

BUILDING AND ESTATE DEVELOPMENT
IN THE NORTHERN OUT-TOWNSHIPS
OF LEEDS, 1781 - 1914.

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This thesis examines the making of the process by which a rural area north of the urban core of eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Leeds was converted into suburbs. Through use of property deeds, the records of the agricultural estates, and the correspondence of those involved in the process, the roles played by the decision makers have been established. It is suggested that the role played by the developers, rather than the builders, was the critical one in determining the built form of the suburbs. Development decisions during the period of rapid suburban growth after 1870 are shown to have been made more complex by the introduction of bye-law building regulations and planning control. The new conditions gave prominence to two sets of experts: the Borough Surveyor and his staff for Leeds Corporation; and the members of professions with peripheral involvement in building and estate development for the developers. The interaction between developer, local authority, and the two sets of experts is examined in detail through the development of the largest estate in Potternewton. The major part of the study is set within a chronological framework intended to reveal the impact of improved transport systems on the rate of development of the suburbs.

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ABBREVIATIONS

B.E.P.	Brown Estate Papers.
HCRO	Hertfordshire County Record Office.
LCA	Leeds City Archives.
LCD	Leeds Corporation Deeds.
LCRef	Leeds Central Reference Library.
<u>LI</u>	<u>The Leeds Intelligencer.</u>
<u>LM</u>	<u>The Leeds Mercury.</u>
LYLBIC	Leeds and Yorkshire Land, Building and Investment Company.
NCRO	Northamptonshire County Record Office.
<u>P.P.</u>	<u>British Parliamentary Papers.</u>
PRO	Public Record Office.
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects.
TSL	Thoresby Society Library.
'ULD	University of Leeds Deeds.
WRFLS	West Riding Freehold Land Society.
WRRD	West Riding of Yorkshire Registry of Deeds, now within the West Yorkshire County Record Office.
<u>YAJ</u>	<u>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal.</u>
<u>YASRS</u>	<u>Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series.</u>

GLOSSARY

CONTRACTION IN TABLES	TERM
O.o.	Owner Occupier; self explanatory, but used for a purchaser of land who built a house on it and lived in it.
H.p.	House purchase; self explanatory.
L.p.	Land purchase; no development of the site by that owner.
L.r.	Land resale; no development, resold without subdivision.
L.s.	Land speculation; subsequent subdivision and resale of land.
S.i.	Speculative investment; building development by an owner, property retained and let to tenants for more than two years.

S.s.	Speculative sale; building development by owner. property sold within two years.
c.	Cottages, back-to-back.
g.	Garden grounds.
m.	Mansion.
s-d.	Semi-detached villa.
t.h.	Through house.
v.	Villa.
n.d.	No data available.
Hly.	Headingley.
NTL	New Town of Leeds.

INTRODUCTION

The development of the nineteenth-century suburbs of Leeds has been hitherto an unexplored field, apart from an overview of the growth of Leeds from 1207 onwards by Ward.¹ The present study is an examination of the process of building and estate development in three out-townships of the former borough, and earlier still the parish, of Leeds. Headingley cum Burley, Potternewton, and Chapel Allerton out-townships lay immediately to the north of the Leeds in-township and in 1781 were rural areas. Within this area of twelve square miles the intention has been to discover the agents of change, the people who made the significant landscape transition decisions.

The work of Kaiser and Weiss in the United States identified three significant groups of decision-makers: the pre-development landowners, the developer-entrepreneurs, and the householders.² Were the forces that created the nineteenth-century suburbs of an English industrial city different? Do the localized events which took place in northern Leeds between 1781 and 1914, analysed in terms of the decision makers, provide new insight into the processes at work? They suggest that the developers, rather than the builders, were the principal creators of the suburbs.

A distinction needs to be made between two activities carried out by speculative builders: firstly, the erection of houses; secondly, the development of building land for subdivision and resale. The opprobrium attached to the term speculative builder by nineteenth-

1. D. Ward, The Urban Plan of Leeds and Some of the Factors Conditioning its Growth, (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Leeds, 1960).
2. E. J. Kaiser and S. F. Weiss, 'Public Policy and the Residential Development Process', in Internal Structure of the City, readings on Space and Environment, edited by L. S. Bourne, (1971), pp.188-99.

century contemporaries can reasonably be ascribed to the quality of performance in the first role. The second, highly speculative, activity was shared with other occupational groups; over half the developers of the post 1870 suburbs in the three northern out-townships were not builders. This developer role was the highly profitable one which the twentieth century more than the nineteenth century has tended to look upon with disfavour. Nineteenth-century developers appear to have ignored charges of acquiring profit without working for it, the unearned incremental value of building land attacked by Lloyd George in 1909. However, professional advisers of developers - lawyers, architects, surveyors, land and estate agents - included amongst their ranks those who were sufficiently conscious of the charge to defend their activities, not necessarily in terms of the size of gross profits, but in terms of the amount of work involved in achieving them.

The change from rural-urban fringe conditions to built-up suburb took place within the inner and middle rings of the northern out-townships after 1850. This area, between one and three miles from the centre of Leeds, was the principal sphere of influence of the developers who pre-determined the form of the suburb. Building and estate development became more complex activities during this period, not least because of the introduction of local authority building regulations and other bye-laws controlling the layout of estates, and the making of roads and sewers. Although plans were examined and approved by a Town Council sub-committee, decisions were based on the advice of a Borough Surveyor, later City Engineer, and his staff.

This was counterbalanced by the increasing support to developers provided by members of professions which

had a peripheral involvement with building and estate development. Between them the two sets of experts effectively constrained the freedom of the great majority of builders who did not have the capital to become developers themselves. Under such conditions it is hardly surprising that the builders' search for individual expression found an outlet in a bewildering variety of arrangements of minor ornamentation.

The evidence is to be found amongst property deeds, estates' sale particulars and plans, and the records of the large landed estates with holdings in Headingley cum Burley and Potternewton. The significance of these sources is increased by the paucity of possible alternatives. Only three Poor Rate books survive, covering two of the three out-townships. Before the 1820s Leeds newspapers and directories showed little awareness of the existence of the outlying parts of the parish. Not until the late 1880s did directory compilers attempt comprehensive coverage of the rapidly increasing suburban population, and even then the lower strata were ignored. Property advertisements in the local press provide an indication of what was for sale and where, but not what was sold. Property deeds provide a prosaic antidote to the wilder claims of vendors.

Small scale maps and census enumerators' returns enable assessments to be made of the physical extent and social composition of the growing suburbs, but only at the dates for which they are available, the latter only to 1871. Between 1850 and 1890 no map was published covering the three out-townships; during the 1870s the Leeds Medical Officer of Health published data concerning the distribution of disease which depicted only the inner ring of Headingley cum Burley and Potternewton, and so inaccurately that groups of built-up streets were to be found drawn at ninety degrees to their

true alignment. The complete township surveys and accompanying maps which resulted from the carrying out of Acts of Inclosure and of Tithe Commutation Awards are an especially valuable starting point from which to work both forwards and backwards in time. Unfortunately, the detail provided by the material itself is static, the occasional building ground artificially frozen into inactivity. Another major disadvantage implicit in a wholly map-based approach would be the resulting tendency to examine suburbanisation as a two level process, equating the landowner of the survey period with the future developer of the estate, and ignoring for want of evidence the role of the speculator in building and building finance.

The actions of the decision makers in Headingley cum Burley, Potternewton, and Chapel Allerton are set within a chronological framework, the internal divisions of which reflect modifications in local transport systems: the first attempt at horse drawn public transport in 1818; the arrival of the railway in 1847; and the introduction of the horse drawn tram in 1871. However, the introduction of new forms of transport between city centre and suburb was not a principal factor controlling the rate of suburban growth. The quickening of the pace of growth in Headingley cum Burley between 1851 and 1861 and in Potternewton between 1861 and 1871 (see Tables 1 and 2) occurred during the latter half of the horse drawn bus era. Similarly, during the thirty years of the horse drawn tram, 1871 - 1901, the fastest growth occurred between 1891 and 1901 after the opening up of the largest estates in Headingley and Potternewton for building purposes. Suburban growth was not a simple transport led development, but a more complex process involving several stages of decision making, commencing with that of the pre-development landowner.

TABLE 1

NINETEENTH CENTURY POPULATION INCREASE AND ITS
CHANGING DISTRIBUTION; LEEDS AND THE NORTHERN OUT-TOWNSHIPS.¹

AREA	ACRES	YEAR										
		1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871 ^x	1881	1891	1901
Chapel Allerton	2,812	1,054	1,362	1,678	1,934	2,580	2,842	3,083	3,847	4,324	4,377	5,841
Headingley cum Burley	3,185	1,313	1,670	2,154	3,849	4,768	6,105	9,674	13,942	19,138	29,911	41,561
Potternewton	1,709	509	571	664	863	1,241	1,385	1,878	3,457	5,107	9,629	25,987
Leeds In-Township	2,737	30,669	35,951	48,603	71,602	88,741	101,343	117,566	139,362	160,109	177,523	177,920
Leeds Borough	20,392	53,162	62,534	83,796	123,393	151,874	172,023	206,881	258,817	308,628	367,059	428,572

1. Complete reorganisation of the registration districts between 1901 and 1911 precludes the possibility of continuing the series to include the results of the 1911 census.

TABLE 2

CHANGING POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN LEEDS IN-TOWNSHIP AND THE NORTHERN OUT-TOWNSHIPS
AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL BOROUGH POPULATION, 1801 - 1901.

TOWNSHIP	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Chapel Allerton	1.98	2.18	2.00	1.57	1.70	1.65	1.49	1.49	1.40	1.19	1.36
Headingley cum Burley	2.47	2.67	2.57	3.12	3.14	3.55	4.68	5.39	6.20	8.15	9.70
Potternewton	0.96	0.91	0.79	0.70	0.82	0.81	0.91	1.34	1.65	2.62	6.06
Leeds In-Township	57.69	57.49	58.0	58.03	58.43	58.91	56.83	53.85	51.88	48.36	41.51

CHAPTER ONE

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRE-DEVELOPMENT
PATTERN OF LANDOWNERSHIP.

To Whitaker, writing in 1816, it seemed possible to trace back the settlement of merchant families in the northern out-townships to the release of former monastic properties on to the land market after 1539. Referring both to Headingley and to Chapel Allerton he stated

After the dissolution of the monasteries, when land became marketable, and still later, when by the profits of trade, estates, if brought to sale, were sure of purchasers, these two townships from the fertility of their soil, and the purity of the air, became the first settlements of merchants who had either withdrawn from trade, or in consequence of their opulence could afford a temporary retreat from dust and smoke. Of the former the Wades,¹ of New Grange, appear to have been the first.

Events in Chapel Allerton conformed closely to the pattern described by Whitaker. In 1566 lands including the manors of Horsforth and Chapel Allerton were granted by the crown to Lord Clynton and Saye, High Admiral, and Leonard Irby.² Within twelve months both manors had been resold, that of Chapel Allerton to a group of eight men,³ five of whom already dwelt within the township in 1545.⁴ The disposal of the Headingley lands of Kirkstall Abbey was a more long drawn out series of transactions. In 1542 they had been included amongst a considerable number of properties granted by the crown to Thomas

1. Reverend T.D. Whitaker, Loidis and Elmete, (1816), p.121. See maps I and II.
2. Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth I, 1563-6, III (1960), p.450, C66/1025/2559/VII.
3. Ibid, p.518, C66/1028/2906.
4. 'Lay Subsidy of the Wapentake of Skyrac, June, October, 1545; February 1545/6', Thoresby Society, IX (1899), p.141.

Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.¹ However, these lands reverted once again to the crown after Cranmer's attainder during the reign of Mary. All except the monastic site was resold in 1564 by Elizabeth I to Robert Savile of Lincolnshire and Rowland Haywarde, Alderman of London.² Four years later Thomas Cranmer, son of the late archbishop, obtained the crown's interest in the site of the monastery at Kirkstall;³ the demesne lands he subsequently sold to one Sir Thomas Cecill⁴ who in turn sold them to Sir Robert Savile.⁵

The earliest of the new settlers upon the former monastic lands in Headingley were the Foxcroft family from the Halifax area. The establishment of the Wades of New Grange, noted by Whitaker, came as a result of intermarriage with the Foxcrofts and land purchase from them.⁶ How and when the latter obtained their estates at Weetwood and New Grange is not clear. They were certainly established at Barre Grange adjoining Kirkstall Abbey in February 1575/6,⁷ but this property was sold to the Saviles in the early seventeenth century.⁸ Leeds merchants are absent from transactions involving former Kirkstall Abbey Lands in Headingley during the sixteenth century. Conversely, the new arrivals from the Halifax

1. PRO, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 1542, XVII (1900), p256, No.443/15.
2. PRO, Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth I, 1563-6, III (1960), p148, C66/1005/756.
3. PRO, Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth I, 1566-9, IV (1964), pp309-10, C66/1051/1810.
4. Calendar of Proceedings in Chancery, Elizabeth I, 3 vols (1827-32), I (1827), edited by J.W. Bayley, p212, C.c.22., No.18.
5. Ibid, III (1832), p319, W.w.26, No.41.
6. Yorkshire Pedigrees, transcribed and edited by J.W. Walker, Harleian Society, XLVI (1944), pp406-9.
7. Leeds Parish Church Register, Thoresby Society, I (1891), p13.
8. Leeds Corporation Deeds (hereafter LCD) 14910.

area became significant members of the ruling Leeds oligarchy in the seventeenth century although only one of them was described as a merchant during this period.

In terms of availability for purchase the former monastic lands proved by the end of the eighteenth century to have been less accessible than land which had always been individually owned. Whitaker's claim that 'a new race of gentry, raised by trade, planted themselves principally on the parcelled demesnes of Kirkstall Abbey' is misleading.¹ Even in 1816 the most significant feature both in Headingley, and in Potternewton, where monastic influence had been slight, was the large acreage held by members of the aristocracy. More than half the area of Headingley township was owned by the Earl of Cardigan as a result of inheritance in 1671 after marriage into the Savile family during their short-lived seventeenth-century period as Earls of Sussex.² The total acreage owned by the Earl of Mexborough and Earl Cowper constituted more than half of the area of Potternewton township. Of the three earls only Mexborough had the major part of his estates and principal residence in Yorkshire.³

Cardigan and Cowper were alike in that their estates in the Leeds area constituted only a small portion of their total landholdings. The principal Cowper estates were in Kent and Hertfordshire, those of the Cardigans in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. The most recently

1. Whitaker, loc.cit.
2. J.W. Clay, Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills illustrative of Sir William Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire in 1665, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series (hereafter YASRS), IX (1890), p156.
3. The family, Savile of Methley, Lords of the Manor of Potternewton, were raised to the Irish Peerage in 1753. Not to be confused with the previous Saviles, Earls of Sussex who were originally the Saviles of Howley.

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acquired estate was that of Earl Cowper, it having been left to the second earl by his uncle, John Clavering, on condition that the family took Clavering as an additional surname. In 1762 Clavering died; by 1764 the family name was Clavering-Cowper and they were in possession of the lands in Potternewton.

The ranks of the titled estate owners during the eighteenth century were completed by two Wiltshire baronets, the Englefields in Headingley and the Tilney Longs in Potternewton. Neither family had close contact with the Leeds area, no attention was paid to them by Thoresby or Whitaker although both antiquaries were avid pursuers of genealogies. Between the purchase of their estate in 1697 and its sale in 1802 the Tilney Longs appear to have wielded no local influence despite their great wealth by the end of the century.¹ Neither did the Englefields who first appear in a Leeds context in 1758 when they had a survey made of their lands at Weetwood;² they were a devout Catholic family, nineteenth-century members of which resided for much of their time in and around Rome.³ As late as the second decade of the eighteenth century the Foxcrofts still retained the Weetwood estate although their influence in Leeds ruling circles had ended before the death of Daniel Foxcroft III in 1696.⁴

During the seventeenth century two families with Leeds merchanting connections purchased lands in Headingley.

1. LCD 12336; J. and J.B. Burke, The Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, (2nd edition 1844), Long of Westminster.
2. Leeds City Archives (hereafter LCA), Oates MSS, OA/1, 1758 Map.
3. University of Leeds Deeds (hereafter ULD) 1.
4. The Court Books of the Leeds Corporation, 1662-1705, transcribed by J.G. Clark, Thoresby Society, XXXIV (1936), pp204-5; J. Wardell, The Municipal History of Leeds, (1846), List of Aldermen 1684, Appendix, p.clx.

George Banister II, son of the first town clerk of Leeds after the Restoration, had purchased the North Hall estate in the in-township of Leeds and in consequence had also become seized of a small area of land called Burley Carr which extended over the township boundary into Headingley cum Burley.¹ A larger estate of nearly three hundred acres which comprised most of the Headingley Hill area was purchased by John Walker the elder from the Earl of Cardigan in 1673. Before the purchase Walker had been tenant of an adjoining farm on the earl's estate, but was described as a gentleman in the accompanying legal documents. John Walker II was sent to Grays Inn, London and was instrumental in father and son jointly obtaining a mortgage of £1,060. on security of the estate in 1694 from Sir Leonard Robinson, Chamberlain of the City of London.² In 1709 John Walker II was appointed Recorder to the town council of Leeds, a post which he retained for twenty years. Thoresby in 1715 described him as a merchant and also brother-in-law of George Banister II.³

Only one other Leeds family can be identified as owners of land in Headingley in 1711, the Iverson family, members of which were mayors of Leeds on two occasions during the eighteenth century. The second of these, Edward Iverson, in 1722 a gentleman of Black Bank, Leeds attempted unsuccessfully to sell eighty acres of timber called Cookridge Wood.⁴ The only Leeds town connection which can be established with landownership in Potternewton before 1750 also dates from the seventeenth

1. R. Thoresby, Ducatus Leodiensis, (second edition edited by Reverend T. D. Whitaker 1816), p.92; LCA, DB44, Beckett Papers, Lease and Release 24/25 August 1752.
2. ULD 178; LCD 9452. This mortgage was not redeemed until the nineteenth century.
3. Thoresby, op.cit., p.55.
4. Leeds Mercury (hereafter LM), March 1722.

century; in 1642 the rent of a farm at Broom Hill was given to the poor people of Leeds by one Samuel Cassan, passing under the control of the town's charitable Pious Uses Trustees.¹

Thus the attractions of the northern out-townships x had largely failed to attract land purchases for residential purposes by Leeds merchants before the mid-eighteenth century. Indeed the first quarter of the + eighteenth century proved something of a hiatus during which the new residences depicted by Cossins in 1725 x were erected on the fringes of the contemporary built up area for the accommodation of the wealthier merchant families.² Whitaker, in his endeavour to associate the merchant subscribers to his volume with an unbroken tradition of outward movement several centuries old was accurately describing a movement which had gained in momentum only during the fifty years previous to his v writing. This resurgence after 1750 was of a dual nature, on the one hand a search for a country way of life whilst still tied to business, and on the other the search for a suitable investment medium for profits. The source of that profit was principally woollen merchant- ing abroad, but also included occasional instances from other spheres of economic activity - glass manufacture, banking and legal business, and also from printing and the proprietorship of the local newspaper.

The first major sale of the second half of the century occurred in 1752 when the descendants of George Banister II who were Newcastle merchants sold their Leeds property including Burley Carr for £4,000.³

1. Thoresby, op.cit., p56.
2. J. Cossins, A New and Exact Plan of the Town of Leeds, (1725).
3. LCA, DB44, Beckett Papers, 2/1.

The purchaser was James Fenton, head of a former Leeds merchant family which was developing colliery and glass-works interests at Rothwell. Fifteen years later Ismay noted that the Fentons continued to live at Rothwell Haigh in a mansion house 'coloured and painted red, with gardens and a canal stocked with swans and other water fowl'.¹ The North Hall estate purchase was therefore not for residential purposes but was a long term investment in land within one mile of the edge of the urban core of Leeds. The attraction of the investment was that Fentons only had to pay £500. in 1752, the remainder of the purchase price standing on security of the property at an interest rate of four per cent per annum. The long term nature of this investment was revealed in 1773 when the next generation of the parties completed the 1752 transaction. To enable the Fentons to do this it was still necessary for them to obtain a mortgage of £1,000. at five per cent annual interest rate from Charles Brandling, the colliery and railroad proprietor. This mortgage remained to be paid off in full another twenty years later. The advantage of this purchase must have been in the possibility of making most of the mortgage interest payments out of the rents of the estate whilst from 1780 onwards the rise in land values plus the proximity of the estate to the fringe of the built up area of Leeds ensured the ultimate profitability of the investment.

Three closes adjoining the Burley portion of the above estate, comprising ten acres, were purchased in 1765 by Abraham Walker, a Leeds dyer, for £735. with the aid of a £400. mortgage from a Potternewton widow. After ten years administration of his will the trustees in 1777 defaulted in the mortgage repayments and the land was

1. Reverend J. Ismay, 'A Visit to Chapel Allerton and Harwood [sic] in 1767' Thoresby Society, XXXVII (1942), p343.

put up for sale. It was purchased for £860. through a nominee by Joseph Green, a Leeds merchant, who was also one of the trustees. Once again completion of the transaction was deferred, £400. not having to be paid until Walker's youngest child reached the age of majority.¹ For Green, as for Walker, the advantage of such a small parcel of land cannot have been in the prospects for its agricultural improvement, nor did he create a residential estate on the land.² The probability that this purchase represented the investment of the current profits of one of the major export merchant companies in Leeds, Green and Ridsdales, who in 1782 had a reported turnover of £20,000., is strengthened by the will which Green made immediately after his purchase.³ Therein Green bequeathed the land to Ann Ridsdale, widow in trust for her infant son Francis. In 1790 Francis Ridsdale sold the land to Robert Bramley, a partner in R. and R. Bramley, another major Leeds firm of export merchants, the price rising to £1,147. Notwithstanding a slump in land values between 1778 and 1780⁴ this later price represented a fifty per cent rise in the average yearly increase in value of the land during the period 1777 to 1790 compared to the period 1767 to 1777.⁵

A partner in a third large firm of Leeds merchants, Thomas Lloyd, purchased the forty-seven acre Hill Top farm which overlooked the two estates previously discussed; for this land he paid £3,400. in 1785.⁶ In spite of its

1. LCD 13978.
2. At the time of the 1777 sale the closes were tenanted by a neighbouring farmer. LM, 1 April 1777.
3. 'Extracts from an Old Leeds Merchant's Memorandum Book: 1770-1786', transcribed by J. Singleton, Thoresby Society, XXIV (1918), p37; LCD 13978.
4. R.G. Wilson, Gentlemen Merchants, (1971), pp223-4.
5. 1767 to 1777; + £14.10.0. average per year; 1777 to 1790; + £22. per year.
6. LCD 9176; the firm of Lloyds and Company ranked joint fourth by value of exported cloths in January 1782.

proximity to the town this estate was hidden from the view of the inhabitants by the brow of the hill and also had the possible additional advantage to Lloyd of nearness to his wife's ancestral home at New Grange. However, rather than develop a residential estate on the land Lloyd chose to take a lease of Horsforth Hall, three miles farther away from Leeds, and continued to let the farm for agricultural purposes.

A similar course of action was taken by John Beckett, a Leeds banker; in 1793 he purchased the Fentons' North Hall estate including Burley Carr for £10,500.¹ Until 1797 the family continued to reside in a mansion house at Mill Hill in the town, and although they may have lived at North Hall for a short period after that date, they were established in Meanwood Hall amongst the countryside of Chapel Allerton by 1801. Subsequently they transferred to Gledhow Hall, again taking a lease of the property.² When Beckett did purchase a residential estate it was far away from Leeds, at Sowerby Park in Lincolnshire. Both Beckett and Lloyd appear to have acted in anticipation of the expansion of the new west end of Leeds residential developments along the line of the turnpike road from Park Lane towards Burley and Kirkstall. Beckett had special reason to be aware of the potential profitability, having married into the Wilson family, owners of the in-township estate on which the westward expansion had first been encouraged. It was his decision to break with the policy of waiting upon increasing land values which made it necessary for him to specify in his draft will of 1826 that he was willing for this particular estate to be sold after his death in part payment of

1. LCA, DB44, Beckett Papers, 2/4.

2. Leeds Intelligencer (hereafter LI), 6 February 1797; 3 March 1800; 12 October 1801; LCA, DB44, Beckett Papers, /6.

legacies to his children.¹ By then, as Beckett saw, the circumstances surrounding the development of the west end of Leeds had altered considerably.²

In addition to investment in land on the fringe of the town, individuals still active in trade and commerce were purchasers of moderate sized estates of between two hundred and three hundred acres on the periphery of the parish of Leeds. One of the largest of the outlying estates was that created by Jeremiah Dixon, another of the major Leeds export merchants. In the 1760s he had purchased several adjoining estates in Chapel Allerton and erected a capital residence.³ Since then Dixon had continued to expand his landholdings, acquiring contiguous estates held by absentee owners. In 1771 he added 135 acres in Potternewton for the sum of £8,000. from the heirs of another merchant, Christopher Hecksletter of Hamburg. The latter had come into possession of the estate as nephew and devisee of a Hamburg 'merchant adventurer', Christopher Watkinson.⁴ Ten days later. Dixon paid £1,400. for fourteen acres owned by a Mrs. Hodgson of Wakefield. By the time of his death in 1782 Jeremiah Dixon was head of the third largest export merchant firm in Leeds and owner of 1,050 acres of land in the parish, principally in Potternewton and Chapel Allerton. His son, John Dixon, added only marginally to this accumulation, paying £2,500. for a house and 23 acres in Potternewton in 1790, the vendor being the grandson of another Leeds merchant, William Preston.

1. ICA, DB44, Beckett Papers, 2/4.
2. M.W. Beresford, 'Prosperity Street and Others: An Essay in Visible Urban History', in Leeds and Its Region, edited by M.W. Beresford and G.R.J. Jones, (1967), pp191-2.
3. He purchased the Gledhow estate of the Wilson family in 1764 and the manor of Chapel Allerton from John Killingbeck in 1766. Rev.T.D. Whitaker, op.cit., p130, LCD 21832.
4. LCD 12336; 14425.

The only instance of a resale occurred in 1776 when the forty acres Harehills farm was sold to Griffith Wright, proprietor of the local Tory newspaper, The Leeds Intelligencer. Although Wright landscaped the grounds he continued to live in the farmhouse, the 'ancient message' of his claim to the Potternewton enclosure commissioner in 1803.

Jeremiah Dixon's purchases in Chapel Allerton during the 1760s were emulated on a smaller scale by at least two other Leeds merchants. One, George Oates, was already an out-township resident, of Potternewton, in 1765 when he purchased Carr House Farm. In 1766 the estate was forty-six acres; by 1771 Oates owned three farms and eighty-six acres in Chapel Allerton.¹ The other merchant, George Lloyd, was a Manchester merchant who had entered the Leeds woollen trade in the mid 1760s. By 1783 he was the owner of the twenty-eight acres Tunnel How estate in Chapel Allerton.²

Amongst the earlier purchasers of an estate at the outer limits of the parish was Sir Thomas Denison, a member of the wealthiest merchant family in Leeds who had entered the legal profession and risen to become a judge at the Court of King's Bench. He died in 1765, having recently completed the erection of a new house and park, Meanwood Hall, in Chapel Allerton.³ Under Sir Thomas's will the estate ultimately passed into the hands of the Beckett family, the beneficiary Edmund Beckett taking the name of Denison in 1816.⁴

1. LC Ref, G. Oates, A Survey of Carr House Farm, 1766. A Survey of the estate belonging to George Oates, lying at Moor Town, 1771. LCA, Oates MSS, O/B10, Lease and Release C. Neville to G. Oates, 30/31 August 1765.
2. LCD 2849.
3. LI, 23 May 1769.
4. R.V. Taylor, Leeds Worthies, (1865), pp169-70.



Photograph 1.

NEW GRANGE, HEADINGLEY,
rebuilt 1752 for
THE WADE FAMILY.
Nineteenth-Century
alterations for
W. Beckett, Banker.
(O.o).

Photograph 2. GLEDHOW HALL, CHAPEL ALLERTON, c.1770 Built
for J. DIXON, merchant. The Old Hall Burnt Down 1769. (O.o).



A London banker, Thomas Nicholson, became a Potternewton landowner as a result of his joint purchase with Samuel Elam, a Leeds banker and merchant, of a 1,300 acres estate in the neighbouring Roundhay township.¹ The former, like Dixon, erected a large mansion and created a parkland setting for it. The series of purchases of the wealthy Leeds export merchants was concluded by Thomas Strother when in 1802 he was the successful bidder at auction for 370 acres of the Potternewton estate of the devisees of Sir James Tilney. His investment of £23,000. was in agricultural land with only limited road access and he never created a residential estate for himself upon it.²

Only one estate passed into outside control as a result of marriage. In 1781 James Graham³ married the daughter of a local clergyman, heiress to several old established families, the line of which had died out. This was a leasehold estate of 280 acres, held on a five hundred year lease from the Earl of Cardigan. The lease had been granted in 1652 by Thomas Lord Viscount Savile, to commence twenty-one years after the longest of three lives. An active Royalist during the Civil War, he had been imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1645 and released after compounding for his delinquency by a fine of £8,000., later reduced by half. The following decade was taken up with his attempts to avoid payment. The year 1652 was one during which his estates were threatened with sequestration, and amongst his actions to raise money were the issuing of three five hundred year leases to one of his tenants, Abraham Hinchcliffe. Gentleman,

1. R.G. Wilson, op.cit., pp204-5. The associated description of the Wade family ownership of Headingley and of the break up of their holdings about 1800 is erroneous. This estate was to survive into the first decade of the twentieth century.
2. LCD 12336.
3. Lawyer and agent, member of parliament, later created a baronet.

tenant farmer on a large scale, and member of the Leeds Corporation, Hinchcliffe paid entry fines totalling £330. on a yearly rental of £229. During the war he had been more than just Savile's tenant; in 1642 a trunk filled with money and valuables belonging to Savile was discovered hidden in the former gatehouse of Kirkstall Abbey, then Hinchcliffe's home; in 1649 Hinchcliffe himself was accused of delinquency for raising horses and arms against the forces of parliament.¹

Most of the changes in landownership which took place during the second half of the eighteenth century reflected the increasing financial gains made by the larger Leeds export merchants. They represented an affluent minority within the Leeds merchant community, the leaders of the civic and social life of the town, treated as equals by at least the lesser local gentry. Although their achievements in the mercantile world and subsequent land purchases did not make them the largest land owning group in Headingley cum Burley and Potternewton they did represent a possible source of new attitudes to the exploitation of land.

Jeremiah Dixon's establishment as Lord of the Manor of Chapel Allerton was followed by disagreement between the Leeds merchant and the Lord of the Manor of Potternewton, the Earl of Mexborough, about the position of the boundary line between the two townships on Chapeltown common. During the 1770s Mexborough's agents claimed that Dixon had enticed 'by threats and fair promises' cottagers on the common to attend his manorial courts. It was also claimed that Dixon 'was constantly giving

1. LCD 14910: Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers, Volume II, edited by J.W. Clay, YASRS, XVIII (1895), No. 78, pp7-10; Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills, edited by J.W. Clay, YASRS, IX (1890), p156; 'Papers Relating to the Delinquency of Lord Savile, 1642-1646', edited by J.J. Cartwright, Camden Society, New Series XXXI (1883), pp22-3.

leave to persons to make bricks, or was digging and carrying away stone, gravel etc.' In retribution the Mexborough agents had threatened to demolish the brick works, but the poor persons who had made them, had pretended ignorance of the dispute.¹

In 1773 Dixon entered a complaint in the Duchy of Lancaster Court against the Attorney-General and the Earl of Mexborough in order to settle the dispute.² However, his opponents argued that the action had been brought merely to forestall a similar complaint by the Earl. Although the boundary and distribution of common rights had been the subject of periodic dispute during the previous hundred years it was not until the more rigorous business attitude of Dixon had been introduced that a legal rather than customary solution was required. The Mexborough estate representatives appear to have been taken aback by the extent of Dixon's claim upon the common; he sought to transfer at least eighty acres of Potternewton's share to his Manor of Chapel Allerton, leaving Potternewton with only fifty acres of common altogether.

However, reaction to the continued expansion of Leeds and the resultant possibilities of financial reward was never to produce a division of attitudes upon a simple mercantile against old-established landowner basis. For the merchant newly possessed of an agricultural estate there were the pleasures and problems of a landed proprietor to be experienced. For the less moribund of the older established landowners the very success of the new arrival was liable to act as a spur to consideration of ways and means of producing equivalent rewards from their estates.

1. LCA, Mexborough MSS, Mx7.
2. Half of Potternewton common was the subject of a lease from the Duchy of Lancaster to the Earl of Mexborough; the land had passed from monastic hands to the Crown in 1539.

CHAPTER TWO

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ESTATE DEVELOPMENT
AND LANDSCAPE CHANGE.

