of sub-rounded limestone cobbles and is sound, with no signs of coursing (Fig. 21). There are a few large basal slabs at the western end of the wall. Very high at 6 feet (1.8m), it is also very battered in profile, being 39 inches (1m) at the base and narrowing to 12 inches (300mm). The topstones are rounded and, most unusually, lie on top of intermittent coverband flat slabs.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall.

Wall no. 23, New Close Allotments/Wassa, SD9910 6820 to SD9869 6883

An entirely limestone wall that was under restoration at the time of the survey, this divides former stinted pasture from the enclosed pasture in the former townfields below Hill Castles Scar. Winding along the scar and straight sided, its mostly rough stone is laid in a random fashion and there are six orthostats. Quite high (varying from 5 feet to 5 feet 8 inches/1.5m to 1.7m) it broadens from 2 feet

(600mm) below the flat topstones to 39 inches (980mm) at ground level. Filling stones are large. There are three gateways, a blocked sheep creep and a blocked cattle creep in the 1940m surveyed.

A half cross-profile was compiled for this wall.

Wall no. 25, New Close Allotments/Knotts & Swineber Scar, SD9868 6889 to SD9820 7003

Wall no. 25 divides former stinted pasture to the east of Swineber Scar from enclosed pasture to the west; a 450m length was surveyed. South of the Scar it is only 4 feet 8 inches (1.4m) in height, sinuous, with rounded corners and battered (28 inches/700mm at the base narrowing to 16 inches/400mm). It is sound and it shows no signs of coursing or grading. To the north of Swineber Scar it varies frequently in height from 39 inches to 5 feet 3 inches (1-1.6m). It is straight sided with basal width 18 inches (450mm) decreasing to 16 inches (400mm) below the topstones. Here also it looks much more blocky, with large recumbent slabs of stone (Fig. 22). There are numerous orthostats from SD98598 69269 north as far as the Kettlewell parish boundary (Figs 23 and 24). At this point the wall is tied both into its continuation north into Kettlewell and into Wall no. 8 (the parish boundary running north-east uphill). It contains two gateways, two rough limestone stoups, one blocked gateway, one cattle creep and five sheep creeps of which four are blocked.

A long profile and a full cross-profile were compiled for this wall (see Figures 24 and 43).

Fig. 19 Wall no. 16 (east), a tall and broad limestone wall

Fig. 20 Wall no. 17, an exceptionally tall and broad limestone wall

Fig. 21 Wall no. 18, a limestone-cobble wall in the former townfields

Fig. 22 Wall no. 25 on Swineber Scar and Knotts, a very blocky wall

Fig. 23 Wall no. 25 in a section containing many orthostats

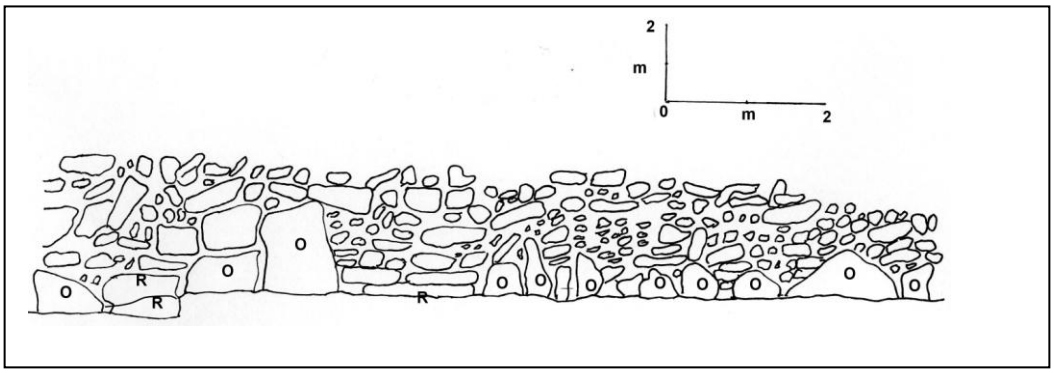


Fig. 24 A 12m-long profile of the north end of Wall no. 25

Wall no. 26, Nook/Kelber, SD9974 6721 to SD0025 6806

Standing between former stinted pastures, this 400m-long limestone wall shows signs of repair, being both coursed and random in places. It is slightly graded and somewhat battered (at ground level width is 32 inches/800mm and 24 inches/600mm below the flat topstones). At 4 feet 9 inches (1.45m) high, it is sinuous in plan form and contains single orthostats and large recumbent slabs as well as large filling stones. The limestone is sub-rounded stone grubbed from field clearance.

At the junction of Wall nos 26, 27 and 42 there is a derelict feature (SD99740 67226). It shows as a 2m deep sub-rectangular hollow surrounded to east, west and north by an earthen bank and on the south side by a solidly-built stone-revetment wall. It is not marked on the Enclosure or Tithe maps. It may have been a pond attached to the milking stead referred to in a document from between 1685 and 1716 (Leach 2012, xvi). It extends 14m north-south by 10m east-west.

A half cross-profile was compiled for this wall.

Wall no. 27, Old Pasture, SD9974 6721 to SD9945 6636

Wall no. 27 runs roughly south-west from the starting point of Wall no. 26, as a continuation of the Grassington boundary. A 600m length was inspected; almost completely built of a mixture of angular and sub-rounded limestone, it is not quite rectilinear. There are large basal slabs but no orthostats and few filling stones. It is battered (36 inches/900mm at its foot to 20 inches/500mm below the topstones, which are raked). It stands no more than 4 feet 7 inches (1.4m) below the topstones and is random and graded but without through courses. The wall has one gateway, a sheep creep and two stone stoups of which one is limestone. The other stoup, at SD99572 66729, is of sandstone and has been reused from a *pole gate*, the only such found in the Conistone survey.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 43).

Wall no. 28, Davy Dimple, SD9823 6731 to SD9859 6657

This very sinuous wall divides pasture or former arable land from rough pasture, to the south of the village. Mostly built of angular limestone (*c.* 95 per cent) and random in composition, it is graded in places and has occasional throughs. In the 700m survey length the height is low, varying from 3 feet 7 inches to 4 feet 7 inches (1.1m to 1.4m), and it is battered from 39 inches (980mm) at the base to 20 inches (500mm) below the raked topstones. Six gateways include three limestone slab stoups, one of

semi-dressed sandstone and one at a wall junction. A sheep creep was recorded and a single straight joint.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall.

Wall no. 38, How Beck, SD98395 68619 to SD98410 68585

A very tall wall, up to 6 feet 5 inches (1.95m), Wall no. 38 is only 28 inches (700mm) at the base and 16 inches (400mm) below the topstones so is quite straight sided. It lies in inbye pasture north of Conistone and is sinuous, with a former trackway running along to its west, which in turn is bounded on its lower side by a former hedge. The 50m stretch surveyed was built almost entirely of limestone (*c*. 99 per cent), primarily angular at the northern end and sub-rounded to the south. It is in sound condition, ungraded, with topstones placed in a mixed manner and no fillings visible. There is a water smoot at SD98403 68601, a mid-point where the land dips slightly before rising again.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 43).

Wall no. 40, High Hill Castles, SD98576 69095 to SD98567 69140

Wall no. 40 is composed of field clearance limestone and sandstone in a ratio of 95:5. It stands in improved pasture and the 60m survey length is a partial ruin. There are occasional through courses and it is graded from base to top with large filling stones visible. It is 5 feet 3 inches (1.6m) high below the flat/raked topstones and broadens from a very narrow 8 inches (200mm) to 24 inches (630mm) at the base. Sinuous in line, it has rounded corners and one gateway with limestone stoups.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall.

Wall no. 43, Wassa/Old Pasture, SD98585 67777 SD99132 68061

Bordering ‘ancient’ enclosures to the north and former stinted pasture to the south, this wall follows a meandering line to the west of the Dib and stands on a steep slope. Hence the 70m length surveyed is a very high 6 feet 5 inches (1.95m) on its north-west side but an exceptionally low 40 inches (1.15m) to the south-east. It is built of mixed limestone, mostly from adjacent outcrops or scree (Fig. 25). There are large fillings and it is random and ungraded, though some occasional through courses can be seen. There are large boulders at the base. From a basal width of 36 inches (900mm) it reduces to 13 inches (300mm) below the upright topstones giving a battered profile. One sheep creep, a gateway and a straight joint were reported.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall.

Fig. 25 Wall no. 43, a very high wall with large basal boulders

Wall no. 44, Old Pasture, SD98348 67634 SD98485 67743

Similar in its winding course, Wall no. 44 runs south-west down slope below the western end of Wall no. 43, towards Conistone village. A 700m length was surveyed, all built randomly of limestone probably collected from nearby scree. There is only minimal grading and some gaps. At 4 feet 5 inches (1.35m) it is low and straight sided, being unusually narrow at only 8-9 inches (220mm) below the raked topstones. There are two gateways allowing passage between the former stinted pastures on both sides.

A half cross-profile was compiled for this wall.

Wall no. 45, High Hill Castles, SD98631 69191 SD98651 69177

This wall stands only 4 feet 7 inches (1.4m) below the flat topstones yet is a quite extraordinary 5 feet 2 inches (1.55m) wide at the base and so extremely battered and only 16 inches (400mm) wide higher up. It curves slightly in the 70m surveyed and has several large basal boulders and a few orthostats. Composed almost entirely of limestone (99 per cent), the small stones are angular and large fillings are visible in its gaps. Butting against Wall no. 25 at its northern end, to the east it bounds rough pasture and to the west inbye pasture or meadow. It is slightly graded but without coursing.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 43).

* * *

Twenty-five survey points were classified as Type 2. These were most likely built between the late monastic period of the early 1500s and the end of the seventeenth century. Whilst it is clear that differing building styles were adopted by wallers and farmers throughout the period, it seems unlikely that they would be uniformly and immediately adopted as a standard across the area at any one time. This uncertainty renders it impossible to state more precise dates for these walls.

Type 3 Walls built within the area subject to parliamentary enclosure

As we saw earlier, unlike many upland areas across northern England, such as in the parish of Asby in Westmorland, the process of securing agreement among pre-Enclosure graziers was short and seemingly painless in both Conistone and Kettlewell townships, which were enclosed at the same time (WYAS, WRRD Roll 7). Four 'ancient' stinted pastures in Conistone were formally subjected to the enclosure process, though it is stressed that each had long since been surrounded by stone walls: Old Pasture (496 acres/200 ha), New Close (1026 acres/415 ha), Nook (176 acres/71 ha) and Kelber (109 acres/44 ha). In addition, the former 220-acre (89-ha) stinted pasture called Bycliffe (Pasture) was also included though it was not internally sub-divided. It follows that any walls lying within the former stinted pastures, and marked on the 1802 map, must post-date the Award: these have been classified in the typology as Type 3 walls.

Wall no. 19, New Close Allotments, SD9967 6926 SD0044 6983

Wall no. 19, which separates former stinted pastures and runs uphill towards the moor, is a rectilinear wall. On its north-west side it measures 40 inches (1.2m) in height and only 39 inches (980m) on the south-east, so is very low (Fig. 26). It is composed almost completely of quarried or scree limestone with no more than 2 per cent sandstone and small fillings. It is battered (the base of 40 inches/1.1m narrowing to 18 inches/450mm above), graded and has through courses. The topstones are raked and placed on a coverband (one of only three walls surveyed to have this). It includes a gateway with one broken stoup.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 44).

Wall no. 20, New Close Allotments, SD9979 6898 SD0070 6967

A predominantly limestone wall in a partially ruined condition, this runs through former stinted pastures on a course parallel with Wall no. 19. The proportion of sandstone increases from *c*. 2 per cent to about 10 per cent as the wall climbs the hill. An 1150m length was surveyed and proved to be of only slightly graded construction with occasional throughs and raked topstones (Fig. 27). It is also very low (40 inches/1.2m) and battered, with a width of 31 inches (800mm) decreasing to 14 inches (350mm) below the topstones. The stone is mostly quarried with small fillings visible in the gaps.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall.

Wall no. 21, Kelber, SE0068 6842 to SE0028 6809

This rectilinear wall runs for 1100m through former stinted pastures on a south-west to north-east trajectory, east of the Bycliffe Road. It is built of rough limestone, rises to only 4 feet 7 inches (1.4m) and there are gaps. With a 37-inch (950-mm) basal width and 10 inches (250mm) below the raked topstones it is slightly graded and randomly built.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 44).

Fig. 26 Wall no. 19, a battered and low enclosure wall of 1803

Fig. 27 Wall no. 20, a typical enclosure-period wall

Wall no. 22, Nook, SD9970 6790 to SE0025 6805

Wall no. 22 is entirely angular limestone throughout its 580m length. It stands between former stinted pastures and has one blocked gateway. Running on a rectilinear course it is 5 feet (1.5m) in height below the topstones with width 39 inches (1m) at its foot, narrowing to half that at the top. Topstones are flat or raked. There is no coursing but the stone is graded from the base to the top. With some unrepaired gaps, its fillings can be seen to be small.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 44).

Wall no. 24, New Close Allotments, SD98697 68829 to SD98708 68909

Quite a low wall, at only 4 feet 8 inches (1.4m), this 80m length borders former stinted pasture to the east and inbye land to the west. Mostly of quarried or scree limestone, there is *c.* 5 per cent sandstone. The wall is graded but without any coursing or throughs. There are some gaps and the fillings stones are of mixed size. Rectilinear in plan, it is battered, in width 37 inches (940mm) at the base and 10 inches (250mm) below the raked topstones. There is one gateway.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 44).

Wall no. 29, Nook sheepfold, centred on SD9944 6729

This sheepfold wall runs east for 20.7m then turns south for 11m to butt against Wall no. 16. Standing in former stinted pasture to its north and east, it has some gaps. It is random in build with no coursing and is entirely built of rough limestone with mixed size fillings (Fig. 28). At no more than 4 feet 6 inches (1.35m) in height, it measures 33 inches (850mm) at the base and 16 inches (400mm) below the upright/raked topstones. There are two sheep creeps, one at the corner and another near Wall no. 16 which would have been employed to control sheep for purposes such as shearing.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall.

Wall no. 30, Old Pasture, SD9952 6789 SD9829 6703

Wall no. 30 is a limestone wall with former stinted pasture on both its east and west sides; it runs for 1500m. Longitudinally straight, it is sound with no signs of coursing or grading (Fig. 29). Topstones are set raked or upright. It is a battered wall of 4 feet 8 inches (1.4m) below the topstones, with a width of 16 inches (400mm) broadening to a base of 39 inches (1050mm). There is a mixture of rounded cobbles and angular stone in its composition.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 44).

Wall no. 33, New Close Allotments, SD9907 6942 to SD9867 6905

Another straight wall, running north-east from above High Hill Castles in the direction of Capplestone Gate, this 550m length is constructed entirely of mixed limestone. There are a few gaps and it is quite typical of post-1700 walls in its dimensions, being 4 feet 8 inches (1.4m) high and 17 inches (450mm) wide below the raked topstones and 39 inches (1m) at the base. Stinted pasture lay on either side. There are two through courses and the stone is graded from base to top.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 44).

Fig. 28 Wall no. 29, an Enclosure-period sheepfold

Fig. 29 Wall no. 30, a 1500m-long limestone wall

Wall no. 36, New Close Allotments, SD9955 6890 to SD9972 6865

Of mixed composition (90 per cent limestone, 10 per cent sandstone) this 300m length of rectilinear wall lies in what was stinted pasture. It is sound but low (4 feet 4 inches/1.3m below the topstones)

and has large filling stones. Battered (37 inches/950mm at the base and 12 inches/300mm below the raked topstones), it is both random and graded in places, with occasional throughs (Fig. 30). There is one gateway.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 44).

Wall no. 41, Old Pasture/Nook, SD9950 6823 to SD9965 6778

Wall no. 41 is a partially ruined limestone wall that stands in former stinted pasture. It follows a straight course north-west to south-east and is a mixture of graded and random stone with one through course. The 400m survey stretch has a rabbit smoot. It is not very high (5 feet 4 inches/1.6m below the topstones), but is broad at the base (39 inches/1m) and narrows markedly to only 10 inches/250mm, so is very much battered in profile. Its filling stones are large and the stone generally is angular.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 44).

Wall no. 42, Old Pasture/Nook, SD9974 6722 to SD9923 6822

This 200m length runs through former stinted pasture just to the east of the Dales Way south of Scot Gate Lane. Sound, but with one gap, it rises to 4 feet 9 inches (1.45m) below the topstones and is very broad (4 feet 4 inches/1.3m narrowing to 21 inches/550mm). Composed entirely of sub-rounded field clearance limestone with large fillings and some large slabs at its foot, there are no signs of coursing or grading (Fig. 31). The topstones are flat, its course is sinuous and its corners rounded. Its one cattle creep is blocked.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 44).

Fig. 30 Wall no. 36, a typical Enclosure-period wall

Fig. 31 Wall no. 42, an Enclosure wall built of field-clearance limestone

Type 4 Coursed, graded and battered walls not subjected to formal parliamentary enclosure

Some of the walls described in this section lie within but were not part of the formal 1803 Enclosure agreement and they are not shown on the 1802 map. Nevertheless, they have very similar or indistinguishable characteristics to the walls in the survey area that were built as a consequence of parliamentary enclosure. As such they are ascribed to the post-1700 period. Similarly, walls lying without the formal enclosure area that have the characteristics of post-1700 walls are also deemed to be Type 4 walls.

Wall no. 11, New Pasture, SD9938 7021 to SD9937 7007

This sound limestone wall contains a very small amount of sandstone (*c*. 1 per cent) and is slightly coursed and graded. It stands in what was historically stinted pasture and abuts an east-west wall at its northern point. The height is unexceptional (4 feet 10 inches/1.45m below the topstones) but it is broad at the base (37 inches/950mm) and narrow below the topstones (only 10 inches/250mm) so is very battered in profile. It runs in a straight course and has a mixture of flat and upright or raked topstones, small filling stones and is slightly graded and coursed (Fig. 32). The limestone is angular. It has one open and one blocked gateway, with one stone stoup and a sheep creep.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 45).

Wall no. 12, New Close Allotments, SD9904 6937 to SD9917 6923

Wall no. 12 is a straight limestone wall of random build but with two through courses (Fig. 33). Lying in former stinted pasture to both west and east, it is sound and any visible filling stones are large. The stone is mostly angular but there are some single orthostats and two large basal slabs. The 190m length surveyed includes one gateway and a rabbit smoot at the southern end. At this point the wall abuts Wall no. 33 and at the northern end it meets a rock outcrop. Its basal width of 36 inches

(900mm) narrows to 13 inches (350mm) below the topstones, which are laid in a raked manner at a height of 5 feet (1.5m). Any corners are rounded.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 45).

Fig. 32 Wall no. 11, a battered wall within the Enclosure area but not depicted on the 1802 map

Fig. 33 Wall no.12, similar to Wall no.11

Wall no. 14, New Close Allotments, SE0040 6927 to SE0048 6919

This low limestone wall is 4 feet 6 inches (1.35m) high below the topstones and is straight sided with a width of 12 inches (300mm) broadening to a basal width of 20 inches (500mm). The length of 110m surveyed has a blocked gateway, and a sheep creep at one end. With some gaps where large fillings are seen, it is random in construction but has two through courses (Fig. 34). It runs on a rectilinear course through former stinted pasture. Its topstones are raked and corners angled.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall.

