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*Additional information, particularly on the recent history of common land management in the case study area, would be welcomed by the team. Contact: e.straighton@lancaster.ac.uk*

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## **Ingleton Commons**

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The following material on individual commons in the case study area supplements the historical briefing paper (see '**Ingleton: Historical Briefing Paper**' document).

### **1. Ingleborough**

Ingleborough comprises two separate registered common land units in Ingleton and Clapham-cum-Newby parishes, as follows: **Ingleborough Common** (CL 134, covering c. 760 ha.) in the manor of Ingleton, and **Clapham Bents, Newby Moss and Simon Fell** (CL 208, 741.82 ha) in the manors of Clapham and Newby. The tenants of manor of Twistleton & Ellerbeck also had common rights on Ingleborough.

Evidence for the nature of common rights on Ingleborough, in the late 16th-/early 17th-century is at first sight contradictory. Customary tenants in Ingleton manor had common rights on Ingleborough, including pasture and turbary, the decree of 1592 stating that these pasture rights to common lands were not limited by a stint at that time. The tenants claimed:

common of pasture and Turbary and free liberty to dig and gett ling [heather] without stint, Rate or Number in, upon and throughout all the Moors, fells, wastes and commons of the said Manor or Lordship of Ingleton at all times in the year.<sup>1</sup>

Conversely, when the rights of the tenants of neighbouring manor of Twistleton on Ingleborough were re-affirmed in the decree of 1625, they were described as:

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<sup>1</sup> R.R. & M. Balderston, *Ingleton: Bygone and Present* (London & Skipton, Simpkin & Marshall, n.d.), p. 272.

*so much common of pasture on and throughout all the commons on Ingleborough within the Lordship of Ingleton formerly agreed upon and to be occupied and enjoyed by the said Tenants and thacke and stone thereunto belonging with egress and regress at all times, as doth or ought to belong unto three oxgange and a-half to any of the tenants of Ingleton aforesaid without any rent paying for the same ...*<sup>2</sup>

The implication is that a stinting regime, in which the size of pasture right was determined by the number of oxgangs at which a holding was rated, applied to the rights of both Ingleton and the Twistleton tenants.

Tenants of Newby and Clapham manors had common rights to those areas on the southern and eastern side of Ingleborough Fell which lay within their manorial boundaries. The means by which their pasture rights were limited in the medieval and early modern period is uncertain, but it is apparent that stocking was controlled numerically in the modern period. At the annual meetings of the Ingleborough Fell Commoners (recorded in their minute book covering the period 1927-2007), each grazier had to inform the meeting of the number of animals they intended to graze on the common that year. Though flexible – a grazier's stocking numbers might vary quite widely from year to year – it would seem that the number must be acceptable to the wider meeting.<sup>3</sup> What is *not* clear is whether graziers were working within the confines of a nominal or fixed number of stints or gaits, providing an upper limit for variable flock sizes. At the meeting of 21 February 1967, held in the wake of the passing of the Commons Registration Act 1965, the commoners minuted that 'There was quite a discussion regarding the coming commons registrations. It was agreed that the stocking rate for Ingleborough Fell should be 1½ acres per sheep,'<sup>4</sup> implying that rights were calculated on the acreage (rather than the carrying capacity) of inbye land.

Grazing rights registered to Ingleborough common after 1965 varied in expression. Some rights holders simply registered rights to a single type of animal (e.g. a right to graze 50 sheep with followers); others included alternatives (e.g. a right to graze 10 sheep or 2 cows); and others defined the gait (e.g. 42 sheep gaits, with 4 sheep gaits equalling 1 cattle gaits, and so on). It is not yet clear whether these variations related to historic differences or simply the complexity of registration. In the first round of registrations (up to about 1972) almost all rights were attached to land; however, the numerous amendments and updates which follow seem to show many conversions to rights in gross.

Contemporary evidence is perhaps more conclusive: it is believed that grazing on Ingleborough remained unstinted until 20-30 years ago, when stints/gaits were introduced by MAFF as a means to reduce stocking levels.<sup>5</sup> The 'Ingleborough Fell Minute Book' shows that commoners discussed proposals from English Nature and MAFF to address stocking levels on Ingleborough in 1994 and 1995.<sup>6</sup> By 2004 there

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<sup>2</sup> Balderston, *Ingleton: Bygone and Present*, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> Ingleborough Estate Office, Clapham: 'Ingleborough Fell Minute Book [1927-2007]', with the kind permission of Dr. John Farrer.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 February 1967.

