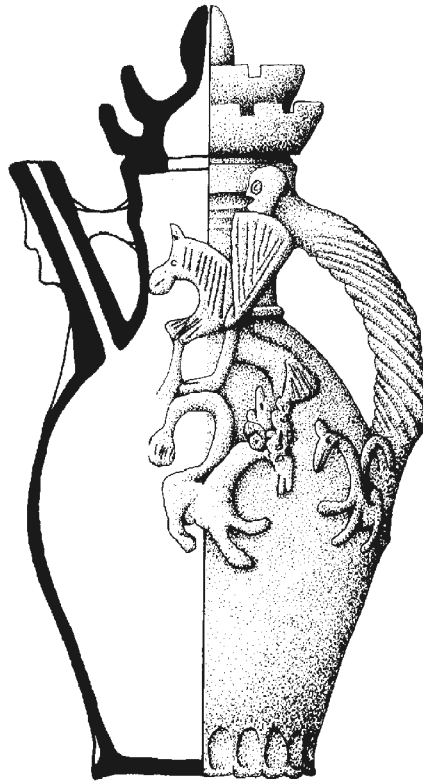

TRANSACTIONS



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SCARBOROUGH
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
AND
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NUMBER 46: 2023

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Editorial

I am sure readers will enjoy the contents of this issue and I would like to start by thanking all the contributors for their articles. It is particularly pleasing to have the Hall and Pearson article included, which reveals a great deal about the history of the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society and its work. It is also good to have an article on Scarborough's modern history, something that has not often been covered by articles in previous Transactions.

The society intends to publish its journal more frequently. I shall be standing down as secretary of the society at the AGM in April 2024, which will give me more time both to write articles for Transactions and to edit future volumes. The secretary's role has been very time consuming!

However, we also need more people to write articles for publication. We hope to encourage historical research and writing and I shall be saying more about this after the business of the AGM is completed. Let me just say that I will always help individuals to research aspects of the history of Scarborough and its neighbourhood and to write up their findings. Please do not hesitate to ask for my assistance.

I should like to recommend a fascinating book – one of the most interesting I have ever read. *Shadowlands: A Journey Through Lost Britain* by Matthew Green, published by Faber & Faber Limited in 2022 (ISBN 978-0-571-33802-3 – hardback; now also available in paperback) deals with Britain's lost cities, ghost towns and vanished villages. It includes a chapter on Wharram Percy, which might be of particular interest to Yorkshire readers, and also others on places including Skara Brae, Trellech, Dunwich and St Kilda. Not to be missed!

Finally, a reminder that previous volumes of Transactions can be accessed online at <https://archive.org/details/sahs>

Brompton in the Eleventh Century

by Christopher Evans

We tend to have an image of an English village as cottages clustered round a church, a pub and a village green on which cricket is being played. This image approximates to reality only briefly in the centuries during which the English village has evolved. The two books which have been most helpful in allowing me understand this evolution, particularly the debates around the nucleation of villages, are *Village and Farmstead* by Christopher Taylor and *Interpreting the Landscape* by Michael Aston. From these books I have learnt that at some time prior to the Norman Conquest villages as we perceive them today did not exist. People lived in small settlements dispersed around the countryside at intervals of a few kilometres. This changed around the time of the conquest, people began to live in larger settlements for which the descriptor “toft and croft village” might be used and which approximated to modern villages. This process is known as nucleation and is believed to have happened “a century or so on either side of the Norman Conquest”.¹ Sites of dispersed settlements have usually been located by finding pottery scatters when field walking and/or by test pitting. I propose to use a different approach using the Domesday Inquest and boundaries.

I am not qualified to join in the debates about why and when nucleation occurred and will confine myself to trying to establish the nature and location of the dispersed settlements which were precursors of the village of Brompton.

We are discussing people moving from small settlements spread across the landscape into larger settlements. It is extraordinary that there is no mention of this momentous change in the landscape in pre-conquest or peri-conquest written records. This is in contrast to the huge amount of documentation generated when the process was reversed by the eighteenth century enclosures, when farms moved out of the villages into what had been open fields.

There is the complication of the boundaries of townships, civil and ecclesiastical parishes. The preferred word is settlement. I shall use “village” when referring to settlements we apply the word to today and terms such as “manor” and “vill” when discussing settlements as they were around the time of the Domesday Inquest.

Sources: The Domesday Book

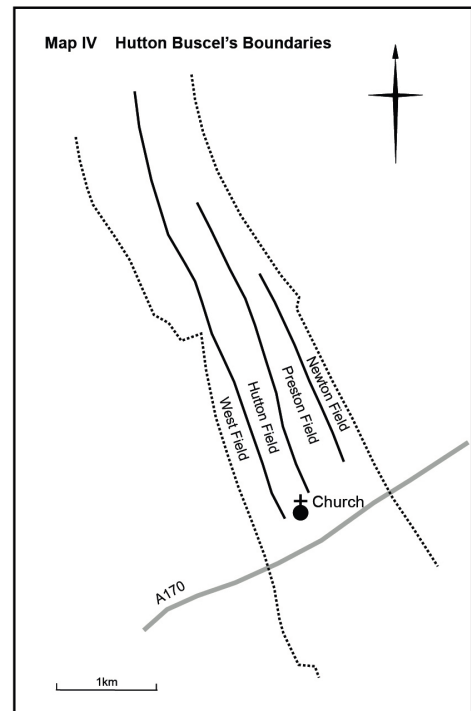
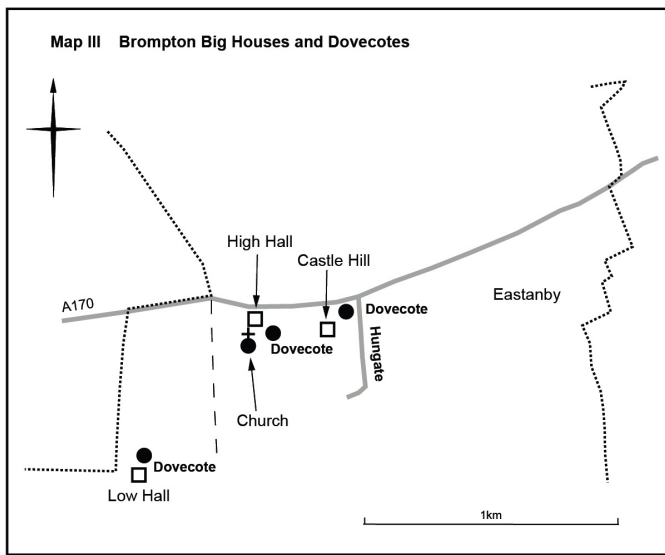
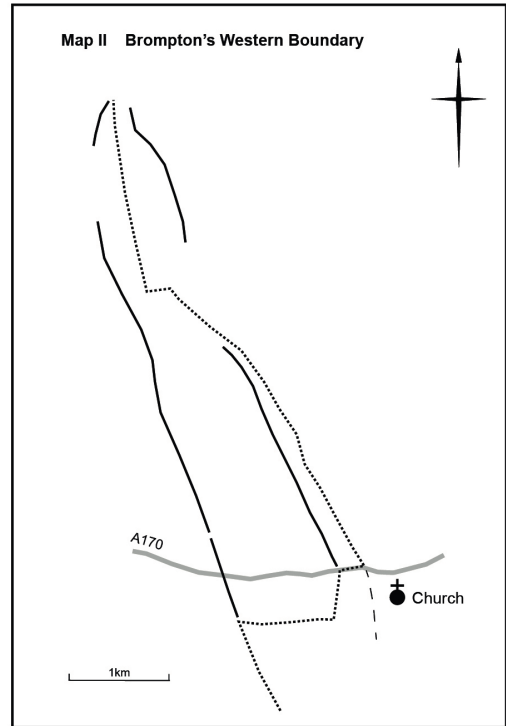
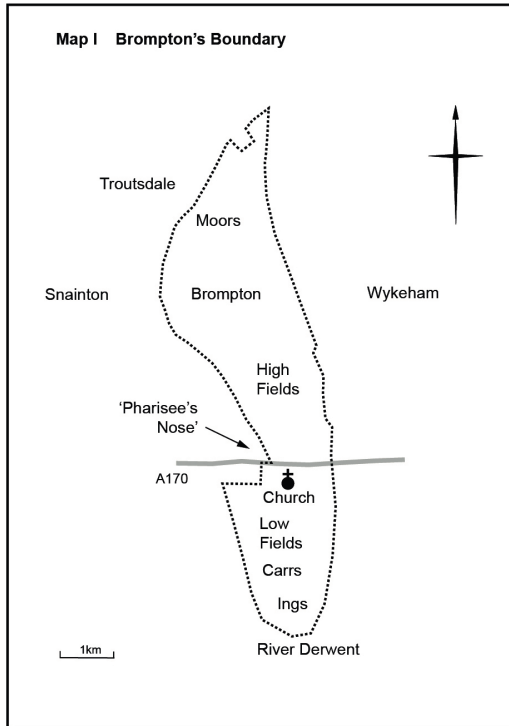
The exception to the lack of documentation is the Domesday Book. The Hull Domesday project writes “While known to be incomplete and sometimes misleading guide to settlement it is still overwhelmingly the most important source on this subject”.² Brian Roberts writes “...indeed every page of the account raises particular problems of interpretation, for the Norman scribes and commissioners tended to impose their own preconceptions and terminology on the reality of Saxon and Scandinavian England”.³ The problems of interpretation will be evident when we consider particular entries in the Domesday Book. In regard to the terminology the Domesday Inquest is a not survey of villages but of estates.⁴ It does not deal with settlements but with administrative areas – vills – and with landed estates – manors. Nevertheless despite these problems the Domesday Book may well shed some light

on what was happening to settlements. An estate must have had some sort of associated settlement, or at least a aula (manor house/estate office). That some vills have multiple manors suggests that the respondents to the inquest for that vill had a memory of multiple settlements and the suggestion is that these were the settlements that nucleated to form a “village”.

The problems with the Domesday Book (Faull 1986) are illustrated by the mismatch between the vills of the Domesday Book and extant villages. In 1986 the North Yorkshire County Record Office published *North Yorkshire Gazetteer of Townships and Parishes*.⁵ Taking as a sample the settlements in the Wapentake of Pickering Lythe, the gazetteer lists 39 townships or civil parishes (villages) in wapentake of Pickering Lythe (Dic in 1086) The Domesday Book lists 57 vills in Dic. These numbers are not exact; for example vills which the editors of the Phillimore edition of the Domesday Book could not locate are excluded.⁶ Notably Scarborough does not appear in the Domesday Book. On the other hand settlements which do appear in the Domesday Book are now deserted or reduced one farm. Other lost “villages” which are recorded in the Domesday Book yield only an approximate location but emphasise how closely settlements were packed. For example in the vills recorded as being in the soc of Falsgrave is the sequence Osgodby, Lebberston, Gristhorpe, *Scawthorpe*, *Eterstorp*, *Rodebestorp*, Filey.⁷ It is very difficult to see where the sites of *Scawthorpe*, *Eterstorp*, *Rodebestorp*, can be except in the 3 kilometres between Gristhorpe and Filey. There sites may be three of the four farms between Gristhorpe and Filey - Cliffe House Farm, Cliff Farm Newbiggin and Gristhorpe Carr. Other wapentakes are likely to tell different stories. Of the vills in Pickering Lythe the Domesday Book has 1 entry for 38 villages; 2 entries for 8 villages; 3 entries for 4 villages; 4 entries for 2 villages (Thorntondale and Brompton). This makes Brompton a suitable settlement for investigation. Evidence from other neighbouring villages may well add to the story. It is hoped that despite the problems of the Domesday Book it can help to locate the predecessors of the village of Brompton.

Boundaries

It is my hope that by looking for anomalies in the boundaries of present day villages it may be possible to locate the sites of some pre-conquest settlements. Most medieval people lived by farming. If there had been one kind of agricultural resource evenly distributed across the countryside the expectation would be that the boundaries would form regular hexagons like the cells in a beehive (Thiessen polygons). This is the view of Brian K Roberts⁸ and Barry Cunliffe.⁹ In the real world regular hexagons are not going to occur but approximations to them will. Examples from Pickering Lythe of villages whose boundaries do approximate to hexagons are hard to find but in Ryedale - Brawby, Great Edstone, Harome and Scawton have shapes approximating to hexagons. Deviations from hexagons must be because either the resources were not evenly distributed or because the shape is a compound of a number of approximations to hexagons centred on separate settlements. It is for the latter that I shall be searching. The sources for irregular boundaries are the map in the NYCRO gazetteer; the Ordnance Survey on line¹⁰ and especially Historic Parishes of England and Wales accessed via the GENUKI website.¹¹ As noticed above very few of the villages in Pickering Lythe approximate to hexagons. The villages between Pickering and Seamer typically are narrow east-west and extend from the River Derwent in the south to the High Moors in the north. In



- - - - - Original course of Parish Boundary?
- Parish Boundary
- Continuous Field Boundary

so doing they include a variety of agricultural terrains ranging from ings (hay meadows) in the south through the carrs (rough grazing) the low and high fields (arable) to the low and high moors (rough grazing) in the north. [Map I] This contrasts with the villages on the A170 between Helmsley and Pickering which typically extend up into the high moors but do not have ings or carrs. South of the A170 between Helmsley and Pickering settlements do have ings, notably the berewicks attached to Kirbymoorside.

Brompton in the Domesday Book

Brompton has four entries in the Domesday Book. The outlines of these given below are taken from the Philimore edition of the Domesday Book; Yorkshire:

1Y4 One of the outliers of Royal Manor of Pickering, amounting to 3 carucates.

1N44 1 carucate 6 bovates, held by the King.

8N6 8 carucates; a mill and a church held by Berenger of Tosny

31N8 14 bovates (The holding of Robert of Brus)

Although the holdings of Robert of Brus are in the Domesday Book they are an addition attached, probably, some thirty or so years later and will not be used in the rest of this article.

The summary has the King holding 9 carucates and Berenger of Tosny 6 carucates. Carucates were a basis for tax assessment rather than a measurement of area (In area terms it was the amount of land which could be ploughed in a year by an eight strong ox team – anything from 60 to 180 acres depending on the nature of the terrain. Bovates being one eighth of a carucate)

The entry in the Domesday Book for Brompton may be complicated and inconsistent, but there are still more complications and inconsistencies. Troutdale, which lies on Brompton's northern boundary and which today consists of five farms, is recorded as having 2 carucates but Sawdon which for centuries has been a thriving village does not figure in the Domesday Book.¹² The first mention of Sawdon is in 1284.¹³ Sawdon lies roughly halfway between the Vale of Pickering and the northern scarp of the Limestone Hills and does not figure in the Domesday Inquest. Mystifyingly, other settlements, such as Kingthorpe, Appleton le Moors, Gillamoor, Fadmoor, Pockley and Carlton, in roughly the same situation, do figure in the Domesday Book. Also appearing in the record in 1284 is Westhorpe; it disappeared from the record after 1340.¹³ The field between Brompton and Wykeham south of the A170 is called Eastanby and very probably contained a Romano-British settlement.¹⁴ That this settlement survived into the medieval period is suggested by there being a Rogero de Ousteby or de Esteby living in Snainton and paying the Lay Subsidy in the early fourteenth century.¹⁵

Extracting the probable from the possible from this data we have three manors/estates in Brompton. This fits fairly well with other evidence. There were three big houses each with a dovecote in Brompton. Working from west to east, we first come to Low Hall which has an extant dovecote. [Map II] At enclosure in 1760 Low Hall was called Westrupp Hall.¹⁶ In its description of Low Hall, *Houses of the North York Moors* states "At Low Hall Brompton, a block at the core of the house is probably earlier than the 17th-century cross wing built against it at a slight angle and could be the fabric of a medieval hall".¹⁷

Moving east, High Hall lies just to the north of the church and nearby to the east, in the grounds of what was the Buck Inn and is now Hollycroft, was a dovecote.¹⁸ High Hall may well have been the site of the manor house associated with the holding of Berenger de Tosny. The third dovecote was at the north-eastern end of Hungate.¹⁹ Recent excavations on Castle Hill on the north-western end of Hungate have revealed this to have been to be the site of a high status building.²⁰

Brompton's boundaries

Brompton's boundaries are not only shaped by a non-uniform distribution of resources but also by there being three separate manors in Brompton. The significant feature of Brompton's western boundary is that it is, as John Rushton put it, 'broken by the great "pharisee's nose" that Snainton pushes into Brompton'.²¹ The western boundary of Brompton is shown in Map II and the parish boundary and continuous field boundaries are potentially the boundaries of Westhorpe. Thus it is possible that, in the eleventh century, what is now the parish of Brompton was divided into a three narrow tracts.

A consideration of boundaries in and around the neighbouring village of Hutton Buscel is instructive. Brompton has four entries in the Domesday Book. Hutton Buscel occurs in only one entry and that as an outlier of the Manor of Falsgrave, but in that entry, the modern Hutton Buscel is represented by four settlements - Martin Garth, Hutton, Preston Hill and Newton and the names of the last three are preserved in the names of the fields to the north of the village.²² Hutton Buscel's field boundaries may well preserve the long thin conformation of the elements of Brompton and of other settlements between Pickering and Scarborough. [Map IV].

