



NINE STANDARDS, KIRKBY STEPHEN, CUMBRIA

Archaeological Desk- Based Assessment Report

Oxford Archaeology North



February 2005

East Cumbria Countryside Project

Issue No:	2003-04/308
OA North Job No:	L9431
NGR:	NY 8247 0652

Document Title: NINE STANDARDS, KIRKBY STEPHEN, CUMBRIA

Document Type: Archaeological Desk-Based Assessment

Client Name: East Cumbria Countryside Project

Issue Number: 2004-05/308

OA Job Number: L9431

National Grid Reference: NY 8247 0652

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SUMMARY

Oxford Archaeology North was commissioned by Dick Capel, of East Cumbria Countryside Project, to undertake an archaeological study of Nine Standards, Kirkby Stephen, Cumbria (NY 8247 0652); these are a series of large dry-stone constructed pillar cairns on a subsidiary summit of Nine Standards Rigg. The documentary study and a site inspection were undertaken from August to November 2004. The report will inform a planning application to reconstruct the cairns which constitute the Nine Standards, and which are Grade II Listed Buildings.

The desk-based assessment included visits to the Cumbria County Record Offices in Kendal and Carlisle, North Yorkshire Record Office in Northallerton, and libraries in Kirkby Stephen and Kendal, as well as the consultation of Carlisle Library, Cumbria, and North Yorkshire Sites and Monuments Record, local historians, and libraries. A site visit was also conducted.

The desk-based assessment found possible evidence for twelfth- or thirteenth- century records mentioning Nine Standards, and definite documentary references to a place of that name from the seventeenth century onwards. However, there was no definitive evidence for the existence of the constructed cairns until the early nineteenth century. Map regression analysis proved inconclusive, with eighteenth- and nineteenth- century maps showing a number of different arrangements of cairns or stones, none of which could be considered to be reliable. A series of twentieth century photographs shows individual cairns changing in height and profile, suggesting repeated collapse and rebuilding. Several quarries and a sheepfold associated with Nine Standards were also identified.

The assessment concluded that Nine Standards is a monument of local importance, and that the lack of survey or other archaeological and antiquarian attention which it has received seems at odds with its prominence in the community. Although the name would appear to be relatively ancient, the origin of the dry-stone constructed cairns is less certain and there is no evidence as to what they looked like until the early twentieth century; therefore it is important to establish a base record of the monuments prior to any reconstruction. It is recommended that a RCHME Level 3 survey is carried out on the cairns, which would seek to establish the visible phases of construction that have occurred prior to the proposed consolidation. It is also recommended that a topographic survey of the quarries and the sheepfold be undertaken.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Oxford Archaeology North (OA North) would like to thank Dick Capel of East Cumbria Countryside Project for commissioning the project. Thanks are also due to Jo Mackintosh at Cumbria Sites and Monuments Record, and all the staff of the Cumbria County Record Offices in Kendal and Carlisle, the North Yorkshire County Record Office in Northallerton, and Kirkby Stephen Library, for their assistance with this project. Douglas Birkbeck, Dawn Robertson, Lawrence Barker, Dr Angus Winchester, and Vivian Wright all assisted with enquiries and their help is greatly appreciated. We are particularly indebted to Dr John Todd, who read an initial draft of the report, translated back into Latin a key thirteenth century document, and who provided some invaluable comments on this report. We would also like to thank Jeremy Parsons for his guidance in the course of the project.

The assistance of staff at Carlisle Library is also acknowledged, as is that from Kendal Library, RFG Hollett and Son, booksellers, in Sedbergh, and the North Yorkshire Sites and Monuments Record.

The desk-based assessment was undertaken by Jo Dawson, with the drawings produced by Kathryn Blythe. The project was managed by Jamie Quartermaine who also edited the report together with Rachel Newman.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 CIRCUMSTANCES OF PROJECT

- 1.1.1 Oxford Archaeology North (OA North) was commissioned by Dick Capel, Countryside Officer for the East Cumbria Countryside Project to undertake an archaeological desk-based assessment of the Nine Standards, located 5km south-east of Kirkby Stephen, Cumbria (Fig 1; NY 82473 06519); these are a series of large dry-stone constructed pillar cairns on a subsidiary summit of Nine Standards Rigg. The documentary study and a site inspection were undertaken from August to November 2004. The assessment was to inform a proposal to restore the drystone cairns that form Nine Standards, which are categorised as a Listed Building.
- 1.1.2 The desk-based assessment comprised a search of both published and unpublished records, including those held by the Cumbria Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) and the Cumbria County Record Office in Kendal and Carlisle, the North Yorkshire County Record Office in Northallerton, and the library in Kirkby Stephen. In addition to this, a site inspection was carried out on the site of the proposed restoration, in order to examine the cairns. This report sets out the results of the desk-based assessment in the form of a short document, outlining the findings, followed by a statement of the archaeological potential and significance, and an assessment of the impact of the proposed restoration.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 PROJECT PROPOSAL

- 2.1.1 A verbal project design was submitted by OA North in response to a request by Dick Capel of the East Cumbria Countryside Project for research to be carried out on Nine Standards. The proposed archaeological methods and procedure was agreed with Jeremy Parsons, Assistant Archaeologist, Cumbria County Council Archaeological Services. The work was consistent with the relevant standards and procedures of the Institute of Field Archaeologists, and generally accepted best practice.

2.2 DESK-BASED ASSESSMENT

- 2.2.1 The subject of study was the Nine Standards (NY 82473 06519), which lies in Cumbria, close to the border with Yorkshire. In order to undertake the desk-based assessment several sources of information were consulted: the County Sites and Monuments Records for Cumbria and North Yorkshire, and additional sources such as published and manuscript maps and primary and secondary documentary sources.
- 2.2.2 ***Cumbria Sites and Monuments Record (CSMR)***: the Cumbria Sites and Monuments Record (CSMR) is a Geographical Information System (GIS) of all archaeological sites in Cumbria, and is maintained by Cumbria County Council. It was consulted to establish the information already recorded about Nine Standards, and any sites associated with it, following which the sources from each entry were checked. For each entry, a short note was obtained, which was added to the site gazetteer (*Appendix 1*) and marked on Figure 2.
- 2.2.3 ***North Yorkshire Sites and Monuments Record (NYSMR)***: the North Yorkshire Sites and Monuments Record (NYSMR) is a record of all archaeological sites in North Yorkshire, and is maintained by North Yorkshire County Council Heritage Unit. It was consulted to establish whether any information was held on Nine Standards, since, although it lies within Cumbria, it is close to the border with North Yorkshire, which has not changed in this area since at least the OS first edition map (1862).
- 2.2.4 ***North Yorkshire County Record Office (YRO), Northallerton***: the County Record Office in Northallerton was visited to consult manuscript maps and secondary published sources.
- 2.2.5 ***Cumbria County Record Office, Kendal (CRO(K))***: the County Record Office in Kendal was visited to consult published and manuscript maps, manuscript documents, secondary published sources, and postcards of Nine Standards.
- 2.2.6 ***Cumbria County Record Office, Carlisle (CRO(C))***: the County Record Office in Carlisle was visited to consult manuscript documents relating to Nine Standards.
- 2.2.7 ***Kendal Local Studies Library***: the Local Studies Library in Kendal was visited to consult its photographic collection and its files of information relating to the Kirkby Stephen area.
- 2.2.8 ***Kirkby Stephen Library***: the library in Kirkby Stephen was visited to consult secondary published sources. The Local Studies room, on the floor above the main library, holds a

good collection of local books, as well as copies of primary and secondary sources held in Cumbria County Record Office in Kendal. All relevant sources were consulted.

- 2.2.9 **Carlisle Library:** the library in Carlisle was contacted regarding original engravings of places in Westmorland.
- 2.2.10 **Local historians:** a number of local historians were contacted regarding Nine Standards. Dawn Robertson and Douglas Birkbeck were consulted about the origin of a fourteenth century reference, and Lawrence Barker was asked about an eighteenth century document in his collection. Angus Winchester of Lancaster University was consulted regarding Tithe Commissioners documents held in the Public Record Office in London.
- 2.2.11 **Local booksellers:** RFG Hollett and Son, booksellers in Sedbergh, and Vivian Wright, formerly bookseller in Kirkby Stephen, were consulted about engravings of Nine Standards.

2.3 SITE VISIT

- 2.3.1 A site visit was undertaken on 3rd August 2004, in the company of Dick Capel, prior to the initiation of the project. A close investigation of the cairns and their environs was then undertaken. Several quarries around the cairns were examined and a brief descriptive record was made. A digital photographic record of the cairns was produced, which showed the detail of the cairns and also their setting.

2.4 ARCHIVE

- 2.4.1 A full professional archive has been compiled in accordance with current IFA and English Heritage guidelines (English Heritage 1991). The paper and digital archive will be deposited in Cumbria Record Office, Kendal on completion of the project.

3. RESULTS OF THE DESK-BASED STUDY

3.1 LOCATION, TOPOGRAPHY, AND GEOLOGY

- 3.1.1 **Location:** the cairns which form the Nine Standards lie in Cumbria, on the boundary between the modern civil parishes of Hartley, to the south-west, and Winton, to the north-east (Fig 1; Ordnance Survey 1989; NY 82473 06519). These were formed in the mid nineteenth century, but prior to that Winton and Hartley were townships within the medieval parish of Kirkby Stephen. The Nine Standards stand 5km south-east of the town of Kirkby Stephen, Cumbria, and approximately 800m north-north-west of the North Yorkshire border (Ordnance Survey 1984; 1989). Before 1974, when the county of Cumbria was created, Nine Standards lay in Westmorland, the boundary between the North Riding of Yorkshire and Westmorland being on the same line as the present boundary between Cumbria and North Yorkshire.
- 3.1.2 **County Boundary:** it has been suggested on many occasions that Nine Standards marks the boundary between Westmorland and Yorkshire (Kelly and Co 1858, 45; Braithwaite 1884, 90-91; Bulmer 1885, 201; Bulmer and Co 1905, 229; Braithwaite 1924, 26; Kelly's Directories Ltd 1934, 89; Braithwaite 1938, 26; Finch 1982, 61; Robertson and Koronka 1992, 95; Rollinson 1997, 113; Birkbeck 2000, 121; Robertson 2002). This has been refuted (Wainwright 1980, 20), however, since the cairns lie approximately 800m north of the county boundary. A description of the boundary of Westmorland from 1894 is difficult to interpret: *'It runs from thence in a south-westerly direction by the Nine Standards to the Lady Pillar on Hugh Seat Morville'* (Ferguson 1894, 3), but Ordnance Survey maps of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries show the boundary clearly, with the cairns well to the north (Figs 8-10). Other nineteenth-century maps show a similar layout (Figs 6 and 7), but Jeffreys' map (1770) appears to show the cairns on the county boundary (Fig 4); this may however reflect the imprecise and schematic nature of the mapping rather than an actual coincidence between the boundary and the Nine Standards at this time. It was considered important enough in 1777 to observe that the boundary between the parishes within Westmorland and those within Yorkshire was also the county boundary (Nicholson and Burn 1777, 577).
- 3.1.3 **Topography:** the summit of Nine Standards Rigg is 662m above mean sea level, and the cairns lie around 400m to the north of, and approximately 12m below, the summit (Ordnance Survey 1989). Nine Standards Rigg is gently sloping, and covered with rough vegetation (*ibid*) (Plate 8). It is a popular spot with walkers, and is on the line of the Coast to Coast walk; it also forms part of the route taken by the Mallerstang Horseshoe and Nine Standards Yomp, which is a 23 mile circuit of the fells near Kirkby Stephen held each year on the first Sunday in June (Anon 1994, 1).
- 3.1.4 **Geology:** the solid geology of the hills around Kirkby Stephen is carboniferous limestone and millstone grit (Moseley 1978, pl 1). Limestone has been quarried from Nine Standards Rigg (Sites **02** and **04**), and was probably used to construct the Nine Standards cairns (Site **01**) and a sheepfold nearby (Site **03**). That stone was not carried any great distance to build the cairns is confirmed in twentieth-century guides to the area, which record that Nine Standards was loosely built of such rubble stones as lay about (Braithwaite 1924, 26; Braithwaite 1938, 26).

3.2 PLACE-NAMES, MYTHS, AND FOLKLORE

- 3.2.1 **Place-Names:** the second part of the name Nine Standards is thought to be from the early modern English *stander*, or ‘upright pillar’, and may have been adopted from its use as a mining term for a column of mineral left to support the ceiling of a mine (Smith 1967, 29). A local place-name with a possible similar origin is Tackan Tan, which lies approximately 6km east of Nine Standards, within Kirkby Stephen parish (Ordnance Survey 1989). ‘Tackan’ may be connected to *tak*, ‘a prop of coal left as a temporary support’, and the presence of coal pits in the vicinity lends this hypothesis credibility (Smith 1967, 7).
- 3.2.2 **Myths and Folklore:** perhaps the importance of Nine Standards to the local community is best demonstrated by the folklore associated with it. The folklore it has collected about it implies that the monument was prominent in the landscape, as it is visually, and that it has been a focus of local interest for some time. It has attracted an origin myth, which is that the cairns were built to fool marauding Scots, or some other military force approaching from Swaledale, into thinking that Nine Standards were the vanguard of an army (Kelly and Co 1858, 45; Bulmer 1885, 201; Bulmer and Co 1905, 229; Braithwaite 1924, 26; Kelly’s Directories Ltd 1934, 89; Braithwaite 1938, 26; Wainwright 1980, 20; Finch 1982, 61; Hanson 1990, 65; Robertson and Koronka 1992, 95; Rollinson 1997, 113; Emmett 1999, 44; Birkbeck 2000, 121; Robertson 2002). Another tradition says that Oliver Cromwell ‘blew down’ Hartley Castle from Nine Standards (Braithwaite 1884, 90-91; Finch 1982, 61; Robertson and Koronka 1992, 95; Robertson 2002), although it would have been well beyond the range of cannons at that time (Finch 1982, 61). Certainly, it would appear that, by the nineteenth century, people had forgotten when the cairns were constructed, and why, and that these stories grew up from a gap in people’s knowledge.