<sup>5</sup> Information from Mr. H. C. Bargh of Chapel-le-Dale (2007).

<sup>6</sup> Ingleborough Estate Office, Clapham: Ingleborough Fell Minute Book, 12 August 1994, 16 February 1995.

were approximately 4000 gaits registered to Ingleborough Common, showing its importance as a pastoral resource and the potential for grazing pressures (these numbers were set to be reduced by 882 under Sheep & Wildlife Enhancement agreements in 2004).<sup>7</sup>

### *Management institutions*

*Ingleborough Fell Commoners.* A minute book for the ‘Ingleborough Fell Commoners’ covers the period 1927-2007. The commoners, under the authority of the Ingleborough Estate (Farrer family), met annually to appoint a shepherd, regulate and agree stocking numbers, set the dates for sheep gatherings and for ‘boon’ days (for collective maintenance work); and deal with the repair of sheep folds, walls, fences, gates, and drains. Latterly, the commoners have performed the role of shepherd themselves on a rota system.

This body had responsibility for the south-eastern side of Ingleborough Fell in the manors of Newby and Clapham (both owned by the Farrers), i.e. the registered commons of Clapham Bents, Newby Moss and Simon Fell (CL 208).<sup>8</sup> However, membership of the meeting did not necessarily include *all* those with grazing rights on the Newby and Clapham side of Ingleborough Fell. The meeting was initially described as ‘a meeting of the Commoners who contribute towards the wages of a shepherd’, and seemingly centred on those commoners who were tenants of the Ingleborough Estate.<sup>9</sup> In 1936, noting that stocking numbers were rising, the Fell Commoners minuted that:

The stocking of the Fell has increased by 100 ewes last year, while the total number of 1775 does not include any sheep owned by Commoners who shepherd their own sheep, such as the occupiers of Crooklands, Bleak Bank, Scale mire &c., while the total area of the Fell only comprises 1808 acres.<sup>10</sup>

Later meetings strove to widen participation. In 1966 one member of the meeting was given the task of going to see ‘all graziers up to Ingleton Parish Boundary and to ask them if they would join in and contribute to the Fell Commoners Shepherd.’<sup>11</sup> At the next meeting newcomers were formally welcomed, with the chairman emphasising the ‘need to try and maintain co-operation between all commoners of those who grazed on this side of Ingleborough Fell.’<sup>12</sup>

*Ingleton Committee.* In the above minute book there is occasional mention of an ‘Ingleton Committee’ (presumably responsible for the Ingleton side of Ingleborough Fell - Ingleborough Common CL 134), and closed periods and gathering days were

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<sup>7</sup> Natural England, ‘Condition of SSSI Units: Ingleborough’, tabular data from NE staff member Philip Eckersley (accessible via Natural England SSSI site: [www.english-nature.org.uk/Special/sssi](http://www.english-nature.org.uk/Special/sssi), compiled 1 August 2007).

<sup>8</sup> Ingleborough Estate Office, Clapham: Ingleborough Fell Minute Book [1927-2007].

<sup>9</sup> In 1931, the Ingleborough Estate’s agent reminded those present why shepherding had been introduced: ‘Mr Barton said that a Shepherd had been appointed 24 years ago on the wish of the tenant farmers of the Ingleborough Estate who exercised sheep rights on the Fell owing to the difficulties and friction which existed, as it was found that the sheep were never at rest but always kept on the move by various Commoners, and it was Mr. Farrer’s wish that a Shepherd should continue on the moor’, Ingleborough Fell Minute Book, 6 March 1931.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 7 February 1936.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 8 February 1966.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 28 March 1966.

sometimes coordinated with Ingleton commoners. However, it was evidently a recent body: in 1995, the Ingleborough Fell Commoners noted that ‘the Ingleton area has only had meetings for a few years.’<sup>13</sup> Records of the Ingleton Committee have yet to be located.