Wall no. 15, New Close Allotments, SD9934 6934 to SD9952 6912

Wall no. 15 is almost entirely built of quarried limestone, slightly graded with two through courses (Fig. 35). It runs for 450m on a straight line from north-west to south-east through old stinted pasture. There are a few gaps, revealing small filling stones, and it rises to only 4 feet 8 inches (1.4m) below the raked and upright topstones. Basal width at 27 inches (700mm) narrows to 12 inches (300mm) higher up. There is one gateway and a sheep creep.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 45).

Wall no. 31, Old Pasture, SD9921 6711 to SD 9910 6724

Wall no. 31 is 240m long and consists of limestone taken from nearby pavements. It is graded from base to top and has one, or possibly two, through courses (Fig. 36). Filling stones are small. Standing in former stinted pasture to its east and west, it is longitudinally straight. It has a gateway with one limestone stoup, one sheep creep and a rabbit smoot. It is low, at only 4 feet (1.2m) below the topstones (which are raked or upright), and is battered from 39 inches (1m) at the base to 16 inches (400mm) above.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 45).

Wall no. 32, Old Pasture, SD9894 6701 to SD98906 67046

This straight, 50m-long limestone *bield* wall lies in rough pasture to the south-east of Conistone, constructed to provide shelter for livestock in bad weather. It is built of angular stone, partially random and graded with occasional throughs (Fig. 37). Rising to 5 feet 3 inches (1.6m) below the topstones it is battered, narrowing from 39 inches (1020mm) at the base to 24 inches (600mm). Its topstones are raked and the wall is in sound repair with no fillings visible.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall (see Figure 45).

Wall no. 39, Nook, SE0004 6834 SE0006 6820

Partially ruined and very low, at only 47 inches (1.2m) below the topstones, this wall is also extremely battered (width reduces from 39 inches/1m to only 6 inches/150mm higher up). Consisting of roughly 96 per cent rough limestone with the rest sandstone, it is rectilinear. It is ungraded though there are occasional throughs (Fig. 38). At its north end it butts against Wall no. 16 and any corners are angled. It runs through old stinted pasture on both sides. The topstones are raked and mixed size fillings stones were recorded.

A full cross-profile was compiled for this wall.

Fig. 34 Wall no. 14, an Enclosure-type wall not depicted on the 1802 map

Fig. 35 Wall no. 15, also not depicted on the 1802 map

Fig. 36 Wall no. 31, a post-Enclosure wall within Old Pasture

Fig. 37 Wall no. 32, a similar post-Enclosure wall in Old Pasture

Fig. 38 Wall no. 39, a low post-Enclosure wall in Nook

* * *

All of the walls included in the Conistone survey can be assigned with some confidence to the four categories described so far. Although some show obvious signs of repair, none has been significantly modified throughout, for example by obvious raising or reducing of wall height.

Wall distribution and age indicators

Figure 39 shows the spatial distribution of sampled walls across Conistone township. Those classified as early walls – most likely from before the year 1700 or so – are shown on the map either in pecked red (3 Type 1 walls) or solid red (25 Type 2 walls). Walls dating directly from the 1803 Enclosure Award are shown in green (11 walls); and other post-1700 or so walls in blue (7 walls).

During the field survey a total of 23,480m of walls was sampled, made up of 440m of Type 1 walls, 15,540m of Type 2, 6100m of Type 3, and 1400m of Type 4. Whereas short walls were surveyed in their entirety, long ones were sampled with the results being extrapolated to the full length, assuming characteristics remained more or less constant. Across the township as a whole the vast majority of boundaries take the form of drystone walls; beyond the Moor wall, though, where the peat-covered ground makes wall building problematic, the township/parish boundary is now marked by post and wire fencing. In the past, however, the non-wall external boundaries were marked by a series of 13 stone posts set at intervals (BS on modern 1:25,000 OS mapping) or by what OS mapping labels as three ‘Pile of Stones’ and two ‘Mounds’ (Figs 40 and 41).

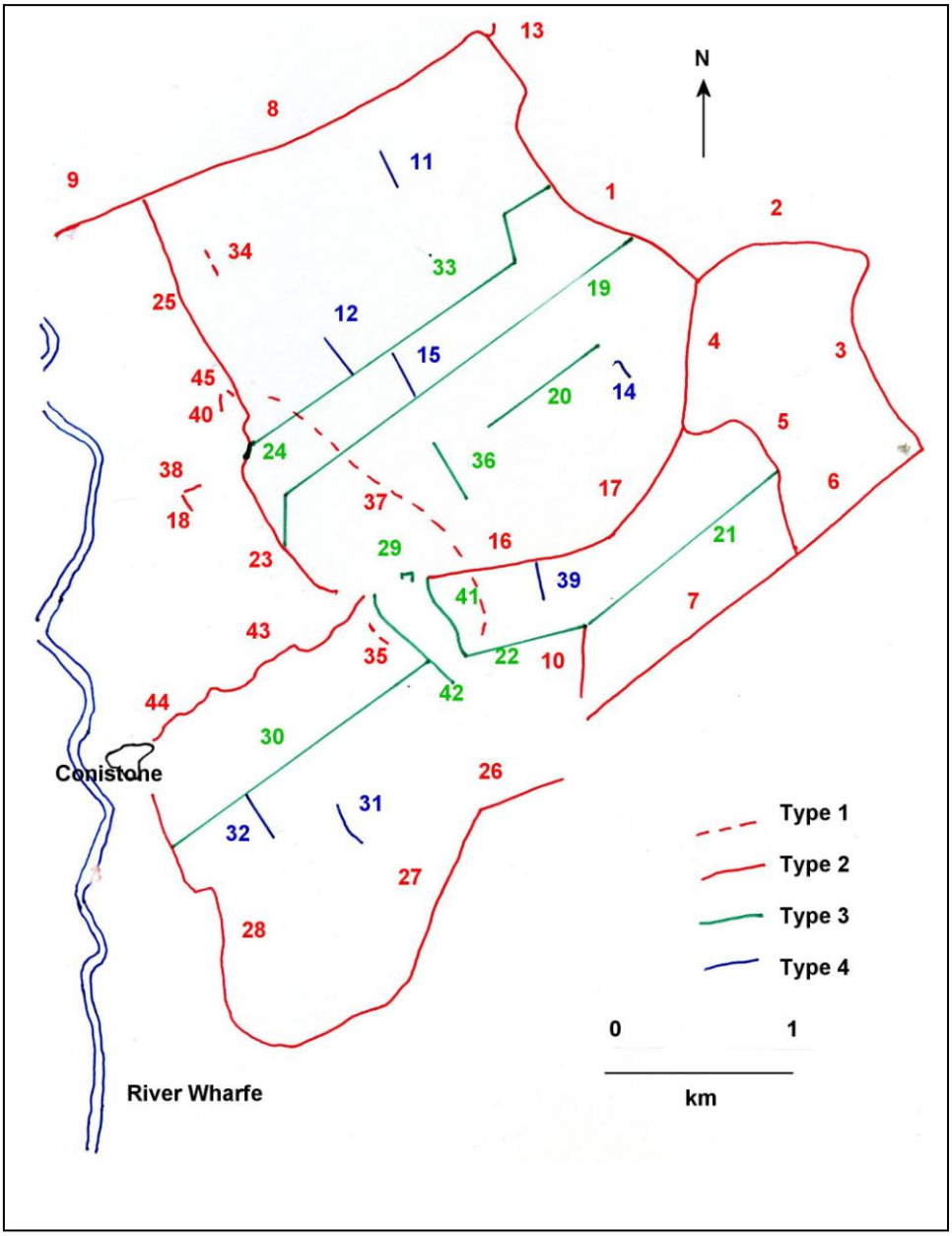


Fig. 39 Location of surveyed walls in Conistone township, by wall type

One key characteristic for roughly dating particular walls is how straight they are when viewed from the air: those built after *c.* 1700 tend to be rectilinear and parliamentary enclosure walls are stereotypically ruler-straight showing total disregard for topography and angle of slope. Enclosure allocations were invariably compiled by a commissioner in a surveyor's office rather than out in the field. Earlier walls, in contrast, very often describe a sinuous course – not because over time the walls have slumped this way or that ('bellied' in wallers' parlance) or that they describe gentle curves, rather that even over relatively short distances they have a tendency to meander for no obvious reason as that is how they were first erected. Walls built along the edges of former arable open-field cultivation may be aratral in plan form (reverse S-shaped) rather than sinuous.

Fig. 40 Marker stone on the Conistone:Kettlewell boundary at SD99979 70941(Victoria Fattorini).
'K' stands for Kettlewell and 'B' for Burnsall: until 1866 Conistone lay within the Ancient Parish of Burnsall

Fig. 41 Marker stone on the Conistone:Kettlewell boundary at SD99855 70828 (Victoria Fattorini), marked 'C' and 'K' for Conistone and Kettlewell

An equally significant characteristic is the shape of a wall when viewed in profile so the field survey compiled a total of 34 full and four half cross-profiles, the latter where only one side of the wall was accessible. As the Type 1 features are relict walls or cast banks it was not possible to compile a meaningful cross-profile.

Fig. 42 shows full profiles for six Type 2 walls, all of which show very similar basic characteristics. There is some variation in heights, from 4 feet 7 inches (1.4m, Wall no. 2) to 5 feet 7 inches, (1.7m, Wall no. 01) with mean height being 5 feet (1.53m), though basal widths are broadly the same ranging from 20 inches (500mm, Wall no. 16 west) to 35 inches (900mm, Wall no. 2) with a mean of 30 inches (760mm). Their cross-profiles are also broadly the same, being parallel and more or less straight sided though with some slumping visible in their lower parts, especially in Wall nos 2 and 3. Certainly none of them can be said to have a batter.

Fig. 43 shows full profiles for five Type 2 walls that do not fully conform to the norm. In the case of nos 17 and 38 this is because there is a substantial difference in ground height either side of the walls, most noticeably in no. 38. Where such conditions applied, it was not possible to build a wall with both sides parallel as the higher side was acting in part as a revetment wall. Wall no. 27 is unusual in the way it is splayed in its lower half: there was no obvious reason why it had been built in this way. Wall no. 45 is also anomalous but in a different way: its basal width is slightly larger than its overall height. It is possible that topography led to its builders to choose this design: the wall runs across the contour at the base of a loose scree slope so perhaps it was deliberately designed to withstand gravitational pull downslope. Wall no. 25 is also anomalous in its own unique way. Sitting on the lip of Knotts and Swineber Scar, thus on solid ground, with a significant vertical drop on the western side, it did not need to be high, especially if the pasture to the east was only grazed by cattle. For much of its length this wall consists of only one or two massive 'courses' – in effect very large blocks – with equally large blocks laid as topstones. At less than 1m high including the topstones and only 20 inches (500mm) wide, it is unique in the survey area and undoubtedly rare anywhere in the Yorkshire Dales.

Fig. 44 shows cross-profiles for nine Type 3 parliamentary-enclosure walls. There is broad comparability in heights, ranging from 3 feet 11 inches (1.2m) to 4 feet 9 inches (1.45m) with a mean of 4 feet 2 inches (1.28m). Basal widths are very similar ranging from 37 inches (940mm) to 3 feet 4 inches (1.3m) with a mean value of 40 inches (*c.* 1m). The exception is Wall no. 41, being much higher than the others. All of these walls are clearly battered though the angle of batter varies but this may be due to slippage and settling of some walls over time especially if they were built on soft ground. All of the walls have distinct through courses though they do not necessarily protrude beyond the wall edge so may not show in the profiles.

Fig. 45 has cross-profiles for five typical Type 4 walls, walls built after *c.* 1700 though not as a direct result of the parliamentary enclosure process. Comparison of Figures 44 and 45 shows that these walls are similar to Type 3 walls with an identical mean height of 4 feet 5 inches (1.3m) and a mean basal width of 34 inches (860mm). All five are battered and all show protruding throughs.

All the profiles are reproduced at the same scale. The pecked lines represent the base of the topstones.

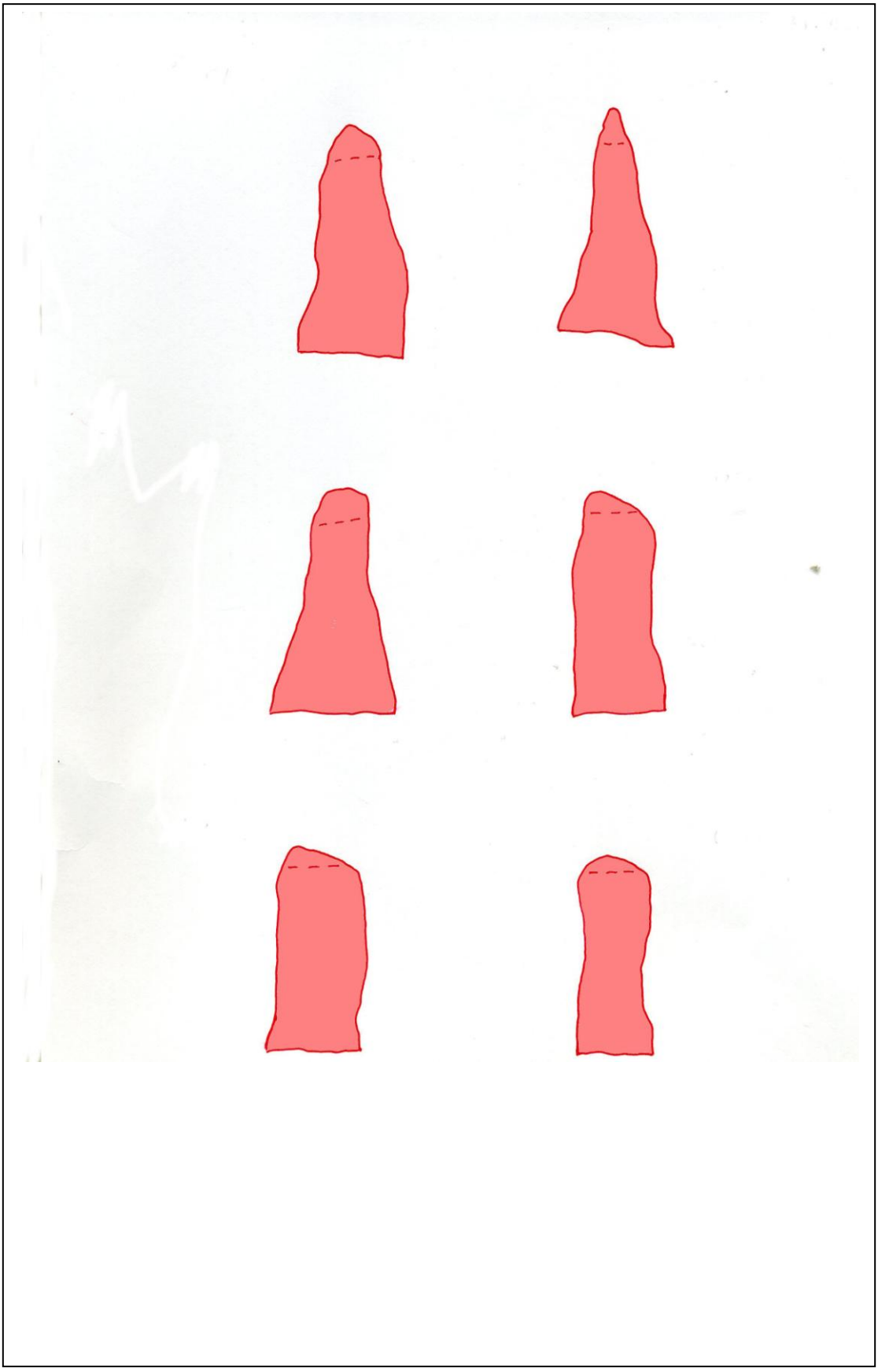


Fig. 42 Cross-profiles of six Type 2 walls that conform to the typological norm. From left to right: top Wall nos. 01 and 02, centre 03 and 07, bottom 10 and 16 west

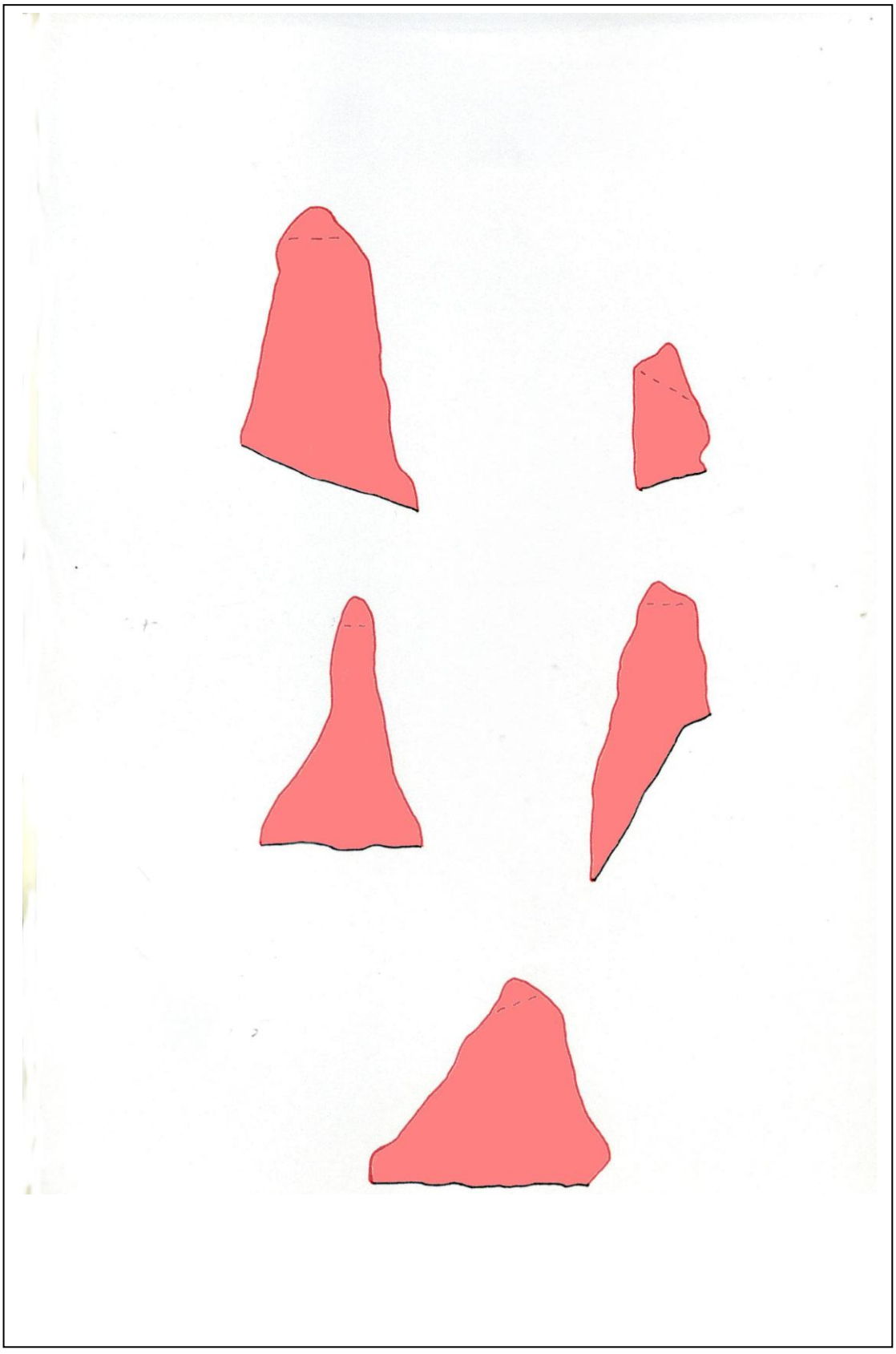


Fig. 43 Cross-profiles of five anomalous Type 2 walls. From left to right: top Wall no. 17 and 25, centre 27 and 38, bottom 45

