

Coulton Mill

Coulton, Hovingham YO62 4ND

SE6424473671



Management Plan for

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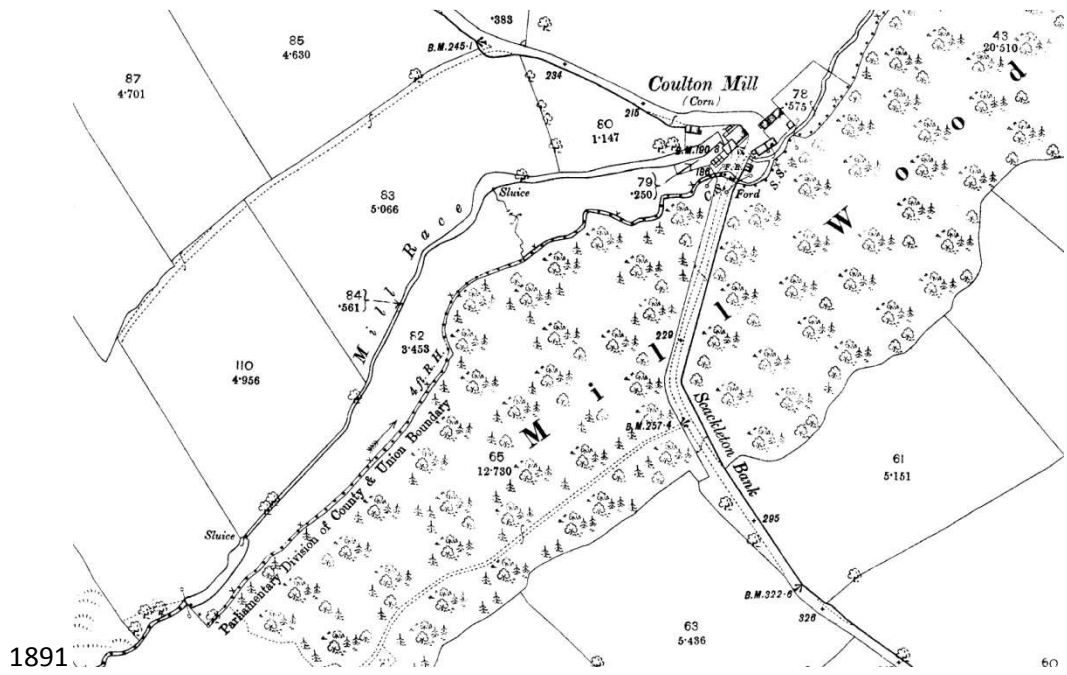
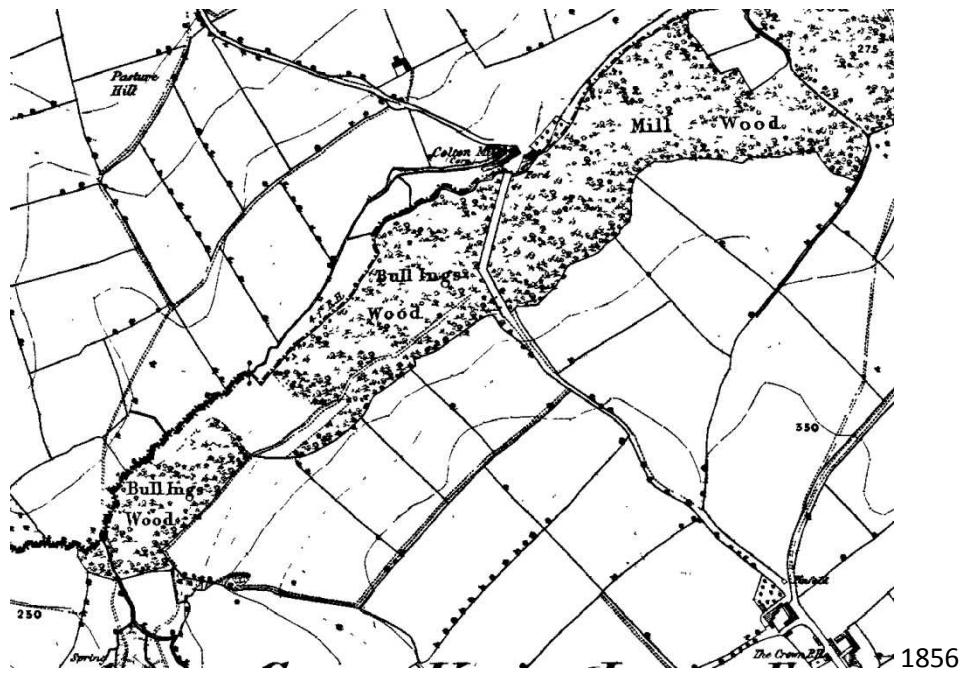
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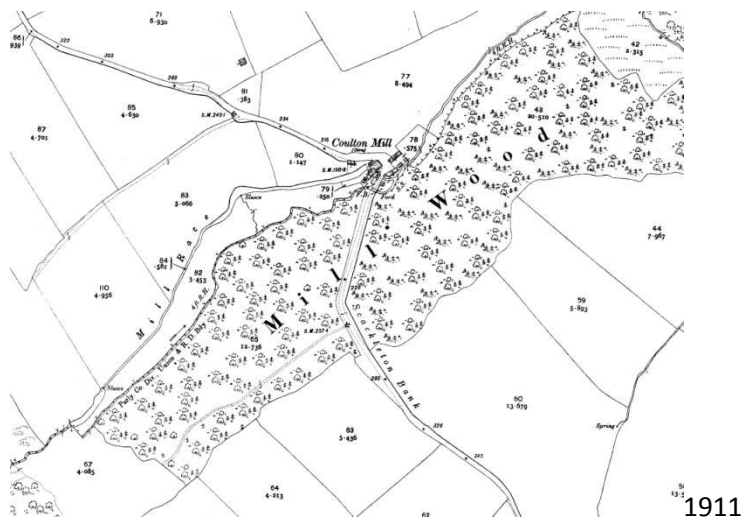
1 History and Historical Analysis



Coulton is a small linear settlement between Scackleton, to the S, Brandsby to the SW, Grimston to the NW, Cawton to the NE and Hovingham to the East in the Howardian Hills. Gilling East lies a little further to the North. In the foot of a steep valley between Coulton and Scackleton villages, sits Coulton Mill, served historically by a stream – Marr Beck - that itself forms the boundary between the two townships. This stream runs from the SW and is fed all along its route by a multitude of springs that emerge along a plane roughly half-way up the valley sides. The mill itself was served historically by an unusually long leat and tail-race that runs at this plane, beginning some 300 yards SW of the mill. This head race is now much overgrown but was a substantial earthwork including at least one, if not two ponds in the past. Indeed, Ordnance Survey maps from 1856, 1891 and 1911 confirm the existence of two ponds and two sets of sluice-gates and show that what today may be perceived as the natural course of Marr Beck is, in fact, the course of managed leat of the mill. The original course of the beck is parallel and to the SE of the leat. Today, it appears as a ditch, without running water (when walked in March 2012) and the ground between it and the leat is a bog. This bog may be the ‘meadow’ given to Walter de Colton by Byland Abbey in the later 13thC, along with the use of their mill at Scackleton, which meadow is described in the document as being between the watercourse of his mill at Colton and the beck (see below).

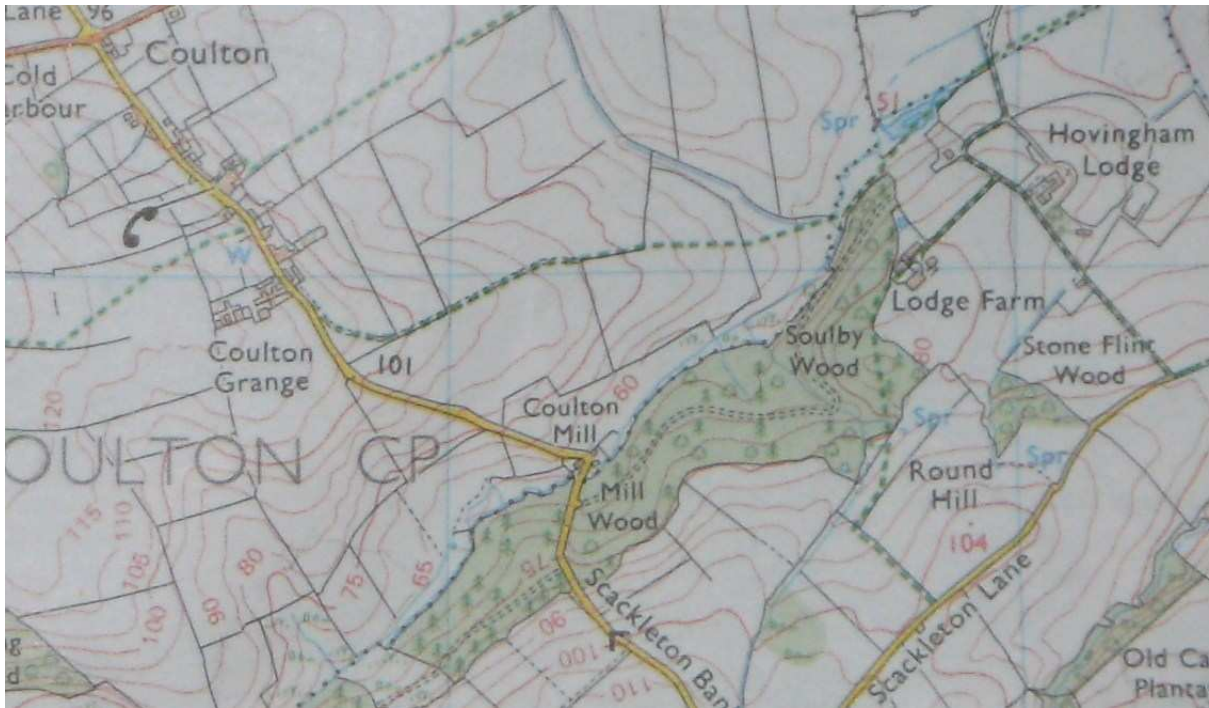
The whereabouts of Scackleton Mill, which is mentioned, along with Coulton Mill, in the same record from the 13thC, is currently imprecise, but it can only have been situated upon this watercourse – Scackleton village, like Coulton, is built upon high ground.





1911

There is evidence of a managed water-course down stream of Coulton Mill, close to the conjunction of Coulton, Scackleton and Hovingham townships, and within that of Scackleton, as well as of earth works adjacent to this. This wide ditch – of similar width to the head-race of Coulton Mill – however, follows the contour of the hillside and is quite elevated – it is unclear how, or from where, water sufficient to power a mill, would have entered it, or even, due to its disruption, in which direction this water might have flowed. Along with the earthworks, which may represent or conceal the fabric of a long-fallen building, however, this remains the most likely location of the medieval Scackleton mill. The pond in this vicinity was dug only 20 years ago and is unrelated to the earthworks to its SW.



2010

Coulton Mill is specifically mentioned in two documents at least from the medieval period – once, in some detail, as part of a 13thC exchange between Byland Abbey and its owner, Walter de Colton,

and again in 1384, in association with income from De Colton lands being given to Ralph de Hastings, Lord of the Manor of Slingsby and Colton. In later documents, watermills are frequently mentioned, and such at Colton *may* be one of these.

Harrison (2008 277) lists mills and millers 'recorded by name suffixed by 'molendinario' in the 1301 Lay Subsidy. In Ryedale, there was a mill in Hovingham, its miller was Willelmo. There were two mills in Slingsby, and though this figure may refer to the water mill and the windmill later to be found in Slingsby, elsewhere (such as in New Malton), Wyndmillen are distinguished in the list. Coulton was by 1301 held by the manor of Slingsby, so that it is possible that one of the two mills mentioned, held respectively by Willelmo and Galfrido, is that of Coulton.

Even earlier, in 1218, (Harrison 2008 276) there was reference to 'Slingsby mill in manor of Coulton', which may have been recorded thus to distinguish it from the mill in Slingsby itself, Coulton being already part of the De Wyville manor of Slingsby (see below).

It may be accepted, therefore, that there was a watermill in Coulton township from the earlier medieval period, at least, and that the current watermill at Coulton in all likelihood occupies the footprint of this mill. The investment in not only the buildings, but in the head-race and ponds necessary for the operation of a mill – and the survival of significant earthworks associated with the creation of the tail-race of Coulton Mill and of an unusually long leat (see maps above) - would argue very much in favour of their retention and perpetual maintenance and use and militate against any temptation towards relocation.

It must be said, however, that very little of the standing fabric of the mill building at Coulton today may be considered to be of medieval construction. Some such elements may remain to be discovered deep within during the course of conservation and repair works. The lower levels of the masonry of the mill building may well be medieval and much earlier than the rest, however. Large ashlar blocks of stone brought from further afield than the immediately local stone of the main buildings on the site remains in situ alongside the mill-wheel and along the mill stream, and these may, indeed, be part of the medieval mill, which may, in the earliest period have risen from this stonework as a timber-framed building. Built fabric upon the site of Coulton Mill today seems likely to date from the earlier 17thC onwards.