## **2. Newby Moor**

Newby Moor (CL 137, covering 298.83 ha) comprises an area of lowland common in the Wenning valley, in Clapham-cum-Newby parish and the lower division of the manor of Newby.

It is not yet clear how pasture rights on Newby Moor were limited or defined in the historical period, though there is at least one example of an individual being fined for ‘surcharging’ the common, in 1811.<sup>14</sup> Registration details are to be confirmed. Today, Newby Moor has fallen out of use and is unstocked, largely because of stock losses as a result of the common lying open to a busy road.<sup>15</sup>

### *Management institutions*

The moor fell within the Lower Division of Newby manor, and garnered numerous mentions in the Newby manor court records of the 18th and early 19th centuries, largely due to disputes over the taking of soil, turf and stone, and the construction of sod- and lime-kilns (see in particular the discussions of Newby manor court verdicts in sections 3.1, 3.2 and 4 of the ‘Ingleton: Historical Overview’ document). The Ingleborough Fell commoners’ minute book makes occasional reference to Newby Moor (e.g. discussion of the activities of a pot-holing club in 1976), so it is possible that this body had some oversight.<sup>16</sup> In recent years meetings of those having rights on Newby Moor have been held annually, but they have now (2007) fallen into disuetude. Natural England documentation relating to Newby Moor notes the existence of the Newby Landowners Group, but also points to ‘variable and ad hoc management’, with much of the Moor suffering undergrazing.<sup>17</sup>

## **3. Storrs Common**

Storrs Common (CL 129?, covering approximately 25.90 ha?) is a small common in the manor of Ingleton, on rocky fell land behind the village of Ingleton. CL number and Commons Registration details to be confirmed.

### *Management institutions*

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 16 February 1995.

<sup>14</sup> WYRO WYL 524/239: Newby verdicts, 1811-1827, 11 April 1811.

<sup>15</sup> Information from Mr. H. C. Bargh of Chapel-le-Dale (2007).

<sup>16</sup> Ingleborough Estate Office, Clapham: Ingleborough Fell Minute Book [1927-2007]’, 15 March 1976.

<sup>17</sup> Information from Dr John Farrer, Clapham (2007); Natural England, ‘Condition of SSSI Units: Newby Moor’, tabular data from NE staff member Philip Eckersley (accessible via Natural England SSSI site: [www.english-nature.org.uk/Special/sssij](http://www.english-nature.org.uk/Special/sssij), compiled 1 August 2007).

A 1996 information sheet by the Open Spaces Society refers to Storrs Common and Cold Cotes Waste Voluntary Management Groups working to organise voluntary activities and management.<sup>18</sup>

#### **4. Scales Moor**

Scales Moor (CL 272, covering 413.74 ha), also known as Twistleton Fell, lies in Ingleton parish, within the manor of Twistleton-and-Ellerbeck.

An agreement of 1810 to stint Scales Moor would suggest that up to this date, grazing rights had been unstinted. The 1810 agreement was superseded by a new stinting schedule in 1842, introduced to resolve disputes over rights (see below). The role played by the lords of the manor during these nineteenth-century changes in regulation is less than clear. In 1839, when Scales Moor was measured at 1,018 acres, ownership was vested in the stint-holders, rather than the lord of Twistleton.<sup>19</sup> This suggests that, although not physically enclosed and presumably representing the surviving manorial waste in Twistleton manor, Scales Moor had in effect become a shared pasture by the early 19th century. Nevertheless, the 1842 agreement acknowledged William Oddie as lord of Twistleton-and-Ellerbeck, and stated that the new agreement would not affect his rights as lord.<sup>20</sup> At the time of registration, the CL unit landowners were given as Eric Robinson Hartley and Francis Bertrand Hart Jackson.

Grazing rights to Scales Moor were registered on the Common Land Register, with approximately 11 rights holders (subject to amendments), and with most rights attached to land. The size of grazing right for depasturing sheep on Scales Moor was variable depending on the breed, whether white or black faced, as had been determined by the 1842 stinting agreement. Thus, for example, one holding registered a right to graze either around 91 black faced sheep *or* around 73 white faced sheep.