It will have been noticed that I have dealt with the abrupt changes direction of the boundary that form the pharisee's nose but not of those that form his chin. Snainton's boundaries were complex with detached portions of Ebberston scattered throughout Snainton.²³ Snainton had three manors and the abrupt changes in the direction of the boundary between Brompton and Snainton may be part of the boundary of one of them.²⁴ One of the other two manors may have been centred on the present village of Snainton. The third manor has as its western boundary the extant boundary between Ebberston and Snainton and the eastern boundary running along Foulbridge Lane, Cliff Lane and Snainton Lane (leading to Cockmoor). The centre of this may have been called Puddingthorpe whose remnant is Pudding Lane.²⁵

Conclusion

I am very much aware the evidence above presents problems of interpretation but suggest that Brompton as we know it today was formed by the nucleation of three manors with aulases (manor houses) on the sites of Low Hall, High Hall and Castle Hill and with territories which were narrow from east to west and extended from the River Derwent to the High Moors. It would be good to see if this approach applied to locate the precursors of other villages.

Trevor Pearson very kindly produced professional maps from my messy ones.

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Varieties of left-wing politics in wartime Scarborough, 1939-45

by Stewart MacDonald

The Labour Party's landslide victory in the 1945 General Election was a pivotal moment in modern British history, stimulating a great deal of historiographical interest and debate. Some have argued that there was not a significant shift to the Left in popular opinion in wartime; most Labour voters were more concerned, it is suggested, with practical matters such as finding a job and a home after the war.¹ Other historians have emphasised the importance of conditions on the Home Front in explaining Labour's success, suggesting that the British people were radicalised in a left-wing direction by wartime social and economic change.² Labour benefited, for example, from the widespread wartime mood of 'fair shares' and 'equality of sacrifice', which resonated with Labour's core egalitarian socialist values. Similarly, an expansion of state welfare provision and economic interventionism during the war also appeared to vindicate Labour's long-held collectivist principles and policies. Wartime developments also fostered anti-Tory currents of opinion. Ross McKibbin, for example, has highlighted a breakdown of social deference in wartime, which helped to spread resentment against the country's 'vested interests' and privileged elites. A by-product of this was a strengthening of anti-Conservative feelings, as the Tories came to be perceived as champions of upper-class interests, and, from their record in government before the war, indifferent to the needs of ordinary people.³ It might be assumed, then, that the Labour Party was able to reap the benefits of such wartime developments without making too much of an effort. In his classic work on the politics of the Second World War in Britain, Paul Addison writes of the political importance of 'the eloquence of circumstances' on the home front and arrives at the following conclusion on the first half of the war: 'The trend was essentially one towards left-wing attitudes, with the Labour Party as the natural beneficiary whenever party politics revived.'⁴

As a signatory to an electoral truce with the Conservatives (and Liberals) at the beginning of the war and holding senior positions in the Coalition government along with a Conservative PM and government ministers, Labour's prospects for active political campaigning for socialism and against Toryism were severely circumscribed for most of the war years. The Labour HQ at Transport House, for instance, instructed local Labour parties to cooperate in the return of Conservative candidates in wartime by-elections.⁵ Such a backdrop might suggest that Labour's local political activism would largely come to an end for most of the war, or at least be distinctly muted. Perhaps, also, left-wing politics in a constituency like Scarborough and Whitby, characterised as it was by a weak Labour presence and a hegemonic local Conservatism, might be considered to be of little political consequence. Yet it is argued here that the shift to the left that took place in Scarborough and Whitby during World War Two was advanced by active political campaigning that sought to capitalise on favourable wartime developments. Scarborough witnessed a lively and distinctive range of left-leaning political activity throughout the war, climaxing in a significant rise in Labour's vote share in Scarborough and Whitby in the 1945 General Election. The local election result,

moreover, sheds some light on the reasons why, in the General Election nationally, Labour's vote increased so dramatically, whilst that of the Liberals plummeted so badly.⁶

1.

In 1941 the opinion polling organisation *Mass Observation* (MO) sent one of its observers to Scarborough to cover a parliamentary by-election. The strength of local Conservatism was evident in many of the conversations he had with locals. For example:

Labourer, 50 (years old):

'I always give my vote to the people who give me my money. I think it's up to everyone to do that.'

MO 'They don't give you much though, do they?'

'Enough! Enough! If we got the Labour Party in there wouldn't be anything for anyone. Look at the Russians – working themselves to the bone all their lives just for a bit of scam [sic, i.e. scran]. That Bolshevism game is played out now and Hitler knows it. Though I must say the Russians surprised me when they didn't collapse.'

MO 'Do you think Hipwell [the anti-Conservative candidate] will get in?'

'He hasn't got a cat-in-'ell's chance. This is always a sure Conservative seat.'

Since the creation of the Scarborough and Whitby constituency at the end of World War One, the Conservative Party had dominated the seat, returning an MP at every election on over 50% of the poll. The resort of Whitby, with about half the population of Scarborough, voted strongly Conservative, whilst in the constituency's rural villages and farming communities voters often took a lead from Conservative-minded landowners. In Scarborough, too, support for the Conservative Party was solid, with hoteliers, shopkeepers and professionals, who benefited from a thriving tourism economy, forming the backbone of local Conservatism. Conservatism was reinforced by a larger than average elderly and retiree population. Some moneyed residents made a home in Scarborough in order to participate in the flourishing social life of bridge, hunting clubs, yachting and the pursuit of 'tunny' fishing. The local community of fishermen in Scarborough was also reckoned to lean towards Conservatism.⁸

The Tories were helped electorally by the periodic splits and disarray of their main nineteenth century rival, the Liberal Party, and, to a lesser extent, by a divided anti-Conservative vote caused by the rise of the Labour Party. The Scarborough Liberals had a bedrock of support in nonconformist religious communities in the town, but in the interwar period they were handicapped by local and local national divisions, failing, for example, to put up a candidate in the 1931 general election. The social basis of Labour support, industrial employment and trade union membership, was slender in Scarborough. Many working-class families took boarders into their modest homes in the holiday season, acquiring something of a business

outlook. The town had its share of poorer voters, often suffering from the low wages and underemployment typical of holiday resorts. But as a Mass Observation visitor recorded, though the town was far from devoid of a stratum of poorer voters, ‘only a small section of it is actively class-conscious’.⁹ The social composition of Scarborough, therefore, was not favourable to the Labour Party.

Given the nature of the Scarborough electorate, it is not surprising that the local Labour Party was weak in the town. Labour came last in all of the interwar General Elections it contested, on an average of less than 10% per cent of the vote. Labour held only one council seat, which it won narrowly in 1938. As a local party lacking a large and active membership, it had, to a large extent, been taken over by a coterie of ‘fellow travellers’, who, whilst sharing many of the socialist commitments of mainstream Labour, adhered unswervingly to the international outlook and dictates of the Communist Party of Great Britain and its masters in Moscow.

2.

This communist-leaning grouping in the Labour Party was portrayed in a hostile local press as an entryist faction that had captured the local party from its authentic Labour membership. Sidney Simpson, local councillor and spokesman for the Communist-inclined membership, denied this, insisting that the Soviet leadership in Moscow was the legitimate leader of the international working class movement and claiming simply, ‘I am a Socialist.’¹⁰ Given that the British Communist Party HQ in King St, London, never mind the Communist International in Moscow, had very limited interest in or influence over decision-making in Scarborough, local Communists and fellow-travellers appear to have consistently chosen to follow the Kremlin line in a case of “willing self-identification” with Stalinism.¹¹

The local Labour Party alignment with Moscow proved to be damaging to its credibility and influence in the early stages of the war. When Stalin allied with Hitler in the Nazi-Soviet Pact of August 1939 and in September when he subsequently made clear to his followers in Britain that they should oppose the war against Nazi Germany as an ‘imperialist war’, many longstanding Communist anti-fascists in the country were thrown into a state of bewilderment and despair.¹² Hugh Dalton spoke for many in the national Labour Party about the Soviet regime: ‘They are double-crossers by nature.’¹³ However, in late October 1939 the Scarborough Labour Party obediently signalled its acceptance of the Stalinist line on the war.¹⁴ The difficulties of Labour in Scarborough were exacerbated in December 1939 when it issued a statement supporting the Russian invasion of Finland.¹⁵ Nationally, Communist support for this act of aggression intensified anti-Communist feelings in Britain and the Soviet Union was strongly resented as an unprincipled bully.¹⁶ Intense anger was felt in the Labour movement, the *Daily Herald*, for example, pronouncing:

Now finally Stalin’s Russia sacrifices all claims to the affection and respect of the world-wide working class movement which Lenin’s USSR had as a right ... The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is dead. Stalin’s new imperialist Russia takes its place.¹⁷

In Scarborough, a political commentator in a local newspaper, the *Mercury*, demanded to know what ordinary, 'level-headed' Labour members made of their party's position on the Finnish War.¹⁸ A spate of letters in the local press in January 1940 provides evidence of a growing public distaste for the local Labour Party's political behaviour. The party was accused of becoming a 'laughing stock', of ignoring the domestic problems of its working class constituency and of an unpatriotic adherence to the policies of a foreign power.¹⁹ The local Party was not inclined to soft-pedal in the face of public disapproval and in April 1940 helped to organise a public meeting of the Left Book Club, an organisation that was now effectively a Communist 'front' organisation. The speaker at the meeting was D.N. Pritt, a well-known fellow-traveller expelled from the national Labour Party for his Communist sympathies and his support for the Russian invasion of Finland. Attacking Councillor Simpson's role in the meeting, Jottings in the *Mercury* declared that Simpson was not a Councillor 'in a true sense', but took orders from Roscoe Street, the local Communist Party base.²⁰ Similarly, a letter-writer to the local press insisted that Simpson did not represent the Scarborough working class, reminding readers that he had won a seat on the Town Council in the Falsgrave ward by only 23 votes.²¹

After the Nazis had overrun the Low Countries and France in May/June 1940 Britain faced the possibility of Nazi invasion, but Communists in Britain continued to characterise the war against Germany as 'imperialist'. Anti-Communist feelings escalated in Scarborough. In May 1940 the Public Library replaced the Communist newspaper the *Daily Worker* with the *Financial Times*, due, it was claimed, to popular pressure.²² The paper was not closed down by the government until January 1941. In a further indication of the public disapproval prompted by the unpatriotic fellow-travelling of the Scarborough Labour Party, a second Left Book Club meeting in November 1940, featuring Councillor Simpson as a speaker, was cancelled due to a lack of interest, occasioning malicious satisfaction amongst the Labour leadership's opponents in the town.²³

Scarborough Labour, therefore, started the war in a weak position and subjected itself thereafter to some self-inflicted political wounds. Above all they faced allegations of disloyalty to the country in the interests of Soviet Russia. Yet surprisingly, perhaps, British public opinion about Soviet behaviour before the Nazi attack on Russia in June 1941 failed to solidify into fixed feelings of hostility and betrayal, many appearing to invest hope in Anglo-Soviet collaboration against Hitler at some time in the future.²⁴ Over time anger waned. The historian Bill Jones argues that by early 1941, 'much of the left-wing indignation at earlier Russian behaviour had passed away'.²⁵ Whilst the local Labour Party created controversy by adhering to the Kremlin's international line, it also limited some of the damage it incurred by conducting domestic campaigns which were rooted in more traditional Labour values, for example campaigning for better air raid shelter provision in the town and against the issuing of summonses to townsfolk who had been unable to pay their rates.²⁶ And in June 1941 the identification of communists and fellow-travellers with the Soviet Union helped to improve their fortunes when the Nazis invaded Russia and Britain entered into an alliance with the Soviets.

3.

Following Hitler's Operation Barbarossa in June 1941, the Scarborough Labour Party gave its wholehearted support to the war effort and to the Coalition government that was now an ally of Stalin's. Expectations of political calm and agreement were, however, soon to be shattered. Scarborough's Conservative MP, Sir Paul Latham, chose to resign his seat in August 1941 over a sex scandal, triggering a by-election.²⁷ As the local Labour Party now supported the electoral truce, a challenge from the Left in the by-election was not expected. But this was to reckon without the intervention of Reginald Hipwell, a 33-year-old visitor to the town and founder editor of the rank-and-file soldiers' magazine *Reveille*. Standing as a by-election candidate was not something he had planned, he claimed: 'I only came up here for a holiday – something to make a change.'²⁸

Hipwell had been educated at Rugby School. After this he struck out on a buccaneering life in Australia, pearl fishing and labouring in gold mines and on cattle stations. He returned to England in 1932, selling vacuum cleaners before embarking on a career in advertising and journalism. Before the war he had acquired two convictions for theft.

Taking on the Conservative candidate, who had the unambiguous support of the Prime Minister and the three wartime coalition parties, was something of a David versus Goliath contest. Hipwell lacked the resources of a party machine and was reliant on his own energy and resources, along with his own rumbustious personal qualities. Locally he had few supporters. One of the few was the maverick town councillor 'Johnny' Jackson. A self-made local man from an impoverished background, Jackson had been pursuing a form of anti-establishment populism for many years as an Independent on the Town Council. Hipwell, similarly, embraced a diffuse form of left-wing populism, combining a belligerent nationalism, promises of welfare reform and uncompromising attacks on 'privilege', 'vested interests' and the local Conservative Party elite.

Hipwell's most effective skills lay in attention-seeking and stirring up controversy. A representative of *Mass Observation* said of Hipwell, '... he rushed around the constituency making dynamic speeches with the aim of stirring up the apathetic'.²⁹ A significant amount of his energy was devoted to the character assassination of his Conservative opponents. The first of these, and for many the most shocking, was his attack, during his first public meeting, on the local landowning grandee Lord Downe, President of the local Conservative Association. Hipwell accused him of cowardice for returning from the Dunkirk evacuation prematurely, having abandoned the men under his command. There is evidence that Hipwell had picked up on a popular current of hostility to Lord Downe locally, and Downe admitted that that there had been criticisms of him over his record at Dunkirk.³⁰ This electioneering tactic certainly garnered a great deal of attention, *Mass Observation* commenting, 'he thus started off the campaign in a flare of publicity which drew attention to him and his candidature more effectively than any orthodox method'.³¹ *Mass Observation* also felt that he had selected his target carefully: '... here was a man, a total stranger to the constituency, who had started his campaign by attacking the most prominent person in it'.³² Criticisms of Downe struck a chord in some quarters. A 59-year-old Scarborough woman asserted, 'My son was at Dunkirk and

he said it was common knowledge that he ran away early.’ An elderly man commented, ‘I think Hipwell was right to attack Lord Downe ... who called him back?’ It did not harm Hipwell’s attack that Lord Downe’s mother, the Dowager Lady Downe, had been active in the fascist movement in the North Riding and Norfolk between the wars.³³ Other locals, however, took a dim view of Hipwell’s disrespectful behaviour. An Army Captain condemned him for being a ‘cad’, whilst an elderly man felt that his accusations were ‘very insulting indeed’.³⁴

Taking full advantage of Lord Downe’s embarrassment over Dunkirk, Hipwell escalated his denunciation by suggesting that Downe was covering up the fact that he had been demoted because of his behaviour. He also questioned why he was so active in Conservative politics when he appeared at the same time to be in military service at the taxpayer’s expense. Downe was blamed by Hipwell for the unfortunate selection of Paul Latham as a parliamentary candidate in the constituency, warning of the danger of him selling another ‘pup’. Finally, Hipwell made public private conversations he claimed he had had with Lord Downe. Downe, he alleged, had expressed strong anti-Churchill views and had condemned the constituents of Scarborough and Whitby for their stupidity.³⁵ Such tactics on Hipwell’s part undoubtedly had an influence on the local electorate, though late in 1942 Hipwell issued an unreserved apology to Lord Downe for slandering him and paid a small sum in damages.³⁶

Alexander Spearman was similarly dismissed by Hipwell in uncompromising terms, as, among other things, ‘the Rich Man’s Friend’ and an opponent of Churchill.³⁷ Whipping up patriotic feelings, he demanded to know why Spearman was not serving in uniform. When a meeting was informed that it was because of he was a one-legged amputee, a Hipwell supporter heckled, ‘What about Bader?’, who famously had served in the RAF with no legs.³⁸ As a 33-year-old himself and not in military service, Hipwell was not in a very strong position, but he was quick to provide a defence. He asserted cryptically that he had served in the Signal Corps but had had to leave through no fault of his own, explaining to the *Daily Herald* that he had been ‘slung’ out because of legitimate allegations he had made against a superior officer.³⁹ Hipwell also claimed that army service had so impoverished him that he had had to give up both his greatcoat and his smoking habit.⁴⁰ However, as evidence of his commitment to the war effort, he reported that he had been involved in fire duties during the London Blitz, and he claimed that *Reveille* had an important role to play in maintaining military morale. He intended, moreover, to return to military service.⁴¹ Hipwell had in fact been forced to resign from the Signal Corps as it was felt that ‘he did not possess the necessary powers of leadership’ and was ‘entirely lacking in tact’.⁴² Earlier in his career he had been drummed out of the 3rd Battalion, the Monmouthshire Regiment for ‘brawling in the streets’ as well as being ‘unscrupulous and dishonest’.⁴³

When Hipwell was accused by his opponents of causing an unnecessary distraction from the war effort, he responded by directing the blame on to Sir Paul Latham for precipitating the by-election. He condemned Latham as someone who had bought his way into political advancement and as a ‘yes-man’ who could be relied upon to toe the party line at local and national level. Predictably, he highlighted Sir Paul’s poor attendance record in the

constituency. Local politicians and commentators were coy about raising the nature of Sir Paul's 'disgrace' during the by-election campaign. Before the war the popular press in Britain tended to portray the gay man as an enemy within, in the words of one historian, as a 'a social menace, a member of a disreputable underground'.⁴⁴ Hipwell had few qualms about exploiting such prejudice and, for example, advised a group of Scarborough fishermen not to vote for his successor, another 'pansy'.⁴⁵

Hipwell's onslaught on Downe, Spearman and Latham was part of a wider attack on the self-interested politics of the local Conservative machine, which, he claimed, lacked honesty, principle and accountability. Taking on such hidebound political power was an urgent task in the difficult conditions of wartime Britain, according to Hipwell. In this he was backed by Councillor Jackson, who deplored the succession of nondescript and ineffectual Tory MPs who had represented Scarborough since World War One.⁴⁶ Hipwell also shrewdly exploited fault lines in the Conservative Party by shining a spotlight on the alleged hypocrisy of the local party, which harboured a deep-seated hostility towards Winston Churchill whilst at the same time endeavouring to exploit his wartime popularity for their own partisan purposes.