There is no mention of a mill in either Coulton or Scackleton in the Domesday Book record, although both places were visited. The list of names mentioned in Domesday in association with both shows that some of the same individuals were present, or held lands, in each place:

Coulton:

Dubhan; Ealdraed, Archbishop of York; Earnwulf; Geoffrey, man of Thomas, Archbishop of York; Gillemicel; King William as landholder; Thomas, Archbishop of York; Thorulf ... Arnketil; Basinc; Earl Waltheof; Gamal; Guthrothr; Haldor; Ligulf; Man of Robert, Count of Mortain; Nigel Fossard; Northmann; ... Asfrith; Bark; Egelfride; Fulcher; Gamal; Gerard, man of Hugh fitzBaldric; Gulbert, man of Hugh fitzBaldric; Knut; Ligulf; ... Berengar de Tosny; Count Alan; Hugh d'Avranches, Earl of Chester; Hugh fitzBaldric, the sheriff; King William as landholder; ... Alsige; Aluerle; Arnger; Arngrim; Arnketil; Brune; Church of Brafferton; Egelfride; Elaf; Esbiorn; Fredegaest; Gamal; Gospatric; ...

Scackleton:

Alsige; Aluerle; Arnger; Arngrim; Arnketil; Brune; Church of Brafferton; Egelfride; Elaf; Esbiorn; Fredegaest; Gamal; Gospatric; ...Berengar de Tosny; Count Alan; Hugh d'Avranches, Earl of Chester; Hugh fitzBaldric, the sheriff; King William as landholder; ... Asfrith; Bark; Egelfride; Fulcher; Gamal; Gerard, man of Hugh fitzBaldric; Gulbert, man of Hugh fitzBaldric; Knut; Ligulf; ... Earl Waltheof; Gospatric; Gunwor; King William as landholder; Nigel Fossard; Northmann; Orm; Otrida; Richard de Sourdeval; ...

(Domesday book National Archives E 31 3/2)

Notably, both Coulton and Scackleton were held by King William and it may be assumed that neither place had remained untouched by the Harrying of the North in 1069. Much of North East Yorkshire, Cleveland and County Durham was devastated in this assault and had not recovered by the time of the Domesday survey. As Harrison points out, derelict or unused mills were not recorded and their use relied upon the harvest of crops locally and of able-bodied farmers to harvest these. The harrying of the north had left both very thin on the ground. The possibility that there was a mill at Coulton before the conquest cannot, therefore, be ruled out. Brown differs from Harrison, however, in observing that Domesday did record derelict or disused mills, in which case, it would seem, no mill had been established by this time.

Hovingham Parish Registers, as collated by Endemol (2011), show a continuous sequence of occupation – and one must assume, of milling – at Coulton Mill from 1657, around the time by which the Fairfaxes of Walton and Gilling East had finally consolidated their ownership of Coulton.

Sir Nicolas Fairfax had acquired much of Colton in 1564:

“Until 1563 the manor of Coulton followed the descent of that of Slingsby (fn. 60) (q.v.). In 1563 Henry Earl of Huntingdon and Katharine his wife, Sir Thomas Gerard, kt., and Elizabeth his wife, conveyed the manors of Coulton and Howthorpe to Sir Robert Worsley, kt., (fn. 61) who in the following year conveyed them with Hovingham(q.v.) to Sir Thomas Gerard, kt. (fn. 62) By a deed of the same year, however, Robert Worsley, son of Sir Robert, sold the manor of Coulton to Nicholas Fairfax (fn. 63) of Gilling” (From: 'Parishes: Hovingham', A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 1 (1914), pp. 505-511. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=64793> Date accessed: 08 March 2012.)

Sir Thomas Gerrarde of Bryn, in Lancashire, was later one of a group of Catholic recusants who sought to establish a Catholic community – *Norumbega* – in the Americas (in Florida) and who had in 1583 financed a proposed expedition led by Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Despite the grant of a charter by Elizabeth I, they were forced to withdraw when the Privy Council insisted upon payment of outstanding recusancy fines before their departure. Gilbert sailed anyway and is credited with claiming – if certainly not of discovering – Newfoundland (a long way from Florida, it has to be acknowledged) for the English Crown in 1583, and ‘thereby founded Britain’s overseas empire,’ as asserted by a commemorative plaque to him in St Johns. Henry, Earl of Huntingdon was a Hastings, as had been Gerrarde’s wife.

Both Slingsby and Hovingham shares of Colton manor were acquired by Fairfax from the Hastings – in the form of the 3rd Earl of Huntingdon and Sir Thomas Gerrarde – therefore. The Hovingham share – which specifically included ‘two watermills’, one of which was certainly in Hovingham itself and the

other of which may have been at Coulton – via Robert Worsley, who had purchased it from Gerrarde the same year (Yorkshire Fines 1564). Slingsby itself was sold by the Earl of Huntingdon in 1563 to John Atherton, who later sold to Sir Charles Cavendish. The fine between Gerrarde and Worsley was described thus: “Manors of Hovingham, Colton, and Holthroppe, and 60 messuages, 30 cottages, and 2 watermills with lands there.” (Yorkshire Fines 1564)

Much of the rest of Coulton was acquired by the Fairfaxes over following decades in purchases of smaller parcels of land previously in the hands of at least four monastic houses – Mount Grace, Malton and Newburgh Priors, and St Mary’s Abbey as well as the Cathedral church of St Peter in York. Parts of Slingsby had also been in the ownership of the Knights Templar, and may have formed part of the acquisition in Coulton. Ivo de Etton, lord of the manor of Gilling, was Preceptor of Temple Hirst at the time of the suppression of the Order of Knights Templar in 1308. He was arrested, but later released. Etton, in East Yorkshire, from whence the de Ettons had come to Gilling, was another Templar holding in Yorkshire, and the manor of Hirst itself had been acquired by the Templars in 1152 as the result of its grant by Ralph Hastings of Allerston (Page 1974) whose family became lords of the manor of Slingsby (and Colton) after 1344, when they purchased both from the de Wyvilles. The de Ettons remained lords of the manor of Gilling until it was successfully claimed by Sir Thomas Fairfax of Walton in 1492. In 1349,

“the sister of Thomas de Etton, Elizabeth, [had] married Thomas Fairfax of Walton. His son and successor Thomas married his cousin Elizabeth Fairfax. This event, as it happened, sealed the future of the Gilling Estates. In the event of the Etton family failing the Gilling Estates were to be settled on members of the Fairfax family.”

(Marwood 1995 <http://www.apl385.com/gilling/history/chapter8.htm>)

The de Ettons had begun to build Gilling Castle in the same year and received licence to empark 1000 acres of wood in Gilling for deer in 1374 (Marwood 1995). Upon his acquisition of Slingsby in 1344, Sir Ralph Hastings had received license not only to crenellate the castle at Slingsby, but also to enclose wood and lands in Colton, demonstrating ownership (St Clair Brooke 1904 73).

By 1284-5 the Mowbrays, lords of Hovingham, were overlords of the whole 4 carucates of Coulton. They were certainly overlords before this and William de Wyville of Slingsby had acquired free warren in Coulton in 1253. (From: 'Parishes: Hovingham', A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 1 (1914), pp. 505-511. URL: <http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=64793> Date accessed: 08 March 2012.)

Prior to 1344, the manors of Slingsby and Colton had been substantially held by the de Wyvilles. William Wyville held 7 ½ carucates of land in Slingsby under Roger de Mowbray at the time of Kirkby’s Inquest (1284-1285) and his right was the subject of an inquisition at York in 1293 when he asserted his claim to free warren in all his demesne in Slingsby, Sledmere and Colton ‘through Charter of King Henry, father of Richard I, which had never been made public’ and that ‘he and all his ancestors from time immemorial had used this liberty uninterruptedly’ (St Clair Brooke 1904 129).

The Wyvilles had a house in Slingsby as early as 1215

An ‘inquest post-mortem’ of 1301 ‘concerning the lands and tenements which belonged to John de Wyvyl stated that ‘the said John, on the day on which he died, held certain lands and tenements in

his own possession as the fee of Slingsby, Northholm and Colton, of John, son and heir of Roger de Mowbray, under age and in the King's custody for the service of one military fee' before listing out properties and tenants. Of these, it is worth noting 'two water-mills under one roof, value per ann. 40s, and one wind-mill, value per ann. 13s 4d.' (St Clair Brooke 1904 130-131). The de Wyvilles remained in Slingsby after their alienation of the manor to the Hastings, owning several houses.

Kirkby's Inquest of 1285 throws clear light upon the manorial situation in Coulton:

COLTON. Willelmns de Wywile tenet Colton pro tertia parte feodi milit. ; et tenet de Rogero Moubray, et Rogerus in capite de rege.

COLTON. In Colton sunt iiii car. terrse de feodo de Moubray ; unde Thomas [de] Langtoft tenet j car. terrse geld, de Willelmo de Wywyle ; et Willelmus de Wywyle tenet vij bov. terrse geld, in dominico ; et Walterus de Colton [tenet] xij bov. terrse de Willelmo de Wywyll, et Willelmus de Wywyle de Rogero de Moubray, et Rogerus de Moubray in capite ; unde xij car. faciunt feod. milit. Item in Colton sunt v bov. [terrse]^ non geld. ; unde di. car. est de libertate Beati Petri ; et Canonici de Malton tenent j bov. terrse in elemosinam de antique. (*The survey of the county of York, taken by John de Kirkby, commonly called Kirkby's inquest*).

Walter de Colton holds twelve bovates of land in Colton of de Wywyl, who himself holds seven; de Wywyl holds all of these of Roger de Moubray. Malton Priory at this time holds one bovate.

However, others held parts, at least, of the manor of Colton before too long, including the de Ettons:

"Quitclaim by John de Kyrkeby chaplain to Hugh de Gascoigne rector of the church of Stayngreve and John de Midleton, mason, to all lands and tenements in Gillyng in Rydale with reversion of lordship of Gillyng now in the hands of Elizabeth de Etton, lady thereof, and in all lands and tenements in Colton, Southolme in Rydale and Waterholm, which grantor had by grant of Thomas de Etton de Gillyng...dated Gillyng in Rydale 20 September 15 Richard II 1391" (ZQG(F) I 12 MIC 2865/2146).

YORKSHIRE INQUISITIONS. 139:

Inquisition made before Sir Ralph de Normanville, sub-escheator in the county of York, on Friday the feast of the Translation of St. Martin the Bishop, 20 Edw. (4 July, 1292), by Henry de Cruce, Michael de Knapton, Robert Fox, Henry de Colton, Peter Lambard, Richard son of Thurstan, William le Turnur, William Russell, William Marshal [Mareschallum], John son of Henry of Colton, Nicholas de Castelford, and Henry Clerk [clericum] of Thorpe ; who say that Gaceus held of the king eighteen acres of land in Colton by no service, because the said eighteen acres descended to the king as an escheat by the death of Lyon a Jew, who held of Philip de Fauconberg'. The same Gaceus held of Walter de Fauconberg' the manor of Colton, with six bovates and five score acres of land, with wood and meadow in Colton ; ten acres of land and six acres of meadow in the town of Apelton for threepence yearly for all service. In Colton he held of William de Wylheby a toft and two bovates of land for one penny yearly ; of Henry son of Richard of Colton one bovate for a penny yearly ; of Jordan de Sandwaht a toft and a bovate for a penny ; of Sir Richard de Malebys two acres of meadow in Acastre for a penny yearly." (Yorkshire Archaeological Society 1907).

This is especially interesting – indicating that ‘Lyon a Jew’ had previously owned 18 acres of land in Colton owned in 1292 by the King. Edward I had issued an edict of expulsion of the Jews only two years before, in 1290. Henry de Colton and his son John of Colton were both jurors at this inquisition in 1292. Notably also, Lyon had held this escheat of Philip of Fauconberg, one of very many local landowners in the 13thC to have borrowed extensively from Jews in York, who enjoyed royal and ecclesiastical protection throughout the 13thC, though this had begun to seriously diminish after 1270, when Italian bankers became much more active in the region and by which time much of the rural landlord class had become deeply indebted to Jewish bankers in the city.

The hugely significant role played by the Jewish community in York in primitive capital accumulation throughout the rural hinterland of the city, as well as within the city itself, may only be glimpsed in fragmentary contemporary evidence – a lack compounded by their intimate association with the economies and influence of the monastic houses of Yorkshire at this time, who were themselves to become victims of asset seizure and vilification in their turn. It was, of course, in the interests of the ruling class, both nationally and regionally, to conceal their indebtedness and obligation to the Jewish community they expelled in 1290 and whose assets they acquired.

Even in 1270, when the fortunes of the Jewish community in York were on the wane and the first of punitive measures against them began to be enforced, a list of 40 laymen indebted to the Jews in York in this year throws up the names of many North Yorkshire land-owners – the Percys, Fauconbergs and Cliffords, for example, as well as Peter de Bruce, who owed £250. Robert de Percy (of Ryton) owed £200, though the average was more like £50 to £60. (Dobson 2010 61). Using average earnings as the index, £250 in 1270 equates to £3.5 million in 2011 (www.measuringworth.com)

The infamous massacre of Shabbat ha-Gadol at Clifford’s Tower in 1290 – of almost all of a Jewish community only recently established in York – was incited by local lords, and especially by Richard Malebisse, the descendent of the Fairfax family of Gilling and Coulton. The massacre was accompanied by the destruction of loan agreements between local landowners and prominent Jewish financiers held at York Minster.

A Jewish community quickly re-established itself in York after 1190 and almost immediately, the Fairfax and Vavassor families were deeply indebted once more (Dobson 2010 61). As Dobson observes, “one would be safe to conclude that a large proportion of the northern ‘knightly class’ were not only borrowing from York Jews but were also finding it difficult to extricate themselves from their entanglements” (ibid 61)

A royal ‘archa’ existed in York as early as 1205, by which Jewish bonds were registered under government supervision (and protection) (ibid 55).

