

PENDLE HILL
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The Hunt for Malkin Tower



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Excavation news report 2019

Excavations at Malkin Tower Farm, one of the possible sites of the 1612 witches' Sabbath described by Thomas Potts, have uncovered evidence of two 17th or 18th century buildings in the fields above the current farm.

The archaeological project, which was led by Professor Charles Orser of Vanderbilt University in Nashville, brought together an international team of researchers, including students from the US, Canada, UCLan and local volunteers, to help understand the history of this part of Pendle Hill.

The site is one of several possible locations which local historian John Clayton and archaeologist Mike Woods have identified as being the place where the Pendle Witches were arrested in 1612. Geophysical Survey by Mike as part of a joint UCLan/PHLP internship last summer showed that there had been a complex of earlier buildings on the pasture to the north of the current Malkin Tower Farm.

This summer's excavations have shown that one of these buildings was a timber-framed structure around 7 metres wide and 15 metres long which ran on an east-west alignment along the contours of the hill. This building was definitely demolished by the early 19th century. However, the part of the building excavated had very few finds, suggesting that this was not a building, or a part of a building, which anyone lived in.

Further north the team found much better evidence of inhabitation in the remains of a demolished stone building close to the enigmatic structure known as the Malkin Gable. Here the evidence for 17th century occupation was much better; large quantities of coarsely made domestic pottery were found.

There was also evidence of a possible hearth and some foundation stones similar to the ones found in the south trench.

Overall, the results from the excavation show that there was certainly a substantial settlement here at the time of the witches arrest and it is very likely that these are the buildings described by Thomas Potts as Malkin Tower.

Watch our film here <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-rOBDvfhigg&t=284s>

Everyday Life in Pendle during the early part of the 17th century

Research carried out by Wendy Stansfield, Gill Fawcett, Wendy Hargreaves and Sue Burnett.

Pendle lies between the River Ribble and the Calder and during the 17th century was principally an agricultural area with market towns at Colne, Burnley, Padiham and Clitheroe.

Historically it was forest land in the Eastern part of the Blackburn Hundred which had been granted by Roger de Poitou to the De Lacy family of Pontefract during the 11th century and this, together with other estates, eventually became known as the Honour of Clitheroe. The forest areas were mainly used as hunting chases but during the 13th century Henry De Lacy decided to make greater use of the forest lands by establishing vaccaries or cow farms in them. Cattle were bred there on a commercial basis supplying the markets with oxen as draft animals and with young cattle that were sold to farmers in the lowland areas for fattening. However in the years following Henry's death the hunting chases were neglected and the vaccaries were rented out to tenants. By the reign of Henry IV the chases of the Honour of Clitheroe were once again held by the crown and became royal forests, although there is no evidence that the king ever came to hunt in them.

In 1507 the Duchy of Lancaster conducted a major survey of all its lands and Pendle was one of the forest areas where new copyhold tenancies were introduced. The tenants had to pay higher rents, but were given by way of compensation the right to transfer, sub let or sell their holding on payment a fine in the halmote court. They could also enclose their land to keep out the deer and increase the size of their farms by taking in new areas from the wastes. The new copyhold rents brought in higher revenues for the crown but then remained fixed at this level for many years to come.

By the beginning of the 17th century the population of Pendle had increased significantly and most of the forest was being farmed including the upland areas. The local gentry had acquired a good portion of the original copyhold tenancies dividing them up into smaller farms to be let out and they earned far more each year from these rents than they were required to pay on the original copyhold. The larger yeoman farmers, some of whom were descendents of the people who'd worked on the forest vaccaries back in the 13th century had become prosperous and built new stone farmhouses and barns that reflected their increased wealth and status. These two sections of society had profited greatly through the 16th century as their rents had remained low during a period of rising prices and expanding markets.

The traditional occupation of cattle rearing was being practised on the majority of farms in Pendle during the early 17th century. The land was mostly suited to grazing cattle although small flocks of sheep were kept on the upland areas. Where the soils were deeper barley and oats would be grown and in the more sheltered areas around Barrowford and Ightenhill wheat was cultivated, although harvests could be unpredictable as the climate was damp.

All farms would have had a dairy and all the necessary equipment for brewing ale. There would have been a garden to grow vegetables and some livestock kept for the needs of the family which might include a pig and some poultry. Horses, or on the larger farms oxen, would

be kept for ploughing and pulling carts but the mainstay of the farm were the cattle. The herd would be made up of milk cows and young stock that were sent for sale at the local markets. Any surplus milk was made into butter and cheese and meats were salted on the farm to preserve them. During this period oats were a staple food and after harvesting they would be taken to the nearest mill to be ground into oat meal or flour. The oat meal was made into porridge or baked into oatcakes and the flour into oaten bread. Wheat was only used on special occasions by wealthier families. The barley crop provided fodder for the animals and maltings to make the ale which was drunk by almost everyone.

Local historian Mary Brigg did extensive research into the inventories of Pendle's farmers during this period and found that nearly all the farms had some equipment for domestic spinning and weaving. The seasonal nature of farm work meant that there were periods when sons and daughters might be under employed. Extra income from producing woollen cloth for the textile industry would have been very welcome. Pendle was not a major sheep rearing area but the putting out system was well established and cloth traders would deliver the wool to the spinners, take yarn to weavers and collect the finished cloth to be sold to the merchants in Manchester and Rochdale. The inventories also showed that tradesmen in the area such as blacksmiths, masons, the miller, clothiers and weavers all kept some cattle and followed the same pattern of farming as yeomen and husbandmen, but on a much smaller scale.

Small and medium sized farms in Pendle would have relied heavily on family labour and everyone including young children would be involved. Larger holdings employed farm servants who would be hired for a year at a time and usually lived and ate with the family. At busy times of the year there were day labourers to be taken on and they would travel around the farms to find work. There was an oversupply in the labour force during this period and many people had no real job security; they would often have to travel into other regions to find seasonal work or a new position. The Highways Act of 1555 had removed the duty of maintaining the roads from landowners and travel was becoming easier; fords were replaced by packhorse bridges such as the one in Higherford and the roads and track ways were busy with travellers, carts and pack animals.

On the borders of Pendle Forest the towns of Colne, Burnley, Padiham and Clitheroe drew in the local community. They served the surrounding countryside as a place to buy and sell livestock and as an outlet for surplus farm produce and crafted goods. Wholesalers supplied raw materials and traders goods to meet the needs of the local population. Towns were centres for the merchants who might have financial dealings with the gentry through loaning them money or joining them in business ventures and the ordinary man or woman, if they had the necessary means, would be able to visit a small town attorney who was equivalent to a present day solicitor. He would draw up conveyances, contracts or bonds or give advice if litigation was being contemplated and he might also serve in the manorial courts.

The town gave people access to the popular literature of the day, but literacy was still mainly the privilege of the wealthy. The gentry considered a classical education for their sons to be necessary as it gave them status in society and to meet this need there were four grammar schools in the Pendle area. Whalley Old Grammar School had been founded by the monks in the late 1300's and those at Burnley, Clitheroe and Colne founded more recently in the mid 1500's.

Children's education particularly in farming families would be intermittent and often interrupted by the rhythms of rural life but as soon as they were strong enough they were needed on the farm to contribute to the family income.

It was thought unnecessary to educate women except in the tasks expected of them and it was generally thought that exposing the lower orders to too much education could make them dissatisfied with their role in life. Literacy levels remained low for many sections of society such as farm servants, itinerant labourers and husbandmen.

In the 17th century The Church of England was the official religious authority, tending to the spiritual welfare of the local community through its parish priests. Pendle had parochial chapels at Colne, Burnley, Padiham and Clitheroe, and in 1544 St Marys Church was built and consecrated at Goldshaw for the people of the forest, giving the village of Newchurch its name. The Act of Supremacy passed in 1534 had severed links with the papacy and every church now had to have an English bible so that ordinary people could hear the scriptures read in their own tongue. Society was deferential and seating in church reinforced this with pews at the front reserved for the most important families; one's status might also determine where in the churchyard you were buried. Those that still adhered to the Catholic Church were known as recusants and could be fined for not attending the Anglican services, but in Pendle peoples good relations with their protestant neighbours and the Catholic gentry often served to mitigated any fines.