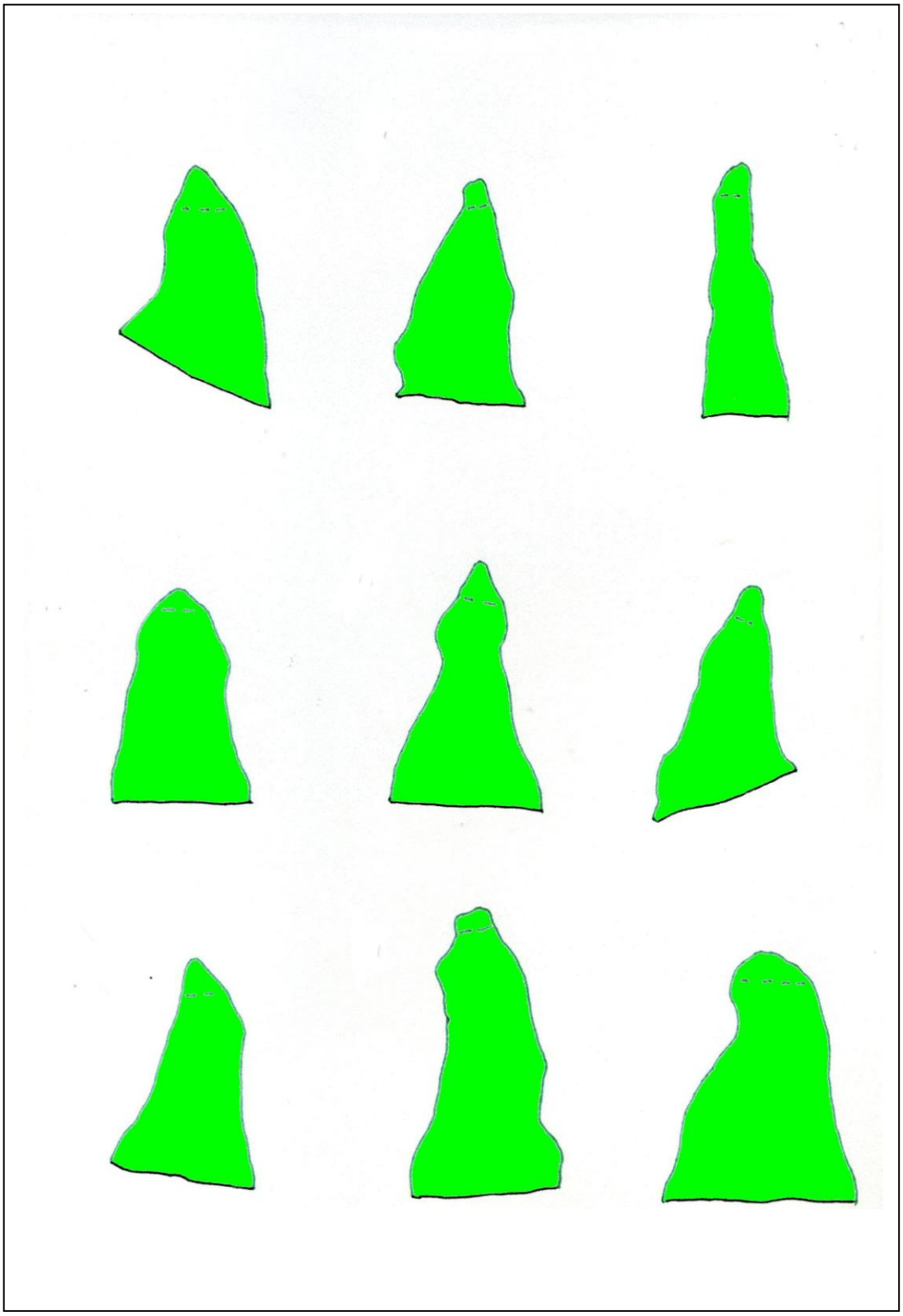


Fig. 44 Cross-profiles of nine Type 3 walls. From left to right:
top Wall nos. 19, 21 and 22, centre 24, 30 and 33, bottom 36, 41 and 42

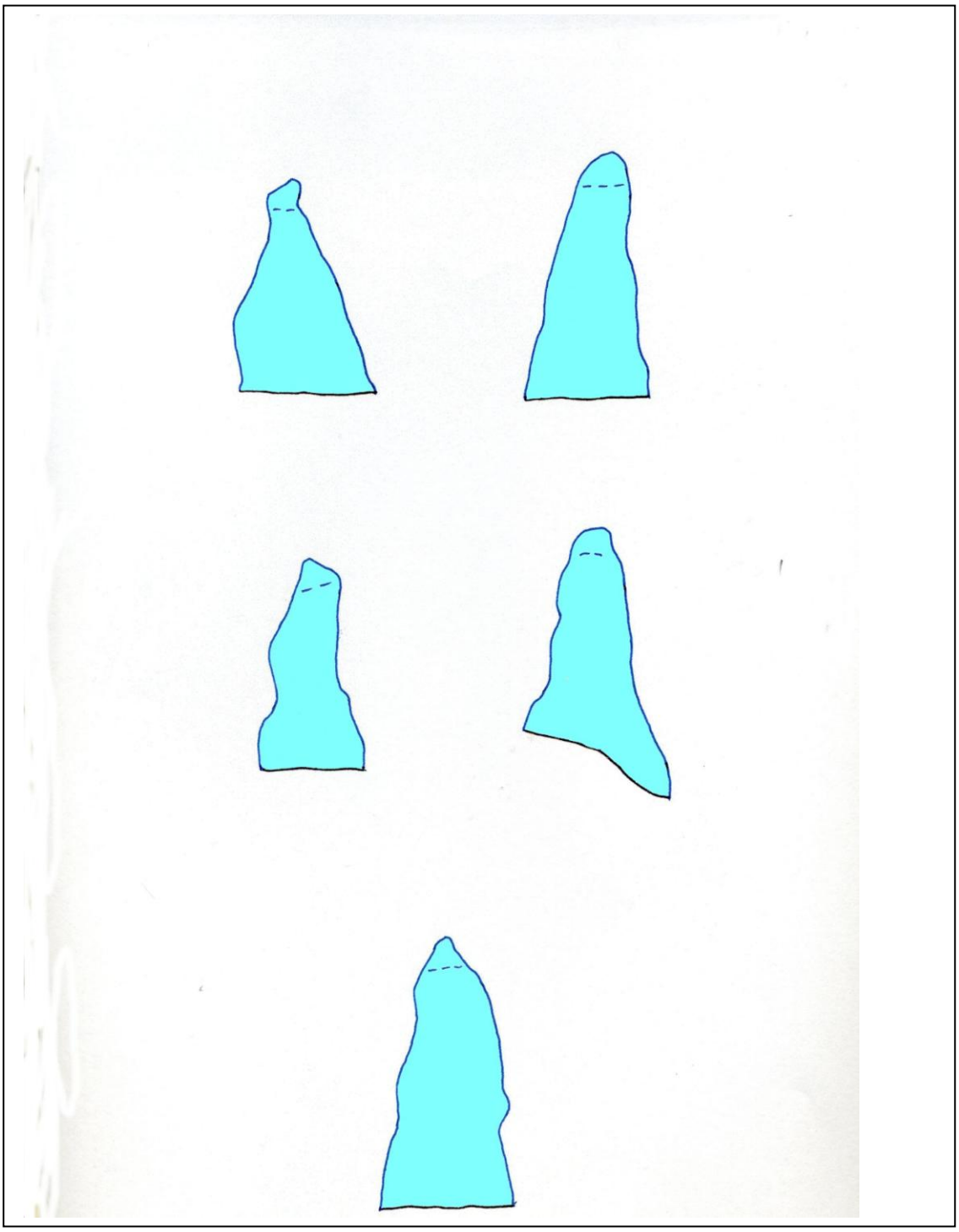


Fig. 45 Cross-profiles of five Type 4 walls. From left to right: top Wall nos. 11 and 12, centre 15 and 31, bottom 32

Pre-1700 and post-1700 walls compared

In summary, the typology developed for Asby's walls classified Type 1 walls as including relict walls and cast banks having a high proportion of recumbent slabs or orthostats, either from the early medieval period, up to the late 1200s, or earlier still.

Walls that date from the late monastic or the early post-monastic periods (erected between *c.* 1300 and *c*. 1700) are categorised as Type 2.

Type 3 walls are those built as a result of parliamentary enclosure at Conistone (*c*. 1803).

Those walls were erected after *c.* 1700, but not the subject of formal enclosure, are assigned to Type 4.

In the Conistone survey all forty-six walls were capable of being assigned to one of these categories.

A study of the survey data and the use of the following characteristics enabled pre-1700 walls to be distinguished from later ones (Table 2):

Those walls constructed prior to *c.* 1700 tend to be higher than later walls, perhaps measuring 1.5m to 2m below the topstones. Post-1700 walls are often lower (usually 1m to 1.4m). They also differ in width with early walls being more consistently wide at the base (up to 1m or more) and also below the topstones (often up to 600mm). In post-1700 types, the basal width of the Conistone walls tended to be 800mm to 1m, but that below the topstones mostly 450mm or less, though with some exceptions.

Composition generally also varies, with later walls tending to have angular quarried stone whereas the early walls are far more likely to consist of sub-rounded clearance stones (typically from watercourses or glacial deposits) or large slabs prised from local limestone pavement.

Some pre-1700 walls were deliberately built around erratics or earthfast boulders and include large recumbent slabs at the base. This may also be the case where large stones were rolled or manoeuvred into a new wall to speed its construction. Some early walls may include orthostats, either on one side or as pairs on both sides of a wall; these are large slabs set vertically in the wall.

Another feature typical of early walls is the presence of a plinth, which is a protruding bottom course of stone that stands proud of the general outline of the wall, perhaps on one or both sides. Later styles of walling generally employed footings or large stones set in the ground, presenting a flat surface at ground level on which the upper courses are laid. None of the walls in the Conistone survey has an obvious plinth though some field barns in the area do have this structural feature.

In early walls there is typically a random placement of stones and no sign of coursing (where horizontal layers are visible in the wall in a style similar to brickwork). Early walls are also rarely graded with the result that large stones may appear at any level in the wall; later walling styles tend to use large stone primarily at the base and then successively smaller ones towards the top, though exceptions have been noted.

The topstones of earlier walls are most likely to be placed flat or at a low angle whereas later walls will often have upright or more slanted stones. In some areas topstones may be placed alternately flat and upright in a manner known as 'ducks and drakes' or 'bucks and does', though this 19th century tradition was not seen in the Conistone survey. Three walls in the survey area (Walls no. 4, 14 and 18,

which are quite closely located) had topstones set above coverbands. Wall no 18 had intermittent flat slabs at that level (Wall nos 4 and 18 are pre-1700 whilst Wall no. 14 is post-1700).

Table 2 Wall typology: summary of variables

Variable no.	**Descriptor: 'old walls'**	**Descriptor: post-1700 walls**
1	1.6 – 2m high	1 – 1.4m high
2	wide from base to top	narrow, especially at the top
3	field-clearance	quarried stone
4	often blocky	not blocky
5	large basal slabs	basal slabs rare
6	orthostats	no/few orthostats
7	basal plinth common	no basal plinth
8	not coursed	generally coursed
9	not graded	generally graded
10	tops laid flat	tops raked or vertical
11	lack through courses	one-three courses of throughs
12	few or large fillings	small fillings
13	straight sided or barely battered	battered
14	sinuous	rectilinear
15	rounded corners	angled corners
16	irregular/organic fieldscape	regimented/gridded fieldscape

Regular through courses are not a characteristic of pre-1700 walls, though they can have occasional throughs at intervals. Later walls may have two or even three lines of throughs, sometimes with the throughs very closely positioned in each course. Early walls also generally have no fillings stones or, where they are present, larger ones. Fillings are unusual where walls are composed of limestone slabs taken from the nearby pavement, as the rougher stones will generally lock closely together quite

naturally. Post-1700 walls usually have smaller fillings stones and these are likely to be graded from base to top as with the facing stones.

Battered walls are those where the base and top widths differ significantly. This is more often a feature of later walls whilst early walls are generally more straight-sided. The line of a wall is also a distinguishing feature; early walls usually follow a much more winding or sinuous path than those built at a later date. The rectilinear course is particularly a feature of walls built as a consequence of parliamentary enclosure, when the precise location most likely would have been planned on a map. This results in a more regular fieldscape. When corners are present in a wall they will typically be rounded in earlier walls but more right-angled in later ones.

Stone stoups are typical of the Dales landscape, as are stiles. Where they appear in early walls as an original feature these will be usually be formed of large rough slabs, often clearly taken straight from the pavement if limestone. Later examples are much more likely to have been partially or fully hand dressed or machine sawn, and so present a much smoother and regular appearance. There are relatively few stiles in the Conistone survey walls.

Each wall has been described in terms of its characteristics, hence has been classified and ascribed a somewhat imprecise chronological period (pre- or post-1700). The typology that has been employed was developed in previous surveys and fieldwork in the Craven Dales of North Yorkshire. It has also been found to apply to Asby and, it has been asserted, to the wider Westmorland Dales and Cumbria (Johnson, 2023, 67). The results of work in Derbyshire (by Wildgoose) and Upper Wharfedale (Beaumont) can be compared to ascertain the extent to which it also applies in those areas: this will be explored more fully in Chapter 6. Only with documentary or other specific evidence can any wall be ascribed a more specific period; it might for example have been rebuilt within living memory. Even being described as a ‘new wall’ is not necessarily definitive. However those walls built as a result of parliamentary enclosure (Type 3) can be much more accurately dated. It needs to be stressed again that not every wall will have all the stated characteristics: assigning a given wall to a period is a matter of deciding how many variables apply.

5

The Conistone Survey: the Archival Contribution

As mentioned in the first chapter, Conistone was chosen as the survey area in part owing to the known existence of archival material that might have potential for shedding light on the development of the township's drystone wall network. The research phase of the project brought to the team's attention a wide range of both cartographic and documentary sources which were transcribed and/or summarised by the volunteers. As a result, it was possible to ascribe approximate dates to when a significant number of walls were erected – or ordered to be erected (see Figure 58 and Table 4).

Cartographic sources

An aerial photography survey undertaken by and for the then English Heritage (now Historic England) in Upper Wharfedale led to the production of a map in 2011 at a scale of 1:6606 (Fig. 46). It depicts all features of archaeological interest known up to that year, all of which relate in some way to land management and land use. Sheepfolds and lime kilns are marked in black on the base map along with upstanding field boundaries: however, the map does not distinguish between drystone walls, hedges and fences.

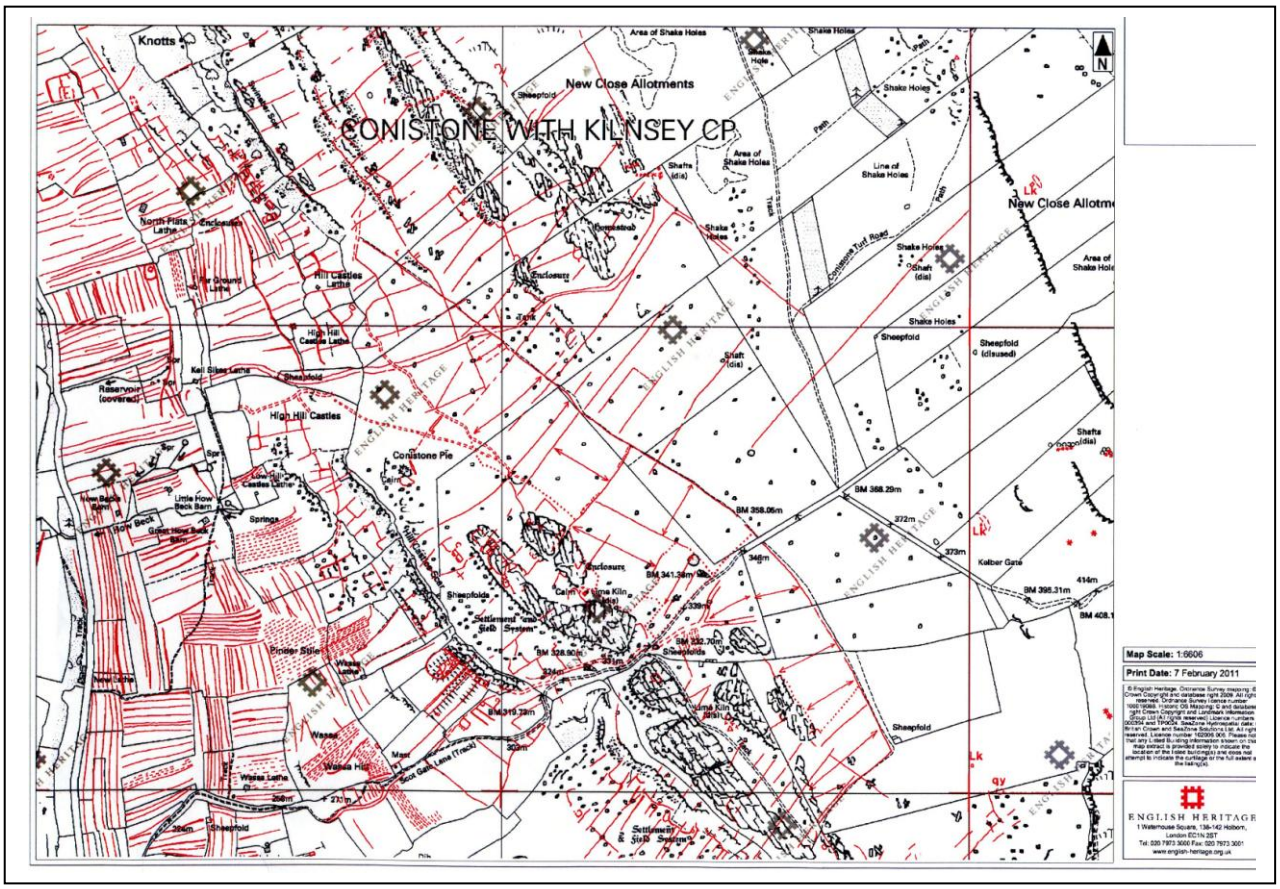


Fig. 46 Archaeology plot for Conistone township (© English Heritage 2011)

Other elements of the historical fieldscape are shown in red: concentrations of pecked lines indicate visible ridge and furrow cultivation parcels while concentrations of solid lines represent medieval – from the Anglo-Saxon era or the monastic age – *selions* namely groupings or *furlongs* (of cultivation strips or terraced strip *lynchet*s). It is clear from the map that some selions are orientated broadly north-south (running along the contours) while others run east-west (running across the contours). The selions in themselves say virtually nothing about current or historical field boundaries though it is clear that some of the field boundaries (walls in this case) were built along the divisions of selion groupings thereby fossilising the earlier fieldscape. The selions do show, though, that the historical land use in the lower, western part of the township was arable ploughland rather than pasture.

Above and east of the main limestone scars – Swineber Scar, Hill Castles Scar, and Conistone Scars south of Scot Gate Lane, there was no ploughland. Here, extending almost as far east as Kelber Gate, the long red lines, whether rectilinear or slightly sinuous, represent a complex network of field boundaries showing on the ground now as low, stone-cored or earthen banks. In the area orientated north-west to south-east between the top of Swineber Scar through Conistone Pie to the south-central edge of the map the enclosures formed by these banks are on the whole small, though with very variable widths and lengths, and they are associated with what the map labels 'Settlement' or 'Enclosure' or 'Homestead'. In contrast, that to the east is composed of larger parcels of land.