In addition to Hipwell's bare-knuckle personal attacks, he fought the by-election on a populist political platform which responded to a wide range of local and national resentments and grievances. He advocated a more belligerent prosecution of the war, including an uncompromising bombing campaign against Italy. Much greater support for Britain's Soviet ally was desperately needed, he asserted, something of a popular cause in the autumn of 1941. On the war, Hipwell stated:

I do not think we are giving all the help we can to Russia. If I had my way I would bomb Rome until it looked like the Coliseum and Naples until it could not be distinguished from the last days of Pompeii.⁴⁷

At home, Hipwell's key message was the necessity of providing 'a square deal' for Britain's servicemen and their dependents. He pressed strongly for rewarding the Forces with higher pay and a more generous settlement for their families. In social policy, he backed the cause of family allowances, generous old age pensions and improved War Injury Compensation for women. Hipwell's message was also tailored to more local grievances. He called for guaranteed prices for farmers and a better deal for Yorkshire's fishermen. Overall, then, Hipwell's contrived to paint himself as the outsider championing the common man and woman in wartime, pitting himself against the local Conservative political establishment and its hypocrisy and 'vested interests'

In the event, Spearman was victorious, but Hipwell secured a surprisingly large minority.⁴⁸

Scarborough and Whitby by-election – 24 September 1941.

	Votes	% vote
A.Spearman	12,518	60.8
W.R.Hipwell	8,086	39.2

The most striking feature of the by-election result was the large number of votes given to a candidate opposing the official coalition candidate. In many ways, the Conservative Party's difficulties in Scarborough and Whitby reflected national developments as well as local ones. By the spring of 1941 there was widespread frustration at the disappointing progress of the war and a tendency to blame the Conservative side of the coalition for this.⁴⁹ They were seen as representing the country's elites, who were considered to be an obstacle to the waging of a 'people's war'. Popular concern focused on several issues. Wartime production was failing to meet the demands of total war. It was felt that there was insufficient support being given to country's 'gallant' Soviet ally after Russia joined the war against the Nazis in June 1941. In autumn 1941 there were military debacles in Greece and Crete and stalemate in the Middle East and North Africa. Frustration mounted regarding the country's inability to take the war to the Nazis in Europe, with the bombing offensive against Germany stalling. Starting with Hornsey in London in May 1941, Independent candidates showed an increasing appetite for standing against Conservative candidates in by-elections, despite the electoral truce. They performed surprisingly well, such that by the spring of 1942 some Conservative candidates were defeated at the hands of maverick Independents. In the words of Paul Addison, 'The by-election independent knew his trade – blame the Tories – and the voters responded.'⁵⁰ Other historians have suggested that there was also a more general disillusionment with the established political parties which bolstered the fortunes of Independent candidates in by-elections. This the journal *Tribune* termed at the time the 'movement away from party'.⁵¹

In Scarborough, Hipwell was adept at latching on to local grievances, whether of fishermen, farmers, hoteliers or servicemen's wives. A commentator in *The Mercury* was perceptive in predicting before the poll that Hipwell would do much better than many people thought: 'Scarborough has its full share of those who will claim that they have one [a grievance]. Some have, and others imagine they have.'⁵² A further reason for Hipwell's success was the relish with which he appeared to attack the local Conservative Party, tapping into popular resentment against the complacency of the local Tory establishment. There was a perception that the local Conservative Party was too elitist and out-of-touch, *Jottings* in the *Mercury*, for example, detecting a 'superiority complex'. A correspondent in the *Evening News* accused the Conservatives of putting wealth before ability in the parliamentary selection process and demanded, 'give us candidates with talent and ideas'.⁵³ One working-class Scarborough woman voted for Hipwell, 'just to swell the opposition vote. Its [sic] about time we had a change here'. An ex-serviceman judged that Hipwell had 'stirred things up which is what this place needs'.⁵⁴ In stark contrast to Spearman, Hipwell certainly stirred things up, though not enough to overturn a long-standing Conservative dominance in the constituency.

4.

When the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, Britain and Russia overcame their mutual distrust and entered into an anti-German alliance, signing an Anglo-Soviet declaration of mutual assistance on 12 July. This enabled Communists and fellow travellers in Britain to change tack and fully support the British war effort. As Soviet resistance to the Nazis proved to be strikingly resolute and heroic, Communists and their sympathisers in Britain took

advantage of this to publicise the benefits of Communism. From mid-August 1941 the British people came increasingly to admire the Soviet regime as well as the Russian resistance to the Nazis.⁵⁵ ‘The efficiency and resilience of the Soviet economy,’ writes Bill Jones, ‘was presented as a testimony to socialist planning.’⁵⁶ 1942 to early 1943 witnessed an upsurge of popular ‘Russomania’ in Britain, when admiration for the Russian people, the Soviet regime and Stalin was at its height.⁵⁷ In Scarborough the Labour and Communist Parties found a new freedom to extol the virtues of Stalin and Soviet Communism. Along with the indefatigable Sidney Simpson, Tom Hopperton, a local trade union officer, provided Labour Party lectures on the teaching of Karl Marx and the achievements of the Soviet Union in building a planned, socialist economy.⁵⁸ Local Labour loyally championed the other key Communist causes of the time, notably the launching of a Second Front in the West to relieve the military pressure on the Soviet Union and, at home, the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party.⁵⁹ It was standard Communist practice, moreover, to use so-called ‘front’ organisations, which were set up and controlled by the Communists, but which appeared to be separate from the Party. In Scarborough, the pro-Communist leadership of the Labour Party helped to establish the Scarborough and District Anglo-Soviet Committee, ostensibly to promote unity and solidarity between the two countries. The main organisation was complemented by the equally energetic Women’s Anglo-Soviet Committee. These organisations drew in politically safe figures such as the town’s MP and the Bishop of Bradford to add respectability to pro-Soviet campaigning.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, speakers, like a well-known *Mirror* journalist, were invited who could be relied upon to emphasise the communist ideological underpinnings of Russian military successes and to link support for the Russian struggle with Stalin’s demands for an immediate Second Front.⁶¹ The women’s committee concentrated much of its efforts on facilitating the engagement of local people in the Communist cause by raising money to pay for a mobile X-Ray unit for the Red Army and for endowing hospital beds for Stalingrad hospitals.⁶² Such activities alarmed critics of local Labour Party Stalinism. Jottings urged readers of the *Mercury* to be wary of Labour Party propaganda and to make a clear distinction between genuine sympathy for the Russian people and the political ideology of their leaders.⁶³ That this was not always easy is perhaps suggested by the shift in the climate of public opinion that persuaded the local Library to restore the communist *Daily Worker* to its shelves in October 1942.⁶⁴

In British government circles there were concerns about popular admiration for Soviet resistance being exploited for Communist propaganda purposes. It was decided to employ the efforts of the Ministry of Information to try to retain control over public opinion about Russia, in the Ministry’s words to ‘steal the thunder’ of the Left.⁶⁵ The ministry therefore organised lectures and exhibitions which sang the praises of the gallant Russian resistance to Nazism, whilst downplaying any ideological considerations. Scarborough was the recipient of numerous official talks and exhibitions about ‘Our Russian Ally’ sponsored by the Ministry of Information.⁶⁶ Some lectures abandoned the mask of apolitical neutrality and conveyed a transparently anti-Communist message. The Russian people, according to one speaker, were fighting not for Communism, but for ‘the soul of Russia’, having been previously ‘pushed into Communism at the point of a bayonet’.⁶⁷ In an additional push to depoliticise pro-Soviet

feelings in Britain, Mrs Churchill established an 'Aid Russia Fund'. Activities were designed to mobilise communities in fund-raising activities devoid of the risks of ideological contamination. In October 1942 a Mrs Churchill Russia Week in Scarborough celebrated Russian life, culture and military prowess in a series of exhibitions, concerts, films and speeches. Collections in the town raised money for a motor field-ambulance and for beds for Stalingrad hospitals.⁶⁸

It is difficult to be certain how far such initiatives helped to counteract the work of those who wished to take advantage of the Russia's stirring resistance for left-wing political purposes. P.M.H. Bell concludes from Home Intelligence reports in 1942, 'that a trend towards socialism had been given a distinct impetus by the Russian military successes'.⁶⁹ The impact of Soviet achievements, and their political exploitation by Scarborough Labour, are likely to have contributed to the responsiveness of parts of the electorate to the ideas of the Left. Though in 1944 and '45 some doubts grew about the intentions and trustworthiness of the Soviet Union, local Labour members could plausibly argue that Labour was best positioned to maintain amicable relations with the Soviets in the post-war world.⁷⁰

5.

In late 1940 the Ministry of Food proposed a national scheme of 'communal feeding centres'. Churchill favoured a change of name to 'British Restaurants', which he felt would sound more respectable and patriotic (and less socialistic).⁷¹ The restaurants were intended to provide a nutritious and economic meal for citizens who were finding such a meal difficult to obtain in the changing circumstances of war: munitions workers away from home, shift workers, male workers whose wives were working or volunteering. It was felt that vulnerable groups, like the poor and old age pensioners, would also benefit from such centres. The centres would be run by local authorities, which would receive support from central government for set up and running costs.⁷²

British Restaurants were popular, providing good-value and wholesome meals off-the-ration, and usually in a welcoming and unstuffy atmosphere. The idea caught on quickly across the country and by September 1941 the 1,000th British Restaurant was opened.⁷³ By mid-war any town with a population of over 50,000 had at least one such restaurant, and by 1944 they were serving some 600,000 meals a day.⁷⁴ It was largely in rural areas that they were absent. A *Mass Observation* Report in 1942 was fulsome in its praise:

Incidentally, if there is one thing that has impressed people about the new organisations which have sprung up in the war, it is the British Restaurant. The overwhelming majority of those who have eaten in British Restaurants think they are excellent, and there are few institutions in Britain which are more popular today. Wherever one comes up, it is soon catering to capacity.⁷⁵

The enthusiasm for British Restaurants had clear political implications, which have not always been acknowledged by historians. One attraction of the restaurants was that they provided opportunities for wartime social contact and democratic intermixing. Housewives informed *Mass Observation* that they enjoyed 'rubbing shoulders with any strangers and

talking to them' in British Restaurants.⁷⁶ Reflecting on a report by the Council of Social Services, *The Times* lauded the mixing of ages, gender and social class common in British Restaurants, agreeing that they were 'essentially democratic in price and clientele'.⁷⁷ Such egalitarian implications were commonly identified, another commentator observing, 'And – perhaps its [a British Restaurant's] greatest long-range value – it lessens the part played by income in determining nutritional levels in the community.'⁷⁸ Summing up this transformative view of wartime British Restaurants, the historian Geoffrey Field writes: 'Their advocates hailed them as a new kind of social institution, epitomizing the democratic spirit of wartime and places where social solidarity could be forged.'⁷⁹

Naturally, as such favoured wartime institutions mushroomed around the country, hopes of a Scarborough British Restaurant were raised. In 1941, however, it became clear that the local authority in Scarborough had no intention of establishing a British Restaurant in the town. From the start opposition to the setting up of a British Restaurant in Scarborough was determined. Financial considerations were uppermost in many minds. Month after month it was pointed out by senior councillors and their supporters in the local press that such an institution in Scarborough would not be financially viable and that elsewhere, in Sheffield, Hull, Rotherham and Manchester, for example, British Restaurants were running into financial difficulties.⁸⁰ Moreover, opponents could not be persuaded that there was any need for them. Local emergency feeding arrangements were in place to support survivors of bomb-damaged properties. There was not a large number of industrial workers in the town who would benefit from the new restaurants, and those that there were, were served adequately by factory canteens.⁸¹ British Restaurants, it was also added, would provide unfair competition for hard-pressed local caterers by monopolising supplies and subsidising prices.⁸² The Council's Cafés Committee tried to operate on the principle that it would not run a municipal enterprise that was in direct competition with a local business.⁸³ Finally, the town's Conservative establishment tended to perceive British Restaurants simply as a dangerous socialist experiment.

The local labour movement initiated an energetic campaign to overcome municipal obstruction. The Scarborough and District Trades Council, purporting to represent local trade unionists but closely aligned to the local Labour leadership, was vocal in calling for municipal 'communal feeding centres'.⁸⁴ Labour Councillor Sidney Simpson played a prominent role, writing to the press, canvassing fellow councillors and repeatedly raising the issue at Council meetings. The meeting of June 1942 was described, for example, as 'long enough for Councillor Simpson to give his British Restaurant gramophone record its usual monthly airing'.⁸⁵

In February 1942 the local Labour Party launched a petition to collect evidence of local demand for a British Restaurant.⁸⁶ Simpson supported the campaign by highlighting the needs of the poor in the town and the plight of boarding house keepers in the winter, who, he claimed, could easily find themselves living on cups of tea and bread and butter.⁸⁷ Labour's efforts were condemned by an unsympathetic local press for failing to understand that British Restaurants were intended for the use of war workers and not as a general 'convenience'.⁸⁸ But Labour's campaign struck a chord and, under some pressure, Town Hall officials

launched research work on the experiences of seaside towns like Scarborough which had established British Restaurants. The results, they announced, predictably appeared to vindicate the Council's scepticism about the need for a British Restaurant. Later in 1942 there was some movement on the Council towards Labour's position, with Councillor Walsh, for example, proclaiming his conversion, citing the needs of the town's elderly and poor.⁸⁹ His concern was echoed in letters to the local press, which expressed concerns about the social impact of the collapse of the tourist economy on the town.⁹⁰

The Labour Party kept up the pressure in 1943, the peak year of national support for British Restaurants. In September the party conducted a local opinion poll about the restaurants, concluding that there was sufficient interest and support to make such an institution viable in the town.⁹¹ Unsurprisingly, the *Mercury's* columnist, supported by the editor of the Scarborough Evening News, condemned the survey's methodology and the interpretation of its results, claiming, in particular, a working class bias in the sample.⁹² Remarkably, early in October the Council voted in favour of the establishment of a British Restaurant, against the advice of the inner Cabinet, the Emergency Committee.⁹³ Labour's progress seems to have derived from popular support in the town for a British Restaurant and from Simpson's assiduous bridge-building with independent-minded councillors. Success, however, was short-lived, as Council approval was followed by some rapid manoeuvring behind the scenes. The Emergency Committee referred the issue to the Cafés Committee of the Council, which recommended deferring the issue on the grounds that there was no suitable venue in the town, nor a qualified management team.⁹⁴

Opponents of the restaurants, however, were put temporarily on the back foot again when suitable accommodation was identified in the town centre. In what appeared to some as an underhand and conspiratorial ploy, it was then announced that the proposed site had been requisitioned.⁹⁵ When a further site was found in March 1944, opponents of British Restaurants enjoyed their final victory when the Council accepted that the expense would be too great and that it was too far into the war to contemplate such a commitment.⁹⁶ Councillor Priestley accepted that the time for the town's British Restaurant was 'three years ago'. Councillor Simpson summed up the wounded resignation of supporters:

Personally, he did not care. He had done his share, and his hands were perfectly clean. The Council must take responsibility for depriving the people of Scarborough of services that almost every town of Scarborough's size, and hundreds smaller, had had for a considerable time.⁹⁷

Scarborough Labour seems to have been campaigning with the grain of much of local public opinion on British Restaurants. Resentment against the Council's refusal to act was fuelled by the fact that so many of Scarborough's neighbouring towns enjoyed the benefits of British Restaurants: Whitby, Malton, York and Hull, for example. Indeed, the North Riding County Council was responsible for establishing a number of British Restaurants, leading Councillor Simpson to express his surprise that the dyed in the wool traditionalists on the County Council were proving to be more 'progressive' than Scarborough Council.⁹⁸ The evidence seemed compelling to many, moreover, that the changing conditions in wartime Scarborough made it difficult for a substantial number of people to guarantee at least one

wholesome meal per day. Municipal action was required, in particular, to tackle the increasing incidence of economic hardship amongst pensioners and those dependent on tourism and hospitality.⁹⁹ For Labour in Scarborough, the debate about British Restaurants provided an opportunity to champion a popular cause, whilst reviving concepts of municipal socialism as promoted by the Webbs (Sidney and Beatrice) earlier in the century.¹⁰⁰ A British Restaurant was seen as a stepping-stone towards an expansion of municipal welfare provision and towards a socialist local economy. Labour, therefore, persevered in its wartime campaign, despite the obstruction and defeats, and even continued its efforts after the war, despite the much less favourable climate of opinion.¹⁰¹

6.