The evidence also suggests that the Jews of York played a pivotal role not only in aggregating some of the smaller early medieval land-holdings into the hands of fewer and fewer individuals and families, but in building the estates of the monasteries and priories locally, with these redeeming the debts of local lords in return for lands (Hudleston 1966). Malton Priory acquired significant lands in this way, and it may be surmised that some, at least, of the early ‘grants’ of land to the priories conceal such arrangements. In 1243 “part of Leo Le Eveske’s considerable treasure was actually in the custody of the Prior of Malton” (Dobson 2010 62). Dobson draws upon the work of H G Richardson to suggest strongly that “the way in which the involvement of Malton Priory and Fountains Abbey with York Jews provides ‘evidence of a well-organised business for marketing encumbered estates’ and some, at least, of the holdings in Colton of the various religious houses at the time of the Dissolution, all of which were acquired by Fairfax in the years after 1564, might be viewed in this light, an idea given purchase by Lyon’s (or Leon’s) possession of 18 acres of Colton land in the late 13thC.

It is considered that it would have been exceptional for York Jews to live beyond the city itself, but some did bear names that incorporated place-names from elsewhere – Jacob de Pocklingeton, for example, and Leon de Scardeburg (who may be the Leon recorded as holding land in Colton). It seems to be a matter of academic agreement that this indicated a place where the individual, resident in York, lent his money...but this seems a little tenuous, when such similar appellations more generally were clear indications of residence or, at least, of land ownership. Most intriguingly, in the context of this academic debate as well as this narrative, Dobson may be quoted at length concerning a prominent member of the Jewish community during the 13thC:

“In the north of England undoubtedly the most illuminating single name...is that of Moses, son of Moses of Colton, who appeared as an attorney of Aaron of York in a quitclaim of 1252. Not only is the Yorkshire place name from which his family name must have been derived that of an extremely small and obscure village but Moses is indeed known to have engaged in business transactions in the vicinity. Moreover, by 1277 Moses of Colton was officially designated, like Miles of Rotherham earlier in the century, as ‘a Jew of York’.” (Dobson 2010 59).

It is commonly understood that the focus of most loan-making was the rural, agrarian economy around York and Yorkshire, much less in the city itself (wherein the Jewish community were prominent landlords of dwellings, however). The possibility that Moses of Colton (Moses de Colton) held lands and even lived in Coulton during the earlier and middle years of the 13thC cannot be ruled out and it is interesting, at least, that Walter de Colton appears first in the documentary evidence later in the same century, in association with his ownership of Coulton Mill. Whilst the notion of any direct relationship between Moses de Colton, a member of the Jewish community in York, and the de Coltons, who held significant lands in both Coulton and Gilling and remain in the record until at least 1400 would seem fanciful, and entail a significant shift in our understanding of the nature of both this Jewish community and its position and extent in 13thC Yorkshire, as well as moderating our perception of the expulsions of 1290, it should not be entirely ruled out. It suggests at least the possibility that the decline in the economic fortunes of this Jewish community, as exemplified by the financial records that survive in York, and under assault from the arrival in England of Italian bankers, who began in this period to displace the Jews as a primary source of capital, *may* have been mitigated by their investment in lands within the rural landscape their financial dealings had done so much to mould and even – most speculatively of all – that some were in a position to choose conversion over expulsion in 1290, particularly when offered the protection of such as the de Ettons in Gilling, and the de Wyvilles and Hastings at Slingsby, as the de Coltons seem to have enjoyed.

In 1369, John Fayrfax, parson, was given a “capital messuage, three tofts, seven oxgangs of land with appurtenances in Gillyng, the rent and service of 4s 6d out of an oxgang of land sometime in the tenure of Thomas Aufray, the rent and service of 2d out of three acres of land in the tenure of John Aspilon, ditto out of a toft and an oxgang of land sometime in the tenure of Walter Surdendale, ditto of one pair of spurs out of an oxgang of land sometime in the tenure of Adam le Proctur, ditto of 18s 8d out of land sometime belonging to Walter of Gilling, ditto of 1d out of a toft and croft sometime in the tenure of William Rayenils in the same town, 14 acres of meadow and all the wood of Suthskyrenth and Estker with appurtenances in Gillyng and also all other lands etc which some time belonged to Iolande Butterwyk in the said town, to hold the same to the said John Fayrfax, his heirs and assigns for the term of the said Elizabeth’s life, at the yearly rent of 43s 4d at Pentecost, Michaelmas and Candlemas and performing to the Abbot and convent of St Mary’s York the service dues, etc”. In 1370, these same lands were “released to him, his heirs and assigns forever”, and in the same year, he gave the same to Thomas de Etton junior. The original rental and subsequent gift of these lands had been made by ‘Thomas de Colton and Elizabeth his wife’. (NYCRO ZQG(F) I 12 MIC 2865/2103).

The de Colton family figure prominently in inquisitions and charters of the 13th and 14th centuries that touch upon Coulton, as well as other lands under the de Mowbray overlordship. Various generations of de Coltons witness these documents. Several, of course, directly involve the de Coltons and most especially the one concerning Colton and Scackleton Mills. This document is held within the Cartulary of Byland Abbey, as well as within the Fairfax/Cholmley archive (ZQG (F), Abstract of Deeds No 1 NYCRO). The latter is an 18thC summary of Fairfax's title to the manor of Coulton, detailing the provenance of his lands.

"Henry, Abbot and the Convent of Biland exchange with Walter de Colton, son of Robert of Colton, for two oxgangs of land in Sledmere, without the tofts, their water mill at Scakelden with the meadow and soil lying between the watercourse of the mill and the channel of the water of Colton, and the suit of their tenants of nine oxgangs of land in Scakelden to his the said Walter of Colton's mill. The miller taking no more for grist than a twentieth part of their corn or malt. No other mill to be built in Scakelden by the Abbot and Convent or their successors" (ZQG (F) 1759, 1). This is not dated, nor is that in the Byland cartulary, but by reference to other charters concerning Hovingham, to which Walter de Colton bore witness, it is during the middle years of the 13thC. Walter de Colton witnessed a number of charters between Byland Abbey and others in 1257, 1267 and 1268. (Surtees Society 2004).

Another version in ZQG (F) says that the land given in Sledmere was two bovates (1 bovat = 1 oxgang) and that de Colton receives Scackleton Mill because Colton Mill is in need of repair, and that he will hold Scackleton Mill until such time as his mill at Colton is repaired. (ZQG (F) I 7) (MIC 2814/1283):

"Notification addressed to all the sons of holy mother church present and future who will see or hear this writing, of the agreement between Dom Henry, abbot, and the convent of Byland and Walter of Coulton (in Scackleton), son of Robert of Coulton, by which the abbot and convent have granted to Walter and his heirs in exchange for 2 bovates in Sledmere, their mill of Scackleton with meadow and ground lying between the ditch which brings water to the mill and the water course of Coulton. They have also granted the suit of their men holding 9 bovates of them in Scackleton and millsoke of all their men throughout Scackleton at the said mill, so that all grain, malt and flour shall be milled there to the twentieth measure. If the mill of Walter or his heirs shall be destroyed or moved the men will be allowed to mill elsewhere without a claim being made by Walter or his heirs until Coulton Mill is repaired. If they grind elsewhere or in any other way the grain which grows on their land in Scackleton or which they buy, the abbot and convent will compel them to pay multure to Walter and his heirs. The abbot and convent make this grant in exchange for 2 bovates of Sledmere without the tofts of which one was held by Hugh the shepherd and the other by William Seger. The abbot and convent undertake to have no mill in the region of Scackleton to the prejudice of Walter's mill. Pledge to warranty. In the form of chirography. Sealed with the seals of both parties."



(NYCRO ZQG(F) 17 # 1)

Byland Abbey held the manor of Scackleton as the result of a grant by Roger de Mowbray in 1140, earlier, indeed, than the date they finally settled in Byland itself. There is no evidence that they owned any land in Coulton, however, though their lands, of course, bordered upon Coulton, the stream that feeds Coulton Mill and flows through the farm at Coulton Mill forming the boundary between Coulton and Scackleton townships. Scackleton, it may be said, has always 'looked the other' way to Coulton.

Scackleton in 1284–5 was assessed at only 7 oxgangs, but Roger de Mowbray granted 3 carucates of land here in 1140 to the community afterwards settled at Byland. In 1545, after the Dissolution, the grange was granted to Henry Wildon and John Bell. The Wildons held the grange until at least 1637, but in 1553 John Barton of Whenby, whose ancestors had held a messuage and about a carucate of land here since the early 14th century, died seised of 'the manor' (for the first time so-called) of Scackleton. In 1558 his brother and heir Thomas, Barbara his wife and John Gower conveyed ditto Lancelot Holtby of Fryton, by whose grandson and heir Marmaduke it was forfeited under the Commonwealth. It was bought from the treason trustees by Thomas Redshaw and discharged from sequestration in 1653. In 1753 the lord of the manor was Beilby Thompson of Escrick, a minor. It afterwards came into the possession of the Garforths, and has descended to the Hon. William Henry Wentworth Fitzwilliam of Wigganthorpe.

(From: 'Parishes: Hovingham', A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 1 (1914), pp. 505-511. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=64793> Date accessed: 08 March 2012.)

Very little can be found of the de Coltons except for their appearance as witnesses or jurors in the various Inquisitions held in York and in Malton, otherwise within documents of the Fairfax archive.

De Wyvil gives to Walter de Colton one rood of land adjacent de Colton's land at Peslandes 'in exchange for a rood of land next St Leonard's chapel and betwixt the said Walter's land and the land of the fee of St Peter'. Thomas, son of Nicholas de Frithby gives 1 acre of arable land to William, son of John of Colton in 1317. Also, Emma, daughter of Galfidus de Colton gives one acre in the fields of Colton and 'all that one third part which belonged to her dower in the tenure of Elizabeth, wife of her brother, Thomas de Colton. Thomas and Elizabeth gave extensive lands in Gilling to John Fairfax in 1369 (see above). Elizabeth de Colton, daughter of Thomas de Colton in Ridall gave to 'John Buk, parochial chaplain of Hovingham and William Smith, two tofts and one croft and four acres of arable land in Colton', which she had of her father, 'paying one red or white rose on St John Baptists Day'.

These early documents show clearly that beyond the five religious houses that held lands in Coulton in the 13th and 14th centuries, lands were also held by Roger Masoun, Nicholas Basset, Robert Cockerel, Symon Nightingale, John de Richemonde, the de Midldetons (John de Midleton was a stonemason), the Percehays, the Wyvilles and the de Coltons.

The mill at Coulton is mentioned once more in 1384. It is still owned by the de Colton family:

"Slengesby, Sunday after Martinus, 8th Richard 2nd 1384

William de Colton gives etc to Sir Ralph Hastyngs, Knight, Lord of Slengisby, his heirs and assigns forever, a yearly of ten pounds to be issuing out of four messuages, nine oxgangs and a half of land, one water mill and his wood called Tomlyn Hagg in Colton, and out of all his lands and tenements there, payable by equal portions at Pentecost and Martinus, with clause for distress, etc." (ZQG (F) Abstract of deeds 1759 23 NYCRO) (MIC 1310/1384)

The de Coltons remain in Colton in 1400 when Roger de Lathlay of Colton and his wife Mary give to William Dogeman of Gremeston 'his messuage with a garden in Colton in the east part of the town between the tenements of William de Colton and John de le Stable. (ibid 27) this same land is exchanged between Nicholas Haryngton and Sir Thomas Metham in 1487, still located by reference

to the land of de Colton and de Stable (ibid 33). This is, however, the final mention of the de Colton family in the Fairfax archive.

It is difficult to make perfect sense of the de Colton ownership of the mill – which would seem apparent from the two documents that mention it and them together – in the context of the ‘typical’ ownership of watermills in the medieval period and because it would seem that de Wyville and then de Hastings were lords of the manor of Coulton on the occasions de Colton’s mill were mentioned. As Brown makes clear (Brown 2011 22), “the medieval mill was a manorial right, the ‘milling soke’, and from this, the manorial mill became known as the ‘soke mill’ . The lord of the manor had sole claim to build a mill...the medieval miller did not buy grain from the farmer, grind it and sell the flour. Indeed, he was forbidden to deal in corn and meal. Instead, he milled the grain brought to him by the manor’s tenants; what they brought to the mill they took away as flour, less the toll” (ibid 22).

The de Coltons were clearly not simply millers, though they may have leased the mill and its rights from the lords of the manor. It would seem as unlikely that they were Lords of the manor themselves, important as they clearly were in the area, unless this was in right of another, and this may have been the case. The agreement of Byland Abbey with de Colton makes clear, however, that he should enjoy the “millsok of all their men throughout Scackleton at the said mill, so that all grain, malt and flour shall be milled there to the twentieth measure”. Harrison is more circumspect about the nature of millsok in this period than is Brown:

“Farming or renting of mills started quite early in ...some town mills” and by the beginning of the 13thC, “almost all outlying monastic mills were farmed” (Harrison 2008 45).

“Milling soke was never written into national law and in early times there were very few references to it”, though the de Brus and Percy families held rights to milling soke (ibid 43) and the Biland-de Colton exchange refers directly to it, of course.

In 1720, when George Watson leased the lands of Hemsworth Hospital in Old Malton, previously the lands of the Gilbertine Priory, he received “moiety of three water corn-mills with suite and sucken (soke) and dams and streams of water thereto belonging; moiety of a close called Horse Close alias Pond Close usually enjoyed with the moiety of the three mills, situate in Old Malton” (NYCRO ZPB III 11/1/3), and millsok operated still in Malton during the 19thC (Harrison 2008) under the ownership of the Earls Fitzwilliam.

From the mid-14thC, the influence and ownership of the de Hastings of Slingsby becomes evident in the deeds, as already seen by de Colton’s grant of 1384.