##### *Management institutions*

In 1810 the graziers of Scales Moor in the manor of Twistleton and Ellerbeck agreed to impose a stint and to appoint a herd. The agreement stated:

[T]aking into Consideration the Propriety of reducing to a Stint the Common of Scales Moor, otherwise Twistleton Fell, We the Proprietors and Farmers of Lands claiming Rights thereon are of Opinion that such a Place is eligible, as affording to all interested therein the Exercise of a just and equitable Right and we therefore do agree to and with each other to stint the said Common at One Beast Gate for every Shilling Land tax with which we are respectively assessed or such other Stint of Sheep and Horses and young Beasts as is usual and accustomed after the Proportion of one full grown Beast Gate, and such Stint to commence and take Place on the 25<sup>th</sup> Day of April next ensuing the Date hereof.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Open Spaces Society, information sheet: 'Cherishing your common land: community action' (1996, online via OSS publications page – [www.oss.org.uk/publications/infosht/infosht.htm](http://www.oss.org.uk/publications/infosht/infosht.htm) ).

<sup>19</sup> Ingleton Tithe Plan (parcel no. 1118): owners were given as John Medcalf and others.

<sup>20</sup> Scales Moor papers (private): stinting agreement, 1842 (typescript copy).

<sup>21</sup> WYRO WYL 524/209: Agreement to stint Scales Moor, 16 January 1810.

This initial attempt to stint Scales Moor in 1810 seems to have failed, and it was followed by a new and more formal stinting agreement in 1842. The reason given for drafting the 1842 schedule was that ‘disputes and differences’ had arisen ‘as to the number of sheep and cattle which each owner and occupier is entitled to turn upon the said Common’.<sup>22</sup> The valuer and commoners determined that the 1000 acre common could support a maximum of 800 sheep, and that the number and value of cattlegates should be adjusted accordingly. It was decided that each cattlegate would enable a commoner to graze 5 black faced Scotch sheep or 4 white faced sheep, and that the total number of cattlegates attached to the common should be 160. Any person found overstocking the common could expect legal proceedings to be taken, funded by the stint holders in proportion to their stints.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the above mentioned agreement, two minute books survive as a record of the annual meetings of the Scales Moor stinholders in the periods 1884-1898 and 1901-1991.<sup>24</sup> Meetings typically involved the appointment of a salaried herdsman, reviewing of accounts, letting of the ‘mole gate’, and questions of repair and management, such as periods when stock must be removed, and repairs to the wash dub. Local tradition recalls communal sheep washing in the sheep dubs near Ellerbeck, underlining the sense of a communal landscape.<sup>25</sup> However, communal activity was not always harmonious: in 1889, the meeting recording the outcome of a case of assault on the herdsman by one of the stinholders, dealt with by the Ingleton Petty Sessions. As with other stinted pastures in this case study area, the role of the herdsman was critical to management and governance, and he had immediate authority over the pasture: stinholders were not permitted to move livestock on the common without giving the herdsman notice. The stinholders’ minute book contains the rules and conditions of his employment. In the twentieth century, the system of appointing herdsmen seems to have become more problematic: in the 1920s, for example, stinholders could not agree on his wage, nor could all graziers be persuaded to pay their share.<sup>26</sup>

After 1938 few meetings were recorded (the book contains minutes of 1968, 1990 and 1991 only). However, this does not mean that collective activity, shepherding or management were absent. For example, it is known that shepherds were still being appointed from time to time.<sup>27</sup> The need to register rights under the 1965 Commons Registration Act seems to have precipitated the brief revival of the formal stinholders’ meeting in 1968. At this meeting graziers recorded an adjustment of the stint rate, which underlined their concentration on sheep: it was determined that one gait or stint would equal one black faced sheep, or 4/5ths ‘Lowland’ sheep, and that no cattle or horses would be grazed on the moor. In 1990, the meeting calculated that the stinholders had a total of 809 registered rights on the Moor (though with only two thirds of this stocking level permitted from December to early April), now judged to

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<sup>22</sup> The new agreement stipulated that all ‘disputes and differences quarrels controversies variences strifes bickerings questions and contentions touching and concerning the said right of Common on Scales Moor aforesaid shall from the day of the date hereof and for ever thereafter be fully and utterly abandoned and relinquished.’, Scales Moor papers (private): typescript of the 1842 stinting agreement, pp. 2-4.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Scales Moor papers (private): minute books, 1884-1898, 1901-1991.