Approximately 25% of people in Pendle would have been identified as poor during this period. There had been a steady increase in the population through the latter part of the 16th century as the availability of land drew newcomers into the area. The small sizes of these holdings often only allowed for subsistence farming and not everyone could make a sufficient living from them. In 1622 the combined effects of a bad harvest coupled with high food prices pushed many people into poverty and they would have had to apply for relief to see them through this difficult period.

The Poor Law Act of 1601 had made the parish responsible for its own poor and once identified they were not expected to pay church rates, poor rates or hearth tax and these exemptions also applied to people who had very small estates; people whose houses were worth less than 20s per annum and whose possessions were valued at less than £10.

The law stipulated that each parish had to appoint two overseers who would be responsible for assessing and distributing relief. They would pay allowances to the deserving poor, buy parish stock on which the able bodied poor would be expected to work, or provide tools or equipment for them to start up a trade. The money was paid by the ratepayers of the parish and the law allowed for people not born there to be removed, so they didn't become a drain on the resources of the local community.

For most of the population of Pendle earning a living in agriculture in the early part of the 17th century meant hard physical labour and a working day that could last from dawn to dusk. People who relied on waged income could not depend on being in work all the time and had to move around to find employment or to supplement their income in any way possible. Small scale farmers often needed a secondary occupation to make ends meet and they could easily be pushed into poverty when illness or injury prevented them working or by diseases in the herd or poor harvests limiting the yields of their oat and barley crops.

Relief from the parish was there to help people through periods of adversity and raising the money within the community helped to bind it together. People saw it as their Christian duty to support the poor and the relief was available to everyone if they needed it.

Pendle's yeomen farmers were an exception in this period; over the years they had benefited from favourable rents on their holdings and through hard work and enterprise had gained status in the community and a life of relative comfort and security for themselves and their families.

Sources:

The Early History of the Forest of Pendle - Mary Brigg

Pendle Forest in the 17th Century, parts 1 and 2 - Mary Brigg

Lancashire's Historic Halls - David Brazendale

Early Modern England, a social history 1550 – 1760 - J. A. Sharpe

Malkin Tower

Research carried out by Wendy Stansfield, Gill Fawcett, Wendy Hargreaves and Sue Burnett.

A time line for the ownership and tenants of the farm.

Research began on 10th March this year with a visit to Lancashire Archives where a document was seen that listed a number of properties to be sold by auction on 27th July 1921 from the estate of the late John Holt of Grove House in Barrowford. Malkin Tower was one of the farms in the document and details of its buildings and fields were given along with the name of the tenant in occupation at the time Walter Wilson.

Malkin Tower was described as a farm house with enclosed yard, piggeries, barn and two-stalled stable, shippens for 8 cows and 4 young stock with a loft over, a garden and several closes of land for use as follows: Pasture - Higher Meadow, Rough Field, Mawkin's Hole, Bank Field and Ogden Field. Meadow - Well Field, Lower Meadow and Lower Well Field. Arable - Little Field. The total size of the farm was given as 27 acres, 1 rod and 19 perches. The farm house itself was said to have a parlour, living room, scullery, a pantry, a dairy and two bedrooms.

In April we were able to arrange with Rachael Turner to visit Malkin Tower Farm to look through the documents she had relating to the property. Two were of particular interest; the first confirmed the farm's purchase in 1921 by the tenant Walter Wilson for the sum of £1055. The second traced John Holt's inheritance of the property in 1891 back to the will of John Swinglehirst of Park Hill that was drawn up in 1811. The estate had been managed as a trust after the death of John Swinglehirst in 1830 as there were no male heirs for some time and John Holt eventually inherited it as the sole surviving beneficiary through his mother Ann Hoyle and his aunt Mary Hargreaves (ne Hoyle). Ann and Mary were the only two surviving children of Elizabeth Swinglehirst who was John Swinglehirst's sister.

This information confirmed that Malkin Tower would have been tenanted during the 19th century and a search of the census records identified the Sutcliffe family as farmers there from about 1851.

William and Sarah Sutcliffe were farming 27 acres at this time and had five children under the age of fifteen. The 1861 census showed that three more children had been born and the family was now only farming 21 acres, the three eldest sons James, John and Samuel are shown as cotton spinners and cotton weavers.

By 1871 William's eldest son James had taken over at Malkin Tower. The census showed he had a wife called Martha, 5 young children and was farming 37 acres. In 1881 the family had increased in size and there were 5 adults and 4 young children living at Malkin Tower. The three eldest girls are shown as cotton weavers and James and Martha are only farming 27 acres.

The census for 1891 and 1901 shows Hartley Sutcliffe as the farmer and Martha Sutcliffe still living there with 3 children. We found no information for the property in the 1911 census

ourselves but John Clayton's book on the history of Blacko says that the census showed Walker Crabtree was living there.

To take the ownership of the farm back further we paid another visit to Lancashire Archives to look at documents in the Swinglehurst family collection. Eventually we came across an indenture or contract of sale between Thomas (Lister) Lord Ribblesdale, Baron Ribblesdale of Gisburn Park and John Swinglehurst of Park Hill dated November 1841. There were details for Park Hill and several farm properties in the sale agreement, Malkin Tower was one of them and named James Speak as the tenant in occupation. The document included field names for the farm as follows:

Hodgon's Fold, Higher Well Field, Lower Well field, Trough, Lower Trough, Higher Trough, Mawkin Hole, Higher Meadow and Lower Meadow.

Initially the date of the sale did not seem to fit with the other information we had found as John Swinglehurst died in 1830, however, his estate was administered as a trust at this time and trustees are able to buy and sell property on behalf of the beneficiaries.

This was a time of transition and the tenancy of the Speak family who had farmed Malkin Tower from the late 18th century was coming to an end. The 1841 census shows John Hargreaves and his family living there with the name for the farm given as Blacko Tower (Malkin Tower or Blacko Tower can be found on maps at this time and in documents both are often used). John Hargreaves was 60 years old and living there with his wife Hanah and two sons William and Thomas aged 35 and 30. Their youngest son Thomas married Mary Hoyle in 1844 who was the niece of John Swinglehurst and Thomas is described in the marriage record at St Bartholomew's Church in Colne as a full age farmer, bachelor of Malkin Tower.

John Clayton's book on the history of Blacko tells us about the tenants at the farm during the 18th century and a search of the baptism records at St Bartholomew's Church confirmed the details. The earliest record is for the baptism of Richard Townley's son in 1718. John Clayton says that Richard Townley was involved in the wool trade with Roger Hartley, a woollen weaver and that by 1725 he was declared bankrupt, a copy of the insolvency papers for both men can be seen at Lancashire Archives and Richard Townley was still shown as living at Malkin Tower on his burial record dated 1727.

After making a detailed search up to 1841 of all the online baptism records held at St Bartholomew's Church more of the tenant families at Malkin Tower referred to in John Clayton's book were confirmed.

In January 1748 John Titterington had a daughter called Puella baptised and gave Malkin Tower as his abode, as did Joseph Adkinson when his son John was baptised in July that same year. Between 1757 and 1763 the records show that James and Martha Nelson had three sons baptised whilst living there, Aaron, John and Thomas and between 1777 and 1788 James and Margaret Speak had five sons baptised, William, James, Henry, Mark and Peter. There are no further references to be found after this until the mention of James Speak as tenant in the 1841 sale document. It is possible that this was James and Margaret Speaks second son who was born in 1779 and would have been 62 when the property was sold.

As yet we have no information on the ownership of Malkin Tower before 1841 but it is reasonable to assume it was part of the estates of Thomas, Lord Ribblesdale of Gisburn Park for a number of years prior to this date.

Summary of Ownership for Malkin Tower/Blacko Tower

18th/19th century – Part of the estates of Thomas, Lord Ribblesdale, Baron Ribblesdale of Gisburn Park.