Both Thoresby and Whitaker, observing the topography of the northern out-townships from the opposite ends of the eighteenth century, subordinated the physical features of the landscape to matters of antiquarian and dynastic interest.¹ In 1714 the principal residences of Potternewton were considered by Thoresby to be old-fashioned; Scot Hall was an 'ancient manor house'; Newton Hall 'low and shady' was 'a venerable old Fabrick'; and standing between them was another 'ancient fabrick'. This was the Lindley house recorded on a 1580 plan of Earl Cowper's Potternewton estate.² Headingley was slightly better endowed, Weetwood Hall having been rebuilt by Daniel Foxcroft in 1625 and New Grange rebuilt by Benjamin Wade in 1626. Of Moor Grange and Barre Grange, the Headingley cum Burley granges of Kirkstall Abbey, only the sites remained, the former occupied by more recent farm buildings.

Also recorded by Thoresby was a list of the mills which lined the beck running from Adel into the River Aire below Leeds Bridge. '3. At Weetwood, Mr. Foxcrofts, for fulling cloth. 4. Hedingley moor corn mill Mr. Walkers. 5. At the ridge, a fulling mill. 6. At the Ridge, a Redwood mil: Mr. Saviles of Medley. 7. Scot mil for Corn ditto, Esq. Saviles.'³ Evidence of the medieval Hesylewell smithies at Weetwood and of the medieval corn mill at the foot of the Ridge had disappeared by Thoresby's time. The corn mill site may

1. R. Thoresby, Ducatus Leodiensis, (1715); Reverend T.D. Whitaker, Loidis and Elmete, (1816).
2. Hertfordshire County Record Office (hereafter HCRO), Cowper MSS, C4598.
3. 'Extracts from Ms. Book Written or Possessed by Ralph Thoresby', Thoresby Society, XXVIII (1927), p456.

however have been converted to the fulling of cloth. Other mills went unnoticed: the Cowper estate in Potternewton had a mill on Gipton beck recorded in 1580 and the Cardigan estate had both a fulling mill and a cloth mill at Kirkstall on a goit leading off from the River Aire.¹ This may have been the last functioning part of Barre Grange, the 'oon walke milne at Barre Grange', which had been the subject of sixteenth-century litigation over tithe payments.² In addition there were ironworks on the bank of the River Aire upstream of Kirkstall Abbey, adjoining the boundary with Horsforth and developed not by the monks but by the Savile family.³

Lesser eighteenth-century habitations received little attention from contemporary chroniclers, nor did their occupants. Early maps provide evidence only of the number of separately recorded buildings and neither the number of dwelling units nor other than the most obvious uses of buildings can be deduced. The most informative survey was that recorded by Dickinson in 1711 of the Earl of Cardigan's manors of Headingley, Kirkstall and Burley, an estate which encompassed the three major concentrations of settlement within the township.⁴ As Lords of the Manor the family had an interest in cottage encroachments upon the waste, and because the surveyor also included small freeholds which came within the main compass of the estate he produced a complete representation of the physical extent of the

1. HCRO, Cowper MSS, C4598; Northamptonshire County Record Office (hereafter NCRO), Brudenell MSS, Map 39, J. Dickinson, A Map of All The Lands belonging to the Earl of Cardigan in his manor of Hedingley, Kirkstall and Burley, Near Leeds, 1711.
2. Select Sixteenth Century Causes in Tithe, edited by J.S. Purvis, YASRS, LXIV (1947), pp7-9.
3. R.A. Mott, 'Kirkstall Forge and monkish iron-making', Thoresby Society, LIII (1971), pp154-66.
4. NCRO, Brudenell MSS, Map 39, Dickinson Map, 1711.



Photograph 3.

At Buslingthorpe, Potternewton: surviving portion of the Mexborough estate Scott Hall mills complex.

Photograph 4.

Dyson's house, Burley; occupied as a farmhouse in 1711, as two dwellings by 1828; now four dwellings.



three hamlets. Burley was the largest, with twenty-seven separately distinguished buildings; two farms in the village worked most of the fields adjoining the settlement. One of the holdings included a close known as Lower Tenter Croft, suggesting local domestic woollen cloth manufacture in a location favourably sited in relation both to the Leeds market and to the fulling mill at Kirkstall. However, in 1806 James Graham, the local landowner, discounted the possibility of the domestic cloth industry being present in the township before 1781, which suggests a much earlier existence of industry, dying out before the eighteenth century. An additional source of employment at Burley during this period came from at least one stone and slate quarry.¹

The smaller hamlets of Headingley and Kirkstall each had fourteen buildings represented on the map of 1711. At Kirkstall settlement was grouped into three clusters of buildings, two being adjacent to the corn and fulling mills, and the third alongside the road from Leeds where it descended the hill to the first bridging point over the River Aire upstream of Leeds Bridge. This was the eighteenth-century route between Leeds and Halifax, a route 'much used and frequented for and carriage and conveyance of wooll, woollen manufactures, dying ware, corn malt, fruit, other commodities etc.'² The poor condition of the road resulting from heavy year-round traffic culminated in pressure for it to be created a turnpike road. From the foundation of the turnpike in 1740 until 1752 local traffic to the mills at Kirkstall was exempt from the tolls when 'carrying Corn, Dying-woods, Rape-seeds, or Cloth, to the said

1. LM, 23 March 1742.

2. 14 George II, cap.32, (1740), An Act for repairing and enlarging the Roads...Selby...Leeds...Halifax.

Mills, to be ground and fulled,.....or carrying from those Mills, meal, dying-wood, oil, or cloth, ground, made and fulled at those mills.' ¹ The third cluster of buildings at Kirkstall was a large inn with stables and outbuildings for the use of the many travellers described by the proponents of turnpiking. The six fulling stocks working in the mills in 1738 ² must have drawn their custom from the domestic clothiers of Bramley and Armley townships on the other side of the river.

Eighteenth-century Headingley village was notable only for its oak tree, believed then to have been the one beneath which the medieval S kyrack wapentake moot had taken place. In addition there was a chapel and a residence called Headingley Hall, the rented home of John Walker, recorder of Leeds and owner of the adjoining estate. Of the remaining buildings surveyed by Dickinson in 1711 two-thirds of them were associated with six small sized agricultural holdings, only three of which formed compact working units. Unlike Burley there was no suggestion of encroachment on roadside waste, the area sometimes described as Headingley green was not separately distinguished but split up into seven enclosures. The central island of the village apparent during the nineteenth century may have come about as the result of an increased flow of northward traffic taking what had been primarily a farmyard access lane instead of the road past Headingley church. By 1781 one of the most obvious routeways to the map maker and surveyor John Tuke was that from the Leeds to Halifax turnpike at Kirkstall bridge, up the hill to Headingley village,

1. 25 George II, cap.55, (1752), An act for explaining and amending an Act...of 14 George II.

2. IM, 15 August 1738.

across the Moor on the line of the present day Shaw Lane, over the Meanwood beck at Monkbridge and across Moortown Leys to connect with the principal north-eastward route from Leeds along the Leeds to Harrogate turnpike.¹

From Kirkstall bridge the direct, though equally hilly route into Leeds was along the Burley Old Road,² the route traversed by John Warburton, surveyor of the major roads, in 1719.³

The principal route from Headingley village into Leeds was created the Leeds-Otley turnpike road in 1754.⁴ Between 1740 and 1754 the improvements to Leeds principal trading routes which passed through the northern out-townships had also had the effect of increasing the accessibility of parts of those townships from central Leeds. New turnpikes through Potternewton, to Roundhay in 1808, and to Meanwoodside in Chapel Allerton in 1829, completed the basic road network for future suburban North Leeds commuters.

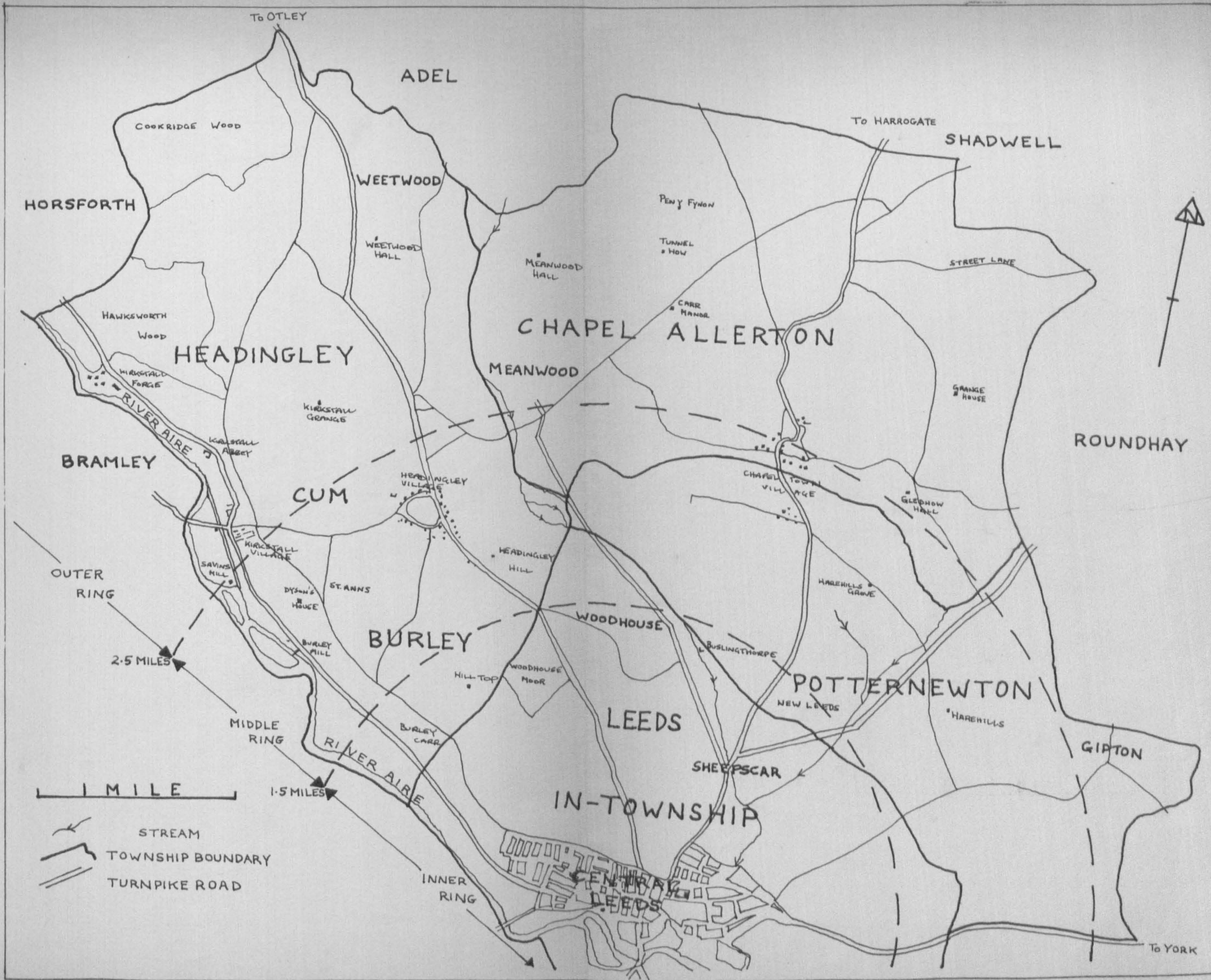
Eighteenth-century Potternewton had even fewer links with industry than Headingley cum Burley. The township was notable 'for its healthful and free Air, as for Races and other diverting Exercises, one or both of which might possibly influence the Gentry to reside here, where we shall find a greater Number than in any other Township in the Parish.'⁴ As the eighteenth century progressed the Leeds newspapers began to report on sporting events on Potternewton common including foot

1. John Tuke, A Map of the Parish or Borough of Leeds, 1781. The Leeds to Harrogate road was turnpiked in 1752.

2. This was the route created the Leeds to Halifax turnpike in 1740.

3. W. B. Crump, 'The Genesis of Warburton's "Map of Yorkshire" 1720,' Thoresby Society, XXVIII (1927), pp. 403-4.

4. Thoresby, op.cit., p113.



MAP 1. THE NORTHERN OUT-TOWNSHIPS OF LEEDS c.1830.

and horse races, and cricket matches.¹ By 1762 the Lord of the Manor was seeking a financial return from such events and 'no Scaffold, Tent or Booth' was to be erected at the races before payment to his steward.² The pleasantness of the area attracted people out from Leeds for the day, some of the more fortunate leased houses there, whilst the most fortunate families owned capital residences on the edge of the greensward. By 1767 a visitor, the Reverend Joseph Ismay, noted 'a long Range of good neat Buildings on each side of the Common with a spacious Plain carpet Ground between each row of Houses. The South side is called POTTER-NEWTON and the North CHAPEL ALLERTON.'³ Amongst the most notable of the houses was that of Lawyer Barker, a 'good old Mansion; with a long Avenue of Trees planted on ye Waste, which forms a beautiful Lawn up to ye House.'⁴ Some forty years before Ismay's visit trees had simply been planted upon the common without any attempt to enclose.⁵

Subsequently Barker had obtained permission to enclose pieces of the waste from Lord Pollington in 1756 and 1761.⁶ The purpose of the later additions had been to create an imposing entrance from the common into the tree lined avenue. This was a semi-circular wall and ditch feature with stone pillars flanking the carriage entrance.

The enduring qualities of life in such a location even at a less ostentatious level were revealed by Ismay.

1. IM, 26 March 1745; LI, 16 May 1758; 7 July 1761.
2. LM, 18 May 1762.
3. Reverend J. Ismay, 'A Visit to Chapel Allerton and Harwood [sic] in 1767', Thoresby Society, XXXVII (1942), pp.337-8.
4. Ibid., p.338.
5. LCA, MX 184, 1803 Claims under the Potternewton Inclosure Act, Evidence of J. W. Smith agent to Henry Barker.
6. LCA, Mexborough MSS, 164/3.

I drank Tea and supped this Evening with Mr. Tim Lee. His House is small, but very neat and commodious. The situation is airy and pleasant, and ye room we sat in commands a fair view of the Tent and Gentlemen playing at Cricket. There is a beautiful Court before ye House, ornamented with dwarf Box, flowering shrubs and some other Plants, and there is a good Garden behind it.¹

A similar standard of accommodation had been available in 1727 when a nine year lease was available on

A handsome new house, with sash windows, four rooms on a floor, with a back kitchen, a copper and a range in it, and grates in most of the rooms, two good cellars, a good stable and barn, two courts before the house, an orchard with good fruit trees in it, and gardens containing two acres, and a croft one acre, a draw well with good washing water.²

By 1782 it was possible to lease even larger and more magnificent residences at Chapeltown. A 'commodious messuage' previously occupied by the Leeds merchant Josiah Oates was available, the premises consisting of:

On the Ground Floor, a Drawing room, Dining Room, Parlour, Kitchen, Servant's Hall, Butler's Pantry and Store Room; up one Pair of Stairs, a Drawing Room, and Six Lodging Rooms, with Rooms in the Attic for Servants. Also 2 Back Kitchens, with two Chambers, a Coach House, and a Stable for five Horses, good Cellars to the House, and the Whole of the Premises well watered; with a Garden well stocked with Fruit Trees, a Fish Pond with Carp, etc. the Ground about the House laid out in Taste, with Shrubs, Gravel Walks etc.³

Amongst the more communal attractions of the area was 'a very good Inn at ye Bowling Green, and excellent

1. Ismay, op.cit., p342.
2. LM, 5 December 1727.
3. LM, 9 April 1782.

Accommodations.¹ Three clubs met there, one for bowling, another for Cricket, and a third called the Lascelles Club. The inn had its origins in a permission by Sir John Savile to his local agent, Clement Burton to erect a good house with a garden and bowling green 'upon part of the Waste Ground of the Manor of Potternewton.'² By 1757 Burton had added a 'Long Room and Chambers over ... at the West End of the said Messuage' and let the whole of the premises to an innkeeper.³

The system of granting a 99-year lease at a low rent which had applied to Burton's work was also used to encourage occasional cottage building schemes. In 1753 John Vaill, described as a yeoman of Potternewton, was given a similar lease in consideration of his having 'built and repaired several Dwelling Houses and Outbuildings and made some Gardens thereto belonging in and upon part of the Waste Ground of the Manor.' These were five cottages later known as the Quarry houses upon which 'the said John Vaill hath expended much money.'⁴ As population increased during the eighteenth century manorial landowners found it convenient to accept encroachment upon the waste of small dwellings in return for a nominal annual sum. The records of the Scott Hall manorial courts contain occasional entries of agreement to pay acknowledgement rents in exchange for the right of building 'a Holme or small building' upon the waste. Surviving rentals and accounts of the manorial estates of Headingley and Potternewton incorporate separate lists of such cottage rents. By 1800 the Headingley cum Burley cottage rental of the Earl of Cardigan comprised

1. Ismay, op.cit., p338.

2. LCA, Mexborough, MSS 790/1. The date is 'some Years before 1753.'

3. Ibid., 790/2; 790/3.

4. Ibid., 789/3.

53 cottages, none of which paid more than three shillings per year.¹ The Earls of Mexborough demanded rather more from their Potternewton cottagers; in 1772 eight of them presented a petition complaining of cottage rents 'which is now Five Shillings in the Pound, exclusive of all Taxes and Repairs.'

The ancient rents which were paid to your Predecessors were thought hard enough, (and when times were much better than now they are) being something above what is commonly charged...., our very neighbouring Town, Chapel Allerton, where there is a great many Lords, and who take but of their Cottagers Twopence, some Fourpence, and non above Sixpence a year, so that our Case is very deplorable, and worthy your Consideration.²

The course of action they requested was that 'the old Rents may be fixed upon us, which would be discharged with the greatest Cheerfulness and Alactricity [sic] - There might be a great many Improvements made in the Manor without this.'³ In 1781 six out of the nineteen cottage rents on this estate were in arrear, having a combined arrear period of 145 years. Only four rents were less than five shillings per year and the highest was one pound per year, but had not been paid for eighteen years.⁴

Such problems with cottage tenants coincide with the wider base and larger scale of cottage property ownership in Potternewton by 1800, a feature lacking in Headingley where no individual held more than four cottages. In 1802 the claimants of common rights in Potternewton included Ann Ingle claiming on behalf of

1. LCA, DB 220, Cardigan MSS, Rental 1800; NCRO, Brudenell MSS, ASR 559, Particular and Valuation of the Yorkshire Estates, 1792 to 1798.

2. LCA, Mexborough MSS, 788/2. 31 August 1772, presented as part of the Potternewton Common rights dispute.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., 541. There was no improvement by 1789.

her seven cottages, Alice Lund for eleven, and the devises of the late Henry Furniss for seventeen.¹ These holdings of the Ingles, a family of stone masons; the Lunds, carpenters and joiners; and of Furniss, a former corn miller, represented a piecemeal investment in and building of cottage property over a lengthy period by local craftsmen, rather than single major building schemes. In 1770 John Ingle left three cottages undivided to his three children, two of whom were bought out by the eldest son, Joseph. Between 1774 and 1784 three more cottages were erected, and another one by 1792, making a total of seven in all. By 1792 Joseph had taken three mortgages totalling £130. to finance his building activities; £50. in 1784 from Thomas Smith, a Leeds innholder; an additional £30. in 1787 from Stephen Beecroft, a Leeds maltster; and another £50. in 1792 from Thomas Thompson, a Leeds turner. At the time of his death in 1798 Joseph Ingle still owed Thompson the accumulated £130. at a five per cent interest rate.²

Less is known of the way in which Furniss accumulated his property except that in 1791 he had purchased a one-third share in two cottages and two closes which were part of the estate of the late John Vaill.³ The process of accumulation followed by William Lund is more fully documented. In 1719 John Wrigglesworth, a Potternewton wheelwright, had purchased a cottage from Joseph Cowper, a local gentleman;⁴ by 1741 he had added a workhouse and cowhouse and sold the premises to Thomas Hirst, a Headingley yeoman. This was subsequently purchased by Richard Backhouse, a farmer of Burley village, and

1. LCA, MX 184, 1803 Claims under the Potternewton Inclosure Act, Ingle, Lund and Furniss.
2. LCD 10094.
3. LCD 12336.
4. LCD 10094.

resold by him in 1786 to William Lund the younger. At the age of 70 his mother recalled that at about 1750 the first property had consisted of 'four cottages....one he used as a Stable....there was also then a Cowhouse.... which has since been converted into a Cottage....All join upon one another.'¹ One of the cottages had a small garden, the others had nothing. Six or seven years after that date three more cottages had been erected on the waste.¹ These were purchased by Lund from John Cadman, a Leeds innkeeper who sold him another four cottages for £120. in 1790. These had been bought by Cadman for £55. in 1763 from William Greenwood, another Leeds innkeeper.²

Comparison of Dickinson's map of 1711 with that by John Tuke in 1781 shows the most significant change in the landscape of Headingley cum Burley during the intervening period again to have been encroachment upon the waste land. At Burley eight encroachments had established themselves on the opposite bank of the stream to the earlier settlement, and a larger set of premises had been built on the other bank between earlier settlement and the stream. Kirkstall had undergone little visible change with the exception of a turnpike gate placed at the junction of the roads from Leeds and from Headingley. At Headingley village there had been additions to the number of buildings by the chapel and on roadside waste to the east of the Leeds to Otley turnpike road. Headingley Moor had been the scene of the greatest amount of change. By 1770 fifty-one acres of common land had been enclosed and given to the curate of Headingley chapel. On part of this a stone-built house with brick coachhouse and stable was erected for

1. LCD 10090.

2. LCD 10094. The John Cadman of 1763 was a tobaccoconist and may have been J. Cadman senior.

the minister, replacing the original vicarage at Burley.¹ North of this development, at Headingley Moor-side half an acre had been enclosed and two large buildings erected; these, although encroachments, comprised a hoŷse, mistal, and stackyard.²

At the opposite end of the out-township's social hierarchy from the labouring population of the encroachment cottages were a few families whose retinue included menservants. In 1780 there were nine such households in the two out-townships subject to the tax on male servants.³ The four male retainers of the Wade family at New Grange and the three of Lawyer Barker's family at Potternewton each represented half of their respective township's total. Of the households having a single manservant × four can be linked with Leeds merchant families, the Horners, Gotts, Oates and Prestons. The only other significant merchant household amongst the out-townships of Leeds at this date was that of Jeremiah Dixon with its five male retainers at the mansion in Chapel Allerton. In spite of his creation of a 1,000-acre country estate in the fields of Potternewton and Chapel Allerton, Dixon's household establishment was far from matching that of his local social superiors, Lady Irwin at Templenewsam having a retinue of fifteen male retainers and Edmund Lascelles having sixteen at Harewood. It was to be another forty years before a later generation of Dixons completed the transition from merchant to landed gentry, withdrawing from trade and purchasing the Chester estates of Lord Delamere.⁴

1. LCA, Headingley Parish Records, Glebe No. 37, 1770 Terrier.
2. LCA, D9 35, Headingley Inclosure, 1829 Survey, collected account of encroachments.
3. J.J. Cartwright, 'List of Persons in Yorkshire who Paid the tax on Male Servants in 1780', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, XIV (1898), pp65-80.
4. LCD 12336.

The presence of eighty-four households with menservants in the Leeds in-township suggests that few of the wealthier families had deemed it necessary to retreat to the out-townships by 1780. However, intermediate locations such as the hamlets of Great and Little Woodhouse amongst the fields of the in-township were proving attractive. A quarter of a century later this popularity was shown to have carried the seeds of its own decline. In 1806 Ryley noted that 'Little Woodhouse... before the town had so much encroached upon it, was a most charming rural spot'.¹ Those who had erected capital residences here during its more select phase had moved on by then. Woodhouse House, 'a magnificent structure' remained empty for several years before 1806 because it was 'too large for a man of moderate fortune, and too near the town to be relished by the country gentleman.'²



1. J. Ryley, Leeds Guide, (1806), pp94-5.
2. Ibid, Woodhouse House was better known as Denison Hall.

BUILDING AND ESTATE DEVELOPMENT, 1781-1818.

3.1 The Agricultural Estate and the Improvement of the Rent Roll.a. Distance and the role of the understeward.

The greatest capability to initiate changes in the landscape lay with the owners of the largest estates, Earls Mexborough, Cowper, and Cardigan. For both Cowpers and Cardigans their Yorkshire estates were the most distant of all their lands from the ancestral home. In the 1790s it was their outlying Lincolnshire estates which the Cardigans sold to ease the debt burden created by successive marriage portions to eligible daughters. During this period Henry Cowper, member of the firm of London lawyers supervising Earl Cowper's business affairs, informed the Estate's Potternewton understeward that 'the only ground of satisfaction that there can be in keeping an estate at such a distance from the Bulk of Lord Cowper's property is the pleasure of knowing that the tenants hold it with content and gratification as to the Rents they pay.'¹ As the London lawyer was then attempting to moderate the tenants' demand for a twenty-five per cent reduction in rent, the amount of satisfaction to be gained from the tenants' contentment must have been minimal.

The distance from the home estate which had been a positive factor in the Cardigans' willingness to sell their Lincolnshire estate was also capable of acting as a negative force. During the eighteenth-century annual visits to the Cardigans' Yorkshire estates were often

1. HCRO, Cowper MSS, D/EPT 4943, Potternewton Agency, Letters Cowper to James Richardson, 1796-1799. H.C. to J.R., October 1797.

postponed or cancelled altogether and the local steward then remitted the rents to the head steward at Deene or to his Lordship's London bankers. However, when the visit did take place it was not merely a matter of collecting rent monies but also of personal survey and inspection of the estates. For example, in 1730 the two days following the rent audit 'were employed in riding over the property and visiting the farms and their families in their own homes, listening to grievances and taking note of requests.'¹ On an estate where the owner's visitations were infrequent, whether by design or accident, the part played by the steward assumed great significance for the successful improvement of the rent roll. From the 1720s until 1793 successive generations of the Elmshall family exercised firm control over the Cardigans' Yorkshire estates, acting as understewards from their base at Wakefield. The next generation of understewards became increasingly involved in the development of the coal resources of the lands around Wakefield. Once the lack of workable mineral resources had been established the Headingley cum Burley lands appear to have been regarded as an agricultural backwater capable of little improvement and requiring little or no supervision as long as the rent roll was maintained.

On the Cowpers' Leeds estate, smaller in area than that of the Earl of Cardigan, a local part-time agent was employed. Unfortunately decisions made in London did not always prove satisfactory. The point was emphasised in 1793 when Cowper's London agents appointed as successor to a previous Potternewton steward a Mr. White who had resided with the former office holder. Although the former steward had given no cause for complaint his erstwhile companion and successor was

1. J. Wake, The Brudenells of Deene, (1953), p242.

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later revealed as an insolvent debtor.¹ The choice as replacement was a fellow professional man, James Richardson, a local attorney, who was eagerly to pursue improvement of the lands under his control. The Mexborough estate at Potternewton had employed a local agent during the middle part of the eighteenth century, but there is no evidence for the continuation of this practice into the next century. Their Potternewton lands were within fifteen miles of the home estate, Methley Park, and were subsequently administered from there by the principal steward. This proximity was probably instrumental in confining the written records of the estate to a mere list of payments by tenants.

b. The pursuit of good husbandry.

Distance from an estate's headquarters did not necessarily imply a lack of control over the agricultural use of the land. Good husbandry was pursued through the granting of leases, and in return for the security of tenure thus granted conditions were written into the contract stipulating farming practices designed to ensure care for the soil. Although a lease granted to Samuel Waddington, a corn factor and farmer of Headingley, by the Earl of Cardigan in 1793 concerned only four and a half acres and a yearly rent of £9., covenants conserving the quality of the land were written into it following the standard procedure used by the estate. Not more than a third of the land was to be in tillage at any time, no 'meadow or ancient Pasture Ground' was to be ploughed up without the Earl's consent. Waddington was also required to covenant that he would 'well and effectually Summer fallow each part of the said Lands that....at any

1. HCRO. Cowper MSS, D/EPT 4942, Potternewton Agency, Letters H. and C. Cowper to James Richardson, 1793-1795. H.C. to J.R. received 1793.

time be used in Tillage once at least in every Six Years And shall not have... more than two Crops of White Corn without the intervention of a Summer's Fallow. ' Positive encouragement was given to the growth of coleseed, turnips or green crops during the fallow period providing that it was eaten on the land by sheep or cattle. Beans or clover 'and any other well known Meliorating Crop... which shall tend to replenish and improve the said Land' could also be grown at that time. In addition either twelve cart loads of manure or twenty-five horse loads of 'well burnt and unfallen Lime' per acre were to be spread on the land when in fallow. A penalty of five pounds per acre was to be imposed for every breach of covenant perpetrated.¹ Having signed the lease the Earl of Cardigan in Northamptonshire placed his trust in his understeward's ensuring that such covenants were observed and upon his steward at Deene keeping a check on the activities of the understeward at Wakefield.

Another means of maintaining improvement was to grant long leases to agricultural tenants willing to spend their own money on new building or on major repairs to existing buildings. The length of Cardigan leases was usually twenty-one years, any longer term being forbidden by the conditions of the family settlement. The Cowper estate, under Richardson's prompting, were signing leases of eleven years duration, this being the shortest term which would not dissuade tenants from financing their own improvements.² The whole of their Potternewton estate was let on such leases in 1798 and again in 1809. Although the Cardigan estate had been let on twenty-one year leases through the eighteenth century a more

1. NCRO, Brudenell MSS, Conveyances I. xv.6, 1 April 1793, Earl of Cardigan to Samuel Waddington.

2. HCRO, Cowper MSS, D/EPT 4943, Letter J.R. to H.C. 14 July 1797.

selective approach was introduced during the 1790s. Yearly tenancies became more frequent, and within ten years nearly half of the estate had been relet on this basis. Improvements made by the estate for yearly tenants resulted in an addition to their rent equal to the amount the money expended would have earned at existing rates of interest. By 1800 even the larger farmers were being transferred to yearly tenancies whilst leases were reserved for those holdings incorporating business premises and for those who had agreed beforehand to undertake a stated amount of improvement to buildings.¹ The last of the leases, signed in 1802, was of this type, the tenant agreeing to build a new barn and stable. By the 1820s leases had been almost completely phased out, only three surviving from the earlier period. A similar policy was adopted by the Cowper estate after the expiry of the 1809 eleven year leases.

c. Alterations to the size of farming units.

Preserving and where possible improving the quality of the estate for agricultural purposes was half of the traditional role of the steward. The other half concerned the improvement of the rent roll. It was in the period from the 1780s through to 1820 that the major landowners discovered that on their Leeds estates the two roles were not necessarily complementary. The traditional paternalistic response was evident on the Cowper estate in 1797 when Richardson wrote that extra income could be obtained if the estate 'were properly divided into small Farms yet...his Lordship had expressed a wish that the rise should be such as would be reasonable for the Old Tenants to acquiesce in if they were desirous of continuing.'²

1. LCA, DB 220, Cardigan MSS, Rental 1800. In 1800 29 out of 52 tenancies were on a yearly basis. 1796-1800 only 6 leases were granted, but 21 yearly tenancies.
2. HCRO, Cowper MSS, D/EPT 4943, Letter from J.R. recipient unknown, 23 September 1797.

The intentions and achievements of Richardson's policy were apparent when the leases next came up for renewal during 1808. A survey and valuation made in that year by a London surveyor, John Claridge, showed that the largest farm on the estate had been poorly managed by the widow of the previous farmer, making 'no more advantage of the Land from its Vicinity to Leeds than if it had been at many miles from the Town except in the sale of Milk.' Her son had not farmed the land, being employed as a bookkeeper in Leeds. At the expiry of the lease in 1809 a new policy was adopted; the farm was broken up into parcels, the larger ones leased out and the smaller occupied from year to year. Claridge reported 'it is let to two persons of Leeds who are likely to improve it and will lay the whole down in grass, and the remainder of this farm is let out to people of the Town chiefly in single fields for convenience of occupations; Twenty-five acres in poor condition which 'after considerable trial... could not be let in single fields to advantage' were nevertheless found a tenant for the whole in one of the principal carriers of Leeds who incorporated it with another seventy-five acres. Instead of the twenty-five shillings an acre that the farm had fetched in 1797 the larger parcels on lease were worth an average of three pounds per acre and the smaller fields for accommodation land let on a yearly basis fetched between three and seven pounds per acre.¹

A similar breakdown of three farms on the Cardigan estate with a combined area of 180 acres took place in 1800, this land being relet in seven parcels. One farm was broken up completely; of the other two farmers, one took sixty-five acres of his previous seventy-five acre holding, but the other retained only twenty-one of

1. Ibid., D/EPT 4949, J. Claridge, 'Survey and Valuation of the Potternewton Estate,' 1808, p18.

his earlier sixty-one acres. Despite transfer to a yearly tenancy these two farms commanded new rentals of only thirty shillings and two pounds per acre respectively. The remaining parcels found tenants at rental nearer to three pounds per acre. This achievement prompted marginal comment by the steward that the total rent from these holdings, which had been £146. in 1794, amounted to £368. in 1800.¹ The eventual result of shrinkage of holding sizes was observed seventy years later, farms were intermixed and 'fields attached to homesteads quite remote,' a contributory factor to the below-average standard of farming found in 1871.²

The relative success in raising rent rolls is shown in Table 3. The Cardigan estate, although it succeeded in increasing its revenue, did not equal until the 1820s the average rentals per acre of the Cowper estate prevailing in the 1790s, nor that current on the Mexborough estate in 1778. On the Cardigan estate a major check on increasing revenues per acre was the fixed income at 11s - 5d per acre from the 280 acres estate at Kirkstall held on the five hundred year lease. Local variations in soil type and drainage were less important than variations in the quality of stewardship in accounting for the remaining gap between Cowper and Cardigan returns per acre. Surprisingly, Richardson had no apparent influence on the Cardigan estate although he had lived on it since 1794 at Burley Lodge, a substantial stone built residence he had himself erected.