<sup>25</sup> Information from Mr. H. C. Bargh of Chapel-le-Dale (2007).

<sup>26</sup> Scales Moor papers (private): minute books, 1884-1898, 1901-1991.

<sup>27</sup> Information from Mr. Andrew Humphries, Federation of Cumbria Commoners (2008).

comprise 1022.33 acres – a figure comparable with the 800 maximum suggested in 1842.<sup>28</sup>

## **5. Winterscales Pasture**

Winterscales Pasture (CL 368, covering 266.76 ha) is an enclosed pasture on the slopes of Whernside, in Ingleton parish and the upper division of Newby manor. References to stints in both an ‘oulde close’ and a ‘Newe close’ at Winterscales in 1591 suggest that the pasture had been enclosed before the end of the 16th century in more than one phase.<sup>29</sup> How the two stinted closes at Winterscales called ‘overclose’ and ‘netherclose’, recorded in 1609, related to the old and new closes is unclear but, assuming that these lay within what is now Winterscales Pasture, the early-modern references suggest that a complex history of enclosure lies behind the modern registered common.

In 1839 ownership of Winterscales Pasture was vested in J. W Farrer (one of the lords of the manor) and C. A. Kidd, while the occupier was given as S. Downham.<sup>30</sup> By the time of registration, three rights holders were recorded for Winterscales stinted pasture: 1) rights to graze 40 sheep (in gross); 2) rights to graze 277 sheep and their followers or 69.25 beasts and their followers, or 30 beasts (in gross); and 3) rights to graze 52 sheep with followers (attached to Gunnerfleet). The rights holders were the same as those for Littledale (see below) but no landowner was named.

See also the discussion of stinted pastures in the document ‘Ingleton: Historical Overview’.

## **7. Littledale**

Littledale (CL 473; covering 612 ha) lies at the head of Ingleton parish, in the upper division of Newby manor, between Winterscales Pasture and Blea Moor.

In 1839 Littledale (1,825 acres) was in the ownership of J W Farrer and others.<sup>31</sup> Littledale is registered with 3 rights holders. The three sets of rights have slightly different expressions: 1) rights to graze 60 sheep (in gross); 2) rights to graze 163 sheep and followers (attached to Gunnerfleet); and 3) rights to graze 786.5 sheep and followers and 40 beasts.

### *Management institutions*

A gaitholders’ meeting for Littledale Stinted Pasture, detailing stocking issues and management of the stint rate, was held annually between 1930-1939, under the authority of the Ingleborough Estate (Farrer family). The stint holders (3 members) elected a chairman from among themselves, agreed policy on stinting, repairs, and so on; the Estate agent was also present, representing the lord of the manor’s interests.

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., minute book, 1901-1991.

<sup>29</sup> WYRO, WYL 524/142, ‘33/34 Eliz.’

<sup>30</sup> Ingleton Tithe Plan, parcel no. 1294.

<sup>31</sup> Ingleton Tithe Plan, parcels 1447, 1448.

In 1934, the Estate took over the employment of a shepherd for Littledale. In 1933 the rules governing grazing rights on Blea Moor were adopted for Littledale as well.<sup>32</sup>

## **6. Blea Moor**

Blea Moor (CL 194) is a stinted pasture in the upper division of Newby manor, contiguous to Littledale. Although tenurially separate in 1839 (as recorded on the Ingleton Tithe Plan), the contiguous moorlands of Blea Moor and Littledale do not appear to have been physically divided at that date. However, the two commons are now divided by a modern post and wire fence, with the boundary running approximately down Dry Gill Ridge.

In 1839 Blea Moor (1,097 acres) was in the ownership of William Brown and others.<sup>33</sup> In the early 19th century Blea Moor supported 216 beast gates and 864 sheep gaits.<sup>34</sup> Blea Moor appears on the Common Land Register with approximately 9 rights holders (subject to amendments), with some rights attached to land and some in gross. Some rights were registered as simple numbers (e.g. a right to graze 200 sheep), others included alternatives (e.g. a right to graze 10 sheep or 2.5 cattle to the extent of 10 sheep gaits).