3.3 HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

- 3.3.1 **Prehistoric, Roman, and Early Medieval Periods:** there is no evidence to suggest a prehistoric, Roman, or early medieval origin for either Nine Standards or any boundary of which it forms a part. However, boundaries for these periods are typically not known, although it is likely that natural features, such as watersheds, may have been used.
- 3.3.2 **Medieval Period:** possible evidence for the existence of Nine Standards in the twelfth or thirteenth century is held by Cumbria County SMR (CSMR), although this is rather complex. The CSMR has in its possession three hand-written documents concerning Nine Standards, the most recent being a letter dated 23rd March 1984, sent by Alec Swailes to Tom Clare, the then County Archaeologist. Swailes encloses with his letter the other two documents, one being a letter sent to him by Edmund Cooper dated 24th May 1974, and the other being Swailes’ copy of Cooper’s copy of a document by Cornelius Fryer. Cooper’s letter describes the Fryer document as ‘*a description of the Swaledale boundaries*’. He goes on to say that ‘*Cornelius Fryer must have copied it from the original used in the time of the Gant family (13th century). The original may have been in Latin*’.
- 3.3.3 The Cornelius Fryer document is titled ‘*L Barker Papers, Melts and Bounder of the South Side of Swaledale 1743 taken from a copp of Corns. Fryer, Cornelius Fryer d 1741 – Grinton P.R/C.F. bap 1727 5 of Jno*’. ‘L Barker Papers’ refers to Lawrence Barker’s private collection of documents, and Cooper references Barker’s papers in one

of his books (Cooper 1973, 6). Barker (pers comm) also confirmed that Cooper had consulted his collection of documents while undertaking research. It would therefore appear that Cooper consulted a document from 1743 in Barker's collection, which was a copy of a document by Cornelius Fryer, who, according to Grinton Parish Registers, died in 1741. The document begins '*Metes and Bounders given by Gilbert Gant Lord of Swaledale...*', and this reference to the Gants led Cooper to believe that Fryer had copied a thirteenth century Latin original (Section 3.3.5), translating it into English in the eighteenth century.

- 3.3.4 The hand-written document in the SMR was therefore potentially a copy, at least fifth hand, of a thirteenth century document that mentions Nine Standards. Unfortunately, all attempts to locate earlier copies of the document proved fruitless. Lawrence Barker said it would be extremely difficult for him to locate the copy that Cooper had seen, and indeed he had no memory of such a document (L Barker pers comm). The copy of the document in the SMR is as follows, and includes interpretations of the place names in square brackets:

'Metes and Bounders given by Gilbert Gant Lord of Swaledale beginning at Stallerstone so rising towards the South at White Stone in Sharra [see Sharow] assending (sic) towards the South by Brounsitt And then between your Forests by the Height as ye Watter of Heaven Divids towards ye West to the Limitt on ye Greets [OE 'greet' gravel, gravelly stream] and then towards ye West as Heavens water to High Couvill and then towards ye West as the Heaven Watter Divids to Piecesseat Rigd So then towards the West as ye Water of Heaven Divids to Winnygates [Wingate pass where the wind ?? 'Waingate' in old document (RM Chapman) meaning wagon road] So then as the Watter Hevens Divids to Tarn Seate So then towards ye West as Heaven Watter Divids to Oxnopps head So then towards ye West as the Watter Heven Divids to Ellerrad Pott ['Eller' Alder] so then as Heven Water Divids to Watter Pott so then towards ye West to the Height of Back Stone Edge So then towards the West as the Watter of Heaven Divids to Stoney Gill Head So then towards the West as the Watter of Heaven Divids to Topes Cragg So then towards the West as ye Heaven Watter Divids to Digsomersent So then towards the West as the Watter of Heaven Divids to Lovelseate So then towards ye West as the Watter of Heaven Divids to troope head So then towards the West as the Water of Heaven Divids to little Sunner fell So then towards the West as the Watter of Heaven Divids unto Mikle Shunner fell So then towards the West as the Watter of Heaven Divids to He [?] Hugh Seat or High Seat] Seat So towards ye West as the Water of Heaven Divids to How Seate So then towards the West as the Water of [sic] Divids unto White Stone in Fells End between Richmond Shire and Westmoorland

'The Boundary of the North Side Swale from Hollowell Cross to the Lordship of Marrick. From Hollowell Cros as Heaven Water Deals to the Gray Yoad in Coad burneth as etc to the 9 Stande as etc to Harthern Cragg as etc to Brownber Edge Down the Gill from the White Gill as etc to the Tarn from the Tarn etc to Tak and Tarn from Tack and Tarn etc to Thomas Gill head from Thomas Gill head etc to East ... Head to the Hight of the Water Cragg from the Hight of Water Cragg etc to Mosedale head from Mosedale Head etc to little Punshard Standert as etc to the Hight Pinseat from Pinseat etc to the Wetshaw head from the Wetshaw Head by Linyell line to forgill Gate from forgill Gate down forgell to Arkie Beck so down that Beck till you come at farndell So up that Beck at Sinder Gate from Sinder Gate to Ackman Crag from Ackman Cragg as Heaven Water Deals to Beals head Pasture So down to Batt Yeatt So down Goat to Swale Down Midriver Swale to Stollerstone'.

- 3.3.5 All comments in square brackets are Cooper's, apart from [sic] near the end of the first paragraph, where the word 'Heaven' has been omitted. Cooper records a succession of Gants holding the land of Swaledale (Cooper 1948, 13). The first Gilbert Gant was lord of Falkingham, Lincolnshire, cited in Domesday book, who died in about 1095 (Sanders 1960, 46). The second Gilbert was Lord of Swaledale between 1138 and 1156 (*ibid*; Cooper 1948, 13-14). Later came a succession of three more Gilbert Gants; Gilbert III and IV both died in 1242 (Sanders 1960, 46), and the male line ended with Gilbert V, who died in 1298, and thereafter the estate was divided between the co-heiresses (*ibid*). It is unclear which of these four Gilbert Gants is referred to in the Cornelius Fryer document.
- 3.3.6 A possible reference to Nine Standards from 1325 has proved even more elusive. It has been written that '*the first known written reference to them [Nine Standards] was in 1325*' (Robertson and Koronka 1992, 95). Unfortunately, although Dawn Robertson was contacted, it was not possible to trace this reference to an earlier source, and indeed no references to the 1325 document were encountered in any publications before 1992.
- 3.3.7 It is possible that the 1325 reference may relate to a mistake encountered in a significant amount of the literature. This mistake has arisen from the similarity between the place-names 'Nine Standards Rigg' in Cumbria and 'Nine Stones Rig' or 'Ninestanes Rig' in the Scottish Borders. The Scottish site has folklore associated with it, which states that Lord Soulis who lived at Hermitage Castle, was boiled alive there in a vat of molten lead (Buckham 2004). This took place because Soulis had kidnapped children and massacred guests at his castle, leading the locals to petition Robert the Bruce to dispose of him (*ibid*). Soulis conspired to kill Robert the Bruce in 1320 (Parkinson 2001), and was tried for treason in the same year (Duncan 1988, 21), therefore an early fourteenth century date, such as 1325, might have been associated with Soulis' death at Ninestane Rig. John Leyden, a friend of Sir Walter Scott, who also seems to have been the originator of the tales of Soulis as a black magician (J Todd pers comm), wrote about Hermitage Castle and Ninestane Rig in '*Bridal of Triermain*' (Simpson 1957),

*Come thou hither, Henry, my page,
(Whom I saved from the sack of Hermitage)
When that dark castle, tower, and spire,
Rose to the skies a pile of fire,
And reddened all the Nine-Stane Hill.*

This poetry has been quoted incorrectly in connection with Nine Standards on more than one occasion (Braithwaite 1924, 26; Braithwaite 1938, 26; Wainwright 1980, 20).

- 3.3.8 **Post-Medieval Period:** the Listed Building description for Nine Standards, which was written in 1984, claims that the cairns were mentioned in 1635 (English Heritage 2001), and this is then copied by the CSMR (number 5774). No source is given for this reference, and no documents of this date were encountered mentioning the cairns. The visibility of Nine Standards led to its inclusion in several seventeenth century boundary rolls, the earliest of which is only one year later than the one claimed by the Listed Building description. Dating to 1636, it appears as '*the Nine standares*' (Smith 1967, 29). It was not possible to locate this boundary roll, so it is not clear which boundary is being described. The Nine Standards are mentioned again in a Stainmore boundary roll of 1684, though they themselves are not the marker: '*From thence to a meare stone on the southside of the Nine Standers*' (CRO(C) Machel MSS III.95 1684). Three years later, they appear again as '*ye Nine standers*' (Smith 1967, 29), although once more it was not possible to locate this 1687 boundary roll.

- 3.3.9 During the nineteenth century, Nine Standards was mentioned frequently in directories and guides. The cairns were initially described as ‘*some stones set up there*’ (Parson and White 1829, 547; Mannex 1849, 161; Mannex and Co 1851, 161; Whellan 1860, 746), with each entry copying an earlier one. There is no indication that any of the writers visited the spot, so the description is probably unreliable. Later directories were more specific, describing ‘*nine huge obelisks of stone*’ (Kelly and Co 1858, 45), or ‘*nine pillars*’ (Braithwaite 1884, 90-91). By the end of the nineteenth century at least there was a sheepfold close to the cairns (Fig 9; Ordnance Survey 1899), and other associations with shepherds have been suggested. Some record that for centuries Nine Standards has been a place where shepherds from either side of the fells met to exchange stray sheep (Hanson 1990, 65; Robertson and Koronka 1992, 95; Robertson 2002). Furthermore, it has been suggested that the cairns were probably built by shepherds (Hanson 1990, 65; Emmett 1999, 44).
- 3.3.10 Several sources were consulted in order to determine whether any engravings of Nine Standards existed for the nineteenth century. Vivian Wright formerly owned a bookshop in Kirkby Stephen specialising in topographical engravings. She had not come across an engraving of Nine Standards in her many years of dealing, and she was not aware of any such engravings having been made; RFG Hollett and Son, book sellers of Sedbergh, confirmed this. Collections of Westmorland engravings at Carlisle Library were examined, but revealed none of the Nine Standards.
- 3.3.11 By the early twentieth century, the first known photograph of Nine Standards eliminates the need for a reliance on textual description. A postcard from 1918 (Plate 1; CRO(K) WDX/882/A/2/53) shows the nine cairns, and they can be numbered with ease from right to left. The third is notable for the platform that surrounds its base, and the fifth also has a low, wide platform at its base with a sharp decrease in girth around halfway up the cairn. Between the fifth and sixth is a small pile of stones, possibly a collapsed or recently started cairn. An undated photograph of early twentieth century date (Plate 2; CRO(K) WDX/882/A/1/66) is taken from a similar position to the 1918 postcard, but probably post-dates it. The platform around the third cairn has been built up, and other minor changes are visible in the profiles of the cairns.
- 3.3.12 By 1974 the pile of rocks between the fifth and sixth cairn appears to have been built up, and the seventh cairn to have collapsed (Plate 3; Berry 1974). The view does not show the ninth cairn, and a sketch from 1980 also omits it (Plate 4; Wainwright 1980). Other postcards of this general period show a similar configuration but are undated and so do not reliably contribute to an understanding of the cairns development (eg Boardman nd). A walkers’ guide from around this time states that some of the cairns were large and one had a good stone shelf to sit on around its base (Sowerby and Sowerby 1979, 27). A few years later, another guide describes the cairns as follows: ‘*The cairns are of differing sizes, one considerably taller than the rest. The shape of each is similar, round with a base some two to three feet high, but continuing up to eight or nine feet. Some ingenious fell-walkers have attempted to raise a tenth cairn, but it has reached a height of only about four feet, so far*’ (Finch 1982, 61). Small changes to the profiles can also be noted in later photographs (Plate 5 (Anon 1994, 1), Plates 6 and 7).