Although in the 1790s the Cowper estate was producing double the returns per acre of the Cardigan estate, Richardson considered the former to be undervalued, only to be told that such was the wish of the

1. NCRO, Brudenell MSS, ASR 559, Particular and Valuation of the Yorkshire Estates, 1792 to 1798.

2. Ibid., ASR 554, Yorkshire Estates Valuation, 1871.

TABLE 3

RENTALS AND VALUES PER ACRE; CARDIGAN, COWPER, AND MEXBOROUGH ESTATES,
1778 - 1827.

CARDIGAN RENTAL			COWPER RENTAL			MEXBOROUGH RENTAL		
DATE	TOTAL £	PER ACRE £ -s - d	DATE	TOTAL £	PER ACRE £ -s - d	DATE	TOTAL £	PER ACRE £ -s - d
1791	1,198	19 - 2	pre 1797	993	1-17 - 1	1778	621	2 -6 - 0
1800	2,118	1-13 -10	1797	1,936	3-12 - 2			
			1808	2,783	4-15 - 1			
1827	3,327	2-13 - 1	1819	2,812	4-16 - 1			
	1792							
	1,250 Acres (excluding		1797 534 Acres			1778 270 Acres		
	265 acres woodland in		1819 583 Acres					
	hand)							

1. Additional acreage from the Potternewton Inclosure Award 1803 - 1806.

SOURCES: Cardigan: 1791 and 1800, LCA, DB 220; 1827, NCRO, ASR 519.
Cowper: Pre-1797, HCRO, D/EPT 4948; 1797 and 1808, D/EPT 4949; 1819, D/EPT 4950.
Mexborough: 1778, LCA Mexborough MSS, 583/2.

late Lord Cowper.¹ In 1795 he informed Cowper's London agents that certain of his tenants were under-leasing at twice the amount of their rental to Earl Cowper.² Two years later Richardson jubilantly informed his master of success in more than doubling the rental of one of the tenants involved in the profitable under-leasing.³ Three months later Richardson received his reward for vigilant stewardship in the shape of a salary increase from £25. to £60. per annum. Meanwhile the success of new lettings on the Cardigan estate rarely achieved Richardson-style results. The two holdings which comprised the greater part of the Headingley estate, 354 acres, were relet at only one pound per acre. This did, however, represent a doubling of the previous rental paid for 253 acres of it. In one case income was deliberately waived in favour of long-term investment when a tenant received a reduction of a quarter upon the new valuation in consideration of his expenditure upon a 'capital messuage,' cloth mill and reservoir.⁴ There is no evidence that such an action was raised to the status of an alternative policy of improvement through the encouragement of capital investment upon the Cardigan estate but there, as on other estates, the income possibilities of non agricultural resources were put to the test.

3.2 Alternative Methods of Improvement.

a. Exploitation of coal resources.

In 1769 Earl Cowper's Potternewton steward was of the opinion that the expense and trouble of disputing the Earl of Mexborough's claim to the Lordship of the

1. HCRO, Cowper MSS, D/EPT 4942, Letter, H.C. to J.R., February 1793.
2. Ibid., Letter J.R. to Mr. C., 12 November 1795.
3. Ibid., Letter J.R. to Lord Cowper, 25 September 1797.
4. NCRO, Brudenell MSS, ASR 559, Particular and Valuation, 1792 to 1798. The holding was that of John Waddington.

Manor would be well worthwhile. Part of the reason for his enthusiasm had been explained in an earlier letter.¹

The person that I got to view Lord Cowper's Estate in the possession of John Tottie assures me that there is Coal and by some pieces that we dug out of one of the Old Pitt Hills it appears to be of very good quality, but what the thickness the bed of Coal is no judgement can be formed without boring. The person assures me that in case you come to a Resolution to get this Coal, he will employ proper persons to Bore...without giving you the trouble of sending men from Durham.²

No further action is recorded in this instance and it was not until 1808 that another recommendation was made to bore, this time by Claridge, the London surveyor. The evidence of earlier workings was still to be seen, 'the apparent pits and Cinder Hill now visible' in 1808.³ Boring took place between 1810 and 1817: a thirty-four inch thick seam was discovered at only eighteen yards depth on a site adjoining Harehills Lane, but it dipped steeply towards the southern end of the estate. The presence of a fault line across the estate complicated the situation, and two sets of cost and profit calculations had to be made, one for north and the other for south of the throw. A trial coalpit was dug in 1816, but the site chosen was exactly on the line of the throw so that the strata were almost totally different in depth and in relation to each other when compared with the earlier borings. It was also the opinion of a Wakefield colliery consultant that additional drainage problems would be created because of the position of the pit.

1. HCRO, Cowper MSS, C4941, Potternewton (Leeds) Agency 1767 - 1810, Notes and Papers re Lord Mexborough's Claim to the Manor. Letter of T. Shepley, steward, September 1769.
2. Ibid., Letter T. Shepley to Robert Woodford, Durham, August 1769.
3. HCRO, Cowper MSS, D/EPT 4949, J. Claridge, Survey and Valuation, 1808, General Observations, pp55-8.

The only party interested in taking a lease of the mining rights during the early years was one Mr. Rice Lewis, a practical collier of Hunslet, whom the estate ultimately rejected in 1817 because he was unable to offer sufficient security to cover the agreed terms.

During 1814 and 1815 the Leeds resident coal agent of Charles Brandling of Middleton had been employed to superintend the boring, and in 1816 Brandling undertook to bore at his own expense. For major colliery proprietors such as Brandling the project was a doubtful venture; firstly because the quality of the coal was in doubt, not suited to drawing rooms on account of the amount of white ash created but presumed suitable for factory usage; and secondly because the Marquis of Hertford had let a new colliery on the same side of Leeds, exploiting a thick seam. This venture was expected to lower the price of coal in the surrounding area sufficiently enough to discourage investment in a Cowper colliery. As a result Brandling was only willing to get the coal still farther to the north of the estate where the seam should be nearer the surface.¹

The final attempt of the series was to bore 107 yards down to the Wortley Bed, only to find that the coal was inferior to that generally worked at Leeds and that the working depth would require the investment of £2,500. in a steam engine to lift the coal to the surface. Brandling was again approached, but considered that the required capital outlay would not be justified by the anticipated profits unless he was allowed to take it on his own terms. However, as early as 1815 the attractive recommendation had been made that to charge a high rental would not only provide a valuable income but also

1. HCRO, Cowper MSS, C4958, Potternewton (Leeds) Agency 1810 - 1817, Colliery Papers. Letter J.R. to Charles Cowper 16 December 1816.

finance the landscaping of the Pitt Hills, 'by railing them off and planting them, no injury would be done to a rising generation, but the contrary and in a few years every deformity would be hidden.'¹ By 1819 exploitation of the coal resources was being considered as a possible disadvantage to the improvement of the estate by other means and environmental and financial considerations were found to coincide.

The Cardigans had begun to exploit the coal resources of their estate in the Wakefield area before the close of the eighteenth century, and by 1800 the income from their New Park collieries alone surpassed the primarily agricultural income from the Headingley cum Burley estate. Although borings elsewhere in the northern out-townships had not resulted in the working of the seams discovered, the Earl of Cardigan as Lord of the Manor had borings made on Headingley Moor in 1827 immediately prior to its enclosure, but in the following year a depth of ninety yards was reached without success.² Another, and final, attempt was made at Kirkstall in 1836, and in spite of the declaration in 1829 that there was 'coal and to a considerable extent' upon the neighbouring New Grange estate the resources were not sufficient to warrant exploitation.³ The coal located would have been either a thin layer between two beds of Stanningley Rock sandstone which outcrops around New Grange or the Hard Coal bed at about twenty-seven yards depth. This latter seam is at its thickest, between fourteen and sixteen inches, half a mile to the south west of the Grange, but is hardly comparable with worked seams to the south

1. HCRO, Cowper MSS, C4958, Colliery Papers. Observations by Mr. Haley's Friend, 1815.
2. LCA, DB220, Cardigan MSS, Yorkshire Estate Memoranda, September 1827 and 1828.
3. LCA, DB/M 354a,b, Plan, particulars, and conditions of sale of the New Grange Estate, 1829.

of Leeds such as the Beeston Coal seam which has a complete thickness of seven to nine feet.¹ The drawback of the configuration of the coal measures below the northern out-townships was that it gave sufficient encouragement to tempt the holders of the mineral rights into the financing of mineral exploration over a considerable period of time without quite producing sufficient evidence to warrant hard-headed colliery owners providing the capital needed to work it. It was to be another fifty years before this assessment was re-evaluated.

b. Mill building and rebuilding.

Estates had encouraged for centuries past the building and rebuilding of water and wind-powered mills to grind the corn grown on their land, for the fulling of cloth, and to crush seeds for oil. This traditional response was illustrated on the Mexborough estate when in 1764 it was agreed that a Leeds miller, Thomas Garforth, should lay out £300. in rebuilding the windmill on Scott Hall Ridge, in return for which he was to receive an eighteen year lease of the premises at £85. per year. By 1776 the cost of the rebuilding had risen to £467., of which Garforth's own payments amounted to £417. but in addition the estate had contributed over twelve tons of timber from their woods at Balne and Methley Park.²

By 1799 the estate was encouraging the introduction of steam power rather than that of the wind. In that year the upper and lower cornmills on Meanwood Beck, the windmill, and fifty-two acres of land were leased to a Potternewton corn merchant for twenty-eight years at £250. for the first eighteen years and at £270. for the

1. Geological Survey Memoir, Geology of the District North and East of Leeds,

(1950), p23.

2. LCA, Mexborough MSS, 526, Expense of Scott Hall Wind Mill Building, 1776.

remainder of the term. The upper mill was to be demolished, and the materials reused in the erection of stables and other outbuildings at the lower mill. At his own expense Burrows, a corn merchant, was to set up 'a good and substantial fire Engine for the purpose of working the said Mills to the best and greatest Advantage...so as fairly to lay out...the Sum of eight hundred pounds at the least.'¹ Such developments were restricted during most of this early period to a water-course location, a factor which severely restricted the ability of the Cowper estate to benefit. The manorial mill site of 1580 was still the only one operating on the estate in 1808. It was an overshot grist mill on 'a weak stream and a small Mill Pond' working two pairs of stones but capable only of serving the needs of the immediate area. Nevertheless a Leeds firm of bleachers, Messrs. Benyons were willing to take it over and convert it to their needs. Claridge in his valuation of 1808 reported that

The persons who have taken it think by a new wheel of larger Dimensions and altering the Machinery, they can gain sufficient powers to answer the purposes of their Business; and therefore it is considered that they give £100. a year for the advantage of the Water and Mill which is more than it could be worth to anyone in its present condition for the purposes of Grinding Corn.'²

Before agreement was reached Benyons had taken the attitude that they should be allowed to pay rent at an agricultural rate for the premises. Cowper's London agents had proved equally adept in negotiation and more aware of the realities of industrial lettings than Benyons may have anticipated. The agents informed Richardson

1. Ibid., 790/6.

2. HCRO, Cowper MSS, D/EPT 4949, J. Claridge, Survey and Valuation, 1808, pp20-2.

that 'is not the way a manufactory is let,' nor were they willing to make an allowance for improvements at the end of the lease 'because the profits of the manufactory for the 17 years are the very object of the money laid out, and ample compensation.' Earl Cowper himself had proceeded with caution, requiring that the extra financial return be sufficient to override his concern for its deteriorative affect on the remainder of the estate.¹

Whilst the Mexborough estate moved rapidly from old to new methods of power generation,² and Cowper proceeded with caution, the Cardigan estate remained handicapped by conditions agreed by their predecessors in the long lease of 1652. The relevant clause stated that neither Savile nor his successors should 'during the term aforesaid erect...or suffer to be erected...any corn mill... or fulling mill upon any lands or grounds which now are the inheritance of the said...Savile within the compass or space of three miles distant from the said mills.' This was later taken to exclude the building of textile manufactories, a condition emphasised by a Cardigan tenant in the 1830s because it enhanced the residential attractions of his lease to possible purchasers. Thus the Cardigans were very severely restricted, unable to exploit the lengthy estate frontage on the River Aire, limited to rebuilding on sites existing in the 1650s. Such prohibitions on their freedom of action effectively prevented the materialisation of a major policy of industrial investment on the estate. A willingness to forego immediate financial gains in return for industrial investment by tenants could only operate on a piecemeal

1. HCRO, Cowper MSS, D/EPT 4942, Letter C.C. to J.R. 14 December 1803.
2. LCA, Mexborough MSS, 790/5. In 1797 the windmill was let on a 92 year lease at a yearly rental of £1.

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basis. It was possible at the Kirkstall Forge ironworks to grant a twenty-one year lease provided the tenants laid out £1,000. on improving the premises. Between 1779 and a further renewal of the lease in 1796 at the earlier rent, the Butlers and Beecrofts had spent over £3,000. on the development of the Forge. Not until a third lease was negotiated in 1818 did the Cardigans' rent roll benefit financially from the growth of the manufactory, a forbearance which was crucial in transforming that family from farmers to wealthy iron founders.¹ The only new developments on the estate during the intervening period came in 1791 when a paper mill was erected by Benjamin Wilson, and a new cloth mill and reservoir by John Waddington, gentleman, also in the 1790s.²

c. James Graham and the domestic woollen cloth industry.

Although James Graham dated his possession of the Cardigans' long-lease estates from 1782 he must have had an earlier acquaintance with the lands in his role as solicitor and agent to the previous occupier. A survey made in 1778 indicated 550 acres of agricultural land divided into 24 farming units and held on short leases: in addition there were two corn mills.³ Graham's first step in the management of the estate was to renew the agricultural leases for terms of fourteen years, these remaining in force until 1795.

By the time the leases were due for renewal he had started to exploit the industrial potential of his land at Kirkstall. In this programme of improvement the first stage was the renovation of the mill buildings

1. Bankruptcy proceedings were taken against the firm and two dividends paid; they did not stop manufacturing. LI, 20 November 1815; 18 March 1816; 16 February 1818.
2. NCRO, Brudenell MSS, ASR 559, Particular and Valuation, 1792 to 1798.
3. Survey by John Crookes, a neighbouring tenant, quoted by Canon W. H. MacKean, The Grahams of Kirkstall, (1960), p.10.

situated on the goit alongside the River Aire.¹ By leasing out the mills for scribbling and carding purposes 'which I should call domestic mills, manufacturers' mills...to which the domestic clothiers resort,' Graham was contributing to an expansion which he believed twelve years later to have trebled and possibly quadrupled the number of such mills in his part of Yorkshire.²

Graham explained the basis of his interest in the domestic clothier and his industry to his fellow-members of the 1806 House of Commons Select Committee on the state of woollen manufacturing in England. The possibilities of estate improvement through the encouragement of the domestic woollen cloth industry had been demonstrated to him on the Eccleshill estate of Mr. Edmund Lodge. At that time, 1794 and 1795,

being in the habit of visiting manufacturers and merchants...they suggested to me that it would be a most beneficial thing to the country to divide those agricultural farms into small allotments for clothiers, not only to myself as proprietor but also to the country at large....soon after I began and built twelve or fourteen houses in the neighbourhood, everyone of which was immediately taken at almost any price I chose to fix, with five, six, seven, eight or ten acres of land, according to the ability of the man.³

As the Headingley cum Burley lands comprised only half of the 550 acres estate this first experiment could have taken place on the lands in Armley or Bramley. However, the example of this policy in action given by Graham in 1806 concerned three brothers named Gudson, a family

1. MacKean states that Graham raised £1,200. on security of the estate for conversion of his corn mills. Loc.cit.
2. P.P., 1806, iii, S.C. on the State of the Woollen Manufacture in England. Evidence of James Graham, p446.
3. Ibid., p444.

which had four members from Kirkstall attending the Coloured Cloth Hall at Leeds in 1817.¹ By the turn of the century between fifteen and twenty master manufacturers were at work on the estate. Although an encouraging start it was hardly comparable with the expansion of previously existing centres in the surrounding district, 'you may see two or three manufacturers' houses in almost every field in Armley; they are doubled within these last ten years in Bramley, nearly the same in Horseforth.'² The growth of the clothing villages went back over the previous two centuries but the spread into villages outside Leeds was associated with the rise of central place land values during the latter half of the eighteenth century.³

Before laying out the development Graham had visited many clothworkers' houses in the surrounding district to discover the most suitable plan. Subsequently, after ten years' experience on his own estate he considered that the dispersed pattern of settlement typical of domestic clothier communities had social advantages: 'within these ten years, I think the general good behaviour of the people has come much better; it is a great deal better than that of the people in the towns, where they live together; in towns I think they have increased in idleness and wretchedness.'⁴ The amount of land that the individual domestic clothier was permitted to rent was related to the size of his family. For larger families fifteen acres, sufficient to keep three cows was the maximum envisaged; for small sized families three acres, enough to support one cow, was considered suitable.

1. E. Baines, Leeds Directory, (1817), p213.
2. PP., 1806 iii, Graham; p444.
3. H. Heaton, The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries, (1920), pp288-9.
4. PP., 1806 iii, Graham, p447.

The dual weaving-agricultural economy was considered essential to the well being of the domestic industry, but nevertheless it was important to control the use to which this land was put. At Kirkstall the clothiers were not allowed to indulge in arable cultivation because in Graham's view 'whenever a manufacturer engages in arable land he is sure to waste what he is getting in making cloth.' ¹

The introduction of the domestic industry at Kirkstall × had done nothing to detract from the attractions of the place. An 1806 guide to Leeds considered the village respectable, and although a seat of woollen manufacture its 'romantic situation...renders this village the resort, not only of all those who have a taste for the sublime and beautiful; but also of all who affect to have any pretensions to it.' ² However, the impression Graham was creating before the Select Committee in that same year as a champion of the domestic system had already been modified on his own estate.

Q. Do the committee understand you right, that the interest you have in the success of the factory system, in consequence of your having built one factory, is as nothing compared with the interest you have in the preservation and prosperity of the domestic system?

A. Certainly. ³

It was his belief that domestic and factory systems of woollen cloth production fulfilled complementary functions and that the latter acted as a competitive spur to the former. The business of the domestic manufacturers was thriving, and stands in the Coloured Cloth Hall which had cost three guineas in 1758 were now fetching

1. P.P., 1806 iii, Graham, p447.

2. Anon, A Walk Through Leeds, (1806), p10.

3. P.P., 1806 iii, Graham, p445.

between eight and fifteen pounds, the range in price being accounted for by varying locations within the hall. To Graham factory production had several advantages which he personally had witnessed: the variety of cloths, of dyes, and the accompanying techniques were beyond the range of the domestic clothier. Furthermore there was a willingness to experiment, and Graham pointed out that 'the great improvements in machinery arise from the great capitalists.' The application to Graham to build a manufactory to lease out had been made by some Leeds merchants and had been agreed to because he thought it would improve the domestic industry. Wormald and Gott appear to have been the merchants concerned, one of the few firms to extend their interests into manufacturing. Benjamin Gott was the 'great manufacturer' to whom the new mill, Burley Mill, was leased and had succeeded in convincing Graham although all other merchants the latter had sought advice from had been against factories. To Gott the mill represented a means of rapid expansion without the attendant problems of financing successive mill construction. Later on Graham was to discover that such branch mills were the first to be shut down in any extensive trade depression and in major cutbacks of production by individual firms. Once in hand such mills were liable to remain so for a matter of years rather than months. The most pertinent of his remarks in 1806 having regard to future developments in the textile industries was the answer when asked to distinguish those who worked for themselves:

A. No, I cannot do that, because I believe that almost every manufacturer, if he can get a better job from a factory, will take it.¹

1. P.P., 1806 iii, Graham, p445.

d. Agricultural land for residential and building purposes.

The essential act in the creation of residential land was the conversion of a farming unit and its buildings into a country house and grounds. James Richardson had done this in 1794, leasing thirteen acres of agricultural land on the Earl of Cardigan's estate at Burley. The Cardigans' surveyor had been favourably impressed by the result. 'This tenant not only pays £3-10-0. per acre for lands which were in tillage and before he took them let only for about 25d. per acre. But has built a very handsome new stone house, stable with garden and walks etc.'¹ In return for the expenditure of at least £1,000. on construction of his house Richardson was guaranteed a term of thirty-two years at an annual rent of £50.² It was this policy he recommended to Earl Cowper's London agents in 1804.

I have since laid out more than double that Sum in new Erections and other wise in proving the little Farm but I can't say that I even met with a single Friend that approved of what I have done, however I am nevertheless so perfectly satisfied...for while I have a Situation to live in equal if not superior to any other person residing so near Leeds in all probability to the end of my life I have no doubt but in the end materially profiting by it.³

Other non-agricultural tenants living upon the Cardigans' v Headingley estate in the 1790s included Mr. Wilks Horner, gentleman and member of an old established Leeds merchant family: John Hinchcliffe, tobacconist, who later took over Horner's capital residence: John Waddington,

1. NCRO, Brudenell MSS, ASR 559, Particular and Valuation, 1792-8.
2. NCRO, Brudenell MSS, Conveyances I.xv.7. James, Earl of Cardigan to Mr. James Richardson, 1 April 1794.
3. HCRO, Cowper MSS, C4955, Common Enclosure Letters and Papers, Letter J.R. to C.C. 22 March 1804.

gentleman, of a London family of grocers, and Benjamin Pullan, merchant, who also held an oil mill on the estate.¹

The availability of large country houses on short leases in the northern out-townships with all or a part of their grounds became a more frequent occurrence in the Leeds press advertisement columns during the last quarter of the eighteenth century: in 1781 Richard Green was living in the Denisons' Weetwood Hall: in 1784 and 1787 the Denisons' Meanwood Hall was available with a choice of an accompanying forty or eighty-six acres surrounding it: in 1796 and 1797 the Barkers' Potternewton Hall was to let with the adjoining thirty-five acres: in 1798 Chapeltown Hall, which had been leased by R.A. Salisbury, was put up for auction: in 1800 John Beckett offered his North Hall residence with twelve acres, and in 1803 Beckett himself took a lease of Gledhow Hall, three miles farther out and in a completely rural setting.² If the occupant did not wish to farm or otherwise utilise the accompanying land, then the sale of the hay crop could be arranged or the right of summer pasturage for cattle let out on an annual basis.³ Once the speed and ease of access to Leeds from the northern out-townships was improved by the trustees of the Leeds - Harrogate, Leeds - Otley, and Leeds - Halifax turnpike roads such residences became increasingly attractive to successful merchants and businessmen.

In 1805 the Wades' mansion of New Grange^{an} in Headingley, previously leased to Samuel Buck, recorder of Leeds,

1. NCRO, Brudenell MSS, ASR 559; LCA, DB 220, Cardigan MSS, 1792 Rental and Account; LI, 23 May 1786; 31 August 1795.
2. LI, 19 March 1781; 20 April 1784; 18 December 1787; 28 November 1796; 30 April 1798; 3 March 1800; LCA, DB 44, Beckett Papers, Draft Will of Sir John Beckett, 1826.
3. LI, 4 March 1783; 14 February 1814; 29 April 1816.

was available to rent with the park and up to 190 acres.¹ Within two weeks John Marshall, flax spinner and manufacturer, put up for sale the lease of his house in Meadow Lane, Leeds, and moved with his family to New Grange. The following year their friend Dorothy Wordsworth, sister of the poet, congratulated Mrs. Jane Marshall on their move to a country residence 'for there is not half the comfort in children when you are in or very near a town.' The mansion was away from the manufactories and 'horrible forges' of the city and did not suffer from the noise and smoke of Kirkstall Forge ironworks. The latter had its romantic impact however, its industrial pyrotechnics producing a 'very grand effect' which could be seen from the grounds of the grange.² John Marshall became a part-time gentleman farmer, raising sheep and planting trees to improve the landscape of his park.³

Although the mansion at New Grange could hardly be described as 'a farm'⁴ other Leeds merchants and industrialists did occupy farmhouses which they had improved. In 1809 Joseph Oates was requesting rent reductions from Earl Cowper in respect of a new kitchen and other improvements upon 'a substantial Brick and Stone Messuage of an old construction, sash front and slated, with Barn, Stable and Farm Buildings.' In spite of a separate stable and coachhouse and a 'cottage lodge' at the entrance the roof and front of the house itself 'in point of modern improvement....stands in need of a great

1. LI, 25 March 1805.

2. The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, II The Middle Years, Part 1 1806 - 1811, arranged and edited by E. De Selincourt, (1969), p30. Letter, D.W. to Jane Marshall, 2 June 1806; p157. Letter 80, D.W. to Catherine Cookson, 19 July 1807. Both Wordsworth and his sister were guests at New Grange.

3. Brotherton Library, University of Leeds MSS 200, Marshall Papers, J.M's Personal Ledger, p52.

4. W.G. Rimmer, Marshall's of Leeds, Flaxspinners, (1960), p98.

deal being done.'¹ Martin Hinde was granted an exceptional twenty-one year lease on the Cowper estate at the 1809 reletting because he covenanted to spend \$600. on improvements to buildings which consisted of 'a slight and ill-built addition of Front rooms to a very bad old house in ruins,' with barn, stable and cattle-sheds. The site had advantages however, being 'one of the best situations on the Estate, and forms the most perfect villa, and deserves all the improvement it is now likely to receive.'² Notwithstanding the willingness of Cowper's tenants to finance their own improvements important changes were under consideration by 1808. Claridge, the London surveyor, stated the position in his report.

This Estate will always be a very valuable one from its contiguity to the great Manufacturing Town of Leeds; and the Rent it produces from time to time will always depend upon the prosperity of Trade therein. Yet notwithstanding the high price the Land may produce for occupation it will bear no proportion to its value in fee; and there is no doubt but if this Estate were to be sold in small parcels it would provide an increasing sum of Money. Hence it may be prescribed to the owner that whenever a large sum of money is wanted for purchasing in another County this property will always produce a price upon a much higher scale than others used only in Farms.³

James Graham had demonstrated his awareness of this fact several years earlier on that part of his estate on the hillside overlooking the Aire floodplain between his domestic clothier settlement of Kirkstall and the neighbouring village of Burley: 'To let for a long term of years in lots for building upon, or altogether for the

1. HCRO, Cowper MSS, D/EPT 4949, J. Claridge, Survey and Valuation, 1808, pp4-6.

2. Ibid., pp9-11.

3. Ibid., pp55-8.

occupation of a farmer....a most delightful situation... with a Southern aspect.'¹ By 1808 he had succeeded in attracting people who wished to build themselves country residences close to the town including Francis Carbutt, a Leeds linen merchant. Carbutt received a 300-year building lease on five and a half acres, formerly part of two fields, at a yearly rent of £58.² The tenant of the land to the west was another Leeds merchant, William Wilks, who had also taken a building lease. Both men erected and landscaped country estates in miniature for their personal occupation in fields which had been occupied previously by William Cockerham, the local common carrier. In 1810 Wilks was attempting to let his estate, Saint Ann's Hill, which consisted of the house, stabling, coachhouse, mistal, garden, orchard, three acres of pleasure ground and pasturage in front of the house, plus another nine acres of grassland.³ Carbutt himself sold Southfield, his 'Messuage...with the Stable, Coachhouse and other Outbuildings' to another Leeds merchant, Michael Thackray, in 1813. Thackray paid £2,130. for the property and the remaining 295 years of the lease.⁴ By 1819 James Dickinson, woolstapler, John Carr, merchant, and Josiah Oates, merchant, had also removed their families out of Leeds into residences on Graham's hillside. In addition to 300 year ground rents of £10. per acre each tenant was paying out half that rate for additional adjoining land to increase the area of his country estate (see Table 4).

The development of estates through the granting of building leases, although frequently used in London, was

1. LI, 31 December 1804.

2. LCD 3843.

3. LI, 20 August 1810.

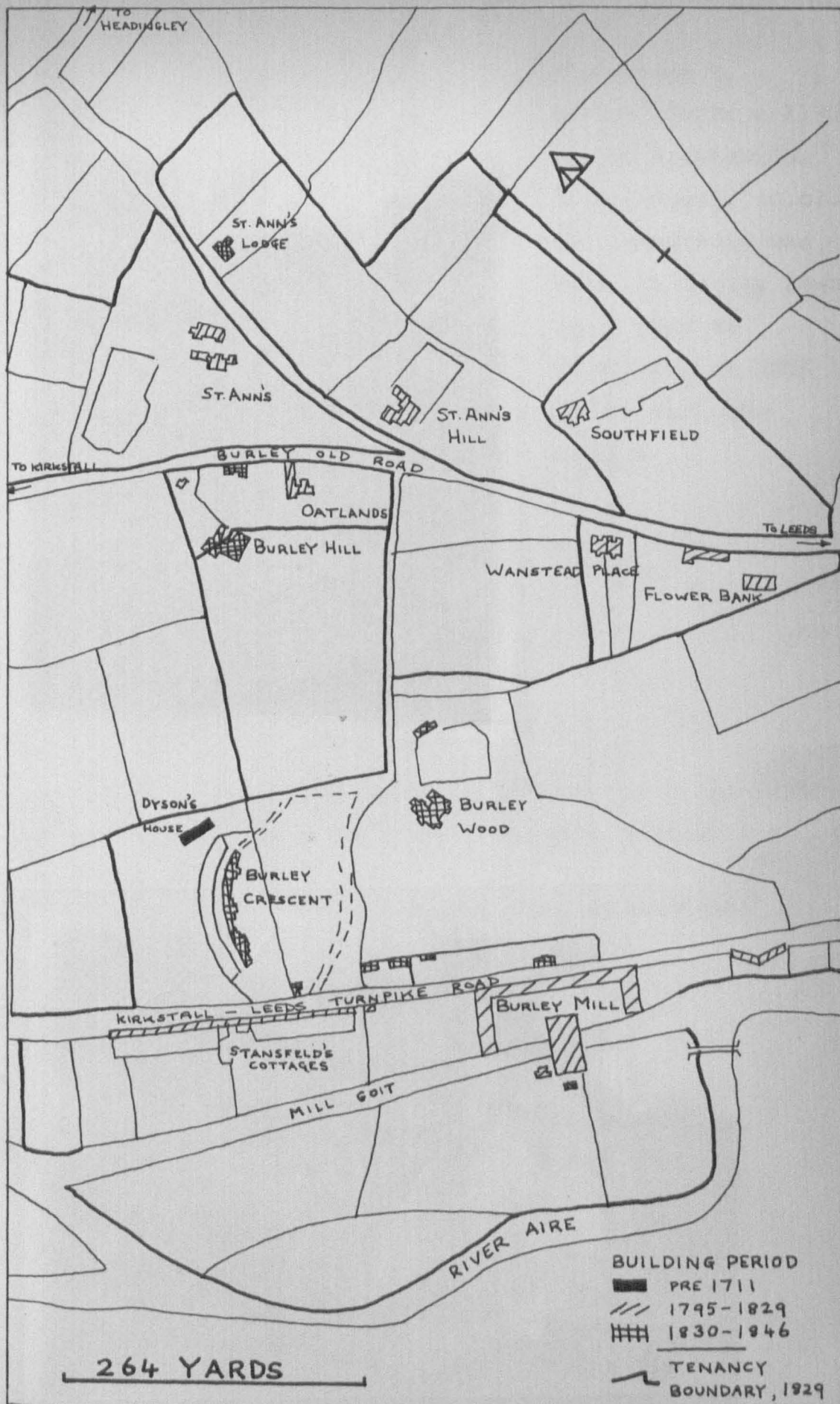
4. LCD 3843.