On 12th November 1400, Roger de Lethlay of Colton in Rydale and his wife Maria, grant to William Wryght, chaplain, William Aukeland, John de Neuton and John Hugson their messuage with garden adjoining, together with 2 ½ acres of land in the vill and territory of Colton...the messuage and garden lie in breadth between the land of Ralph Hastings, Knight on each side and the 2 ½ acres lie dispersed in the field and territory of Colton (ZQG (F) I 7 NYCRO). In 1411, these same lands were given to ‘Richard Hastynggs, son and heir of Ralph Hastyngg, Knight, deceased. ‘

In 1416/17 John Neuton de Cawton in Rydale and his wife Agnes grant ‘to Dom Richard hastynggs, Knight...a tenement with garden, two waste gardens and four acres of arable land in Colton’.

After the Dissolution, former priory lands in Colton pass into the ownership of the Crown, and are disbursed to a variety of individuals – James Fox and Thomas his son acquire one tenement and four oxgangs of land and one toft and one croft of land called Brandesby Lees etc in Colton ‘late parcel of the Monastery of Mount Grace’ for example, which they pass on to John Stybbyn, yeoman, of Colton, in 1557 (ibid 37).

Then in 1564, Sir Nicholas Fairfax begins his century-long quest to acquire all of Colton with his purchase from Robert Worsley (who had just bought from Sir Thomas Gerrarde of Bryn) of the Hovingham and Slingsby shares of the manor. The Hastings lands do not figure in the Abstract of Deeds, but Fairfax’s ‘common recovery’ of Robert Worsley (the legal mechanism by which all prior claim to the lands was erased) of 30 October 1564 offers a brief description of these lands: ‘the manor of Colton with appurtenances, 500 acres of land, 100 acres of meadow, 100 of pasture, 400 of wood, 1000 of moor and 20 shillings of rent’. (ibid 38).

Fairfax had previously asked the crown for all the lands of Whitby and Byland Abbeys, but this had been refused – most of those of Whitby having passed to the Chomleys; and most of those of Byland to the Bellasis family. He did acquire some parts of some priory lands immediately after the Dissolution, however:

Summary of document held at NYCRO: “Covenant between 1) Sir Nicholas Fairfax of Gilling and 2) William Romsden of Ambere, Yorks Gent, for Romsden to purchase from the King before easter next: all those lands in Fawdington, Yorks, late belonging to the monastery of Byland of the yearly value of £8 7s 4d now in the several tenures of Margaret Bell and others and also 4 oxgangs of land and meadow in Gilling lately belonging to the surrendered monastery of St Mary near York of the rent of 18s 8d and also the advowson of the church of Gilling and the advowson of the vicarage of Acaster Malbis belonging to the late dissolved monastery of Newbow in the county of Lincoln and the advowson of the vicarage of Whenby if the same may be obtained paying for them one year’s purchase and also one house and 2 oxgangs of land in Whenby late belonging to the dissolved monastery of Marton, Yorks, now in the tenure of John Barton of the yearly rent of 20s; and the town of Dounslay and all the appurtenances thereto belonging of the yearly value of £10 8s 9d now in the tenure of Nicholas Wod, William Smyth and others. Romsden agrees to convey these lands to Fairfax in fee simple, by the nature of knight service or socage, before Easter next without incumbrances, the tenths to the King excepted. Fairfax is to pay Romsden £200 for the property on the sealing of this deed. 17 Jan 1544/5.” (ZQG(F) MIC 4078/19 NYCRO).

In 1578, Fairfax acquires ‘all those tithes whatsoever of corn and grain yearly and from time to time growing and renewing in the townfields, parish or hamlet of Colton etc, then or late in the tenure of Elizabeth Vaux, widow, late parcel of the possessions of the monastery of Newborough etc.’ (ibid 42).

In 1591, Thomas Stibine of Colton sold ‘all the (formerly Mount Grace Priory) land in Colton which his father had and bought of James and Thomas Fox’ or £60 (ibid 43). The ‘fine’ between Fairfax and Stybine which followed in 1592 detailed the lands: one messuage, one toft, one croft, one garden, one orchard, fifty acres of land, forty of meadow, two of pasture, twenty of wood and common grazing of pasture ‘for all manner of cattle’, with appurtenances in Coulton. (ibid 45).

In 1597, the Queen held (and Fairfax presumably controlled) a toft, one oxgang of land and pasture with appurtenances in Colton 'formerly in the occupation of George Warton, lately parcel of the possessions of the dissolved monastery of Malton' (ibid 47).

In 1602, Anthony Wood of Copmanthorpe sells to Fairfax for £35 'a cottage with appurtenances in Colton, one oxgang of arable land and meadow and pasture belonging in the town fields of Colton – tenant Gregory Wilsonne.' (ibid 48a).

In 1627, there is a bargain for 'all the tithes of grain of the township of Coulton, parcel of the rectory of Hovingham...late parcel of the lands and possessions of the late Priory of Newborough' (ibid 51).

Finally in this abstract, Peter and John Dobson sell Fairfax a 'tenement and garth on ye backside thereof with commons in Colton' in 1662/3 (ibid 55).

An accompanying Abstract of Deeds for Gilling offers a more general description of Fairfax's holdings in the area:

'manners of Skalton, alias Skawton, Gylling, Donsley, Fawdington, Ampleforth and Cowlton with appurtenances and forty messuages, sixty cottages, sixty tofts, four water mills, four dove cotes, one hundred gardens, one thousand acres of land, three hundred acres of meadow, two thousand acres of pasture, four hundred acres of wood, two thousand acres of moor, two thousand acres of turbarry, one thousand acres of furze and heath and £3 of rent and appurtenances in Skalton, Gilling, Donsley, Fawdington, Ampleforth, Cowlton, Yeresley and Gryston.' (ibid 69).

None of these water mills may be said to be Coulton Mill – Skaltune Mill is left in Sir Nicholas Fairfax's will of 1570; there were water mills at Yearsley, Ampleforth and Gilling at this time, and perhaps at Cawton, where there was certainly a watermill in 1681 (see below).

Who owns Colton Mill at this time, therefore?

Last mentioned in 1384, when it formed part of an income for Ralph Hastings, and was held by the de Coltons, it is surprising that Colton Mill receives no mention in all of the land transfers listed above. One possible explanation for this absence is that the sale of that part of Colton manor held by the Earls of Huntingdon/Hastings to Fairfax by Sir Thomas Gerrarde is not contained within the 1749 Abstracts of Deeds. It is likely that ownership of the de Colton lands passed ultimately to the Hastings.

However, the lack of a mention in either the above summary of Fairfax lands, when 4 other water mills *are* mentioned confounds even this notion. The will of Sir Nicholas Fairfax is especially detailed, but mentions no mill at Coulton.: "Also of the manor of Colton, 6 messuages, 3 cottages, 100 acres of meadow and pasture, 20 acres of wood, held of the same as of the same manor for the third part of one knight's fee, worth 10//. a year." (Yorkshire Archaeological Society 1907 192)

The only possible mention of the mill at Coulton is in the fine between Worsley and Fairfax in 1564:

"Manors of Hovingham, Colton, and Holthroppe, and 60 messuages, 30 cottages, and 2 watermills with lands there." (Yorkshire Fines 1564).

It is not possible to be certain, however, that Coulton Mill is one of those recorded here.

The possibility must be entertained, therefore, that Coulton Mill had either fallen into disuse by this time, or that it continued to be held by others than the lords or lord of the manor.

Harrison observes that it was frequently the case, at the dissolution, that the Crown kept possession of previously monastic mills, as a future investment. These were later sold by James I to speculative purchasers (of which there were more than several) who specialised in buying and selling on mills. Coulton does not, however, appear in the list of some 90 mills sold by James I in 1608-09. Two mills in Pickering were sold by the Duchy of Lancaster in 1611 (Harrison 2008 55). We have, however, lest what we now know as Coulton Mill was previously Scackleton Mill, owned by Byland Abbey, no evidence that Coulton ever belonged to a monastic house.

Brown (2011) details the general decline of some mills around England after the Black Death, and the effects of this upon agricultural production in Coulton and, therefore, upon the activity of the mill, may have been severe and keenly felt in a relatively small manor such as Coulton. The Black Death peaked in 1348-50 in Europe, however, and the mill still existed in 1384, when income from it and other lands was granted by William de Colton to Ralph Hastings. If, as seems so often the case in this period, the income from the mill and lands became full ownership thereafter, Hastings – with two watermills under one roof as well as a windmill in Slingsby – may have let the mill at Coulton decline and fall into disrepair.

The Manorial Court Rolls and Estreats for Coulton, however, through light (or perhaps more confusion) onto the matter:

A miller and the mill do figure in the Coulton Estreats 1580-1637 (NYCRO ZDV (F)):

20th January 1580: “Millner Moore for not skowring his water sewer”, ‘sewer’ being a commonly used term for a man-made water channel even as late as the 18th and 19thC enclosures locally.

22nd April 1597: “Richard Moore for his backfronte and not mending his mill dam” and for “his backfronte lying on Dobson’s”.

To quite what ‘backfront’ refers it is hard to say, but elsewhere in the documents there is reference to the corresponding ‘forefront’. It may be the rear boundary of the property, even the rear elevation of a building.

These two entries offer the name of a miller at Coulton in the late 16thC, however, some 16 years after Fairfax acquired the bulk of the manor - Richard Moore.

As all before and after, he was likely to have been a farmer, too. He is arraigned in 1599 for ‘not maintaining his field front’. In 1603, he is once more fined for ‘not mending his backfront’ whilst in April 1604 Astrolando Davyll, kt (and one of only three freeholders in Coulton besides Fairfax himself at this time) is confusingly fined ‘for not suffering the wotter to have the right course of the myll bridge under’ (sic).

On 9th October 1627 William Willson is fined ‘for not scouring his parte in mill beck’. Given the unusual length of the mill leat, Wilson probably farms land adjacent and has responsibility to keep it clear – this entry does not mean he is the miller.

The Court Rolls are also instructive. On 25th April 1591, one of the jurors is Jacob Moore. After 1599, each court roll lists out the ‘libor tenants’ distinct from ‘tenants’. There are consistently three of the former – Richard Moore, Astroland Dabyl (Davyll) and Woodyard. Are these tenants of higher status

or are they freeholders? If they are the former, paying a low rent and enjoying certain rights and privileges denied to ordinary tenants, then it would seem that Fairfax does indeed own the mill by this time; if they are freeholders, then the Moores own the mill, of course. Davyll is a knight, it might be noted in this context, but is consistently listed after Richard Moore. The tenant of the manorial mill would, almost by definition, enjoy higher status than other farmers. Thomas Stybbyn, who had sold formerly Mount Grace Priory land to Fairfax in 1591 is a tenant at this time. The Dobsons, also tenants, sold land to Fairfax in 1662/3 (see above). The Davyll's, free tenants in these rolls, also sold former monastic land to Fairfax during the 16thC.

In 1603, Richard Moore remains a free tenant but another Moore is for the first time listed among the 'tenants'. One John Moore is among the jurors for the first time. In 1605, Richard Moore is fined 'for his horse going into the field' (of Fairfax). By 1606, Richard Moore is an ordinary tenant while his place in the list of Libor tenants has been taken by one Christopher Moore, presumably his son, Richard having retired or, at least, slowed down. This situation persists annually until 1619. After 1610, Christopher Moore's name is followed by the words 'close and temporal suo', which may be interpreted as signifying 'for his lifetime' or 'life tenant', which may be seen as good security of tenure at the mill and an incentive for him to invest in it.

There is a hiatus in the record until 1635, by which time neither Moore nor Davyll are listed as free tenants, though there remain only three: Tailor, Sheeler and Dobson. It may be reasonably assumed that either Tailor or Sheeler occupy the mill, perhaps the former, first on the list as the Moores had always been. A Richard Moore remains a tenant in this year, but this is likely the son, not the father of Christopher, who must have died. The script of these final rolls, dating from 1635-1637 are very much easier to read. Many of the offences are pig-related, for 'letting his swine run free', for example. There are seven fines in 1637 'for swine going unringed'.

The Tailors or Taylors are regular visitors to the court and in circumstances that may suggest association with the mill...in 1636 John Tailor 'assalts' John Strand whilst John Strand is fined 'for breaking the king's pease and making an assalt upon the said John Tailor'. In 1637, William Wilson is fined once more for 'not scouring his part of the mill beck'. Thomas Botterill is fined for 'harboring a ...vagabond' though exactly which manner of vagabond has been erased by a water-stain, sadly. John Tailor is fined for 'suffering his forefront to lie down in the Doungerast (sic)' and then 'for ? upon the king's highway and ye Lord's waste by building a wall thereon'.

Whilst it *might* be a slight stretch of the imagination, the 'doungerast' in which Tailor suffered his forefront to lie down may actually refer to the 'down-race' or tail-race of the mill – the script was very difficult and defied even the experienced eyes of two archivists at Northallerton. If this is accepted, it would not confound the idea that the mill buildings as seen today at Coulton date from the earlier 17thC and that the mill was substantially repaired or rebuilt sometime after 1637.

By 1657, there is a miller at Coulton Mill, according to the Hovingham parish records, called John Wright (Endemol 2011) and the earlier 17thC *may* mark the time when a derelict or dis-used mill at Coulton is revived and substantially built anew. The house and some of the outbuildings, as well as the mill-house, are most unlikely to have been built in their current form any earlier than this. The house may even be of somewhat later construction its style and lay-out being entirely consistent with houses locally from the late 17th and early 18th centuries, though the exterior appearance may well conceal an older and somewhat smaller core building. Almost inevitably, any house upon this site from this period will contain and incorporate earlier fabric.