3.4 MAP REGRESSION ANALYSIS

- 3.4.1 ***Saxton's map, 1577:*** this is the earliest map consulted, and it shows 'Neatbye' (Nateby), with 'Holomill Crosse' shown as a cross on top of a hill on the border between Westmorland and Yorkshire. Nine Standards is not shown.
- 3.4.2 ***Morden's map, 1695:*** again, Nine Standards is not shown, and 'Hoomill Cross' is shown on the border between Westmorland and Yorkshire.
- 3.4.3 ***Map of Swaledale, 1738 (Fig 3; YRO MIC 2062 327 1738):*** this manuscript map names Nine Standards as a point on the northern boundary of Swaledale. It is not clear if it is the cairns or some other marker on Nine Standards Rigg that is being referred to.
- 3.4.4 ***Jeffreys' map, 1770 (Fig 4):*** this map shows the boundary between Westmorland and Yorkshire extending over the summit of Nine Standards Rigg, although it is labelled Nine Standards. The actual location of the Nine Standards is on the northern flank of this hill, rather than the summit, which would suggest that the line does not pass through the position of the cairns. However, there is an irregular group of dots in the central part of this depicted hill, which may have been intended to represent the Nine Standards cairns. But if so there is an apparent contradiction because these are depicted on the wrong part of the hill, so either the actual line extends over the central part of the hill and the cairns are shown in the wrong place, or the boundary line goes through the cairns and the shape of the hill is over simplified and incorrect. Clearly the map is very schematic in its representation, and can not be taken as a reliable indicator that the boundary extended through the Nine Standards cairns.
- 3.4.5 ***Kitchin's map, 1777:*** this map annotates Nine Standards on the Westmorland Yorkshire border, and depicts it with an apparently random, round edged, group of nine dots. The map does not appear to be a copy of Jeffreys' map, and was probably independently made.
- 3.4.6 ***Map of Muker, Arkengarthdale, and Romalldkirk, undated (Fig 5; YRO MIC 2002/31 nd):*** Nine Standards are shown to the north of the Muker parish and manorial boundary, but this possibly refers to Nine Standards Rigg rather than the cairns. It is not clear whether any of the cairns are represented, as the map is covered in dark dots, possibly indicating rocky ground. Although undated, in terms of style and the configuration of the boundaries, it was probably produced at some time between the 1738 map of Swaledale and the OS first edition map (1862).
- 3.4.7 ***Plan of Disputed Boundaries between Winton and Kaber, Westmorland and Muker in Yorkshire 1841 (Fig 6; CRO(K) WD/HAL/26 1841):*** this map concerns a dispute between land holdings in Westmorland and Yorkshire, and in effect shows the county boundary at that date. Nine Standards are shown at the northern end of Nine Standards Rigg as a collection of about 13 dots, but the area is not shown as forming part of either of the disputed boundaries. The arrangement of dots is unlikely to represent the actual positions of cairns.
- 3.4.8 ***Tithe Map of Hartley Township, 1844 (Fig 7; CRO(K) WDRC/8/35 1844):*** eight upright stones or cairns are shown on the line of the parish/township boundary between Hartley and Winton. They are arranged in two parallel rows of four, running north-west to south-east, with four in Hartley to the west and four in Winton to the east. They are not named, but are in the approximate vicinity of the Nine Standards. Interestingly the land to the east of the boundary is labelled as Yorkshire, whereas the earlier maps (YRO MIC 2002/31 nd) and later (OS first edition (1862)) maps clearly indicate that the county boundary is to the south of this point. Given the schematic nature of the map

it is to be presumed this was a slight cartographic error rather than an indication that the county boundary has undergone a substantial shift.

- 3.4.9 **Ordnance Survey map, 1862, first edition 1:10,560 (Fig 8):** this map names Nine Standards, but does not show the arrangement of the cairns. The name is placed on the modern parish boundary between Hartley to the west, and Winton to the east. Within a radius of 150m are numerous small quarries, which clearly cluster around Nine Standards. The county boundary, between Westmorland and Yorkshire, is shown extending approximately east/west some 600m to the south of the Nine Standards.
- 3.4.10 **Ordnance Survey map, 1899, second edition 1:10,560 (Fig 9):** in the late nineteenth century, when many areas were being mapped at a scale of 1:2500, remote, unpopulated areas such as that around Nine Standards continued to be mapped only at 1:10,560. In spite of this, there are significant differences between the first and second edition maps. The 1899 map plots the position of each cairn, and although it defines them as 'Stones' rather than cairns, it plots them in a single line. Eight can be made out south of the benchmark, which presumably obscures the most northerly cairn. About half of the quarries shown on the first edition map no longer appear, and a sheepfold, which was not marked on the previous map, is shown about 30m east of Nine Standards. It would appear that the label 'Stones' has been attached to the cairns from a misreading by the Ordnance Survey of their own first edition map. On the first edition, the label 'Nine Standards' was positioned close to the benchmark, and could reasonably be thought to refer to the cairns, which were not shown. The word 'Quarries' was positioned below it in a marginally smaller font. On the second edition, 'Nine Standards' has become detached from the cairns, which are then labelled 'Stones', and the label has become 'Nine Standards Quarries', all in the same size of font, referring to the quarries not the cairns.
- 3.4.11 **Winton and Kaber Commons, Disputed Boundaries Plan, 1912 (CRO(K) WD/HOTH/Boundary Rolls/Winton 1912):** this map is attempting to resolve a disputed boundary between Winton and Hartley. Nine Standards is named, and it lies on the township boundary claimed by Hartley and on the township/parish boundary between Winton and Hartley. The proposed new boundary lay just to the west of Nine Standards, along the township boundary claimed by Winton.
- 3.4.12 **Winton and Hartley Boundary Map, 1913 (CRO(K) WD/HOTH/Boundary Rolls/Winton 1913):** this map is part of a document entitled *Winton and Kaber Commons Regulation*, and names Nine Standards, positioning it on or east of the township boundary between Hartley and Winton which divides their respective commons.
- 3.4.13 **Ordnance Survey map, 1920, third edition 1:10,560 (Fig 10):** this map shows the a line of dots corresponding to the Nine Standards which are labelled as 'Stones'; the label 'Nine Standards' (Section 3.4.10 above) is in the same detached position as on the second edition OS map (1899). The sheepfold appears again, this time named 'Sheepfold', and the positions of the cairns are identical to those shown on the second edition. Interestingly, those quarries shown on the second edition no longer appear, but those shown on the first edition, and not on the second edition, have reappeared.
- 3.4.14 **Ordnance Survey map, 1947, provisional edition 1:25,000:** this is the first of the Ordnance Survey grid maps for the Hartley Fell area, and shows far less detail than the earlier three maps as a result of its scale. 'Nine Standards' is shown as a trig point, without a height, on the parish boundary between Hartley and Winton.

3.5 COUNTY BOUNDARY

- 3.5.1 Although there are maps and descriptions of land holdings that go back to the thirteenth century there are no detailed representations of the county boundary (*Section 3.4.6*) before the undated Muker, Arkengarthdale and Romaldkirk map of the eighteenth or nineteenth century (YRO MIC 2002/31 nd; Fig 5). This shows the line extending approximately east/west through the summit of Nine Standards Rigg, but this is substantially to the south of the Nine Standards themselves. The Swaledale lordship boundary (1738) (*Section 3.5.10*), however, approximately corresponds to the county boundary on the Muker map (YRO MIC 2002/31 nd), which would appear to confirm that the lordship boundary coincided with the county boundary. The Jeffrey map of 1770 is somewhat schematic but does appear to show the county boundary extending over the summit of Nine Standards Rigg, in a similar position to that on the Muker map (Fig 5). The first reliable indicator of the county boundary is on the OS first edition map (1862; Fig 8) which shows a line that follows the watershed and extends through the southern side of Nine Standards Rigg and is c550m to the south of the Nine Standards cairns. What is apparent in all these representations of the county boundary is that though there is a certain amount of variation in the line followed, all are shown some way south of the Nine Standards cairns and therefore there is no indication that the boundary cairns were ever used to mark the county boundary.

3.6 ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL BOUNDARIES

- 3.6.1 Nine Standards is located on the boundary between the modern parishes of Winton and Hartley, which were established by the Tithe Commissioners in the mid nineteenth century (Winchester 2000). Prior to their establishment as parishes they were townships within the larger, medieval Kirkby Stephen parish and the boundary between the townships also divided estates. Although Nine Standards related to a significant boundary, no detailed descriptions of the township boundary have been discovered which pre-date the establishment of Winton and Hartley parishes in the mid nineteenth century. Nine Standards is, however, mentioned in two boundary perambulation transcripts: the twelfth or thirteenth century Swaledale boundary document (*Section 3.3.2*), and the seventeenth century Stainmore document (CRO(C) Machel MSS.III.95, 1684). The former was set out by Gilbert Gant, Lord of Swaledale, and the latter by Thomas, Earl of Thanet, and as such it must be concluded that the two boundaries in discussion were civil rather than ecclesiastical in nature.
- 3.6.2 The term ‘parish’ applied first to ecclesiastical, and then also to civil, land holdings (Winchester 2000, 7). However, in the present case the medieval ecclesiastical parish was centred on Kirkby Stephen, as the modern parishes of Winton and Hartley have only been established since 1866 (Winchester 2000). Similarly, the term ‘manor’ is problematic, as it does not appear to have related to a particular size or type of land holding. While it would appear that in the medieval period Winton manor was coincident with a township within Kirkby Stephen parish, Stainmore manor was a civil land holding containing more than one township. The use of the terms ‘manor’ and ‘parish’ in antiquarian accounts such as those of Nicolson and Burn (1777), and the use of place names in documents and on maps without reference to what is meant, make the task of understanding the precise boundaries very difficult.
- 3.6.3 In the eleventh century when England was divided amongst the followers of the Conqueror, the manor of Stainmore seems to have been included in the grant of the

barony of Westmorland (Whellan 1860, 729). By the late eighteenth century, however, the manor did not respect the county boundary, as its eastern portion was in Bowes, in Yorkshire (Nicolson and Burn 1777, 577). It did not respect the parish boundaries within Westmorland either, since Stainmore chapelry, which covered part of Stainmore forest, lay in the parish of Brough, and the southern portion of the forest lay in Kirkby Stephen parish (Whellan 1860, 735).

- 3.6.4 **Swaledale:** the twelfth or thirteenth century Swaledale boundary roll (Section 3.3.4) can be compared with the eighteenth century Swaledale lordship boundary map (Fig 3). Going west from 'Holy Milne Cross' to 'Thomas Gill head', the boundary points match closely. Relating this to the modern map (Ordnance Survey 1989), the boundary would have formerly run from the boundary stone at Hollow Mill Cross, along Mere Gill (*mere* meaning boundary (Winchester 2000, 93)) to Coldbergh Scar, which appears to correspond to 'Gray Yoad in Coad burneth' as shown on the Swaledale Map (YRO MIC 2062/324-329; Fig 3). From there it would appear to have run to the summit of Nine Standards Rigg rather than to Nine Standards itself, although the text on the map simply says Nine Standards. From there it extended to Harthorn Craggs, then to Brownber Tarn, from where it would probably have gone east to Tackan Tan (Tarn), then south-east to nearby Tarn Hill, before going south-east to the top of Lad Gill (Fig 11).
- 3.6.5 It is not apparent from the map whether this boundary does indeed follow the watershed, as apparently indicated in both the boundary roll and the Swaledale boundary map (*As Heaven Water Deals*). The fact that the boundary roll uses two expressions ('as heaven water divides' and 'as heaven water deals') raises the possibility that the former may indicate a watershed boundary, and the latter may refer to watercourses, which would tie in with the Mere Gill boundary.
- 3.6.6 **Stainmore:** when plotted onto the modern map (Ordnance Survey 1989), the 1684 Stainmore manorial boundary (CRO(C) Machel MSS.III.95, 1684) reference points, to the north-west of Nine Standards, are relatively close together. The boundary travels from a 'great stone' on Low Greyrigg to a 'great stone' on High Greyrigg 'thence (up the north end of Greenside) by the Mayor Potts'. Three boundary points are mentioned within 1km, and this density of markers probably relates to the importance of that particular area for coal mining. Many disused shafts are shown around the area named Greyrigg Pits, and Coalgill Sike lies to the west. Markers known as 'great stones' were placed on open waste in Cumberland (Winchester 2000, 49), and the great stones referred to may either be glacial erratics or some other naturally occurring large stones, or may have been deliberately placed there as boundary markers.
- 3.6.7 Beyond the coal mines, the boundary extends to 'an hurrock of stones on Bassen Fell Side'. 'Bassen Fell' can be identified with Bastifell on the modern map, but it is not clear where the boundary cairn was positioned. The boundary then apparently extends along a line of sight to a 'meare stone' (boundary stone) on the south side of Nine Standards Rigg, and then, again by line of sight, to two boundary cairns (hurrocks of stones) at different positions on Benty Batts. Therefore, all the boundary points in the immediate vicinity of Nine Standards are artificially placed stones, either cairns or single stones, and the line of site between each marker is taken as the boundary. This often occurred when boundaries were defined across areas of open waste (*op cit*, 50).
- 3.6.8 In contrast to this, the next two boundary points were water features, the first being 'the two Becks Meetinge in Whitsundale' (identified with Beck Meetings on the modern map, where Whitsun Beck meets Backstone Beck), and the second being Brownber

Tarn. It is possible that the courses of streams were followed between some of these boundary points, for instance Horseman Gill between Beck Meetings and Brownber Tarn, because the name suggests people may have ridden up it. Similarly, Back Gutter may have been followed for part of the way between Brownber Tarn and Hugh Seat Nab, with the word 'Back' suggesting it may have lain on a boundary.