TABLE 4

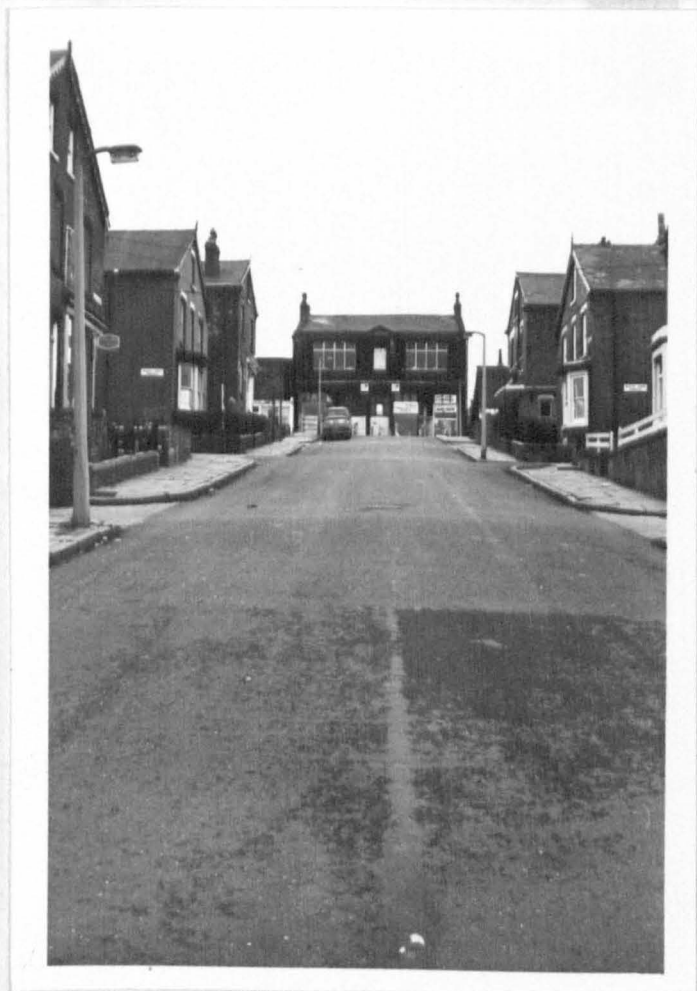
GRAHAM ESTATE, LEASEHOLD COUNTRY RESIDENCES, 1819.

TENANT	OCCUPATION AT DATE		HOUSE AND LAND		ADDITIONAL LAND	
			ACREAGE	GROUND RENT (£)	ACREAGE	GROUND RENT (£)
M. Thackeragh	Merchant	1813	5.75	58- 0-0	11.5	60-10-0
J. Dickinson	Woolstapler	1822	3.5	36-15-0	11	58- 0-0
J. Carr	Merchant	1822	5.75	55- 0-0	6.5	26- 0-0
W. Wilks	Merchant	1822	3.25	31-10-0	9.25	47-10-0
J. Oates	Merchant	1822	9.5	100- 0-0	18.25	91-11-0

SOURCE: Graham Estate Act, 5 and 6 William IV cap 17, 21 July 1835. Compiled from Second Schedule of Property in Kirkstall, Township of Headingley 1819. 1822 Occupations from E. Baines, Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire. By 1822 Carr had returned to South Parade, Leeds.



MAP 2. DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN BURLEY AND KIRKSTALL, 1795-1846.



Photograph 5.

BURLEY LODGE, c.1796
for J. RICHARDSON,
lawyer-agent. (O.o).
The foreground was
known as Burley Lawn
until sold to
Developers in 1886
by the Cardigan
estate.

Photograph 6. WANSTEAD PLACE, c.1830-34 for J. DICKINSON.
A semi-detached pair built on a 300 year Graham Lease. (S.i).



untypical of the Leeds experience during the nineteenth century. Graham was forced to adopt the system because of his leasehold title to the estate, a disadvantage he attempted to overcome by means of the 300 year term of his building leases. His contacts with members of the Leeds merchant community, and the individual nature of subsequent building developments must also have been instrumental in overcoming local resistance to development on leaseholds. Earl Cowper's attempt at leasehold development in small parcels of an estate to which he held the freehold title appear to have failed. A proposal for leasehold development in September 1808 was followed by his estate surveyor's recommendation that a policy of outright sale be pursued at some future date.¹

In the case of lesser estates, subdivision and sale of small sized lots as freehold building land was sometimes forced upon their owners because of mortgage repayment difficulties or more simply a need for ready money. At Headingley a small estate, formerly belonging to a seventeenth century yeoman's family, was put up for sale in 1795. The four closes and homestead adjoining Kirkstall Lane were 'eligibly situate for building on', but no satisfactory offer appeared, so the mortgagee Thomas Rothwell, a local gentleman, took over the estate paying the mortgagor the difference between the assumed market price and the outstanding mortgage debt. Eight years later the next generation of Rothwells, then of Wakefield, resold the property to James Spink, proprietor of the Star and Garter Inn at Kirkstall, making a considerable profit.² Spink proceeded to subdivide the estate and lay a road through it into the Headingley to Kirkstall road. By 1805 he had sold three lots; to James Gray, gentleman of Headingley; Thomas

1. LI, 5 September 1808; HCRO, Cowper MSS, D/EPT 4949, Survey and Valuation, 1808, pp55-8.

2. LCD 2944. Eight acres and homestead, 1795 £780; 1803 £1,320.

Lee, gentleman, and Thomas Bischoff of Leeds, the two latter being members of Leeds merchant families. Bischoff built Headingley House, later purchased by John Marshall after he relinquished the lease of New Grange. Lee pursued a policy of enlarging his holding: in 1810 he purchased land from Gray, in 1812 he bought three acres from Spink and added three more acres from the same source in 1818. By this latter date Lee had 'lately erected....a mansion house together with sundry outhouses' and it was there he passed the last seven years of his life.¹

A similar process of successful subdivision took place during the same period on three quarters of an acre with frontage to the former turnpike road, the Burley Old Road. The site had been purchased in 1805 by Joseph Dixon and John Ogle, a Leeds grocer. Ogle bought his former partner's share from Dixon's heir two years later. By 1812 building had taken place on a part of the land and it was this property, plus an adjoining garden ground, which Ogle sold to Thomas Hall, a Leeds hairdresser. In 1815 two further sales were made to Samuel Pounder, a Leeds innkeeper, and to James Cunningham, a Leeds stonemason. Both men erected what were described as cottage or garden houses, Cunningham selling out to Pounder within twelve months. Matthew Sowden, another stonemason, made a larger purchase from Ogle in 1816 taking 720 square yards and a dwellinghouse which he himself had built and then occupied. During the period from 1812 to 1816 Ogle succeeded in reselling just under half of the land at average prices per square yard which were three times the rate of his original purchase price.²

Other attempts made to sell small estates for

1. Ibid.

2. LCD 13906; 13927; 13978.

building purposes failed. In June 1809 one and a half acres of the Bainbridge estate adjoining both the Leeds and Otley turnpike and Woodhouse Moor were offered for sale 'being well situated for building upon having a Southern aspect and commanding a beautiful and extensive prospect'. The land was unsuccessfully put up for sale again in June 1810, April 1811, and March 1815.¹ Seventeen acres on the opposite side of the road were also available for purchase in 1809, but in spite of the 'extensive prospect up and down the charming Valley between Kirkstall and Leeds,' the 'very convenient distance' from the town, the 'extremely low' rate of Parochial Taxes, and being further sub-divided into four lots, no development could be attracted.² After T. E. Upton, a Leeds lawyer, failed to find a purchaser for eight and a half acres adjoining the new turnpike road to Kirkstall in 1814 he tried two years later to attract persons such as butchers who were likely to require pasturage near to the town. At his third attempt to sell, in 1818, the attraction of the site had again altered, being a 'most eligible situation for a Manufactory or buildings of any description.' In common with other Headingley cum Burley landowners of that period he emphasised the low level of his parochial rates in contrast to those of adjoining townships.³

Another failure resulted from the bankruptcy of one James Hiley who had attempted to build himself a house on the waste land at Burley. Hiley, innkeeper, dealer and chapman, had borrowed money to erect the one house, but after his bankruptcy in 1808 it was converted into two separate dwelling units. After the failure of his

1. LI, 5 June 1809; 4 June 1810; 29 April 1811; 20 March 1815.
2. LI, 11 September 1809.
3. LI, 12 September 1814; 9 December 1816; 1 June 1818.

assignees' 1808 sale, the once commodious house was 'now occupied in three distinct dwelling houses.'¹ The assignees had attempted to sell the property as a freehold with the consent of the Lord of the Manor but had met with a prompt public rebuttal.² During the following year a formal agreement was entered into, the property made subject to a twenty one year lease from the Earl of Cardigan at five shillings per year, and as a result the value of the site to Hiley's creditors much reduced.³

While the Cardigan estate was attempting to control encroachment upon the wastes and commons of Headingley cum Burley, the proprietors of Potternewton successfully enclosed the greensward, racing, cricket and parade ground of the eighteenth century. The speed at which this was carried out earned Richardson a rebuke from Earl Cowper, but the former pointed out that the wastes were of little use to his lordship's tenants. He had gone on to blame Dixon, the merchant, and Beckett, the banker, for promoting the enclosure of Potternewton alongside their major concern, the enclosure of Chapel Allerton, without consulting either of the Earls Mexborough or Cowper.⁴ Richardson suggested erecting a farmhouse and buildings on the fifty acres allotment that was the estate's share of the enclosure, but the greater part was let out in five parcels at rents which would recoup Cowper's enclosure costs within four years. Although the cost of new buildings was avoided, the survey of 1808 noted that it would soon be necessary to replace the post and rail fencing with quickset hedges.

1. LI, 12 June 1809.
2. The only known occasion when Richardson acted on behalf of the Cardigan estate.
3. LI, 16 May 1808; 30 May 1808; 12 June 1809; 9 October 1809; 30 October 1809.
4. HCRO, Cowper MSS, C4955, Letters 1800 - 1804, H. and C. Cowper to James Richardson, J.R. to C.C. 18 November 1802, C.C. to J.R. 21 November 1802.

Thomas Strother, the Leeds merchant, was one of the proprietors who was willing to sell his newly enclosed land. After a first attempt to sell ten acres in excellent condition failed in 1810 the land was subdivided into three lots and put up for auction as 'a truly desirable situation for building upon.'¹ By 1816 Strother had sold at least one of the plots to one Samuel Smallpage who by that date had erected for his own residence a 'Capital messuage coachhouse stable and other outbuildings,' surrounded by three acres of grass-land and having in addition a cowhouse, piggery and orchard.² It was purchased in 1816 by Thomas Clapham, merchant of Little Woodhouse, who enlarged the grounds over the next decade by purchasing five acres of the former Potternewton common from Earl Cowper and from an earlier client of Strother. As early as 1807 Strother had divested himself of his sixteen acres allotment at Harehills, Potternewton, including it as part of a major sale to Thomas Nicholson of London and Roundhay Park, and to Samuel Elam, a Leeds merchant.

In 1819 Richardson was inclined to be cautious about selling the Cowper allotments on Potternewton common, partly because the site was rumoured to have good stone under it which had not been examined and also because of the depressed state of trade in Leeds and other manufacturing districts. Although merchants and industrialists were reluctant to invest then in land around Leeds it was noticeable that 'the spirit of building has manifested itself' around the villages of Chapel Allerton and Potternewton. Richardson advised that a sale would be premature because he suspected that the developments were symptomatic of a major change in the

1. LI, 22 October 1810; 14 January 1811.

2. LCD 15632; LII, 6 May 1816.

way of life of the manufacturing districts.

I offer this opinion with the greatest diffidence, - that possibly a very material alteration in the value may take place in a few years. My reason is that there is an evident alteration taking place in the character of the people of Leeds. They are putting off in some degree that rudeness which is peculiar to them, enlightened pursuits are more cultivated, and the elegancies and comforts of life are more sought after. This, I conceive, will continue to increase, and introduce a disinclination for residences in so dirty a town.^x Of course, land proper for country houses will increase in value. This reason, I am aware, will apply to many other parts of the Estate, but you will perceive that it will be brought more early into operation on land near the villages.¹

It was this development, added to those on the Graham estate at Kirkstall which persuaded William Avison of the possibility of running daily regular services by accommodation coach from Potternewton, Chapel Allerton and Kirkstall villages into Leeds and back. Timetables were to be given out on printed handbills and the editorial of the Leeds Intelligencer announced that 'the fashionable villages, adjacent to Leeds, it seems, are about to have A REGULAR DAILY STAGE, at stated hours, quite on the London plan.'² Three months later Avison discovered that Leeds was unready for the omnibus and returned to the traditional service of the previous seventy years, 'a handsome open landau happy to convey passengers to neighbouring watering places at the price for posting.' As for his earlier venture, Avison announced to 'his friends and the public, that he will continue to pass between Leeds and Chapeltown

1. HCRO, Cowper MSS, C4951, James Richardson, Report concerning the Estate of the Right Honourable Earl Cowper, situate at Leeds in the County of York, October 1819.

2. LI, 11 May 1818.

occasionally as orders may suit, that parties may be accommodated with the use of his carriage to Kirkstall, Headingley or any part of the surrounding country.¹ If, as Richardson believed, change was approaching the northern out-townships Avison's failure was proof that in 1818 the moderately affluent had not yet arrived in sufficient numbers to fill a horse drawn omnibus several times per day.

1. LI, 24 August 1818.

CHAPTER FOUR

BUILDING AND ESTATE DEVELOPMENT, 1819 - 1846.

4.1 Industrial Expansion at Kirkstall.

The most rapid transformation from agricultural land to building land for housing during this period took place at Kirkstall on the Graham estate. Sir James Graham's description of the Kirkstall domestic woollen cloth industry during the period 1796 - 1806, subsequently quoted by Heaton and Creese for its clarity of expression of the nature of such a community, failed to make a comparable impression upon Thorp's map of Leeds and its environs between 1819 and 1821.¹ This cannot have been due to a mere matter of cartographical limitations of scale because clothiers extending themselves into the middle of fields, as described by Graham, were likely to have made a considerable impact upon the landscape.

The number of domestic clothiers from Kirkstall attending the Coloured Cloth Hall in Leeds declined considerably between 1817 and 1839, (see Table 5). This was a reflection of a general decline in the fortunes of the domestic industry, very obvious in Leeds by 1822; at that date stands in the Leeds cloth halls were changing hands for between one-sixth and one-tenth of the values which had been current at the end of the eighteenth century. The number of clothiers attending had dropped by nearly a half to 1,500, so far had the factory system diminished the role of the domestic clothier and contrary to Graham's expectations in 1806.

However, Graham had reconsidered his attitude concerning the relative importance of the domestic and

1. H. Heaton, The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries, (1920), p291; W. Creese, The Search for Environment, (1966), p14; J. Thorp, Map of the Town of Leeds and the country circumjacent, (1821). P.P., 1806 iii, S.C. on the state of the Woollen Manufacture in England, Graham, pp44-7.

TABLE 5

KIRKSTALL DOMESTIC CLOTHIERS, 1817 - 1839.

Name	1817 ¹	1822 ²	1826 ³	1830 ⁴	1834 ⁵	1838 ⁶	1839 ⁷
N. Ashley	/						
J. Bentley	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
W. Bentley	/	/		/			
B. Binks	/	/		/			
C. Goodson	/	/					
J. Goodson	/	/					
J. Goodson	/						
W. Goodson	/						
J. Perkin	/	/					
J. Stead	/	/					
G. Walker	/	/					
S. Walton	/						
M. Walton	/	/	/	/			
S. Wright	/	/		/			
C. Dickenson			/				
G. Eddison			/				
J. Eddison			/	/	/	/	/
T. Rider			/				
J. Johnson			/	/			
J. Wainwright				/			
W. Redfearn					/	/	
A. Hudson						/	/
Total	14	10	7	8	3	4	3

SOURCE: Directories; 1, Baines; 2, Baines; 3, Parsons;
4, Parsons & White; 5, Baines & Newsome;
6, White; 7, Baines & Newsome.

factory systems of production in the woollen industry. The first outward indication of this change appeared in November 1818 when the estate advertised for masons, excavators and general contractors to carry out improvements to a goit and its connections with the River Aire; plans and specifications had been drawn up for Graham by a Bradford engineer, George Leather. The first stage required the building of three sets of cloughs, two weirs, a bridge over the goit and the straightening of the mill-stream. The other part of the scheme was to control the Aire floodwaters by means of a one hundred foot weir with an eight foot fall and a new channel excavated to take the excess flow.¹ The immediate cause of the modifications was the need to maintain a sufficient head of water to provide sufficient power at Burley Mill, earliest of the manufactories on the estate, after an additional mill, Saint Ann 's Mill, had been constructed on the existing goit.

The first occupants of this new mill were J. E. Brooke and Company, merchants and woollen manufacturers of Hunslet. As late as 1830 a separate scribbling and fulling miller shared part of this mill, suggesting possibly that the buildings were designed for a dual usage as part public scribbling and fulling mill and part private manufactory. Another mill built around this time, Savins or Savings Mill,² on a site occupied by a fulling mill in 1711, continued to function as a fulling-scribbling mill until 1839, after which date its occupants are described as cloth manufacturers. In 1817 Kirkstall Abbey corn, oil and scribbling mills were still operated by Charles Wood, the occupier at

1. LI, 30 November 1818.

2. The name is likely to have commemorated Graham's election as first Vice-President of the newly founded Skyrack and Morley Savings Bank in 1818.

the time of a major fire in 1799; by 1817 Wood had an additional mill at Farsley. Three years later the premises at Kirkstall were to let, and the first mention of a manufactory on this site followed in 1824 when E. and J. Elsworth of Kirkstall Abbey Mills were announced as manufacturers of superfine broad and ladies cloths. In December 1818 Ephraim Elsworth had closed down his former business as a maltster at Kirk Ings, Kirkstall, and by 1824 the new enterprise was flourishing sufficiently to warrant the taking of a warehouse in Boar Lane, Leeds.¹ However, the partnership was ended shortly afterwards, being described in 1827 as ceased 'a considerable time ago.'² The Abbey Mills were taken in 1826 by an established firm, Willans, Rawson and Company, who like Brookes, were woollen manufacturers and merchants with their main premises in Hunslet. During an eventful first twelve months the partnership was changed to Obadiah Willans and Sons, and a fire at the mill resulted in the destruction of machinery, including 'looms, willies, teasers, scribbling machines, gigs, shearing frames and tenters', and several walls had collapsed.³ The installed machinery had an insurance value of £10,000., the buildings of only £3,000.

The labour requirements of the new industrial order on the Graham estate produced considerable alterations both to the landscape and to the social character of the settlement at Kirkstall. One serious consequence of the 1827 fire at Abbey Mills was commented upon by the Leeds Intelligencer. 'By this calamitous event, from 3 to 400 hands residing chiefly in Kirkstall (many of

1. LI, 20 May 1824.

2. LI, 8 November 1827.

3. LI, 20 December 1827. A sixty horse power steam engine was saved from destruction.

them Irish families), Horsforth, Bramley and Burley will be thrown out of employ.'¹ By the 1830s the size of the labour force at Abbey Mills had increased to over five hundred workpeople. At Burley Mill, where Gott had employed 208 hands in 1819, there were more than six hundred employees working for Stansfelds, the worsted cloth manufacturers, in 1834.² Kirkstall, in the eyes of topographers, was no longer remarkable for its ruined abbey or romantic forge but had become 'the unseemly group of mills and manufacturers dwellings which now form the village.'³

Acceptance of a new management policy for the Graham estate was implicit in agreements made as part of the marriage settlements of Sir James' son, Sandford Graham in 1819. Although the Kirkstall estate was settled at the time, those holding estate tail in possession were entitled to lease out parts of the estate for building purposes, for any term of years, on condition only that no premiums or fines were charged for right of entry upon the lease and that the best and most improved yearly rent should be obtained. The type of development envisaged in 1819 was such that would require stipulations be made 'respecting the laying out of Streets, Ways, Passages, Sewers and other Easements.' A great incentive to this redirection of estate policy was that the rent from each of Gott's, Brookes', and Wood's mills was equal to the whole agricultural and residential

1. LI, 8 November 1827.

2. W. B. Crump, The Leeds Woollen Industry, 1780-1820, Thoresby Society, XXXII (1931), p232; P.P., 1833 xx, Factory Commissioners Report, evidence of James Haslett, p127; P.P., 1834 xix, Supplementary Report of the Factory Inquiry Commission, Part 2, p129, question 5.

3. T. Allen, A New and Complete History of the County of York, IV (1831), p179.

TABLE 6

DEVELOPMENT ON GRAHAM ESTATE BUILDING LEASES, KIRKSTALL 1823 - 1852.

NO.	DATE	PLOT SIZE (sq.yds)	LESSEE NAME	OCCUPATION	LOCATION	BACK- to- BACKS	THROUGH	OTHER
1	1823	426	Several					Cottage conversion to school.
2	1823	4,840	G. Waddington,	schoolmaster			1	
3	1825	5,535	D. Hudson,	gentleman,	Leeds	16		
3a	1825	1,538	E. Matterson,	druggist,	Leeds		1	Warehouse.
3b	1825	1,500	G. Pratt,	innkeeper		10		Public house.
4	1825	10,042	J. Johnson,	clothier			10	
4a	1826	675	J. & J. Hutchinson,	joiners and builders			5	
4b pre	1839	n.d.	Five unidentified persons			4		2 Public houses.
4c	1846	1,746	M. Pratt,	grocer		10		
5	1825	10,646	G. Waddington,	on behalf of the Fountains Garden Building Society		50		
5a	1825	n.d.	Hewitt & Binks			8		
6	1825	5,157	J. Dixon	-			no data	
7	1825	762	W. Hargrave	-			no data	
8	1829	2,420	J. Waddington	-			no data	
9	1829	2,650	T. Backhouse,	farmer		29		Shop.
10	1829	2,934	S. & J. Whitham,	machine makers			8	Tanyard.
11	1829	2,770	J. & J. Hutchinson,	(see 4a)			2	Workshop.
11a	1835	534	M. Pratt,	(see 4c)			no data	

TABLE 6 Continued

12	1830	242	G. Pratt, (see 3b)		4	Coachhouse & mistal.
13	1834	1,310	M. Oldfield, clothdresser	3	1	
13a	1836	440	J. Broughton, plumber & glazier	3	1	Shop.
14	1834	2,420	J. Hargrave, merchant			Methodist chapel.
15	1834	1,550	J. Hutchinson, joiner		5	
16	1836	4,463	J. Heptonstall, butcher	24		Conversion, 3 houses into 9 dwelling units.
17	1838	3,043	J. Hutchinson, (see 15)	18	1	Workshop.
18	1838	2,332	J. Hargrave, (see 14)	2		Methodist school.
19	1839	3,329	A. Wright, stonemason	20 (by 1843) 30 (1847-58)		
20 pre	1846	n.d.	J. G. Marshall, flax spinner, Hly			Infant school.
21	1847	1,210	W. Jackson, mechanic	8	1	
22	1847	2,420	W. Binns, clothdresser			Baptist Chapel.
23	1848	1,210	B. Mawson, wheelwright, Horsforth		10	Shop, 1 cottage into 2.
24	1852	1,790	E. Bishop, surgeon	10		
25	1852	1,900	W. Harrison, builder, Hly	9		Shop.

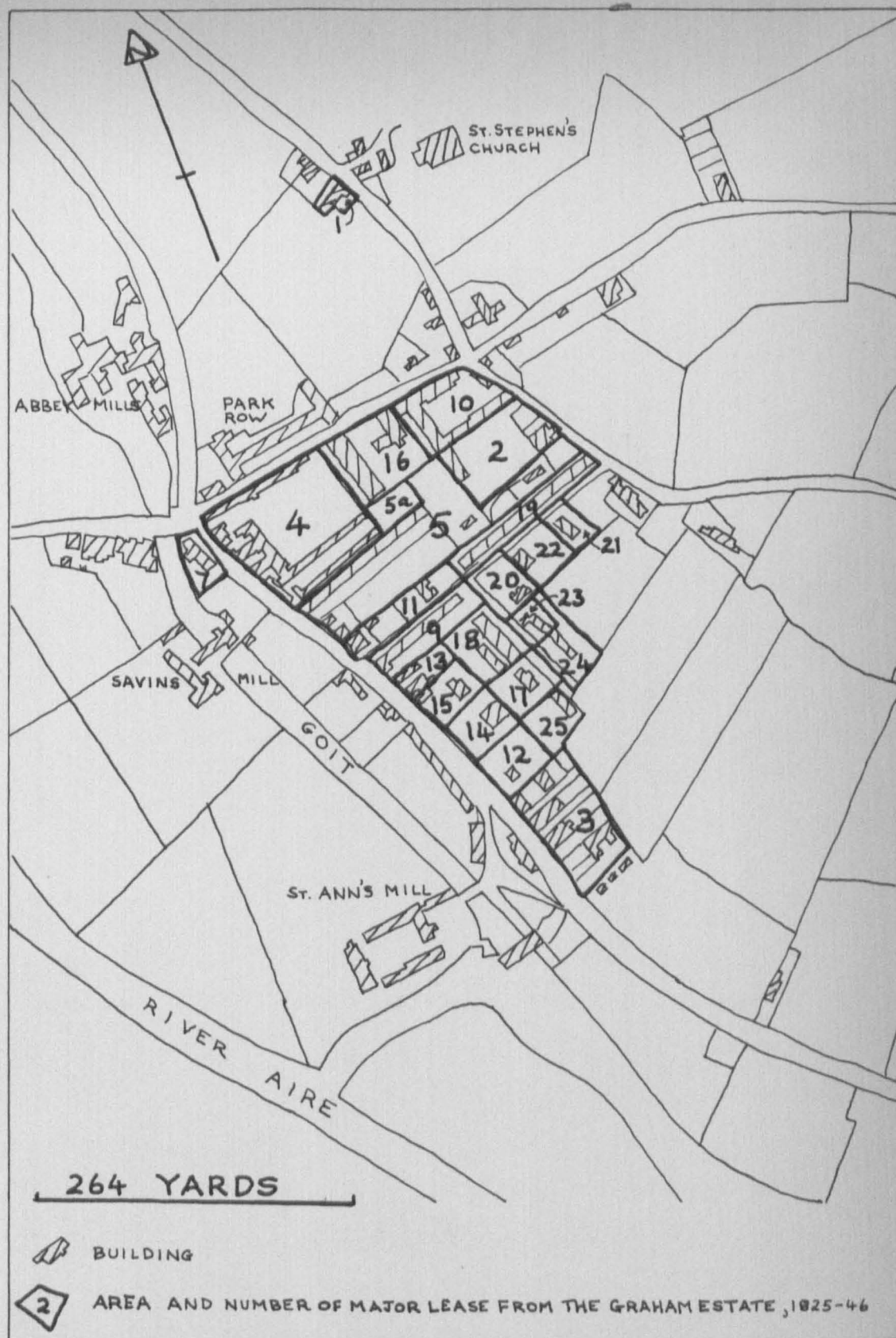
SUMMARY: 50 through houses, 250 back-to-backs, 11 conversions, 34 not classifiable.

NOTES: A letter appearing after a lease number indicates subletting by the major lessee, e.g. 3a denotes an underlease by D. Hudson to E. Matterson. The only exception is 4c which was sublet after the bankruptcy of the major lessee, 4 J. Johnson.

Place of residence is Kirkstall unless otherwise stated in the table.

SOURCES: LCD 14913, 14922, 14929, 14930, 14603, 14935, 14920, 13574, 13575, 19138, 14916, 14927, 19319, 14909, 14915, 14925, 14923, 14918, 14911, 14910.

Graham Estate Act, op.cit., Second Schedule of Leases, 1825 - 1832.



MAP 3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE OF KIRKSTALL, 1795-1846.

property rental income of the Kirkstall estate.¹

By the time Thorp surveyed the village for his map of 1821 two building developments had already taken place at Kirkstall. On the north side of Town Street, the former turnpike road down to Kirkstall bridge, twenty-seven cottages with upper storey weaving shops had been erected. Throughout the nineteenth century these premises were leased in conjunction with the Abbey Mills. Measurements of the weaving shops, given in 1845 as 176 feet by 38.5 feet, suggests that they were back-to-back cottages approximately six yards square, and thus formed the nucleus of the later nineteenth century Back Park Row, Park Row, and Cross Park Row cottage property complex. Another cottage building development before 1821 lay to the south of the new turnpike road from Leeds to Kirkstall, adjoining Saint Ann 's Mill. The leasing pattern in 1829 again suggests linkage with tenancy of the neighbouring mill, but in this instance there is no evidence of the cottages being put to any industrial use.

In 1823 the estate introduced a system of three hundred year building leases on the Kirkstall property which effectively removed responsibility for the erection of the factory workers' dwellings from the manufacturers and placed it in the hands of outside speculators (see Table 6). Some degree of control was to be maintained over the quality of building, speed of development, and health of the new community through enforcement of building covenants. The earliest agreements made by the estate required that buildings be erected within twelve months which would have a total value after taxes at least equal to the ground rent paid by the lessee. After the first rush of development in 1825 the rate of

1. 5 and 6 William IV. cap.17, (1835) Graham Estate Act.
Details from indentures of 20 and 21 April 1819.

expansion slackened and the required building period was eased, in one instance to as much as three years. However, from 1829 onwards the required value of buildings to be erected during the period was also increased, eventually reaching twice the value of the ground rent.

Developers were required to build 'good and substantial' cottages and houses, 'either wholly of stone or of brick fronted with stone' on the main frontage of their plot.¹ Until the mid 1830s it was possible to exploit the estate's natural resources for building materials. This right was set out most distinctly in a lease to William Atkinson at Burley in 1823 which gave 'the right and privilege to have stone for erecting buildings and making improvements upon the said plot of ground...along with the other tenants of the said Sir Sandford Graham... from such stone quarry on his estate in Headingley.'²

Undeveloped land adjoining the building plots was safeguarded both in a physical sense by quickwood fences or five foot stone walls and in terms of future development by control over the making of openings, whether for light or access, along common boundaries. Thus Mawson in 1848 was not permitted to make openings to the north, east or west of his plot which could have discouraged building on adjoining land still held by the estate. Boundary fences of timber were no longer considered satisfactory, and he was required to erect five foot high stone walls along the north and east sides of his land.³ Lessees had also to pay half of the costs of making and repairing the common sewer later to be put in alongside their land. By 1848 they had also to lay both a causeway or pavement, and half of the adjoining road with materials, and to a standard specified by the estate's

1. LCD 14913. Lease, Graham to D. Hudson, 3 January 1825.
2. LCD 18265. Lease, Graham to W. Atkinson, 1 January 1832.
3. LCD 14918. Lease, Graham to B. Mawson, 15 May 1848.

agents.

The earliest recorded building leases made by the estate concerned the provision of a school and schoolmaster for the education of the poor inhabitants of Kirkstall. The prime movers in this action were the three manufacturing mill occupiers at Kirkstall; Brooke, Elsworth, and John Gott, a co-partner of Benjamin Gott and Son, joined with William Wilks, a stuff merchant who had built a house on Graham land at nearby Saint Ann 's Hill, and George Waddington, a schoolmaster, to take a lease of two cottages and a small plot of adjoining land to the north of the village on which to erect a schoolroom. Within five months the schoolmaster had been granted a separate lease of an acre of land on which to build a house for himself, a valuable site elevated above the valley bottom mill sites and having good views across the Aire valley.

The last lease signed by Sir James Graham in January 1825, two months before his death, introduced what were to be the standard building covenants of the estate and was the first of twenty-two major leases which were to create the industrial village of Kirkstall (see map 3). The lessee, David Hudson, described as a gentleman of Leeds, took more than an acre of land on which he was required to erect buildings worth £26. per year, free of all charges and taxes, by January 1826.

Building must have commenced almost immediately, for on 27 April he was able to raise a mortgage of £660. from the Commercial Building Society¹ on security of 548 square yards of the land and 'those ten...cottages then erecting on the said piece of ground.' In May Hudson sublet 1,500 square yards to George Pratt, a Kirkstall butcher, for 299 years at a yearly rental of £6-2s-0d.

1. This met at the Crown Inn, Leeds.

and another 1538 square yards to Edward Matterson, a Leeds druggist, for the same term of years at £9-12s-0d yearly rental. The subleases were subject to the covenants of the major lease from Graham to Hudson, and in addition the latter stipulated more stringent development requirements of his own. In Matterson's case these required that he erect dwellings worth £20. yearly net before 18 December 1826. Meanwhile, Hudson had continued to build on his own account, obtaining a mortgage of £484-13s-0d from the Leeds Friendly Building Society¹ in mid-November 1825 on security of 345 square yards and six partially built cottages. These appear from map and sale advertisement evidence to have been average quality back-to-back dwellings of the period which produced a combined rental income of £30. in 1831.²

The target set by the estate for development during the first year of a lease was attained and must have been easily surpassed through the building activities on the subleases. Although the physical requirements set by the building covenants could be met without apparent difficulty by speculators lacking personal experience in any of the building trades, the financing of operations produced several casualties. Neither Hudson nor Matterson were able to maintain repayment schedules or to arrange alternative finance at the critical stage when mortgagees pressed for immediate payment, whether it be of principal or interest. By January 1827 one of the building societies had taken possession of the property offered by Hudson as security for their loan, only £61. having been repaid. An agreement to repay at £5. per month soon met with default.