One very distinctive stone-cored bank is shown on the map as a red line running from a short distance north-east of Hill Castles Lathe past a bench mark (BM 358.05m) to terminate south-east of a sheepfold towards the south-east corner of the map. Virtually the whole of this is identifiable on the ground as a major bank feature, occasionally with an adjacent ditch: this feature was categorised as Type 1 Wall no. 37 (Fig. 47). It is likely that this bank represented the upper, eastern, extent of pasture land managed by Fountains Abbey.

The double red-line feature running westwards, from where 'Farmstead' is labelled, to Kell Sikes Lathe shows on the ground as a partly sunken trackway, most discernible now as a carefully-engineered *holloway* with a level track base. It is most obvious just to the south of High Hill Castles Lathe in two enclosures that end at Low Hill Castles Barn (Fig. 48). This trackway will be returned to later in this chapter as it most likely directly relates to monastic land management in Conistone.

Fig. 47 Type 1 cast bank (Wall no. 37) at SD99033 68941

Fig. 48 The holloway east of Low Hill Castles Barn (Beverley Rymer)

Kettlewell with Conistone Enclosure Award

A meeting of Conistone's Trust Lords was held in 1797 to look into the desirability and practicalities of applying to parliament for an Act to carve up the township's stinted pastures into individually-owned allotments as well as to reduce the commons above Capplestone to a stinted pasture.

Enacted in 1801 and implemented in 1803 the Award encompassed most of Conistone township, between the Scars and the eastern parish boundaries (see Figure 3 and Table 1), sub-dividing the pre-existing common stinted pastures of Old Pasture, Nook, Kelber and New Close into smaller allotments (WRRD Roll 7). The former stinted Bycliffe Pasture was not sub-divided. The former Conistone Common or Out Moor was included, though, in the sense that this former open area, grazed in common, was 'reduced to a stint'. This means that henceforward those with rights to depasture livestock on the common had to adhere to rules concerning how many cattle or sheep *gaits* (or *gates*) they were entitled to which, in turn, regulated how many head they could keep there. Most Enclosure awards laid down in detail where drystone walls (or hedges or fences) were to be put up, who was responsible for doing so and for ongoing maintenance, how high the walls should be and how many through courses should be inserted. Many awards also stipulated where stone could be got to build the walls, either by formalising existing quarries or permitting new ones, and where new roads, trackways and paths were to be created, or formalised. For this Act to have passed through all the stages in such a short period of time was unusual, and it implies that those who were considered – or thought they should be considered – important figures in the community were in full agreement about how the township should be divided up and parcelled out.

Those towards the bottom of the social pyramid had no say. Their age-old common rights were extinguished once an award was implemented. The pre-existing open landscape was changed forever; it was regimented beyond recognition. Irregular field boundaries were often replaced by ruler-straight lines: just compare the red lines on Figure 46 ('ancient' boundaries) with the black lines (mostly from the Enclosure process). No wonder, then, that the 'rural' poet John Clare (1793-1864) was moved to rail against Enclosure in his native Northamptonshire:

‘Inclosure like a Buonoparte let not a thing remain
It levelled every bush and tree and levelled every hill’

(Remembrances)

‘Inclosure came and trampled on the grave
Of labours rights and left the poor a slave’

‘Fence now meets fence in owners’ little bounds
Of field and meadow large as garden grounds
In little parcels little minds to please
With men and flocks imprisoned ill at ease’

(The Mores)

‘Till vile enclosure came and made
A parish slave of me’

(The Lament of Swordy Well)

Or, as modern landscape researchers have put it, owing to the enclosure process ‘A landscape which had taken centuries to create was only a year in the dying’ (Beresford and St Joseph 1979, 136). In Conistone – and Kettlewell – it was quite literally just one year.

In the upland North the common height for drystone walls stipulated by Enclosure awards was 4 feet 6 inches (1.4m) with two lines of throughs. In Chapter 6 we will consider the stipulations imposed by the Kettlewell and Conistone commissioner as well as the degree to which they were applied.

In 1819 a map surveyed by Samuel Swire at a scale of 8 chains to 1 inch, simply entitled ‘Connistone’ (*sic*), was produced (NYCRO, CNK/5/1). It marked all the field boundaries then existing along with a dedicated field number; for all the fields within the Enclosure area the name of the owners and acreages were stated on the map. Presumably it accompanied a written list though why it was commissioned and by whom is unknown. It is, nevertheless, useful for comparing field boundaries shown on this map with those on the 1802 Enclosure map and current OS mapping.

Five lengths appear on Swire’s 1819 map but not on the 1802 map which means they were likely put up between those two years. Seven others are on modern mapping, and on the ground, but not on Swire’s or the Enclosure map so they were clearly erected at some point after 1819: three of these do appear on 1st Edition mapping so they most likely were built between 1819 and 1844-50 whereas the other four do not appear on 1st or 2nd Edition mapping which means they must have been erected after 1907. Three further walls were included on the Enclosure map but not on later mapping and they are not seen on the ground today, so they were presumably not built at all.

Tithe Apportionment

Tithe apportionments were drawn up across the country for all land not held in common. They were designed to apportion to each person a tenth of the value of their annual produce payable to the church locally – in other words it was an ecclesiastical tax hitherto paid in kind but after apportionment commuted to cash payments. Commissioners were appointed for each ecclesiastical parish, under the Tithe Commutation Act 1836, and maps were drawn up to accompany each tithe book. Every plot of land liable to tithes was given a number on the map and in the book each was listed with its name, the

owner's name, the occupier's name, acreage, current land use and monetary value. The map for Conistone was compiled in 1849 and the apportionment completed in 1848 (TNA IR29 and 30; Brotherton,YAS/MD335/6).

The value of tithe records to the study of drystone walls lies in the maps which mark the boundaries of every 'field'; again, it is useful to compare the situation as it was in 1848-49 with what was depicted on the 1802 Enclosure map, later Ordnance Survey mapping, and with ground evidence today. As common land was not subject to tithes, areas later formally enclosed were left blank on tithe maps, as was Conistone Moor.

The total area within Conistone township was computed as 5016 acres (2030 ha) broken down into arable land (6 acres/2.4 ha), plantations (10 acres/4 ha), meadow or pasture (2500 acres/1012 ha) and open moorland (2500 acres). The surveyor was John Greenwood of Gisburn.

In one sense, tithe maps offer more to landscape archaeologists/historians: as said, tithe award books list every parcel of ground (i.e. field) with its name, and a number as shown on the tithe map. This can be very useful when trying to locate named parcels mentioned in earlier documents. Appendix F shows field names as listed in the Conistone apportionment for that part of the township not sub-divided in 1803. All the fields within New Close (tithe numbers 177-97 and 200) were simply named New Close Allotment, and those within Old Pasture (numbers 207-15) as Old Pasture Allotment. Bycliff (sic) Pasture (no. 284) retained that name; and Conistone Moor (no. 285) that name. The sub-divisions within Nook were named, from north to south, Nook Meadow, North Pasture Allotment and Nook Pasture Allotment. The north-west and south-east sub-divisions within Kelber were named Kelber Pasture, the north-east Rough End, and the south-west Kelber Pasture Allotment.

Project volunteer Beverley Rymer took on the daunting task of comparing the tithe map with current OS mapping: 26 discrepancies were identified (see Appendix E). Tithe field numbers and names are given in Appendix F.

OS mapping

First Edition 6-inch mapping, sheet 116, in Conistone was surveyed from 1844-50 and published in 1852 (Fig. 49), while the Second Edition revised in 1907 was published in 1910 (Fig. 50). Both editions depict all field boundaries, not distinguishing between walls and other boundary forms so, again, it is useful to compare these maps with Enclosure and tithe maps as well as modern OS mapping to tease out changes in the pattern of 'walls'.

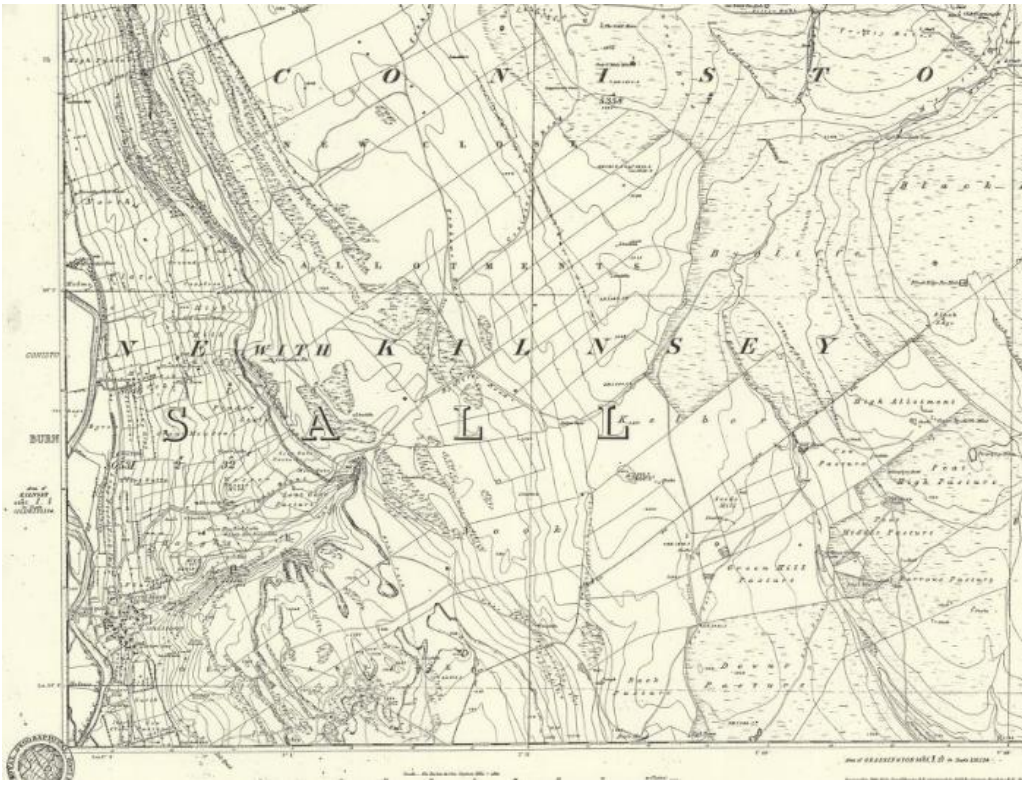


Fig. 49 OS First Edition 6-inch mapping, surveyed 1844-50

Fig. 50 OS Second Edition 6-inch mapping, revised 1907

Documentary sources

The monastic era

Monastic involvement in Kilnsey across the Wharfe is well attested but the extent to which Fountains Abbey was active in Conistone is less well known and has been little discussed. Ongoing groundbreaking research using original Latin documents by Dr Mike Spence has been invaluable in piecing this aspect of Conistone's story together, and in dispelling some previous misinterpretations. It has been suggested by one researcher that Fountains maintained a *grange* in Conistone from at least 1193 and that at Dissolution in 1539 its monetary value stood at 14s, compared to £5 3s 4d for the grange in Kilnsey (Wardrop 1987, 280). The original Latin source mentions granges in Fountain's Upper Wharfedale estates at Kilnsey, Bordley and Arncliffe but there is no mention of Conistone: it seems likely that *Coutonmore* (now Cowton Moor) between Northallerton and Darlington, was misread for Conistone, especially as this entry followed the entry for Malham which also had a Fountains grange (Bodl, Univ Coll. MS 170, folio 21r). The 14s figure derives from a valuation of Fountains' properties at Conistone in 1535 though, again, there is no mention of a grange here; rather it referred only to sheep pastures (Walbran 1863, 256). The Abbey rental for 1495/6 names only one tenant of the Abbey in Conistone, namely John Leylond who paid 14s annual rent; in addition '... the lord abbot has there a flock of at least 600 gimmers' (Michelmore 1974, 21).[1] The Dissolution schedule for Fountains Abbey's properties here is described as 'a Tenement, late in the holding of John Layland' (sic) with 'lands, medoos, and pastors thereunto belonging, xiijs'; and also a 'Shepe pastor upon the mores there, late in the hands of the sade monastery, vs; in all xixs.' (ibid, 378).

Conistone is mentioned, however, in a confirmation of lands to the Abbey in the reign of Richard I in 1199 though, again, not as a grange (Bodl, Univ Coll. 170, folio 10r).

It is known from documentary sources that in the early years the Abbey enjoyed rights to graze up to 500 sheep in the township (Brit.Lib. Add. MS 18276, Conistone Table no. 4): Symon, son of Uhtred, confirmed a gift by Hubert de Arches to the Abbey of 'land and pasture' in Conistone along with ploughland in *Godcibacre* (elsewhere *Godsibacre*) and *Landesmere* with common of pasture (*communam pasturam*) for that number of sheep 'anywhere within Conistone pasture' along with 'free exit and return to the Abbey's lands and folds (*faldas*) in Conistone with free transit to the Abbey for carts, horses and all livestock and all other things'. This document is contained within what is referred to as the Third Cartulary, which dates from 1513 but is an exact copy of 13th-century documents. Simon (*sic*) exchanged with the Abbey *Godsibacra*[2] for lands in 'Conistone Field ... towards the Wharfe', in other words ploughland (ibid nos 6 and 11); these transactions are dated St Mary Magdalene's Day (22 July) 1215. A further agreement around the same date concerned selions and two strips under *Washam* (now Wassa) 'abutting the road going from the turbary towards *Quyewath*' (Wharfe ford) (ibid no. 12). Meanwhile a grant and confirmation by Hubert de Arches to the Abbey concerned the latter's rights to use a road (*viam*) of breadth 20 feet through the middle of the ploughland at *Berwath* to the great road (*magna viam*), henceforward across Hubert's lands 'for carts' and other goods. Hubert's *viam* may well be the holloway we encountered earlier ending at Low Hill Castles Barn. This grant came with the corollary that the Abbey's livestock were forbidden from grazing or overnighting along the road (ibid no. 15).Yet another legal transaction recorded William, son of Henry of Conistone, granting a toft (a house plot) in Conistone next to the monk's *bercary* (...

[1] A gimmer can either mean a young female sheep before its first lamb or before its second shearing.
[2] *Godsib* in Middle English meant a godparent or a sponsor at a baptism or confirmation so *Godsibacre* was a godparent's acre of land, acre then meaning a piece of land that could be ploughed in one day by one ox.

toftu in Cuningestun q[uo]d iacet iuxta bercha ...) there (Bodl Univ Coll 170, 78): this Latin term has been translated in respect of this transaction as 'sheepfold' though it can also be translated as 'sheep cote' or 'sheep walk' (Trice Martin, 1910, 198). As it referred to a specific plot it cannot have been a sheep walk and given that the Abbey maintained a flock of 500 sheep in Conistone it is most unlikely to have been a mere roofless sheepfold. A sheep cote was a substantial feature, more akin to a farmstead today with associated paddocks and enclosures.

All this tells us that the Abbey was granted rights to graze up to 500 or 600 head – a substantial number for a flock – away and therefore east of the ploughlands down in the valley bottom, with rights of passage to and from the Abbey and across Hubert's ploughlands along a specified road leading to the main north-south valley-bottom road and to a ford across the Wharfe; the ford named *Berwath* has not been identified but it may have been the probable ford a short distance south of Conistone Bridge. The location of the ploughland at *Godsibacre* has also not been identified but that at *Landesmere*, translating as land boundary (*land gemǣre*) may well have been in the former townfields east of the Wharfe towards the boundary with Kettlewell. It also tells us that the base for managing their sheep pastures in Conistone was somewhere in the loose vicinity of the present village and that it was a recognisable complex. Three closes were named as Freer Leys, Open Freer Leys and Little Freer Leys on the tithe map (see Appendix F, nos 243, 245 and 252) and 'freer' was a corruption of friar, which may suggest the core location of the Abbey's holdings in Conistone. Indeed, OS First Edition mapping names two of the closes as 'Friar'. Furthermore, from the John Laylond entry, we know that their sheep pasture (*pastor*) was above the Scars on the moors (*mores*) – not Conistone Out Moor but what later became New Close.

With a hint of speculation, it is arguably valid to extrapolate to Conistone from how the Abbey managed its Kilnsey properties. A lease, dated 31 July 1517, between the Abbey and Thomas Hoghsen of Scarthcote and his son Henry, stated that a condition of the lease was that the Hoghsens were to maintain and repair all 'hedges, drains, ditches, stone walls and defences ...' (Michelmore 1981, 57). Leases for Chapel House, south of Kilnsey village, in 1507 and 1529, and for John Procter's unidentified tenement in 1538, contained identical conditions (ibid 58-59, 276). Perhaps the Abbey was bound by similar requirements in Conistone. Even if not, these agreements confirm that drystone walls were in existence in this part of Upper Wharfedale by the early 16th century.

Until the later 15th century the de Hebden family were principal landowners in Conistone during which time it all passed by marriage to the Tempest family; in 1568 they sold it on to Alexander Rishworthe of Heath near Wakefield. In 1575 he sold it to John Kaye of Oakenshaw but eight years later (6 October 1583) he too disposed of his lands, properties and manorial rights in Conistone, this time not to an individual speculator but to the existing freeholders who henceforth became Trust Lords of the Manor responsible for administering manorial customs and holding regular court sessions, appointing on an annual basis a bylawman and four assistants to ensure all ran smoothly and that any miscreants were held to account (Raistrick 1967, 47-48). It is during their tutelage that we begin to see quantitative evidence of stints being set for depasturing livestock on the common pastures of Kelber, Nook, New Close and Old Pasture, with dates set for gathering stock off these pastures. A book was maintained in which all stock numbers were entered against each gaitholder's name. The book shows that:

> Old Pasture was depastured by 130-200 head of cattle
> Kelber by 30-40 horses
> Nook was used as an overflow pasture for Old Pasture with 130-150 sheep
> New Close by 1200-1700 sheep

Their tutelage also provides the first reliable evidence of drystone walls within the township. One of the 13 manorial regulations required all freeholders to meet the bylawmen on specified days so that they could together check the state of all walls round the stinted pastures and, crucially, effect necessary repairs – on pain of 8d for every default of non-attendance.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Throughout the 1600s all the pasture land between the townfields' head wall north of the village as high as Swineber and Hill Castles Scars was divided up to create many small closes each surrounded by drystone walls: some of these walls respected the curvature of pre-existing ploughland strips as is apparent looking down from the Scars (Fig. 51). As some of the new closes were intended for depasturing cattle a series of field barns/cow houses was built or rebuilt during that century. It can be considered axiomatic that no such barn would have been built unless the close it sits within belonged to an individual farmer who kept cattle and gathered in an annual hay crop to sustain them through the winter months. Above the Scars, and across Old Pasture, there are no field barns at all as this huge area was not sub-divided until 1803. The latter, at least at the end of the 16th century was grazed as a common pasture held by different tenants who altogether had rights to 288 individual moieties (shares) with the right to pass their shares on to whoever they wished (Skipton RC450).

Fig. 51 Closes below Swineber Scar and Knotts, looking south-west

Rather earlier, in 1583 an Indenture was signed between Richard Todd and John Batty, both husbandmen of Conistone, by which Todd sold to Batty and his heirs a 'moytie & whole half part' of his common pasture rights in 'Conyston ould pasture or Conyston Scarrs' all 'lyinge and beinge upon the out side [*sic*] of the walles hedges and ffences' (Skipton RC449). This refers to pasture land in 'Conyston Comon or Conyston pasture' which at that time had not yet been enclosed with walls, specifically lands east of the southern townfields but below the scars that now bound Old Pasture on the east side. By this agreement Batty was 'behouffe forever **To** be holden of the chief lord ... of the fee ffrely **And making** repayringe upholdinge & mayntenyninge all walles hedges & ffences now

made or hereafter to be made for the premysses...'. These last four words perhaps hint that it was the intention of the Trust Lords to have walls erected in the near future.