1841 – Malkin Tower was one of a group of properties bought by the trustees of John Swinglehirst's estate from Thomas, Lord Ribblesdale.

1891 – Inherited by John Holt as sole surviving beneficiary to the will of John Swinglehirst.

1921 – Bought by the tenant Walter Wilson for £1055 when the estate of the late John Holt was sold by auction at the Lesser Municipal Hall in Colne on 27th July 1921.

Summary of known tenants for Malkin Tower/Blacko Tower

1718 – 1727 Richard Townley

1748 – John Titterington and Joseph Adkinson

1757 – 1763 James Nelson

1777 – 1788 James Speak

1841 – James Speak (son) and John Hargreaves

1851 – 1861 William Sutcliffe

1871 – 1881 James Sutcliffe

1891 – 1905 Hartley Sutcliffe

1911 – Walker Crabtree

1921 – Walter Wilson

Sources:

Andrew and Rachael Turner - Malkin Tower Farm Blacko, History and Archaeology - John A Clayton
Lancashire on line Parish Clerk project
Lancashire Archives
Pendle Heritage Centre museum, Barrowford
On line census records 1841 - 1911

The Search for Malkin Tower: An Archaeological Witch Hunt

Mike Woods

Abstract

The story of the Pendle witches has captured the imagination of the people of Lancashire and beyond since the 17th century. Malkin Tower, the home of Old Demdike and her family was the location for a meeting of a coven of witches on the 10th of April, 1612 (Lumby, 1995). A meeting which would see all but one of the residents of Malkin Tower arrested and executed for the crime of witch-craft.

Thomas Potts, a clerk of the court published a best-selling book in 1613 that recounts the trials of the Lancashire witches. Although this was a detailed account of the events, the location of Malkin Tower is unknown today. It is likely that the building was destroyed by the townsfolk shortly after the executions of the witches, due to its connection with the Devil and witch-craft.

The true site of the witches' house has remained a mystery for 400 years. It is the location of the infamous Malkin Tower that has become the inspiration and framework for a series of archaeological investigations. Multi-modal geophysical surveys have been carried out at Malkin Tower Farm, the results of which present new evidence for the possible location of Malkin Tower and will lead excavations to be carried out in the summer of 2018.

This project was carried out as part of the Pendle Hill Landscape Partnership; a multi-disciplinary Heritage and landscape scheme with the aim to bring members of the local community together to carry out scientific investigations together with interpretation and improvements to heritage within the environments surrounding Pendle Hill. I was employed as a student intern by the University of Central Lancashire (UCLan). The project was led by the Forest of Bowland Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) and funded by the Heritage Lottery Grant.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Cathy Hopley and all of the staff at the Forest of Bowland AONB. I would also like to thank Dr Rick Peterson and the staff at UCLan, Jack Traill, Sophie Berry, Arnold Khelifi and Alex Whitlock for their help with the surveys. Special thanks to Rachel & Andrew Turner at Malkin Tower Farm, John Clayton and Mike Birtles.

Introduction

In 1612 10 people were executed by hanging for the crime of witch-craft following events that took place at the site known as Malkin Tower in the Forest of Pendle. The events leading up to the trial and execution of these unfortunate people is one of the best known cases of witch-craft in English history. As the clerk to the court; Thomas Potts, published the trials proceedings in *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster* (Potts, 1613). This part of the study will provide a brief overview of the events leading up to the trials.

The Pendle Witches

This dark historical tale begins with the chance meeting of Alizon Device and a pedlar on the road to Colne. Alizon had left her home at Malkin Tower to beg in the nearby town when she saw this pedlar as a perfect opportunity. On refusing her request for pins, Alizon cursed the pedlar who promptly collapsed having had a stroke. Alizon was questioned and confessed to using witch-craft and satanic familiars to curse the pedlar and claimed that her grandmother, Old Demdike (demon woman) taught her these dark arts. Both were arrested along with members of a rival witch family headed by Mother Chattox and her daughter; Anne Redfern and the four were held in the dungeon at Lancaster Castle (Poole, 2011. Pp 9).

The second event was the meeting of a coven of witches on Good Friday at Malkin Tower in the Forest of Pendle. Malkin Tower was the home to Old Demdike, her daughter Elizabeth Device and her children, Alizon, James and Jennet. The gathering that was held at Malkin Tower was attended by 3 wizards and 17 witches with the plan to name Alizon Device's familiar, destroy Lancaster Castle and kill the gaoler with witch-craft in an attempt to free the incarcerated witches (Barrowclough, 2012. Pp 1).

The remainder of Demdike's family (apart from the 9 year old Jennet) were arrested shortly after the meeting at Malkin Tower by local justice Roger Nowell and were tried and executed along with some of the other people in attendance and possibly a few who were not. It does seem that the accused took this trial as an opportunity to point fingers towards people who had wronged them in the past. Demdike died in the dungeon at Lancaster Castle during the trial and the remainder of her family were hung at Gallows hill in Lancaster.



Figure 1-Early 17th century image of people being hung for witch-craft.

The Grand Assembly of Witches at Malkin Tower

The next part of this study will look at the historical sources containing information about the location of Malkin Tower. Thomas Potts (1613) account of the court proceedings is a first-hand account of the events shortly after the meeting of the witches at Malkin Tower and is the primary reference text used in the historical part of this study. Any mention of events connected to Malkin Tower have been recorded in full within the appendix and any clues that can be taken from these paragraphs as to the location or type of structures at Malkin Tower has been analysed and included in this section.

Malkin Tower is mentioned a total of 37 times in Thomas Potts account, under 4 different spellings. Malking Tower, Malkeing Tower, Malkyn Tower and Malkin Tower. Similar inconsistencies regarding spelling can be seen throughout the book and for the purpose of this study the site will be referred to as Malkin Tower.

The first mention of Malkin Tower introduces its location as within the Forest of Pendle. The Forest of Pendle is not a forest in the literal sense, but the boundary of a medieval hunting ground and this historical account narrows down the search (Briggs, 1989). The towns enclosed within this ancient boundary include Barley and Wheatley to the north, Barrowford to the West with Goldshaw and Higham to the east and Ightenhill to the south.

The next account that describes events at Malkin Tower happens during the questioning of James Device. He describes an incident where he was walking towards his mother's house one night and was confronted by a brown dog coming from his grandmother's house. A few days later at daylight-gate (evening) James said he heard the shrieking and crying of a great number of children coming from his grandmother's house at Malkin Tower and after five nights he heard the screaming of cats from the same house, whereupon a black creature

which was about the size of a cat, visited him through his chamber window and lay heavily upon him for about an hour (Clayton, 2007. Pp 278-279).

This evidence describes Malkin Tower as comprising of at least 2 separate structures, as he gives the distances between his mother and grandmothers houses as 20 roodes which is an archaic measurement, the equivalent being roughly 5 and a half metres per rood. This means that the buildings were separated by a distance of an estimated 110 metres (Clayton, 2007. Pp 279).

During the interrogations of James and Jennet Device, James was persuaded to lead a local constable to magical items buried in the earthen floor to the west end of Malkin Tower. In this area the authorities excavated four human teeth and a crumbling clay image (Poole, 2011. Pp 17). The human remains recovered were said to have come from 'scalpes' (skulls) taken from the overflowing grave at St Marys in Newchurch. This finding appears to prove that ritual activities were taking place at Malkin Tower and the accusations and confessions of witch-craft were not fanciful tales or desperate lies made under the duress of the authorities. This account also provides evidence for the surface layer of the floor within Malkin Tower as it describes the magical items being excavated from the earthen floor at the west-end of Demdikes building and a later account describes Elizabeth taking clay from the floor within her building at Malkin Tower to fashion a clay image (see fig 2) for the purpose of witch-craft. The ritual behind the clay images worked much like voodoo dolls. As they were crumbled it was thought that the person who they represented would fall ill and die.



Figure 2-17th century image of witches handing clay effigies to the Devil.