1. This met at the Sign of the Buck, Leeds.

2. LI, 10 February 1831. LCD 14913. Hudson eventually emigrated to North America.

and in 1831 the debt of £484. was auctioned, £400. still outstanding. It was sold to James Holmes, a Leeds inn-keeper, for only £190. Matterson survived until 1830. During the previous year he had erected a warehouse and a dwellinghouse on his plot and taken a £200. five per cent private mortgage from J. B. Billam, a Wakefield woolstapler. In June 1830 Matterson defaulted and sold the property to John Eddison, a local clothier, for £275., most of which went to pay off the mortgage debt.

Four of the first five major building leases met with failure: John Johnson, a local domestic clothier turned builder, went bankrupt in 1832¹; George Waddington, the schoolmaster, and signatory on behalf of the Fountains Garden Building Society, subsequently ran away from the responsibilities of his and the society's problems. None of the three individuals concerned, Hudson, Johnson, or Waddington failed to satisfy the building requirements of the estate. What they lacked was the financial ability or knowledgeable contacts which would have enabled them to manoeuvre their financial commitments. Their plight must have been worsened by the problems in the economy at large during the late 1820s which could have made alternative private mortgage facilities less readily available and reduced the willingness of suppliers to extend credit terms. Certainly a hallmark of the successful small speculator in subsequent developments was the ability to arrange the transfer of private mortgages, whether personally, or more probably through the good offices of a solicitor.

By the time his former property was auctioned in 1833 Johnson's estate consisted of a house, twelve cottages, two weaving shops, and six ground rents, five of which have no further identification. The Fountains Garden

1. LM, 19 April 1832; 5th May 1832.

Building Society had set off in 1825 to build fifty cottages, and these were supposedly being erected at the time of a £2,000. private mortgage in 1825.

Although the society successfully erected 28 houses and a chapel in Club Terrace and Club Row they were never in a position to repay the principal of their original mortgage.

Subsequent major lessees were more successful; shopkeepers, members of the building trades, artisans, a surgeon, a farmer, a merchant, and a manufacturer all succeeded in bringing their speculations to a profitable conclusion. The most successful was Aaron Wright, a stonemason, who erected 50 back-to-back cottages between 1839 and 1858. The relationships between building and financial organisation maintained by Wright are outlined in Table 7. Once building was complete Wright continued to raise money on the property, enabling him to finance commitments elsewhere, and in 1866 the transfer was made from private to building society mortgage.

The building of the community on the hillside overlooking both Aire valley and mills was an intensely local activity. Of twenty-two major building lessees between 1825 and 1852 two-thirds were already resident in Kirkstall at the time of their signing the lease. Of the remainder three dwelt within Headingley township, and two in the adjoining townships of Leeds and Horsforth.¹

The rapid expansion of the terraces and yards of two storey stone cottages was followed by concern over the spiritual well-being of the resident mill and forge workers and their families. As early as 1824 a petition had been submitted to the Commissioners for the Building of Churches in Populous Parishes for a grant in aid of

1. Places of residence remain unidentifiable in three cases.

TABLE 7

BUILDING AND FINANCE ON THE WRIGHT LEASE, KIRKSTALL.

No.	Building Progress Period Cottages	Date	Sum (£)	Financial Support	Mortgagees
1	Nov 1839- Aug 1840	12	Aug 1840	800	S. Whitham, engineer, Kirkstall. J. Wood, gentleman, " J. Eddison, window, " J. Burniston, woolstapler, Leeds.
2	Aug 1840- May 1843	8	Aug 1840- May 1843	290	M. Pratt, grocer, Kirkstall.
3	1847- Mar 1852	10	Mar 1852	1,000	J. Mallorie, wine & spirit merchant, Kirkstall. W. Mallorie, farmer, Barrowby.
4	Sep 1853-	20	Sep 1853	150	" " "
5	—	—	Aug 1858	2,300	A. Webster, clothing manfr. Leeds. J. Hartley, " " "
6	—	—	Aug 1866	2,350	Leeds Permanent Benefit Building Society.

NOTES:

- 2 The loan was part goods, part money.
- 3 £800 paid off mortgage 1, £200 was additional capital.
- 4 Used to pay off the outstanding portion of mortgage 2.
- 5 £100 paid off mortgage 3, £1300 was additional capital.
- 6 Used to pay off mortgage 5.

SOURCE: LCD 14915

building a church at Kirkstall. The then existing church at Headingley had accommodation for only 200 persons although the township already contained more than 2,000 inhabitants; the situation was worsened by the absence of free places in the churches at Headingley, Bramley and Armley. Four hundred inhabitants of Burley were reputed to be unable to gain access to services at Headingley and in addition there were 'not less than 55 New Houses within Kirkstall and its vicinity in a state of building, and although...not yet completed they are already let to new settlers or comers.'¹

A second, and successful, petition in 1827 indicated that development had increased still further. During the intervening three years 'the said 55 houses together with 100 additional houses have been completed...the said population is still going on increasing, there being at present other houses in a state of erection.'² Land for the site of the church was given by the Earl of Cardigan, and in September 1829 Saint Stephen's, Kirkstall, was consecrated, providing 500 free places and 500 paid places for worshippers. Although the petitioners had succeeded, subsequent congregations were of a size to prompt the fiancée of one of the Butlers of Kirkstall Forge to enquire in 1840 whether the church was 'any better filled than it used to be.'³

During the 1830s and 1840s the nonconformist part of the community was sufficient in both numbers and concern to warrant the building of both Methodist and Baptist chapels, with both Methodist and non-denominational infant schools. The lease for the Methodist

1. LCRef, From a manuscript in the possession of the Reverend J. F. Hugh, 1939, transcribed by E. Hick.
2. Ibid.
3. A Kirkstall Forge Romance, Letters Isabella F. Holgate - Ambrose Edmund Butler, 1837-1841, edited by H. M. Butler, (1939), p186.

institutions was obtained in 1839 by James Hargrave the elder, a merchant of Kirkstall, on behalf of the Wesleyan Methodist trustees, whilst John Marshall II, the Leeds flaxspinner who had a house at Headingley, provided the infant school. Finally, in 1847 a Leeds clothdresser, William Binns, leased a site for the building of a Baptist chapel and schoolhouse, transferring the property into the hands of the trustees of the Particular Baptists in 1849.

4.2 Building Grounds, Mansions, and Capital Messuages.

At Kirkstall the Grahams had provided building land to satisfy demand amongst the local textile mill and forge labour force for homes near to their place of work. The response was so satisfactory to the estate that there was no need to advertise for prospective builders. However, landowners aiming at a superior market to that of the Grahams required newspaper space in order to inform a less numerous but more literate audience of the attractions of life in their neighbourhood, and thus to create a demand for building land on their estate. In this campaign landowners received considerable, although unsolicited, assistance from the evidence of Leeds people to parliamentary enquiries into the state of urban centres and manufacturing districts during the 1830s and 1840s.

Landowners trying to entice people to live in the northern out-townships described two important advantages to be gained. The first was that of a healthy rural environment, visually attractive with clean air and fresh water. By 1840 central Leeds had been suffering from water and air pollution for at least thirty years. The House of Commons Select Committee on the Health of Large Towns and Populous districts emphasised this point in their report of that year.

The witness having stated that Leeds had doubled its population within thirty years

was asked, 'During that time it appears... that no one provision and regulation had been made with respect to drainage, sewerage, and cleansing...for the supply of water for this vast community?' - A. 'Certainly not.'¹

To this was added a financial inducement in the low level of local taxes and rates. A building ground in Headingley offered for sale in 1825 was described as having

all the Advantages of the adjoining land in Leeds, without being subject to the heavy Parochial Taxes and Rates for Improvements, which are charged upon Property in the Township of Leeds. The Whole of the Taxes and Out-payments upon this Estate do not amount to One-tenth Part of a Farthing per yard per annum.²

The most frequently lauded environmental attractions were good water supplies and attractive gardens and grounds.

'At Burley a large house available in 1832 boasted 'a never failing supply of excellent water' and 'a good Garden in full bearing.'³ In the same year Mr. Child, an architect, had a new house at Headingley which offered all possible advantages; 'a handsome pleasure ground' in front, a kitchen garden behind, 'an extensive and beautiful prospect' and hard and soft water supplies.⁴

On a new development at Burley Crescent an existing oak wood had been retained in front of the houses and the grounds in between laid out as ornamental shrubberies. Nevertheless further considerable improvements were promised, commodious gardens were to be added at the rear and in the immediate neighbourhood. Subject to agreement about the monetary value of such advantages, premises like these were likely to meet the requirements

1. F.P., 1840 xi, S.C. on the Health of Large Towns and Populous Districts, p.xi.
2. LI, 8 September 1825. The T. E. Upton estate.
3. LM, 5 May 1832.
4. LM, 24 November 1832.

of those wanting 'a respectable house, suitable for a small family, in an airy and healthful situation, within three miles of Leeds' including 'a good garden and stable ...with or without a few acres of land.'¹

In Headingley the advantage of good local underground water supplies had been superceded as a selling point in the late 1830s by the new possibility of obtaining water from the pipeline of the New Leeds Waterworks Company. In 1844 a house to let at Far Headingley had 'a pump with excellent water upon the sink', but prospective tenants were informed that 'the Leeds water-works main runs near the buildings and water may be easily obtained if wanted.'²

Although reference to freedom from smoke appeared but infrequently amongst the attractions of the out-townships which were listed in newspaper advertisements it may be that the point was self-evident to contemporaries. In 1837 the vendors of the J. H. Fawcett estate claimed that 'the beauties of Headingley and its neighbourhood and the salubrity of the air are too well known to require any observation.'³ Other sources, notably the evidence to the 1845 House of Commons Select Committee on Smoke Prevention given by residents and former residents of the inner urban area, were more explicit upon this point.

Park Place and Park Square, which used to be the residence of the best families in Leeds have been gradually deserted for several years passed, in consequence of increasing smoke. Now it very often happens that houses remain unlet for a considerable time, and I know there are some to sell which cannot find purchasers; it is only from the increase

1. LM, 10 March 1832.
2. LM, 27 April 1844.
3. LM, 30 September 1837.

in smoke in the neighbourhood...They are in the best part of Leeds, and the parties are driven out of town; they live a mile or two out of town now, and as they have the means of omnibuses they can do it. They used to live nearer business.¹

Darnton Lupton, mayor of Leeds in 1845, explained that house values in the inner area had fallen, 'almost 25 per cent to 30 per cent with good houses; because everyone does as I did a few years ago; I went out, I could not bear it any longer; and everyone who can is going out of town.'² The Inspector of Nuisances for the Borough confirmed that 'a great number of parties have left Leeds, no doubt on account of the smoke affecting the houses, making them dirty and unpleasant to live in.'³ Unsuccessful attempts to find and implement remedies to the smoke nuisance had been underway for the previous two decades. Manufacturers blamed their stokers, outsiders blamed manufacturers for not fitting smoke consuming devices, and the local Act lacked the powers that would have permitted effective intervention. At this stage few accepted the problem as an inevitable by-product of the industrial society, but it was recognized that the incidence fell unequally across the ranks of that society. As Darnton Lupton pointed out with reference to his genteel neighbours amongst the northern out-townships, 'we do not suffer, it is the working class that suffer.'⁴

Retreat from the inner area did not imply a total rejection of its problems. On a voluntary basis merchants and manufacturers residing amidst the green fields of the out-townships were willing to give aid. The view of John Marshall, flaxspinner of Headingley,

1. P.P., 1845 xiii, S.C. on Smoke Prevention, evidence of John Atkinson A 208.
2. Ibid., evidence of Darnton Lupton, A 433.
3. Ibid., evidence of Thomas Cockshott Rusher, A 410.
4. Ibid., Darnton Lupton, A 441.

given at a public meeting to collect money for the Relief of the Distressed in 1831 was that 'the town of Leeds and the out-townships are so intimately connected, > that I think we must all be aware our welfare depends very much in the conduct that is pursued in respect to this great malady which is coming upon us.'¹ In the face of an approaching cholera epidemic the inhabitants of Headingley township gave financial support to aid the distressed, but felt sufficiently secure in their semi-rural location to refuse to finance the establishment of a Board of Health for their own township. During the first three years of the 1840s, years of distress and deprivation, the voluntary system of aid through general subscription was once again in action, but for the three northern out-townships it was noted that 'the wealthy inhabitants will no doubt, take measures for alleviating the distress of those that stand particularly in need of assistance.'² At Kirkstall, where Abbey Mills lay empty between 1841 and 1846, the Beckett family of Kirkstall Grange provided charitable gifts of 'blankets, sheets, cloaks, petticoats, flannel, stockings, calico etc.'³

Contemporaries saw no apparent conflict between generous voluntary charitable actions, and the constraints applied for sake of economy to similar activities financed through compulsory rate levies. In 1843 the treatment meted out by Headingley's semi-permanent overseer of the poor to two applicants for relief was sufficiently ill-considered to warrant an inquiry by the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner in London. Although the regulations supported the ends that Brooke, who was also the local schoolmaster, had set out to achieve, the means he

1. LM, 3 December 1831.

2. LM, 29 January 1842.

3. LM, 30 December 1843; 27 December 1845.

employed and his harsh and bad language led to his being strongly censured.¹ Brooke's service as an elected township official in one capacity or another throughout the 1830s had coincided with a low level of township rates. The attitude of a majority of the inhabitants remained that summarized by one Jackson, a painter, in his unsuccessful proposal of Frederick Rinder, a local publican, at the 1829 Churchwardens' election. 'There's nobody gets appointed but them that's most rates to pay, and they order it so [th]at they have little to pay themselves, and less to pay for anybody else.'²

The maintenance of a low level of rate assessments received considerable support from new arrivals for whom the profits of business had provided the means to move home and family away from adjoining industrial or commercial premises and attendant nuisances. In addition to relying on the diligence of their township officials, the out-township dwellers also queried the division of tax burdens between out-townships and in-township. Objections were twofold; firstly that the valuations upon which taxes and rates were assessed represented a stage in the town's development long past; secondly that out-township residents paid for services from which they received no benefit (see Table 8).

In 1830 the out-townships were pressing for a reduction in their share of the church rate of the parish. At the Leeds vestry meeting of 2 December 1830 a committee was appointed to form a new valuation of the property of the whole parish. This, when complete, was to provide the basis for the regulation of the proportion payable by each township. Under the existing valuation, established in 1780, Leeds in-township paid five-eighths

1. LM, 14 January 1843; 21 January 1843.

2. LM, 23 April 1829.

TABLE 8

RATES LEVIED UPON TOWNSHIPS, 1830 - 1832.

LEEDS AND HEADINGLEY CUM BURLEY

Rate	In-Township	Out-Township
Poor rate	/	/
Highway rate	/	/
Middle row rate (to 1832)	/	
Watch rate	/	
Lamp rate	/	
Court House rate	/	/
Improvement rate	/	
Church rate	/	/

SOURCES: In-township, LM, 27 October 1838;
 Out-township, Earl of Cardigan's
 Disbursements: Taxes and Levies,
 NCRO, ASR, 520, 521.

and the out-townships three-eighths of the total assessment.¹ Although the three-eighths representing the out-townships' share had originally been divided into unequal parts to take into account different levels of development, and hence tax bases, subsequent expansion had changed the balance between townships once again. To raise their portion as assessed in 1780 Beeston had to set a Church Rate of 5d in the pound in 1830, but for Hunslet, Armley and Bramley a rate of 1d in the pound was sufficient.²

The rapidity at which the balance between townships was changing is indicated by comparison of the old (1816) and new (1834) valuations for the County Rate. The new valuation raised the rateable value of Leeds in-township by £101,000. to £191,000; of the out-townships Holbeck had the largest increase, by £6,800. to £12,000. The highest out-township valuation on the old basis had been that of Headingley cum Burley at £7,858. In 1834 this was increased to £10,443., a sum considerably lower than the new assessments for Holbeck or Hunslet. The changes reflected the increased industrial developments south of the River Aire and the rapid growth within the in-township.

The question of a more equitable distribution of the tax burden between the constituent townships of the parish arose again towards the end of 1838. This time the rate under scrutiny was the Court House Rate. The matter was first raised in council and taken up by the press in January of the following year.³ In 1815 the principle had been established that this rate should be assessed similarly throughout the parish. It was shown that the valuation upon which the Court House Rate operated was outdated by comparison of the total out-townships'

1. LI, 9 December 1830.

2. Ibid.

3. LM, 12 January 1839.

valuation in the 1838 Overseers Returns with that used for the 1835 Court House Rate and many years previously. The greatest discrepancy between valuations occurred in Holbeck, once again reflecting contrasting rates of development between the northern, primarily agricultural, out-townships and the more heavily industrialised parts of Holbeck and Hunslet.

For Headingley cum Burley the 1838 valuation represented a fifty per cent increase in the out-township's valuation. However, the new figure was a decreased share, down from nineteen and a half per cent to fourteen per cent of the total assessed value of the nine out-townships as a whole. Of the other two northern out-townships Potternewton also showed a significant decrease in its share of the total out-township valuation, reflecting a very slow rate of development, but in Chapel Allerton the value of buildings and land had risen sufficiently for its share of the total out-township valuation to show a slight increase. (see Table 9).

In considering the incidence of the taxes, allowance has to be made for tenements having an annual value of less than £4. because these were exempt from payment. The published figures gave a consolidated figure for the out-townships as a whole, this being then deducted from the gross valuation to give an assessable value upon which the tax could be levied.

Thus a large proportion of the increases in the property valuations in the more densely populated parts of the out-townships consisted of tenements which would have been exempt from the tax itself. The degree of exemption must have been much lower in the less industrialized suburbs to the north of the town. If possible exemptions in the northern out-townships are excluded from the calculation it is apparent that the Headingley cum Burley and share of the out-townships' tax burden worsened as a result of revaluation (see Table 10).

TABLE 9

CHANGING DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL OUT-TOWNSHIP TAX VALUATION.

Township	Percentage Share		
	1838 ¹	1835 ²	%Change
Armley	8.3	6.8	+1.5
Beeston	4.0	3.4	+0.6
Bramley	18.4	15.5	+2.9
Farnley	3.25	5.5	-2.25
Holbeck	17.4	10.2	+7.2
Hunslet	22.1	22.3	-0.2
Chapel Allerton	7.82	7.36	+0.46
Headingley	13.8	19.5	-5.7
Potternewton	5.0	9.4	-4.4

1 From 1838 Poor Law overseers returns.

2 From 1835 Court House rate valuation 'and for many years previous'.

SOURCE: Calculated from Valuation figures presented in LM, 12 January 1839.

TABLE 10

NORTHERN OUT-TOWNSHIP VALUATIONS
AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUT-TOWNSHIP TAXABLE VALUES.¹

	1838(%)	1835(%)	%Change
Headingley	27	22	+5
Potternewton	10	10.6	-0.6
Chapel Allerton	15.3	8.3	+7

1 After low value tenement values exempted; 1835=£6,161
1838=£60,402.

SOURCE: Valuation figures presented in LM, 12 Jan 1839.

Although the northern out-townships succeeded through revaluation in increasing the share of the industrial communities, especially Holbeck, this success would have been nullified by the number of low value tenement exemptions on cottage property. In Chapel Allerton the movement for revaluation also proved counterproductive whilst in Potternewton there was little overall change.

During the years 1839 to 1841 a new valuation and survey of the borough was carried out for the Leeds corporation by Robert Cooper and Messrs. R. H. and S. Sharp of York. The result for Headingley cum Burley was a further increase in rateable value of £5,300. to £22,285; for Potternewton the increase was £2,426. to £8,638. when compared to the overseer's valuation of 1838; for Chapel Allerton the increase was of £654. to £10,292.¹ After this, complaints of unfair distribution of tax burdens between townships died down, but so also did claims of low taxes in Headingley and Potternewton, only two occurring in sales advertisements between 1841 and 1846. As a result of the increased attention paid to valuation, new developments in the out-townships during the 1830s became part of the total assessed value of a township much more quickly than had been the case in the in-township during the previous half century.

Changes in valuations were only one-half of the question of equitable tax burdens; the other part was the level at which rates in the pound were set. The largest single rate for both in-township and out-township was the Poor Rate, and it was this which showed most clearly the difference between Potternewton, Chapel Allerton, Headingley cum Burley, and Leeds. The basic reason for the difference in level of Poor Rates between

1. LM, 24 December 1841.

in-township and northern out-townships was that the population of the former included a greater proportion in need of relief. Furthermore, the amount of property exempt from the rate would have also formed a larger part of the total gross in-township valuation. Leeds may also have been more generous in its provision of aid, for in 1851 the in-township spent £1. per head per annum more than the remainder of the West Riding, and 4.4 per cent of the population was getting relief, compared to only 2.7 per cent at Bradford.¹ There was also a difference of approach to the provision of aid, Headingley and Potternewton having been incorporated as Gilbert unions under the terms of the 1819 Act with the consequent emphasis on the importance of outdoor relief. Five of the Leeds out-townships sent their poor in need of shelter and relief to the workhouse at Carlton which had been erected for the use of forty townships incorporated under Gilbert's Act. An advantage of this was the saving of money for the upkeep of a workhouse although townships were still responsible for the maintenance of their own inmates. This arrangement continued to operate until 1869 when the three northern out-townships were united with the Leeds in-township to form the Leeds Poor Law Union, a move proposed a quarter of a century before it finally took place.²

Details of the movements of northern out-township Poor Rates are limited by the paucity of material for only the Headingley cum Burley Overseers' Returns of 1834 and the Potternewton valuation of 1837 survive for this period. The Headingley second rate for 1834 was at one shilling in the £ with no differentiation between the levy on buildings and that on land. Out-township Poor Rates are but infrequently recorded in the press

1. PRO, ME12/15230, 1832-1855, Comments of H.B. Farnell, 16 June 1851, quoted by D. Fraser, 'Poor Law Politics in Leeds,' Thoresby Society, LIII (1970), p44.

2. LM, 19 October 1844.

except in cases of dispute. One such instance occurred in 1836 and incidental information revealed that the Headingley Poor Rate for May 1836 was still at 1s-0d in the pound.¹

The Leeds in-township rate had not been at a similarly low level since the summer rate of 1829. It had then stood at 1s-0d in the pound on buildings, and 1s-6d in the pound on land, but the rate for the following winter half-year had raised the levy by 4d on buildings and by 6d on land.² The crisis situation of 1832 created by the cholera epidemic emphasised the major relief problems to be found by the city with only charitable support, not tax based support, from the wealthy northern out-townships. Both 1832 Poor Rate assessments for the in-township were increased, to 1s-8d and then to 2s-0d in the pound on buildings, and to 2s-6d and then to 3s-0d in the pound on land.³ By November of that year 702 people had died of cholera: none of them had resided in Headingley cum Burley or Potternewton. Although Poor Rate levels subsided after the crisis, the 1836 evidence showed that whilst Leeds had been able to reduce its rate to 1s-8d in the pound, the Headingley rate payers still only paid 1s-0d in the pound. Distress during the early 1840s again raised the in-township Poor Rate to 2s-8d in the pound in 1842, and despite its being reduced to 2s-0d in the pound in 1843 it was still being called a heavy burden in the local press.⁴

The other aspect of taxation about which out-townships acted to preserve their freedom from in-township problems concerned the provision and financial

1. LI, 11 June 1836.

2. LM, 14 November 1829.

3. LM, 19 May 1832; LI, 2 November 1833.

4. LI, 18 November 1843.

support of new services. The cost of justice in the borough provoked a reaction in 1836 when a Borough Rate was laid which required Headingley cum Burley to set a rate of 6d in the pound to raise its quota of £130. At this time a Borough Rate was levied to finance expenditure over and above the estimated budget. It was pointed out that the overseers had already set the Poor Rate at 1s-0d in the pound, 'besides which Headingley cum Burley recently paid (approx) £100. as its proportion of the Court House Rate. Two more rates may be necessary during the year, one to defray the cost of the new police ...and the other to compensate the chief constable.'¹ Political wrangling about the way in which the township had been ordered to set the rate continued for another six months but failed to effect the collecting of the rate. Elsewhere, reluctance to pay was more evident; by 1838 rate arrears over the borough as a whole totalled £2,400., the principal recalcitrant being Farnley township. Dissatisfaction shown on behalf of the northern out-townships was restricted to the signature of the Headingley churchwarden on a joint memorial from the out-townships against the Borough Rate and the new police. Their main point was that the out-townships received few or no benefits although they paid an annual average of £700. on the Borough Rate. Amongst the politically active, acceptance of the situation took longer. In 1839 magistrates refused to endorse the overseer's book for Headingley cum Burley because Borough Rate and Poor Rate had been collected separately. Overseer with Brooke, the schoolmaster, was George Hayward, agent to the Earl of Cardigan and a Leeds Tory councillor, whose conduct in confusing means with strictly political ends

1. LI, 11 June 1836.

had been the subject of earlier complaints.¹

Complaints about the out-townships' quotas for the Watch Rate were settled by an Act of 1839 for more equally levying and assessing the Watch Rates.² In 1841 Headingley cum Burley paid 4.25 per cent, £80., of the cost of the police force.³ Out-township inhabitants did not deny the need for an effective policing system. Before the police reached the northern out-townships the principal problems were attacks on travellers by footpads, and house burglaries. In 1834 the press warned that Headingley village 'not having the benefit of a nightly watch has attracted the attention of a set of vagabonds', and two unsuccessful attempts had been made on one particular house.⁴ New houses erected along Headingley Lane very quickly became the target of thieves who found their visit anticipated by the occupants. 'James Brown, a private watchman employed by several gentlemen residing in Headingley Lane...when in the backyard of Mr. R. F. Green was surprised by two men...[and] fired at them a pistol'.⁵

The period of private armed watchmen lasted about ten years. By the end of the 1830s the out-townships were expecting to see the police force; in rebuttal the police claimed to be much in evidence, especially to the west of Leeds. In Headingley anger was aroused by police failure to prevent the use of Headingley Lane for men running races in the nude, events which attracted large numbers of the lower orders from the city as spectators.⁶

1. LI, 30 November 1839; 7 December 1839. In 1832 Hayward had been accused of intimidating the Earl of Cardigan's tenants during a parliamentary election.
2. LM, 17 August 1839.
3. LM, 7 August 1841.
4. LM, 20 September 1834.
5. LI, 14 November 1835.
6. LM, 23 February 1839.

The worst aspect of being last to benefit from the police force was the increased need for the service which this produced. In 1840 it was announced that since a policeman had been established at Chapel Allerton thieves had moved north-westwards, a house in Burley Crescent had been entered, and several attempts made to burgle houses at Headingley including that of Eddison, the Leeds town clerk.

Revaluation and extension of services during the 1840s diminished criticism on the grounds of the 1830s arguments. The extension of the Improvement Rate over the whole of the borough in 1842 met no objection from the northern out-townships. Differentials between townships were taken into account, Headingley and Potternewton being two of five townships within a rate of 1d in the pound in 1844, raised to 2d and 4d respectively in 1846.¹ Where schemes of importance to a single township were undertaken a provision was made for a special improvement levy. This first happened in Chapel Allerton in 1843 when a special 3d rate was raised to contribute to the cost of constructing a common sewer.² Not until the 1860s were the questions of service provision and their financing again to provoke major public debate.

4.3 The Development of Semi-Rural Elysian Fields.

a. The New Town of Leeds.

The first of the large estates to put a considerable amount of land onto the market for freehold building development was the Cowper estate in Potternewton. In 1819 Richardson, the steward, had pointed out the possibilities whilst remaining doubtful of the value of a sale at that particular moment. Family financial considerations appear to have forced the hand of the estate

1. LI, 17 December 1842; LM, 13 January 1844;
3 January 1846.
2. LM, 8 April 1843.

however, because the Leeds agents were asked to consider the best means of raising £12,000. from the sale of a part of the property. The local agents, Tottie, Richardson and Gaunt, explained the necessity of selecting a more propitious moment, preferably not during a time of depressed trading conditions and social and political unrest. An additional drawback of a rapid sale was the impossibility of laying out the estate in the most suitable form for prospective purchasers. This in turn would strongly influence the prices obtained. 'An immediate sale would produce about £1,900., a gradual sale from £3,890. to £4,670.' for the six acres nearest to the town.¹ The disadvantage of the higher price was that the land divided into small building lots would not be disposed of in less than six years.

In 1824 incidental information reported in the press suggested that developments were underway on the Cowper estate. An increase of forty per cent in the sale price of the Roundhay turnpike road tolls² produced comment that 'when the immense improvements on the Earl Cowper's estate (which have been recently and almost officially announced), are developed who shall doubt what benefits that district has secured!'³ The final two months of 1824 were notable for the amount of investment in land in various parts of the country.⁴ This increase in activity was reflected on the Cowper estate in 1825 when a further report was commissioned on the suitability of the Leeds and Potternewton estates for sale by Jonathan Taylor, a local surveyor. Taylor enquired closely into

1. HCRO, Cowper MSS, C4951, James Richardson, Report respecting the Estate of...Earl Cowper, situated at Leeds, 1819.
2. Richardson was clerk to the Leeds-Roundhay turnpike trust in 1828, LI, 3 January 1828.
3. LI, 11 November 1824.
4. LI, 2 December 1824.

the most suitable organisation of the Potternewton estate for sale purposes. He believed, like Tottie, Richardson and Gaunt, that the land had great potential for building, and that 1825 was a better time for a sale than 1819. Preparations for a sale as building land had to include the laying out of roads because lack of easy access rendered the land suitable only for agricultural purposes. Taylor proposed to subdivide the existing fields.

As a general rule...the less the quantity in each lot the better price it will fetch; a smaller quantity being within reach of a greater number of persons, and consequently commanding greater competition: the more the subdivision, the greater will be the profit to be realised; but this increases trouble, and the profit is longer in realizing.¹

The final element in Taylor's preparations constituted a warning against the development of steam-powered manufactories and dyehouses; 'they would thwart the Scheme of erecting Private Houses, and spoil the general appearance of the Estates - One Steam Engine would affect a large Circuit of the property.'²

In August 1825 the estate rejected the idea of carrying out its own subdivision and sold fifty five acres near to the Leeds in-township boundary for £29,860. The unlikely purchasers were London booksellers and publishers, T. and J. Hurst and J. O. Robinson. Covenants restricted industrial activities on the estate and the speculators proceeded to lay out streets and plots for house sites. Progress was eagerly anticipated in Leeds, the Leeds Intelligencer announced the one great

1. HCRO, Cowper MSS, C4952, Jonathan Taylor, Report on Earl Cowper's Estates Leeds, 1825, pp3-9. Earl Cowper was in Leeds during March 1825, LI, 21 March 1825.