In fact, in 1586/7 New Close in its entirety was enclosed at the behest of the Trust Lords as a single common pasture for sheep though the area north of How Beck remained as open-field ploughland (Pacey n.d.). This means that the drystone walls that surround New Close were built in the 1580s namely, clockwise from Capplestone, Wall nos 1, 4, 17, 16, 23, 25 and 8. In 1586 a legal transaction – a feoffment – transferred ownership of *totum solum et fundum pasture* (all soil and pasture ground) from John Wigglesworth of Conistone to Robert Wigglesworth of Kilnsey, both husbandmen, worth 2s annual rent: this referred to land within *magna nova clausure pasture* – 'the large new close of pasture' lately enclosed on the commons on the east of the (town)fields there (NYCRO, ZMA78). In other words, New Close.

Soon after 1600 the first field barns in the lower part of what was once within New Close, below the Scars, and north of How Beck were put up. Modern OS mapping at 1:25,000 depicts two narrow linear strips, aligned more or less north-south, from How Beck towards North Flats Lathe. They are bounded on both sides by drystone walls; the northern section was later reduced in width leaving two very narrow north-south strips. These strips provided passage between individually-owned closes for stock to be driven from one part of the former New Close to another without impinging on others' grazing land.

Nook and Kelber were also enclosed by stone walls by *c.* 1600, built and maintained by the freeholders, ostensibly to take the pressure off Old Pasture which was overstocked (Raistrick 1967, 48-49). The latter had been walled in prior to Nook, Kelber and New Close, though maybe not much earlier: in 1583 the freeholders included Thomas Sergantson, Thomas Smythe, William Topham, James Ibbotson, John Battie, John Layland, Cuthbert Hill, Nicholas Hewitt, Thomas Hewitt, George Horner and Richard Wigglesworth.

Table 3 lists commoners' identification marks noted during the field survey in Wall no. 1, the wall bounding Old Pasture on the Moor side. As this wall possibly dates from 1587 it is postulated here that TS most likely would have either been Thomas Sergantson or Thomas Smythe, WT William Topham, and IL James Ibbotson; B could have been (John) Battie, L (John) Layland, H one of the Hewitts or Hill or Horner, and W Richard Wigglesworth.

A legal agreement from 1635 concerned a parcel of ground known as *Aynehoulme* or *Avenhoulme* and later *Ainams* which George Tennant, carpenter, and Robert Wigglesworth, yeoman, both of Conistone, had purchased from Raphe Procter of Linton (NYCRO, ZMA99, 101). Lying between the north-south road and the Wharfe adjacent to Grass Wood, this meadow was to be divided up: Swire's 1819 map marked two internal cross walls though by the time of OS mapping in 1844-50 only one was still extant. Now, the whole parcel is back to just one pasture.

Table 3 Commoners' Identification Marks summary data

Mark	NGR
	SD99780 70524
TS	SE00084 70136
W	SE00084 70136
	SE00112 70081
B	SE00137 70045
WT	SE00152 70024
WT	SE00154 70018
IV	SE00199 69974
H	SE00377 69882
H	SE00388 69877
L	SE00429 69865
IL	SE00472 69861

The name John Battie appears again in an indenture dated 1639 though whether this is the same John or his son cannot be ascertained: it recorded the sale by Battie, of Gamerscale in Coverdale to Christopher Wade of Kilnsey, gentleman, of his 'harbage pasturage feeding libertie soyle & grounde' in Nook and Kelber stinted pastures (Skipton RC455). Though it makes no mention of walls or boundaries it does confirm rights held by Conistone's freeholders. A further indenture, dated 2 March 1666, goes into more detail. This records the sale by Christopher Wade and his son and heir Cuthbert to three members of the Settle yeoman family of Conistone of their 'herbage, common of pasture cattle gates beast gates horse gates and sheep gates' in the stinted pastures, namely Nook which had formerly belonged to John Batty (*sic*), along with a host of other manorial rights (Skipton RC457). By the terms of the Indenture, the Settles were bound into 'sufficiently and Tenantably repairing all the fences thereunto belonging'. Thus, those who had rights to depasture their livestock on the four stinted pastures were responsible for maintaining the surrounding walls, which were clearly in existence by then.

The Wigglesworth accounts contain several entries for the late 17th century: 'One day walling for Robert Topham de Hebden' in 1685; 'Ite for waling & getting stones six dayes 4s & for Three dayes leading Stones 4s. for Hilcastile Cloases head to repaire y^{e} fence'; and in 1697 'Paid for y^{e} fence making' in '*Swinsay poole*', a close that has not been identified (Leach 2012, 15, 41, 49).

A document related to lead mining on the commons lists defaults made in the 1686 accounting year (NYCRO, ZMA17). The list names six tenants of Conistone manor who were charged with 'not making his fences' – John Wilkinson 'and his brethren', Robert Fountaines, William Windle, Thomas

Marshall, Richard Frankland and Mr Preston. Each was fined 8d. The document does not identify where each of them was responsible for maintaining walls but, as it concerned lead mining on the Moor, it is possible the wall in question was that along Capplestone edge, Wall no. 1 in the survey.

Field barns provide clues to when nearby walls were built as they formed a key aspect of livestock management: grass was cut for hay to feed cattle in the barns through winter with the muck spread to restore soil fertility. These hay meadows had to be walled round so there is a close link between wall building and barn construction. Work by Arnold Pacey in field barns in Conistone has shown that High Barn (SD9836 6857) had at the time of his survey a surviving 3m-long reused cruck timber in the roof along with smaller pieces of reused, cut cruck timbers. The barn also has clearly visible changes in the masonry in one wall confirming it had been reconfigured and rebuilt (Pacey 2009, 44). According to a contemporary 17th-century source, some of Conistone's barns had originally been thatched, eg '30s spent on ling thatch' and 3s. on 'slating the laith porch' (Leach 2012). Tenancy agreements on Fountain's properties in the 1400s encouraged the building of field barns with 'large timbers' – cruck blades? – and the tradition of constructing barns in Upper Wharfedale was well established by 1600 (Pacey 2009, 66).

High Barn (SD9837 6857) was constructed – or rebuilt – by Thomas Kidd, mason, in 1689 at a cost of £3. The barn today has a 3m-long reused section of a cruck blade, altered masonry in the south wall and a raised roofline in that wall showing that the barn was altered at some point: whether or not these changes were Kidd's or from a later rebuild is not known (Fig. 52). Thomas Kidd the Younger (fl. 1670-90) lived at Skirethorns near Threshfield and is known to have worked as a mason on field barns in Askwith, Hemplands, Kettlewell, Starbotton and Conistone, and on Kettlewell Bridge (Pacey 2007, 5, 9). When working on 'Hilcastles' he was assisted by William West who did all the carpentry work and James Stackhouse who roofed it.

Fig. 52 High Barn

Fig. 53 High Hill Castles Barn, fully restored in 2023

Also in 1689 Richard Wigglesworth paid for walling a sheepfold and building 'Hilcastle house' (Leach 2012, 41): there were two field barns called Hill Castles – High Hill Castles (SD9855 6900) and Low Hill Castles (SD9835 6887). The former was fully and sympathetically restored in 2023 (Fig. 53) while the latter was pulled down and rebuilt around 1689.

Fig. 54 Wassa or How Beck Lathe

Fig. 55 The possible milking stead in Nook

Wassa (or How Beck) Lathe (SD9845 6800) was pulled down and rebuilt *c*. 1692 and its north wall shows evidence of alterations to the fabric (Fig. 54).

An entry in the Wigglesworth Day Book speaks of the 'newly devided Fences between y^{e} milking stead in y^{e} Nooke & so all along to y^{e} Bamefald nooke' (Leach 2012, 6); it appears in the accounts between entries for 1685 and 1716. A tentative location for the milking stead – generally a small building in the outfields where cattle were milked on a daily basis – lies at the junction of Wall nos 26, 27 and 42, at SD99740 67226. This consists of a 2m-deep sub-rectangular hollow, 14m by 10m, deliberately dug out with the spoil used to create banks on the east, west and north sides (Fig. 55); on the south a solidly-built drystone revetment wall would have held back water. A leat enters the hollow from the north. It was not marked on the Enclosure map of 1802 or OS First Edition mapping so by 1802 it was clearly derelict and not seen as of any consequence. Milking steads needed a nearby water source for the cattle and this hollow may have been dug for that reason. It stands at the south-west corner of Nook. If this hypothesis has any validity, the 'newly devided Fences' could have been wall nos 42 and 23.

The eighteenth century

Richard Wigglesworth's Day Book includes several entries in 1716 for work on 'fences' (Leach 2012, 4); they were memoranda about with whom responsibility rested for specified walls. One related to the 'fences from outgate to y^{e} Bam fould nooke as they were devided January y 30 1716'; another to 'how ye fences were devided y^{e} same day betwix y^{e} Bamfold nooke & Kettellwell moore ...'. On the one hand they may both have been the wall separating New Close from Conistone Moor but on the other hand there is and never was a barn anywhere near there and, furthermore, that wall (Wall no. 1 in the survey) is known to have been put up in the 1580s, as discussed earlier. According to the Day Book the total length of wall was parcelled out into 53 stints, with lengths ranging from 2 to 125 yards, and was 1631 yards (1491m) in total length; field surveying of Wall no. 1 estimated its total

length at 1650m. If, however, the wall in question was Wall no. 8, the township boundary with Kettlewell, it is nearer to 1800m long. Regrettably, the wall cannot be convincingly located unless the place-names can be pinned down. Bam Fold Nook cannot be convincingly identified now though after Enclosure in 1803 one close within the former stinted pasture called Nook was called Nook Pasture in the tithe apportionment but this does not tie in with mention of 'Kettlewell moore'.

A set of accounts for 1746 is rather easier to make sense of containing as it does miscellaneous payments for estate work in Conistone (NYCRO, ZMA11). Relevant disbursements include 'mending ye shep foulds' costing 1s, presumably pertaining to repairing its walls; 10s 6d paid out for 'mending ye new Cloas fence' (i.e. part of the New Close boundary wall), though the majority are of no consequence.

In January 1764 John Tennant the Younger expressed a desire to enclose a 'common highway' in the south-western corner of the township, 670 yards (612m) long and 10 yards (9m) wide (WYAS 1764).[3] It was intended to run from Maugham (i.e. Malham) Keld Gate through several small closes (Thomas Close, Ings Close, Little Ing Close and Tosset Holes) terminating at his field gate opposite Millscars falls – now Millscar Lash. Several closes called Ings on the tithe apportionment (see Appendix F, nos 228, 233-35) indicate the area where he wished to enclose his road, to the exclusion of other tenants. Complaints were raised against his proposals so the quarter sessions court sitting directed Tennant to make another 'highway' for their use: this was to be 816 yards by 7 yards (746m by 6.5m). South of Conistone village, between river and road, most of the small irregular closes have low boundary walls showing Type 2 characteristics, with one notable exception. A narrow plot of land, 26 feet (8m wide), runs on a straight line down from the road past Ings Close to Ings. On either side is a drystone wall, both narrow, rough coursed and graded, with topstones set upright, and with height below the topstones 3 feet 3 inches to 4 feet (1-1.2m) high – typical Type 4 characteristics (Fig. 56). Is this one of Tennant's 'highways'?

In 1783 George Horner, Anthony Downs, John Leyland and Henry Whitaker signed an agreement for carving up Low Field, between Mill Scar and White Nook Bridge west of the road (NYCRO, ZMA27). They agreed to 'make Fences' in proportion to the area of land they grazed there prior to the sub-division: the walls were to be 'made six foot High and otherways in proportion'. From visual inspection from the road of some of the walls here, the one nearest to White Nook Barn is 6 feet high on the north side but two others are no more than two-thirds that height (Fig. 57). The total length of walls to be erected in Mill Holm, Milber and Whitas/Nook was 183½ roods.[4] Gate Lands (tithe, nos 260-62) was also included in the agreement though in reality it was not divided up until Enclosure in 1803.

[3] I am grateful to Chris Lunnon for bringing this item to my attention. The court session was held at Wetherby on 10 January 1764.

[4] The length of a rood varied considerably so it is impossible to convert with confidence without knowing which rood was in use here.

Fig. 56 A likely candidate for one of John Tennant's 'highways' in 1764

This brings us up to 1797 when Conistone's 'great and good' met to discuss applying for parliamentary consent to carve the whole township up. At this juncture Old Pasture held 111 beast gaits, Nook 73, Kelber 74, Bycliffe Pasture 271, New Close 1449 and the Out Moor 830: these stocking levels contrast with those mentioned earlier (see page 62).

Fig. 57 Walls in the former Low Field, supposedly built 6 feet high

The nineteenth century

We have already examined in this chapter the 1803 Enclosure award and the 1840s tithe apportionment. The only other document of relevance that has come to light is a Deed of Partition of 1845; this is a legal process by which a deceased's assets and properties are transferred and divided up between the beneficiaries (WRRD, PA, 1845).[5] This deed concerned the late John Whitaker's freehold estate in Conistone which included various small closes in the former townfields and 21 acres (8.5 ha) in New Close. Ralph Hardacre was bequeathed the latter and by the terms of the deed was obliged to 'forever hereafter to make and maintain the fence between it and the close called New Close Top'.

Summary

Fig. 58 depicts 34 walls or closes which can be tentatively dated, either tightly or loosely, from the documentary and cartographic sources discussed in this chapter. Where a number is attached to a solid line this indicates that a particular wall – definite or probable – can be ascribed to a given period, but where only a number is shown this gives the approximate location of dateable walls. Table 4 summarises the same data as Figure 58: it is stressed that the numbers on this map and in the Table are not the same as the numbers accorded to the sample of walls surveyed in the project. Both Figure 58 and Table 4 exclude the walls mandated by the 1803 Enclosure award.

Some walled areas mentioned in monastic-period sources cannot be identified on the ground now though they most likely relate to the former townfields close to the village. The three earliest stinted pastures – Old Pasture, Nook, Kelber and – were 'fenced' in before Bycliffe Pasture which was walled in to act as an overflow to existing pastures and secondary sources suggest dates either around or before 1600 for their creation. By the fact that the enclosure of New Close is documented from at the very latest 1587, it may be that the others had been walled before that date. All that can the concluded with confidence is that all five had been walled by the end of the 17th century; however, the orthostat and blocky sections of Wall no. 25 suggest a medieval provenance. As shown in Table 4, many of the walls shown on Figure 58 can be dated from historical mapping, specifically, the 1802 Enclosure map, Swire's map of 1819 and OS mapping from 1844-50 and 1907. Wall no. 20 is on the ground but appeared on no historical mapping so must post-date 1907; conversely, no. 26 was shown on the Enclosure map but on no later maps and is not seen on the ground today so presumably it was not built.

[5] I am grateful to Jane and Chris Lunnon for bringing this to my attention.

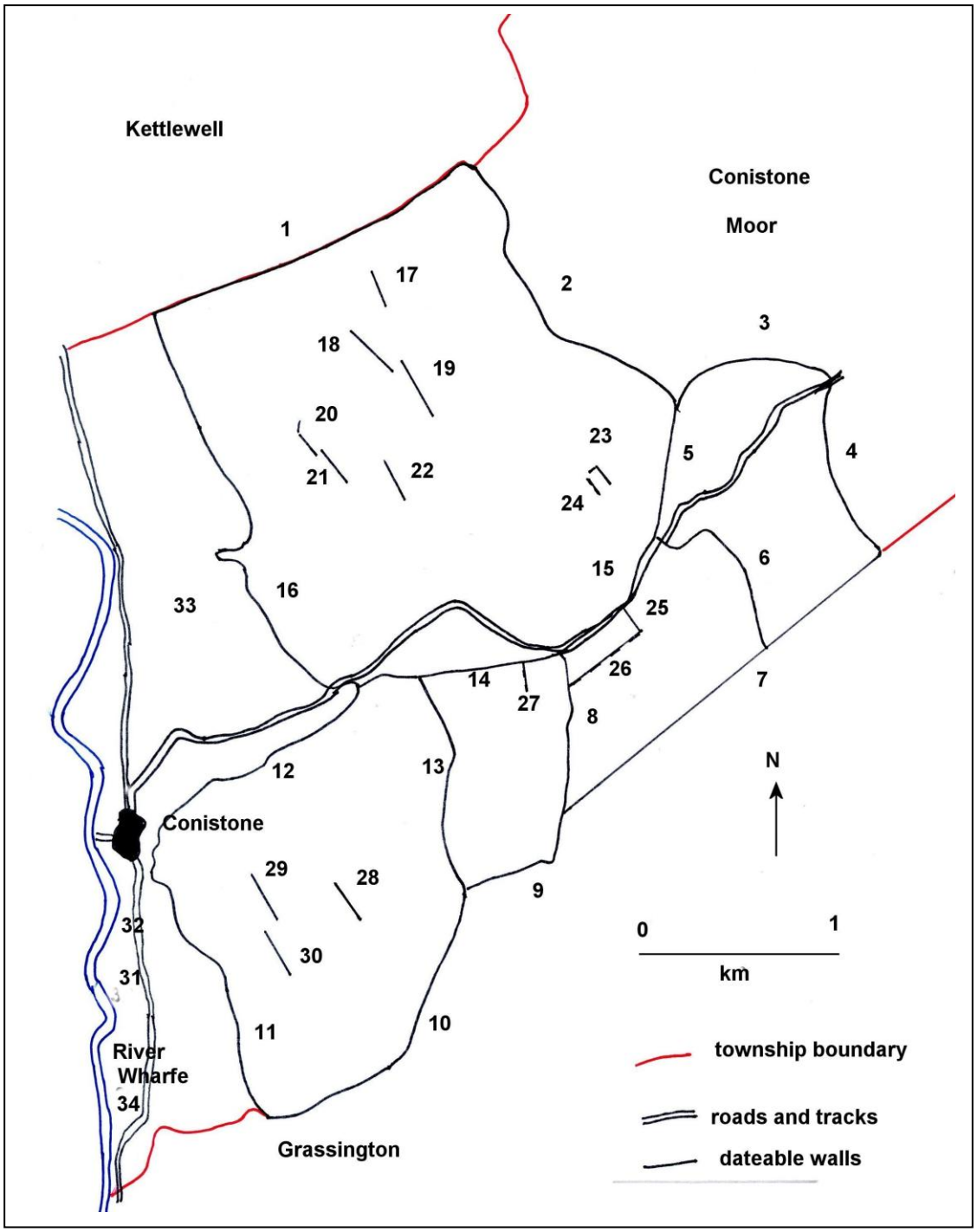


Fig. 58 Location of walls and closes identifiable in archival sources

Table 4 Place-names referring to walls or closes derived from archival sources. For sources see text

Number on Fig. 58	Detail	Date
1	New Close boundary	pre 1587
2	New Close boundary	pre 1587
3	Bycliffe Pasture boundary	pre 1600
4	Bycliffe Pasture boundary	pre 1600
5	New Close boundary	pre 1587
6	Kelber boundary	pre 1600
7	Kelber/Bycliffe boundary	pre 1600
8	Nook boundary	pre 1600
9	Nook boundary	pre 1600
10	Old Pasture boundary	pre 1600
11	Old Pasture boundary	pre 1600
12	Old Pasture boundary	pre 1600
13	Old Pasture boundary	pre 1600
14	Nook boundary	pre 1600
15	Kelber boundary	pre 1600
16	New Close boundary	pre 1587
17	on Swire's map but not on Enclosure map	1802-19
18	not on Enclosure or Swire but is on OS 1st	1819-44
19	on OS 2nd but not on OS 1st	1850-1907
20	not on any historical mapping	post 1907
21	not on Enclosure or Swire but is on OS 1st	1819-44
22	on OS 2nd but not on OS 1st	1850-1907
23	on OS 2nd but not on OS 1st	1850-1907
24	on Swire's map but not on Enclosure map	1802-19
25	on Swire's map but not on Enclosure map	1802-19
26	on Enclosure map but not later maps	not built
27	on Swire's map but not on Enclosure map	1802-19
28	on Swire's map but not on Enclosure map	1802-19
29	on Swire's map but not on Enclosure map	1802-19
30	on OS 2nd but not on OS 1st	1850-1907
31	Low Field sub-divided	1783
32	John Tennant's two 'highways'	1764
33	below the Scars sub-divided and 'fenced'	1600s
34	Aynholme sub-divided	1635

It is important to point out that it cannot be automatically assumed that mandates ordered by the Trust Lords or in later legal agreements concerning the building or repairing of drystone walls were carried out as mandated or within whatever time limits had been set. Despite this disclaimer, having such an array of archival references does permit conclusions to be drawn in the sense that it makes the fieldwork element – 'reading' walls in the fieldscape – infinitely more meaningful. Being able to contrast what on the ground seems to be an 'old' wall with dateable walls proven from documentary sources without doubt adds an extra dimension to the analysis and discussion of any given landscape. Being able to identify approximate dates, or periods, from archival sources for the 34 walls summarised on Figure 58 and in Table 4 has more than justified the archival research element of the Conistone project.