The southern end of Blea Moor, in the vicinity of Ribblehead, contains an extensive site of industrial archaeological importance, dating from the construction of the Batty Green Viaduct between 1869 and 1876. This includes the sites of brickworks, locomotive sheds and temporary settlements for the navvies, known by the names of Sebastopol, Inkerman, Belgravia, Jericho, and Tunnel Huts.<sup>35</sup>

### *Management institutions*

The Ribblehead Gait Holders Association manages grazing rights on Blea Moor. Its rules state that at least 35 of every 100 sheep owned by a gaitholder and put to the Moor should be geld sheep or hogs, but allow gaitholders to substitute additional ewes and lambs to make up the required number, additional lambs being rated at 4 lambs to one gait.<sup>36</sup> These rules can be traced back to 1933, when they were adopted for the management of the adjacent common of Littledale.<sup>37</sup>

## **8. Cam End**

Cam End or Cam Fell (CL 103, covering 689.20 ha) lies to the east of Ribblehead, in the upper division of Newby manor

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<sup>32</sup> Ingleborough Estate Office, Clapham: 'Littledale Stinted Pasture Minute Book [1930-1939]'.

<sup>33</sup> Ingleton Tithe Plan, parcels 1447, 1448.

<sup>34</sup> Ingleborough Estate Plan (cited in Tyler, *Sheep, Steam & Shows*, p. 9).

<sup>35</sup> Peter Cardwell, Damien Ronan, and Roger Simpson, 'An archaeological survey of the Ribblehead navy settlements', pp. 195-202 in R. F. White and P. R. Wilson (eds), *Archaeology and Historic Landscapes of the Yorkshire Dales*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Occasional Papers No. 2., (2004).

<sup>36</sup> Tyler, *Sheep, Steam & Shows*, p. 10.

<sup>37</sup> Ingleborough Estate Office, Clapham: 'Littledale Stinted Pasture Minute Book [1930-1939]', p. 9, with the kind permission of Dr. John Farrer.



It is not always easy to distinguish references to Cam End in historical records from those to other shared pastures in the vicinity of Cam Houses. The cattlegates in ‘Camsyde’ mentioned in 1591 and 1609 (in the earlier instance specifically stated to be with rights of turbary and ‘le Thacke’ [i.e. thatch]) may refer to one of the adjacent areas which appear on the modern map as Cam Pasture and Cam Rakes, rather than Cam End itself.<sup>38</sup>

In the early 19th century it was said that the three holdings at Cam had ‘appropriated to themselves’ Cam Pasture, Cam Fell, Cam Rakes, & that they turned their stock on to Cam End, which they shared with ‘the Estates which lay on the other side thereof,’ probably Syke and Dry Lathe, near Birkwith, which were also recorded as ‘taking their common’ on Cam.<sup>39</sup>

At the point of registration, Cam Fell (or ‘Cam End’) had approximately 6 rights holders (subject to amendments), with some rights attached and some in gross. For example, rights attached to Gearstones enabled the inhabitant to graze 24 sheep with followers or 6 cattle (4 sheep gaits = 1 cattle gait).

## **9. Carrs Moor**

Carrs Moor (CL 102, covering approx. 150.39 ha) lies to the east of Ribblehead and to the south of Cam End, in the upper division of Newby manor. It is sometimes listed as ‘Crutchin Gill Rigg’.

In the early 19th century, Carrs reputedly carried 61 beast gates and 307 sheep gaits.<sup>40</sup> Only two rights holders were entered on the Common Land Register after 1965: 1) rights to graze 255 sheep with followers or alternatively 57 cattle, attached to Nether Lodge; and 2) rights to graze 52 sheep, attached to Lodge Hall.

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<sup>38</sup> WYRO, WYL 524/142, Newby court rolls, ‘33/34 Eliz’ and 10 July 1609.

<sup>39</sup> WYRO WYL 524/209: ‘Explanation of the Plan of the Higher Division’ and ‘First Draft Explanation of the Plan of the Higher Division’ n.d. (early 19th century).

<sup>40</sup> Ingleborough Estate Plan (cited in Tyler, *Sheep, Steam and Shows*, p. 9)