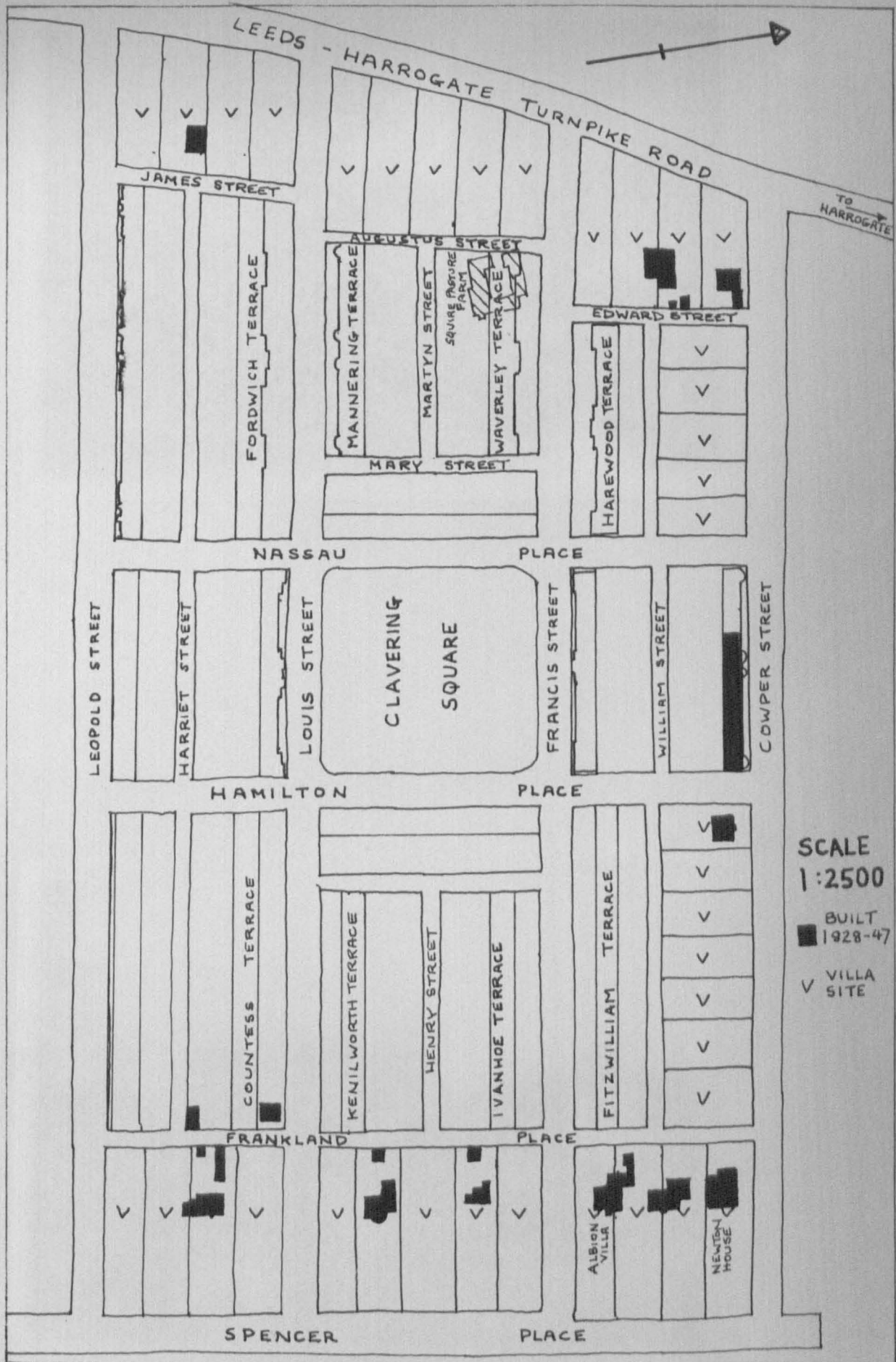
2. Ibid., pp5-7.

object, 'to form such a neighbourhood as will command the attention of persons retired from the old town.'¹ Within this semi-rural elysium high standards of development were to be demanded of purchasers, sales were to be 'subject to such restrictions as may be found necessary for securing uniformity of building respectability of the neighbourhood.'² In this way the speculators sought to guarantee residents that there would be nothing to disturb their enjoyment. The opinion was expressed in 1825 that the combination of beautiful views, fresh air and 'luxuriant garden soil' would enable the proprietors to form 'one of the most healthy and elegant retreats in the kingdom.'³

Such a project...is rendered indispensable by the increased and increasing prosperity of this neighbourhood and the consequent attention to health and comfort. We fully anticipate the success of this project, and the result will be, that in a few years, land adjoining Lord Cowper's estate, which at present might be purchased for a few shillings per square yard will be sold at highly advanced prices.⁴

Unfortunately the great scheme was overtaken by the slump in the trade and property markets of 1825 - 1829. Within three years the Hursts and Robinson were bankrupt. The ignominious anticlimax came in April 1829 when Earl Cowper repurchased the land from the mortgagees for just under £20,000., the equivalent of the outstanding mortgage debt. The Cowper estate at first rejected the idea of continuing with the scheme and sought new large scale purchasers, following Richardson's proposals of 1819.

1. LI, 28 July 1825.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. The editor, Griffith Wright, owned an adjoining in-township estate which he developed for cottage building during the second half of the 1820s.
4. LI, 28 July 1825. As an adjoining estate owner, Wright personally stood to profit 'in a few years.'



MAP 4. LAYOUT PLAN OF THE NEW TOWN OF LEEDS, POTTERNEWTON, 1828.



Photograph 7. ALBION VILLA, Spencer Place, c.1834
for J. WOODHEAD, joiner-builder. (O.O).

Photograph 8. NEWTON HOUSE, Spencer Place, c.1834
for H. GRESHAM, pawn-broker. (S.i.).



At that time Griffith Wright, a neighbouring landowner and editor of the Leeds Intelligencer had been offered land adjoining his estate and Harehills Lane, but had refused. James Brown, a leading cloth manufacturer also of Harehills, had received a similar offer in 1819, now repeated, and which he finally accepted in the 1830s when he purchased 112 acres. The acreage included one-half of Cowper Street within the abortive New Town of Leeds project of Robinson and the Hursts. In 1842 another 45 acres of the estate, including a respectable house and grounds, were sold to John Hives, a retired flax and tow spinner. A third major sale during this period brought Arthur Lupton, of the Leeds family of cloth merchants, from town to Low Hall and a 36 acre estate.¹

These sales still left the Cowper estate with the majority of the abortive New Town layout in its hands. However reluctantly, the estate was drawn into the minutiae of building ground sales with the additional administrative costs and extended development period. A policy of leasehold development was rejected but the sale of building plots proved an extremely slow process. By 1834 only four houses had been erected; in 1837 twelve houses were recorded at New Leeds. The occupants were a mixture of retired folk, commercial and manufacturing people; fulling and scribbling miller, bookseller, and auctioneer. The earliest houses to be erected were of a high standard with rateable values of between £15. and £45., compared to values of less than £4. for working class cottages. However, the newest houses in 1837 had a rateable value

1. HCRO, Cowper MSS, C4953 W. Pollard, A Survey of an Estate in...Potternewton Belonging to...Earl Cowper, 1847, pp.15-18; LCD 10784; 7506.

of £12-10-0 each, a precursor of future deterioration from the standards of the original optimistic scheme.¹

In 1839 another attempt was made to find new purchasers but by 1847 had been only partially successful.

Fourteen separate purchases were made from the estate in New Leeds during the twenty-two years since its original unveiling. Ten acres had been sold, including the acre and half of Cowper Street sold to James Brown. By 1847 the Cowper estate still held four and a half acres of building land and incomplete frontages in Spencer, Frankland, Cowper, Francis and Louis Streets. Those streets, intended with Clavering Square (which never materialized) to proudly commemorate the family's names, shared twenty dwellings in 1845, along with the cow pastures of Barnabas Hewson, and other grassland let to George Dixon, an army contractor.

b. Headingley Hill.

Whilst Cowper was attempting to revitalise the New Town of Leeds project in Potternewton a distinct neighbourhood of similar residential quality was developing in Headingley. During the second quarter of the nineteenth century five adjoining estates which lay alongside the Leeds - Otley turnpike road between Woodhouse Moor and Headingley village were put up for sale. By the late 1830s sufficient development had taken place for the neighbourhood to acquire a separate identity as Headingley Hill. The preliminary phase to this expansion commenced in 1824 when Mary Bainbrigge sold 6,050 square yards of her estate to Thomas Robinson, gentleman, already of Headingley. This was the site of Ashfield House which was built opposite Mary Bainbrigge's own house on the other side of the turnpike road. The following year

1. LCA, PL/17/6, Potternewton Valuation and Survey, 1837.

Robinson purchased another 3,630 square yards to the north of the house site. By 1826 the house was let to a widow, Hannah Baker, who had formerly dwelt in Leeds; in October of that year she purchased 'that messuage... with the barn and outbuildings...lately erected by the said Thomas Robinson.'¹

Amongst the signatories of the conveyances were George North Tatham, flaxspinner, and George Bischoff, merchant, two men who were sufficiently impressed by Robinson's activities to follow suit. Tatham eventually moved to live nearby, but Bischoff purchased three fields of the Bainbrigge estate, 122,549 square yards at 10d per square yard in 1827. Its subsequent development as building land was anticipated in the covenants which accompanied the transfer. No houses were to be built worth less than £15. per annum clear rental, the only exception being entrance lodges. Comprehensive measures were taken to prevent industrial development on the estate, no building was to be used for the purpose of

a Mill, manufactory, weaving shop, Steam or fire engine, dyehouse, slaughterhouse, glass-house or distillery...nor for melting tallow, making candles, boiling soap, burning blood, making or refining sugar or making glue or as a working shop or a place for blacksmith, whitesmith, tanner, skinner or currier nor to exercise any other noisome or dangerous trade or calling in.²

Bischoff himself erected a house on the backland of his new estate, probably to set an example and encouragement to possible purchasers of his building land. There is no record of his ever having lived in the house and he sold it in 1836.³ By 1830 the first two single acre

1. WRRD, IT.163.171., 1826.

2. LCD 9452, 13/14 August 1827, Bainbrigge - Bischoff.

3. This was Highfield House, now 6/8 North Hill Road.

plots with frontages to the turnpike road had been sold (see Table 11). The first was to Thomas Tatham, Leeds quaker and member of the firm of Titley, Tatham, and Walker, flaxspinners, at a price of 1s-8d per square yard; the house which he erected was valued at £1,200. for insurance purposes in 1842.¹ Robert Fletcher Green, a tobacco manufacturer, was the other purchaser at 1s-5d per square yard.² Green was asked to pay one-tenth of the repair costs to an adjoining road leading to the backland of the Bischoff estate for as much of that road that adjoined his plot. The nine-tenths were to be paid by the future purchasers of Bischoff estate backland lots. In spite of the success of these early ventures there was an hiatus in sales and development of the remainder of the turnpike road frontage. A plot was sold in 1831 to Thomas Lumb, a Leeds appraiser, but no development took place and Lumb resold the land to John Calvert, a Leeds dyer. Calvert's willingness to speculate, albeit on a small scale, provided the catalyst for a group of purchases in 1835 and 1836. Calvert had a mansion built on Lumb's site by John Child, an architect, who went on to speculate in Headingley Hill development on his own behalf. The mansion was available on lease at the end of 1832, and Calvert was sufficiently encouraged to take another building plot. Two semi-detached dwellings were erected; they were designed to appear as one mansion-sized unit equal in respectability to the earlier residences on this frontage. A third plot for which Calvert entered into negotiations was not taken, and Bischoff sold the land at a slightly lower price to Robert Walker, a Leeds stuff merchant.³ Nevertheless, the price obtained was considerably higher than the rate

1. LCD 15924. Nos 1/3 North Grange Road.

2. LCD 12904. Virginia House.

3. LCD 9452. Calvert had agreed to pay 2s-7½d per square yard, Walker paid 2s-6d.

TABLE 11

GEORGE BISCHOFF ESTATE, SALES AND DEVELOPMENT, 1827 - 1846

Date of Purchase	Purchaser ² Name	Occupation	Process Category	Area (Square Yards)	Price(s-d) per Square Yard	Type of Development
1829	T. Tatham	flaxspinner	owner occupier	4,840	1 - 8	mansion
1830	R. F. Green	tobacco mfr	" "	4,840	1 - 5	"
1831	T. Lumb	appraiser	land resale	3,848	—	mansion
1835	R. Walker	stuff merchant	owner occupier	4,850	2 - 6	
1835	J. Calvert	dyer	speculation	4,612	—	2 semi-detached houses
1836	W. Hargreaves	gentleman	owner occupier	2,314	—	mansion
1836	J. Austin	woolstapler	owner occupier	2,400	—	mansion
1836a	S. Glover	druggist	house purchase	2,475	7 - 0 ²	
1836b	"	"	land purchase	2,140	—	grounds
1840	W. Walker	maltster	owner occupier	14,520	0 - 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	mansion
1841	S. Glover	gentleman	land purchase	26,664	1 - 2	grounds
1841	J. Child	architect	speculation	4,284	—	mansion + 2 semi-detached houses
1843	W. Walker	maltster	land purchase	2,420	1 - 0	grounds
1843	S. Glover	gentleman	land purchase	38,130	—	grounds + 1 cottage

1 All purchasers were from Leeds.

2 Price included a mansion built by George Bischoff.

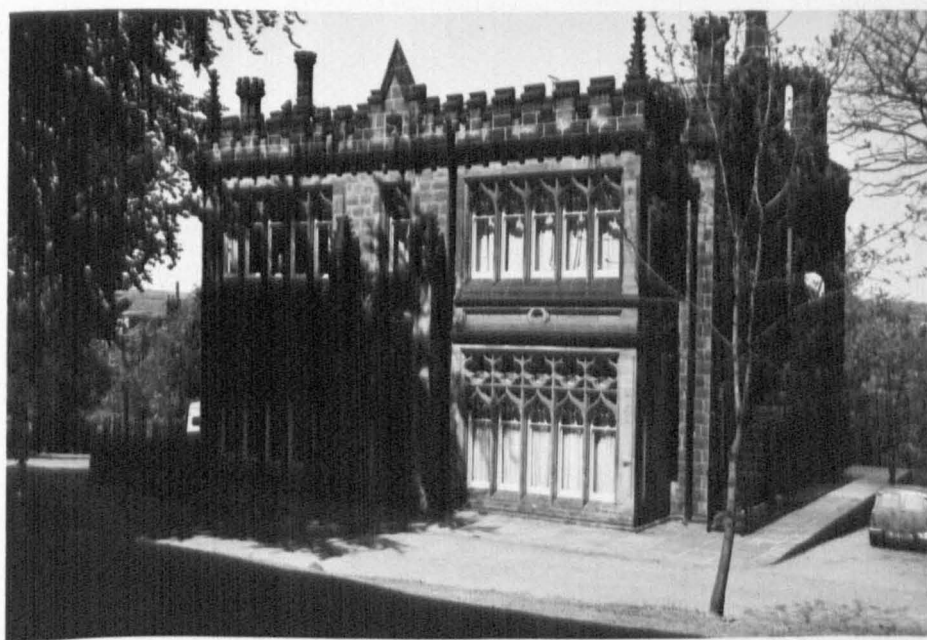
SOURCE: See Appendix Two.

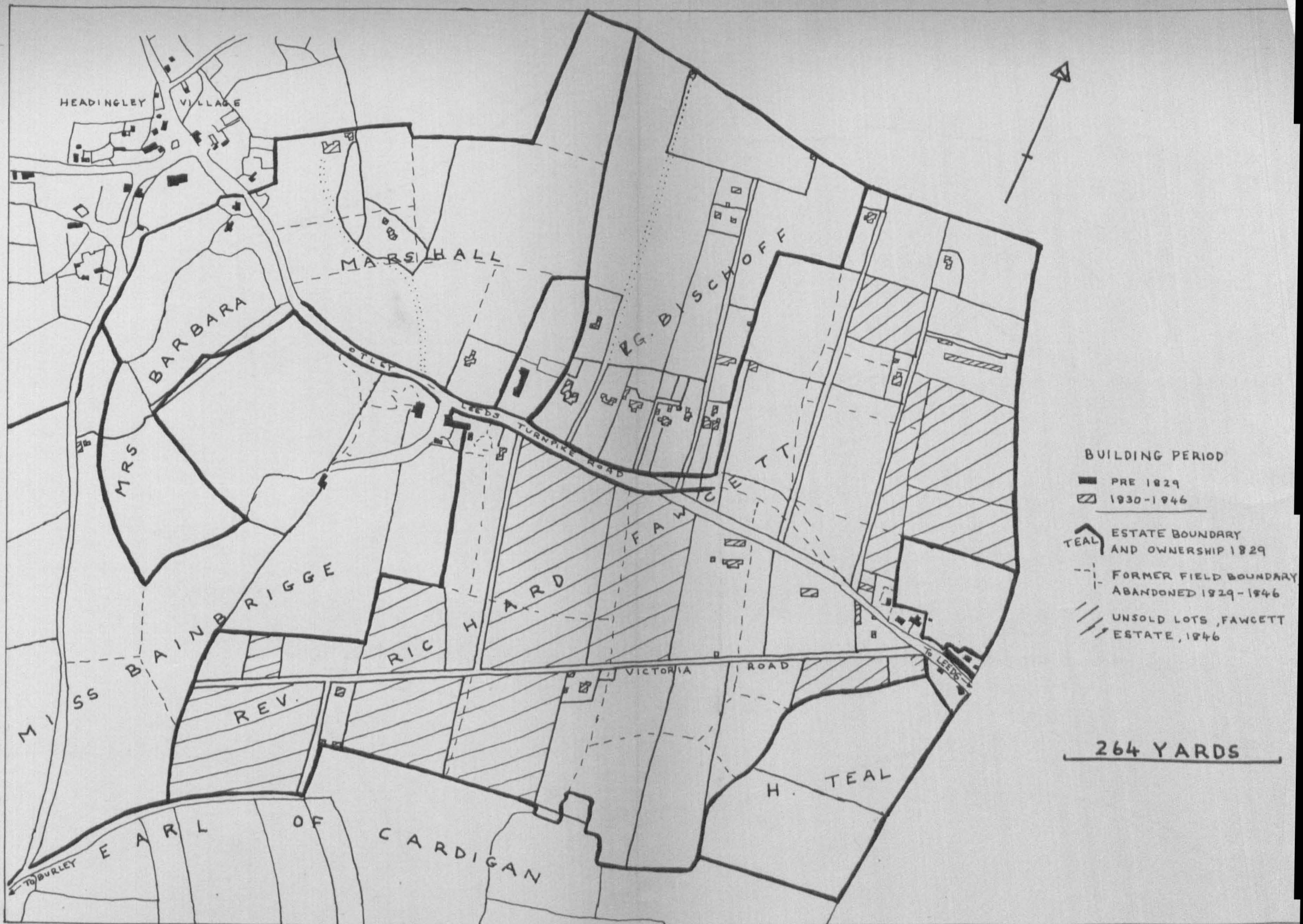
RESIDENCES ON THE EX-G. BISCHOFF ESTATE, HEADINGLEY HILL



Photograph 9. HOLMFIELD, c.1835 for J. CALVERT, dyer.
(S.i.).

Photograph 10. NORTH HILL COTTAGE, c.1840
for W. WALKER, maltster. (O.o.).





MAP 5. THE DEVELOPMENT OF HEADINGLEY HILL, 1829-1846.

per square yard which had prevailed in 1829 and 1830. In 1836 Bischoff introduced a new building line covenant to prevent encroachments upon the views from the existing mansions. This meant that Walker's house had to stand back 61 yards from the turnpike frontage. By 1839 the Walker residence and its grounds were worth £3,500. on the property market.

The two final developments on the Bischoff estate turnpike frontage were contrasting testimonies to the range of styles employed in the design of the early mansions. William Hargreaves had a house erected which was an admirable illustration of the role of classical elements in adding dignity to the boxlike residence of incipient nineteenth century suburbia; a balustrade lined stairway led the visitor up between Ionic columns to the entrance, the latter being echoed at first floor level by pilasters and balcony. Subsequent pollution has darkened the sandstone to sombre tones of grey, adding to the heaviness of the architectural statement, but in its original honey coloured condition the stone must have produced a more joyous optimistic expression of civilisation amongst the fields. Next door, and separated only by a narrow belt of shrubbery, was the Joseph Austin house. Austin, a woolstapler and woollen merchant, had left Blundell Place in Leeds and chosen a restrained Gothick statement for his semi-rural residential retreat, expressed in Tudor window mouldings, flat roof combined with a dramatic chimney statement.

The romanticism expressed in Austin's building was matched in the 1840s on the backland of the Bischoff estate by the Thomas Askham house. Askham was an iron-founder who had previously dwelt amongst the restrained eighteenth-century brick terraced houses of Saint Peter's Square, Leeds. However, his residence amongst the fields

was of a very individual styling, designed for Askham by the John Child who had previously worked on John Calvert's behalf. Lower down the slope of the ridge was a 'cottage' built by a Leeds maltster, William Walker. Like Askham, he ignored the inherent possibilities of the site and its extensive prospect over the Meanwood valley in favour of an excessively pinnacled, crenellated and many mullioned romantic overstatement.

Child erected two semi-detached houses on the backland on land he had purchased from Bischoff in 1841 but failed to find purchasers although short term lessees were forthcoming.¹ For Bischoff the problem of disposal of the backland lots required the inducement to purchasers of lower prices to counteract the disadvantages of access. Walker had obtained his three and a half acres of grounds in 1840 and 1843 for only 1s-0d per square yard; this land had been let as tea gardens in 1834, possibly with the aim of publicizing the attractions of the location to patrons. Bischoff's success in encouraging purchasers may have encouraged the owners of adjoining agricultural estates to consider similar courses of action. However, his success was heavily dependent on being able to transfer a considerable quantity to one purchaser, Samuel Glover. This man purchased more of the estate than all the other purchasers put together (see Table 11). Glover, a retired chemist, druggist and paint dealer, had moved out from Grove Terrace in Leeds to live in the house built by Bischoff himself. Most of the land taken by Glover was relet as agricultural land to the tenant of the Red Lion inn at Hyde Park Corner.

The problems of disposal during the late 1830s and early 1840s had been influenced considerably by the introduction of neighbouring estates onto the market as

1. IM, 24 July 1841; 19 November 1842; 8 June 1844.

building land. Mrs. Barbara Marshall succeeded in selling the greater part of her estate, which lay to the east of the Leeds - Otley turnpike road, to one purchaser. This was Thomas England, a cornfactor of Park Square, Leeds, who took twenty and a half acres and established a large mansion, Headingley Castle, in its own grounds. This seclusion was broken only by the house, croft and stables of one Thomas Skelton who until 1837 had lived and run his business from Water Lane, Leeds. The only other purchaser was Hannah Baker who purchased two acres adjoining her 1827 residence, Ashfield. On this land Mrs. Baker had a new house built for her own occupation and let Ashfield to Edwin Eddison, attorney, formerly of Albion Street where he still had his office. The lower part of the Marshall estate to the west of the turnpike road proved less attractive to purchasers and in 1846 Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, still held the greater part of this land.

The evidence of an undated sale plan for the eastern half of the Mrs. Barbara Marshall estate shows that the vendors considered it unlikely that the estate could be sold without subdivision.¹ Ten roads were to be laid out, aligned to the cardinal points of the compass; field boundaries were disregarded and seventeen, mostly rectangular, plots of between one and two and a half acres each were to comprise the sale lots. This scheme was the one advertised in the sale notice of August 1836 offering fifteen lots for the erection of villas and having splendid views of Headingley, being 'one of the most healthy Places near Leeds, the air and water good, the neighbourhood highly respectable and taxes very low.'² Mrs. Baker had apparently already purchased the two small

1. LCA, DB/M 248, Plan of an Estate at Headingley, undated.

2. LM, 20 August 1836.

lots adjoining her own property.

The last successful transaction of this size on Headingley Hill which was for residential, not development, purposes took place in about 1834. Dr. R. W. D. Thorp, a mayor of the unreformed corporation of Leeds in 1830, purchased twenty acres of the Bainbrigge estate.¹ Thorp continued to reside on this twenty acres until 1845, letting most of the land as a milk farm to Mary Bainbrigge's former tenant, William Duerden. In 1845 the house was to let because it had proved impossible to sell the estate in spite of its many attractions.

Ornamental trees, excellent pure spring water, a valuable bed of stone, adjoins and overlooks the Botanical Gardens. Omnibuses pass to and from Leeds almost hourly. The pipes of the waterworks company are laid across the estate. The property contains many eligible building sites which would repay an Individual or Company who might purchase it upon a speculation...situated upon the summit of an eminence² approaching Headingley from Leeds.

Thorp had land surveyors draw up a plan of the estate with a suggested subdivision based on a series of crescents rather than the more standard rectangular pattern, but this failed to produce interested speculators or potential owner occupiers.³

By the time Thorp put his estate up for sale there was additional competition from the eighty acre estate of John Henry Fawcett, son of the former vicar of Leeds. Fawcett's property had first entered the market in 1837. Earlier that year he had applied to parliament for the constraints of his family settlement to be lifted. The advantages of that moment were twofold; the petition to

1. The estate had been partitioned by decree of Chancery in 1826. Thorp purchased from Mary Bainbrigge II. The other half passed through marriage to the Reverend Richard Fawcett, sometime Vicar of Leeds.
2. LM, 18 January 1845.
3. LCA, DB/M 337, 1845.

parliament claimed that

Several persons are desirous of erecting buildings and effecting other improvements in the neighbourhood of the said town of Leeds, and the Closes...might at the present time be sold for a very large sum of money, and which, if invested in the purchase of other freehold property would produce a much larger annual income than that which is derived from the rents and profits of the said estate, or than could be obtained by letting the same on building leases.¹

Financial considerations may have constituted a second reason for sale. In 1834 J. H. Fawcett had mortgaged his life interest in the estate which he subsequently paid off by transferring a debt of £1,500. to the men who later became his trustees for the sale of the estate. At the time of his father's death in January 1837 J. H. Fawcett had owed him £1,830., and other creditors £1,100., in addition to the debt owed to his future trustees. The financial basis of the estate sale was worsened because the trustees for sale anticipated the permission of parliament in laying out roads on the estate; Grosvenor, Cumberland, Langham, Burlington and Victoria Roads cost £2,000. The trustees were not to be allowed to reclaim expenses incurred out of monies received from future sales of land. It was counsel's opinion that 'if roads were found necessary for a better sale, the trustees should have made the making of them by the purchasers a condition of sale.'²

The availability of the estate had been announced in September 1837, more than eighty acres suitable for mansions and villas, 'divided into lots adapted for the comfort and convenience of the large and small Capitalist,

1. 1 Vict.cap.39 (1837), Fawcett Estate Act.
2. ULD 178, Opinion of George Harrison of Lincoln's Inn, 9 August 1838.

and...interspersed with wide and commodious roads.' Significantly the vendors considered that the beauty of the neighbourhood and the unpolluted quality of the air hardly needed to be mentioned, but they emphasised the proximity of the estate to the more permanent open spaces of Woodhouse Moor, and the Zoological and Botanical Gardens, which gave it a 'decided preference over any other property before offered for sale in this neighbourhood.'¹ This was also a surprisingly early reflection upon the increasing development taking place on Headingley Hill estates and the retreat of completely rural spaces.

Unfortunately price data are not available for the early sites on this estate, but the level was sufficiently attractive to dispose of fifteen acres by December 1838. However, of these five sales one was to a sitting tenant, John Atkinson, who purchased the butcher's shop which he occupied at Hyde Park Corner; another was to Thomas Newsome, the land surveyor who laid out the estate for sale purposes. Although 1839 was a less successful year for sales, twenty had been made by the beginning of 1842 which suggests that the building land for better class residential purposes found a readier market than did that for cottage building in Kirkstall during a period of trade depression. The two largest purchases had been made by one man, John Jackson Lee, described as a gentleman, but more importantly, related to Thomas Mann Lee, solicitor to the trustees for sale.

Prices per square yard on both the Fawcett and Bischoff estates prevailing in 1840 and 1841 were very similar, and show that price levels had fallen considerably from those obtained during the first half of the 1830s when trade had been more prosperous and less Headingley Hill land available. Subdivision and resale

1. LM, 30 September 1837. The Zoological and Botanical Gardens proved to be a short lived venture.

TABLE 12

J. H. FAWCETT ESTATE, SALES AND DEVELOPMENT, 1838 - 1847.

NO.	DATE OF PURCHASE	PURCHASER OCCUPATION, LOCATION ¹	PROCESS CATEGORY	AREA Sq.Yds.	PRICE Sq.Yd.	TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT
1	1838	J. Hargreaves gent. Burley	Owner Occupier	26,650	-	Mansion
2	1838	J. Livesey engraver	Land Speculation	3,932	-	Building Ground
3	1838	J. Atkinson butcher	House and Shop Purchase	-	-	Existing
4	1838	T. Judson joiner	Owner Occupier	15,510	-	House and Grounds
5	1838	T. Newsome surveyor	Speculation	18,150	-	Mansion
6	1839	R. Cadman gentleman	Land Purchase	22,080	-	Grounds
7	1839	R. D. Greaves solicitor	Land Speculation	9,650	-	None
8	pre 1840	R. W. D. Thorp doctor Hly	Land Speculation	-	-	None
9	1840	G. Smith banker	Owner Occupier	11,767	-	Mansion
10	1840	A. Walker wine and spirit merchant	Land Speculation	-	-	None
11	1840	C. Pickard bricklayer Hly	Speculation	600	-	Building Ground
12	1841	J. Hatfield gentleman	Land Speculation	14,520	10d	Resale
13	1841	J. Matthews axle tree mnfr, Hly	Owner Occupier	10,290	9½d	Mansion
14	1841	J. J. Lee gentleman	Land Speculation	38,824	11d	Resales and Return
15	1841	C. Naylor gentleman	Land Speculation	6,650	11½d	None

TABLE 12 Continued

16	1841	G. Noble merchant	Speculation	3,237	-	Cottage and Stable and Coachhouse
17	1841	J. Austin woolstapler	Land Purchase	21,290	-	Grounds
18	1841	S. Spenceley farmer Woodhouse	Owner Occupier + Speculation	2,456	-	3 Dwellings
19	1841	G. Heaps land agent	Land Speculation	10,745	9d	Land Resale
20	1842	J. J. Lee gentleman	Land Speculation	33,270	-	Returned
21	1842	T. Charlesworth gentleman Hly	Owner Occupier + Land Speculation	7,260	10d	Mansion
22	1842	T. M. Lee gentleman	Land Speculation	21,353	11d	Land Resale
23	1843	G. Ward yeoman	Speculation	7,470	-	5 Unit Terrace
24	1845	J. Bates wine merchant	Speculation	11,711	2-2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	5 Unit Terrace
25	1847	J. Jackson gentleman	Land Speculation	6,981	1-10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	Land Resale
26	n.d.	S. Glover druggist	Land Purchase	16,940	-	None

1. Leeds unless otherwise stated.

TABLE 13

J. H. FAWCETT ESTATE, SECONDARY SALES AND DEVELOPMENT, 1841 - 1852.

NO.	OWNER	DATE	PURCHASER OCCUPATION, LOCATION	PROCESS CATEGORY	AREA Sq.Yds.	PRICE Sq.Yd.	DEVELOPMENT
14	J. J. Lee	1841				11d	
14a		1841	T. & S. Spenceley farmer	Speculation	2,513	3s-11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	4 Semi-detached Houses
14b		1841	J. Bulmer joiner & builder	Speculation	464	3s-9d	Building Ground
12	J. Hatfield	1841				10d	
12a		1852	L. F. Blackett linen yarn merchant Knostrop	Land Purchase	7,163	1s-5d	Grounds
19	G. Heaps	1841				9d	
19a		1848	L. F. Blackett	Owner Occupier	10,745	1s-10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	Mansion
21	T. Charlesworth	1842				10d	
21a		1846	T. Shaw architect	Speculation	4,840	2s-1d	Mansion
22	T. M. Lee	1842				11d	
22a		1842	W. Waterfall gentleman	Land Speculation	21,353	1s-1d	Land Resales
25	J. Jackson*	1847				1s-10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	
25a		1849	I. Thompson engineer Hly	Land Purchase	10,680	1s-9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	Grounds

* Jackson purchased No. 24 in 1847 from Bates' mortgagors, ULD 178

TABLE 14

J. H. FAWCETT ESTATE, TERTIARY SALES AND DEVELOPMENT, 1842 - 1847.

NO.	OWNER	DATE	PURCHASER OCCUPATION, LOCATION	PROCESS CATEGORY	AREA Sq.Yds.	PRICE Sq.Yd.	DEVELOPMENT
22a	W. Waterfall	1842				1s-1d	
22a		1844	J. Child architect	Speculation	2,420	2s-1d	Mansion
		1847	F. Brown builder and contractor	Speculation	17,966	1s-9d	4 semi-detached Villas

RESIDENCES ON THE EX-J.H.FAWCETT ESTATE, HEADINGLEY



Photograph 11. THE T. JUDSON HOUSE, Victoria Road.
c.1838. (O.o). x

Photograph 12. HEADINGLEY TERRACE, c.1845 for
J. BATES, wine merchant. (O.o. + S.i.).



to builders of small quantities of land were potentially much more profitable, as John Jackson Lee proved in 1841. (see Table 13 no 14). Resales of larger quantities of land produced prices very similar to those achieved in the primary sales, as William Waterfall demonstrated in his purchase from T. M. Lee in July 1842. (see Table 13 no 22). By the summer of 1844 confidence and demand had risen. John Child, the architect, paid 2s-1d per square yard for the site on which he built Cumberland Priory, and Joseph Bates paid 2s-2½d per square yard for the site of Headingley Terrace, the last undeveloped frontage on the north side of the turnpike road.

Although the trustees had made twenty-four apparent sales by 1846 only eleven of the lots had been built on. Seven people had erected good quality mansions, but a new type of dwelling had also appeared on the former Fawcett part of Headingley Hill. A terrace of five dwellings, called Grosvenor Terrace, had been erected on part of the backland by George Ward, described as a yeoman, but more significantly, responsible for leading stone got at a quarry on Headingley Moor and possibly a stone mason. There was only one brick house in the area, that of Thomas Judson, a retired joiner, who lived midway along Victoria Road. His house, although detached, bore an unmistakable eighteenth-century stamp about its proportions, and must have represented an ideal from Judson's earlier years amongst the building trades.

Those Fawcett estate sale plots to the south of the Leeds - Otley turnpike road which were cramped between the estate boundary, Victoria Road and Hyde Park Corner, did not prove attractive for the erection of detached residences in their own grounds. The first narrow elongated lot from Hyde Park Corner had to be further subdivided; in 1846 a joiner had already built two

houses on one part of it, a small part was in the hands of another builder, and J. H. Fawcett held the remainder, also designated as building ground. It was on this lot that developments of a lower standard were to begin cutting off Headingley Hill mansion and villa properties from their semi-rural seclusion during the next quarter of a century.