On 19 May 1945 the Labour Party decided to end its participation in the wartime coalition. Prime Minister Churchill called a general election for 5th July. On 23 May the wartime government formally came to an end, replaced by Churchill's 'caretaker' administration. The election campaign lasted for the next six weeks. The result was not declared until 26 July, to allow for the Services' votes to be counted. Labour won an historic victory, with a large majority of seats (393). The national percentage votes were:

Conservatives: 36.2%
 Liberal: 9%
 Labour: 47.7%

The results in Scarborough and Whitby constituency were as follows.

	Vote in Scarborough and Whitby	% of the vote in Scarborough and Whitby	% of vote compared with last election (1935)
Conservative	20,786	50.9	Down 3%
Liberal	10,739	26	Down 13%
Labour	9,289	22.7	Up 16%

In 1945 the Conservative Party benefited from a strong candidate and a substantial bedrock of support in the constituency. Its support held up well. The party gained more votes than the other two parties combined, and, whilst its vote fell 3% on the previous election in 1935, the party's national vote plummeted by nearly 12%. In a later press profile, the Conservative candidate was praised for 'a personal triumph in a time of country-wide Conservative collapse'.¹⁰²

Labour's real battle, therefore, was with the Liberals for second place. The local Liberals ran a pugnacious campaign in 1945. They possessed a strong candidate. Captain Leonard Razzall of the Royal Marines was a London solicitor and native of Scarborough, educated at its schools and with a local wife.¹⁰³ He was a combative politician, eager to seize the initiative

from his opponents. Razzall worked hard to persuade anti-Tory activists that he alone should stand as the progressive candidate.¹⁰⁴ When such a proposal was rejected by Labour, he then alleged that many rank-and-file Labour Party members were planning to vote Liberal to keep the Tories out. This was based on scant evidence, but was intended to sow the seeds of tactical voting in his favour.¹⁰⁵ As election day loomed, he kept the pressure up, repeating the refrain that a vote for Labour was a vote for the Tories.¹⁰⁶ Like Labour, he took a vigorous anti-Conservative line, portraying them as a party wishing to return to the miseries of pre-war Britain and as the defenders of self-serving elites in the economy and society.¹⁰⁷ At the same time, he reminded voters of Spearman's disloyalty to Churchill, claiming that the Tory candidate had been an opponent of Churchill's before as well as during the war.¹⁰⁸ Razzall also enjoyed spotlighting the hypocrisy of the many other critics of Churchill in the local Conservative Party, who were now 'sheltering behind him' in the general election campaign.¹⁰⁹ On policy, Razzall's political offering was in the tradition of Radical Liberalism, criticising Big Business and financial interests. The Liberals would put the people first, he promised, and they would ensure that poverty, insecurity, poor housing and social injustice were tackled.¹¹⁰ He invoked the authority of the great Liberal reformers to support his case: Lloyd George, J.M. Keynes and William Beveridge.¹¹¹ Razzall's campaign received a boost when the latter, a highly regarded and popular figure, came to Scarborough on 26 June to speak on his behalf. The Liberal campaign was, therefore, a lively one, and the party, surprisingly, had more money to spend in the constituency than either of its rivals.¹¹² The party's policy platform shared Labour and Tory emphasis on the need for post-war social reform. In content, however, the Liberal message lacked Labour's clarity on how to achieve fairness and prosperity by using state economic controls.

The local Liberals performed better than the party nationally, obtaining 26% of the vote. Nationally the Liberals won a mere 9% of the vote, and, humiliatingly, only 12 seats. The Liberals, however, were the real losers of the election in Scarborough and Whitby in 1945, despite coming second. They dropped 13 percentage points from the previous election in 1935. In the interwar period Liberals had averaged 40% of the poll. What went so wrong? In Scarborough and Whitby, the Liberals had failed to defeat the Conservatives in any general election between the wars, which had had an adverse impact on party morale and organisation. The party was said to be 'deplorably weak' in Whitby and the rural North Riding in particular.¹¹³ Unkind criticisms were made in Scarborough, a Liberal sympathiser dismissing the local party for its 'fascination of [sic] cards, billiards and idle gossip'.¹¹⁴ Above all, the Liberals failed to persuade enough Labour sympathisers to vote Liberal tactically in 1945, and they failed to prevent a good number of erstwhile Liberal voters from switching to Labour. Though the Liberals won more votes than Labour, they were no longer the undisputed opposition to the Conservatives in the constituency.

The Constituency Labour Party adopted Mr Tom Hopperton, an area officer with the National Union of Public Employees, as their parliamentary candidate in 1942. It is not clear why Sidney Simpson, the well-known local Labour activist, trade unionist and town councillor was passed over. It was not because he was too far to the Left of Labour, as Hopperton shared his Marxist brand of socialism, attacking Labour moderates like Herbert Morrison, calling for

the abolition of capitalism and extolling the virtues of Soviet Communism.¹¹⁵ Jottings referred to Hopperton and Simpson as ‘our local dilettante Socialist theorists’.¹¹⁶ It is also uncertain why Hopperton decided to stand down at the end of September 1944. He claimed that he wished to devote more of his time to trade union work.¹¹⁷ At the beginning of 1945 Scarborough Labour adopted a rather different candidate, Flight Lieutenant Douglas Curry, a 30-year-old schoolmaster from the Darlington area and a socialist from the non-communist left. Hopperton’s replacement by Curry may have resulted from a Transport House intervention or may have been prompted by the desire of local Labour to fight the election with a more mainstream Labour candidate. Curry proved to be a persuasive campaigner, highlighting Labour’s commitment to economic planning and social justice, ‘not profits for the few’.¹¹⁸ He promised radical post-war social reform and tapped into dominant local concerns about post-war housing and jobs. The Conservative Party was excoriated in his speeches, caricatured as a party of ‘young Guards Officers, amateur steeplechasers, Dukes’ nephews out of jobs, company directors and old Etonians’.¹¹⁹ Conservatives had, he argued, betrayed the British people after World War One and had afflicted them with unemployment and the means test in the 1930s. The party had harboured pro-fascists and pro-Nazis.¹²⁰ Labour’s rallying cry of ‘Never Again’ resonated powerfully with the electorate in 1945. Spearman, given his strong local reputation, escaped the sharpest of Curry’s wrath. It was the ‘powers behind him’ that should concern the electorate.¹²¹

In 1945 the local Labour Party had made it clear that it would not do any deals with the Liberals, who historically had been the main opposition to the Conservatives in the constituency. Curry was confident that the war had transformed the political landscape, elevating Labour to be the main challenger to the Conservatives. He also stressed that between Labour and the Liberals there was a ‘wide difference of political aims’. The Liberals, he claimed, lacked the courage to embrace nationalisation, economic controls over the economy and anything more than ‘modest’ social reform.¹²²

The Labour Party benefited from its wartime campaigning in the constituency, on local issues like improved air raid protection, support for those falling into rate and rent arrears and the provision of child nurseries and British Restaurants. The party’s identification with mid-war ‘Russomania’ and its lead in championing Anglo-Soviet solidarity were politically helpful locally, as were Hipwell and Councillor Jackson’s demands for equality of sacrifice and attacks on privilege and vested interests. In appointing Sidney Simpson as election agent, Labour acquired an asset of formidable energy and local knowledge. The party, though small, had the committed support of local trade unions and of other small left-wing political groups, like the ILP, Fabian Society, Communist Party and Common Wealth.¹²³ It has also been claimed that nationally Labour benefited from the armed services’ vote, which in Scarborough and Whitby amounted to over 5,000 voters, who had the opportunity of voting by post or by proxy. This was certainly helpful to Labour locally, but generally the services’ vote was low, and not exclusively Labour.¹²⁴

The local Labour Party made substantial gains in the 1945 election. Winning over 9,000 votes and 22.7% of the votes cast, this was Labour’s electoral breakthrough in the constituency.

Before the war the party had come third in all the elections it had contested and its highest share of the vote had been 10.8% in 1929. Of course, Labour's electoral progress in Scarborough in 1945 reflected the pronounced swing to the party in the country as a whole, particularly among working-class and lower middle-class voters.¹²⁵ Labour's increased vote locally in 1945 seems to have arisen from the appeal of its clear-cut message on social justice and economic planning, and not merely to anti-Tory feelings. A large number of voters opted positively to vote Labour in Scarborough and Whitby, and not to vote tactically for the Liberal Party, the main historical opposition to the Conservative Party. This voting behaviour is in keeping with the findings of Peter Sloman who, in examining three-way fights in constituencies in 1945 where Labour had come third in 1935, concluded, '... Labour supporters proved highly reluctant to rally behind the Liberal candidates in 1945. Indeed, many former Liberal voters seem to have peeled away from the party to support Labour, even in seats which Labour had little chance of winning.'¹²⁶

7.

It may seem indulgent to devote so much attention to the experience of the impregnable safe Conservative seat of Scarborough and Whitby in 1945 and, moreover, to the party that came third and last in the contest. However, it is always worthwhile exploring the ways in which national politics is shaped by the dynamics of politics at a constituency level. During the Second World War Scarborough witnessed a potent and diverse range of political activity, emanating largely from the political Left. We have seen, for example, the influence of Communism, left-wing populism, municipal socialism and mainstream social democracy on wartime Scarborough. They appear to have been largely effective in linking local wartime political activity to the material conditions of the Home Front and to political developments nationally, enabling Scarborough Labour to mount a serious challenge to local Liberalism. The Labour Party then went on to capitalise on this in the 1950, 1951 and 1955 general elections, when Labour came second to the Conservatives in Scarborough, polling on average 28% of the vote. A detailed study of the local politics of wartime Scarborough also provides clues as to why so many anti-Conservative voters nationally failed to vote for the Liberals in 1945, even when they were considered to be the main challengers to the Conservatives. This made a critical contribution to the Labour landslide of 1945.

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**‘Very rich in relics of bygone ages’: 75 years of archaeological research by the
Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society**

by Trevor Pearson and Chris Hall

Founded in 1947, the Society is one of the oldest local archaeological societies in Yorkshire. It predates other well-known societies in the county such as that at Helmsley (founded in 1950), Pontefract (founded in 1957) and the East Riding Archaeological Society (founded in 1961). The purpose of this article is to give an overview of the archaeological work undertaken by the Society at its 75th anniversary.

The Society was originally called the Scarborough and District Archaeological Society (SDAS) but in 1974 this was changed to the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society (SAHS) to properly acknowledge that it had been involved in both archaeological and historical research from its earliest days. The Society has created an enormous body of published work over the past 75 years. Over 250 articles are to be found in its journal series called Transactions spread across 45 volumes starting with the first issue in 1958. The Society’s first volume in its Research Report series, a book on archaeological excavations at Crossgates, appeared the same year. Most of the Society’s publications are now held digitally and are freely accessible on the internet. The most recent archaeological reports are available on the Society’s website while earlier ones going back to 1986 can be accessed through the Archaeology Data Service maintained by the University of York. Finally, in order to mark the 75th anniversary of the Society, the transactions and research reports are now available at the Internet Archive, a web-based resource managed in this country by the Wellcome Institute in London. Though focussing mainly on archaeology, it is hoped this article will encourage readers to explore all of the Society’s publications which represent the collective efforts of many members past and present too numerous to acknowledge individually here.

For well over a hundred years before the founding of the SDAS, Scarborough had a Society dedicated to the study of various branches of the natural sciences as well as history and archaeology. Founded in 1827, the Scarborough Philosophical Society merged in 1853 with the five-year old Scarborough Archaeological Society to become the Scarborough Philosophical and Archaeological Society (SPAS). The Philosophical Society’s main achievement in its early years was the establishment of the Scarborough Museum (now known as the Rotunda Museum). Opening in 1829, the museum collected all manner of antiquities and natural specimens donated by members of SPAS and local residents including the collection of artefacts and geological specimens belonging to the late Thomas Hinderwell, the town’s first historian, who had passed away in 1825. The museum’s collections grew rapidly with objects from around the world as well as a few chance finds from nearer to home such as ‘a cannon ball found on digging in front of Belvoir Terrace’ donated to the museum by John Bury in 1840¹. Though the history of SPAS has yet to be fully researched, practical archaeology appears to have held little appeal to its members. The one notable exception was the excavation of a Bronze Age burial mound at Gristhorpe in 1834 by William Beswick. As

the landowner, Beswick donated the finds from the burial including the famous skeleton and wooden coffin to the Scarborough Museum where they can still be seen. Beswick is first listed as a member of the Philosophical Society in the year of the excavation² while the President, Vice-presidents and Council were acknowledged 'for the many past favours conferred by them' in the subsequent report³.

Little other archaeological work is reported until the 1930s when SPAS undertook several digs under the direction of the museum's honorary curators, Rev. George Wilson and Rhodes Wilson. Sites investigated included a Bronze Age burial mound at Osborne Lodge to the north of East Ayton, an Anglian cemetery at Staxton and rescue digs in Scarborough Old Town following the redevelopment of Dumble Street (the present day Cross Street)⁴. SPAS declined towards the end of the 1930s and in 1937 the Rotunda Museum passed into the control of the local council with T.L. Gwatkin appointed as the new curator. Gwatkin, who went on to make his name as Director of Reading Museums, must have brought in new ideas, for in 1938, at a meeting of the Scarborough Field Naturalists he aroused the interest of a number of people with a model of the Osborne Lodge burial mound⁵. They went on to form a group carrying out excavations under Gwatkin's leadership. However, the war intervened and it was not until after the war that Gwatkin was able to take forward the idea of forming a local archaeological society. On 20 June 1947 the SDAS was formed at a gathering of interested individuals at the museum. This was to be the start of decades of close collaboration with the museum and its curators.

The local newspaper reported that at the Society's third meeting on 22 August 1947 members decided that they would cover an area from Robin Hoods Bay in the north to Flamborough Head in the south and would reach inland as far as Helmsley and Malton - an enormous territory when one considers that private transport was a rarity and that petrol was still rationed⁶. Even with these constraints, the 'boundary' proved rather elastic and in the late 1950s the Society was active on Great Ayton Moor, some 45 miles north-west from Scarborough. Members were clearly very enthusiastic from the outset. The same August newspaper report stated that the new group had 'plans for the future that will include a great deal more fieldwork in this district which is known to be very rich in relics of bygone ages.' It was also reported that the new group was to function as a sub-section of SPAS, an aim that presumably explains the appointment of E.R. Cross as the president of the new group, a role he had previously held with SPAS. However this anticipated relationship never developed as SPAS disappeared soon after 1947 although twenty years later the Society was able to draw on residual SPAS funds to support the publication of Research Report 5 on Ayton Castle.

That the members of the new group were so keen, and able, to do fieldwork must have been due to their pre-war archaeological experience, either gained by working with Gwatkin or elsewhere. This was certainly the case with Robin Shepherd who joined the SDAS at the August 1947 meeting bringing a long-held interest in local archaeology. As a young man in the early 1920s his interest in archaeology had been fostered by working with the eminent Roman-period archaeologist F.G. Simpson on the excavation of the 4th-century signal station on Scarborough's Castle Hill. Shepherd also excavated with C.J. Taylor at the Hulley's Stone



Figure 1. One of the earliest photographs in our archive, going back to the days of the Scarborough Philosophical and Archaeological Society. Taken by C J Taylor in 1924, the photograph shows Robin Shepherd (right) working on site at The Hulleys, Cloughton.

Circle north of Cloughton in 1924, (Figure 1) two years before Taylor became president of SPAS⁷. It may be that as well as Shepherd, other founder members who lived locally before the war had worked on excavations with SPAS highlighting the largely un-acknowledged debt that the present Society may owe to its 19th-century forerunner. More generally, it may be that the prospect of practical archaeological work in the fresh air gave the early members a renewed sense of purpose after the upheaval of the war while also having to confront the uncertainties of the post-war world. The power of archaeological fieldwork to boost mental well-being and in particular to aid recovery from the experience of war is now widely recognised and maybe this explains why some members were so keen to get started on fieldwork. Little has come down to us about the experience of working on these early digs but there must have been a strong camaraderie. A hint of this comes from a newspaper account of the Society's excavation on Levisham Moor in September 1960 which refers to the team as 'holiday diggers' with four members spending the week at the Horse Shoe Inn at Levisham where they 'enjoyed a late dinner and spent the evening talking over their discoveries'⁸.(Figures 2 and 3).

During the early years of the Society Scarborough became the focus of a lot of attention in archaeological circles thanks to the 1949-51 excavation by Cambridge University of the now world-famous Mesolithic site in the Vale of Pickering at Star Carr. Directed by Cambridge



Figure 2. Frank Rimington (left) and other members of the team outside the Horse Shoe Inn, Levisham during the Levisham Moor excavations.



Figure 3. Excavation in progress at Levisham Moor.

lecturer Grahame Clark, Star Carr and other sites nearby were discovered in 1947 by John Moore, a founder member of the SDAS. Moore and other members of the SDAS went on to work alongside the Cambridge University team at Star Carr giving them an unprecedented opportunity to learn from an experienced excavator like Clark. The benefit was not however all one way, and SDAS member Geoff Willey, a professional photographer, provided Clark with some excellent photographs, a few of which survive and are an invaluable record of the excavation (Figure 4). The publicity that the discoveries at Star Carr attracted must have given a boost to the fledgeling society and its connection with the site helped it forge links in the future. Several of the Cambridge students who excavated at Star Carr with the SDAS went on to enjoy

illustrious careers in archaeology such as John Hurst who became the Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments and co-director of the Wharram Percy excavations, and Gale Sieveking who worked at the British Museum and went on to excavate the Neolithic flint mines at Grimes Graves.