Another account from the trial can lend evidence to the search for Malkin tower with the tale of a theft from the property by Anne or Bessie Whittle (Clayton, 2007. Pp 278). The accusation describes Whittle breaking into the "fire-house" at Malkin Tower and stealing items of clothing and oatmeal. It is possible that the fire-house refers to the house which

has a hearth and calling it the fire-house differentiates it from other farm buildings on the property. It is suggested by John Clayton (2012. Pp 171), that the fire-house could refer to a drying tower, which is a circular chimney like structure that would have been part of a malt or grain kiln. The similarities between Malkin and malt kiln cannot be overlooked (especially when said in a broad Lancashire accent).

According to the accusations of James Device, the attendants at the grand assembly of witches at Malkin Tower were as follows. The wife of Hugh Hargreves from Barley, John and Jane Bulcock from Moss End farm close to Newchurch in Pendle, Alice Nutter of Roughlee, Elizabeth Hargreves of Roughlee, Christopher Holgate and his wife Isobell, Alice Gray of Colne, Katherine Hewitt of Colne, Jennet Preston of Gisburn and her mother and younger sister. It would appear from the grand assembly of witches that the majority had travelled from locations to the east of Newchurch with most coming from the Roughlee and Colne areas. The furthest to travel from her home to take part in the satanic rituals is Jennet Preston who travelled from Gisburn in the county of Yorkshire. Two attendants of the coven at Malkin Tower were said to have come from the parish of Burnley, but were left unnamed during the proceedings and were not present at the trial, presumably the pair had managed to evade arrest and were on good enough terms with the accused, not to be named in the court room.

To summarise the evidence taken from Potts account, Malkin Tower can be found somewhere within the boundary of the Forest of Pendle, has two or more buildings which have clay or earth floors and from the distances travelled by the grand assembly of Witches suggest that the location is in the northern part of the Forest of Pendle boundary, somewhere close to Roughlee.

The next section will look at the archaeological and historical studies to date and to a lesser extent local folklore to look at the theories regarding the exact location of Malkin Tower beneath the shadow of Pendle Hill.

Where is Malkin Tower?

The true location of Malkin Tower has been pondered over by historians for centuries and a number of theories as to its location have been put forward.

Recent theories place Malkin Tower at Mancknowles Ing (Clayton, 2012. Pp 167) and this site has been surveyed as part of last year's Pendle Landscape Partnership study. The results show old field boundaries but no clear evidence of previous structures on the site.

Rumour and superstition has placed the witches house somewhere close to Newchurch, with suggestions that it could be on Sadlers Farm which is now the Shekinah Christian Centre. This theory has the least amount of historical evidence supporting it and will not be further studied as part of this research project.

A structure that was excavated near Lower Black Moss reservoir was found to have a mummified cat in its walls and it was suggested that this was Malkin Tower. This building sits outside of the Forest of Pendle boundary so it is unlikely that this was Malkin Tower and the act of holing a cat up in the walls is a ritual to protect the house and its inhabitants from witch-craft (Barrowclough. 2012).

Peel & Southern (1969. Pp 153) place Malkin Tower in a field to the north of Malkin Tower Farm and it is this location that has been surveyed as part of this study.

Malkin Tower Farm

Malkin Tower Farm is located in Blacko on the side of a hill looking down towards Roughlee, Barrowford and Colne. The farmhouse which is now used as holiday cottages post-dates the time of the witches, but masonry recovered to the north of the existing farmhouse could be from an earlier structure that is contemporary with the early 17th century (Clayton, 2007 pp 276).

The name would suggest that Malkin Tower Farm is the best place to search for the remains of the witches house and John Clayton (2007, pp 269) discovered that in 1508-09 the Clitheroe court rolls name the area occupied by Malkin Tower Farm as the Malkenyerd and in 1564 as the Mawkynyarde.

This evidence shows that this field had the name Malken or Mawkin attached to it over a century before the witch-craft trials. Previous theories suggested that Malking meant cat, hare or was a derogatory term for a woman and was directly related to the witches, but the evidence found by John Clayton (2007, pp 269) shows there was a location with that name within the Forest of Pendle that pre-dates the witches.

The field to the north of the current Malkin Tower Farm has some curious archaeological remains which include a free-standing wall which was later incorporated into the drystone wall, known as the Malkin gable, and is evidence of a previous structure that stood in this field (see fig 5).

In the neighbouring field to the northwest is an ancient hawthorn tree which has a drystone wall built around it. This is part of an ancient hawthorn field boundary from the medieval period and this can be seen in the Lidar data (see fig 3) where ridge and furrow plough-marks can be seen to the northeast of the tree but not to the southwest. It is believed this tree survived because of ancient traditions. When the trees were being removed, one was left to appease the nature spirits and is possibly another indication of the power of folklore and superstition in the area. The Lidar image of this field shows a rectangular feature (see fig 3) which resembles the outline of a building and for these reasons this field will be the focus of the geophysical investigations undertaken as part of this project (Clayton, 2012).

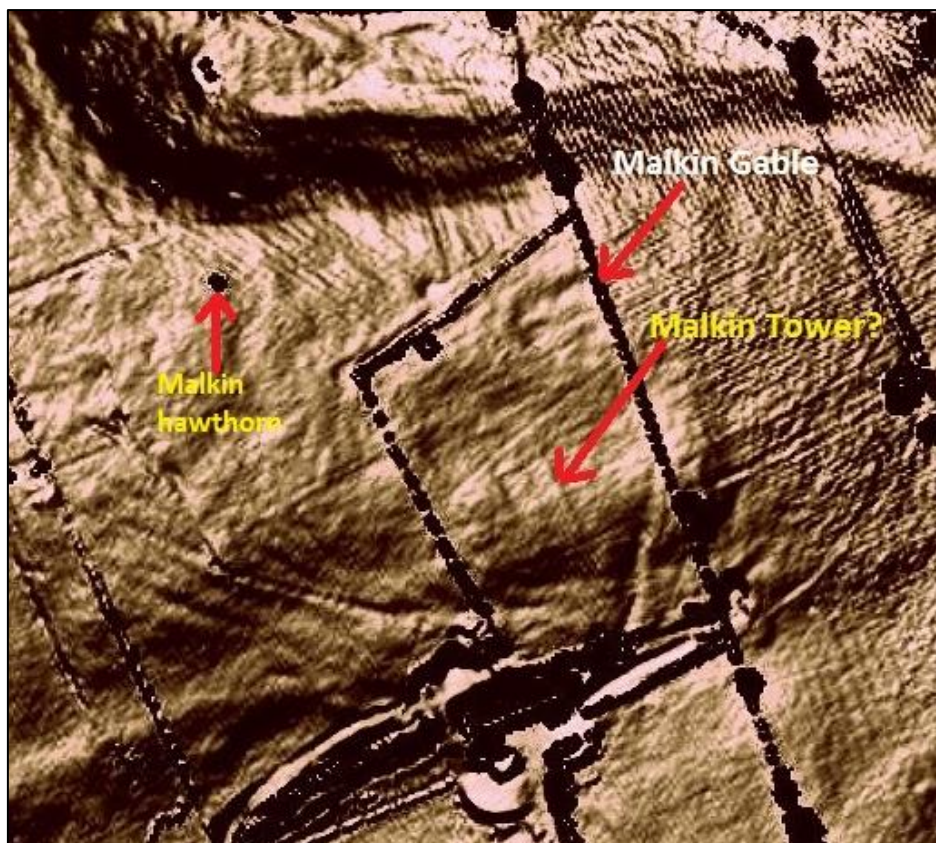


Figure 3-Lidar image of Malkin Tower Farm (After: Clayton. 2007).

Unsurprisingly it seems that Malkin Tower is likely to be located to the north of Malkin Tower Farm. The following section of this study will explain the scientific methods of geophysical survey that were applied to this location in an attempt to locate any subterranean ruins which could be the infamous Malkin Tower.

Methodology

Geophysical survey is a common archaeological technique as it is a non-invasive way of locating anomalies beneath the earth. These techniques are often employed as a pre-cursor to archaeological excavation and in this case the results will be used to guide the focus for an excavation to be carried out next year.