In 1846 the Fawcett estate still had a fragmented pattern of agricultural holdings consisting of unsold building plots. The largest of the holdings was under ten acres, and none of them had farm buildings. The major tenants were the local butcher and blacksmith whilst individual closes had been rented by the owners of newly built properties on adjoining lots already sold. On the Cowper estate it had already been shown that such land when let as accommodation land produced higher rents per acre than more rectangular sized agricultural units, and Fawcett must also have benefited in this way. Although incomplete, profits of land sales had been sufficient to allow Fawcett to move from Leeds to Thorp Arch, and finally in the late 1830s onto a new estate at Darley Dale on the River Derwent in Derbyshire's Peak District.

c. Moor Developments: Far Headingley.

A mile farther along the Leeds - Otley turnpike axis and three miles out from the urban core of Leeds another community developed during this period. Its foundation was an indirect result of a decision by the Cardigan estate to press for the enclosure of commonland in townships where the estate was the principal landowner. By 1829 the estate had gained the support of the other major landed proprietors in Headingley cum Burley. The bill put before parliament explained that 'the said commons and waste grounds yield but little profit, and are in

their present state incapable of any considerable improvements, and it would be advantageous if the same were divided and allotted unto and amongst the several persons interested therein and enclosed.'¹ The small area of the commons, 130 acres, was liable to provide proprietors with only a low return upon their shares of the costs of enclosure and George Hayward, local steward of the Cardigan estates by the late 1820s, was instructed that the bill 'must be got through with as little expense as possible.'² The solution arrived at was to offer a third of the newly enclosed land on Headingley Moor for sale by auction in small and medium sized lots, the proceeds to go towards defraying the costs of enclosure.³

At the beginning of the eighteenth century there had been only three building encroachments upon Headingley Moor, but during the century there had been an increase in the number of cottagers. By 1829 there were at least thirty cottages situated on the western edge of the moor, three-quarters of which were described as ancient in 1829. Within the pre-enclosure settlement of 1829 only three men had an economic status above that of cottagers or labourers; George Smith, a milk dealer, had five cottages; William Scott, a butcher, held several cottages, a house, mistal and stackyard which altogether covered half an acre of commonland; Thomas White, a shuttlemaker and carpenter, had three cottages, a quarter of an acre upon the moor, and also rented from the Earl of Cardigan an adjoining two and a half acres plus a house, shop and barn. The existence of this collection of dwellings on the fringe of the moor was accepted by the lord of the manor, provided that the occupants paid a

1. 10 George IV, cap. 17. An Act for Inclosing lands in the Manor and Township of Headingley cum Burley. Preamble.
2. LCA, DB 220, Cardigan Yorkshire Estate Memoranda Book, 1827-1833, Memoranda 2, 11 September 1828.
3. LCA, O/A 11 and DB/M 350, Map of Headingley Moor Lots for Sale, June and August 1831; LM, 18 June 1831; 23 July 1831; 30 July 1831.

nominal annual rent in recognition of his rights upon the land. At the time of the Ardesley Moor inclosure in 1827 Hayward had been of the opinion that cottages less than twenty years old could be sold as freeholds, but that older encroachments should be sold only if other newly enclosed land was given to the Earl of Cardigan, as lord of the manor, in compensation. This had the effect of turning an established encroachment of nominal rental value into a future freehold of the lord of the manor.

A combination of factors served to produce a distinct community at Far Headingley. The desire of the proprietors to dispose of the land at a single auction to pay off enclosure debts allowed a greater acceptable variety in the social standing of the purchasers. The small size of some of the lots proved attractive to builders of less expensive properties. The subdivision of land inside the triangle formed by the Leeds - Otley turnpike, Moor Road, and Cottage Road with an already established scatter of encroachment dwellings was never likely to prove attractive for the erection of mansion and villa properties. The contrast between Far Headingley and Headingley Hill developments was reflected in the choice of street names. From the aristocratic lineage of the Fawcett estate roads to the rusticity, however bogus, of Cottage Road was a considerable fall in status; that the moor dwellers felt the difference remained to be emphasised during infra-township squabbles in the early 1860s. The distance of Far Headingley from Leeds before the advent of public transport must also have deterred possible purchasers who had their place of business in the town. Furthermore those willing to pay a little extra for their building land had a choice of available sites nearer to central Leeds and in the same northern sector of the out-townships. The result was a higher proportion of purchasers who

already lived in the township. Outsiders dominated only in purchasers of the largest lots, at prices less than half of those paid to Bischoff for Headingley Hill sites at this time. In 1846 there were only two residences at Far Headingley of a standard equal to those on Headingley Hill. The most impressive was Castle Grove, residence of Samuel Holmes, a retired linen merchant formerly of Park Square, Leeds, who had purchased two lots in 1831 (see Table 15). Between 1831 and 1846 Holmes had succeeded in buying lot 33 of the 1831 sale, which separated his own two lots, from William Smith, a Leeds merchant. Unfortunately the price he had to pay to secure this compact estate, or whether Smith acted as agent for Holmes is not known. His neighbour at Far Headingley by 1846 was Charles Kirkby, a retired woollen merchant, who had previously lived in close proximity to Holmes at Park Square. Kirkby's house was purchased from Joshua Bower, an active local speculator, politician, turnpike toll farmer, and glass manufacturer from Hunslet.

Although other owner occupiers were in evidence at Far Headingley the most significant remaining feature was the amount of speculation in cottage and low value house property. By 1846 Robert Moxon, a local builder and stone mason, owned five cottages and three houses on the Headingley Moor allotments; in addition he had built himself a house in half an acre of grounds upon the comparative privacy of lot 30. William Oddy, a cowkeeper turned shopkeeper, had no less than fourteen cottages on the 618 square yards of lot 23. William Scott, the butcher, with investments on the pre-enclosure moor had further increased his holdings by an additional two houses and two cottages. Joseph Longbottom, described as a Leeds warehouseman in 1831, had seven cottages to let by 1846, having been unable to sell

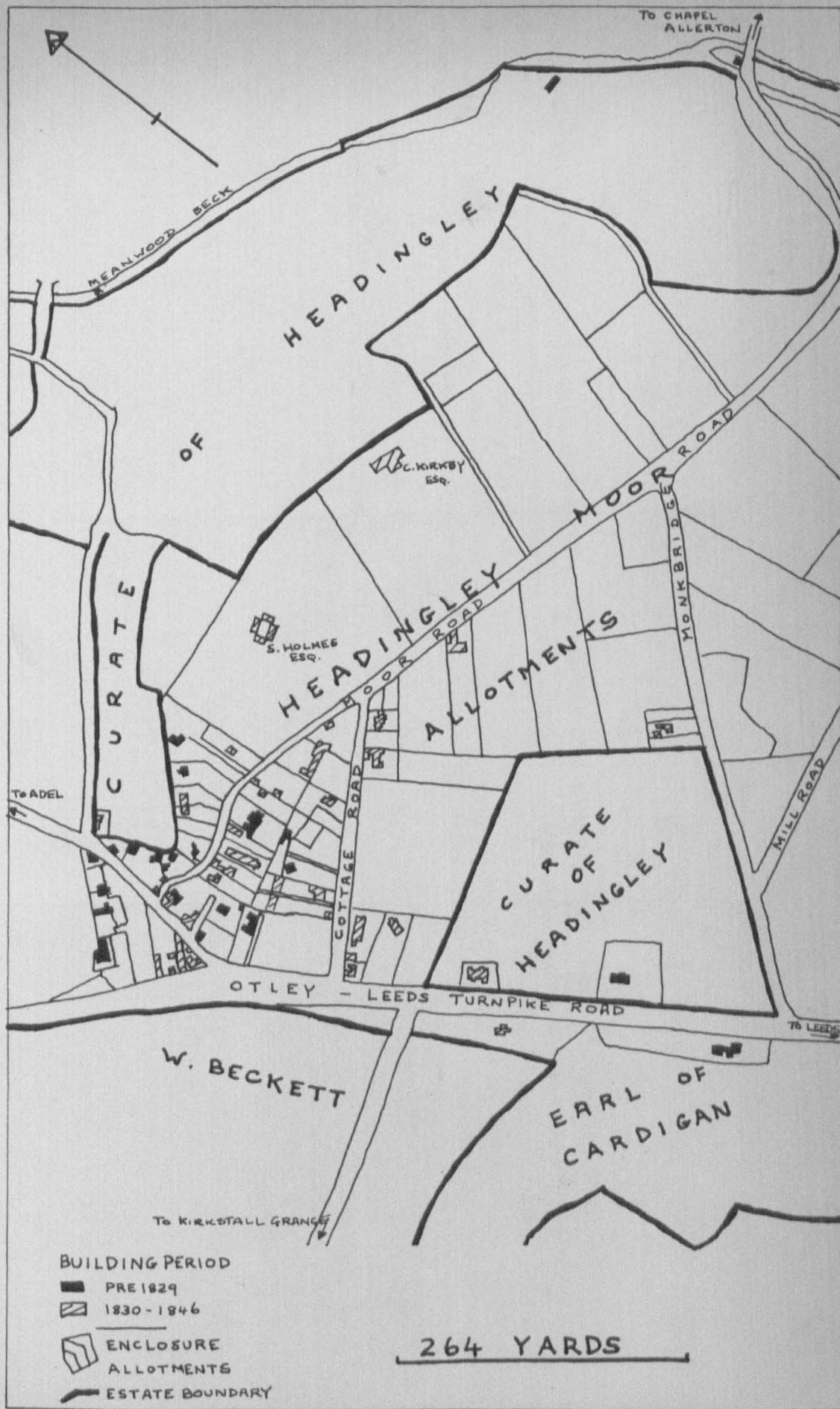
TABLE 15

HEADINGLEY MOOR, SALE ALLOTMENTS' DEVELOPMENT, 1831 - 1846.

ALLOT SALE NO.	PURCHASER NAME, OCCUPATION, LOCATION	PROCESS CATEGORY	AREA sq.yds.	PRICE sq.yd.	TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT
15	J. Sheppard gent. Leeds	Land Spec.	1,840	1s-1d	None
16	E. Livesey widow Hly	Speculation	1,852	1s-0d	House
17	W. Fretwell grocer Leeds	Land Spec./Spec.	1,853	1s-0d	5 Cottages, Public House, Stables
18	H. C. W. Mitchell wine merchant Hly	Land Speculation/	300	2s-3d	{ 2 Houses, Smith's Shop, Cottages
19	" " " "		560	1s-6d	
20	" " " "		856	1s-4d	
21	J. Buckley paver Hly	Owner Occ./Spec.	920	9d	2 Cottages
22	J. Hartley yeoman Hly	Owner Occupier	752	9d	House
23	W. Scott butcher Hly	Land Spec./Spec.	618	7d	14 Cottages
24	T. Hutchinson farmer Hly	Speculation	1,418	1s-2½d	3 Cottages and Building Ground
25	J. Brook house servant Hly	Land Spec./Spec.	1,340	1s-1d	4 Houses
26	J. Rollinson n.d. Cookridge	Speculation	1,261	8d	2 Houses
27	T. Hutchinson farmer Hly	Speculation	1,277	6d	House and Cottage
28	J. Lambert gent. Horsforth	Owner Occ./Spec.	1,362	8d	2 Houses
29	T. Hartley publican Holbeck	Speculation	848	1s-0½d	House
30	R. Moxon mason Hly	Owner Occ./Land Speculation	2,995	4½d	House
31	S. Holmes gent. Leeds	Owner Occupier	5,259	3d	Grounds

TABLE 15 Continued

32	No data. 1846 E. Cates	-	6,926	-	-
33	W. Smith merchant Leeds	Land Spec.	6,140	4d	None
34	S. Holmes gent. Leeds	Owner Occupier	8,800	6 ¹ / ₂ d	Mansion and Grounds
35	M. Woolley widow Leeds	Land Spec.	9,278	6d	None
36	J. Bower glass mnfr. Hunslet	Land Spec.	9,575	6d	{ Mansion and Grounds
37	" " "	Speculation	9,548	6d	
-	W. Scott butcher Hly	Speculation	2,570	11d	2 Houses and 2 Cottages
-	J. Longbottom warehouseman Leeds	Speculation	1,420	1s-4d	7 Cottages
-	Churchwardens & Poor Law Overseers Hly	Owner Occupier	750	8d	2 Poor Houses



MAP 6. THE DEVELOPMENT OF
HEADINGLEY MOOR, 1829-1846.



Photograph 13. CASTLE GROVE, c.1831-34
for S. HOLMES, linen merchant. (O.o.).

Photograph 14. Nos. 8 - 16 (even) COTTAGE ROAD, c.1838
by R. MOXON, stone mason. (S.i.).*



cottages or the remaining land in 1843.¹ During the fifteen years from 1831 to 1846 at least thirty-six new cottages were erected on the enclosure allotments which when added to the earlier encroachment cottages meant that two-thirds of all the dwellings at Far Headingley x were cottage property.

The sixteen houses built on the enclosure allotments, although mostly speculative developments, proved successful, especially after the development of new transport facilities between the community and central Leeds. In June 1838 a horse drawn omnibus service was started from Far Headingley into Leeds, a development which came to the attention of the press in August. The Leeds Mercury announced that omnibuses were becoming quite common.

The wonder is that they were not in existence before: the circumstance of facility reminds us of the practice of cocknies who take the stage morning and night to and from the city. HEADINGLEY took the lead in starting one of these vehicles and on Wednesday last Chapel-town followed the example. The establishment of such conveyances has long been wanted; and we imagine that their extension to other parts of the borough would be generally acceptable.²

More detail about the early days of the omnibus in Leeds, especially its novelty and the clientele, came in the report of an incident in July 1838. The driver and proprietor, John Wood, forcibly expelled a merchant from his bus after the latter had objected to the seat he wished to occupy being already taken. Wood was charged with assault, but magistrates decreed that 'the rule of the omnibus is the same as the rule of the road generally, first come first served' and that C. S. Jackson, the merchant, was in the wrong. The Wood omnibus had four

1. LM, 27 May 1843.

2. LM, 4 August 1838.

outside passengers and probably eight inside; all seats were the same price unlike its predecessor, the stage-coach. The value of the service ensured Wood's survival, and at court he was supported 'by the presence of a great number of gentlemen from Headingley and the neighbourhood, who are in the habit of using the omnibus' and who were willing to testify as to 'the propriety and civility of Mr. Wood's conduct as the driver.'¹ It can hardly have been a coincidence that Wood himself lived at Far Headingley and rented both his house and stables from Robert Moxon, one of the more active of the Far Headingley builders.

The success of the Headingley - Leeds omnibus was due to the demand for the service from the new middle class suburban dwellers scattered along the Leeds - Otley turnpike axis, a level of support which had not been present at the time of the abortive 1818 venture. By the end of 1839 a rival service had been established, possibly as the result of a split in a partnership with Wood. In December 1839 the Leeds and Headingley Mazeppa published its schedule; the proprietors were John and William Atkinson. In 1841 John Wood acknowledged the support of friends which had enabled him 'to take the entire responsibility and interest into his own hands' back in November 1839. The result was that from 1840 Wood's omnibus ran from the Wheatsheaf Inn on the Upper Headrow in Leeds to the Three Horse Shoes at Far Headingley via the Oak Inn at Headingley whilst the Atkinson's new service ran from the original Leeds terminus at the Nags Head Inn on the Upper Headrow to a tavern in Spen Lane via the Skyrack Inn at Headingley. Wood's omnibus had the advantage of a superior standard of hostelry halts and a cheaper fare of 6d between Leeds and

1. LI, 21 July 1838; IM, 17 November 1838, a new omnibus for sale with four outside seats had room for eight inside.

Far Headingley. Atkinson's bus was cheaper over shorter distances with a fare of 4d for each of two stages, Leeds to Woodhouse, and Woodhouse to Headingley. Both services started at too late an hour in the morning and at too high a fare for them to attract working class travellers. (see Table 16). Throughout the day Wood's service ran between five and ten minutes in advance of his rivals.

By May 1840 Wood was obviously confident of maintaining the support of his original customers and had paid the composition of £65. for the tolls on his omnibus for the following year to the lessees of the Leeds - Otley turnpike tolls. Atkinsons turned down a similar offer, presumably because they were uncertain whether they would be running the six times per day, six days per week throughout the year upon which the composition terms had been based.¹ The Leeds Intelligencer continued to support the Wood venture in its columns, noting that 'his omnibus seems to be found a great convenience by the inhabitants of Headingley, and the visitors of that village and the neighbourhood.'² In 1841 Wood added an extra service at 6.20 pm from Far Headingley, 7 pm return from Leeds. He also extended the 10.20 am and 7.50 pm services from Far Headingley to start at Meanwood and continued the 9.30 am and 7 pm return services from Leeds through into Meanwood. For the first time in 1841 Wood advertised a Sunday service, two journeys in each direction from Meanwood via Headingley to Leeds and return.³ A breakdown apparently did nothing to damage Wood's patronage, and by July 1842 he was running seven journeys each way instead of five on weekdays, and three return journeys on Sundays instead of two. However, the extra services did not produce an earlier morning start, but

1. LI, 2 May 1840.

2. Ibid.

3. LM, 2 October 1841.

TABLE 16

OMNIBUS SCHEDULES, HEADINGLEY - LEEDS, WINTER 1839 ^xLEEDS AND HEADINGLEY OMNIBUS. Proprietor John Wood: Departures

Three Horse Shoes, Far Headingley	8.35am	10.20	2.20pm	4.50	7.50
The Oak Inn, Headingley	8.45	10.30	2.30	5.00	8.00
Wheatsheaf, Upper Headrow	9.30	1.00	3.00	5.30	8.30

LEEDS AND HEADINGLEY MAZEPPA OMNIBUS. Proprietor J. & W. Atkinson & Co.,
Departures

Nags Head, Upper Headrow	8.00am	9.30	1.00pm	3.00	5.30	8.30
Spenn Lane Tavern	8.40	10.30	2.30	5.00	8.00	9.00
Skyrack Inn, Headingley ¹	8.45	10.30	2.30	5.00	8.00	9.00

NOTES: 1. The inference must be that the Atkinsons used two omnibuses; no corrections or apologies for timetabling misprints appeared in the newspapers.

SOURCES: Wood, LM, 2 November 1839;
Atkinson, LM, 7 December 1839.

were mid morning and late afternoon additions to the schedule.¹

By 1840 the service brought into being to serve Headingley suburban dwellers was being used to entice a new generation out of Leeds as far as the former moor. Villa sites on the moor were described as 'situate little more than two miles distant from Leeds, between which place and Headingley an omnibus runs several times per day.'² In 1844 Russell and Moxon, both builders at Far Headingley, were advertising the advantages of 'omnibuses passing several times a day' in attempting to let a house which already had a two stall stable.³

Most of the Far Headingley building development took place on the sales allotments; only five villa developments took place on the parts of the moor distributed amongst the landed proprietors in 1831. All five developments were by owner occupiers in 1846. Of the residents the most notable were John Hope Shaw, solicitor and future mayor of Leeds, after whom Shaw Lane was named, and William Riplingham, a starch manufacturer, who had moved out from Queen Square in Leeds. The only speculative development was that of Robert Dowsbury, a tailor and draper, who had erected additional houses to let alongside his own. This expansion onto the primarily agricultural allotments resulted from sales by the lesser landed proprietors of the township. By 1834 the Reverend Richard Lucas, owner of the sixty acres of Cookridge wood, had sold his eighth of an acre on the moor; the devisees of Mary Bainbrigge II had also sold out by 1834. In 1835 John Marshall of Horsforth had sold the acre and a quarter allotment of the Mrs. Barbara Marshall estate to William Tottie Watson, a Leeds dyer,

1. LM, 2 October 1841.

2. LM, 2 July 1842, revised timetable.

3. LN, 27 April 1844.

for 8d per square yard. George Bischoff had sold his half an acre in 1837 for 10d per square yard, having already allowed the purchaser to build a house, Moorfield Lodge, upon it.¹ The success of development upon the moor allotments encouraged the Cardigan estate to include a detached portion of their lands adjoining the moor in an 1839 sale which was otherwise concerned with disposing of lands near to Burley village.² At Far Headingley the land, three closes occupied by Robert Moxon, was sold to Edward Grace, a merchant who lived at Burley. Moxon's tenancy continued without interruption and no development had taken place by 1846.

d. Moor Developments: Potternewton and Chapel Allerton.

Although Richardson had suggested that the Cowper lands taken from the Potternewton common inclosure would be the first to attract suburban dwellers from Leeds, the failure of Avison's short-lived bus service of 1818 had proved that such a development still lay in the future. In 1819 Richardson considered that the estate's allotments could be sold because, being detached from the remainder of the estate, developments would not lessen or interfere with the main portion of the estate.

I should then think it advisable to offer the land by private contract in small divisions not in any circumstances exceeding six acres and to demand the utmost value. I think the whole of the allotments would thus be gradually sold...There is however one consideration connected with these allotments to which I consider it my duty to invite attention. They are situated near the villages of Chapel Allerton and Potternewton; those villages have lately increased in population, and the spirit of building has manifested itself.³

1. ULD 86.
2. LCA, O/A 13 and DB/M 236, 1839.
3. HCRO, Cowper MSS, C4951, J. Richardson, Report Concerning the Estate of...Earl Cowper, situated at Leeds, 1819.

Richardson had advocated a policy of gradual sales, letting the allotments on a yearly basis in the meantime. In 1825 Jonathan Taylor, aware of the lack of results following Richardson's advice, proposed that the disposal of the allotments on the common be given priority 'before other and more eligible situations are announced for sale.'¹ Like Richardson he proposed moderate subdivision, into plots of not more than three to four acres, or even into smaller quantities. The estate proceeded to place its trust in the availability of large scale purchasers and had more success than in the New Town development. By 1847 forty-one out of fifty acres of the Cowper allotments had been sold to only four purchasers. Christopher Beckett, banker, had purchased twenty-five acres; Arthur Lupton, merchant, took three acres; the Reverend John Wilcock took nine acres; and James Brown, already purchaser of over one hundred acres from the estate, took another four acres of the common allotments.²

The combination of a quarter of a century's delay in bringing the allotments to sale, followed by the success of sales in large lots to other landed proprietors ensured that Potternewton common did not develop so rapidly as did the community at Far Headingley, in spite of twenty years advantage. Not until 1840, when J. and W. Atkinson extended their interest in omnibus services to new routes without competition, was Chapeltown linked to central Leeds by public transport. In August 1840 the public were 'most respectfully informed that at the earnest solicitation of a number of highly respectable inhabitants of Chapeltown and Potternewton

1. HCRO, Cowper MSS, C4952, J. Taylor, Report on the Earl Cowper's Estates, Leeds, 1825, pp9-10.
2. HCRO, Cowper MSS, C4953, W. Pollard, Survey of an Estate in the township of Potternewton...belonging to ...Earl Cowper, 1847, pp14-18.

TABLE 17

OMNIBUS SCHEDULES, CHAPELTOWN - LEEDS, 1840.

Proprietors, J. & W. Atkinson & T. Gamble. Departures, Weekdays.

Mexborough Arms, Chapeltown	9.15am	2.30pm	6.00	9.00
Albion Hotel, Leeds	12.30pm	4.00	6.30	9.30

Departures, Sundays

Mexborough Arms, Chapeltown	10.00am	2.30pm	5.30	9.00
Albion Hotel, Leeds	12.45pm	3.15	7.00	9.30

SOURCE: IM, 15 August 1840.

TABLE 18

THE ROYAL SOVEREIGN OMNIBUS SCHEDULE, CHAPELTOWN - LEEDS, 1842.

Proprietor, M. Pearson.

Departures, Weekdays.

Bay Horse Inn, Chapeltown	8.30am	10.30	2.00pm	4.15	6.45	8.00
Golden Lion, Leeds	10.00	12.45pm	3.00	5.00	7.15	8.30

Departures, Sundays.

Bay Horse Inn, Chapeltown	9.40am	1.45	5.00	6.00	8.30
Golden Lion, Leeds	12.20pm	2.15	5.30	6.30	9.00

SOURCE: LI, 26 November 1842.

and the proprietors being assured of their support' a new omnibus would run regularly to and from Leeds, including Sundays (see Table 17).

By the 1840s omnibuses were beginning to provide^x reliable links from the three northern out-townships into Leeds although the service remained at prices and times beyond the reach of the great mass of people dwelling in the in-township. The first mention of a service between Leeds and a predominantly working class area occurred in September 1843 when the driver of a^x Leeds - Kirkstall omnibus was fined for allowing it to stand in front of the Griffin Inn, Leeds for more than ten minutes. He was warned that subsequent repetitions would be more severely dealt with.¹ The service continued to prosper however, and by 1847 a regular five journeys each way were being run between Leeds and Kirkstall along the Burley Road, thus avoiding turnpike tolls on the more direct valley bottom route, serving Burley village, and running nearer to the middle class residences on the Graham estate between Burley and Kirkstall.

e. The Leeds - Kirkstall Turnpike Axis.

Development along this axis in the section between Burley and Kirkstall came about as a response to the financial needs of a stuff merchant, T. W. Stansfeld, whose firm went bankrupt during the depression of the late 1820s. Stansfeld had taken a three hundred year lease from Sir James Graham in February 1824 of land lying between the villages of Burley and Kirkstall.² At the same time the firm of Stansfeld, Briggs and Stansfelds had taken over Graham's premises at Burley Mill which had originally been leased to Benjamin Gott. By 1827 T. W. Stansfeld had built forty-two cottages on land adjoining the mill; in spite of providing

1. LM, 9 September 1843.

2. 5 & 6 William IV, cap. 17, Graham Estate Act.

this accommodation for his workpeople Stansfeld explained in 1834 that he still had problems. 'Although my work, in spite of cleanliness and good wages, is as desirable as any in the neighbourhood, I have generally some looms unoccupied for want of weavers.'¹

In 1826 Stansfeld, Briggs, and Stansfelds had been declared bankrupt. An auction of their leasehold properties which followed, included 'the Foundation of a capital mansion...and upwards of 30 cottages, part of which are in an unfinished state.'² No purchasers were found, and T. W. Stansfeld and the assignees put forward proposals to the creditors for the development of this estate by Stansfeld. The Leeds business community retained considerable sympathy for the Stansfelds and in spite of total dividends of only five shillings in the pound to creditors, hopes were expressed that full payment might be achieved at a later date. T. W. Stansfeld and his assignees had their scheme accepted and took new leases on part of the original leasehold estate from Sir Sandford Graham, the earlier lease having been declared invalid for legal reasons unrelated to Stansfeld's misfortunes. The property was relet on two separate leases, one being the cottages associated with Burley Mill, and the other being an old farmhouse and twenty acres of land. In addition Stansfeld retained fifty-four acres which he held on lease from the Earl of Cardigan. Bankruptcy did not prevent Stansfeld from continuing to run Burley Mill, albeit on behalf of his assignees and creditors, nor from paying over £400. yearly rental for his landholdings.

New building development on the land surrounding the old farm house, Dyson's House, must have commenced

1. P.P., 1834 xix, Supplementary Report of the Factory Commissioners, evidence of T. W. Stansfeld, A31.
2. LI, 26 April 1827; 5 & 6 William IV. cap. 17, Graham Estate Act.

shortly after the final auditing of the bankrupts' accounts in July 1832.¹ By then the foundations of the mansion, Burley Wood, referred to in 1827, had already been built upon. In October 1833 two new houses were available to prospective lessees on what was clearly intended to become a very respectable residential estate.

Burley Crescent. Two houses to let...calculated for small genteel families, each consisting of two rooms on the ground floor; three bedrooms, kitchen and servants' bedroom, good cellaring, yard and out-offices, an old oakwood is in front of the houses, the intervening ground is partly laid out in ornamental shrubberies and will be considerably improved before next year. Commodious gardens are about to be added behind the houses and in the immediate neighbourhood. Tenants may be accommodated with stabling, coachhouse, pasturage etc.²

The houses were situated on the hillside above Burley Mill but with their front elevation facing towards Leeds. Several months before the houses were put on the market the steam engine at the mill had been fitted with an anti-pollution device 'with perfect satisfaction.'³ Seven months later two houses in Burley Crescent were again to let; the area to the rear of the houses had been divided into kitchen gardens, and the layout of the ornamental shrubberies at the front had been completed. Unusually the required yearly rent was published, £25., and as a further indication of the problem of finding tenants it was not only necessary to advise of facilities available for grazing and stabling horses and accommodating carriages but also that 'coaches, cars etc. are passing between Kirkstall and Leeds at all hours of the day.'⁴ So also, presumably, were the 610 hands employed at Burley Mill.

1. LM, 28 July 1832.

2. LM, 5 October 1833.

3. LM, 19 October 1833.

4. LM, 10 May 1834.

In 1837 there were still only the two houses in Burley Crescent, one occupied by William Pritchard, clerk, but probably the Pritchard of Messrs. Stansfeld and Pritchard listed in 1839 as a stuff manufacturer. By 1839 two more houses had been erected, the four being occupied by the Pritchard mentioned above, a wool-stapler, an accountant, and an engraver. The engraver was also a Pritchard, of Pritchard and Arundale, a Leeds firm of engravers. In 1840 Edward Bolton, the accountant, attempted to let his house for £20. per year, a drop of £5. for a house identical in its description to those advertised in 1833. Bolton failed to find a tenant, and his family was still there in 1842.

By 1843 Burley Crescent consisted of six dwellings and plans were afoot to further expand the development. 'Five year leases, annual rental about £25. moderate sized and respectable villas, designed to be forthwith erected in connexion with the messuages forming Burley Crescent...Compton, Architect, Leeds.'¹ This scheme failed to materialize, and no further mention of Burley Crescent appeared until 1845 when the whole of the Burley Wood estate was put up for sale.

LOT 4: Burley Crescent, consisting of six single villas and sites for six others, together with the gardens and pleasure grounds...Ground rent £20. per acre per annum.²

The reference to single villas was misleading for both the evidence of the Tithe Commutation map of 1846 and the evidence on the ground today indicate three pairs of semi-detached stone houses. The vacant sites referred to in 1845 remained undeveloped until after 1914.

Other building on the T. W. Stansfeld estate took

1. LM, 25 March 1843.

2. LM, 21 June 1845.

place along the Leeds - Kirkstall turnpike road frontage. By 1834 a stable and coachhouse had been erected, presumably the facilities available to the residents in Burley Crescent. Later additions included a warehouse for Burley Mill and an infant school for children employed at the mill. A new lodge was built at the entrance to the estate. When Stansfeld put his lease up for sale in 1845 he suggested that means of developing the estate had not yet been exhausted. The warehouse and school-room, plus an acre of ground having a frontage to the turnpike road were described as 'suitable either for a capital house, a schoolroom or chapel, and a warehouse which would make a good weaving place or easily converted into cottages of a superior class.'¹ A strip of land behind the old farmhouse 'protected from the turnpike road by a plantation and...admirably sited for the sites of villas, of dwelling houses of any description,' also worth a ground rent of £20 per year, had similar multi-purpose prospects for development, a thinly disguised admission that neither lot was entirely suited for any of the purposes at the required rent.

The Burley Wood estate from its inception had suffered from a paucity of suitable tenants. Until 1836 T. W. Stansfeld himself had lived in Burley Wood House; then he had moved to London and put the house and grounds up to let 'for a number of years.'² From May 1836 until September 1837 the house remained without a tenant.³ Attempts were made in 1837 to interest market gardeners in the land, up to fifty acres, and to let the house separately.⁴ By 1839 the house was

1. LM, 21 June 1845, lot 3.

2. LM, 28 May 1836.

3. LM, 28 May 1836; LI, 24 December 1836; 1 April 1837; LM, 6 May 1837; 16 September 1837.

4. LM, 6 May 1837.

occupied by Henry Stead, a stone merchant, but his tenure was fairly short lived, the house being to let again in December 1840. In 1842 John Waddingham, a cloth and stuff merchant, was the occupant on a lease ending in November 1845, by which time he had a new occupation as director of the projected Leeds - Thirsk railway. While alternative residences of similar quality were available in the same sector of the out-townships and at a similar distance from the urban centre, the houses built by Stansfeld suffered from the disadvantages of a location close to the mill, its steam engine and its six hundred workpeople. Tenants willing to accept this location at the rent levels which prevailed included those engaged in the woollen and worsted trades or having business interests nearby. Surprisingly Stansfeld failed to build the cottage property which might also have solved his labour supply problems at the mill.

Between 1839 and 1842 T. W. Stansfeld withdrew from partnership with the Pritchards and the company became Messrs. Pritchard. Subsequent events suggest that Stansfeld removed just in time to avoid another financial collapse. In June 1838 the mill lost its toll exemption in an amended bill for the Kirkstall, Ilkley and Shipley turnpike. The end of 1839 saw the bankruptcy of Ephraim Elsworth of the Kirkstall Abbey Mills. Another year passed and then all the equipment, nearly new, at Burley 'New' Mill, halfway between Leeds and Kirkstall, was for sale.¹ This was postponed in March and Messrs. Pritchard were still in production in June 1842.² However, by June 1843 Burley Mill had room and power to let, 'admirably adapted for worsted spinning.'³ The following month

1. A second mill erected during this period was the one more correctly known as Burley New Mill.
2. LM, 18 June 1842.
3. LM, 25 May 1843; 3 June 1843.