In 1950 Moore cut a deal with Scarborough Council whereby the council paid £150 to acquire the Mesolithic finds from his own excavations around the former Lake Flixton for the Rotunda Museum on the understanding that this would help fund future work. Soon after Moore wrote to the local paper after a letter published in the same paper congratulating the council on its decision to purchase Moore's finds failed to mention his pivotal role in the discovery of Star Carr⁹. At around the same date the Society's first publication appeared in print - a short pamphlet on the environs of the Star Carr site written by Moore¹⁰. In it Moore



Figure 4. An example of one of the photographs taken by Geoff Willey showing work in progress during Clark's excavations at Star Carr.

makes clear that he discovered the site and that he was the first to define the margins of the former Lake Flixton where Star Carr is situated. One of Moore's aims in writing the pamphlet was probably to make sure that his role in the discovery of Star Carr was recorded in print before it was overshadowed by Clark's work and the publication of the 1954 excavation report¹¹.

The Society's involvement with the Star Carr excavation did not prevent members from beginning other projects. 1947 saw the start of the Society's long-running involvement with a site at Crossgates south of the town on the north side of the Vale of Pickering where gravel quarrying had exposed Romano-British and Anglian period remains. The Society's work at Crossgates up until 1956 was the subject of its first research report published in 1958 which achieved a high standard for the time through the quality of its writing, specialist reports, illustrations, photographs and printing¹². After the publication of Research Report One, the Society's rescue excavations at Crossgates continued periodically over the following years driven forward almost single handedly by George Pye who published several reports on post-1956 discoveries in Transactions¹³. A member of the SDAS since 1947, Pye lived nearby at Eastfield and so was able to keep an almost constant watch on the quarrying operations. The Society's (and Pye's) last involvement with Crossgates site was in July 1989 when the opportunity arose to collaborate with Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit (BUFAU) on a rescue excavation ahead of the expansion of the Eastfield trading estate.

Overall the Crossgates site is difficult to interpret. The only substantial monument was a square enclosure surrounded by a deep ditch which was initially thought to be a small Roman fort but was probably an enclosed Romano-British domestic settlement. The Crossgates site was an early clue to the richness of the archaeology awaiting discovery around the edges of the Vale of Pickering as the long-running excavation at West Heslerton and the recent find of an important Roman villa close to Crossgates at Eastfield have both confirmed.

Although the archaeological campaign group 'Rescue' was not founded until 1971, what the Society was doing at Crossgates from 1947 onwards is an early example of local volunteers undertaking rescue archaeology with very little outside support other than from Scarborough Museum. To their credit SDAS members initiated several other major rescue projects in the 1950s and early 1960s. Bill Lamplough and John Lidster investigated several prehistoric burial mounds on the moorlands north of Scarborough ahead of afforestation while nearer to the town, Frank Rimington (the first Chair of SDAS) and others excavated at the deserted medieval villages of Osgodby on the south of Scarborough and at Hatterboard on the north side of the town. While the Osgodby excavation was the subject of several reports in *Transactions*¹⁴, the second volume of the Society's research report series was devoted to the Hatterboard excavation. It was published in 1961 as a combined volume with Research Report 3 on the medieval pottery in the Scarborough museum by Jim Rutter, the curator since 1950¹⁵. Rimington was an engaging author who made his reports readable and accessible. He gave the introductory chapter of the Hatterboard report the intriguing title of 'The Search for Hatterboard' and in it he made an entertaining and at times humorous story out of his cartographic and documentary research to locate the site of the village. The Hatterboard report is also notable for its foreword by the Leeds University academic Maurice Beresford, author of the 1954 'Lost Villages of England' who had been excavating on the wolds at the site of Wharram Percy deserted village since 1950¹⁶. His contribution to the Hatterboard report is one of several instances where the Society in the 1950s and early 1960s acknowledged assistance from renowned experts in their fields. The Hatterboard report credits the help of the noted monastic historian and Cambridge academic David Knowles and the Crossgates report acknowledges the Roman period archaeologist Ian Richmond, then a Professor at Oxford University. Connections such as these helped get the Society noticed across a wide circle of contemporary academics and practitioners.

Rimington was able to put his passion for medieval history to good use again in Research Report 5 on Ayton Castle. He researched the history of the site in order to provide a context for the Society's 1958-61 project which involved excavation, earthwork survey and building recording¹⁷. While it is possible to criticise the report for its minimal discussion of the stratigraphy, Rimington and his co-author Rutter nevertheless brought together a comprehensive description and analysis of the site and compiled an illustrated catalogue of the excavation finds including details such as drawings of the masons' marks visible on the walls of the ruined 15th century tower. In 1966 the same site witnessed the first use of geophysics by the Society when local school teacher and SDAS member Chris Evans used an electronic resistivity meter assembled by two pupils to a design published in the *School Science Review*. Though rudimentary compared to the sophisticated equipment available



Figure 5. A break in excavations at Ayton Castle in 1960.

Front row Catherine Elliott (who was for many years Secretary of the local branch of the CPRE), Frank Rimington (director), Barbara Jarvis and E Jackson. Back row Duke of Edinburgh Award participants Chris Eves, Warren Overton and Barry Dufton

today, the geophysical survey successfully located several buried walls and a lead pipe¹⁸. This was a site, along with Hatterboard, where a number of young people assisted the Society as part of their Duke of Edinburgh's Award programme (Figure 5). These young participants apparently thought of themselves as part of 'the heavy gang', with one remembering in particular that 'basically we did what mechanical diggers do now and opened trenches until we hit the archaeology layer and then the experts took over with their trowels. Barry and Chris eventually graduated to using trowels but I didn't achieve such dizzy heights'¹⁹.

The press account of the SDAS meeting in August 1947 notes that the Society committed itself to researching the system of prehistoric linear boundaries on the Tabular Hills to the west of the town at the suggestion of its newly-elected vice-president Phillip Corder. Corder was best known locally as the pre-war excavator of Malton Roman fort and was at that time the assistant secretary of the London-based Society of Antiquaries. However it was not until 1953 that Rutter formed a team of fieldworkers to begin work on the boundaries, the first of several valuable survey projects undertaken by the society in the 1950s and 60s. Rutter and his field team made the first systematic record of the boundaries combining analysis of the earthworks with evidence drawn from maps, aerial photographs and published information but with very little excavation therefore adopting the kind of 'non-invasive' approach that is central to the practice of landscape archaeology. The published results appeared intermittently across seven issues of the Society's Transactions between 1960 and 1970

making it hard to get an overview of the subject. This was addressed in 1989 with the publication by Don Spratt of a single volume study of these earthworks in which he references the Society's work throughout²⁰.

Other survey-led projects by the Society in the same period did make it into single volume reports. The fourth Research Report published in 1964 was on the possible Roman road known as Wade's Causeway. The Society created the first detailed record of the physical remains of the road where it was visible crossing the moors supplemented by cartographic and documentary evidence further south tracing its possible route from the presumed starting point at Malton across the Vale of Pickering to the Roman camps at Cawthorn²¹. Co-author of the report with Rutter was Raymond Hayes. Hayes was born and brought up in Hutton-le Hole and had an intimate knowledge of the landscape of Ryedale and the adjacent moors. A founder member, Hayes was instrumental in helping the Society to extend its reach across the moors. This resulted in around twenty reports in Transactions on sites extending inland to the Helmsley district and then northwards to Great Ayton on the edge of the moors where Hayes directed the excavation of a chambered cairn. Research Report 7 on the Great Ayton site includes another example of a contribution by an acknowledged expert in their particular field in this case Professor Geoffrey Dimbleby of the Institute of Archaeology at the University of London who was a pioneer in the science of pollen analysis²². Society members helped Dimbleby sample other sites on the moors, including White Gill and Burton Howe (Figure 6).



Figure 6. Professor Geoffrey Dimbleby sampling at Burton Howe in 1958.

Hayes and Rutter combined again as authors on two more of the Society's Research Reports - Report 8 Cruck-framed Buildings in Ryedale and Eskdale which appeared in 1972 followed by Report 9 in 1974 on the Rosedale Mines and Railway²³. The former is a comprehensive catalogue of buildings which the authors analysed individually and made measured plans while the latter is mainly a history of an abandoned complex of industrial workings. This publication proved so popular that it was reprinted several times with an entirely new edition published in 2021. Between 1969 and 1971 Rutter published three area gazetteers of industrial archaeological sites in North-East Yorkshire in Transactions, with much help from Hayes²⁴. This pioneering work only serves to emphasise the eclectic character of the historical and archaeological research undertaken by Hayes and Rutter at this period.

While the same names tend to dominate the authorship of archaeological reports it is important to acknowledge that the field teams are drawn from the wider membership and most of the published reports going right back to the 1950s contain a list of participants with men tending to outnumber women. Several women worked on Levisham Moor including Muriel Musto, of the North Riding Training College, who between 1957 and 1964 also led the Society's Local History Research Group. (Figure 7)²⁵. The Hatterboard, Crossgates and Ayton Castle reports from the late 1950s and early 60s acknowledge several female members including A Baker, R. Billingham, Barbara Jarvis and Catherine Elliott. Happily times have changed and excavations now are more evenly balanced.



Figure 7. Muriel Musto, right foreground, and other female members on site at Levisham Moor in 1958.

Despite the wide range of sites the Society investigated in its first two decades, it did little archaeological work in the Old Town of Scarborough itself. Historically one of the wealthiest ports and largest towns on the east coast, the medieval town does not seem to have aroused much interest among members in the Society's early years. The only site Rutter and Rimington looked at in Scarborough in the 1950s was in Cooks Row close to its junction with St Sepulchre Street where a rescue excavation in 1953 unearthed the remains of a baker's oven²⁶. That same year Rutter secured permission to excavate on the castle headland close to the site of the Roman signal station. However his focus was not on the Roman or medieval periods but on the prehistoric settlement discovered beneath the signal station in the 1920s. The excavation resulted in the discovery of four Iron Age pits to add to the 42 found in the earlier dig²⁷.

In 1961-2 Rimington again excavated in the Old Town in St Mary's Street following the discovery of several medieval pits during building works²⁸. Helping Rimington on that occasion was a young SDAS member called Peter Farmer who had previously worked on the excavation at Ayton Castle. This early taste of working in an urban setting seems to have fired Farmer's interest because he went on to organise a series of SDAS digs in the Old Town, as well as at several sites elsewhere. Farmer's involvement in excavations continued until 1977, latterly assisted by his wife, Nita, who replaced Rutter as curator of Scarborough Museum after his retirement in 1974. A charismatic if somewhat eccentric personality, Farmer's enthusiasm was infectious and he built a loyal team who undertook a mixture of research and rescue excavation in the town. Farmer developed a particular interest in the town's medieval pottery industry following digs on the kiln site in Castle Road in the late 1960s. This interest culminated in his privately-published 1979 monograph on 'Scarborough Ware' pottery²⁹. The only substantial report on Farmer's work in the Old Town to appear in Transactions was on the winter 1972-3 excavation in North Street organised ahead of the redevelopment of the Balmoral Hotel site. The report describes the discovery of part of the medieval hospital of St Thomas and a length of the town's medieval defences though the lack of accompanying illustrations and photographs means the report falls short of the standard achieved by Rimington, Rutter and Hayes in their published articles³⁰. Nevertheless the excavation was a heroic endeavour with a team of Society members augmented by volunteers from the town and local college students excavating continuously for 18 hours a day over six winter weeks with the site lit by floodlights due to the shortness of the days. No other excavation in the town before or since has been quite on the scale of that particular dig.

Farmer's campaign of excavations in Scarborough mirrored what was happening nationally with rescue digs taking place in many towns in the late 1960s and 70s in the face of large-scale building projects as the country emerged from the economic stagnation of the immediate post-war years. Also as happened nationally, the pace of the fieldwork outstripped the capacity of the excavators to produce reports and Farmer published little on most of the sites investigated in the town during this period. In 1981 a report on archaeological research in English towns published by the Council for British Archaeology commented on the 'vast backlog of unpublished excavations at Scarborough' and this had not been dealt with before Farmer passed away in 2002³¹.

While Farmer may have struggled to publish the results of his archaeological work, the Society did advance understanding of the development and layout of medieval Scarborough in its sixth Research Report published in 1966. The book consisted of a series of chapters by various authors tracing the history of the town from its legendary origin in 966 through to 1966 and was published to coincide with the celebrations to mark the town's millennium³². Three chapters, two by local historian John Rushton and one by a Leicester college lecturer Bryan Waites, concentrated on the development of the medieval town while Rutter compiled the first authoritative map to show its layout. These contributions gave much-needed background to the SDAS excavations then taking place in the town.

The late 1970s marked a watershed in the archaeological activities of the Society. Advancing age meant that the pioneering band of early excavators such as Rimington, Shepherd, Hayes and Pye, all of whom were born before the First World War, were naturally less capable of fieldwork. Shepherd passed away in 1987, Rimington in 1991 followed by Pye in 1993 and Hayes in 2000. Rutter was another great loss as he left the area following his retirement in 1974 while the Farmers moved to the south coast in 1977. Collectively these were enormous shoes to fill. Apart from several small excavations in the town in the late 70s and early 80s, several of which were organised in conjunction with the new museum curator, Rosalind Palmer, there was a hiatus in fieldwork by the Society for a number of years.

The present era of archaeological work can be said to have begun in December 1986 when the two authors organised a rescue excavation in the Old Town at East Sandgate over the Christmas and New Year break. This followed on from concerns expressed by the North Yorkshire county archaeologist to the possible threat an impending development posed to buried remains. The site revealed several phases of medieval building, terracing and timber-lined drains and the eagerness of members to help on this interesting site created a new team of volunteer excavators. Following on from the East Sandgate excavation a number of small rescue sites came along in quick succession helping to build up the confidence of the team. By 1988 the Society had a sufficiently strong and experienced workforce to partner with BUFAU in much more extensive excavations ahead of the redevelopment of the Paradise Estate near the castle, formerly the grounds of the Graham Sea Training school.

The local authority planning department commissioned BUFAU to prepare an archaeological survey of Scarborough in 1987³³. The report made it easier to integrate archaeological considerations into the planning process by bringing the available evidence together in a single volume and setting out research priorities. Soon after (in 1990) the UK government introduced Planning Policy Guidance 16 (PPG16) which formalised a process whereby planning authorities, developers and archaeologists could work together to mitigate the impact of new development on archaeological deposits. From then on PPG16 provided the framework for the Society's on-going campaign of rescue excavations in the town and in particular reinforced the need to quickly produce a report after the completion of each dig in order to inform the developer and planning authority of a site's archaeological potential. So began the Society's numbered series of so-called 'grey literature' reports now available digitally either through the Archaeological Data Service or the Society's website and which at

the time of writing is up to number 59. In 2005 the Society's 12th Research Report brought the results of the previous two decades of work in the town into a single volume on the archaeology of medieval Scarborough³⁴. For a couple of years prior to publication the field team dedicated many evenings to creating an archive of the excavation records and cataloguing the finds to pass on to Scarborough Museum. It is one measure of what was achieved during these years that in contrast to the 1981 comment about the vast backlog of unpublished excavations from Scarborough, a 2015 PhD study into the publication of archaeological excavations noted that 'viewed against the total number of excavations, Scarborough's publication success rate is one of the best in the county'³⁵. Singled out for particular comment in the thesis was the Society's on-line catalogue of excavations which the author described as 'innovative' and at that time possibly unique among local societies³⁶.

While the work in the Old Town tended to dominate the fieldwork programme the Society also found time to work outside Scarborough in the 1980s and 90s, most notably on two 18th and 19th century alum-producing sites on the coast at Ravenscar and Saltwick Bay³⁷. The work involved both survey and excavation in rugged and exposed terrain and was driven forwards by Gary Marshall who was employed by the National Trust as an archaeologist at the former of these two sites and was also a member of the Society. The Saltwick site was the more challenging of the two involving excavation on the beach at low tide in the winter months (Figure 8). The results of the Saltwick project were published as the Society's 11th Research Report in 1994.



Figure 8. Chris Hall during a pause in the excavation of the circular cistern preserved on the beach at the Saltwick Alum works.

In its early years the Society established a Recordship Scheme based on that used by the Scarborough Field Naturalists Society with individuals given responsibility to check on local

sites of specific periods. This was not a success and was replaced by a wardenship scheme whereby individuals were given a defined area to which they were expected to pay regular visits to monitor the condition of known monuments in order to alert the authorities to any evidence of recent damage. While it gave the Society an important role in safeguarding the future of archaeological sites around Scarborough, the scheme fell into abeyance in the 1980s. Nevertheless the potential for the Society to enhance the archaeological record was demonstrated more recently by Chris Evans' project to locate and record the paved causeways or trods that criss-cross the North York Moors. The results were published with support from the National Park in 2008 as the 13th of the Society's Research Reports³⁸. More recently the Society's 2016-18 survey project in Forge Valley, Raincliffe and Row Brow woods has recorded and mapped many new sites leading to a better understanding of the landscape that will hopefully enhance people's enjoyment of the woods and help with management.

In its 75th anniversary year the Society continues to remain true to the aspirations of the founder members by maintaining an active and wide-ranging fieldwork programme (Figure 9). It has on-going projects at Thorn Park Farm under the shadow of Raincliffe Woods; in the village of Brompton-by-Sawdon and at Aldby Park, Buttercrambe. Coincidentally in our anniversary year, members worked on an excavation organised by Manchester and Chester Universities on a Mesolithic site near Flixton that was discovered by Moore in 1947. The Society routinely deploys a range of modern investigative techniques in its fieldwork such as geophysics, earthwork survey using electronic theodolite and GNSS satellite receivers and drone photography and also still works in the Old Town as opportunities arise. Most recently this has involved a successful collaboration with the annual 'Big Ideas by the Sea' initiative to which the Society contributes by undertaking an excavation in the Old Town. It is organised so that visitors, particularly local school children, can encounter the thrill of unearthing the past, an experience they ultimately share with all those members and friends who have helped the Society excavate over the last 75 years.