The types of survey used at Malkin Tower Farm are magnetometry and resistivity. Magnetometry (see fig 4) uses electro-magnetic waves to detect the metallic components of the ground. 6% of the earth's crust is made up of microscopic iron particles, digging a ditch or pit re-distributes these particles and this can be detected using the magnetometer. This technique is also used to detect areas of burnt clay and metal artefact distribution.



Figure 4-Magnetometry survey being carried out at Malkin Tower Farm.

Resistivity (see fig 5) detects the electrical resistance in the ground. A current is placed into the earth and mobile probes detect the electrical resistance between the two points. Ditches which collect water will have a low electrical resistance, whereas stone walls or banks will have a high resistance so this technique is efficient at detecting buildings, ditches and pits. Both techniques are often used together as they detect different anomalies that can be compared and overlaid after the data has been processed (see figs 6 & 7).

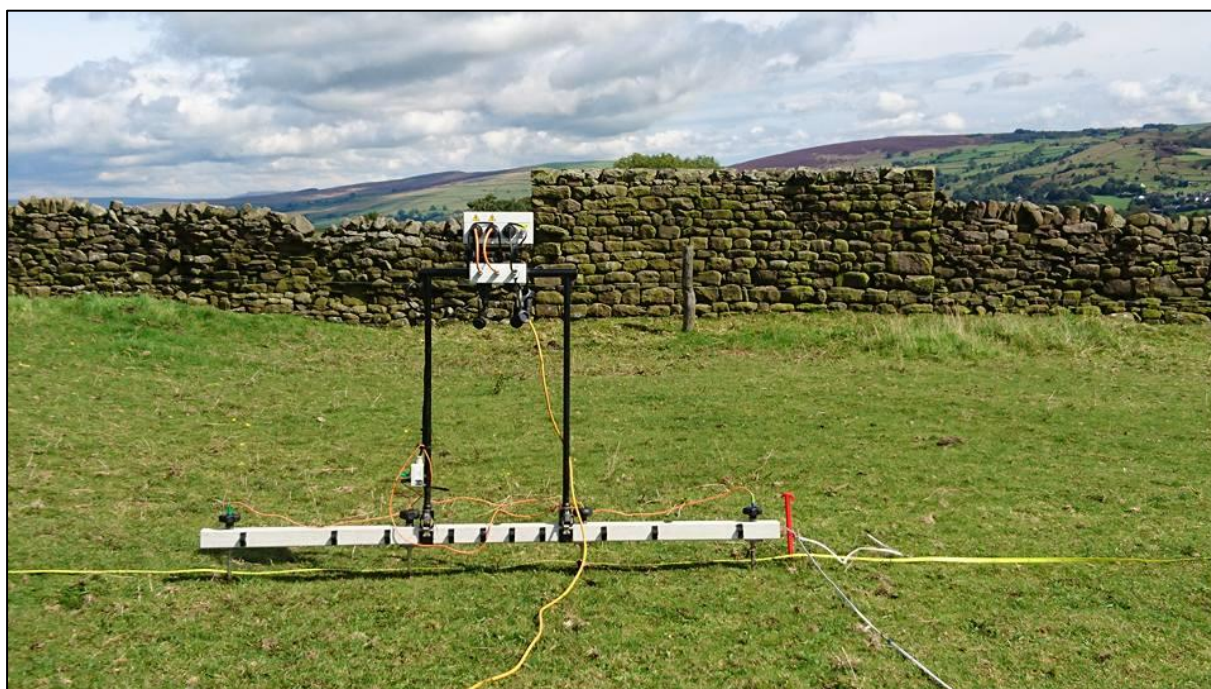


Figure 5-Resistivity probes in the foreground with the Malkin Gable in the background.

Results

The results of the magnetometry survey (see fig 6) show a recti-linear anomaly to the south of the survey. It is likely from this feature that it is the remnants of a structure. Linear features seen to the west and east are probably old field boundaries and could indicate an enclosure. The noisy data to the top right of the image is probably the ruins of the structure at the foot of the Malkin gable. A sub circular anomaly can be seen to the west of these possible ruins.

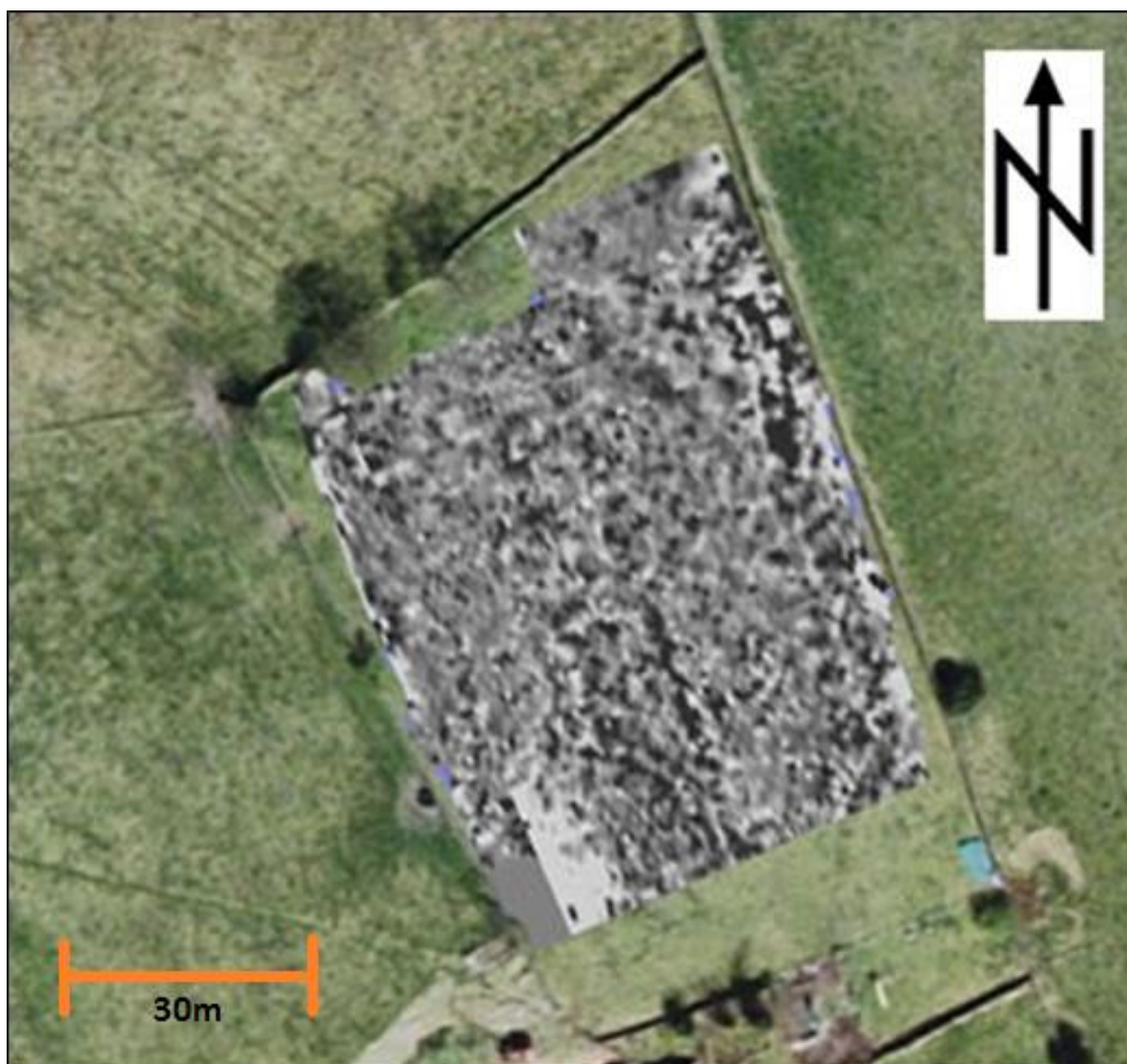


Figure 6-Results of magnetometry survey at Malkin Tower Farm.