- 3.6.9 ***Swaledale and Stainmore:*** a comparison of the boundaries can be made between the 1738 Swaledale map and one of Muker, Arkengarthdale and Romalldkirk (YRO MIC 2002/31). The latter map is considerably more detailed than the Swaledale map but is undated; the level of detail and the style of the map would, however, suggest that it is later than the Swaledale map but it is undoubtedly older than the OS first edition map (1862) (*Section 3.4.6*). Firstly, it must be noted that this map (Fig 5) appears to relate primarily to ecclesiastical boundaries, with 'Chapelry of Muker' written in large capitals across the portion of the map being examined, and 'Manor of Muker' in smaller capitals over a smaller area. It is not clear how Swaledale related to the manor of Muker, and discrepancies can be expected when relating it to the chapelry of Muker. While this was primarily depicting an ecclesiastical boundary it would appear that the line broadly coincides with the county boundary. As this is a primary administrative boundary it is probable that this section, as well as being a chapelry boundary, was also the parish boundary.
- 3.6.10 There are some discrepancies between the Swaledale boundary (Fig 3) and that on the Muker map (Fig 5), and it is not clear to what extent these boundaries are following different lines or whether they reflect differences or the inaccuracies of depiction. In particular the line across Nine Standards Rigg appears to follow different lines (but both are to the south of the Nine Standards cairns), but could reflect the imprecision of the Swaledale map. On the 1738 Swaledale map (Fig 3) 'Harthorn Cragg' is followed almost immediately by 'Brownbar Edge', which, from the map, corresponds to the top of the hill, and approximately coincides with the location of Brownber Tarn. Whereas the county boundary on the Muker Map (Fig 5) extends along the northern side of the hill - 'Broombar Edge' - which is to the north of 'Harthorn Craggs'. To the east of Broombar Edge is 'Broombar Tarn' which appears to be the only point of coincidence between the county boundary on the Muker map (Fig 5) and the Swaledale Lordship boundary (Fig 3) as shown on Figure 11.
- 3.6.11 Mapping some of the Stainmore boundary points onto Figure 11 appears to show a common point with that for Swaledale, or possibly with that for Muker Chapelry, at Nine Standards Rigg, in addition to the common point to the east at Brownber Tarn. Between these two points, the Stainmore manorial boundary appears to lie to the south of that for Swaledale. This is most obvious at the Stainmore boundary point to the west of Brownber Tarn, which is listed as Beck Meeting. Beck Meeting lies to the south of 'Broombar Edge' and 'Harthorn Craggs', well within the area claimed for Swaledale. Further west, Stainmore has two boundary points on Benty Batts, on the south of White Mossy Hill. 'Mossy Hill' is just within the boundary, putting the Benty Batts points comfortably within Swaledale (Fig 11). Sections of the two boundaries are shown in a nineteenth century plan of disputed boundaries between townships in Westmorland and Yorkshire (Fig 6). The Heavens Water Boundary of Birkdale, Ravensseat and Stonesdale in Yorkshire closely corresponds to the county boundary shown in the undated Muker, Arkengarthdale and Romalldkirk map (Fig 5), and approximately to the Swaledale lordship boundary of 1738 (Fig 3), whereas the boundary claimed by the Earl of Thanet is the Stainmore manorial boundary defined in 1684 (Fig 11).

- 3.6.12 Although the Nine Standards lies on the line of the boundary between the modern civil parishes of Winton and Hartley, these parishes only came into being in 1866, although before that they were defined as townships. While the townships are of some antiquity, it is likely that the boundary only became significant when the townships acquired administrative powers, typically in the post-medieval period (J Todd pers comm). It is perhaps significant that it was not until 1843 that the Tithe Commissioners fixed the Winton township boundary (A Winchester pers comm, quoting PRO TITH/1/77 1843), following a dispute in 1841 (CRO(K) WD/HAL/26 1841). This boundary was defined by placing a series of boundary stones across the wild fell country south of Stainmore, and was carried out to establish boundaries over open rough grazing land (Winchester 2000, 46). The fact that the Swaledale and Stainmore territories appear to have overlapped indicates that a precise definition of the boundary may not have been necessary until this dispute. Given that the county boundary was also not well defined along this stretch, it would appear that the Nine Standards was not an important boundary marker until relatively recently.

3.7 OWNERSHIP

- 3.7.1 The Nine Standards is approximately on the border between the manors of Stainmore and Hartley (CRO(C) Machel MSS.III.95, 1684). The manor of Stainmore was, in 1841, in the ownership of the Earls of Thanet, who inherited the lands from Lady Anne Clifford on her death in 1676 (Clifford 1990, 2710, when the boundaries between the townships of Kaber, Winton and Muker were disputed (CRO(K) WD/HAL/26, 1841). The lands of Hartley manor were originally held by Sir Andrew de Harcla, Sheriff of Cumberland, who was arrested following some questionable negotiations with Robert the Bruce in 1325 and was subsequently hanged and quartered. The estate was given to the Clifford family who then sold them on to the Musgrave family shortly afterwards (Curwen 1913). By the late 1600s the Musgrave family had come to favour their residence at Edenhall to the north of Hartley, and they became known as the Musgraves of Edenhall (*ibid*). They continued to hold ownership of the estate throughout the post-medieval period up until at least 1937, as demonstrated by Carlisle Record Office records (CRO(C) D/MUS/DX 1313). The Nine Standards is apparently just to the west of the Stainmore manorial boundary of 1684 (*Section 3.6.6* and Fig 11), which would suggest that throughout the post-medieval period these monuments were within the ownership of the Musgraves.

3.8 ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERVENTIONS

- 3.8.1 No previous archaeological interventions have been carried out at Nine Standards. Furthermore, there appears to have been no archaeological survey work carried out to record the cairns at any stage, leaving them a poorly recorded, but locally important, monument. They are absent from archaeological reports for Westmorland (Cherry 1981; Cherry and Cherry nd; Melville 1973), and from the Royal Commission survey (RCHM(E) 1936).

4. SITE VISIT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

- 4.1.1 A brief site visit was made on 3rd August 2004 in the company of Dick Capel prior to the initiation of the present project. A digital photographic record was made of the cairns and their setting.

4.2 CAIRNS

- 4.2.1 The cairns are numbered from north to south, as shown in Plate 9. They are briefly described below primarily as an assessment of condition. No detailed measurements were made.

Cairn 1: a large bee-hive shaped dry-stone cairn (Plate 10) has been very carefully manufactured and is in a superb condition. There is little or no collapse on the ground and only occasional gaps in the dry-stone surface. The shape of the cairn has not changed significantly since the 1918 photograph (Plate 1), and it would appear that it has not been subject to any rebuilding. However, the 1994 photograph (Plate 5) shows it as being ragged around the top, whereas it is now relatively tidy, indicating that it has been subject to limited repair.

Cairn 2: this is a large irregular cone-shaped, dry-stone cairn (Plate 11). The 1918 photograph (Plate 1) shows it to have a relatively uniform profile, in contrast to the very irregular profile at present, and it is evident that it has been the product of a number of repairs. At present there is no collapse at its base and it is intact; however, by virtue of the clearly repeated repairs, it is in a weakened state by comparison with other cairns which are more original and therefore have a more integral structure, such as Cairn 1.

Cairn 3: this is clearly a recently constructed cairn, forming a seat surround (Plate 11). The cairn is only c1m high and comprises a platform with a semi-circular surround to form the back of a bench. It is not on the 1994 photograph (Plate 5), and is evidently of recent date.

Cairn 4: an extremely large, truncated cone-shaped cairn, with a bench constructed around its base (Plate 11), has a noticeable lean towards the south. This is a product of its original design rather than subsidence, as the same profile is on the 1918 photograph (Plate 1). The 1994 photograph (Plate 5) shows it to have an intact top, indicating that the present truncation of its top has occurred subsequent to that date. There is noticeably no collapse around the base of the cairn, despite the loss of its top, and it is probable that the stone has been incorporated into the adjacent modern bench cairn (Cairn 3).

Cairn 5: a large conical cairn (Plate 11) has a uniform profile, which is very similar to the profile that it had on the 1918 (Plate 1) and 1974 (Plate 3) photographs. The lack of irregularities in the profile would suggest that it has not been subject to casual repair, and there is a lack of collapse at its base which would suggest that there has been no recent deterioration.

Cairn 6: a two-tiered cairn comprises a wide circular-based cairn with a tall but narrower section constructed on top of the base (Plate 12). This very distinctive profile

is shown in sharp relief on the 1918 photograph (Plate 1), where the lower base has a flat top and the profile shows an horizontal ledge between the top of the base and the start of the top section. Similarly, the 1974 photograph (Plate 3) shows a short, but horizontal, ledge at the top of the wide base. Whereas the cairn today has an indistinct sloping carination or ledge between the two sections, and indeed viewed from the northern side it appears to step in twice, culminating with a tall but narrow pinnacle on top. This would indicate that the cairn has been repaired or rebuilt since 1974. Today there is a large hole from the northern central section of the cairn where there has been substantial collapse, and there is a large pile of masonry on the ground. As a consequence of this the top, high pinnacle of the cairn is only partly supported and is liable to collapse.

Cairn 7: a small collapsed mound of stone is the remains of a former deliberately and carefully built cairn (Plate 9). The 1974 photograph shows this as a very small dry-stone pinnacle, and the small size of the complete cairn would explain why its mound of collapse is also relatively small (Plate 3). However, the 1918 photograph shows a much larger pillar cairn (Plate 1), and it is evident that the cairn on the 1974 photograph is a rebuild of the original, but on a smaller scale.

Cairn 8: a very collapsed mound of stones has a residual and reduced column of intact dry-stone masonry in the centre (Plate 13). The 1918 photograph (Plate 1) shows the cairn as intact, and at this date it had a stepped profile, with a wide circular base, and a tall pinnacle on top; as such it was similar in profile to Cairn 6. By 1974 the cairn had been rebuilt into a beehive-shaped dry-stone cairn (Plate 3) and at that date was intact. An undated but relatively modern postcard also shows the cairn as intact, which may be an indication that the collapse occurred relatively recently. There is little indication of the beehive shape in the surviving remnants of the present cairn, which is probably the remains of the cairn's core.

Cairn 9: Cairn 9 has a drum base with a conical top (Plate 14). It is in very good condition, and there is little or no collapse at its base. It bears a great resemblance to the cairn depicted here on the 1918 photograph (Plate 1), yet in subsequent photographs it seems very different (eg Plate 3). The 1974 photograph (Plate 3) shows a wide drum, then a step in with a partly collapsed stub of a pinnacle cairn on top, and in the later postcard, whilst showing the cairn in better condition, it has a sloping shoulder leading to a narrower drum-shaped section on top. Given the very considerable changes in form over the twentieth century it must be concluded that the cairn has been rebuilt on many occasions. The fact that the last rebuild bears such a striking resemblance to the cairn in 1918 may be an indication that this or a similar photograph was available to the cairn builders during cairn restoration and that they deliberately tried to model it on its earliest recorded form.

Cairn 10: a square-sectioned, vertical profiled dry-stone cairn (Plate 15) is in extremely good condition and there is no sign of collapse at its base. There is a slight narrowing just below its top, which gives it a characteristic shape. It is not quite as high as the adjacent Cairn 9. Although only the top of the cairn is visible on both the 1918 and 1974 photographs (Plates 1 and 3), the shape of the cairn top is very similar to that surviving at present, and it would therefore appear that the cairn did not significantly degrade nor has it been repaired, during this period.

4.3 QUARRIES

- 4.3.1 In the area of the cairns there were several shallow quarries, which were briefly examined. In addition to those shown on the OS maps, and highlighted on Figure 2, there was a series of shallow quarries immediately to the east of the cairns; they were, however, not recorded in detail at the time of the site visit and are consequently not depicted on Figure 2. They have irregular shapes, and sharp well-defined cut edges, which would suggest that they were cut relatively recently. Given that they are not shown on the OS map of 1899, it is probable that they were opened at a later date. These quarries are no more than 10-15m from the nearest cairn and it is very probable that they provided the raw material for the construction of the cairns.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

- 5.1.1 In addition to Nine Standards, two related sites were identified, which are listed in the Site Gazetteer (*Section 4*) and summarised in Table 1, below. Of the three gazetteer sites, two (Sites **01** and **02**) were previously recorded by the Cumbria SMR, and the remaining site (Site **03**) was identified from OS maps. North Yorkshire SMR was also consulted, but held no information on Nine Standards or its associated sites, since they now lie beyond the North Yorkshire county boundary. In addition there were several small quarries on the east side of the Nine Standards which were identified during the site visit, the position of which has not been precisely recorded (Site **04**).
- 5.1.2 Nine Standards was the only site identified which has a statutory designation. It is a Grade II Listed Building, listed in 1984 (LB 073327; English Heritage 2001). No Scheduled Monuments were identified within the study area.

Period	No of sites	Sites
Prehistoric, Roman, and Early Medieval	0	
Late Medieval	1?	Nine Standards (Site 01) ?
Post-medieval	4	Nine Standards (Site 01), Nine Standards Quarries (Site 02), Nine Standards Sheepfold (Site 03), later quarries (Site 04)

Table 1: Number of sites by period

5.2 NINE STANDARDS

- 5.2.1 *The Nine Standards as a concept:* on balance, it would seem that Nine Standards was never on the county boundary between Westmorland and Yorkshire, in spite of what is shown on Jeffreys' map (1770), which seems to be more schematic than surveyed in detail. This must be qualified, however, with the statement that the county boundary appears to have been ill-defined in this area, as apparently were the manorial, and possibly also the parish, boundaries. Although the Swaledale boundary roll appears to be at least a fifth-hand transcript of a twelfth or thirteenth century document, the existing version was not necessarily a reliable copy of its original incarnation for a number of reasons. For instance, such a document would almost certainly have been written in Latin, whereas the transcript is in vernacular English. However, to test the accuracy of translation the transcribed text was translated back into Latin by Dr John Todd, and it was found that the phraseology was broadly consistent with that commonly used in the thirteenth century (J Todd pers comm). While this would appear to suggest that it was a genuine translation from that period, it is nevertheless possible that subtle alterations were made at any subsequent stage when it was copied and/or translated.