The single storey barns across the road from the house are of three distinct phases of construction, the first two (from S-N) being built using earth mortar, the final phase with a coarse hot-mixed lime

mortar. The rear wall of the mill-house, at least, was built with an earth mortar and may (though not for this reason alone) be of earlier construction than the other walls. Aside from the large ashlar blocks of the millstream wall, the stonework to the N of the entrance doorway is of somewhat different character to that of the rest, being of greater bed-height, sandstone and with herring-bone tooling. The stones of this section, at least, may have been recycled from an earlier building on the site, of relatively high status.

The cow-byre to the N of the site is of thorough-going 19thC construction, of rubble stone and brick dressings. Rentals from the first half of the 18thC, however, make clear that the site was more than just a mill at this time (as it was also in the time of Walter de Colton), with two rents – one for the farm and another for the mill itself, so that there will have been farm buildings on the site at least as early as this. Some of the buildings lost to the site since the 1856 OS map may have been considerably older than those which survive; they may have been the oldest standing structures on the site. However, throughout the 18thC, the farm at Coulton Mill was of 24 acres. In 1851, it had expanded significantly, with 150 acres, so that most of the buildings on the site, aside from the mill itself, are likely to have become necessary at the time of this expansion.

The Sowerbys are resident at Coulton Mill in 1680, though James Sowerby dies in the same year (Endemol 2011)

The mill is clearly mentioned in 1720:

“Following the Jacobite Rebellion in 1715 the Papist Act of 1715 and 1716 directed that any Catholic had to declare their estates and their land conveyances so that should there be any further rebellion that property belonging to Jacobites could be seized. On 26th April 1720 in Thirske a register of Papist’s estates in the North Riding was taken, William (Fairfax) lists the lands that he holds including Coulton, listing specifically the mill:

“thereunto belonging with the overfall corn milne let by the said Lord Fairfax from year to year to William Reed for the yearly rent of £7.” (Endemol working notes 2011 Northallerton Record Office, Quarter Sessions North Riding, QDN(C) Register of Papist’s Estates 1720).

According to the Hovingham Parish Register, Thomas Pattison and family are living at Coulton Mill in 1728, his wife dying in this year (Endemol 2011).

Fairfax Estate rentals survive from 1725 to 1751 (NYCRO ZDV (F) Coulton Rentals 1720 – 1730 [!] MIC 1129). Similar rentals (for Michaelmas and Lady Day in each year) survive in the same bundle for Ampleforth, Gilling, Skalton and West Heselton. The rentals are listed by tenant name only, except in 1742, when John Boys pays £5 and another £5 ‘for mill’, a total of £10. John Boys paid £10 in 1737, which had risen to £10 16s 9d by 1751, but £9 between 1730 and 1737.

In 1725, Thomas Pattyson is paying a rent in Coulton of £4, the highest except for some of the clearly yeoman farmers who appear consistently throughout the period of these rent records. One Jane Boys is paying £2 19s 6d in the same year. In 1723, Jane Boys pays £2 19s 6d, but Thomas Pattyson does not appear in the record. He disappears from the record after the appearance of John Boys appears in 1730. It would seem fair to speculate, therefore, that Jane Boyes is the widow of a former miller of the same name and that both were resident at the mill before he died; and that, perhaps, Thomas Pattyson rented the mill through the second half of the 1720s, with Jane Boyes continuing to hold the farm, or a part of it, until John, quite likely her son, took the mill and the farm on from 1730 onwards, at which time Pattyson died or moved away.

Throughout the period of these rent records, there was a Robert, as well as a Richard Boys in Ampleforth, also tenants of Fairfax.

As early as 1719, Jane Boyes is the only Boyes on the rental (ZQG(F) V 3). There is also a John Lythe, a newcomer who disappears by 1725, listed alongside her in the record and who pays £5 14s 8d, a sum that *may* be for the mill:

Francis Walter	£11	08s	08d
Ditto for Moffat's Farm	£02	05s	00d
James Sunley	£00	04s	00d
Nicholas Johnson	£09	00s	06d
Thomas Wales	£04	10s	02d
William Read	£03	10s	00d
William Wales	£01	10s	07d
Thomas Hornby	£04	15s	06d
Margery Wales	£00	02s	00d
John Lythe	£05	14s	08d
Jane Boyes	£02	19s	06d
William Blenkhorn	£02	13s	03d
Thomas Menethrop	£01	19s	01d
Francis Webster	£03	06s	06d
John Dobson	£01	18s	03d
Jane Dauson	£00	03s	04d
Mr Johnson	£00	12s	00d
Thomas Firbank	£02	07s	09d
Mr John Sturdy	£08	00s	08d
Thomas Brown, allowed In barley	£02	00s	06d

In ZQG(F) V 1 there are Terriers for 1743 for Ampleforth, Gilling and Coulton(MIC 2814/926 -931).

Farmers in Coulton are summarised:

A Thomas Wale	108 acres 2 roods 18 perches of arable, pasture and meadow
B Thomas Loncaster	105; 1; 26
C Beeforth	57: 1: 16
D Bullmer	20:1:26
E William Hornby	
F Edward Wales	38: 3: 21
G John Dobson	19: 0: 08
H Thomas Carlion	59: 0: 34
I John Parvin	83:1: 13
K John (crossed out) Boyes	
Stephen written in pencil	24: 0: 06
L Blenkhorn	25: 3: 09
M Potter	43: 3: 33
N Ground in Lord Fairfax's Hands	400: 1: 32

The farms are described in detail:

John Parvin:

House and garth
Summer Crofts, meadow
Lane adjoining, ditto
Garth and close, meadow
Little Close, pasture
Mill Briggs, lands, meadow, arable
Pasture Piece
Bottoms, arable
Bottoms, pasture
Little Close, arable
Ox Close
Tufft, pasture
Pale, arable.

Blenkorn's rental was

House and garth
High Garth
Ings
Low Field, arable
Low Field, pasture
Far Field, pasture
Ox Close, pasture.

John and Stephen Boyes, millers:

Mill and Ings adjoining ditto	2 acres, 1 rood 20 perches
Bottoms, meadow	1: 2: 28
Bottoms, meadow	0: 3: 38
House and garth in town	0: 2: 32
Chappel Garth (widow Harrison Pencilled in)	2: 2: 38
Mill Head, meadow	2: 1: 14
Bassingate How, meadow	3: 1: 36
Bassingate How, arable	3: 1: 20
Bower Flatt, meadow	1: 2: 20
Bower Flatt, meadow	1: 3: 00
Ings, meadow	2: 1: 00
Ings, meadow	0: 3: 00

Total 24: 0: 06.

Freeholds are also identified: Thomas Flintoft, whose lands included Bransby Leas, a meadow and part of Ox Close. George Halley 'alias George Fawcitt's freehold house and garth', including Hagg Wood. John Dobson junior owned a house and garth. Under cottages: Thomas Furbank's house and garth; Elizabeth Sanderson, house; Jane Lumley, house and garth.

The farms total was 642 acres, 2 roods and 38 perches; Fairfax held 400 acres, 1 rood and 32 perches. The total for Coulton, including freeholds, was 1,102 acres, 3 roods, 26 perches.

It is notable that rental payments are generally up to date throughout most of this period (with occasional partial arrears alongside a widow, for example), this situation changes after 1747. In 1748, of the £119 due from all of the tenants of Coulton, there is £26 of arrears. At Michaelmas (29 September) 1749, John Boyes (the miller and farmer) and Thomas Carlton are in full arrears, whereas at Lady Day (1st January) of the same year, all but Dobson, Lancaster and Potter had been in full arrears. Michaelmas, significantly, coincides with the crop harvest. At Lady Day 1750, there was £55 of arrears, but much worse, at both Lady Day *and* Michaelmas 1751, as the transcript of the Michaelmas rental below shows, with asterisks marking those tenants in arrears to the full value of their rent, all but two tenants were in full arrears:

*William Blenkhorn:	£3	16s	9d
*William Beaforth	£12	19s	52d
*William Bulmer	£2	15s	3 ½ d
*John Boys	£10	16s	9d
*Thomas Carlton	£16	17s	10d
*John Dobson	£3	6s	2d
*Thomas Hornby	£7	4s	2d
Thomas Lancaster	£14	2s	6d
Thomas Potter	£5	11s	2d
*John Parvin	£14	9s	10d
*Widow Sundley	£0	5s	8d
*Thomas Wales	£25	5s	4d

Between 1747 and 1758, there had been a serious outbreak of Rinderpest, or Cattle Plague' as it was called at the time, which had spread across the country. A similar outbreak in 1715 had been largely contained in the SE of England. By 1750 and through 1751 this was 'raging in Yorkshire' and "in 1754, it was still raging in the North Riding of Yorkshire and in parts of Durham"(Spinage 2003 129). Policy in 1715 had been to slaughter all cattle on the first sign of the disease, compensating farmers to 50% of the value of the beast up to a limit of £4. Similar was adopted in 1745, but the disease unfolded across the country and as it did so, measures became more draconian, with a ban on the movement of all but fat cattle, and even periodic bans upon all movement; individuals were hired to spy on farmers, watching river crossings and turnpikes 'to prevent illegal movements' and in 1747, JPs were given powers to close fairs and markets(Broad 1983 pp 3-4). In all some 500,000 cattle died of the disease or were slaughtered between 1745 and 1758, two-thirds of these in the years 1747-48. (Spinage 2003 130).

As land exchanges and descriptions from the medieval period onwards make clear, the lands of Coulton had always been a mix of arable, pasture and 'waste'. The fairly even distribution of arable and meadow/pasture lands is confirmed by more detailed rental records of Coulton from 1782, which list fields as well as houses and indicate which fields were pasture, which arable.

The serious effect of the cattle plague upon the farmers of Coulton is shown, at least in part, in the rental record, with only temporary relief coming when the crops were harvested, and even this amelioration being lost by 1751.

A further rental survives from Michaelmas 1766 (ZQG (F) V 4 Ampleforth and Coulton Enclosures 1766-1807) which would suggest that the crisis had passed; there were few arrears, and these were for part of the rent only in two of the three cases. There are new tenants amongst those present before 1751, however. Of the 12 tenants listed then, only 7 remain, whilst the number of tenants has increased to 15:

Tenant	Rent	Arrears
William Blenkhorn	£6 - -	
William Beacroft	£14 - -	
John Boyes	£12 10 -	
Thomas Carlton	£3 3 -	£3 3 -
William Hornby	£10 5 -	£4 15 -
Thomas Loncaster	£25 15 -	
William Flintoft	£11 - -	
John Parvin	£27 15 -	
Thomas Thornham	£5 - -	
Francis Sessey	£0 - 6	
George Wilson	£1 5 -	
Widow Mailer	£10 - -	£4 10 -
Edward Mailer	£8 5 -	
Thomas Mailer	£4 10 -	
John Fawcitt, a year's tithe	£1 10 -	

There is more continuity between 1766 and 1782 (ZDV (F) Rentals late 18thC MIC 1128)), when the rental summary reads thus:

Name of tenant	Acreage
Beeforth Jane	57
Blenkhorn William	50
Boyes Stephen	24
Flintoft Thomas	21
Hornby William	50
Kilvington George	91
Longcaster Thomas	47
Spink David	29
Rudsdale William	46
Sessay Francis	-
Wales Thomas	25
Wales Elizabeth	40
Ward Solomon	143
Wilson George	4
Wood Thomas	-

The Wales family, tenants throughout the earlier 18thC, but absent in 1766 reappear, and one Solomon Ward arrives as a dominant tenanted land-holder.

John Boys has presumably died, and his son Stephen has taken over the mill. He rents considerably more property than the mill and its farm, however, as his individual account shows (MIC 1128/3378):

Boyes Stephen

House, mill and garth holm
House and garth in town
Copper House and garth

Chapel Garth and Sunley Garth
Mill Heads
Low Mill Heads
Basingate Howe
Ditto
Bower Flat or Ston'd Horse Park
Ing.

Most of these lands are laid to pasture, with only Bower Flat and part of Basingate Howe being arable in this year. Other farm rentals show a more even distribution of arable and pasture than this. Notably, Boyes rents garths other than those around the mill itself, and has a house and garth 'in town', presumably in Coulton village.

The record is slightly confusing – it says £10 per annum for the mill; £24-28 for the rest but records an annual total rent of £29 – 0s – 0d.

Of lands adjacent to Coulton Mill, Longcaster rented 'Mill Field', which was meadow. Spink rents 'water falls' meadow.

'Lands in the hands of Lord Fairfax' are valued at £400 and are listed:

Hornsey's Pale Wood
Thomas Wales ditto
Wm Blenkhorn's ditto
Thomas Blenkhorn's ditto
Edward Wales' ditto
Little Piece ditto
Thomas Wales' ditto
Stocking Spring
Swarthgill Spring
Lord's Hagg Wood
The Moor.

A 1663 survey of 'Colton Payles' survives in the archive, but is difficult to read on microfiche. The names of Francis Webster and John Dobson can be seen, however. It is accompanied by a map (NYCRO MIC 1128). Coulton Pale is indicated upon the 1856 and subsequent OS maps as being at this time woodland in the north west of the township, neighbouring Hovingham and Gilling (see above). Coulton Pale represents the woodland emparked by Ralph Hastings in 1348 (Rushton 1976 74).

There is also a document relating to the nuisance caused by the flooding of the head-race of the mill at 'Cauton' on Howle Beck, and the mitigating action that must be made by the miller, George Barton, to reduce this nuisance. This is dated 1681. This relates to the water mill at Cawton, not at Coulton, which mill is situate upon Marr Beck (ibid), but is illustrative, perhaps, of the problems mills might cause to their neighbours. This is included in the Appendices of this document.