The results of the resistivity survey (see fig 7) show that the recti-linear feature seen in the Lidar and magnetometry data is part of a larger enclosure with a subcircular feature to the north of this. A recti-linear feature can be seen at the foot of the Malkin gable and a row of what appears to be post-holes to the south.

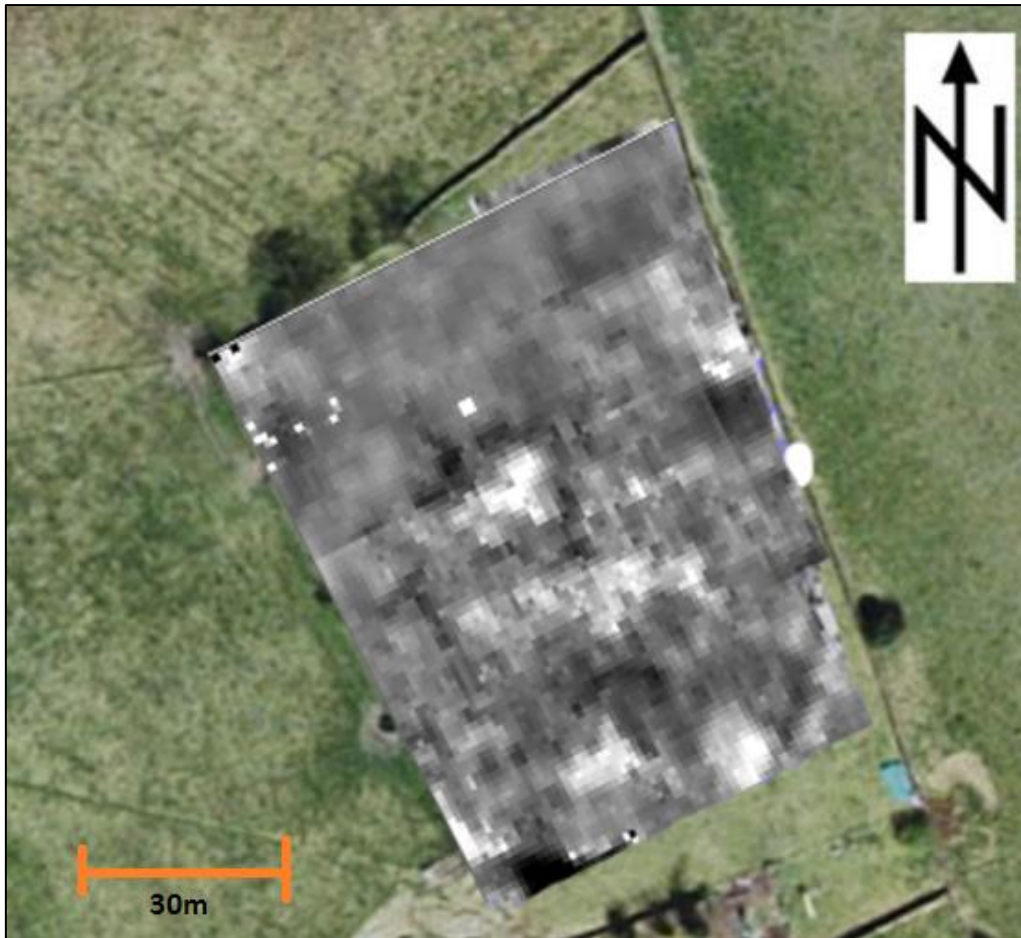


Figure 7-Results of resistivity survey at Malkin Tower Farm.

The area of the field in which this feature sits is a flat plateau on the hillside at it slopes down toward Roughlee and Colne. The feature appears on the ground as a cropmark (see fig 8) and is almost certainly the remains of a number of structures that once stood in this field.



Figure 8-Cropmark at Malkin Tower Farm.

The results of the geophysical data from each survey was transferred into photoshop and the features highlighted then overlaid (see figs 9, 10 & 11). This allows for a clearer image of the archaeology at Malkin Tower Farm and allows us to picture the layout of the enclosure (see fig 11).



Figure 9-Anomalies from magnetometry survey highlighted.



Figure 10-Anomalies from resistivity survey highlighted.



Figure 11-Layout of enclosure to the north of Malkin Tower Farm.

Conclusion

The results from these geophysical surveys have revealed a previous phase of habitation at Malkin Tower Farm and excavations of this feature are planned to take place in 2018. The excavation will attempt to find a date from these features from pottery fragments or coinage, alongside evidence for phases of structures and use of the building. If this feature discovered through geophysical survey is the Malkin Tower, what evidence could be found to prove this? It is unlikely that unfired clay effigies will have survived for 400 years in the ground but it is possible that evidence for witch-craft and ritual could be found buried within the floor of this structure.

The legacy of the events at Malkin Tower will continue to inspire the imagination of any visitors to the Pendle Hill area. The results of this study have revealed a possible location for the witches' house at Malkin Tower Farm near Blacko and the archaeological discovery of this site that is currently lost to history will be of International importance. This project is ongoing and the search for Malkin Tower will continue, with excavations planned at Malkin Tower Farm next year and ongoing geophysical surveys will be carried out by the Pendle Landscape Partnership in the surrounding area.



Figure 12-17th century image of witches and wizards flying on broomsticks with the Devil.

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Figures

Figure 1- <http://www.gordsellar.com/2014/05/08/witches-gin-and-the-18th-century/>

Figure2-<http://thetudorenthusiast.weebly.com/my-tudor-blog/witchcraft-in-16th-17th-century-england>

Figure 3-After: Clayton, J. 2007. *The Lancashire Witch Conspiracy: A History of Pendle Forest and the Pendle Witch Trials.* Barrowford Press: UK.

Figure12-<http://thetudorenthusiast.weebly.com/my-tudor-blog/witchcraft-in-16th-17th-century-england>

Appendix

1-But here they had not stayed a weeke (Demdike, Chattox, Alizon Device and Anne Redferne in Lancaster castle), when their children and friendes being abroad at libertie, laboured a special meeting at **Malking Tower** in the Forrest of Pendle, upon Good-fryday, within a weeke after they were committed of all the most dangerous, wicked and damnable Witches in the County farre and neere. (Potts, 1613. Pp 119).

2-In the meane time, M. Nowell having knowledge by this discovery of their meeting at **Malkeing Tower**, and their resolution to execute mischief, takes great paines to apprehend such as were at libertie, and prepared evidence against all such as were in question for witches (Potts, 1613. Pp 120)

3-And further saith, That twelve yeares agoe, the said Anne Chattox at a Buriall at the new Church in Pendle, did take three scalpes (skulls) of people, which had been buried, and then cast out of a grave, as she the said Chattox told this examine; and tooke eight teeth out of the said scalpes, whereof she kept foure to her selfe, and gave other foure to the said Demdike, this examines Grand-mother: which foure teeth now shewed to this examine, are the foure teeth that the said Chattox gave to his said grand-mother, as aforesaid; which said teeth have ever since beene kept, until now found by the said Henry Hargreives & this examine, at the **West-end of this examines grand-mothers house**, and there buried in the earth, and a picture of clay there likewise found by them, about halfe a yard over in the earth, where the said teeth lay, which said picture so found was almost withered away, and was the Picture of Anne, Anthony Nutters daughter (Potts, 1613. Pp 136-137).

4-The examine saith (Alizon Device), that about eleven yeares agoe, this examine and her mother had their **fire-house** broken, and all, or the most part of their linen clothes &

halfe a peck of cut oat-meale, and a quantitie of meale gone, all which was worth twentie shillings, or above; and upon a Sunday then next after, this examine did take a band and a coife, parcel of the goods aforesaid, upon the daughter of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, and claimed them to be a parcel of the goods stolne as aforesaid (Potts, 1613. Pp 137).

5-This Elizabeth Device being at libertie, after Old Demdike her mother, Alizon Device, her daughter, and Old Chattocks were committed to the Castle of Lancaster for witchcraft; laboured not a little to procure a solemne meeting at **Malkyn-Tower** of the Graund Witches of the Counties of Lancaster and Yorke (Potts, 1613. Pp 143).