- 5.2.2 The boundary map of Swaledale was made only five years before the transcript of the Swaledale boundary roll in Lawrence Barker's collection, and, as would be expected, the map and the transcript match perfectly, leading to the impression that the boundary roll may have been brought up to date in terms of the names of the boundary points. So while it is probable that the use of the '9 Stande' place name derived from the original, it cannot be guaranteed that this was the case. Consequently the earliest reliable reference to Nine Standards is towards the end of the seventeenth century, when it occurs in the Stainmore boundary roll. Significantly, Nine Standards was not being used as a boundary marker at this time, although it is mentioned in passing.
- 5.2.3 The late eighteenth- and the two mid nineteenth-century depictions of Nine Standards are contradictory, with none of them showing a single line of cairns or stones. It would seem more likely that there were stones at Nine Standards, which were interpreted as being in various different arrangements. Different layouts could also have been the result of a selective portrayal of any smaller boulders nearby. It is likely that these were naturally occurring stones, and that, although they were not very tall, they were a significant feature at close range. This may have been enough for them to give their name to the hill, and their lack of height would then account for their not being used as a line of sight boundary marker for the Stainmore lordship boundary. It is significant that this is the one clearly ancient boundary that extended close to the Nine Standards, yet it did not utilise them as a marker. This would suggest that the Nine Standards, be they originally natural stones or built cairns, were not primarily boundary markers.
- 5.2.4 The origin of the cairns, as opposed to a group of naturally occurring stones, is uncertain, but the earliest reference to them as built cairns is from the early nineteenth century (Parsons and White 1829) and the earliest reference to them being large obelisks is from 1858 (Kelly and Co 1858). One possibility is that they were constructed during the earlier part of the nineteenth century, but an earlier date can certainly not be excluded. From the earliest reliable depiction of the present boundary between Winton and Hartley on the OS mapping of 1862, the Nine Standards acted as a marker on this boundary. While it is possible that they were constructed to mark this boundary, there is no evidence to suggest that this was disputed as far north as Nine Standards; indeed, it would be rather peculiar to mark one point of the boundary with many cairns and then to leave other points of the boundary inadequately marked. It is far more probable that the boundary adopted the existing structures forming Nine Standards as a marker, and that they were constructed for an alternative and unexplained reason.
- 5.2.5 **Physical Form:** comparisons between photographs taken at various dates throughout the twentieth century show that the basic layout of the Nine Standards has not significantly changed (with the exception of Cairn 3) within the last decade. It is evident, however, that several of the cairns have been subject to major rebuilds during this period, including Cairns 6, 7, 8 and 9; Cairn 9, in particular, has been subject to a number of rebuilds. The implication of this is that their condition cannot be taken as an indication of age; an unmaintained cairn of this type would have a limited intact life before it collapsed, and therefore cannot provide an accurate indication as to when it was constructed. However, these cairns have evidently been repaired and rebuilt on numerous occasions, and it is probable that this maintenance extends back considerably earlier than the oldest photograph available.
- 5.2.6 The quarries on the site have a clear relationship with the cairns. Quarry area {Site 04}, in particular, is immediately adjacent to the cairns and is most likely to have provided

stone for them. The earliest representation of these quarries is on the first edition OS map (1862), but it is evident that there was some form of built structures earlier than this (*Section 3.3.9*). The sharply defined edges of the quarries can be taken as an indication that they are not particularly old; however, it is entirely possible that individual quarries were opened or reopened in order to provide for rebuilds.

5.2.7 Given the evident number of rebuilds and repairs that have been undertaken on these monuments, it can be suggested that the cairns have in fact had a complex development. They possibly started out as a group of erratic natural stones, which were not particularly prominent, hence the Stainmore Lordship boundary did not use them as a marker. Then at a subsequent date they were built up as small cairns, possibly no more than mounds of stone rather than incorporating a built structure. Then at some stage these cairns were built into pillars, using the dry-stone technique. The date for this transition is unknown, but it must be earlier than 1858 when they are described as ‘*nine huge obelisks of stone*’ (Kelly and Co 1858). At every subsequent rebuild they were altered and in some cases enlarged so that over an extended period of time and numerous campaigns of maintenance they ended up as they are at present. With this model it is difficult to define, without the benefit of photographs, when each stage of their development occurred, and the fact that there is an early documented reference to Nine Standards does not indicate that they were deliberately constructed cairns at that date.

5.2.8 **Function:** the present study has established that the primary function of the Nine Standards was not to serve as boundary markers, although they were subsequently used to mark the line of the parish boundary between the Winton and Hartley in the later nineteenth century. This leaves unresolved the question of what they were in fact intended for, and it is this mystery that has served to fuel the myths and folklore concerning the site. On the present evidence it is not possible to establish what their function was, but it is possible to throw yet another possible interpretation into the debate (Robertson 2002). While the Nine Standards as an entity has potentially considerable antiquity, their evolution into deliberately constructed cairns has probably a much more recent origin. It may be that they were constructed as a folly, a fashion prevalent particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the relatively few men of wealth demonstrated their affluence by constructing ostentatious, but seemingly functionless, monuments across the land (Headley and Meulenkamp 1990). The form of such follies is extremely varied, and notable examples include the construction of ruined castles or, in the case of Joseph Williamson, a series of directionless, and functionless brick-built tunnels under Edge Hill, Liverpool (LUAU 1999). While these monuments have a broad variety of settings, one of the more common forms of folly was a tower or similar upstanding monument, set on a remote high point over-looking a valley or town (eg Tarn Lodge (Castle Carrock); Muncaster Tower; Fox Tower (Brough); Rivington Pike (Headley and Meulenkamp 1990)), and as such the Nine Standards, overlooking Kirkby Stephen, follow this pattern. Although such monuments were seemingly functionless, as their name (folly) suggests, they did in fact have a very real purpose. In a period when wealth was concentrated in very few hands, such grandiose schemes were devised in order to provide employment for the local population, often in times of hardship. The present evidence would suggest that the Nine Standards was, for much of its life, in the ownership of the Musgrave family of Hartley and Edenhall (*Section 3.6.13*), who were therefore potentially responsible for the erection of the Nine Standards cairns.

- 5.2.9 ***Date of the Cairns:*** the date at which the cairns were constructed is a source of some considerable debate (eg Finch 1982; Robertson and Koronka 1992; Rollinson 1997 and Robertson 2002), but it is interesting to note that the folk story that they were supposed to ward off marauding Scottish armies was first recorded in 1858 (Kelly and Co 1858, 45). Such a story could only have occurred once the Nine Standards had been constructed as dry-stone pillars, and potentially originated when there was a real fear of invasion by Scottish forces, perhaps in the period leading up to the Jacobite Rebellion in 1745. Since the earlier rebellion of 1715, when an unsuccessful uprising had erupted in Scotland, there had been some considerable tension on both sides of the border, particularly given that there had been some support for the rebellion from Catholic Lancashire and Northumberland (Jarvis 1954). In the years that followed the 1715 uprising, to the brutal suppression of the unsuccessful attempt to put Bonnie Prince Charlie on the throne in 1745, there was a real concern about Scottish incursions (*ibid*); it is interesting to note that the ‘folly’ at Penrith Beacon, on a high hill just outside that town, was built as a warning tower in 1715 because of the perceived threat of a Scottish invasion (Headley and Meulenkamp 1990, 169). However, This fear quickly receded after 1745 and certainly was no longer an issue once the Act of Union between Scotland and England had been passed on 1st January 1801. The implication is that the story probably derived from a time when there was a perceived threat from Scottish invasions, certainly before 1801, and most probably in the early part of the eighteenth century.
- 5.2.10 The possibility that the dry-stone cairns are of eighteenth or nineteenth century date does not lessen their social significance for the people of Kirkby Stephen and the surrounding area. They are visible from Kirkby Stephen and from miles around, and as such contribute to the people’s sense of identity. Their importance can be seen in the myths and legends associated with them, and in the part they play in the social life of the community, for instance as part of the Yomp.

6. IMPACT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 IMPACT

- 6.1.1 Reconstruction of Nine Standards will of course have a direct impact on the cairns themselves (Site **01**). They form a locally significant group of monuments, together with the quarries (Sites **02** and **04**) and sheepfold (Site **03**). The proximity of the quarries to Nine Standards means that they are likely to have been the original source of stone for the cairns, and as such they would be the most appropriate source for any stone needed during reconstruction. If stone were taken from them for this purpose, they would be directly affected by the proposed reconstruction. The publicity involved in the reconstruction is likely to result in increased visitor numbers, which may affect the vulnerable sheepfold.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

- 6.2.1 Nine Standards is a monument that plays an important role in the lives of the local community, and has attracted myths to explain its origins, which have been perceived as a mystery. By name, it was referred to from at least the seventeenth century, and its name may potentially date back to the thirteenth century. It has been shown on maps from the eighteenth century onwards and is mentioned in local guides. What is perhaps remarkable, though, is that the site was not selected as a feature in any nineteenth century engravings, it was never surveyed, and never investigated to any extent by antiquarians or archaeologists. There would seem to be, therefore, an imbalance between how poorly it has been recorded to date, and the prominence it has in the local community. It is therefore recommended that a RCHME Level 3 building survey be carried out on the cairns before reconstruction takes place. In addition, it is recommended that the associated quarries and the sheepfold are surveyed at the same time. These recommendations are summarised in Table 2, below.

Site No	Type	Period	Impact	Recommendations
01	Cairns	Medieval / Post-medieval	Will be affected	RCHME Level 3 recording
02	Quarries	Post-medieval	Likely to be affected as an obvious source of stone for reconstruction	Topographic Survey
03	Sheepfold	Post-medieval	Likely to be affected due to increased visitor numbers	Topographic Survey

Table 2: Recommendations for work to be carried out before reconstruction of Nine Standards

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APPENDIX 1

GAZETTEER OF SITES

Site number	01
Site name	Nine Standards
NGR	NY 82473 06519
Site type	Cairns
Period	Medieval?, Post-medieval
SMR No	5774; LB SMR 21250
Designation	Grade II Listed Building number 073327
Sources	Ordnance Survey 1899 second edition 1:10,560; site visit; English Heritage 2001
Description	A line of nine or ten dry-stone cairns (site visit) on the boundary between Hartley and Winton parishes (Ordnance Survey 1899), of unknown age. They became a Grade II Listed Building in 1984, and their listing description has not been amended since (English Heritage 2001).
Assessment	They will be directly affected by the proposed reconstruction.
<hr/>	
Site number	02
Site name	Nine Standards Quarries
NGR	NY 8255 0650
Site type	Quarries
Period	Post-medieval
SMR No	17028
Sources	Ordnance Survey 1862 first edition 1:10,560; Ordnance Survey 1899 second edition 1:10,560; Ordnance Survey 1920 third edition 1:10,560
Description	In 1862, nine quarries, with maximum lengths of between 3m and 30m, are shown to the north-east, south-east, and south-west of Nine Standards (Site 01 ; Ordnance Survey 1862). All the quarries lie within 150m of the cairns (<i>ibid</i>). The three quarries to the south-west and south-east are shown again in 1899 (Ordnance Survey 1899), and the four to the north-east are shown in 1920 (Ordnance Survey 1920). As recorded by the SMR (based on the Ordnance Survey 1899 second edition 1:10,560 map), the quarries are at the following grid references, with the approximate areas shown: NY 82550 06500 - NY 82565 06475 (c0.03ha); NY 82510 06575 - NY 82520 06580 (c0.02ha); NY 82490 06530 - NY 82500 06535 (c0.01ha); NY 82480 06590 (c0.015ha).
Assessment	The quarries are the most obvious source of stone for the construction of Nine Standards, and it would be appropriate to use them for reconstructing the monuments, if enough stone remains. They would then be directly affected by the proposed reconstruction.
<hr/>	
Site number	03
Site name	Nine Standards Sheepfold
NGR	NY 8251 0650
Site type	Sheepfold
Period	Post-medieval
SMR No	-
Sources	Ordnance Survey 1899 second edition 1:10,560; Ordnance Survey 1920 third edition 1:10,560
Description	An oval sheepfold, orientated north-west/south-east, with an internal division towards its southern end, is shown approximately 30m east of Nine Standards in 1899 and 1920 (Ordnance Survey 1899; Ordnance Survey 1920). It is clearly shown in the foreground of a photograph taken around 1992 (Robertson and Koronka 1992, 96), with at least one stretch of walling having collapsed, but most of the walls apparently standing to a height of over 1m.
Assessment	Unless this sheepfold is repaired at the same time as Nine Standards, it will not be directly affected.

Site number	04
Site name	Area of quarrying
NGR	NY 8247 0651
Site type	Quarries
Period	Post-medieval
Sources	Site Visit
Description	An area of quarrying on the east side of the Nine Standards. The quarries had irregular shapes, were relatively shallow and had very clearly defined edges, suggesting that they were cut relatively recently. The cairns are not shown on the 1899 OS 1:2500 map.
Assessment	Unless the quarries are used as source stone for the consolidation of the cairns they will not be affected.