Figure 9. Part of the field team at the end of the 2021 excavation at Castle Hill, Brompton-by-Sawdon.

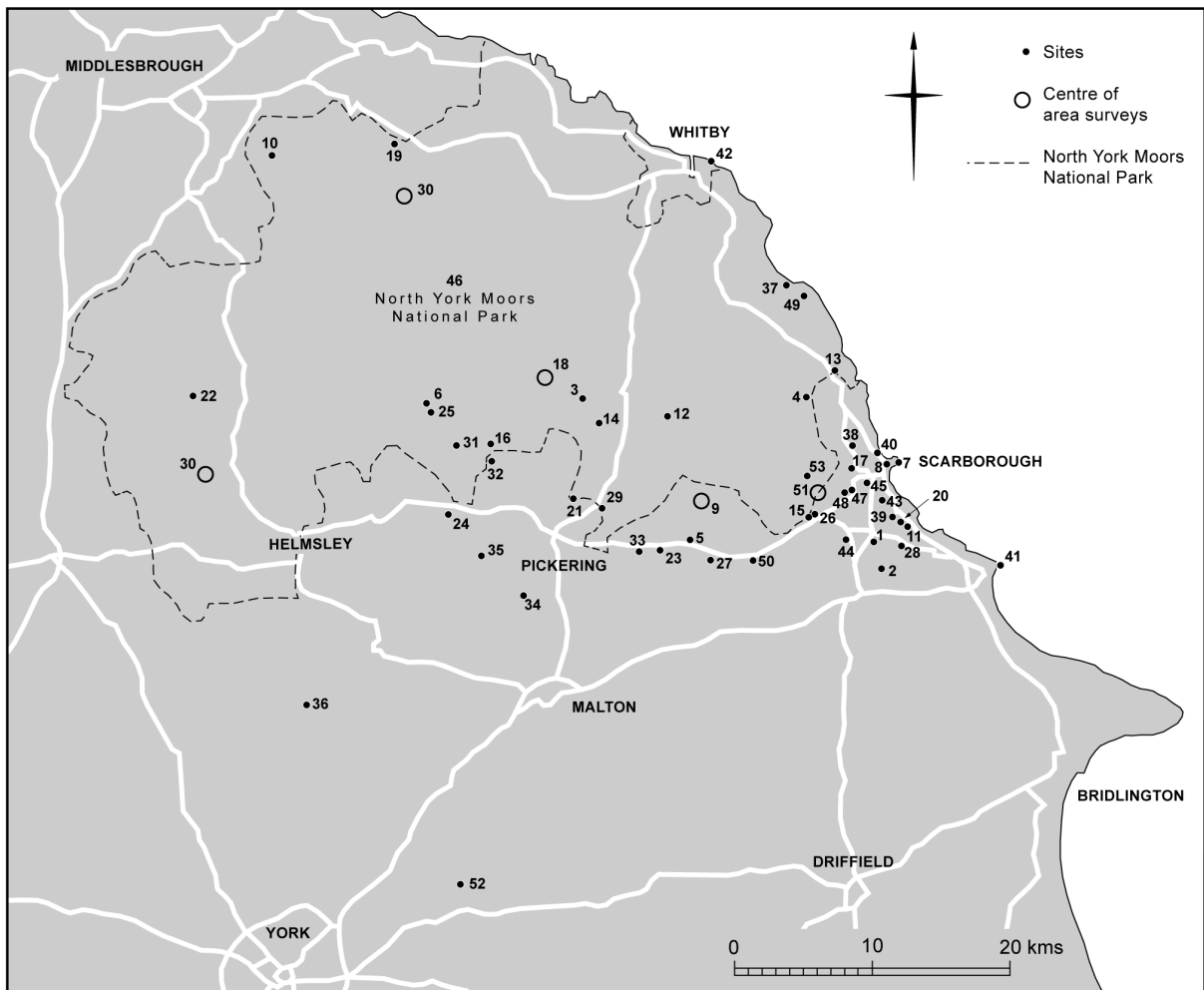


Figure 10. Map showing the distribution of sites listed in Table 1.

Table 1 (overleaf). The table summarises the main fieldwork reports published by the Society since 1947. It is not a complete list of all the sites investigated in the last 75 years as some were never published or work was undertaken in support of a second organisation which has published the work elsewhere.

The numerous excavations in Scarborough Old Town are not separately listed in the table - sites up to 2004 are listed in the gazetteer published in SAHS Research Report 12 and individual reports on these and post-2004 sites are online at the Archaeology Data Service. The start and end dates are based on the evidence of each report and may not be entirely accurate.

The numbered publications listed are Transactions (Trans), Research Reports (Res. Rep.) and grey literature reports (Rep.). The stars in the five columns on the right side of the table are intended to give a quick visual guide to the main fieldwork components of each project.

No	FROM	TO	SITE NAME	PUBLICATION	EXCAVATION	FIELD SURVEY	STRUCTURAL SURVEY	GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY	FIELDWALKING
1	1947	1989	Seamer/Crossgates gravel pits	Res. Rep. 1; Trans 19; Trans 25	★				
2	1947		Flixton Carr	Pamphlet	★				
3	1948	1948	Sole Beck Slack, Newton	Trans 12		★			
4	1949	1949	Kirkless barrow, Harwood Dale	Trans 3	★				
5	1950	1952	King Alfrid's Cave, Eberston	Trans 2	★				
6	1952	1952	Spaunton Moor	Trans 10	★				
7	1953	2019	Scarborough Castle Hill	Trans 2; Rep 52	★				
8	1953	2022	Scarborough Old Town	Res. Rep. 12	★		★		
9	1953		Survey of inear boundaries	Trans 3	★	★			
10	1953	1960	Great Ayton	Res. Rep 7	★	★			
11	1956	1965	Osgodby	Trans 4; Trans 8; Trans 11	★	★			
12	1957	1963	Thompsons Rigg Cairn Group	Trans 18		★			
13	1957	1957	Cloughton Hulleys	Trans 1	★				
14	1957	1978	Levisham Moor	Published with NYMNP	★	★			
15	1958	2013	Ayton Castle	Res. Rep 5; Rep 45; Trans 11	★	★		★	
16	1958	1958	Blackpark, Cropton	Trans 12	★	★			
17	1958	1960	Hatterboard	Res. Rep 2	★				
18	1958	1962	Wades Causeway	Res. Rep 4	★	★			
19	1959	1959	Moorsholme Moor	Trans 10	★				
20	1960	1997	Chantry at Osgodby	Trans 3; Rep 28			★		
21	1961	1961	Blansby Park	Trans 16	★				
22	1961	1963	Hawby Moor Cairn Group	Trans 18	★	★			
23	1962	1966	Allerston Manor	Trans 9; Trans 12	★				
24	1962	1962	Sinnington	Trans 22/23	★				
25	1964	1973	Loskey Ridge, Hutton-le hole	Trans 17	★	★			
26	1965	1965	East Ayton fulling mill	Trans 8	★				
27	1965	1965	Westfield Manor, Snainton	Trans 9	★				
28	1965	1965	Cayton	Trans 20	★				
29	1967	1967	Kingthorpe, Pickering	Trans 16	★				
30		1972	Cruck-framed buildings	Res. Rep. 8		★	★		
31	1970	1972	Otterburn Garth, Lastingham	Trans 18	★				
32	1974	1975	Cropton Cave	Trans 18	★				
33	1975	1975	Wilton Hall, Thornton Dale	Trans 18	★				
34	1975	1975	Kirby Misperton, Pickering	Trans 20	★				
35	1977	1977	Thornton Riseborough	Trans 20	★				
36	1977	1977	Grimstone Manor Farm, Gilling	Trans 21	★				
37	1986	1990	Ravenscar alum works	Trans 28; Rep 16	★		★		
38	1990	1990	Newby Farm	Rep 9	★				
39	1991	1991	Manor Farm Osgodby	Rep 12					★
40	1991	1991	Peasholm	Rep 13	★				
41	1991	1994	Filey Brigg	Rep 14	★	★			
42	1992	1993	Saltwick Alum Works	Trans 30; Res. Rep 11	★	★		★	
43	1994	1995	Olivers Mount	Trans 31	★			★	
44	2002	2002	Seamer Manor House	Rep 34		★			
45	2005	2005	Falsgrave Park	Trans 39	★				
46		2008	Trods of the North York Moors	Res. Rep. 13		★		★	
47	2008	2009	Seamer Moor Enclosure	Trans 42; Rep 40	★			★	
48	2013	2013	Seamer Moor linear earthwork	Rep 42	★	★			
49	2014	2014	Raven Hall Road, Ravenscar	Rep 44	★			★	
50	2016	2021	Castle Hill, Brompton	Reps 46; 48; 53; 56	★	★		★	
51	2016	2021	Raincliffe Woods	Reps 47; 49; 51; 55	★	★			
52	2020	2022	Aldby Park, Buttercrambe	Rep. 54		★			
53	2022	2022	Thorn Park Farm	Rep. 59	★	★		★	

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**Thomas Candler Wharton: letters from India to his father in Scarborough during the
Indian Mutiny 1857-58**

by Vaughan J Wastling



Thomas Candler Wharton in his uniform as an officer of the 97th (Earl of Ulster's) Regiment of Foot. (The medal is the Indian Mutiny medal which he did not receive until late 1861 or early 1862)

Family background

Thomas Candler Wharton was the son of John Wharton born 10 April 1788 and Rachel Candler born 1803. John was a Scarborough Magistrate and landowner of independent means. The couple were married in 1830 at Hutton Buscel and resided at Kings Cliff House, King Street, Scarborough where they had five children of which Thomas, born in 1839 was the third. The first of their children, Rachel born in 1831 died in 1842 aged only eleven, a common event in that time period. Ruth born in 1837 died aged 39 in 1876. The later children - Hugh born 1843 and Edgar 1845 - fared much better, living to be 79 and 91 years respectively.

Thomas in India

In late 1857 Thomas left Scarborough to ‘proceed at his own expense’ to India to take up a post as an Infantry cadet in the Honourable East India Company.¹ His timing was not good as he arrived at Calcutta on 5 December 1857 in the middle of the Indian Mutiny.² All the Company cadets were ordered into their various Company Regiments and Thomas was assigned to the 30th Bengal Native Infantry.³ However, prior to his arrival that unit had mutinied with very few of the native troops remaining loyal, as a consequence of which Thomas was attached to the 97th Foot Regiment, a regular British Army unit.⁴

In September 1857 a relief column led by Sir Henry Havelock⁵ went to Lucknow where The British Commissioner Sir Henry Lawrence had fortified the residence and was holding out against the rebels. Sadly he was killed early on in the siege and John Eardley Inglis succeeded him. Havelock’s force got through but was insufficient to break the siege or extract the garrison, so he joined and reinforced the garrison. In October a larger force led by Sir Colin Campbell was finally able to relieve the garrison, where they evacuated the defended enclave within the city, the women and children leaving first.

These papers relate to Thomas’s involvement in the large force, led again by Campbell that set out the following year to suppress the rebellion, and retake the city of Lucknow.

At Lucknow he was promoted to Lieutenant (30th Bengal Native Infantry) by the Governor General.

On 29 October 1858 he was awarded ‘an Ensigncy without purchase in the 97th Foot’ effective immediately, which he thought was a better career prospect and therefore resigned his commission in the Indian Army. It was not until 1862 that he then being the senior ensign in the 97th he once again made Lieutenant!

The Journey to India

Indus [The Hindustan] Saturday October 24th

‘I am sorry to say I have not got over the seasickness yet. (...) Pretty good weather with the exception of Biscay. (...) Melancholy accident happened on board a day or two ago, a passenger called Lieut. Johnston fell down the cabin stairs on the night he came onboard and fractured his skull and died and was thrown into the sea yesterday. (...) We are not going to spend any time at Gibraltar only just to deliver the mail.’

On board Indus October 28th 1857

‘Gibraltar. I paid four shillings to go ashore and was much amused. Directly we approached the town, if it might be called one, about 20 boats with Spanish on board came to take us ashore. We got a guide to conduct us over the place, the galleries cut out of the harbour rock are very well worth going to see, but the town is a terrible filthy place crowded with Moors and people of different nations. (...) Very fine weather in the Mediterranean and my sea sickness has quite gone. I have begun to make up at dinner for the days I was absent. (...) In

the rough passage before Gibraltar two sailors were washed off the bowsprit and three horses killed. (...) There are about a hundred and thirty passengers aboard this steamer. (...) Lord Dalhousie⁶ never makes an appearance at dinner but keeps his room party close.’

On board Indus, Malta 1857 November 1st

‘Most likely the last opportunity before arriving in Calcutta of writing to you. (...) On Friday last came in sight of Gibraltar and went ashore. (...) I am told that when I get to Calcutta a Sergeant will come on board and march all cadets off to Fort William, but that those who have friends in the town are allowed to stay with them. (...) A few hours to Alexandria. (...) The weather has been very fine since we left Gibraltar, but it is beginning to be very hot. (...) This morning summary muster into parties of 14 for crossing the desert, we had to cast lots for the party to go first caravan which fell to me and would be the liveliest. (...) I have begun to keep a journal.’⁷

On board Hindustan, Red Sea 1857 November 11th

‘I think when I wrote to you the last time I said I had nearly arrived at Alexandria, I’ve arrived at that place on the 3rd November. Here I left the Indus went onshore, took a donkey to the Sailing Station and proceeded by train as far as Cairo where we arrived About 10 p.m. where I found it very difficult to get a bed. I was however lucky to get a place on a sofa in the (...) In the morning I rode a donkey about the town, saw the Grand Mosque built of marble by Sultan Muhammad⁸ I was very sorry that I could not go close to the pyramids which I saw in the distance; they are about 10 miles from town. After staying 12 hours at Cairo we left by train and after travelling in it all day we came to a desert station where we got something to eat. We then proceeded in caravans drawn by 2 horses and 2 mules for about 30 miles, when we came in sight of Suez. This is an incredibly dirty place the houses are only mud huts and the hotel is very little better. I was unable to get a bed or even a place on the floor, so I slept outside for the first time. I stopped at this place 3 days when the ‘Southampton’ arrived, so I went on board directly. She is not nearly as nice a ship as the Indus; it is full of bugs and rats. I was at Suez I called at the PO and was very glad you okay. (...) We are now about 200 miles from Aden, I expect to get there tomorrow. You must forgive the bad writing as the pitching is so great I can hardly keep my seat.’

On board ‘Southampton’ near Pt. de Galle_1857 November 25th

‘I am glad to tell you we are a short distance from Ceylon, where we will arrive tonight. At Aden I found that St Johnston was there, so I went to his quarters but I was unable to see him as he was sitting at a court martial at some distance from the cantonment. As the steamer was to start directly after coaling I had not time to go, but I left a message and my card with one of the officers who lives at the same bungalow. (...) The voyage is getting rather wearisome to me now. I have been regularly sick since left Malta, but whenever it is I feel muddled. Lt Col. Bishop, the senior officer on board has given me plenty of information about what to do when I get onshore. (...) I do not know how I would have been able to get over the time had I not been able to play chess, by this means I have got to know several people on board that I

should not have done had I not been able to play. Time is now getting rather short and we expect to be in Calcutta today week. (...) The scenery on the Portuguese coast and the mirage in the desert, were the most striking of anything on the journey, I cannot describe to you the appearance of the latter which I saw when in the desert. (...) There is a great difference in the living on this ship than the Indus. (...) they give us plenty of wine chiefly claret, but no one seems to drink as much at dinner as in England, for myself I drink nothing but a glass of Madera and lime juice which is great in the water which is condensed from the sea.’

India

Cadets Quarters, Fort William, Calcutta 1857 Dec 9th

‘I am happy to tell you that I arrived safe at Calcutta and that I have got appointed to do duty with her Majesties 97th Regiment of Foot and that I proceed with it either today or tomorrow to join. I proceed to Sir Colin Campbell’s Division up the country: so I hope to see a little service. I am allowed only to take 100 Ibs of baggage; I leave with my agent Messrs Gillanders Arbuthnot and Co. almost everything. (...) I have been very busy this last day or two packing up everything. I purchased to day a portable tea pot a pillow and a valise? I think that the Mackintosh which I brought with me from home may prove very useful. (...) We had no news from up country today. I think you will have heard before this of the death of Gen. Havelock.’