6

Making Sense of it All

The Conistone survey was conceived as a direct result of that undertaken in Asby in Westmorland in 2022 so this chapter examines the degree to which the results of the two surveys converge and the extent to which the Asby typology can be applied to Conistone. The Asby survey formulated a typology of drystone walls based on the range of variables discussed earlier: Type 1 being relict walls or those showing characteristics of medieval construction, Type 2 those interpreted as late medieval or early post medieval, Type 3 being walls built as a direct result of parliamentary enclosure awards, and Type 4 other post-1700/50 walls.

Analysis of the wide range of surveyed walls within Conistone has shown that there are indeed close parallels between Asby and Conistone, and that the Asby typology can be applied to the latter. The 46 walls (bearing in mind Wall no. 16 was surveyed as two walls – 16a and b) break down into three Type 1 features (440m sampled), 25 Type 2 (15,540m), 11 Type 3 (6100m) and 7 Type 4 (1400m), giving a total length for the sampled walls of 23,480m. The former townfields in the valley bottom, north and south of Conistone village, were not formally surveyed though archival sources have provided some dating evidence in what used to be called Low Field and Aynholme in the far south of the parish, while John Tennant's 'highways' date some of the walls between road and river south of the village.

Fig. 59 A wall in the former townfields south of New Lathe (Mark Woronowski)

Beyond these, prior to the field survey, volunteer Mark Woronowski looked at 14 walls between the village and the Kettlewell parish boundary, not by entering the various closes but from the road. He mostly photographed field walls running east from the road but also included the roadside wall itself

and one wall parallel to but away from the road. Fig. 59 shows a wall just south of New Lathe, Fig. 60 one close to Throstles Nest Barn and Fig. 61 the roadside wall just north of the Scot Gate Lane junction.

Fig. 60 A wall close to Throstles Nest Barn in the former townfields (Mark Woronowski)

Fig. 61 A roadside wall just north of Scot Gate Lane (Mark Woronowski)

From visual inspection, from the road and along Scot Gate Lane, of all the former townfield walls it can be concluded that they mostly follow the same basic template of strongly-battered walls composed of a mix of sub-rounded field-clearance and angular quarried stone; some are not coursed but others do show coursing. There are variations in detail but it is likely that the majority, at least north of the village, fit the Type 4 model rather than the Type 2, though a few were included in the 1803 enclosure process. There is more variation south of the village with some showing Type 2 and others Type 4 characteristics.

Fig. 62 Wall no. 14 in the Asby survey, interpreted as a Type 2 wall

Comparison of the walls illustrated in this publication with ones surveyed in Asby highlights parallels between the two areas: it is for the reader to decide how close the parallels are. Fig. 62 is of Type 2 wall in a part of Asby parish that was under monastic control: it clearly lacks coursing and does not show grading, it has few throughs and is built of sub-rounded stone with other characteristics of pre-1700 walls such as those seen across Conistone. In fact, archival sources strongly suggest it dates from the closing years of the 16th century. Fig. 63 is also a wall in land that was under monastic management but this one has a crude appearance with large blocks at all levels and a height lower than stereotypical later walls: this can be compared with Conistone's Wall no. 25.

Fig. 64 shows a Type 3 wall within Asby Mask, enclosed in 1855. It is patently fully coursed and graded, has topstones set at a raked angle, and is composed of angular (quarried) stone. Fig. 65 is also an Enclosure wall in Asby, this one in Low Intake enclosed in 1849: it is less obviously coursed and graded but has enough of the Type 3 characteristics to confirm documentary evidence that it fits that categorisation. The 1855 wall is a text-book example of what a stereotypical Enclosure wall looks like – regular, neat, topstones all laid in perfect harmony, and with clear protruding courses of throughs. The 1849 wall, by contrast, would not win any walling competitions.

Fig. 63 Wall no. 6 in the Asby survey, interpreted as a Type 2 wall

Fig. 64 Wall no. 29 in the Asby survey, dating from the 1855 Asby Mask Enclosure award

Type 4 walls in Asby could similarly be compared closely with Conistone's Type 4 walls.

Fig. 65 Wall no. 24 in the Asby survey dating from the 1849 Asby Low Intake Enclosure award

In previous years this writer examined hundreds of Enclosure awards across the Central Pennines (effectively the Yorkshire Dales and contiguous areas) and in Westmorland (Johnson 2010), looking amongst other aspects at details of walls ordered to be built by the commissioners. Many awards were explicit in how the walls were to be built, in addition to precisely where: height, number of through courses and width were carefully laid out to be followed by those granted allotments in the enclosed area. In Asby it was clear that the stipulations were not always adhered to. The same can be said of Conistone.

Ensconced in his ivory-tower office the commissioner, Alexander Calvert, and his draughtsmen plotted the new walls on a map, with geometrically-laid out ruler-straight lines and he declared that they were to be built 'thirty four inches broad in the bottom and six feet high under a stone not exceeding four inches in thickness which shall be laid upon and over the tops of the walls' (WRRD, QD/5/3). Furthermore, all the walls were to be built in a 'workmanlike manner [with] twenty one good throughs in every rood of fence the first twelve to be laid on at the height of two feet from the ground and the wall at that height to be two feet broad and the second to be laid on at the height of four feet from the ground'. Moreover, the batter should decrease 'gradually from the bottom to the tops which shall be not less anywhere than sixteen inches broad under the uppermost stone'.

A full cross-profile was compiled for all the surveyed Type 3 walls in Conistone. Starting with the basal width stipulation of 34 inches (860mm), of the 11 surveyed wall lengths only one was built to that specification; actual widths range from 800mm to 1300mm (31 to 51 inches) with a mean width of 995mm (39 inches). One can but surmise why such variations crept in, whether by design or default, though settling and spreading of the walls over time is not a factor. For top widths, there is also much variation in reality. Sixteen inches equates to just over 400mm but range and mean width in the Conistone sample are 250-550mm and 335mm respectively. There is no reason to assume that Calvert – or any other commissioner for that matter – would have gone out to check that his

stipulations had been adhered to and, for sure, the allotment holders knew that all too well. The same disregard was shown when inserting throughs and laying topstones.

The four Asby Enclosure awards decreed that all the walls were to be erected within a specified time period: three months for each of Low Intake and High Intake, implemented in 1849; 12 months for each of Mask and Winderwath implemented in 1855 and 1874. The Conistone award stipulated that the 'new boundaries must be completed within a year or as the Commissioner may otherwise direct'. No documentary evidence has been located to confirm whether or not any leeway was granted. What Calvert was asking the allotment holders to do was a physical impossibility.

Within Old Pasture 6850m of new 'boundary' were put up, in Nook 2400m, in Kelber 1700m and in New Close 19,570m, amounting in aggregate to 30,520m or 33,440 yards (almost 19 miles). No single waller, or pair of wallers, could ever have hoped to achieve that target even if they worked every single day of the year. Add in to the mix who some of the allotment holders were and the task becomes even more pie in the sky. Mrs Constantine received two allotments and was held responsible for building 2250m, the Rev'd Richard Dawson 2400m, the trustees of Carleton Hospital in Conistone village 2000m. There is no way any of these could have built the walls. Also add in that many of the allotment holders were farmers with all the normal farm activities to attend to throughout the year. It could be said that they may have started building before the award was implemented in 1803 but the Act was only passed in 1801 and the definitive map the year after so this would not have reduced the impossibility of meeting the target.

Only one explanation seems to make sense, at least in this writer's mind: hired-in walling gangs must have been brought in.

The Asby survey publication highlighted walls elsewhere in Cumbria that can be dated from archival sources and which fit the typology's Type 2 template: there is no need to revisit them here (Johnson 2023, 70-83). It would be pertinent though to highlight several such walls within Craven, in chronological order.

Above the settlement of Chapel-le-Dale, below Ingleborough, there is a set of pastures known now as Sleights, though originally as 'le sleyghtes' (Rodgers et al. 2011, 114). Sleights lies adjacent to an old enclosure called Scar Close and a dividing wall was built in dips along the western edge of the latter's prominent 2m-high limestone pavement (Fig. 66). It is recorded that Scar Close was already enclosed in 1543 (pers. com. Angus Winchester) and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this very crude dividing wall dates from that period.

Running along the centre of Watlowes, a now-dry glacial meltwater channel, from Comb Scar to Malham Cove, is a sinuous drystone wall. Though much repaired over the years, parts seem to retain their original form. There had been endless disputes between Fountains Abbey and Bolton Priory over grazing rights on Malham Moor between the Tarn and Cove and the matter was finally resolved in 1569 when it was decided that this wall marked the true boundary. The potentially original sections are 6 feet (1.8m) high below the topstones which were laid flat and they bear all the hallmarks of a Type 2 wall (Fig. 67).

At the head of the Chapel-le-Dale valley, locally the Dale, at the foot of Whernside, a manor court entry from 1591 referred to 'Old Close' and 'New Close' in what is now Winterscales Pasture (Rodgers et al. 2011, 115). If, as logic might dictate, New Close extended higher up the hill than New Close it would suggest that Old Close had been enclosed before 1591; certainly some sections of the New Close wall do fit the Type 2 mould.

Fig. 66 A crude wall between Sleights Pasture and Scar Close near Chapel-le-Dale

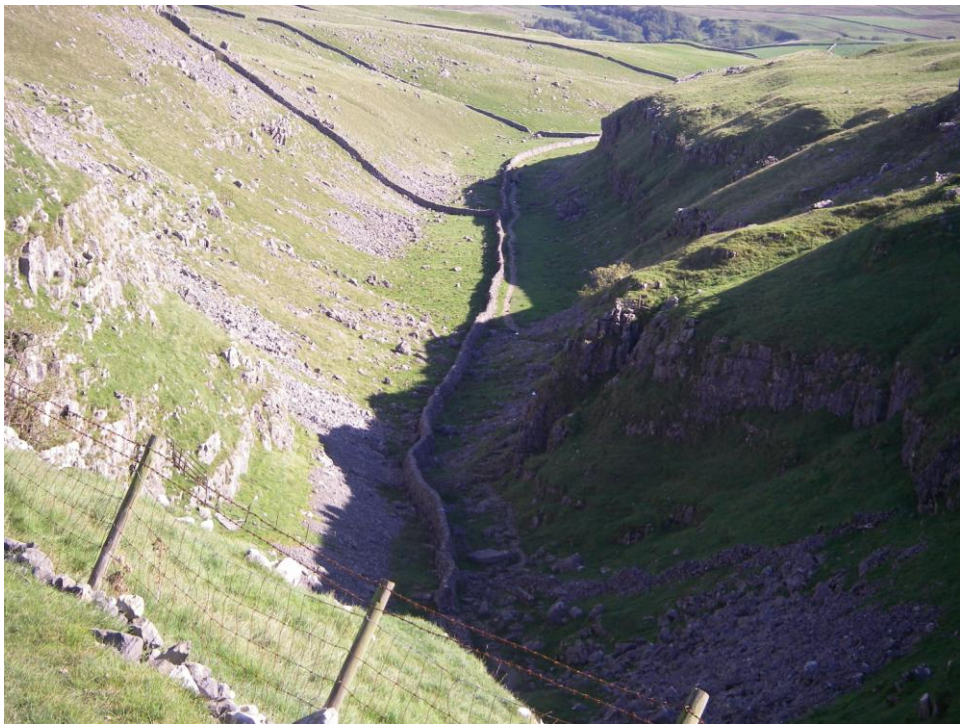


Fig. 67 The Type 2 wall running down the middle of Watlowes dry valley above Malham Cove

Fig. 68 A section of Type 2 wall at Winterscales Pasture, Ribblehead

Fig. 69 Part of the Burnsall Town Pasture headwall with a waller's mark (WT) in a wallhead

In Wharfedale the area between Burnsall Fell and Burnsall village was historically called Burnsall Town Pasture which was grazed communally until later internally sub-divided. The headwall, or head dyke, runs along the base of the Fell and it can only be described as impressive in scale averaging 6 feet 8 inches (2.2m) in height below the topstones, which lie flat. It is straight sided, very blocky with frequent large recumbent blocks in the lower part, and it has rounded corners all of which lead to its interpretation as a Type 2 wall though no archival dating evidence has been sourced. In one 600m stretch of wall there are 12 straight joints each with a waller's mark etched into one of the blocks (Fig. 69). Most of the marks are letters – E, H, RP, T, MT and WT – but others used a symbol such as an A with a long 'hat' and a K with an elongated '<' symbol. The stints range in length from 10m to 21m. Construction of this wall may have resulted from a manor court decision such as that for the Conistone Old Pasture wall in the 1580s.

A dispute between Selside in Upper Ribblesdale and Austwick/Wharfe on the southern side of the Ingleborough massif over turbary and grazing rights rumbled on for many years until eventually recourse was had to the court of the Duchy of Lancaster which commissioned the drawing up of two maps of the area concerned. The first was drawn by Christopher Saxton in 1603 though this did not resolve the dispute (TNA, Box DL44/653). A second map, by Richard Newby in 1619, seemed to achieve the court's aims (TNA, MPC1/235). He marked on his map a 9km-long boundary that encloses the entire valley along the rim of the surrounding hills – Moughton to the east and Long Scar to the west – and that wall still stands to its original height. It averages 5 feet 6 inches (1.65m) below the topstones, it is not coursed or graded, and topstones were laid flat with some overhanging on the open common side, so it too fits the Type 2 template (Fig. 70). Newby's map also labels a 'broken' wall near Sulber Gate. He did not draw the line of this wall on his map but the only evidence of a ruinous wall in that vicinity is one that extends from near the Gate westwards to terminate on the eastern edge of Clapham Bottoms. It is derelict now for much of its length but enough remains to mentally reconstruct its original Type 2 form. The fact that it was already in a ruinous state in 1619 suggests it must have been built many decades earlier.

Fig. 70 A likely candidate for Richard Newby's 'broken wall'

Fig. 71 Reused corn-drying kiln blocks in a wallhead on Scot Gate Lane

Returning to Conistone, the walls that bound the lower part of Scot Gate Lane have seen many alterations over the years – from small gapping repairs to the complete rebuilding of longer lengths. At some point in the not too distant past two field gates in the lane were give new wallheads – one at SD9822 6780 (since removed for safety) and the other higher up (Fig. 72). At both, the wallheads were built with re-purposed sandstone blocks taken from a corn-drying kiln, quite possibly the one that stood on Kilnsey Town's Piece which was fully excavated in 2008 (Johnson et al. 2009). The higher wallhead, which is not being identified for security reasons, has six reused blocks, of variable sizes, each with telltale notches along the edges.

It was argued in the Asby survey publication that the typology formulated there is capable of being applied to other parts of the Westmorland Dales and to North Craven and, more widely, parallels were drawn with walls at Roystone Grange in Derbyshire and in the North York Moors. It has been demonstrated in this publication that the Asby typology also stands up in Conistone. However, a caveat must be added: the chronological variables used for this typology are in no way meant to be seen as an exclusive list and neither is the suggested end date for Type 2 walls meant to be definitive. For anyone individual or group contemplating a survey in their chosen area, it is important at all times to maintain a holistic approach to drystone wall surveying: both field survey and archival searches are essential. For example, a wall that bears some of the hallmarks of, say, a Type 2 boundary may be mentioned in documentary sources and these obviously back up what has been postulated in the field.

It was pointed out in Chapter 4 of this publication that some walls do not fully conform to the templates for Type 2 or 3 or 4 walls: some Enclosure walls in Conistone are not neatly coursed and do not have throughs at the spacings decreed by the commissioner – see, for example Wall nos 20 (Figure 27) and 30 (Figure 29). Similarly, not all Type 4 walls conform, as with Wall no. 15 (Figure 35); and marked variations in heights and widths among Type 2 walls surveyed have been noted. A nuanced approach is vital.

7

The Conistone Drystone Wall Project: a Personal View

Maurice White

This project originated from a talk David Johnson gave to Upper Wharfedale Heritage Group at their monthly meeting in November 2023. He described very intriguing research into field walls in Asby in Westmorland, which showed that it is possible to provide broad dating evidence for walls from the style of construction and other features, while explaining why walls are interesting landscape features which are far too often taken for granted.

Since its founding Upper Wharfedale Heritage Group has offered a strong strand of practical archaeology to its members besides talks and summer walks. Over the years we have made significant contributions through fieldwork to knowledge about many possibly prosaic features of Upper Wharfedale such as field barns, river bridges, the remains of the lead mining industry as well as specific site investigations, which are all reported on our website.

Following his talk, we suggested to Dr Johnson that his research programme at Asby in Westmorland sounded like something we as a group of enthusiastic volunteers could take on, given expert guidance, and would be a way to contribute to knowledge about the historic heritage of Conistone and Upper Wharfedale.

A small steering committee was assembled and with David's expertise and experience, and guidance from Dr Roger Martlew, a plan was created using the pattern of the Asby survey. Permission to access private fields was arranged. We are grateful to the landowners and graziers who allowed us to survey their field walls. The UWHG Committee agreed to the plans and the cost implications of the project. There was a training day to introduce the project and we arranged suitable publicity to entice interested local residents to find out what we were doing. The focus was on finding out about the walls, but there was a lot of administration to be done to make that happen.

UWHG committee member Mark Woronowski and I went to Conistone on several occasions in early 2024 to walk across the fields to assess the accessibility of the walls which had been identified from the map as being the focus of research. I am not a particularly enthusiastic hill-walker and it was only at this point that I realised just how far we were going to walk in order to cover the parish, because the sampling had to be done right across the area. It just looked smaller on the map ... and it is on the side of a significant hill. Fortunately our volunteers are made of sterner stuff than I.