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES

Figure 1: Location map

Figure 2: Plan of Gazetteer Sites

Figure 3: Extract from map of Swaledale, 1738

Figure 4: Extract from Jeffrey's map of Westmorland, 1770

Figure 5: Extract from map of Muker, Arkengarthdale, and Romaldkirk, undated but probably late eighteenth / early nineteenth century

Figure 6: Redrawn extract of Plan of Disputed Boundaries, 1841

Figure 7: Extract from the Tithe Map of Hartley Township, 1844

Figure 8: Extract from Ordnance Survey map, 1862, First Edition 1:10,560

Figure 9: Extract from Ordnance Survey map, 1899, Second Edition 1:10,560

Figure 10: Extract from Ordnance Survey map, 1920, Third Edition 1:10,560

Figure 11: Arrangement of historic boundaries in the area of Nine Standards

PLATES

Plate 1: Postcard of Nine Standards, 1918, looking north-east

Plate 2: Photograph of Nine Standards (looking north-east), undated but probably early twentieth century

Plate 3: Photograph of Nine Standards, 1974, by Geoffrey Berry, looking north-west

Plate 4: Sketch of Nine Standards by A Wainwright, looking north-west (reproduced from Wainwright 1980)

Plate 5: Photograph of Nine Standards, 1994, or earlier, by Ken Ormonde, looking north

Plate 6: Postcard of Nine Standards, of similar date to Plate 5, by Ken Ormonde, looking north-west

Plate 7: Postcard of Nine Standards, undated, by Peter Boardman, looking north-west

Plate 8: View of the Nine Standards from the Nine Standards Rigg Triangulation Point, looking north

Plate 9: General view of Nine Standards cairns looking east

Plate 10: View of Cairn 1, looking south

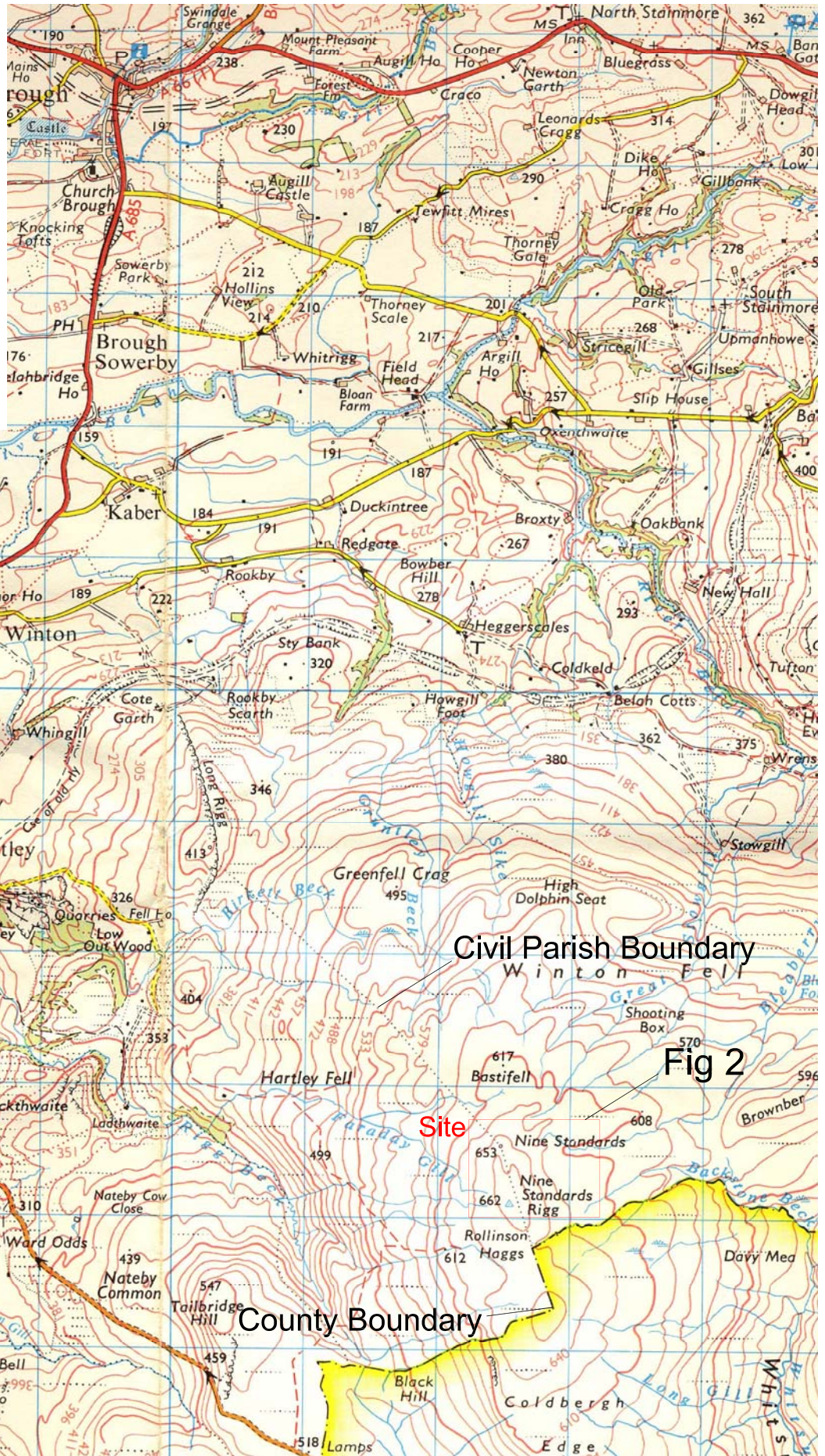
Plate 11: View of Cairns 2, 3, 4 and 5 looking north-east

Plate 12: Cairn 6 showing the recent collapse, looking south

Plate 13: Cairn 8 looking north-east

Plate 14: Cairn 9 with Cairn 10 in the background, looking north

Plate 15: Cairn 10, looking north

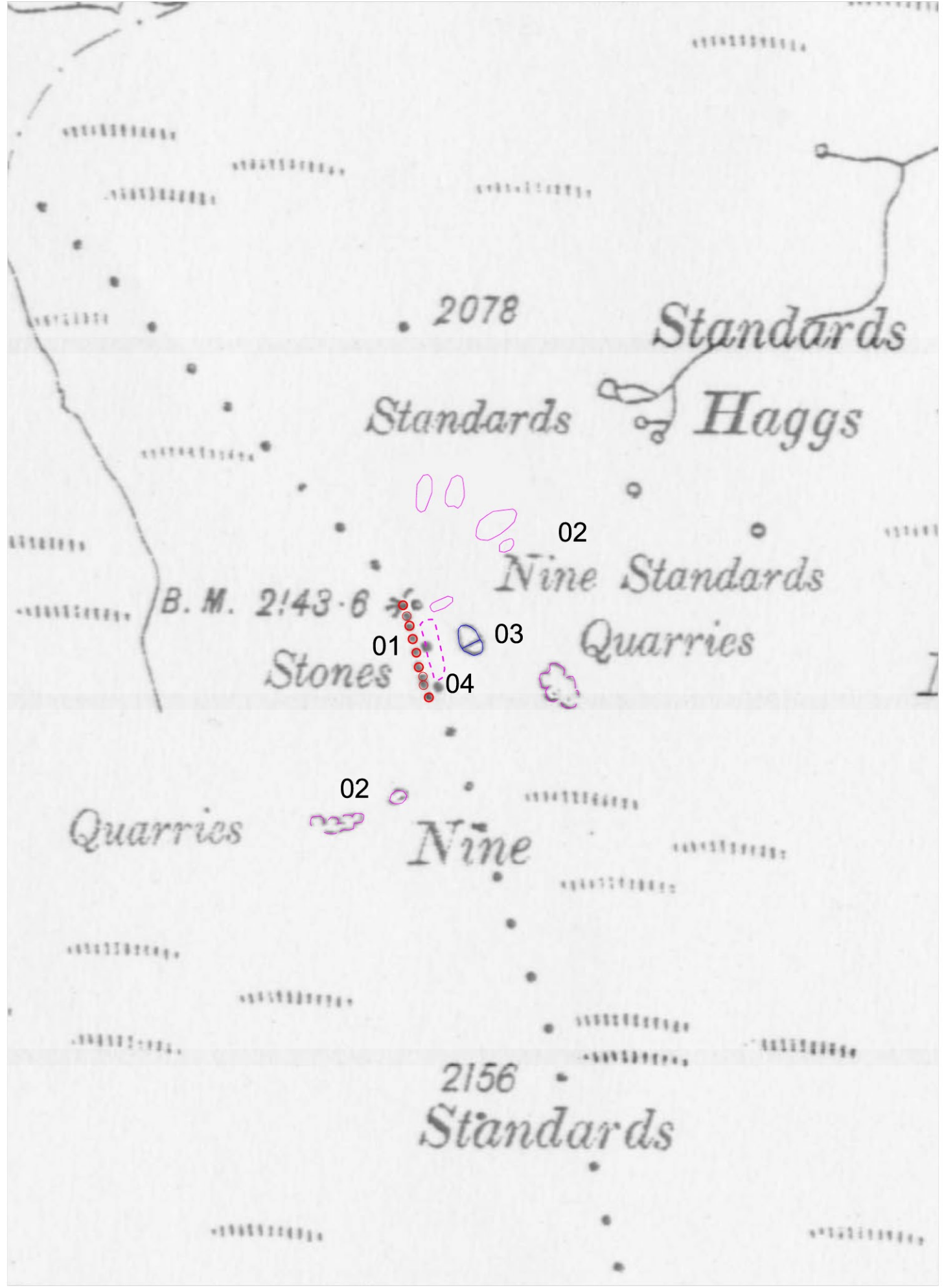


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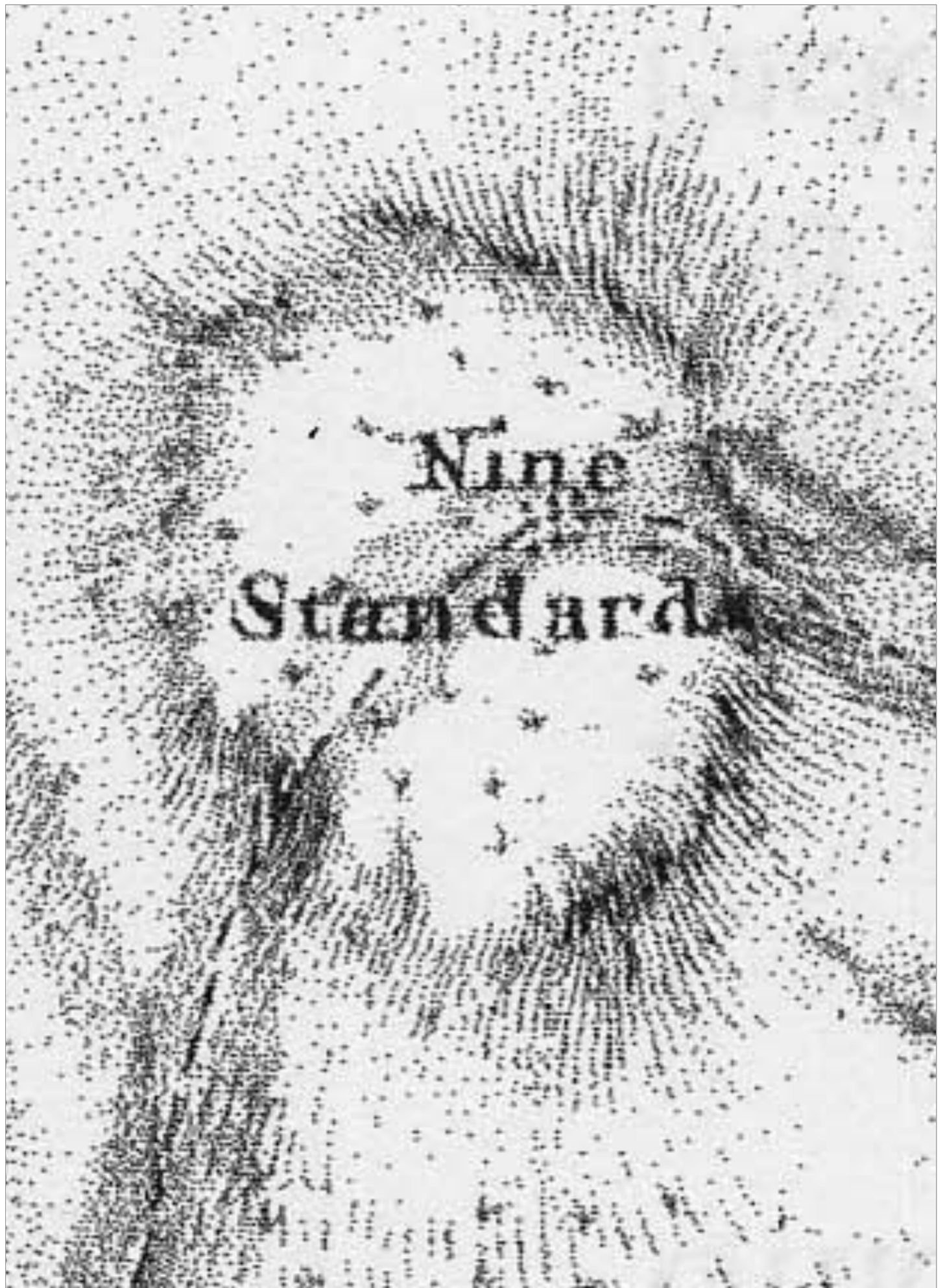
Figure 1: Location map



- Nine standards (from 1899 OS map)
- Quarries (from 1860 / 1899 OS maps)
- Sheepfold (from 1860 OS map)
- Area of quarrying identified from site visit