6-Jennet Device, Daughter of Elizabeth Device, late wife of John Device, of the Forrest of Pendle aforesaid widow, confesseth and saith, that her said mother is a witch, and that this shee knoweth to be true; for, that shee had seens her spirit sundrie times come unto her said mother in her owne house, called **Malking-Tower**, in the likenesse of a browne dogge, which shee called Ball; and at one time amongst others, the said Ball did aske this examines mother what she would have him to doe; and this examines mother answered, that she would have the said Ball to helpe her to kill John Robinson of Barley, alias Swyer: by helpe of which said Ball, the said swyer was killed by witch-craft accordingly; and that this examines mother continued a witch for these three or foure yeares last past (Potts, 1613. Pp 147-148).

7-The said James Device being examined, saith, that he heard his grand-mother say, about a yeare agoe, that his mother called Elizabeth Device, and others, had killed one Henry Mitton of the Rough-Lee aforesaid, by witchcraft. The reason wherefore he was so killed, was for this examintes said grand-mother Old Demdike, had asked said Mitton a penny; and he denying her thereof, thereupon she procured his death, as aforesaid. And he, this examinte also saith, that about three yeares agoe, this examine being in his grand-mothers house, with his said mother; there came a thing in shape of a browne dogge, which his mother called Ball, who spake to this examines mother, and bad her make a picture of clay like unto John Robinson, alias Swyer, and dries it hard, and then crumble it by little and little; and as the said picture should crumble or mull away, so should the said Jo. Robinson alias Swyer his body decay and weare away. And within two or three dayes after, the picture shall be wasted and mulled away; so then the said John Robinson should die presently. Upon the agreement betwixt the said dogge and this examines mother; the said dogge suddenly vanished out of this examines sight. And the next day, this examine saw his said mother **take clay at the West end of her said house** and make a picture of it after the said Robinson, and brought into her house, and dried it for two dayes after the drying thereof, this examines said mother fell on crumbling the said picture of clay, every day some, for some three weekes together; and within ywo dayes after all was crumbled or mulled away, the said John Robinson died. Being demanded by the court, what answere shee could give to the particular points of the evidence against her, for the death of these several persons;

impudently shee denied them, crying out against her children, and the rest of the witnesses against her (Potts, 1613. Pp 149-150).

8-But because I have charged her to be the principall agent, to procure a solemne meeting at **Malking-Tower** of the Grand-witches, to consult of some speedy course for the deliverance of her mother, Old Demdike, her daughter , and other witches at Lancaster (Pots, 1613. Pp 150).

9-The said Elizabeth Device being further examined confesseth that upon Good-Friday last, there dined at this examimates house, called **Malking-Tower**, those which she hath said are witches and doth verily think them to be witches: and their names are those whom James Device hath formerly spoken of to be there. And he further saith that there was also at her said mothers house, at the day and time aforesaid, two women of Burneley Parish, whose names the wife of Richard Nutter doth know. And there was likewise there one Anne Crouckshey of Marsden: but denieth of any talke was amongst them the said witches, to her now remembrance, at the said meeting together, touching the killing of the gaoler, or the blowing up of Lancaster Castle (Potts, 1613. Pp 151).

10-The said Jennet Device saith, that upon Good Friday last there was about twentie persons (whereof onely two were men, to this examimates remembrance) at her said grand-mothers house, called **Malking-Tower** aforesaid, about twelve of the clocke: all which persons this examimates said mother told her, were witches, and they came to give a name to Alizon Device spirit, or familiar, sister to this examine, and now prisoner at Lancaster. And also this examine saith, that the persons aforesaid had to their dinners beefe, bacon and roasted mutton; which mutton (as this examimates brother said) was a wether of Christopher Swyers of Barley; which wether (sheep) was brought in the night before into this examimates mothers house by the said James Device, tis examimates said brother: and in this examimates sight killed and eaten (Potts, 1613. Pp 152).

11-The said James Device saith, That on Good-Friday last, about twelve of the clocke in the day time, there dined in this examimates said mothers house at **Malking-Tower**, a number of persons (Potts, 1613. Pp 153).

12-For the prooffe of his practices, charmes, meetings at **Malking-Tower**, to consult with witches to execute mischief, Master Mowel humbly prayed his owne examination, taken and certified, might openly be read (Potts, 1613. Pp 165).

13-Shee saith (Jennet Device) that upon Good-Friday last there was about twentie persons, whereof only two were men, to this examimates remembrance, at her said grand-mothers house, called **Malking-Tower** aforesaid, about twelve of the clocke (Potts, 1613. Pp 168).

14-(Jennet later says the weather [ram] was taken from Robinsons of Barley, where earlier it was claimed it was taken from Swyers).

15-What can be said more of this painfull steward (James Device), that was so carefull to provide mutton against this feast and solemne meeting at **Malking-Tower**, of this hellish and divellish band of witches (Potts, 1613. Pp 173).

16-It was very certaine she (Alice Nutter) was of the grand-counsell at **Malking-Tower** upon Good-Friday, and there was present, which was a very great argument to condemne her (Potts, 1613. Pp 208).

17-The said examinee (Jennet Device) saith, that on good-Friday last, there was about 20 persons, whereof only two were men at her said grand-mothers house at **Malking-Tower** (Potts, 1613. Pp 212).

18-After these examinations were openly read, his lordship being very suspitious of the accusation of this young wench Jennet Device, commanded one to take her away into the upper hall, intending in the meane time to make trial of her evidence, and the accusations especially against this woman (Alice Nutter), who is charged to have beene at **Malking-Tower**, at this great meeting. Master Couel was commanded to set all his prisoners by themselves, and betwixt every witch another prisoner, and some strange women amongst them, so as no man could judge the one from the other: and these being set in order before the court from the prisoners, then was the wench Jennet Device commanded to be brought into the court: and being set before my Lord, he tooke great paines to examine her of every particular Point, what women were at **Malking-Tower** upon Good-Friday? How she knew them? What were the names of any of them? And how she knew them to be such as she named. In the end being examined by my Lord, whether she knew them that were there by their faces, if she saw them? She told my Lord she should: whereupon in the presence of this great audience, in open court, she went and tooke Alice Nutter, this prisoner, by the hand, and accused her to be one: and told her in what place shee sat at the feast at **Malking-Tower** at the great assembly of witches. (Potts, 1613. Pp 213-214).

19-Who but witches can be proofes and so witnesses of the doings of witches? Since all their Meetings, Conspiracies, practices and murthers, are the works of darknesse: But to discover this wicked furie, God hath not only raised means beyond expectation, by the voluntarie confession and accusation of all that are gone before, to accuse this witch (Katherine Hewit) but after they were committed, by means of a child (Jennet Device), to discover her to be one, and a principall in that wicked assembly at **Malking-Tower**, to devise such a damnable course for the deliverance of their friends at Lancaster, as to kill the gaoler, and blow up the castle, wherein the Devill did but labour to assemble them together (Potts, 1613. Pp 215-216).

20-And that the said witch, called Katherine Hewyt, alias Mould-heeles, and one Alice Gray, did confesse amongst the said witches at their meeting at **Malkin-Tower** aforesaid, that they had killed Foulds wifes child, called Anee Foulds, of Colne: and also said, that they had then in hanck a child of Michael Hartleys of Colne (Potts, 1613. Pp 217).

21-This examinee (Elizabeth Device) upon her oath confesseth, that upon good-Friday last there dyed at this examinees house, which hath said are witches, and verily thinketh to be witches, such as the said James Device hath formerly spoken of: amongst which was Katherine Hewyt, alia Mould-heeles, now prisoner at the barre: and shee also saith, that at their meeting on Good-Friday at **Malkin-Tower** aforesaid, the said Katherine Hewyt, alias Mould-heeles, and Anee Gray, did confesse, they had killed a child (Potts, 1612. Pp 218-219).

22-At her said grand-mothers house **Malkin-Tower** (Potts, 1613. Pp 219).

23-Whereupon she (Jennet Device) went and tooke the said Katherine Hewyt by the hand: Accused her to be one, and told her what place shee sate at the feast at **Malkin-Tower** (Potts, 1613. Pp 219).