In ZQG(F) v 4/1/37, later in the archive relating to the Enclosure of Coulton, under the heading 'Accounts of Common Rights' there is a 'divvying up' of the common to which it is said 'Mr Fairfax and Mr Fawcitt owners'. This document has no obvious date, but mentions Stephen Boyes and so is later than 1766, when John Boyes is still tenant of Coulton Mill and 24 acres. The common is

awarded to Fairfax, Fawcitt 'and cottages' but Fairfax's share is not listed. The 'cottages, will be the holdings of freeholders, some of whom may be seen to also be tenants of Fairfax:

Matthew Dent	2 messages
John Lenksty (?)	1 message
David Spink	ditto
Edward Wales	ditto
John Fawcitt	ditto

Cottages:

William Hornby	3
Richard Ridsdale	2
Ann Flintoft	1
Charles Sigsworth	2
George Wilson	4
Stephen Boys	2
Chapel Yard	1

Total 15

There is much rough note-making within this document, with different permutations of calculating the entitlements explored, whether by land-holding or other means. The first obvious date appears when Fawcett is awarded herbage on 23rd February 1802, and this may be the approximate date of the Enclosure, which would indicate that Stephen Boyes, owner of two cottages in Coulton, as well as tenant of a number of others, remained miller at Coulton at this time. The parish record at Hovingham shows Stephen and Hannah Boyes at Coulton Mill in 1779, and records the death of Hannah in 1807 and of Thomas, son of Stephen Boyes in 1810 (Endemol Parish Registers of Hovingham, Borthwick Institute York, Microfilm 708, Hovingham 1-9).

The final summary records that there were '102 common rights', valued at £233 – 8d,	
To be divided to Land	£116 – 14d
Tithes of common	£53 - 7d
Manorial rights	£23 - 6d
Reserve	£1 - 10d
Proof	£428 - 5d

Stephen Boyes is listed in the 1851 census as resident in Coulton. He is a stonemason, aged 39 and has a 13-year old apprentice living with his family, John Oldfield. (www.ancestry.co.uk)

"The Pearson/Pierson family are a large family and several generations appear to have lived in Colton Mill together. John Pearson was miller in 1803ⁱⁱ. He and his wife Elizabeth had several children, Thomas, Ann, Elizabeth, Hannah.ⁱⁱⁱ Elizabeth wife of John Pierson dies in 1803 age 57^{iv}. John Pierson... dies in 1811, aged 62". (Endomol¹ Eight Centuries of Milling in North East Yorkshire, John K Harrison, published by North Yorkshire Moors National Park authority 2008, p.237

¹ Parish Registers of Hovingham, Borthwick Institute York, Microfilm 708, Hovingham 1-9

¹ Parish Registers of Hovingham, Borthwick Institute York, Microfilm 708, Hovingham 1-9)

John left £150 to his son George on his death in 1811, and George and Mary Pierson are listed as being millers at Coulton in 1817 (endomol)

Perhaps confusingly, Hovingham parish records show John and Ursula Farrow as 'Coulton, miller' in 1813, However, these may have been employees of the Pearsons, perhaps in an interregnum between John's death and George's coming of age. They may have been, in fact, at Cawton, though it is not known if Cawton mill remained operative at this time.

The 1841 Census (www.ancestry.co.uk) shows one Joseph Pearson, farmer. Living at Coulton Mill, with his wife Hannah. Both are aged 60. Also resident are their daughter Elizabeth, aged 25, and two 'male servants', John Mason, aged 25 and Israel Hardwick, aged 14. Mary Abbey, aged 20, is a 'female servant'. Pearson's role and residence is confirmed by White's Directory, 1840 which lists him as a miller in Coulton:

**Transcript of the entry of "professions and trades"
for COLTON in White's Directory of 1840.**

Mrs Eliz Fawcett,

- John Fox, wheelwright
- Robert Moon, smith
- Joseph Pearson, miller
- Margt Skilbeck, beerhouse
- Chas Tesseyman, mason
- Hanh Dent, farmer
- Thos Maddison, farmer



*Pencil sketch of Coulton Mill,
George Nicholson, 1823
(Endomol York City Art Gallery)*

By the time of the 1851 census for England, John Lechonby is resident at Coulton Mill, farming 170 acres. It may very well be at this time that the Cow Byre is constructed, as well as other buildings on the site, such as the cart-shed above the house and other buildings since lost. The pig-sties, which remain in remnant form are likely to be among the earlier buildings on the site, dating from a time when the farm was more of a significant small-holding. Through the earlier 18thC and still in 1782, the Boyes farm, associated with the mill had been around 24 acres, very much less acreage than being farmed by Lechonby in 1851. His birth- place is indistinct but his wife, Hannah hails from

Kirkbymoorside. Their sons Robert, 29, and William, 20 are 'employed at home', William, 18, is a farmer's servant and Mary-Jane Moon, is a house servant. Lechonby's time may also be that in which a 'lean-to' stone building was added over the wheel itself. Nicholson's sketch of 1823 shows the wheel without this building, whilst it appears on later 19thC photographs, since which time it has disappeared once more.

Most interestingly, there were two visitors at the mill at the time of the 1851 census, both millers themselves: William Wilson, aged 22 and Thomas Carr, 28. The former was from Newton (dale) and Carr was from Cropton, adjacent villages at the foot of the North Yorkshire Moors, near Pickering.

Whilst it might be quite possible that Lechonby was being visited socially by fellow millers, perhaps on their way to or from York, it would seem more likely, in fact, that the census return inadvertently captured a moment of transition in the life of the mill: Lechonby was 67 years old in 1851 and may have been looking to sell or pass on the lease on the mill and retire.

That the association of a mill with farm land was common and even, perhaps, the norm, is illustrated not only by the situation at Coulton, but also in the leases of Hemsworth Hospital – formerly Malton Priory - lands in Old Malton. Leased by George Watson in 1720:

"Moiety of three water corn mills with suite and sucken and dams and streams of water thereto belonging; moiety of a close called Horse Close, alias Pond Close, usually enjoyed with the moiety of the three mills, situate in Old Malton." (NYCRO ZPB III 11/1/13 www.maltonbuildingsgroup.com)

The extension of the farm lands at Coulton was a change to this more traditional pattern.

By the time of the 1871 census, the same Thomas Carr, aged 49, is the 'miller and farmer' (of 130 acres) at Coulton Mill. With him are his wife, Hannah and their three children, Anne, Mary and John, aged 12, 13 and 9 years respectively. All three were born in Coulton, presumably at the mill, and this would show that Carr took over the mill by 1858, at least, and almost certainly succeeded Lechonby as miller there. Also at Coulton was William Garbutt, aged 52, servant miller, and two 'farm servants', Johnson Boyes, aged 22 and born in Norton, near Malton, and Russell Dennis, aged 14.

The 1881 Census return for Coulton Mill (www.ancestry.com) lists Thomas Harrison as the farmer and miller, Ruth, his wife, as well as sons John Thomas and William. Thomas hailed from Sherriff Hutton, whilst Ruth was from Kirkdale, as was a resident agricultural labourer, John H King. The two children had been born in Gillamoor. This suggests that the Harrisons had recently arrived.

Bulmer's Directory lists Thomas Harrison as a farmer (and miller):

COULTON or COLTON TOWNSHIP.

- Letters via Hovingham.

Miscellany of trades

- Spittlehouse, Thos., farm bailiff, The Grange
- Sunley Robert, shoemaker

Farmers.

- Fearby George, Potter hill
- Fox William, Stocking hill
- Harrison Thos. (and miller), Coulton mill
- Johnson George
- Mattison Seth, Manor house
- Skilbeck Mrs. Ann and Thomas
- Stockill William, Swarthgill house

- Ward James and Henry

(Transcript of the entry for the Post Office, professions and trades for HOVINGHAM in Bulmer's Directory of 1890.)

The Harrisons remained at the mill at the time of the 1911 Census, Thomas still the head of the family. He died in 1915, but had purchased the freehold of the Mill and farm from the Cholmley-Fairfax Estate in 1910. John Thomas remains resident, though he is by now aged 35. Jane Anne, daughter, is dairymaid, aged 29. Frank Alfred Holder is a servant responsible for the 'waggons on the farm' and Ronald Coultas is a general labourer. Jane Milestone is listed as a visitor. These are likely all seen on early photographs shared by the Harrison family. John Thomas's grandson, Simon, son of the last miller at Coulton, Thomas Harrison, lives in Coulton village today. The mill last worked in 1950 in which year it was sold to the Welsh family. Isobel Welsh lived at Coulton Mill and was the owner from whom it was purchased by Nick and Heather Burrows, the current owners.

Excerpts Historic Farmsteads, Preliminary Character Statement (2006):

National Overview:

4.1.2 1550 TO 1750

Larger farmers and landowners initially benefited from the great land sales that followed the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the 1530s, while most farmers gained from rising prices and favourable leases. Agricultural productivity – particularly of grain – was spurred by a doubling of population from between 2.5 and 3 million to over 5 million by 1660, and an associated rise (by six times) in grain prices. After 1650, a fall in grain prices, a rise in cattle prices and demand from London and other growing urban markets, led to a rise in cattle rearing in the north of England, and of the dairy industry and specialised produce (such as hops and cider) in other areas. Improvements in transport, including the coastal and river trade, provided access to new markets. New rotations and crops, particularly clover, grasses and turnips, had become established by the end of this period on the light soils of East Anglia and adopted with varying success in other parts of the country. This period is strongly marked by the continuing process of enclosure and the related process of exchange and consolidation of farm holdings, the growth of farm size (especially in corn-producing areas), large estates and the widespread development of a landlord-tenant system. Landowners, notably the county gentry, emerged as 'influential pioneers of new crops and new systems of farming' (Thirsk 1984, p.xxiii). The consolidation of estates and holdings are reflected in the continuing – and in more anciently enclosed areas often the final – phase of enclosure. The national market became more integrated from the later 17th century, in tandem with the emergence of specialised regional economies. This, and the development and strengthening of local building traditions, are also reflected in the layout and design of both farmhouses and more substantial farm buildings

4.1.3 1750 TO 1880

Agricultural productivity sustained a massive increase in population, which had risen from around 6 million in 1750 to over 16.7 million by 1851 and 26 million in 1881. This was the most important period of farm building development, commonly divided by agricultural historians into two periods: before and after 1840. Probably under 25% of the land area of England remained unenclosed by 1750, and the majority of this was enclosed by 1815. This was a process at first concentrated on the Midland clays (for the management of land as pasture for fattening) and then – from the start of the Napoleonic Wars in the 1790s – on the expansion of the cultivated area onto poorer and lighter soils such as the northern moorlands and the southern downlands, and poorly-drained land such as the Fens and

the Lancashire moors. In the 'High Farming' years of the 1840s to 1870s, high-input/ high-output systems – based on the availability of imported artificial fertilisers and manures (superphosphates, nitrates, guano and bones) and feeds such as oilcake brought on to the farm – replaced the 'closed circuit' methods that relied on farm-produced feeds and manure. A major development – as observed by the agricultural journalist James Caird writing in the 1850s – was an increased distinction between the intensively cropped landscapes of the eastern half of the country, and the wetter and more pastoral-based economies of the western half. There were several key drivers behind this development:

- Higher grain prices from 1750, peaking during the Napoleonic Wars (1794–1815), were joined from around 1840 by a steady increase in meat and dairy prices, both the result of population growth and the demands of an increasingly affluent urban population.
- The strengthening of a national market, facilitated by the ever-expanding transport infrastructure (of canals, improved river and road communications and the railways) and the growing importance of middlemen, both of which facilitated the marketing of food.
- Marked increases in land prices from the 1760s. This increased the incentive especially of estates to invest, outgoings on repairs and improvements occupying an increasing share of gross rentals from this period to as much as 25% by the 1850s (Mingay 1989, pp.602–3).
- Increasing interest and involvement by government: for example through the Board of Agriculture set up in 1793 (and which immediately set about the commissioning of its famous county studies in order to gather information on best practice); and from the late 1840s the establishment of loan companies for buildings and drainage, which added to the development of a national banking system.
- Textbook and journal literature such as *The Book of Farm Buildings* by Stephens & Scott Burn (1861), and the examples of best practice included in J Bailey Denton's *Farm Homesteads of England* (1863). Agricultural societies, from farmers' clubs to the Royal Agricultural Society of England (RASE) founded in 1837, played an important role through their shows and publications. The Royal Agricultural College was established at Cirencester in 1845, and – as seen in the founding of the Rothamstead experimental station in 1832 – the following two decades witnessed the development of agricultural chemistry and veterinary science.
- The accelerating trend towards larger farming units, both through purchase of smaller farms by more substantial tenants and freeholders, and through estate policy. This was especially pronounced on the poorer soils, which often required the highest levels of capital investment.
- The role of estates, through the development of the land agent profession, investment in infrastructure (especially buildings and drainage) and the encouragement through leases of improved husbandry techniques by their tenants. Estate policies were also a major factor in the rationalisation of holdings and the emergence of larger farms.
- Enclosure. This was often a major factor in increasing output, through facilitating new rotations of crops and the improvement of grassland and stock management. Expenses associated with enclosure – of fencing, hedging and ditching (as much as 50% of the cost), and occasionally the construction of new steadings and buildings (which could be 17%) – increased the incentive of small owners and occupiers with little capital to sell to larger landowners (Wade Martins 1995, p.83). An additional incentive to enclosure was the doubling of rents that could result.
- Improvements in livestock, for example the emergence by 1850 of the Shorthorn as the leading cattle breed and the replacement of the horned wool-producing varieties of sheep by sheep bred for their meat and manuring value.
- The widespread adoption of improved grasses such as sainfoin and winter feed-crops such as turnips, accompanied by the production of better seeds and farm machinery and the efficient distribution of good manure by livestock increasingly wintered in yards or buildings.