Scale 1:2500 at A4

Figure 2: Plan of gazetteer sites



Scale 1:10000 at A4

0 250m



Figure 4: Extract from Jeffrey's Map of Westmorland, 1770

Site

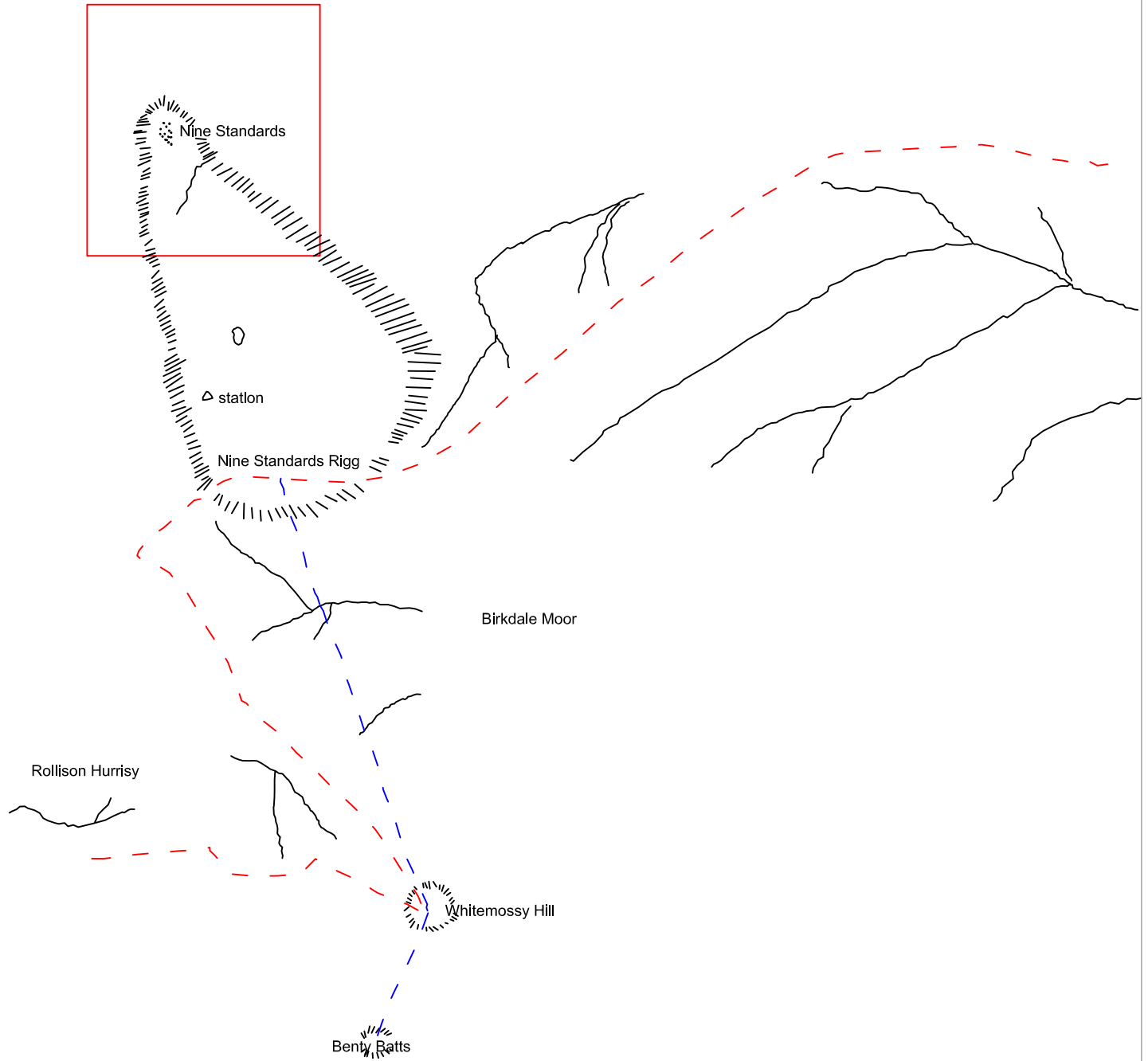
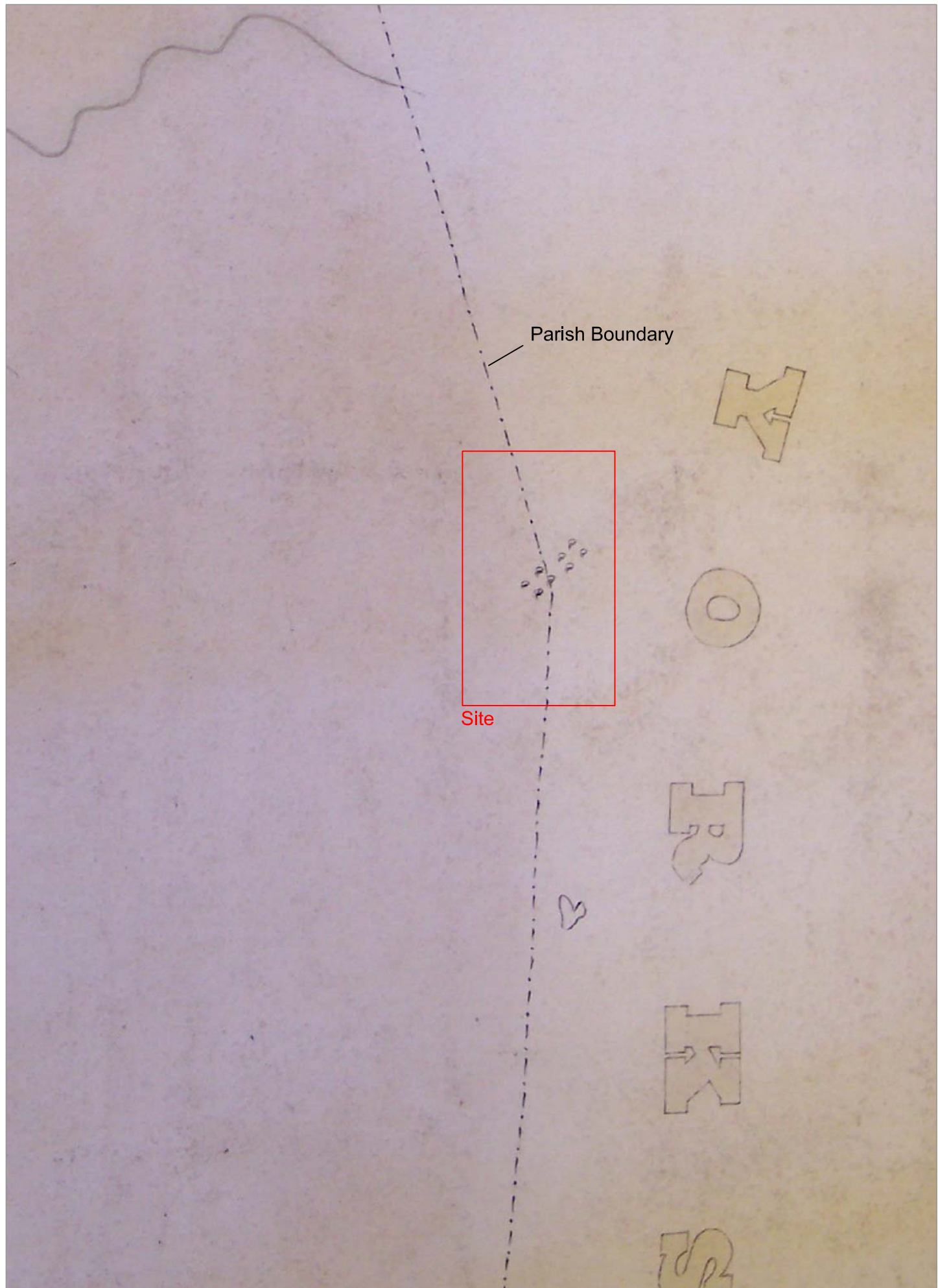


Figure 6: Redrawn extract from Plan of Disputed Boundaries, 1841



Parish Boundary

Site

not to scale



Figure 7: Figure 7: Extract from the Tithe Map of Hartley Township, 1844

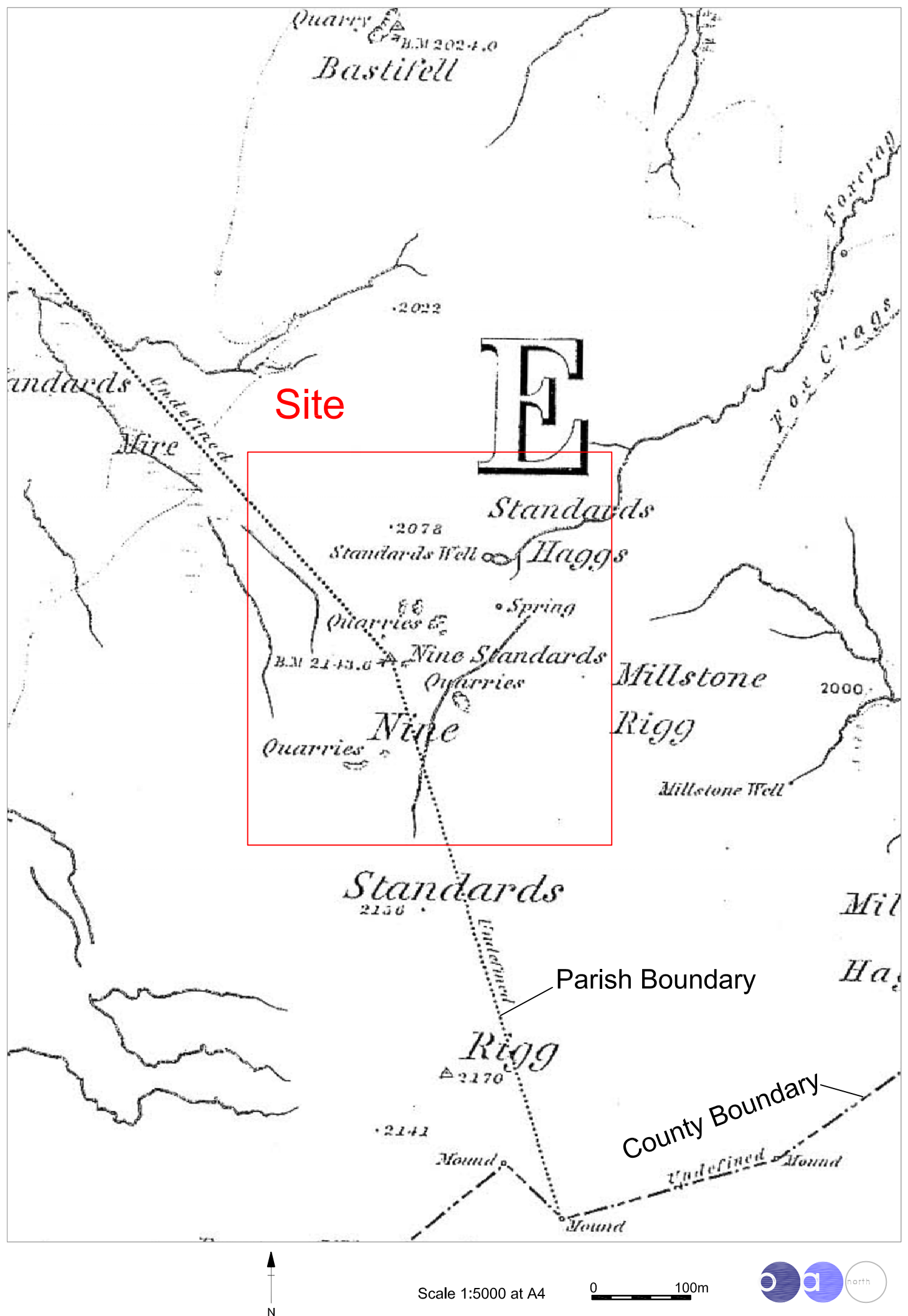
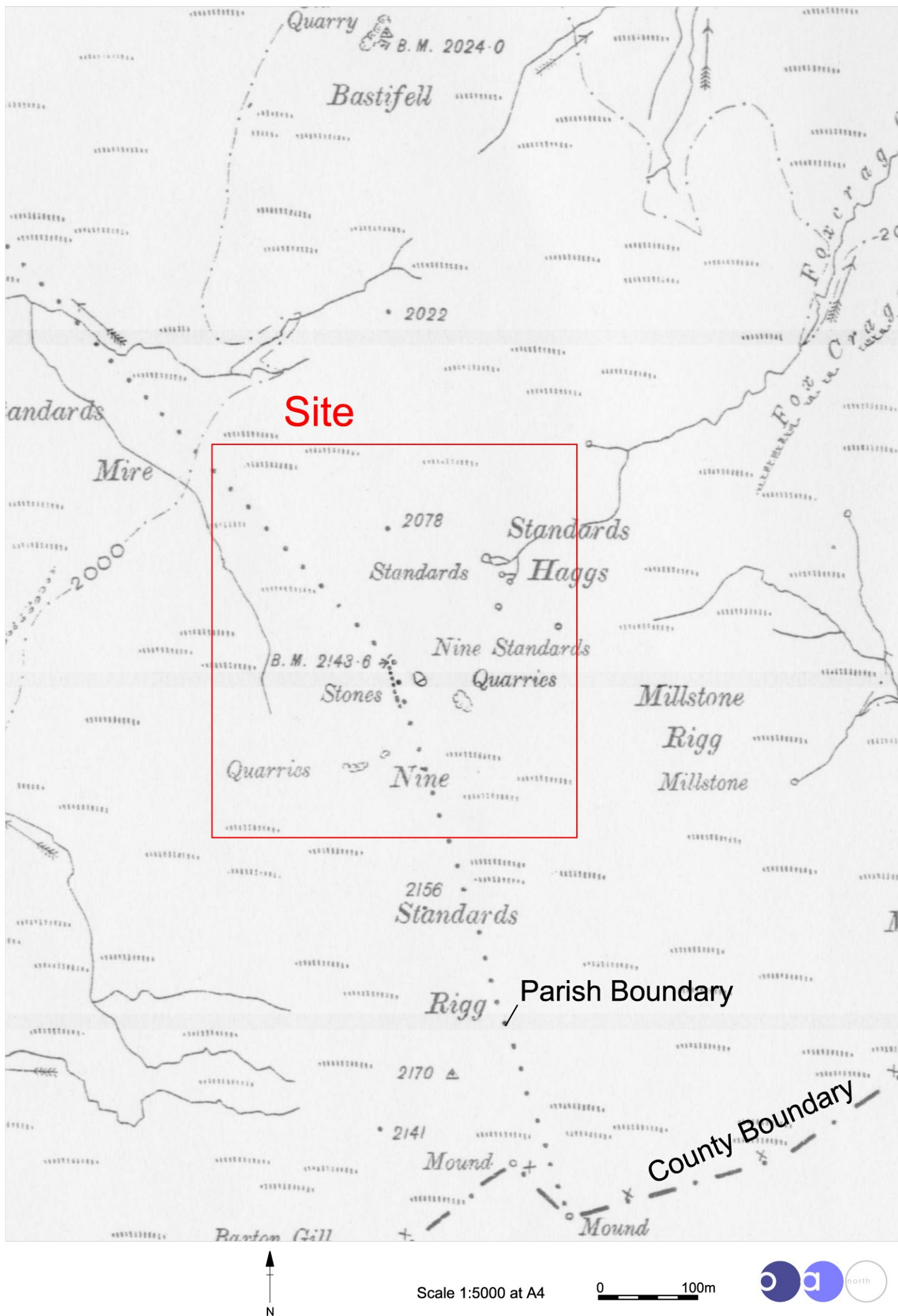