24-If there were nothing to charge these prisoners (John and Jane Bulcock) withal, whom now you may behold upon their arraignment and trial but their poasting in haste to the great assembly at **Malking-Tower**, there to advise and consult amongst the witches, what were to be done to set to liberty the witches in the castle at Lancaster (Potts, 1613. Pp 221).

25-They (John and Jane Bulcock) forswear they were never at the great assembly at **Malking Tower** (Potts, 1613. Pp 222).

26-And further he (James Device) saith, that the said John Bulcock and Jane his said mother, did confesse upon Good-Friday last at the said **Malking-Tower**, in the hearing of this examinee, That they had bewitched, at the new-field edge in Yorkeshire, a woman called Jennet, wife of John Deyne (Potts, 1613. Pp 225).

27-At the said feast at **Malking-Tower** this examinee (James Device) heard them all give their consents to put the said Master Thomas Lister of Westby to death (Potts, 1613. Pp 225).

28-And she (Elizabeth Device) further saith, that at the said meeting at **Malking-Tower**, as aforesaid, Katherine Hewyt and John Bulcock, with all the rest then there, gave their consents, with the said Prestons wife, for the killing of the said master Lister (Potts, 1613. Pp 226).

29-To this examinees (Jennet Device) remembrance, at her said grand-mothers house, called **Malking-Tower** aforesaid: all which persons, this examinees said mother thold her were witches, and that she knoweth the names of sixe of the said witches (Potts, 1613. Pp 227).

30-Then was the said Jennet Device commaunded by his lordship to find and point of John Bulcock and Jane Bulcock amongst all the rest; whereupon shee went and tooke Jane Bulcock by the hand, accused her to be one, and told her in what place she sat at the feast

at **Malking-Tower**, at the great assembly of Witches; who sat next to her: and accused the said John Bulcock to turne the spit there (Potts, 1613. Pp 227).

31-She (Jennet Device) further told his lordship, there was a woman that came out of Craven to that great feast at **Malking-Tower**, but shee could not finde her out amongst all those women (Potts, 1613. Pp 227).

32-The names of the Witches at the

Great Assembly and Feast at

Malking-Tower, viz, upon Good-

Friday last, 1612.

Elizabeth Device.

Alice Nutter.

Katherine Hewit, alias Mould-heeles.

John Bulcock.

Jane Bulcock.

Alice Graie.

Jennet Hargraves.

Elizabeth Hargraves.

Christopher Howgate (sonne to Old Demdike).

Christopher Hargraves.

Grace Hay (of Padiham).

Anne Cruckshey, of Marchden.

Elizabeth Howgate.

Jennet Preston (Potts, 1613. Pp 229-230).

(For reasons unknown, James and Jennet Device are omitted from this list. Not all included in this list were found guilty of witchcraft)

33-And the better to execute her (Jennet Preston) mischiefe and wicked intent, within foure days after her deliverance out of the castle at Yorke, went to the great assembly of witches at **Malking-Tower** upon good-Friday last: to praye aide and helpe, for the murder of Master Lister, in respect he had prosecuted against her at the same Assizes (Potts, 1613. Pp 268).

34-But these were not alone: for this wicked and bloud-thirstie witch (Jennet Preston) was no sooner delivered at the Assizes holden at Yorke in Lent last past, being indicted,

arraigned, and by the favour and mercie if the juire found not guiltie, for the murther of a child by Witch-craft: but upon the Friday following, being Good-Friday, shee rode in hast to the great meeting at **Malking-Tower**, and there prayed aide for the murther of M. Thomas Lister (Potts, 1613. Pp 271).

35-And this examine further saith, that at the feast at **Malking-Tower**, this examine heard them all five their consents to put the said Master Thomas Lister of Westby to death (Potts, 1613. Pp 274).

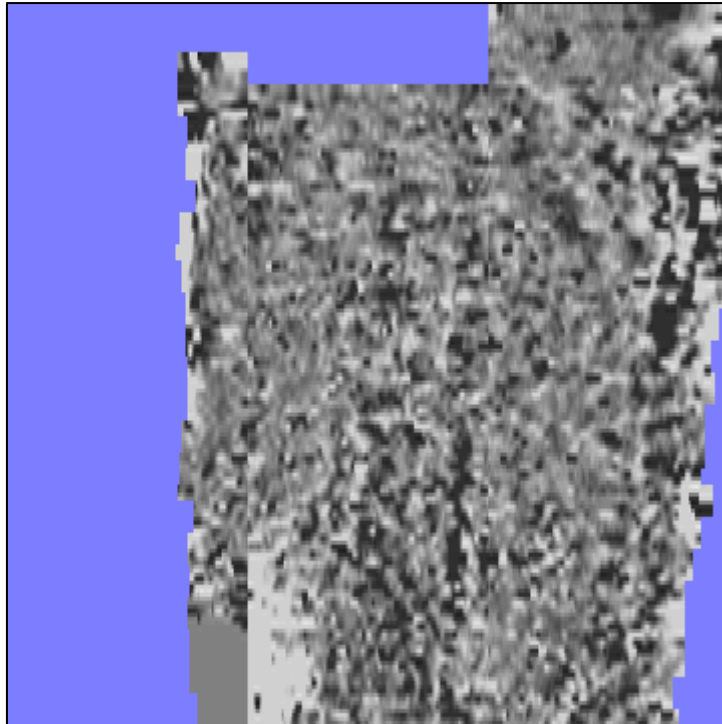
36-And the said Elizabeth Device also further saith, That at the said meeting at **Malking-Tower**, as aforesaid, the said Katherine Hewyt and John Bulcock, with all the rest then there, gave their consents, with the said Prestons wife, for the killing of Master Lister (Potts, 1613. Pp 275).

37-At her said grand-mothers house, called **Malking-Tower**.... (Potts, 1613. Pp 276).

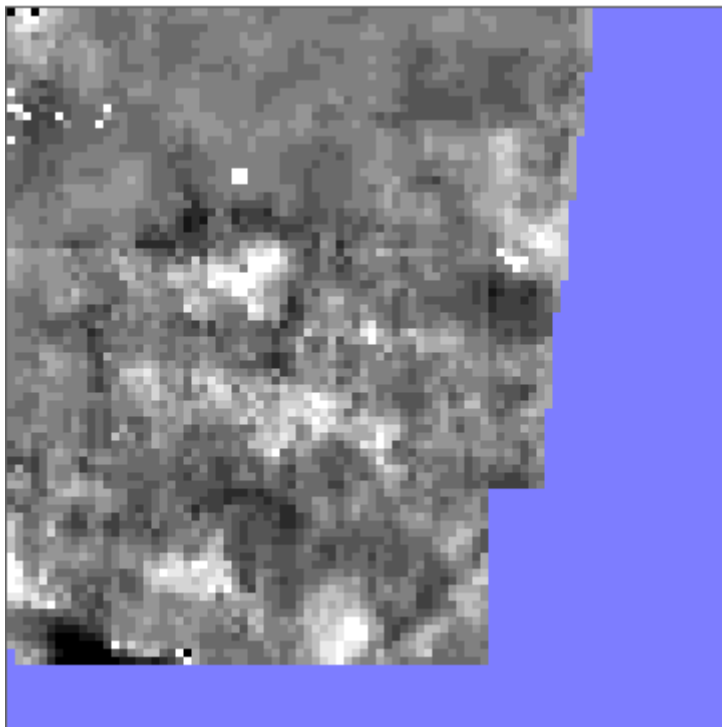
38-Jennet Preston being brought to the corps (corpse of Master Lister) , they bled freshly. And after her deliverance in Lent, it is proved shee rode upon a white foale, and was present in the great assembly at **Malkin Tower** with the witches (Potts, 1613. Pp 277).

39-Declare which of them was present at **Malkin Tower** (Potts, 1613. Pp 278).

(Potts, T. 1613. *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*. W.Stansby: London).



Raw data from magnetometry survey.



Raw data from resistivity survey.