We advertised the training day on our website and through posters displayed in pubs and other community places. Thirty-eight members and visitors attended the training day in Kettlewell. The morning was filled with David explaining the importance of walls as landscape features and demonstrating through photographs from his extensive fieldwork the various types and features of walls we might see. After lunch we went out to test the bits of knowledge we had retained from the morning in a practical session in nearby fields. We asked volunteers to offer whichever part of the work they would like to do and we ended up with a lot for fieldwork and several offering both fieldwork and documentary research. David had already identified some relevant documents in various locations. Researchers went to archive centres in Skipton, Wakefield, Leeds and Northallerton

to check and copy information. The management committee kept the volunteer lists correct and up to date and in due course arranged the dates for fieldwork, and informed the teams of the arrangements. We had made a very optimistic start and looked forward to a very full summer, in the best possible way.

We were delighted that so many of our members were able to take part in the survey in some way or another. A total of 24 members were actively involved in aspects of the survey, some doubling up on both fieldwork and documentary research, although many more than that volunteered but were not necessarily available on scheduled fieldwork days. The twenty-two who took part in the ten fieldwork days between 13th June and 18th September 2024 accumulated 65 survey days. This felt like great evidence of commitment from a local group like ours.

Each survey day had a similar pattern: a prompt start at Conistone Bridge then carrying equipment – nothing seriously heavy – up to the identified sites. Scot Gate Lane is the most effective route to the top of the parish, and this we walked several times. We also walked up Conistone Dib and came down it on other occasions. All of our volunteers were enthusiastic and reasonably experienced visitors to the Dales so knew something of what to expect from the experience.

As we walked along or near walls we were looking for features: the way the stones had been laid – were they in courses or was it random? What was the dominant stone used, how were the top stones placed? Is the wall tall, or thick? Are there any features that would allow animals to pass through? We learned about cattle creeps, sheep creeps and rabbit smouts and in due course we got our eye in and could spot these elements, even if they had been blocked up as most were. Some sheep creeps are still needed and are open, but the cattle creeps have been closed as there are fewer cattle up there anymore. The distinctive shape of a cattle creep, wider at the top and remarkably narrow at ground level, could be seen in the patterns of stones used to fill the gap: a ghost of cows gone by.

Rabbit smouts are tiny gaps, but we can see that they were clearly made at the time of the wall's construction with a long stone above a hole at ground level. A trap was fixed on one side of it, and thus dinner was provided. It is easy to understand why that was important as a source of meat in the past and an obvious thing to put in a wall when you have the chance. We spotted several of these. The particular walls to survey had been identified quite early on by Dr Johnson. When we reached them we examined the wall, identifying the features which we were learning by applying them so frequently. We did not become experts at dating walls – that is a serious professional responsibility – but we all became quite good at noticing aspects of walls that are significant. And that, I think is at the heart of why this was such a good project for interested and enthusiastic amateurs like the membership of Upper Wharfedale Heritage Group.

Walls are a prominent feature of the Dales landscape and knowing more about them is an easy reach, we might say. Yet the features of walls require a focus on things we might not have thought of. We end up contemplating the circumstances which led to the wall's creation. Our documentary research will go some way to answering that. We could see the large pastures that had once been commons and stinted to tenants of Conistone and how they had eventually been divided up. We could see how the walls were built, by allocating stints to each tenant. The vertical joints along many of the walls, some of them with initials carved into a stone, really brought home to us all the humanity in the formation of the landscape. This is the essence of the heritage that UWHG seeks to understand.

There were many splendid moments of group awareness and discussion. We were all there to learn more about the walls, but we also learned so much more about the history of the place. One wall, very well built but low, is possibly from the monastic period. It is obviously different from so many other walls, but the suggestion that it might be the oldest surviving wall is quite a thought. The wall at the top of the parish at Capplestone Gate is very tall. We wondered why. Maybe we did not get to a coherent answer, but the discussion of why anyone would build a wall so high that no stock would pass even if it were smaller was stimulating and drew the group of volunteer researchers together. While we were there we also realised that what we were looking at is the very same wall, stone placed upon stone, as when it was built. Too often we imagine that walls fall down all the time and that what we see is a sort of ghost wall constructed from repairs following the line of the original one. But no, this is actually it. Look at one stone in the wall. The last time that was moved was when it was put in place possibly four hundred years ago. That is an impressive feeling.

Fig. 72 The cross-profile measuring frame: 'hard going and muddled'? (Roger Grimes)

Using the measuring frame was a process of learning (Fig. 72). First time it was hard going and muddled. The frame itself requires handling that acknowledges its purpose. Centring on the top of the wall and deploying the survey poles and tapes accurately took a moment or two. By the end of the survey, it was quite something to see the alacrity with which a wall profile measurement could be made. That included the process of adapting the measurements to plotting the points on the record sheet that had to be carefully done as the process was just as difficult as it was necessary. The profiles we created are not the way we normally look at walls, but they are significant as the results show. We

got quite good at it and the pace increased. We were also fortunate that we were able to deploy large teams most of the time which meant that two surveys could be done at the same time.

This was without doubt an excellent project for Upper Wharfedale Heritage Group. It presented all of the elements that form our reason for being: Upper Wharfedale focus, manmade landscape features, historical development, local lifestyle links, something that could be done with volunteer assistance and something that helps other people to understand the world around them. Drystone field walls may seem significantly less romantic than house remains or burial sites or the finding of artefacts, but they have, as we quickly understood, variety and interest and enough monumental impact when we got close to inspire awe for their original builders.

We were able to dispense with several myths about the field walls. Every visitor to the Dales, and probably anyone who visits the countryside of the North of England, has noticed the lines of stones that are everywhere. Many people think they were made in the nineteenth century, as a consequence of Enclosure mandated by parliament. To an extent it is true, but it certainly is not the whole story. Just what happened in Conistone that created this particular arrangement of field division is a much more complicated tale.

The opportunity to enjoy an extended walk across Conistone parish with a focus on meaningful research was a huge benefit of the project. All of us are relatively experienced walkers but the extra angle of looking at the walls as created features with a purpose, together with applying the learned and developing skills of identifying qualities and features, made each field day a pleasure in itself.

The drystone field walls of Conistone can no longer be overlooked as merely incidental to the agricultural heritage of the parish. They have order and meaning far beyond their use in relation to livestock and all of that can be explained. The evolution of the management of the parish is clear through the walls with a knowledge of how when and why they were built.

Modern agricultural methods do not require the creation of new walls so what we see across the parish and elsewhere is all there may be left of this way of managing the land. That fixes this project looking at heritage – we have studied and recorded in a way that will assist the visitor who asks questions about the walls for a very long time.

All of the volunteers will attest to the enjoyment they got from the survey. Walking in Upper Wharfedale is a delight in itself but it is equally valuable to be able to study features of the manmade landscape like walls in the company of an expert and with others who have an interest in the history of the place. Apart from the walls we also noted the remains of buildings showing earlier occupation and different styles of stock-handling, often from the monastic period. These are moments of insight to treasure.

I think this reveals the absolute pleasure of volunteering in a project like this. Looking closely at the remains of human activity of a specific type and wondering what it is all about, and over time we see – sometimes we need to have it pointed out – enough evidence to form an idea of how the Parish worked through time.

Epilogue

David Johnson

As with the Asby survey, the Conistone study is offered as a contribution to the study of drystone walls from an archaeological perspective. It was noted early on that, despite some notable exceptions, this aspect of rural landscapes has not received the attention from landscape archaeologists and landscape historians that it deserves. No one can argue that walls are an integral – and iconic? – element in northern upland fieldscapes but are they fully appreciated for their heritage value?

Let us end by re-emphasising points made at the end of the Asby survey publication (Johnson 2023, 85). Landscape managers surely have a duty to maintain drystone walls wherever and whenever financial resources permit; it may not be feasible to keep all walls intact but those of special archaeological, historical or heritage value should be supported, if necessary by external grant funding. To be able to identify which walls fall under this categorisation, it would be necessary to survey the walls in any given township, parish, estate or section of moorland or fell. Wall details differ regionally so an appropriate typology needs to be developed. Statutory bodies, such as national park authorities and Natural England, along with other major landscape players – the National Trust, the Woodland Trust, county wildlife trusts and the RSPB – should ideally compile and maintain a database of walls within their remit to help inform future management of their drystone wall networks. Importantly, they should also ensure that walls of historical value are repaired in the same style as they were originally built. It is surely desecration to rebuild, say, a medieval wall in modern style akin to a neatly-coursed brick wall: after all, such an approach would never be acceptable in restoring an abbey or castle or medieval town wall.

Glossary of Terms

batter	the degree to which the two sides of a wall are parallel
bield	a short length of wall for livestock to shelter behind
cam	see topstone
cape	see topstone
cast bank	an earthen bank often with a ditch on one side
cobble	see topstone
consumption wall	a broad wall acting as a linear clearance cairn
coverband	a course of thin stone laid flat between the top course and the topstones
cripple hole	a Yorkshire term. See sheep creep
dead hedge	a boundary feature made of branches, withies or stakes
depasture	putting livestock out to graze
dry hedge	see dead hedge
drystone wall	a stone wall built without mortar
dyke	a wall, ditch or bank
furlong	a contiguous grouping of medieval plough strips
gait/gate	right of pasture for one beast (cattle) or equivalent number of sheep
grange	the administrative centre of an outlying monastic estate
head dyke/wall	a wall marking the boundary between enclosed land and open moor
hogg hole	a Cumbrian term. See sheep creep
holloway	a sunken track formed by the impact of traffic and rainwash
intake/inbye	a parcel of ground enclosed from open fell or moor
kest bank	see cast bank
lazyman quarry	a small working next to a drystone wall from which stone was dug
lunky hole	a Scottish term. See sheep creep
lynchets	terraced strips use for growing crops, often grouped together
map regression	working back from modern maps through progressively earlier ones
orthostat	large thin slabs, usually limestone, set vertically in a wall
outring fence	see head dyke
pole gate	poles laid across a gateway and slotted into the stoups on each side
quick hedge	a live hedge planted with fast-growing thorn bushes
relict wall	one that only survives as remnants or footings
ring garth	see head dyke
selion	a medieval strip of land of variable size used for growing crops
sheep creep	a small opening in the base of a wall to allow sheep to pass through
sinuous	‘wobbly’ or serpentine in plan form
smoot (smought)	a small opening at the base of a wall to allow rabbits or water to pass
stinted pasture	grassland where manorial tenants had the right to graze livestock
stint	a specified number of stock allowed on pastures or a length of wall
thirl	a West Riding term. See sheep creep.
through(stones)	large weight-bearing stones laid right through a wall
topstones	large stones forming the uppermost course or layer of a wall
trouse	small thorn branches woven to make a dead hedge (*q.v.*)
wallhead	the end of a wall or any other vertical joint in a drystone wall
waste	land used in common by manorial tenants

Appendices

Appendix A: Wall Furniture

Beverley Rymer

Any detailed drystone wall survey should take into account items of what are termed wall furniture, elements built into a given stretch of wall to serve a particular purpose. Such items can help in interpreting and loosely dating walls: for example crude uncut limestone gate stoops tend to predate sawn sandstone stoops. Historical stone step stiles utilising slabs of stone ripped from, for example, a limestone pavement also tend to be older than those built with semi-dressed sandstone treads. The Conistone survey recorded all items of wall furniture in sampled walls.

Cattle Creeps

These narrow gaps, deliberately built into a wall, were designed to permit the passage of just one animal at a time. They are not as wide as a field gate and did not usually have a physical gate. Cattle creeps are comparatively rare but five were found during the survey, all of which have been blocked. Generally these have a distinctive shape, being broader in the middle and top than at the base, reflecting the body profile of cattle (Table A1).

Table A1: Cattle creep summary data

Wall	Wall type	NGR	Height (mm)	Width at base (mm)	Width at top (mm)	Descriptor
1	2	SE00765 69650	1400	580	1000	blocked
16 east	2	SD99557 68284	1600	550	850 wide at 950 high.	blocked
23	2	SD98773 68592	1200	500	900	blocked
25	2	SD98352 69700	1400	1700	1200	blocked
42	3	SD99645 67776	1400	700	900 850	blocked

Commoners' Identification Marks

In some areas allotment holders or manorial tenants were each assigned a length of wall to construct (called a stint), as part of a much longer boundary. They sometimes chose to inscribe their work with a sign, such as initials or a symbol, on a stone at the joint with a neighbouring stint. They are not found on limestone walls as it is extremely difficult to carve into. Only one wall surveyed in the Conistone area had such marks: Wall no. 1 which is a Type 2, 1650m-long sandstone wall running from the Kettlewell parish boundary through Capplestone Gate towards Bycliffe, with rough moorland to the east. Twelve marks were identified, nine being initials, two symbols and one (IV) possibly a numeral.

Gate Stoops (or Stoups)

Posts formed of large stone slabs are commonly used in the Yorkshire Dales to support gates, often at both sides (at the hinge, or postgate hole, and at the fastening sneck end) or sometimes only at one. They were sunk deep into the ground to bear the weight of the gate. In the survey area stoops are either sandstone or limestone, the latter often clearly taken from nearby limestone pavement and likely to have been put into use in an early period. More modern stoops have generally been shaped

by hand or machined and so have a more regular semi-dressed or smooth appearance. However stoops may have been reused or repositioned at some stage and are not always indicative of a wall's age; a closer look for apparently purposeless embedded metalwork may suggest evidence of reuse. Stoops can also appear within walls, for example in a blocked gateway. A total of twenty-one stone stoops were seen in the area surveyed, five in Wall no. 28 alone and a broken one in Wall no. 19. A sandstone stoop in Wall no. 27 bore distinctive hook-shaped notches to allow wooden poles to be slotted and dropped into place, revealing that it was once part of a polegate.

Rabbit Smoots

Rabbit smoots are small openings in a wall, at or near the base, built to aid trapping for meat or fur. A rabbit running through a wall would be caught by a wire or in a wooden box set up on the far side. Such wooden box traps might have a flap in the top through which the rabbit would fall but then be unable to exit (Rollinson 1987, 138). Rabbit smoots are not always found near dwellings, farm buildings or sheepfolds but may instead have been located close to warrens. The survey recorded six rabbit smoots in as many walls (of Types 2, 3 and 4) (Table A2).

Table A2: Rabbit smoot summary data

Wall	Wall type	NGR	Height (mm)	Width (mm)
1	2	SE00585 69802	240	150
4	2	SE00727 69161	-	-
8	2	SD99455 70584	-	-
12	4	SD9917 6923	-	-
31	4	SD99195 67114	-	-
41	3	SD99663 67966	-	-

Sheep Creeps

A sheep creep is an aperture in a wall that will enable the animals to move between fields, often in search of water, or into and out of sheepfolds; the size prevents cattle from passing. Alternative regional names include *cripple hole, hogg hole, thirl or lunky hole*. As with gates, they can be temporarily or permanently closed to control a flock for purposes such as managing grazing or organising clipping. Varying in height and width, they generally have a stone lintel across the top supporting the wall above.

There has been debate as to whether the width and height of a sheep creep indicate the age of the wall. Moorhouse (2003, 349-350) stated that a tall, narrow profile is medieval in origin whilst later ones are squarer. But an earlier field survey at Roystone Grange, Derbyshire, found that the square profile 'appear[s] to be medieval' whilst tall and narrow ones were located in walls built during enclosure (Wildgoose 1988, 219).

Twenty-seven sheep creeps were seen in the survey area of which ten were fully or partially blocked and one collapsed (Table A3).

As with the Asby survey, measurements of the sheep creeps surveyed at Conistone do not provide evidence for either Moorhouse's medieval or Wildgoose's enclosure-period propositions. Indeed a Type 3 Enclosure wall in a ruined sheepfold (SD99832 68117) was found to have a tall, narrow sheep

creep (height 700 mm, width at base and top 400 mm). In summary, the dimensions of creeps at Conistone appear to vary independently of the categorisation of the wall, but generally are tall and narrow with only three, two being in a Type 3 sheepfold wall, assessed as squared.

Table A3: Sheep creep summary data

Wall no.	Wall type	NGR	Height (mm)	Width (mm)	Descriptor
1	2	SE00449 69863	700	600	tall & narrow, blocked
3	2	SE01496 69571	700	550	tall & narrow
3	2	SE01798 68906	1000	600	very tall & narrow
6	2	SE01402 68546	450	550	squared, blocked
8	2	SD99484 70604	850	550 top 450 base	very tall & narrow
8	2	SD98871 70287	collapsed	450	flagstone lintel
10	2	SE00255 67887	850	600	open and intact
11	4	SD99368 70114	580	450 top 300 base	tall & narrow
14	4	SE00474 69206	600	500	tall & narrow
15	4	SD99377 69286	750	500 top 550 base	very tall & narrow
16 west	2	SD99448 68278	700	400	blocked
16 east	2	SE00067 68354	700	500 top 550 base	tall & narrow
17	2	SE00564 68726	650	450 top 400 base	tall & narrow, partially blocked
17	2	SE00421 68560	750	450 top 400 base	very tall & narrow, blocked
23	2	SD98866 68421	700	550 top 500 base	tall & narrow, blocked
25	2	SD98707 69008	600	480	tall & narrow, blocked

25	2	SD98588 69275	900	400	very tall & narrow
25	2	SD98514 69367	680	320	tall & narrow, blocked
25	2	SD98459 69449	680	430	tall & narrow, blocked
25	2	SD98445 69464	740	260	very tall & narrow, blocked
27	2	SD99600 66809	700	520	tall & narrow, open but water trough inserted
28	2	SD98276 67276	650	450	blocked
29	3	SD9944 6729 sheepfolds	450	500	squared
29	3	SD9944 6729 sheepfolds	600	500	squared
31	4	SD99108 67235	600	500	blocked
43	2	SD98984 69970	680	360	tall & narrow
-	3	SD99832 68117 sheepfolds	700	400	tall & narrow

Stone Step Stiles

Three (rough) stone step stiles were recorded, in Walls nos 1, 7 and 8, all Type 2 walls.

Squeeze Stiles

This design of stile was not observed in the survey area.

Straight Joints

A straight joint appears as a vertical line in a wall, usually extending from top to bottom though sometimes stopping short of the top where it had later been heightened. Stones are not positioned to overlap those below with the result that the two neighbouring sections are not bonded together. These can be seen where stints meet and also where a wall has been built to butt against an existing wall as a wallhead rather than tied in. In the latter case it is a definitive sign of the relative age of the walls. Additionally they can be seen at wall ends such as in a bield or at a gateway with no stone stoop. Nine of the forty-five walls surveyed have straight joints, all being Type 2 walls. Where recorded, stint lengths were found to vary considerably (Table A4).

Table A4: Straight joint summary data

Wall no.	Wall type	Number of straight joints	Stint lengths (m)
1	2	12	3.4 - 79
2	2	1	-
4	2	1	-
8	2	1	-
16 west	2	8	5.9 - 31
16 east	2	2	-
17	2	15	4.6 - 44.7
28	2	1	-
43	2	1	-

Water Smoots

Only two water smoots were found during the survey, in Wall nos 8 and 38, both Type 2 walls. Similar to rabbit smoots, these are small rectangular openings at the base of a wall, built to allow a flow of water (either a natural or a man-made drainage watercourse) through to the land below. Their low profile, (that in Wall no. 38 is 450mm in height), prevents sheep squeezing through.