Figure 8: Extract from Ordnance Survey Map, 1862, First Edition 1:10,560



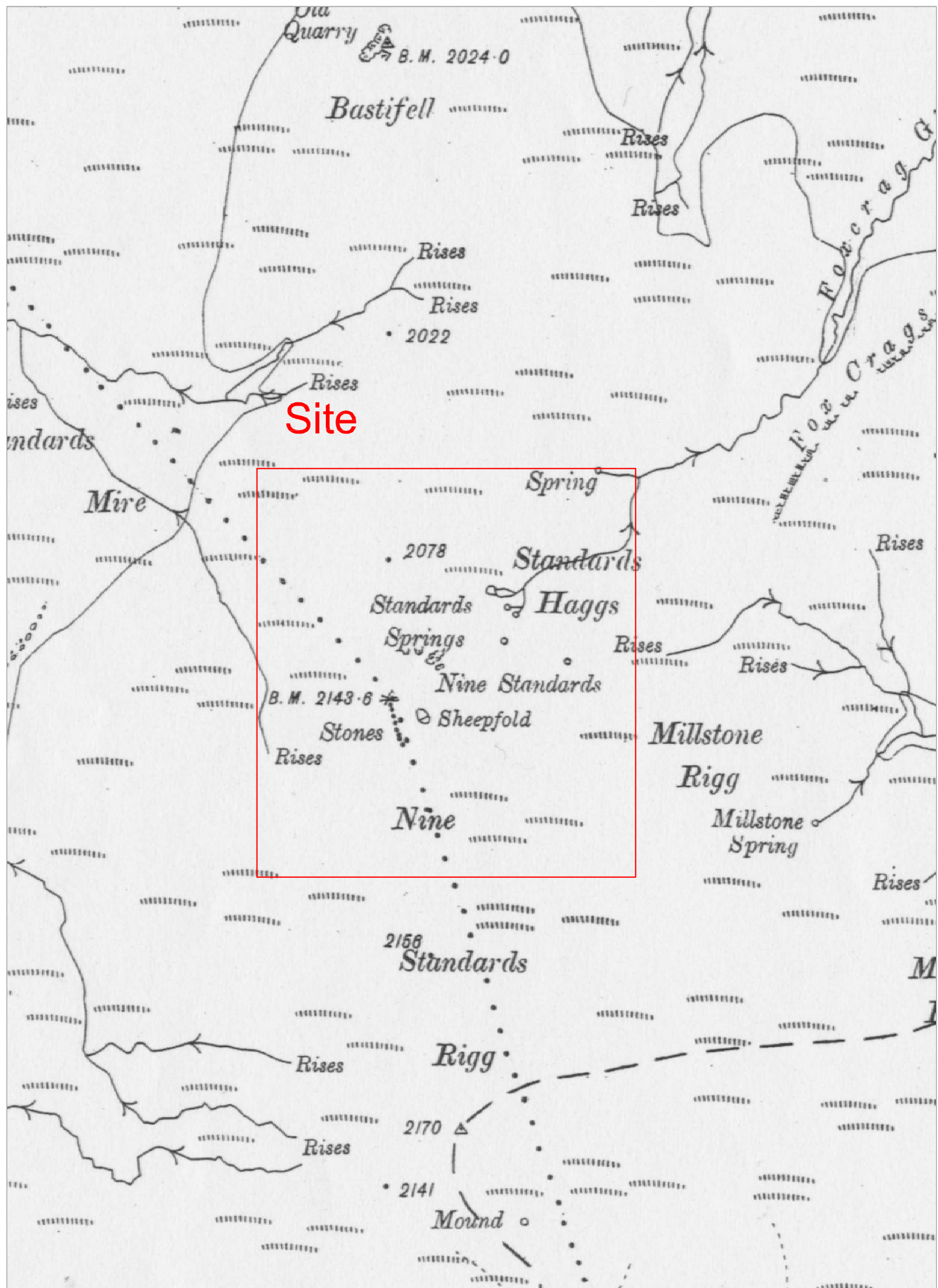
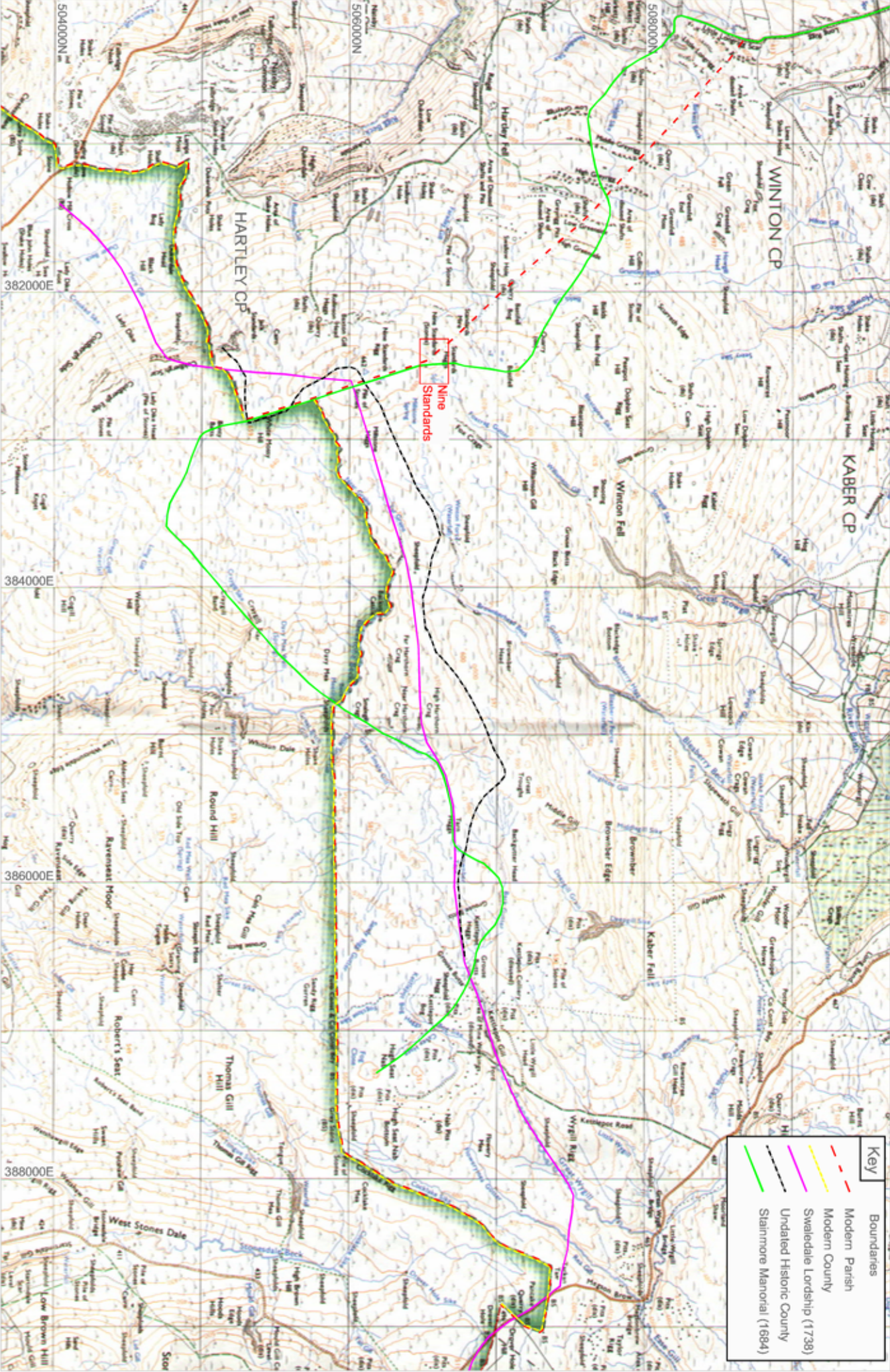


Figure 10: Extract from Ordnance Survey Map, 1920, Third Edition 1:10,560



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Figure 11: Arrangement of historic boundaries, in the area of Nine Standards



Plate 1: Postcard of Nine Standards, 1918, looking north-east

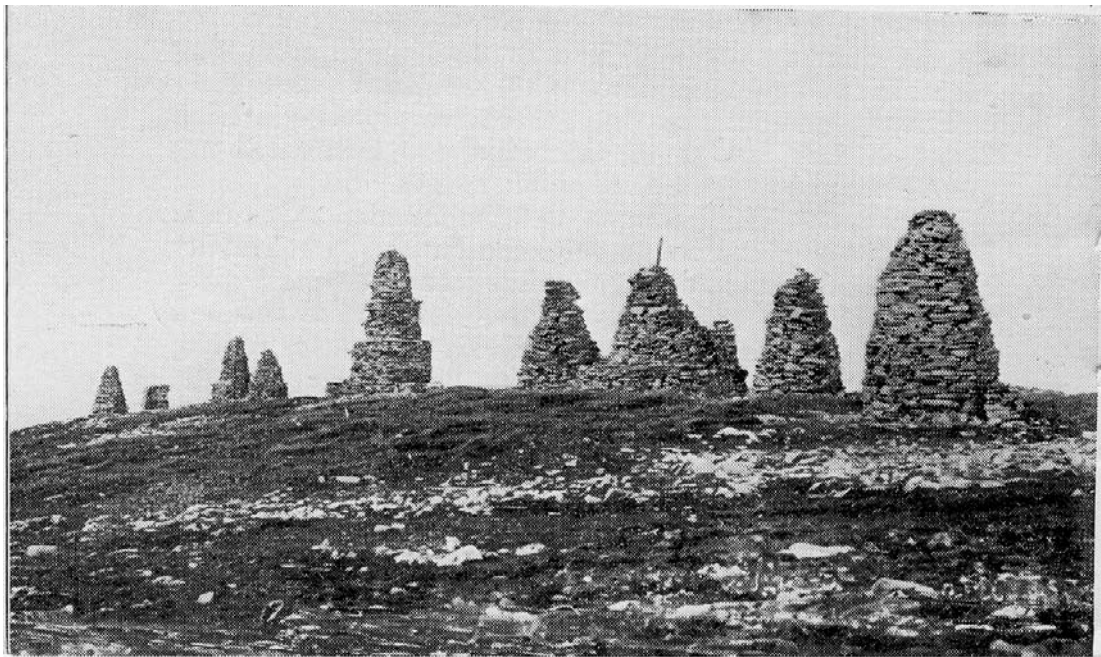


Plate 2: Photograph of Nine Standards (looking north-east), undated but probably early twentieth century



Plate 3: Photograph of The Nine Standards, 1974, by Geoffrey Berry, looking north-west

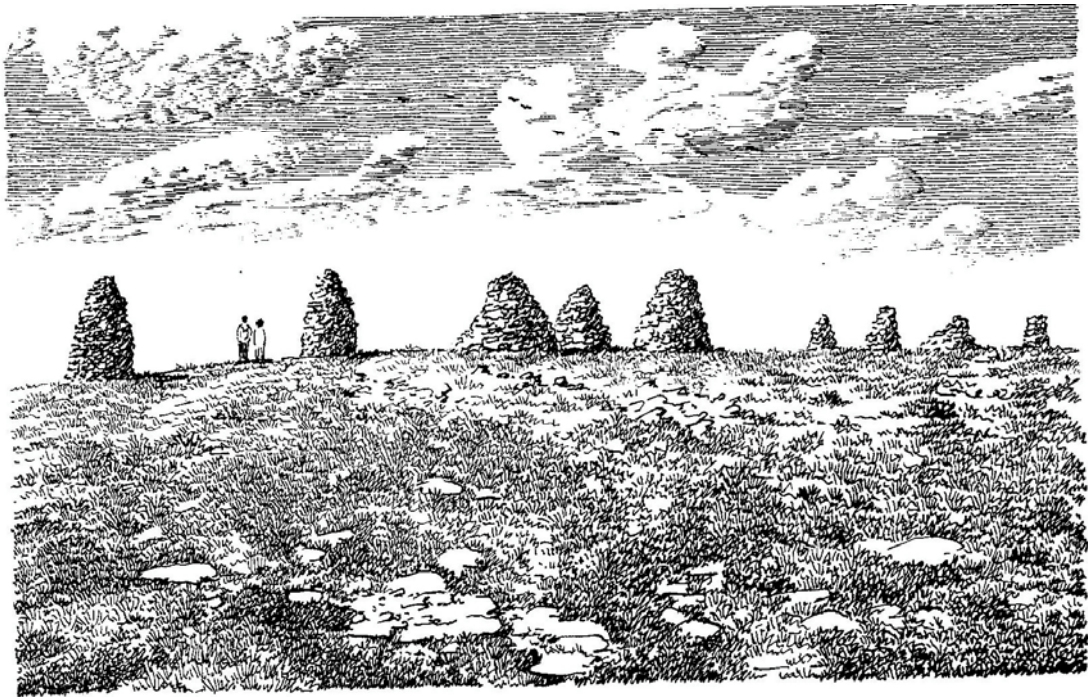


Plate 4: Sketch of The Nine Standards by A Wainwright, looking north-west (reproduced from Wainwright 1980)



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Plate 8: View of the Nine Standards from the Nine Standards Rigg Triangulation Point, looking north



Plate 9: General view of Nine Standards cairns looking east



Plate 10: View of Cairn 1, looking south



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Plate 12: Cairn 6 showing the recent collapse, looking south



Plate 13: Cairn 8 looking north-east



Plate 14: Cairn 9 with Cairn 10 in the background, looking north



Plate 15: Cairn 10, looking north