- Drainage through traditional techniques, such as bush drains and U-shaped tiles and from the 1840s tile pipes, the use of these being concentrated on the heavy soils of the Midland clays.
- The improvement of soils through liming and marling. Farmstead design was being affected by the widespread introduction of new types of building and layout, and from the 1840s by the widespread extension of mechanisation (for preparing feed and threshing), the increasing availability of mass-produced fittings and materials, and the adoption of industrial and scientific principles to the accommodation and feeding of everincreasing numbers of livestock. The building of planned steadings for some estates and wealthy farmers, in the period up to 1840 concentrated in the eastern lowlands, was accompanied by the rebuilding or adaptation of many thousands of existing steadings with cattle yards and buildings, and the replacement of the traditional threshing barn by the multi-functional and much smaller mixing barn (see Figure 23, bottom). In some areas, regional differences were beginning to disappear: for example, the removal of floors and walls for livestock and lofts in the combination barns in the wood pasture areas of Suffolk and the eastern Weald attest to the fact that they were becoming part of eastern England's arable region, as recognised by James Caird who conducted a survey of British agriculture for *The Times* in 1850–51 (Caird 1852).

4.1.4 1880 TO 1940

For over 100 years, agriculture had been increasingly subject to national and international fluctuations in commodity prices, to its considerable benefit in the Napoleonic Wars and the High Farming years. However, after a run of poor weather in the late 1870s, the income from arable crops that farmers had enjoyed in the 1860s collapsed (for example, by 40% in wheat between 1880 and 1900) and farming entered a severe depression. Britain, its urban economy prospering through free trade, became by the 1930s the world's greatest importer of agricultural produce, including animal fodder, from both neighbouring parts of Europe and the New World. This was the beginning of largescale importation of grain from the American prairies, meat in refrigerated ships from New Zealand and Argentina, and cheese and bacon from Europe. More than in any preceding period, British domestic policy (the supply of cheap food) and the world market now directly affected regional variations and the supply of capital to British farmers. The result was the concentration of grain production on the drier soils of the eastern and southern counties, and in the areas that experienced the greatest contraction from the High Farming peak of grain production a focus on meat and dairy produce in order to meet urban demand. The growing demand for liquid milk and the importation of dairy produce also led to a decline in the farmhouse manufacture of butter and cheese. The Government endeavoured to boost production through price support. Against the backdrop of the Uboat menace during the First World War it sought to reduce the country's dependency on imported grain and attempted to extend and co-ordinate both advice and legislation (over hygiene, for example) through the establishment in 1919–20 of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and county council committees and councils, in conjunction with organisations such as the National Farmers' Union (founded 1908). However, despite an increase in net output, the rising costs of labour, feeds and other inputs, combined with the decline in prices and rising levels of imports, ensured that little was invested in fixed capital. Arrears in rent characterised the period, even in years of relative recovery (such as after 1936 in arable areas). The holdings farmed by the new class of owneroccupiers – numbering 147,000 in 1927, as against 56,000 in 1909, the biggest change in land ownership since the Dissolution of the Monasteries (Whetham 1978, pp.160–61) – were burdened with debt. As a consequence there was little fresh investment in farm buildings other than repair and modification, and any buildings constructed tended to be of the cheapest materials. Many, such as Dutch barns, were prefabricated, and concrete and corrugated iron or asbestos sheet were being increasingly used for the refitting of cow and dairy units and the repair of traditional roofs. National and local surveys, such as the 1910 Land Valuation Survey, attest to the growing levels of disrepair, especially of pre-

improvement farm buildings using traditional materials such as thatch and timber. Reduced rents and growing building costs meant that only the wealthiest farmers and landowners continued to invest in model or experimental farms, and many of these concentrated on the production of meat and dairy produce; most built very little, perhaps investing in dairy buildings or cattle sheds in an attempt to attract tenants or meet increased demand in some areas for meat and dairy produce.

The continued promotion of scientifically based agriculture was matched by the application of new ideas on ventilation and farm hygiene to farm buildings, such as the regulations for dairying introduced in 1885. This was brought into effect mostly through the conversion of existing buildings (especially stabling into dairies) and to a small degree through new-build, notably on the smallholdings owned by county councils. Milking machines, where introduced, brought considerable changes to building layout, but the spread of mechanisation was very varied. By the mid-1930s, the mobile horsepower of the growing tractor fleet exceeded that of the stationary engine; the latter form of power having itself witnessed the transition to oil engines (from the 1890s) and electric power (not widespread until the 1950s). However, horses 'remained the dominant source of power' in the western half of England, and tractors were mostly confined to holdings of 300 acres or upwards, and the arable eastern areas (Whetham 1978, p.210). In the inter-war period, cereal, poultry and dairy farmers, and pig producers using imported North American feed, were in the vanguard of cost-cutting innovation that had a strong impact on postwar developments. There were some examples of planned steadings that in their adaptation of modern industrial theory bucked the trend (Brigden 1992).

Many of these national trends may be observed in the buildings of Coulton Mill.

4.2.4 Vale of Mowbray and Vale of York

The generally flat or gently undulating vales to the south retain subtly different characteristics, the Vale of Mowbray having a more varied topography than the Vale of York, with the land beginning to rise to the North Yorkshire Moors to the east. Despite the varied pattern of fields, holdings and land use, some generalisations can be made. Most striking in contrast to the upland landscapes to the west is the dominance of nucleated settlements. These related to open arable fields, typically three or more in number and located on higher, better drained sites around the villages. In some cases these were intermixed with significant numbers of closes, meadows, woodland and pasture. Piecemeal enclosure had removed most of the open-field systems by the mid-17th century in the Vale of Mowbray, and by the later 18th century in the Vale of York (Hey 1984, pp.78–9; Butlin 2003a, p.143). There was a greater concentration on cattle rearing and dairying in the western half of this area, whilst in the east the emphasis was on horse breeding, and pigs were, and still are, fairly numerous (Butlin 2003a, p.143). Corn growing, cattle rearing or mixtures of the two were common land-use combinations by the late 17th century. Enclosure of common land on sandy soil (concentrated to the south and south-west of York, and the south and west of the Vale of Mowbray) was largely completed by the end of the 18th century, providing opportunity for drainage and other improvements in agricultural methods. Arthur Young in his tour of 1776 distinguished between the better farms on sand and gravel and the poorer ones on clay. Farms were comparatively large, although there was still a high number of small farms under 50 acres surviving into the 19th century and sustained through by-employment in textiles (Sheppard 1960, p.48). The lighter soils were mostly subject to reversion to pasture from the 1880s, only to be transformed to arable again after 1940.

4.2.8 Howardian Hills

Despite its high concentration of deserted and shrunken medieval settlement, this area is still dominated by its nucleated villages. Parklands and estates (for example, Castle Howard, Newburgh Priory) were particularly influential in this area, and much of the area (especially

the plateau) is characterised by large-scale enclosure of the 18th to 19th centuries (Butlin 2003b, p.151). Farmsteads were resited out in the fields, and estate villages built. By the late 18th century, the area's agriculture resembled that of the Wolds, arable being particularly dominant on the northern escarpment at the junction with the Vale of Pickering, although in contrast to the Wolds there were more extensive areas of pasture in its sheltered valleys.

4.2.7 Yorkshire Wolds

Arable and meadow was historically concentrated around the nucleated settlements in the valleys, within which are the irregular patterns of pre-1750 enclosure (Hey 1984, p.76). By the 16th century, sheep and barley husbandry had emerged as the mainstay of the farming economy of the Wolds, the area's many deserted medieval settlements bearing witness to the conversion of arable to sheepwalk from the 15th century. Lambs were sold to lowland graziers for fattening, whilst wool was dispatched to the clothiers of East Anglia and the West Riding. In the 18th century newcomers such as the Sykes and the Middletons were buying land on the chalk plateau, which they saw as ripe for development and for the creation of country estates (English 1990, p.147). The Wolds landscape was transformed by large-scale enclosure, mostly by parliamentary act and largely driven by new owners – notably the Sykes family of Sledmere and Willoughbys of Birdsall (Wade Martins 2002, pp.85–90). Over 70% of this area was enclosed by parliamentary act (Butlin 2003b, p.151), resulting in an extensive planned landscape of new roads with wide verges and large isolated farmsteads protected by shelter belts. Enclosure was accompanied by the conversion of old pasture to a new arable system geared to the export of grain via coastal ports to Scotland, London and the Low Countries. By the 1780s this was based on the folding of sheep on turnips and the production of manure from yard-based cattle in steadings or outfarms (Marshall 1788, Vol. 2: p.142). Dew ponds, dug into the chalk but lined with clay, allowed these dry lands to be used for both arable and livestock.

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BY ANDREWS AND CO, DURHAM ; WHITTAKER AND CO, 13 AVE MARIA LANE ; T. AND W. BOONE, 29 NEW BOND STREET ; BERNARD QUARITCH, 15 PICCADILLY ; MRS. NUTT, 277 STRAND (Foreign Agent), LONDON ; BLACKWOOD AND SONS, EDINBURGH. 1867.

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www.ancestry.co.uk

Statement of Significance

Coulton Mill is an ancient water mill site and a rare regional example of a lay-shaft mill. The fabric of the mill building and of the mill machinery itself dates in part from the medieval period. The associated mill leat and tail-race were constructed in the earliest years of the mill, perhaps as early as 1201. Coulton Mill is a rare surviving example, in a region dominated by monastic ownership, of a 'farmed' manorial mill under secular control. It is significant also as an example of an early water mill which avoided extensive expansion of its associated mill-house during the later 18thC, greater storage being found within the attics of the neighbouring domestic dwelling. It is a notable example of a traditional pattern regionally, as well as nationally, of milling being carried out in association with mixed farming of a relatively small adjoined farm, and this is amply demonstrated in surviving documents from all periods of its existence, as well as by the survival on the site of farm buildings from perhaps as early as the late 16thC. In its location and associated landscape, Coulton Mill offers ample understanding of the pattern and economy of milling in all periods. It is a rare and significant survival that will require the utmost care in its future repair, treatment and conservation.

Appendices

[A highly faded and illegible medieval manuscript page, likely a Latin document, with some faint traces of text and decorative initials.]

Copy of exchange between Abbot and Convent of Biland with Walter de Colton, 13thC

Whereas there is A Difference depending betwixt
 Charles Lord Vicount Fairfax of Gilling in the County
 of Yorke and y^e Tenants of the said Lord of the one part
 and George Barton of Cantow in the County aforesaid
 Esq; and one of his Tennants on the other part touch-
 ing the said Lords Tennants stoppings & flooding their
 meadows with a water running to an Antient mill
 standinge upon howls becke belonging to y^e said George
 Barton the same being referred to y^e Arbitrament
 of John Gibson of Welburne in y^e County aforesaid
 & Henry Saques of Ellington in the County aforesaid
 gent. It was concluded & agreed the day & yeare above
 written at the house of m^r. John Staunfort in Cury street
 in the City of Yorke in the hearinge and presence of the
 said Lord Fairfax & George Barton as followeth

That the said Lord Fairfax shall yearly at any one time
 when he thinks fit (givinge first notice thereof to y^e miller
 or keeper of the said mill forty eight howers or at the least
 twenty flower howers aforesaid) have liberty to order the
 stoppings or daming of the said water for the watering and
 overflowing of such meadows as he the said Lord keeps in
 his owne hands, wth out any let or interruption from y^e
 said George Barton his miller Tennants or servants or any
 other person by direction from any of them and keep the
 said water upon his said grounds by the space of forty
 eight howers and not longer after w^{ch} time to turne y^e
 water into his antient Curant. But if the said Lord shall
 once againe in the said yeare thinke fit to overflow the
 said grounds that then givinge notice ^{as} aforesaid he shall
 have the like liberty but not oftner.