‘Banergunge’ 1857 Dec 14

‘I had only a short stay at Calcutta for I left that place last Wednesday with the 97th Regiment. We have since that time been encamped at Banergunge, but we start at 2p.m. for Benares. My box with most of my clothes was left behind at Calcutta so I have had to get a fresh supply of warm clothing here, also a great many cookery utensils. I have hired a capable cook, who seems to be a very honest servant, he speaks English quite well, and he had been an officer’s servant before for 6 years, his pay is 12 Rupees a month. (...) I am quite well and trying to get a shot at these rascally Sepoys.’⁹

Benares December 20th 1857

‘Just time to tell you before I dash off I am well. After spending four days on the road by horse back. Others travelling by bullock cart will not be here for four or five days. (...) Horses cost £3 to £15 here and a saddle and bridle nearly as much. (...) There were two mutinous Sepoys blown from the guns here a day or two back.’¹⁰

Benares January 3rd 1858

‘I am still at Benares where I spent Christmas, but we leave here tomorrow for a place about 30 miles from Jaionpore I believe, but no one even knows the name of the place. There are three of us in a tent, a Lieutenant and Ensign and myself. (...) We march tomorrow about 6 o’clock. (...) 8 Sepoys here so we had to go and see them blown away from guns. (...) I had to draw from my money at Gillanders to buy camp equipment. I have not been able to draw any pay yet, but I must replace it when I draw it. (...) I am appointed to Captain ‘Ammerly’s’

Company of the 97th Regt, he is a capital Captain to be under and I am sorry that he is to be left here, he is in charge of the sick. He is going to forward me my box directly it arrives. I have not been able to write to Sir John or Mr Ellison. I will not forget to do so the very first opportunity. The latter's pistol I am glad to say I was lucky enough to save when my box was left in Calcutta and so I have got it quite safe, it is a very valuable article up here. I have had several applications for it. Captain 'Lesse' A & C¹¹ to General 'Lindham' is I believe appointed to this Regiment.'

Lucknow January 13th 1858

'I've just got the order to march from Lucknow (...) at first we were ordered to go to ... but we have since got the order to march to Bandah about fifteen days march from here and we are to start at daylight. (...) I sent in my resignation from the Indian Army a few days ago. There are four Company ensigns attached to this Regiment all are Lieutenants in their own Corps but came into the 97th, but Martin, who came in the Indus with me, he is trying to get appointed as Ensign. (...) I like the idea of moving from Lucknow very much.'

Camp at Badshawpore January 15th 1858

'We form the left of General Frank's Brigade. The 10th Regiment forms the centre and the 20th the right. I believe all Sepoys about here have run away on our approach. We were preparing a day or so to attack a village fortified by the rebels, but they had all gone the next day. The General has now gone to Allahabad to propose to attack a camp of about 300 men about 30 miles off in the country. We have done plenty of marching ever since we left Benares. All the men have been done up by it. I am glad to say I have got on very well having ridden my pony all the way. I expect we shall be up here about a week or so, the natives about here who have never seen a European before we came are all hostile to us, so when they refuse to give us supplies we burn their villages, we was set on fire day before yesterday. I have got very comfortable here. I belong to Number 3 Company. The other two persons in my tent are Lt Macay and Ensign Slater. They are very nice fellows the former a Scotsman the other an Irishman. The Colonel in command is a Yorkshireman; he says that he comes to Scarborough every year with his wife and children.'

Camp at Budlephore February 2nd 1858

'As the mail for England closes here this afternoon I send you a few lines, to tell you I am quite ill. (...) We have been on the march from one place to another. I think every day since I wrote to you last when we were near 'Secundra' 23rd Jan we attacked the rebels who had taken up a very strong position inside a large fort and drove them out of it taking from them 3 guns blowing up their powder magazine and killing about 500 of the rascals as they were running away, our loss I am glad to say was very small for we had only 3 men slightly wounded. I was in command of a party of skirmishers out front so was engaged in the whole business. The revolver Mr Ellison gave me was of great use; for we had to shoot the rascals were they hid. We killed all that we could find. We plundered every fellow we killed but we could find little on them. I took some papers from one fellow which the Colonel got but I

don't think they have any value. Inside the fort was a very fine temple which we set on fire. The Rajah¹² who commanded the rebels escaped but his wife and her jewels were brought back the next day, the latter amounting to about 5000 rupees. Two days ago we joined with the 20th and 10th Regts and we are now getting ready to move off. PW said that we are going to attack 'Salarpon' and Fyzarbad but General Franks keeps everything secret so we don't know exactly where we are going to. General Havelock's eldest son has been with us all the time; he was on the General's staff. They say we are to wait to return to Benares when the hot weather commences but I don't know whether that is true. (...) Have just got a Yorkshire Gazette sent me by Colonel Burton who has always been very kind to me. I dined with him a day or two since.'

Camp Sultanpore February 24th 1858

'I only arrived here yesterday after having a great deal of marching since I wrote to you last. Since that time we have had three fight with the enemy, the first on the 19th on the day we left 'Synapow' when we took from them a fort and 8 guns, the next day we had another go into them at a place called 'Badleypum' where they had seen mutinied by 14th Hussars more this latter took place during the night when we divided them into two parties with our grape and round shot, in the morning they had all bolted. Yesterday the 23rd we attacked Sultanpore, the enemy opened a very heavy fire upon us as we were advancing, but we rushed on and took from them all their guns, with exception of two which they managed to get away with. 19 guns and two mortars fell into our hands this being their strongest position in India with the exception of Lucknow. We took from them an enormous quantity of powder and ammunition too, as well as 400 boxes of gun caps, a European carriage and in fact something of almost every description. I did not get any loot myself but several of our fellows have got very valuable articles. I was carrying the colours and had a rather narrow escape from a round shot landed within a few inches of my feet. Our loss I am glad to say was very small, we had only 3 men killed, 2 of the 20th Regt and 1 of the 10th Regt, and the 97th had one man slightly wounded. We start I expect tomorrow or the next day for Lucknow. I don't expect we shall go into the town when it is taken, but I believe we shall stop in its rear to cut of the enemies retreat. This latter named town is about the only place where the Sepoys are very strong and after Lucknow is taken the war will be over.'

Camp before Lucknow March 5th 1858

'I've had several engagements with the enemy since my last letter at 'Judespore', ...jur and at Selinpore we took a fort and 4 guns and yesterday we attacked the fort at 'Moons Heeguage' defended by bad men (Crude robbers). We took 2 guns from them but I am sorry to say we had 2 men killed and 8 wounded, as well as 2 officers one of them severely wounded his name isgth belonging to the 97th Regt, he was shot through the stomach as he was entering the gates, he died last night, we are going to bury him this afternoon, the officer wounded was poor 'Syinger' who was wounded in the leg but I expect he will get better. (...) As I only arrived here last night I have not been able to see anything of the town of Lucknow yet. Sir Colin Campbell has only got 4 of his guns in position yet, and the enemy are firing

away as hard as ever they can. After I have finished writing I intend to go and see if I can get a peep at the town. From what I can hear the place is expected to hold out about a week. There are in the town I believe to be 200,000 of the Sepoy who have got their wheat cut off so that their only chance is to fight or be killed. General Frank's division I expect to form the night attack, which position has been given him so he has distinguished himself so since we left Benares. The weather has now commenced to be very hot. (...) They say we are to have a medal for 'Oude', a clasp for 'Jaltanphore' and a clasp for Lucknow when it is taken and six months extra 'betta' and prize money, all of which I hope is true. (...) As I write this I hear that Delakashar or some place like it has been taken which commands part of the town.'

Camp before Lucknow March 11th 1858

'I have just come in from 44 hours piquet. Since my arrival here we have driven the enemy from most of their out posts and small forts on this side of the town (the east I believe). We took most by storm day before yesterday, the enemy holding as soon as we approached; indeed I believe the Sepoys are holding out on the N W side of the town. General Frank's division forms at present the 4th division which when the assault on the town is made is I believe to be in reserve. (...) I have not seen much of the town of Lucknow yet, but it appears to me to be very large, there are a number of mosques in it. The La Martininiere¹³ which was taken the day before yesterday is a most splendid building, something like the House of Commons outside. The chief attack on the town is to be made by General Graham on the other side of the river; he was shelling the town last night.'

Camp before Lucknow March 15th 1858

'Nearly all the town is taken now the greater part with 91 guns were taken yesterday, I was not there being on the sick, but I have come off this morning, and am just going down to our Regiment. The men are carrying out to camp as much silver as each man can carry. I am sorry to say that our Colonel named 'Ingram' was shot yesterday.'

Lucknow March 24th 1858

'Since the last letter I wrote to you we have taken Lucknow and are at present in the town. The 97th is at the Prime Minister's Palace, waiting for orders about going to summer quarters. There are several reports of the places we are going to, but I think the most likely place is Benares or 'Gorriepore' The latter place is near the hills. I told you I think in the last letter we had lost our Colonel he was shot in the head in storming the Begums Palaces, the treasure taken from these places immense. I heard the men in the engagement got 300£ each in Rupees. My loot consists of silks of all descriptions, Shakespeare's Hindustani Almanac and a set of china with the King of ... Crest on, a silver fish with eyes of rubies, many and various other things. The latest I have is that subalterns is to get 100£ prize money, medal and two clasps, but I am afraid that there is not much truth to it. There is no woe in me. (...) General Thomas Harte Franks¹⁴ is just returning to England the Commander in Chief I believe is displeased with him, but we all think him to be the best General out here.'

Viziers Palace Lucknow April 1st 1858

‘Expected that we were going to return to Benares to spend the summer months, but orders yesterday we remain for garrisoning Lucknow, so it likely that the Regiment will remain here some time. The fighting is I think now quite over, General Franks commanding our Brigade has just returned to England, he has commenced a subscription by giving 50£ to go towards erecting a monument in memory of those who fell under his orders in coming through. There has been a sale here in town so it is likely that we shall get prize money. (...) This regiment is now commanded by Lt. Col Leigh and ‘G E Banks is second in command and comes I believe from the neighbourhood of Beverley, we have another called Hudson who comes from Bridlington.’

Moosa-Bagh, Lucknow April 16th 1858

‘We have now taken over our summer quarters outside Lucknow, the 97th Regiment forming part of the Garrison of the town. I am on detachment at a Palace called Moosa-Bagh about two miles from Headquarters; we are close to the river Gunti. While looking in a newspaper just now I see an advertisement stating that the passengers who came by the P&O Companies Hindustan which arrived in the early part of December at (Calcutta) might secure compensation for the inconveniences they were put too whilst on the voyage from Suez to Calcutta, so I shall write to Gillanders & Co at Calcutta to claim my share of it. The weather here until yesterday has been unbearably hot but last night we had a good shower of rain which has made the air feel quite cool. I have been obliged to get all my hair cut off. Many of the Companies officers we being now attached to other Regiments but I believe all those who like can remain with the European Regiments they have been doing duty with. In last night’s orders in mentioned that the latter would be given next month. I believe it amounts to about 73£. I shall send mine down to Calcutta. I have been obliged to get a fresh supply of servants. I think the new I have are will fit pretty well. I am getting on pretty well with the language, I can speak it so as to be understood but I have never tried to read it or write it down.’

Moosa-Bagh, Lucknow April 16th 1858

‘I had a letter yesterday from Gillanders Arbuthnot & Co at Calcutta to say they had received 10£ for me from Pacific & Orient Company Office on account of inconveniences put up with when on board the Hindustan. I enclose a paper I have received from Calcutta. Have you been to Troutsdale lately? I expect that there will be plenty of rabbits there now. I was out shooting here yesterday and shot a most splendid peacock. I have just had a letter from Benares to say my box was there all right, so I shall soon have it up now. I hope my rifle and all my other baggage is at Gillanders & Co which I think had better remain there. Colonel Burton told me a day or two ago that he had a letter, I do not know whether it was from Scarborough, asked in it whether there was not a Mr Wharton from Scarborough attached to the 97th. Everything is getting much cheaper than they used to be, the most expensive thing is the servants you have to keep. I am obliged to have a bearer and head servant a syce (groom), two men under him.’

Moosa-Bagh, Lucknow May 16th 1858

‘The steamer Ava which you mention in your letter as having been lost had I remember a letter on board for you. (...) I believe you had an account of our first fight at ‘Jurstanpure’ I left my rifle behind me at Calcutta as I had too much baggage to bring it up with me, but I have had plenty of good practice with a soldiers musquet. My Colt works very good. I have not fired the Dean and Adams one yet. (...) with the exception of the attacks of the diarrhoea which is very common out here, the advice is never to stay out between 7 in the morning and after 5 in the afternoon and when you do go out to wear a thick cap cover. We’ve had a melancholy accident here a day or two ago the surgeon of our detachment named Dumbeck, got out of his bed some time during the night and in the morning he was found quite dead, there was an officer sleeping in the room but he was asleep. (...) There was a report that the Sepoys were coming to attack Lucknow and that Sir Colin had been sent for but I think it is all I have , at any rate if they should come they will meet with a very nasty reception.’

Moosa-Bagh, Lucknow June 10th 1858

‘I believe that we remain during the rainy season at Moosa-Bagh. We were expecting an attack from the M... who was only five miles off, but I think he has made his departure now. (...) Colonel Burton, who is in command of this detachment, for I am very familiar with him, he wrote me out the other day an application for Lieutenancy with the service I have seen, which was forwarded to Calcutta by the Colonel of the Regiment, with another two officers attached at the same time. I am happy to tell you I have been in very good health lately, and have not yet quite recovered but hope to be alright in a day or two.’

Moosa-Bagh, Lucknow July 26th 1858

‘I expect a copy of the reacquisition that went in for a Lieutenancy, the Colonel got in a few days ago from the Secretary to the General to say that I should be promoted to a Lieutenancy in due time with respect to getting an ensigncy in a Queens Regiment I should be most likely three or four years before I could get any promotion. (...) I received my box which I left behind by mistake at Calcutta. I have had a very great deal of trouble in getting it up from that place, the shiny boots and several other valuable things were I am glad to say in. Directly I opened the box I had several applications by persons wishing to become purchasers of the boots, but I know full well there value out here to sell them. In your letter you mentioned about promotion in the Companies service it goes entirely by the seniority of your commission and there is no chance of getting promoted in it before your time. There is no purchasing over another’s heads as in the ‘regular’ service. I certainly shall miss the officers of the 97th as Major ... mentions in his letter, when I leave the Regiment as they are a very nice set of officers.’

Moosa-Bagh, Lucknow September 3rd 1858

‘Colonel Leigh commanding the 97th here sent for me yesterday and told me that he had received a letter from Sir Charles Yorke requesting to know if I had any objection to being appointed this Regiment/97th. (...) After considering it Col Burton I came to the conclusion

that it would be a very good thing and Col B has just written to the Officer Commanding the Regiment to apply for the rank to be dated from the day I joined the 97th, but whether that request is complied with or not, I am sure that it will be much better than having to wait for some time which is (...) The care only doing duty without gaining any Rank. (...) The pay of an Ensign in the Queens service is nearly the same as in the late Company's, being only 22 Rupees less a month. I have not been able since I landed in India to draw any regular pay, but get advances to the amount every month from the Field Paymaster. I am afraid that if we get any prize money at all it will be a very small amount. I think we are to have a medal and one clasp.'

Moosa-Bagh, Lucknow October 29th 1858

'It is settled now I believe that this Regiment is to remain to Garrison Lucknow. Our Headquarters moved into the Fort called the Inambara yesterday and I believe this detachment is to go there next Wednesday. There is going to be a grand field day here on Monday which is the day appropriate for the Proclamation to be read of her Majesty's 'power' coming into effect in India.¹⁵ I expect that I shall be in the Gazette in England about now. As Colonel Leigh said that I shall be approved to the Regiment after his letter had been secured at the Horse Guards. I have had another attack of slight fever but am now quite well again and will be off the sick list in a day or two. I send you a Delhi Gazette by this mail, but I don't think you will find much news in it. (...) I shall be very glad to leave the Moosa-Bagh as it is a very dirty Palace, very known as unhealthy. I have not been inside the fort yet but I think it will be a very good place to be posted as it is a good height up. I have written down to Calcutta to have all my baggage sent up to Lucknow but it will be some time before it will arrive here I expect. I doubt you will remember Martin who was sworn in at India House at the same time I was, he is on detachment here with me, and is a very nice fellow.'

Inambara, Lucknow 13th November 1858

'As you will see by the address above I have left Moosa-Bagh. We marched out of it last Sunday and I am now at Headquarters at the Inambara in the fort. (...) I see by the papers that they are appointing all the late E.I.Co.¹⁶ Officers, to regiments on their landing, I noticed my name amongst about 300 others, the Regiment they had put me to was the 30th which I believe mutinied near Aggra and the few men that remained faithful have been sent to Bombay when they landed a short time since. In the list I see three fellow appointments to the 30th as ensigns my name is the middle one. I see that the 3rd Regiment of foot left Corfu and is on its way out here so I shall have a chance to see Shirley's brother should the regiment come to Bengal which I believe it is to do. The quarters here have not been very good. I am in a large room with ... Martin who came out on board ship with me, his father has been in India a long time, but was now returned; he used to be the Residency Surgeon. Martin has a brother here at Lucknow in the Civil Service, he is Deputy Commissioner. The weather here is getting delightfully cool. The nights here are so cold you can need a couple of blankets after dark.'

Inambara, Lucknow December 13th 1858

‘My Dear Father, I intended to have written to you by the last Calcutta Mail, which left here about a week ago, but as I thought that I probably might be gazetted to the 97th which might appear in the papers that could come by the Bombay mail then expected in a few days I delayed writing until now. Colonel Leigh showed me the other day a letter he had received from Sir Charles Yorke stating that I had been appointed to this Regiment and that they would cancel the appointment if I did not take it, but they could not date my commission from the day I commenced duty with the 97th. Colonel Burton advised me & Colonel Leigh sends by the present mail another request with my claims for my commission to be date from December 57, which if it succeeds will make me senior Ensign to an Ensign named Sawley who was promoted from the 20th Regiment and whose rank now dates one day senior to mine. I have not been obliged to give up my appointment to the Indian Army yet and will not be until I am in General Orders here as appointed to the 97th at any date. I think that the ensigncy in a Queens Regiment is better than a Lieutenancy in an Indian Regt. Besides have a much better chance of promotion in the former. Colonel Burton says that he did not like saying anything until I had made my choice but he thinks that I have done quite right. (...) I have just been invited to dinner at the Moosa-Burg on Christmas day. (...) They are not going to pay us any Prize Money I believe. By the Papers I see that a clasp is to be given for the final capture of Lucknow in March next.’