Appendix B: Archival Sources Accessed

Ítem	Title	Detail	Location	Ref. code
1	Raistrick Collection	Bargain & sale Con. Old Pasture, 1583	Skipton Lib.	RC 449
2	do	Quitclaim, commons, 1584	do	RC 450
3	do	Feoffment, Kelber & Nook, 1639	do	RC 455
4	do	Lease, commons, 1666/7	do	RC 457
5	Tithe	Award 1848	C with K*	Award
6	Tithe	Map 1849	do*	Maps Pt 1 & 2
7	Enclosure	Ket. with Con. map	WYAS (W)#	QD/5/3/Roll 7/2-3
8	do	Ket. with Con. award	WYAS (W)#	QD/5/3/Roll 71
9	Low Hill Castles Barn	Land use history	private	n/a
10	Acct Books of Rich. Wigglesworth of Conistone 1683-1719	detailed day-book of RW and his sons	NYCRO, Northallerton	Learch No. 72, 2012
11	Conistone (Burnsall) estate	unknown	Brotherton, Univ. of Leeds	YAS/MD332

	map 18th c.			
12	Conistone tithe award c. 1845	award only?	do	YAS/MD335/6/38/ 8
13	Plan of Conistone 1849	enclosures with field names	do	YAS/MD335/14/27
14	Map of Conistone 1819	surveyed by Samuel Swires	NYCRO	PR CNK/5/1 (Mic. 2066)
15	Conistone Out Moor & Bycliffe Pasture n.d.	notes on ownership	NYCRO	PR CNK/13/6
16	Coniston: accounts 1746	mending fences	NYCRO	ZM(A) 11
17	Coniston 1710	account of fences	NYCRO	ZM(A) 26
18	Coniston, feoffment 1587	New Close	NYCRO	ZM(A) 78
19	Coniston agreement 1635	division of meadow called Aynholme	NYCRO	ZM(A) 99
20	Coniston lease 1636	Aynholme fence	NYCRO	ZM(A) 101
21	1783	Low field fence	NYCRO	ZM(A) 27
22	1819	Dawson's estate plan	NYCRO	ZM(A) 28
23	Deed	Wilson of Eshton	Brotherton	YAS/MD423
24	Act of making fences 1686	Not stated	NYCRO	ZM(A) 17
25	Agreement for making fences 1783	Low Field	NYCRO	ZM(A) 27

*** Accessible at conistonewithkilnsey.co.uk/history#**

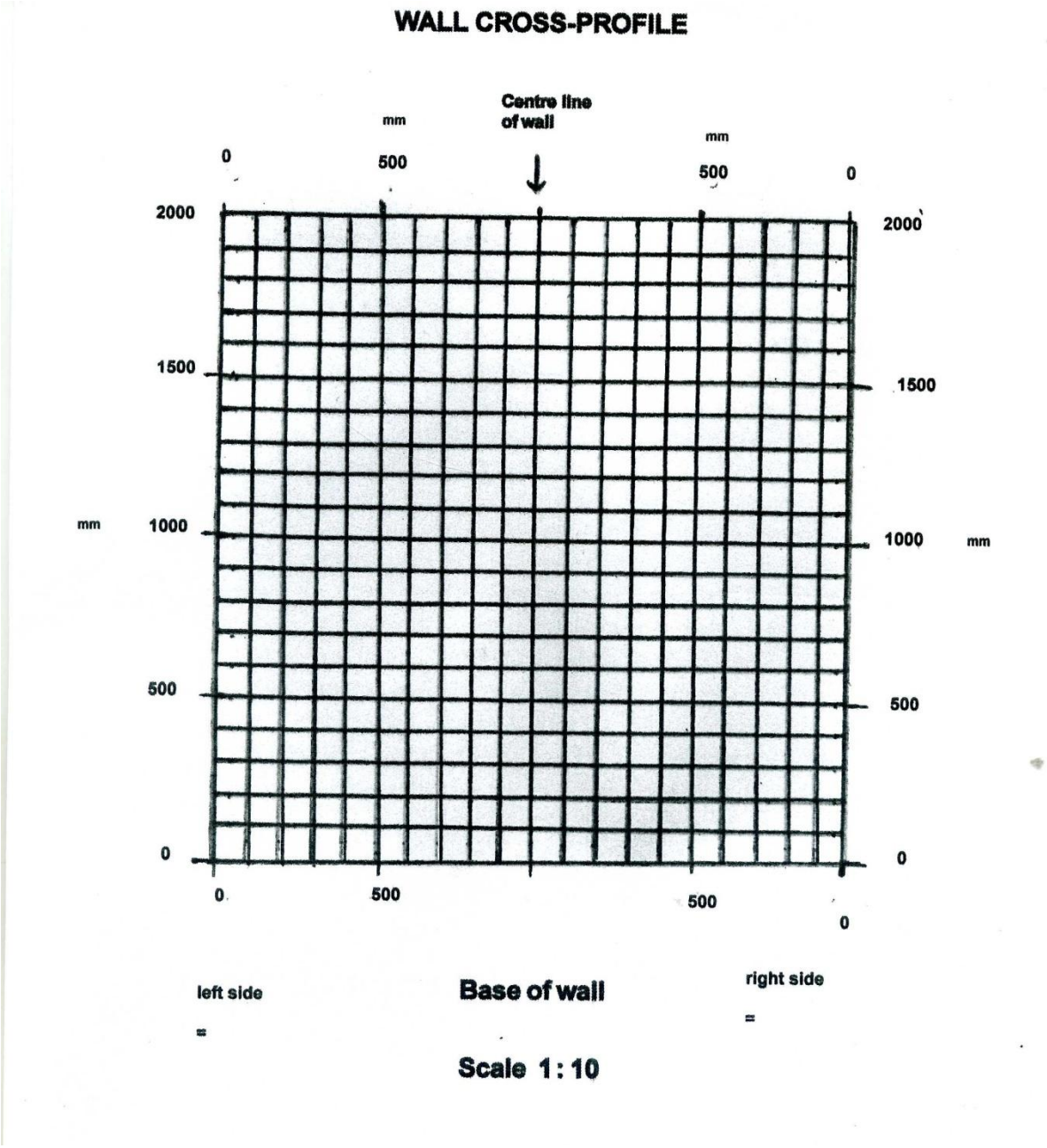
 # West Yorkshire Archive Service, West Riding Registry of Deeds, Wakefield

Appendix C: Field Survey Proforma

Dry stone wall survey form

Project Code	Project Name	Field names
Wall no:	Date	Surveyors (initials)
NGR at start of wall	NGR at end of wall	NGR for this report
Height of wall below tops (m)	Width at base (mm)	Width below topstones (mm)
Sides straight or battered (delete)	Historical land use to north/east of wall (delete one)	Historical land use to south/west of wall (delete one)
Longitudinally straight or sinuous (delete)	Topstones flat or raked/upright (delete)	Corners rounded or angled (delete)
Stone types(s)	% of each	Sub-rounded or angular (delete)
Coursed or random build (delete)	No. of throughstone courses	Graded from base to top or random (delete)
Vertical orthostats: SINGLE/PAIRED/NONE	Ditch/bank adjacent: YES NO	Large basal recumbent boulders/slabs: YES NO
Condition (delete)	Footings only/total ruin/ partial ruin/some gaps/sound	Plinth YES NO
Wall furniture (tick)		
Stone step stile	Cattle creep	Fillings visible
Stone squeeze stile	Sheep creep	Length of wall surveyed (m)
Gateway	Smoot hole – water/rabbit	Long-profile: drawing no.
Blocked gateway	Straight joints	Cross-section: drawning no.
Stone stoups	Commoners' ID marks	
Photographs taken No.	**Feature**	**Photographer**

Appendix D: Proforma Cross-Profile Graph

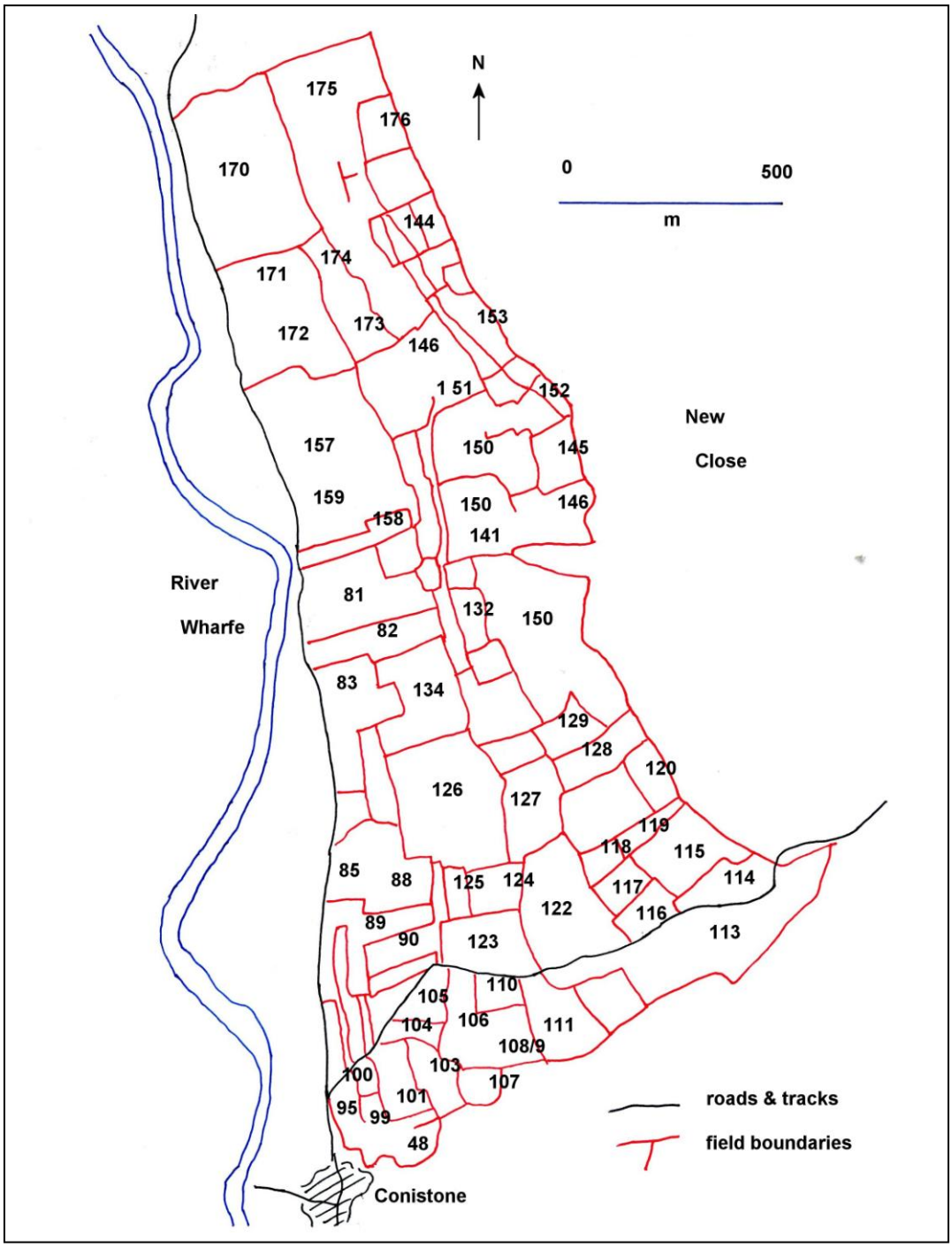


Appendix E: Discrepancies between the 1849 tithe map and current OS 1:25,000 mapping

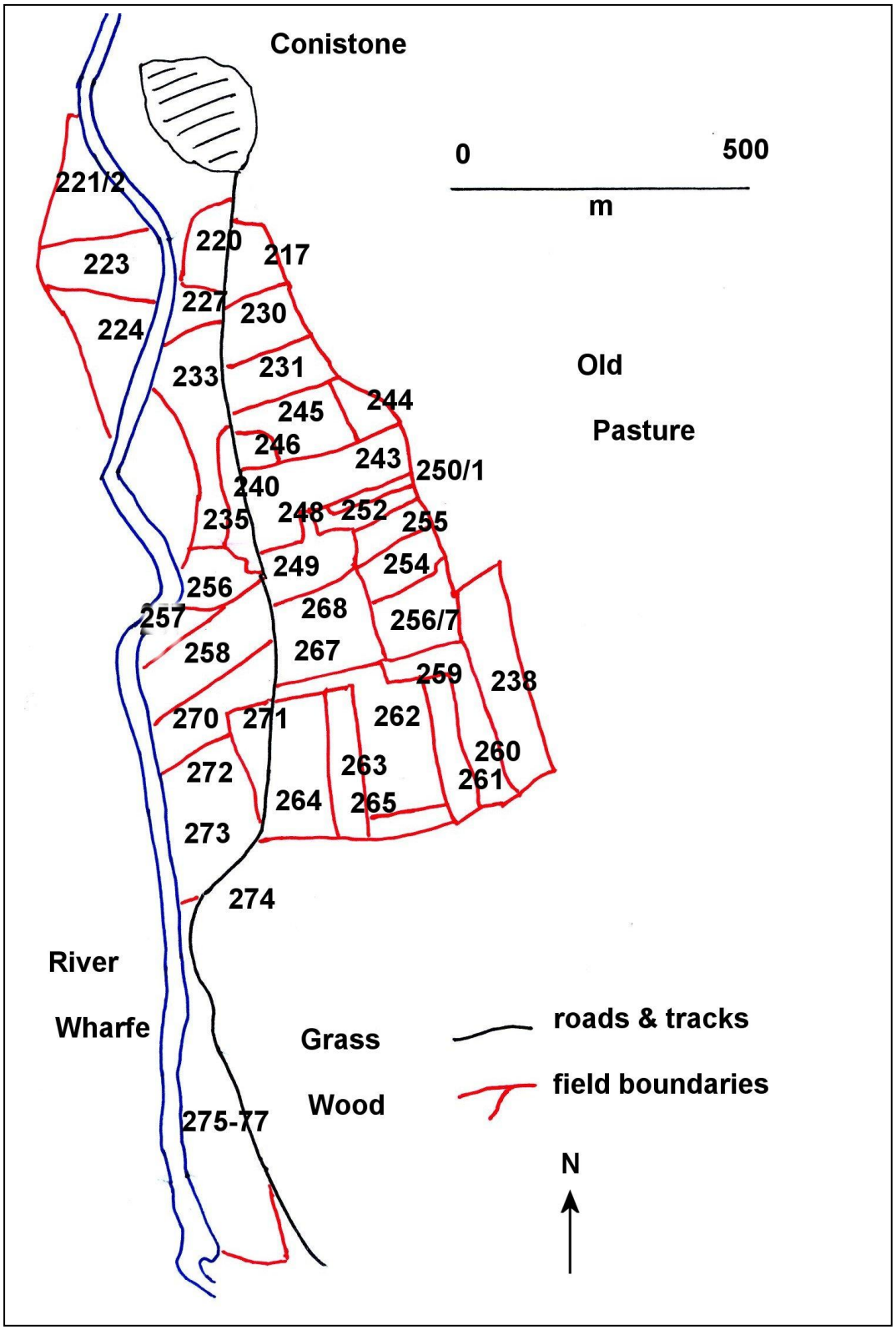
Field No	Area	Change
85, 88	New Lathe	Long north extension was walled off as 83
112, 113	Scot Gate Lane	112 was divided into 2 at NE end with 113 running SW/NE on its southern boundary
130	High Hill Castles	Now has its SW leg walled off

152, 153	Knotts below Swineber Scar	A dividing wall SW/NE up to the scar no longer appears
171, 172, 173, 174	Throstles Nest Barn	The OS map no longer shows 4 fields
175	Knotts	OS shows an enclosed corner on east side and a short line N/S in the middle (a bield?)
179	New Close Allotments	An enclosed Tip (dis.) at its western end was not shown on the tithe map
181	New Close Allotments	Now has an angled wall NE/SW (marked Sheepfold?)
183	New Close Allotments	Now divided by wall NW/SE
184	New Close Allotments	Now divided twice by a wall NW/SE and an enclosed belt of trees east of that.
188	New Close Allotments	Now divided by an enclosed belt of trees
199	Nook	W wall is straight NW/SE on the tithe map but with a curved line to its E on the OS
201, 203	Kelber	OS shows a straight line NW/SE at the western ends of both fields
204	Kelber (south)	OS shows a line across south western tip
205	Nook	Now subdivided by an angled wall N/S
208 & 209	Old Pasture (south end)	Both now have walls at their southernmost tips
211	Old Pasture (west)	The bield is not in quite the same position
214	Dib/Old Pasture	Now appears to have a wall SW/NE at Bull Scar
231	Above Sewage works	Now has an enclosure at NE corner
236	Mill Scar Lash	Was divided W/E with 237 at west end
249	Little Lathe	The N extension is truncated and part is now in 250
257,259,260,261	Little Lathe	Now has a new enclosed wooded area
262	White Nook	Now has a wall W/E as southern end
265	White Nook	Now has an enclosed wood in part
267	Little Lathe	Tithe map shows a W/E wall dividing off the northern section as field 268
275	White Nook Lathe	Now part is an enclosed wood

Appendix F: Tithe apportionment field names and numbers



Field names on the 1849 tithe map: Conistone north
(Source TNA.IR30/43/111)



Field names on the 1849 tithe map: Conistone south
(Source TNA.IR30/43/111)

Field Number	Field name
North map	
48	Croft
76/77	Byrom
78	Far Byroms
79/80	Byrom Head
81	Cow Pasture
83	Howbecks
84	New Field
85	Long Riggs
86	Sloethorns
87	Little Close
88-92	Short Butts
93	High Scot Gate Close
94	Scott Gait
95	Low Scot Gate Close
96	Flatt
97	Kirk Laithlands
98	Low Flatt
99	High Flatt
101-104	Haw
105	Wheat Field
106	Low Haw
107	Haw Hill
108-111	Haw
112	Scott Gait
114	Moor Gaits
115	Wessa
116/117	Wessa Close
118	Hainstones
119	House Close
120	Pinder Styes
121	Open Hainstones
122	Wessa Hill
123	Wessa Close
124	Wessa Leys
125	Wessa
126	Great Field
127	Willow Slack
128/129	Pinder Styes
130-132	Hill Castills
133	Braith Kell
134	Howbecks
135/139	Kell Syke Head
136/145	Hill Castills
138/140	Braith Kell
141	Caples
142-144	Far Hill Castills
146-148, 150	Far End
149	Swineber
151-155, 176	Knotts
156/157, 170-173	North Flatt
158	New Close
159	Rab Castell
161	Holme
174	Hebden North Flatts
175	High Pasture
176	Knotts

South map	
29	Calf Croft
216/218	Close Garth
219	Long Croft
220	Town End Croft
221	Pitman CRoft
222-224	Holme
227	Biggersgill
228, 233	Ings Head
229	Davy Keld
230	Close Garth
231	Cow Pasture
232	Branton Acres
234	Ing
235, 242	Low Ings
236, 240	Mill Holme
237	Crook
238	Milber
239	Cowstand
241	Fleets
243	Freer Leys
244	Coppy
245	Little Freer Leys
246	Borans
247/248	Snite Beck
249, 266	Dolly Flatt
250/251	Little Laith Close
252	Open Freer Leys
253	Nine Nooked Close
254	Slater Closes
256	Little Laith
257	Broad Close
262-265, 271	Waibecks
267	Far Dolly Flatt
268	Near Dolly Flatt
269	High Milber
270	Milber
272	Low Close
273	White Nook
274	Staingrams
275-277	Ainams

Appendix G: Personnel

Field survey

Phil Carroll, Mary Dumble, Victoria Fattorini, Jan Goode, John Grimes, Brian Langdale, Richard Law, Chris Lunnon, Jane Lunnon, Bob Moore, Geraldine Norman, Lynne Primmer, Beverley Rymer, Hilary Solanki, David Stansfield, Tony Stearne, Helen Steele, John Street, Andrew Todd, Maurice White, Mark Woronoswski, John Wright

Archival research

Mary Dumble, Jan Goode, David Johnson, Beverley Rymer, Hilary Solanki, John Street, Melanie Thornton

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