That if any of the said Lord Fairfax Tennants have at any
 time a desire to overflow their respective meadow grounds
 they shall respectively have liberty to doe the same upon
 the like notice to be given to the said miller or keeper
 of the mill and for the space of time as above mentioned
 provided the said miller can spare the water but not
 otherwise and givinge alsoe to the said miller or keeper
 of the said mill some reasonable composition & satisfaction
 for the same such as they shall agree of not exceeding
 the sume of one shilling for any one person in any one
 yeare for twenty flower howers water And that if
 any of the said Tennants shall at any time stop or damme
 y^e said water wth out y^e like notice or satisfaction as above
 specified or wth out y^e consent of the said George Barton & Henry Saques
 Barton shall be at liberty to take his remedy at law agains y^e said Tennants

MIC 1189
 20 OCT 1681
 FAIRFAX - BARTON (MILLER)
 CANTON MILL

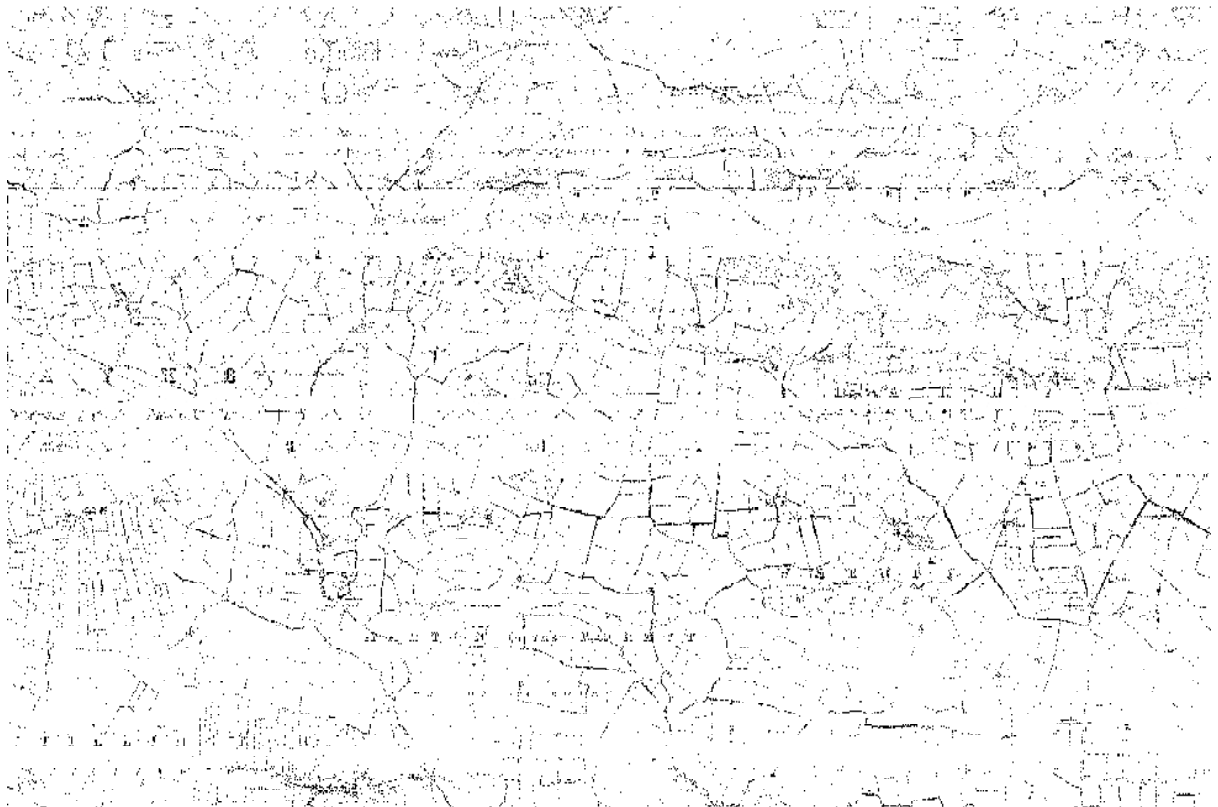
Boyes Stephen

		a	s
House Mill and Girths	P	2	
House and Girth in Sun	P	-	
Copper House and Girth	P	-	
Wapple Girth & Lincley St	M	3	
Mill Roads	M	2	
Low Mill Roads	P	2	
Basingate how	P	3	
Do	M	3	
Bauer Hat or Bonnet	M	3	
Ing	P	3	
Mills			

24

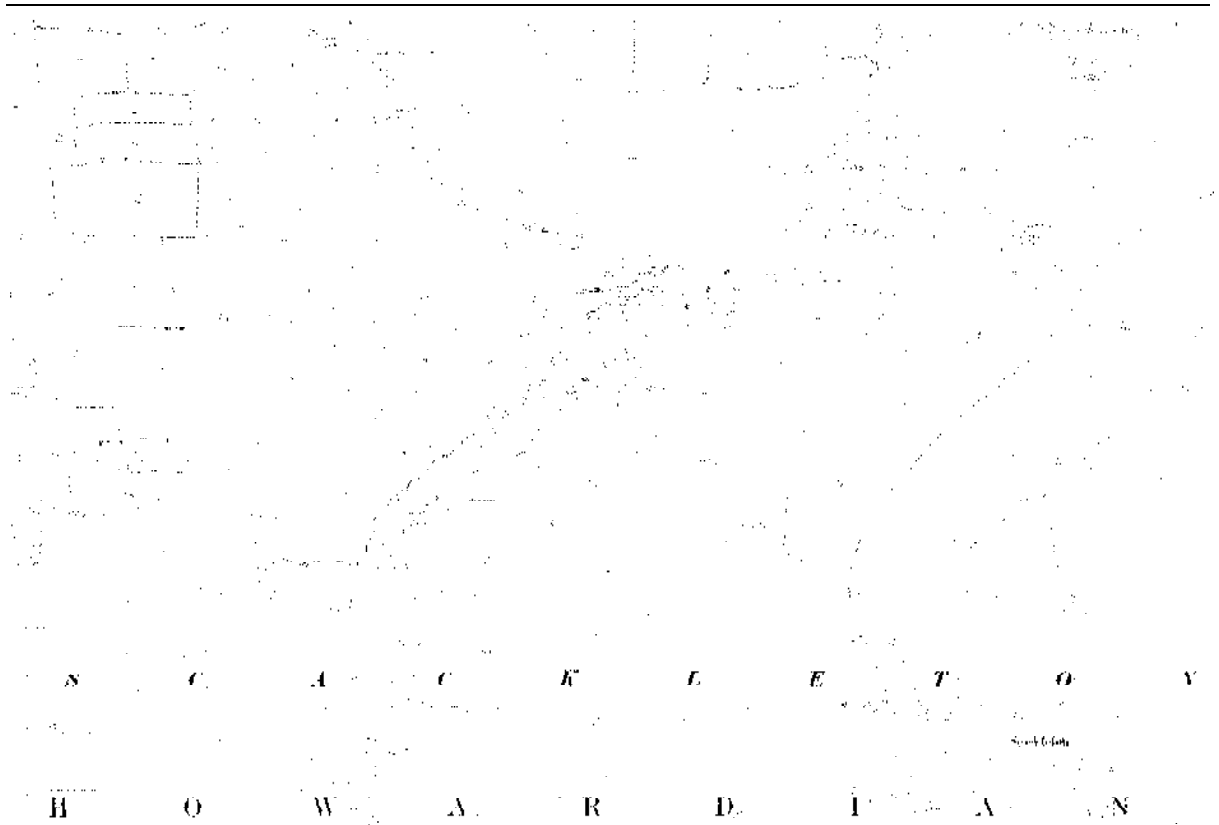
1785

Maps

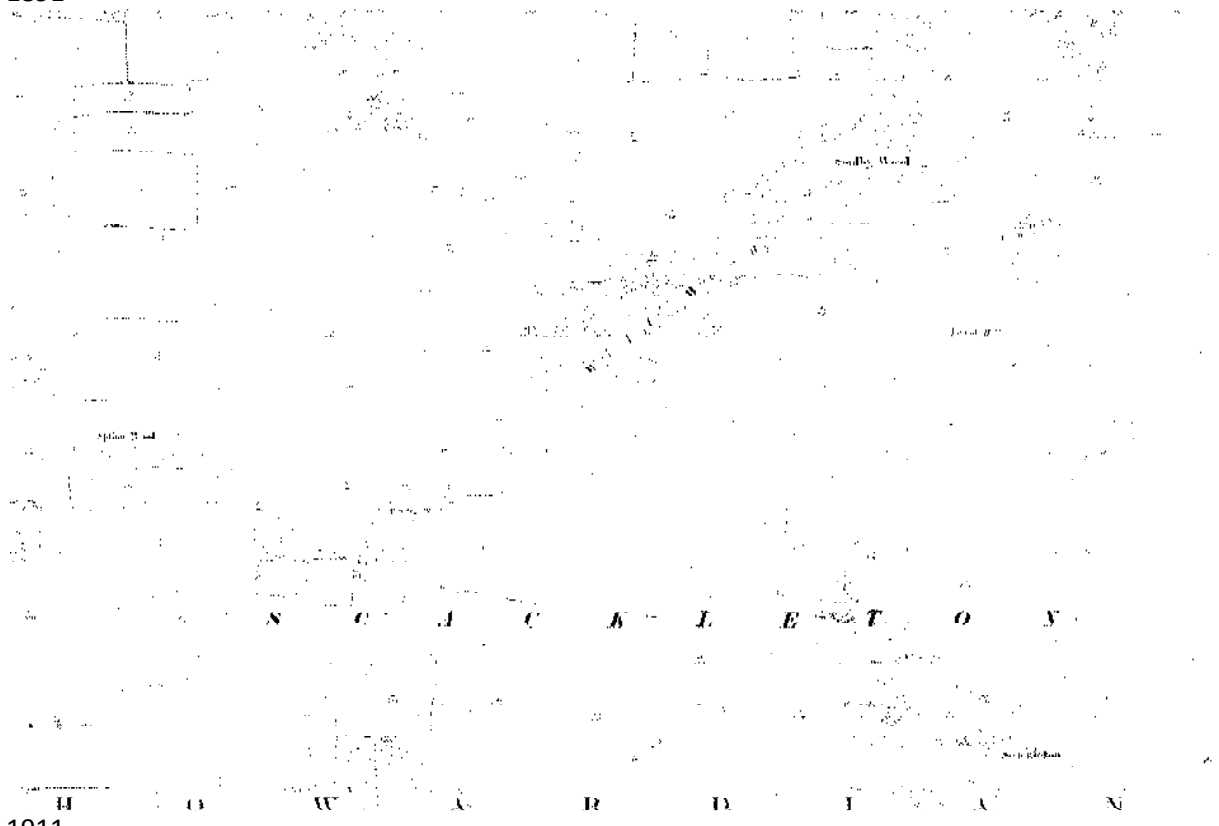


1856





1891



1911

Old Photographs

Coulton Mill Photos.



Note the large flock of chickens – the upper floors of the cow byre were likely conceived from the start as chicken lofts.



John Thomas Harrison (in round cap) c.1910



John Thomas Harrison (in cap). Married Mary Skilbeck 1917. Thomas babe in arms, perhaps.



Thomas Harrison (married 1872, bought freehold 1910, died 1915).



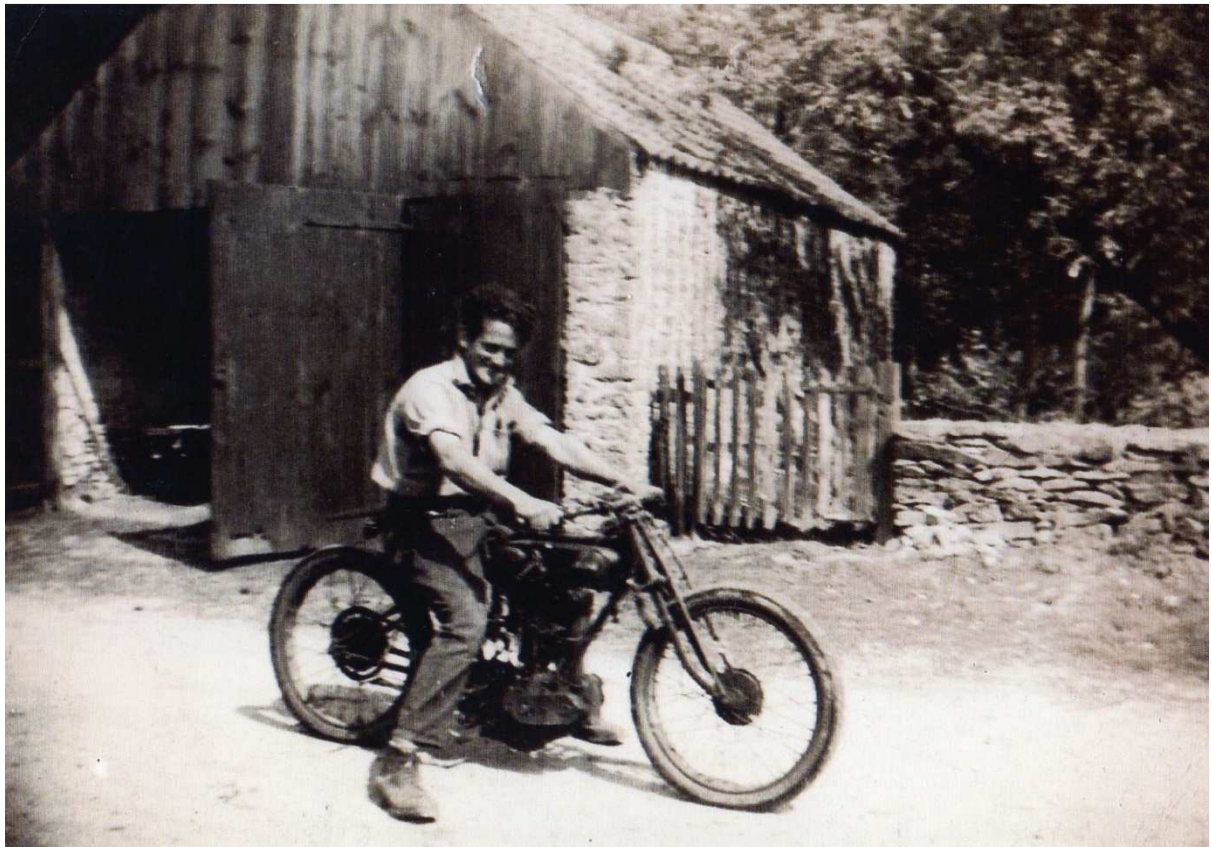
pig-sties and wheel-house in background



The lime render remains



Thomas Harrison, born 1918. Last miller at Coulton, who repaired the mill wheel.



Thomas Harrison, in front of the garage (now gone) across the road from the Millhouse.

ⁱⁱ Eight Centuries of Milling in North East Yorkshire, John K Harrison, published by North Yorkshire Moors National Park authority 2008, p.237

ⁱⁱⁱ Parish Registers of Hovingham, Borthwick Institute York, Microfilm 708, Hovingham 1-9 k, Microfilm 708, Hovingham 1-9