Career after the Indian Mutiny, taken from family papers

On 30th April 1861 Thomas was listed as Lieutenant 97th regiment in India having purchased the commission from a retiring officer. But a more senior Ensign stationed elsewhere took the vacancy at the last moment and so Horse Guards Gazetted him rather than Thomas.

In 1861, three years after the actions, the Mutiny medals were eventually received by the 97th. However, Thomas’s medal and clasp were not received at this time as because he was officially listed as serving in the Indian Army during the fighting, it had to come through those channels! He probably received it later that year or in 1862.

Some time in 1862 Thomas who was now the senior Ensign was made Lieutenant in the 97th. In late 1862 he was granted routine home leave. In September 1863 he returned to the Regiment in India. In August 1864 the Medical Board returned him to England due to fever and liver problems.

By September 1864 John, his father, was writing to try to obtain a Captaincy for him, he was initially refused due to Thomas’s lack of seniority, but finally on the 20th October 1868 Thomas was commissioned Captain in the 97th Foot. The commission document from Queen Victoria arrived at Kingscliffe Scarborough in March of 1869.

A press cutting obituary (believed to date from 1879) states: 10th inst. Rockhaven, Cloughton, near Scarborough aged 39 years. Thomas Candler Wharton, late Captain 97th regiment and eldest son of John Wharton Esq. of Scarborough.

References

1. The Honourable East India Company operated as a sovereign power on behalf of the British Crown, and governed 2/3 rds of the Indian subcontinent following the collapse of Mughul rule.
2. Known also as the Sepoy Mutiny and in more recent times in India as the First War of Independence, this commenced on the 10th May 1857 and ended on the 1st November 1858. It was widespread but ultimately unsuccessful.
3. One of 74 regiments of Bengal infantry belonging to the essentially private army of the Honourable East India Company. All mutinied or were disbanded during or after the mutiny. The 30th mutinied at Ajmer, Jeypore and Nusseerabad.
4. 97th (The Earl of Ulster's) Regiment of Foot; a regular British Army unit that had seen action shortly before the Mutiny in the Crimea. They arrived at Balaklava on the 20th November 1854 and took part in the siege of Sevastopol and the Battle of the Great Redoubt in 1856.
5. General Havelock, born 1795 son of a Sunderland shipbuilder; only 5 foot tall. Joined the Rifle Brigade in 1815. Landed Bombay 29th May 1857 direct from the Persian War and was astounded that the Bengal Army had mutinied. Took 1200 Britons and 300 Sikhs and left Allahabad 7th July to relieve Cornoport and Lucknow. Refused to be rushed or risk his troops. Had many battles on the way, 4 in the first 9 days became a legend, and unable to relieve the Garrison at Lucknow joined it. Became sick following his exertions at Lucknow and died in his son's arms 24th November 1857. *Wright. W. Warriors of the Queen. Fighting Generals of the Victorian Age.* (Spellmount, The History Press, Stroud, Gloucestershire.2014), 137-140.
6. James Brown-Ramsey 1st Marquis of Dalhousie, served as Governor General of India 1848 to 1856. Born 22nd April 1812 died 19th December 1860; clearly en-route to India to take charge in this reference by Thomas.
7. Three diaries 1862-64 survive but not this earlier account.
8. The Great Mosque of Muhammad Ali Pasha also known as the Alabaster Mosque, situated on the summit of the Citadel in Cairo; constructed between 1830-1848.
9. Sepoy, noun = Native soldier
10. "Blowing from a gun"; a form of execution used by the Mughul Empire as early as the 16th century and subsequently by the British and Portuguese, on the Indian sub-continent. It prevents the necessary funeral rites for both Hindus and Muslims and therefore the punishment is seen as extending beyond death. Used by the British to execute rebels and deserters. A full size cannon is loaded usually with a blank or grape shot, occasionally with a cannon ball, the miscreant is tied to the front of the cannon usually facing forwards with the muzzle in his back. "When fired the head shoots up 40 to 50 feet, the arms fly out to left and right, the legs fall beneath the cannon with the body blown away altogether."

11. aide-de camp = confidential assistant

12. Rajah, noun = King or Prince in India

13. A College at Lucknow established 1845 in accordance with the will of Maj. Gen. Claude Martin, born 1735 died Lucknow 1800.

14. General Thomas Harte Franks; a skilful general, brave and much admired, also a martinet. Disobeyed Campbell by attacking a small fort at Dhowara on the way to Lucknow instead of proceeding there directly, compounding the situation by not using his 24 pounders and being repelled. Campbell was furious and from intending to use him to attack Lucknow he never gave him another field command and sent him home to England. Promoted Major General and made a KGB by Parliament. His health not good before the Mutiny was now ruined and he died February 1862. *Wright. W. Warriors of the Queen. Fighting Generals of the Victorian Age.* (Spellmount, The History Press, Stroud, Gloucestershire.2014), 95-6

15. Following the Mutiny in 1857 the East India Company's rule of India came to an end. Queen Victoria declared on the 1st November 1858 that India would be governed by and in the name of the Monarch through a Secretary of State.

16. East India Company

Acknowledgement

I wish to thank Mrs Elizabeth Wharton (deceased) of Rock Haven, Newlands Road, Cloughton, who kindly gave me access to the surviving family papers when I was researching for the Cloughton Village Millennium project.

Archaeological Investigations by the Society 2018 to 2021

by Trevor Pearson, Chris Hall and Elaine Jamieson

This report gives a summary of fieldwork undertaken by the Society between 2018 and 2021. Reports on all these sites can be downloaded from the Society website. The excavations at Hanging Grimston on the Wolds in 2018 and 2019 were undertaken in partnership with the High Wolds Heritage Group and will be the subject of a separate article. The ‘Scarborough Big Dig’ which the Society was involved with in 2020 (on-line only) followed by excavations in 2021 is part of Big Ideas by the Sea and will be reported on separately.

Brompton Castle Hill (SAHS Fieldwork Report 50, 53 and 56)

Following on from the fieldwork reported in Transactions No 45, the Society’s work on Brompton Castle Hill focused on the pasture field on the west side of the hill with excavations taking place in 2018, 2019 and 2021. The field preserves a series of earthworks which are protected in law as the probable site of a medieval fortified residence. As a result of this protection, consent to excavate in the field was given each year by Historic England as well as by the land owner and the tenant farmer.

Eight small evaluation trenches excavated in 2018 and 2019 established that the field preserves extensive medieval remains including several stone buildings and a strong boundary wall apparently aligned along the crest of the hill on the south-west side overlooking the village. In 2021 one of the buildings on the south side of the hill was selected for more extensive study with the opening of a single large trench measuring 10m x 10m. This exposed three sides of a substantial masonry structure which probably dated to the 13th or early 14th century and may have been a residence arranged over two floors. This building replaced a stone structure on a different alignment from which a date of around the middle of the 12th century was obtained by carbon-14 dating of a sample of charcoal. It has yet to be established when Castle Hill was first occupied.

The main conclusion after three seasons of excavation is that Castle Hill was the site of an important complex of buildings in the medieval period, probably a manor house. The overall layout is still unknown, but the excavation results suggest that the large stone building excavated in 2021 was deliberately sited on the south side of the hill to create a prominent landmark visible from across the vale to the south. On the opposite side of the building facing into the centre of the hill were further, more lightly-constructed buildings possibly arranged around a courtyard. The strong wall excavated in 2018 and 2019 on the south-west side of the hill would have created an impressive barrier but it is presently uncertain if this wall continued right around the hill top to entirely enclose the manor. Pottery recovered from the excavation suggests the manor was abandoned by the middle of the 14th century.

Scarborough Castle (SAHS Fieldwork Report 52)

English Heritage approached the Society in 2019 with a proposal to investigate a large, 1.2m high, flat-topped mound on the headland near the site of the Roman Signal station. Research

in the late 1990s by English Heritage and the former Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) established that the mound was spoil from the excavation of the Roman signal station in the early 1920s augmented in 1926 by spoil from an abandoned scheme to level the centre of the headland to make a sports field. The excavation consisted of three trenches on the south side of the mound where both phases of dumping were evident on the ground.

The excavation determined that the mound is indeed of two phases with the upper deposits containing a small quantity of Roman and prehistoric pottery while the lower deposit was devoid of such artefacts. This supports the idea that the lower material is spoil from the excavation of the Roman signal station where care would have been taken to keep pottery while the upper mound was dug out of the ground without any regard to archaeology. This confirms that it came from the levelling operations connected with the 1926 playing field scheme. The material in the upper mound probably came from the north side of the headland where the scar left by the 1926 levelling operation is visible as a curving earthwork.

An unexpected discovery was a large pit cut into the side of the mound containing rubbish from the 1940s and 1950s including strands of barbed wire and broken lumps of concrete. This may have come from the clearance of the headland after the site's war time service as an RAF post.

Raincliffe Woods (SAHS Fieldwork Reports 51 and 55)

The Society has continued its research into the history and archaeology of Raincliffe Woods following on from the summary report in the last Transactions. In 2019 the Society undertook an earthwork survey of the site of the forge in Forge Valley on the east bank of the river Derwent. The forge went out of use in the early 19th century but the location is marked on 19th century Ordnance Survey maps and is now mostly occupied by a small car park and picnic area. The survey recorded several exposed sections of wall foundation that match one of the outbuildings marked on Ordnance Survey maps but no surface traces of the forge survive. Nevertheless a plan showing the possible layout of the site was compiled using available cartographic and pictorial sources.

Later that same year and again in 2021 the Society investigated a mound 1.2km to the north-east of the forge on the edge of the woods where they border Thorn Park Farm. The site was selected because fragments of iron slag occur on the ground surface in this area indicating it might be the site of a bloomery forge, possibly dating to the medieval period. The main feature excavated was a roughly constructed boulder wall at the base of the mound crossing a shallow hollow in the natural ground surface. A large deposit of charcoal from one side of the wall gave a carbon-14 date of Middle Bronze Age indicating the alignment of boulders is far earlier than expected and is part of a previously unrecorded prehistoric site. Several sherds of medieval pottery associated with large pieces of charcoal were found in a second trench excavated near the centre of the mound. This indicates activity on the site in the middle ages though further work is needed to determine if it is connected with the manufacture of iron.

Aldby Park, Buttercrambe (SAHS Fieldwork Report 54)

Aldby Park, the home of the Winn-Darley family, sits on the west bank of the river Derwent about 15km downstream from Malton. The fieldwork began in support of the Yorkshire Gardens Trust to try and determine the origin of a large elongated earthwork in the garden next to the main house which was built in 1726. The earthwork has remained largely unchanged since it was first mapped in 1633. There is a strong tradition that it marks the site where Edwin, the first Christian ruler of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Deira, once resided and (according to the 8th century historian Bede) where he narrowly escaped assassination in the year 626.

The fieldwork at Aldby Park began with a 1:500 scale survey of the earthwork, the first time this feature had been recorded in detail apart from schematic depiction on large-scale Ordnance Survey maps. The survey concluded that the earthwork began as a single conical mound standing around 6.5m high which was then added to on the south-east side by the construction of a 4.5m high broad, flat-topped bank. A second small oval mound was added to the top of the bank at the opposite end to the original mound. The earthwork is fringed by a broad, shallow ditch (part of which was filled during the 18th century) while the north-east side is aligned along the top of the steep slope overlooking the river Derwent.

The survey concluded that the original mound was probably the motte of a Norman earthwork castle. The remains of the castle were then adapted to form a garden feature overlooking the Derwent valley with the bank, the second mound and the outer ditch constructed within the footprint of the castle bailey. This work was complete by the time of the 1633 survey.

At the time of writing work is under way to survey the rest of the park where two areas of medieval house plots and yards survive as earthworks to the north-west of the main house and to the north of the present village of Buttercrambe associated with extensive remains of medieval ridge and furrow ploughing.

A Catalogue of Trods discovered since 2008

by Chris Evans

Since *Trods of the North York Moors* was published in 2008 more trods have come to light. I would like these to be in the public domain and so they are listed below. I would like to thank all those people who drew these trods to my attention and invite anyone who wants to know more about any of them to contact me.

Grid Sq	NGRE	NGRN	Location	Visibility
NZ	548	007	Raisdale	Visible/buried
NZ	582	650	Ingelby Greenhow	Old photograph
NZ	636	228	Marske	Buried
NZ	652	187	Skelton	Visible/buried
NZ	705	620	Danby Dale	Visible
NZ	714	053	Stonebeck Farm	Buried
NZ	715	153	Liverton	Visible
NZ	715	152	Liverton	Visible
NZ	718	150	Liverton	Visible
NZ	732	320	Glaisdale	Could not find
NZ	741	320	Glaisdale	Buried
NZ	761	073	Lealholm	Visible
NZ	772	051	Hart Hall	Visible/partially buried
NZ	772	061	Brock Hill	Visible
NZ	780	155	Borrowby	Visible
NZ	783	055	Glaisdale	Visible
NZ	790	440	Egton Bridge	Partially buried
NZ	797	046	Egton Bridge	Partially buried
NZ	822	027	Beck Hole	Visible
NZ	825	041	Grosmont	Visible
NZ	842	800	Goathland	Visible
NZ	847	610	Sleights	Visible
NZ	885	108	Stakesby	visible
NZ	908	830	Stainsacre	Visible
NZ	937	440	Park Gate	Visible
NZ	780	154	Borrowby	Buried
NZ	804	131	Mickelby	Visible/replaced/buried
NZ	820	270	Beck Hole	Visible
NZ	832	470	Grosmont	Visible
NZ	834	730	Egton Road	Visible/buried
SE	527	939	Snilesworth	Partially buried
SE	596	996	Bilsdale	Visible
SE	621	977	Bransdale	Visible
SE	623	972	Bransdale	Visible
SE	673	978	North Gill Farm	Visible
SE	683	934	Farndale	Visible
SE	684	928	Farndale	Visible
SE	689	906	Gillamoor	Partly overgrown
SE	747	971	Hartoft	Visible
SE	673	980	North Gill Farm	Visible
SE	674	902	Gillamoor	Partly overgrow
SE	716	965	Rosedale	Visible

Bryan Berryman Obituary

Bryan Berryman, who died in September 2020 aged 81, was a long-standing member of the Society and for many years a member of the committee in various roles. His contribution to both the running of the Society and to local historical research was recognised by life membership of the Society being conferred on him in 2001.

Bryan Berryman was born in April 1939 in Seamer Road, Scarborough. After attending Hinderwell School and Scarborough High School for Boys he studied for a BA in humanities and languages at King's College, University of Durham, and then a postgraduate qualification in librarianship at Newcastle. Although King's College was a constituent of the federal University of Durham it was located in Newcastle (and would later form the basis of the University of Newcastle) and it was here that he began to attend Newcastle United's matches at St James' Park. He would follow that team for the rest of his life in addition to his lifelong support for Scarborough FC (later Scarborough Athletic).

He began his career in librarianship as readers' advisor with Durham City Library and it was whilst there that he carried out the revision of the Durham volume in the (by then anachronistically named) King's England series of topographical and historical guides. This was published in 1969. Later, he would publish two books of captioned images of Scarborough, 'Scarborough As It Was' in 1972 and 'Vintage Scarborough' in 1976 – this was before the time when such books became ubiquitous. 'Scarborough As It Was' sold 10,000 copies. He also published a large number of articles in the Durham County Advertiser and the Scarborough Mercury, in particular a series of 20 articles that Sir Meredith Whittaker asked him to write on some of Scarborough's buildings.

In 1969 Bryan took up the post of reference librarian at Scarborough Central Library in Vernon Road which at that time was still run by Scarborough Corporation. This role included responsibility for what some of us still call 'the Scarborough Room', and it is for this that he is perhaps best known. Such was his commitment to this important source of local historical information that, after retiring in 2004, he remained involved through the Scarborough Library Archive Group which some SAHS members attended. He continued to attend the group on Thursday evenings until 2019 when illness curtailed this. The number of books and articles by others which acknowledge Bryan's help is testimony to his local historical knowledge and helpfulness to researchers.

In 1998 his 'outstanding contribution to and achievement in library work' was recognised when he was one of only 100 librarians to receive an award at the British Library in London as part of the Library Association centenary.

Bryan had two significant stints as a member of the SAHS committee, 1976 to 2000 and 2004 to 2012. During the former period he held the posts of Assistant Secretary, Vice Chairman (twice) and Editor. During his second period on the committee, he served as Vice-president and a Trustee. Never a voluble committee member, Bryan's contributions to the committee

were always pertinent, succinct, wise and often delivered with his quiet humour. For 21 years from 1978 he was also the Society's projectionist, starting in the days when slides were loaded individually and manually – he must have spent several hundred hours standing behind the projector stand (even after remote controls came in as these could be recalcitrant) and when he stepped down, it must have been a great relief to him to be able sit back and actually enjoy a lecture. He did, however, give his own lectures to the Society, the first in March 1973 on the topic Scarborough As It Was based around his book. Other topics he covered were as diverse as the history of the Cliff Bridge Company, People and Houses of Victorian Scarborough and the collections in the Scarborough Room.

Bryan's knowledge, helpfulness and humour are missed.

Christopher Hall