R. T. Green, himself a worsted spinner, was instructed to sell the machinery.¹ Finally, in September 1844 both Kirkstall Abbey Mills and Burley Mills were to let, but it was not until 1846 that they were reopened. The new occupant of Burley Mill was John Howard, a carpet manufacturer, who had been based at Bedford Street in Leeds for the previous decade.

The lesson which Stansfeld had to learn through experience was that the degree of contiguity between work-place and home which manufacturers had been prepared to countenance at the turn of the century was rejected by the time of the 1830s and 1840s. Having decided to move away from the problems of the centre, very few people were willing to resettle in close proximity to similar problems when more attractive locations were easily to be found. For the Graham family the recession of the first half of the 1840s illustrated once again that lesser manufacturers were not always able to survive downswings in the trade cycle, and that major manufacturers were liable to withdraw from leased branch mill accommodation and only return when trade was firmly on the way to recovery. Finally, and underlying the problems of both, there was the suspicion that in the Leeds area most speculators, owner-occupiers and builders preferred to operate on a freehold basis rather than a leasehold one, unless there were overriding locational considerations, as at Kirkstall where only Graham land had been available for building upon and an immediate proven demand already existed.

Stansfeld may possibly have had hopes of extra accommodation for his workpeople arising from the development on the Headingley cum Burley Inclosure Commissioner's sales of waste land in Burley village. Purchasers came

1. LM, 17 June 1843.

from the immediate vicinity to a greater extent than had been the case of the purchasers of the Headingley Moor allotments. The people most likely to build speculative cottage property were Richard Backhouse, carpenter, and Thomas Aveyard, a joiner, (see Table 19). However, only Backhouse built cottage property in any quantity, adding eleven back-to-back cottages to the existing ten he already owned in the village. Backhouse financed his new development with the aid of Charles Naylor, a Leeds gentleman. In 1832 Backhouse borrowed £270. with a guarantee of further loans whilst building was in progress, up to a maximum of £350. At the time of Naylor's loan in September Backhouse had already completed six of the cottages.¹

Although Stansfeld might complain about a shortage of labour, the Cardigan's steward found in 1827 that the increase in population around Burley after Stansfeld had erected his mill cottages was already having an impact on the estate. A decision to plant trees on a site south of Burley village was taken partly because the land was 'now quite useless and disfigured with Filth and Rubbish;' it was also necessary to fence in the plantation 'to prevent its being destroyed by the Children from the numerous Cottages adjoining.'² As late as 1827 the estate was against the inclosure of the waste at Burley, nor was it prepared to accept further encroachment by existing holdings.

Developments at the other end of the social scale in Burley included a new generation of former Leeds-based merchant and industrialist families who had taken up residence in the old houses and former farm houses of the village, adding stables and coachhouses. The process

1. LCD 11105.

2. LCA, DB 220, Cardigan Yorkshire Estate Memoranda Book, 1827 - 1833, September 1827, No. 5.

TABLE 19

BURLEY VILLAGE WASTE, SALE ALLOTMENTS' DEVELOPMENT, 1831 - 1846.

LOT NO.	PURCHASER NAME, OCCUPATION, LOCATION ¹	PROCESS CATEGORY	AREA Sq. yds.	PRICE Sq. yd.	TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT
1	R. Backhouse carpenter	Speculation	165	1s-2d	} 11 Back-to-Back cottages
2	" "	"	235	1s-7d	
3	J. Hobson wheelwright	Owner Occupier & Speculation	284	2s-5 ¹ / ₂ d	2 houses
4	G. Asquith milkman	Speculation	270	2s-1d	2 cottages
5	T. Aveyard joiner	Land Purchase	330	1s-0d	} None
6	" "	" "	100	1s-1d	
7	J. Bumby shopkeeper	Owner Occupier	302	1s-9d	Part of garden
8	M. Hopps gardener	Speculation	514	2s-7d	2 houses and a shop
9	W. Tottie Watson dyer, Hly	Speculation	348	2s-3d	House and shop

1. Burley unless otherwise stated.

SOURCE: LCA, DB/M350A, Plan of Allotments for Sale.

was that already observed on the Cowper and Mexborough estates in Potternewton. An entry in the Cardigan estate's memoranda book recorded in 1827 that Edwin Birchall, a Leeds merchant, was paying £106. rent per year for a house called Burley Grove and twelve acres of land. He had spent £582. over the previous two years 'in Repair and Improvements of the House, Offices, Outbuildings and Gardens...the Premises appear to have been very greatly improved. He has made this heavy Expenditure in the Faith that a lease would be granted him.'¹

T. W. Stansfeld had attempted to undertake a similar programme at Burley Grange, a house and accompanying farm buildings to the south of Burley Old Road, also in 1827. He had proposed that if the estate would spend £250. on repairs and improvements then he would spend an equal sum and pay an extra £13. per year rent as interest upon the Earl of Cardigan's share. However, Stansfeld firstly failed to get possession of the building during 1828 and by then was also in trouble with the local steward for underletting without estate permission.²

An agreement was made with one Mrs. Addinall in 1828, allowing her the lease of a house in Burley if she spent £100. or more 'in substantial repairs and improvements' to the satisfaction of the steward.³ In 1829 two tenants of the estate, William Gott and Edwin Birchall, competed to obtain the estate's permission to add a half acre to their respective garden grounds in Burley village. Although Gott was first with his request the steward recorded that 'no part of it can be given to Mr. Gott without prejudice to the house and garden in the

1. LCA, DB 220, Cardigan Yorkshire Estate Memoranda Book, 1827 - 1833.

2. Ibid, Memoranda 2 September 1828, No. 1.

3. Ibid, September 1828, No. 2.

occupation of Mr. Birchall, who is willing to take and improve it at very considerable expense.' ¹ Birchall was able to obtain this land in return for spending £200. on further improvements to his premises. Not surprisingly the local steward regarded Birchall with favour as a 'spirited and good tenant,' even if his holding did effectively sever in two the holding of John Backhouse, largest and oldest established of the neighbouring tenant farmers.

During this period the Graham estate succeeded in disposing of five more building leases on the lands between Burley and Kirkstall. Significantly the last two in this series of developments, after 1829, involved the subdivision of the grounds of earlier properties. The new arrivals during the 1820s included James Holdforth, silk spinner and future mayor of Leeds; Josiah Oates, of the family of woollen manufacturers and merchants; Hatton Stansfeld, merchant, of the Stansfeld worsted manufacturing family; James Dickinson, woolstapler, and Edward Grace, merchant. Hatton Stansfeld's house was erected in what had formerly been the grounds of the William Wilks residence. Another, 1830s, development produced a pair of semi-detached villas at Wanstead Place adjoining the former Dickinson residence of Flower Bank. The developments were still of a standard aptly described by contemporaries as genteel, and even the villas had accompanying stables and coachhouses. ² Nevertheless their state of demi-detachedness was one step down the scale from an earlier stage of total privacy and seclusion.

f. Developments between Burley and Leeds.

A new piecemeal development took place on the Leeds

1. ICA, DB 220, Cardigan Yorkshire Estate Memoranda Book, 1827 - 1833, September 1829.
2. LM, 15 April 1843; 9 September 1843.

side of Burley village during the 1820s. In 1821 Sir John Beckett had a sale plan drawn for a strip of one of his fields which had been severed by the line of the new turnpike road between Leeds and Kirkstall. This isolated acre of land with a long frontage to the turnpike road was sold off in small lots (see Table 20). The development lacked overall unity both of design and building frontage but the location was obviously attractive;¹ by 1829 ten houses and five cottages had been erected. The cottages had been added by Caleb Moxon, a local stonemason. By 1830 the house property was a mixture of owner occupation and speculation. As the houses lacked coachhouses and stables, the attraction of the development must originally have been its rural location within easy walking distance of central Leeds. By 1834 only three or four residents were engaged in occupations which could have possibly involved work in the town; the largest proportion were first generation occupiers, either widowed or retired from business.

Subsequent attempts at sales and expansion of the development during the 1830s aroused very little response. The descendants of Obadiah Willans made several unsuccessful attempts to sell their Cardigan Place property during the 1830s and 1840s, but still had it in their possession in 1846.² Enticements of low rates in the township and the quality of the building did nothing to encourage prospective purchasers that the property constituted an eligible investment. However, an unfortunate attempt was made to build more houses by Matthew Sowden, a Burley stone merchant, who owned the adjoining frontage.³

1. LCA, OA/13, and DB/M 236. Auction of freehold estates in Headingley cum Burley, 1839. The map includes the Cardigan Place development.
2. LM, 25 January 1834; 10 May 1834; 6 June 1835; 21 December 1844.
3. LCA, DB/M 196, Map of land given up by the Earl of Cardigan to the executors of the late Matthew Sowden, 1836.

TABLE 20

THE OWNERSHIP AND OCCUPANCY OF HOUSE PROPERTY AT CARDIGAN PLACE BY 1834.

NAME, OCCUPATION, STATUS	ANNUAL VALUE OF HOUSE	AREA (sq.yds.)	OWNER	OCCUPATION
T. Monkman n.d. tenant	£3 - 9s - 0d	210	O. Willans	woollen manufacturer
W. Wilkinson solicitor tenant	£3 - 4s - 0d	210	" "	" "
S. Dixon gentleman tenant	£3 -14s - 0d	210	" "	" "
Miss Pearson staymaker tenant	£3 -11s - 0d	330	W. Russell	n.d.
W. Glover clerk tenant	£3 -11s - 0d			
J. Sewell gentleman owner occupier	£3 -11s - 0d	300		
T. Wainman bookkeeper owner occupier	£4 - 0s - 0d	270		
Mrs. E. Wardle widow owner occupier	£4 - 0s - 0d	270		
Mrs. A. Bradbury widow owner occ.	£3 - 1s - 0d	270		
Mrs. E. Marshall widow tenant	£3 - 7s - 0d	270	J. Sewell	gentleman

By 1838 this expansion had been halted by the deaths of Matthew and his successor, William Sowden, and was for sale. 'All that freehold unfinished stone building intended for a dwelling house with garden' represented the total of the Sowden's success.¹ By 1846 the next generation of Sowdens had completed three houses but had failed to sell two of them in 1843 and April 1844.²

During the late 1830s additional local competition had been provided as two other estates put building land up for sale. In 1838 the death of T. E. Upton, solicitor, was followed by an auction of his property; Upton had personally attempted, unsuccessfully, to dispose of his Burley estate on several occasions. Elsewhere in Leeds he had undertaken a considerable amount of development on his own behalf. When he died he owned six separate building estates which included a mill, warehouse and foundry, five houses, seventy-four cottages, others not yet completed, and undeveloped building ground still in hand. The new line of the turnpike road to Kirkstall had provided his Burley estate with a major road frontage of 190 yards. Upton's descendants were of the opinion that the development prospects of the Burley estate would be linked with the expansion of cottage property from the west end of Leeds. No longer, as the elder Upton had originally suggested, were there prospective mansion or villa sites, but good building ground investment for anyone prepared to wait upon farther growth of the town and factory development along the banks of the River Aire.

The above valuable building land (though still considered a part and parcel of the

1. LM, 13 January 1838. William Sowden had not had sufficient money to pay the arrears of his quarry rentals in 1832. Lack of finance may also help to account for the slow pace of development.
2. LM, 18 November 1843; 20 April 1844.

town of Leeds) is situate in the township of Headingley cum Burley where the rates are comparatively low; its immediate contiguity to the River Aire, and good promise of abundance of brick clay, together with the prerequisites of being well roaded and watered, render the foregoing property on every account a most desirable investment for the capitalist.¹

1838 was also a year of action on the Cardigan estates in the Leeds area. George Hayward, the local steward, was calling for tithe commutation in several townships where the Cardigan family owned more than a quarter of the total area, and meetings were held in Headingley, Farnley, Bramley and Alverthorpe during the latter half of the year.² At the same time a decision appears to have been reached to dispose of lands in those townships. The auction sale took place in November 1839 when fourteen acres to the east of Burley village were offered in lots of between two and four acres.³

After 1840 parts of the Beckett estate between the Leeds - Kirkstall turnpike road and the River Aire were also put up for sale, suggesting that the Cardigan and Uoton attempts acted as a competitive spur. By 1844 Stephen and John Whitham, who had built an iron foundry at Kirkstall during the 1820s, had transferred their business to new and larger freehold premises on former Beckett estate land. Their Kirkstall works were available for lease or purchase in 1842.⁴ Between 1844 and 1846 a worsted manufactory was built on the estate by Robert Fletcher Green. This became known as Burley New Mill and was the first of the northern out-township mills to rely totally on steam power. Of the five acres sold by the Beckett family during the early

1. LM, 23 June 1838.

2. LM, 15 September; 29 December 1838.

3. LM, 19 October 1839.

4. LM, 29 October 1842.

1840s little more than a quarter of an acre went to house builders. The industrial developments made the area less likely to attract commercial and

professional people, and left Sowden on the opposite side of the road building houses of too high quality. There were only two builders of dwellings on the Beckett estate before 1846. One was John Ardill, the tenant of fourteen of the remaining seventeen acres of the estate, who built several small houses. The other was Henry Sewell, who owned six cottages to the rear of Ardill's site, and also built two houses, one occupied by him, on part of the Cardigan 1839 sale plots.

The Upton estate trustees succeeded in selling only three-quarters of an acre of their original estate between 1838 and 1846. Developments included a public house and the sale of a quarter of an acre to the Leeds New Gaslight Company. The latter were the only people willing to purchase land not having an existing road frontage. Before the estate sold all its road frontage T. E. Upton II purchased three lots of the adjoining Cardigan estate land which had been offered for sale in 1839.¹ The lots were not very deep but had considerable frontage to the old turnpike road between Leeds and Burley and improved the accessibility of a considerable proportion of the Upton estate backland. This land, purchased in 1840 at 2s-7d per square yard, proved easier to sell. In 1841 Olive Lupton, a spinster and member of the old Leeds merchant family, invested in 1,643 square yards at 4s-6d per square yard.² The largest part of the remainder was purchased by George Halliday, a Leeds bricklayer, who opened up a quarry on the land and had also commenced building by 1845. On 30 December 1845 Halliday paid T. E. Upton II £175. for 1,313 square

1. LCD 14064.

2. LCD 13969.

yards, a price per square yard almost identical to that paid by Upton to the Earl of Cardigan for the land in 1840. The following day, Halliday obtained a £500. mortgage from Joseph Williamson, a Leeds horse dealer on the security of two cottages already completed. Two years later, in 1847, Halliday sold the property to James Smith, a Leeds timber merchant and builder, for £815.¹ T. E. Upton II's willingness to transfer the title to Halliday at the latter's convenience and at the cost price of the land must have reflected his wish to encourage other builders that his estate was ripe for development after the lean years of the early 1840s.²

Developments by two Burley mill overlookers took place between 1843 and 1846 on the Leeds - Kirkstall turnpike road frontage to the Upton estate. By 1846 George Swaine and William Watson had built five houses, two cottages and a shop. The former's share was a house for himself, but Watson had provided himself with a small speculative investment. The only other development on this frontage before 1846 was by David Thornton, a Leeds publican, who erected a public house and two cottages.

Although there were only very small clusters of cottage property along the part of the Leeds - Kirkstall turnpike road axis nearest to the Leeds in-township boundary it was evident to contemporaries that the future development potential for this area lay in the building of low rental accommodation. As this became more apparent difficulties arose in the selling and letting of higher quality residences to the west, and new schemes for genteel residential developments failed to rise from the ground.

1. LCD 14027.

2. LCD 2997. An agreement for sale was made in 1846 to sell 500 square yards at 3s-4d per square yard. The purchaser was Joseph Whitham of the local iron foundry.

g. Inter-axial developments in Headingley cum Burley.

'Between the two roads lie Burley Hill, Kirkstall Grange, Hawksworth Park, Cookridge Wood, and other open spots - some cultivated as private pleasure grounds, and some in the state of woods and commons.'¹

Problems of access made the land between the Leeds - Otley and Leeds - Kirkstall turnpike roads attractive only to the developers for whom the cost of providing road access was an inconsequential part of total development costs. Development of this type fell into one of two categories; the larger mansions and grounds which resembled small landed estates, and recreational developments for which open space was the prime requirement. The purchase and modernisation of the 450 acres New Grange estate north-west of Headingley village by William Beckett, of the Leeds banking family, after 1831 was the largest of the transactions in this inter-axial area.

This estate, largest of the suburban retreats of Leeds professional men in the Headingley cum Burley area, had been put up for sale by auction in London in 1829 after the termination of the male line of the Wade family. It was apparently sold for £37,000, the equivalent of thirty-three years purchase, but this transaction was not completed.² The house, last rebuilt in 1752, was 'in the style and type of Inigo Jones...approached by Stone Colonnade and Portico', and was considered by the auctioneers to be suitable for a member of parliament. Their judgement proved to be more accurate than their powers of description as Beckett became M.P. for Leeds in 1841 and served until 1852.

Beckett proceeded to modernise the house, added new entrance lodges and a gardener's house, and changed the name of the estate to Kirkstall Grange. His family's

1. C. Knight, The Land We Live In, III, (1853), p17.
2. LCA, DB/M 354 a,b, The New Grange Park and Estate, Plan, particulars and conditions of sale; LM, 31 October 1829.

move was celebrated, anonymously, probably by one of them.

A House of state,
One, beneath whose roof, methinks,
A rural Lord might dwell.

The smoky town, the pensive Change,
What solid pleasures can they give;
Oh! let me in the country range,
'Tis there we breathe, 'Tis there we live.

John Marshall, Leeds flaxspinner, fellow member of parliament and a former tenant of the Wade family at New Grange, had built himself a residence on land between the William Beckett estate and Headingley village. In order to create a setting for the house he had purchased fifteen acres of former agricultural land and augmented this with an additional ten acres leased from the Earl of Cardigan. This property was used as a town house by the family, which spent more and more of its time during the 1830s and 1840s on the larger estates it owned in the Lake District. John Marshall II had wanted to purchase the New Grange estate in 1829 but his father had refused permission. Instead John Marshall senior had spent £6,000. in building his son a house, Headingley Lodge, adjoining his own Headingley estate.

Other Leeds manufacturers, although not of the same social standing, became the neighbours of the Marshalls and William Beckett during the 1820s and 1830s because of the willingness of the Earl of Cardigan's steward to let agricultural land for residential estate purposes. William Tottle Watson, a stuff and woollen dyer, occupied a farmhouse and seventeen acres on the Cardigan estate immediately to the south of Headingley village; Stephen Whitham, the Kirkstall and Burley ironfounder, had a new house built on nine acres of Cardigan land adjoining

1. LCRref, Kirkstall Grange and its Neighbourhood, anonymous MS, c.1835-1840.

the Marshalls' estate; and John Edward Brooke, a woollen manufacturer, had taken over the Battye residence and six acres of grounds, adding an extra eleven acres on lease from the Earl of Cardigan. These residential developments had the advantage of access from a lane connecting Headingley and Kirkstall villages, and the families were instrumental in confirming the contemporary image of Headingley village as a desirable location of high social respectability although they were never part of it.

Less accessible inter-axial Cardigan land retained its agricultural function, forming part of a panoramic view of open countryside available to residents in the new houses on Headingley Hill. This panorama was varied by the intrusion of recreational areas laid out on adjoining estates. The earliest of these was the Victoria Cricket ground of Robert Cadman, purchased and developed during the 1830s on two closes which were accessible only by footpath from Woodhouse Moor. In 1839 Cadman had added another four acres of the former J.H. Fawcett estate. The enclosed cricket ground flourished without attracting publicity until the late 1850s.

Another recreational development was more ambitious and combined pleasure with education. This was the Leeds Zoological and Botanical Gardens, a venture first proposed by a correspondent to the Leeds Mercury in 1833. The proposal was probably more of a response to the publicity gained by an 1833 competition for the design of a Botanical and Horticultural Garden in Sheffield rather than to the influence of the 1833 parliamentary select committee on public walks.¹ In 1837 a public meeting was held to raise support for the idea of the gardens, and during the first week £8,000. was raised by

1. LM, 19 January 1833; P.P., 1833xv, S.C. on Public Walks: Minutes of Evidence (448); G. Chadwick, The Park and the Town, (1966), p.96.

public subscription.¹ By December seventeen acres had been obtained from the Bainbrigge estate for £5,000. at 1s-3d per square yard, the purchaser being Edwin Eddison, solicitor, on behalf of the Trustees of the Zoological and Botanical Gardens.² In May 1843 conveyances were made for the purchase of an additional four acres from the R.W. D. Thorp estate, but the trustees were unable to pay Eddison the £1,071. he had expended on their behalf.³ The target for subscriptions had been £20,000. in 1837 but by 1840 only half of that sum had been raised.⁴

The wall surrounding the gardens and one of the entrance lodges had been completed by December 1838 but even before officially opened to the fee paying public in July 1840 proposals had been made to sell or let the gardens or even to use them as a cemetery.⁵ After its opening the Zoological and Botanical Gardens led a precarious existence, the number of plants and animals had to be drastically reduced compared to the original design, there were proposals and subsequent withdrawals from sale in 1841, 1842 and 1843.⁶ In 1844 it was suggested that the Gardens be converted to a public park, and in 1846 the trustees attempted, unsuccessfully, to sell it to the Leeds borough council. Finally in 1848 the grounds were advertised 'to be sold at a sacrifice' as building land.⁷

Eddison's original expenditure on behalf of the trustees was regained through the goodwill of Henry Cowper Marshall, another of the local flaxspinning family,

1. LM, 20 May 1837; 27 May 1837.

2. LCD 9012.

3. LCD 8972.

4. LM, 23 December 1837; 15 December 1838; 13 June 1840.

5. LM, 15 December 1838; 3 August 1839; 22 February 1840; 7 March 1840.

6. LM, 31 July 1841; 30 April 1842; LI, 20 April 1843.

7. LM, 18 November 1848.

who purchased the gardens for £6,010. at 1s-3d per square yard, the 1837 value, in July 1849.¹

The elevated aims of the trustees had been defeated by a combination of factors: the venture had begun during a severe depression in the local economy when the amount of discretionary income the local working population had available to spend on leisure pursuits must have varied between low and non-existent; the unwillingness of the wealthier sections of local society to subscribe sufficient funds; the dual access costs of admission charges and transport costs to the site from inner Leeds. The lack of response to the educational aspects of the Gardens had resulted in a change of emphasis on activities with the accent upon galas, hot air balloon ascents and other, less elevated pursuits in attempt to attract a mass audience.

However, in 1853 the scheme was not completely defunct. Although H. C. Marshall at first used the gardens as a detached extension of the family's residence, Headingley House, he was apparently willing to allow visitors to have access to the gardens. For a few years, until 1858, the Gardens were leased to one Thomas Clapham and reopened to the public under the new name of the Leeds Royal Gardens.²

4.4 The Coming of the Railway.

One other development disturbed the peace of the inter-axial lands, the making of the Leeds - Thirsk railway during the later 1840s. The aims of the provisional committee were to increase the directness of communications to the north of Leeds and to improve

1. LCD 8972. H. C. Marshall had been appointed Curator in Zoology in 1837. His father John Marshall I, had been president of the trustees.
2. LM, 4 September 1855. Developments within the Gardens are described in G. Branston, 'The Development of Public Open Space in Leeds during the Nineteenth Century,' (unpublished University of Leeds M.Phil thesis 1972), pp9-16.

access to coal and agricultural produce from the northern dales. Considerable support was given by the manufacturers and professional men dwelling in Headingley, including Marshalls, Becketts, E. Eddison, E. Birchall, T. England, G. N. Tatham, Joseph Brook, and John Smith the banker.¹ William Beckett had been opposed to the line of the railway as proposed in 1845 but in exchange for his support H. C. Marshall, on behalf of the provisional committee, had agreed to pay the expenses of Beckett's opposition, not to move on to the land until compensation had been paid and furthermore,

the said railway company... (would)... at their own expense make and forever afterwards maintain a siding and convenient station and landing place for receiving and delivering goods... at the crossing of Spen Lane... in a convenient manner for enabling the said William Beckett... as all other parties having occasion to revert thereto to communicate with such station for the purposes of traffic.²

By 1845 Christopher Beckett, brother of William, was a director of the company. The enthusiasm of Marshall and Beckett for a railway line through Headingley was partly because they were able to use their influence within the company to ensure that the line avoided their property. Their success depended upon the company obtaining a line almost entirely through the lands of the Earl of Cardigan. Local power and influence of the absentee Cardigan family had declined since the 1830s, and as another director of the railway company was Edward Raines, M.P., editor of the Leeds Mercury, the Cardigan case gained local publicity, but no support. Liberal and Tory M.P.s were united in financial interest against the older established landed aristocrat who stood in the way of their particular scheme for profit.

1. The Leeds - Thirsk Railway, Prospectus, (1844), List of subscribers.
2. LCD 5907.

The railway company required thirty pieces of land from the Cardigan estate, totalling twenty-seven acres.¹ Cardigan opposition was not intractable but was an attempt to increase the amount of compensation and purchase price to be paid by the railway company. The opposition claimed that the Cardigan estate was valuable for building purposes and that Kirkstall Abbey and neighbouring woodlands would be damaged by the presence of the railway. This drew a retort from Baines that factories were located nearer to the Abbey than the proposed line of the railway. Furthermore the Cardigan steward admitted under cross-examination that no part of the land had been built upon.

The Earl of Cardigan refused a £10,000. offer of compensation, and further negotiations were necessary during 1845 before his consent could be obtained. Joshua Bower, owner of an adjoining thirty-eight acres estate and bleachworks, refused offers of £1,600. and £2,000., finally receiving £2,500. after the case had been assessed by jury. It was little wonder that at a special meeting called in 1849 shareholders in the Leeds-Thirsk Railway Company were informed that land costs 'had largely exceeded the estimates made on the authority of competent land valuers', when directors were unwilling to countenance alternative routes across their own properties.²

The Cardigan estate had already begun to consider a policy for the development of land adjoining the proposed line of the railway. In March 1845 a rumour had reached the local press that Hawksworth Wood, 210 acres of neglected ornamental eighteenth-century woodland, was to be felled and the land used for agricultural,

1. ICA, DB/M 227, A list of lands taken from the Earl of Cardigan, 1850.
2. LCRef, Leeds-Thirsk Railway Special Meeting, 9th June 1849.

industrial, or residential purposes, a description so all embracing as to be worthless.¹ The reality emerged a year later when the Cardigans emulated the earlier example of the Graham estate at nearby Kirkstall and offered building leases for sale.

Eligible building sites on BUILDING LEASE, all or any portion of that beautiful and healthful site called Hawksworth Wood, within three miles of Leeds; about 60 acres have recently been stubbed, leaving a plant of thriving oak trees, which may be grouped at pleasure. The soil is dry and sound, the surface varied, and commanding delightful views of Kirkstall Abbey, and of a picturesque country in the valley of the River Aire. The parochial rates are very moderate, and fine building stone is on the spot.²

In spite of seizing the opportunity of the coming of the railway and improved communications the Cardigan venture failed totally. The estate's building leases were to be for a term of 99 years; the Graham leases had had a 300 year term; freeholds were readily available on Headingley estates closer to the urban core of Leeds, and developers and speculators were able to purchase freeholds without heavy capital expenditure.

The arrival of the railway was awaited with enthusiasm in some quarters. One prophecy made at the height of that enthusiasm in 1846 declared that villa sites might stretch alongside the line out beyond the boundaries of Leeds borough.³ Although this expectation proved over-enthusiastic, two years after the line opened the first advertisements for the sale of house property appeared emphasizing the advantage of proximity to the railway stations and the new means of

1. LM, 29 March 1845.

2. LM, 25 April 1846; 9 May 1846.

3. LM, 19 December 1846.

communication. In 1851 a house was available within a few minutes walk of the stations at Kirkstall on the Leeds and Bradford, and the Leeds and Thirsk Railways.¹ Even houses at Far Headingley were described as within fifteen minutes walk of the railway station but a subsequent modification converted it to 'within five minutes drive'.²

1. IM, 12 April 1851.

2. LM, 28 February 1852; 5 June 1852.

CHAPTER FIVE

BUILDING AND ESTATE DEVELOPMENT, 1847 - 1870.

5.1 The Rural Retreat?

^x Our ratebooks will tell you that good houses in our squares and streets are becoming untenanted, and that the value of such property is gradually falling... and whilst our opulent merchants and bankers resort to their country residences, the clergy, the medical profession, the shopkeepers, the artisan and the operative, are compelled to live with their families in an impurity of atmosphere that destroys every comfort of life.¹

The failure to improve the quality of urban life in Leeds following the recommendations of the parliamentary select committees of the 1840s gave additional impetus to the rate of withdrawal into the relatively rural seclusion of the out-townships. Between 1847 and 1870 ^x many of the social and economic groups Beckett noted as being confined to the urban core in 1849 succeeded in moving. By 1861 the exodus was large enough to produce ^x comment in the printed census returns that the sanitary advantages of Headingley cum Burley had encouraged a large portion of the mercantile community of Leeds to reside in the township.² During the following decade the movement had spread farther: in 1871 it was noted ^x that the outward movement also encompassed Potternewton and Chapel Allerton.³

The inclusion of lower income groups in this centrifugal movement, the concomitant increase in building development, and a lack of physical planning control all

1. ^x LM, 22 December 1849. Letter from W. Beckett, Kirkstall Grange, Headingley.

2. Census of England and Wales, 1861, I (1862), p513 note b.

3. Census of England and Wales, 1871, II (1872), p440 note f.

contributed to produce a more complex visual and social image of Headingley cum Burley and Potternewton in the eyes of contemporaries. Increasing contiguity of building developments coincided with the breakdown of Headingley's image of a township of unified respectability. This was replaced by an awareness of distinct neighbourhoods. At times of major public debate opinion in Headingley was liable to divide into distinctly area based interest groups; this was apparent during the sanitary quarrels of the early 1860s. Newer arrivals in the out-township included people who thought an earlier generation of Headingley residents had combined to form a closed elitist social group. These earlier arrivals clearly had some justification for their attitude; it must have been apparent that the increasing population of the township was in the process of destroying the precious semi-rural nature of the area they themselves had chosen as a suitable retreat from Leeds during the 1830s and 1840s.

a. Problems of land disposal.

For the mansion dwellers of the 1830s and 1840s restrictive covenants on the value of buildings and limited public transport facilities had acted as guarantees of seclusion. However, for vendors of building land the period had been characterised by a lack of sufficient purchasers to enable the disposal of complete estates. This failure made more difficult the management of the remaining land for agricultural purposes, especially where new ownership boundaries came from a surveyor's sale plan which ignored the existing physical realities of fences and hedges of the agricultural layout.¹ Once this situation had been reached the only practical course of action was to continue trying to sell

1. LCA, DB/M341, J.H. Fawcett estate sale plan, 1837.

the remaining lots of building land until the whole estate was disposed of.

Between 1845 and 1850 the situation for existing vendors was aggravated by the introduction of over 400 acres of new building land onto the market (see Table 21). In October 1845 the whole of the Mexborough estate in Potternewton was put up for sale by auction. The 335 acres had been divided into only thirty-five lots, most of which were described as

particularly well adapted for the erection of villa residences, possessing from their elevated situation, the purest air, commanding extensive and picturesque views, and from the peculiar undulation of the land securing that privacy which is desirable in the neighbourhood of a large and manufacturing town.¹

The market for new ten-acres private mansion estates in Potternewton had already disappeared in 1845, but even the smaller lots close to Earl Cowper's New Town of Leeds development and to the original village nucleus at Chapeltown failed to attract purchasers. The estate had been put on the market fifty years before it was ripe for building development, and no preparations had been made in the form of improved road access. The only sale occurred in the late 1840s when the Beckett banking family purchased 68 acres; they added it to their adjoining estate in Chapel Allerton and founded a model farm. There is no evidence that the Becketts actively involved themselves in its running although James Caird had observed capitalists applying business habits and finance to agricultural activities in the West Riding about this time, and the name Model Farm is suggestive of

1. ICA, Mexborough MSS, 617 Plan, Particulars and Conditions of Sale, 1845.

TABLE 21

THE AVAILABILITY OF BUILDING LAND, 1845 - 1870.

ESTATE	TOWNSHIP ¹	AREA (acres)	DATE (1st. offered)	PREFERRED DEVELOPMENT
Cowper	P	remaining unsold plots	1828	-
J. H. Fawcett	HcB		1837	-
R. D. Thorp	HcB		1845	-
Mexborough	P	335	1845	villas
Cardigan	HcB	70	1850	not specified
A. Hives, Newton Green	P	44	1855	not specified
H. Englefield, Westwood	HcB	160	1858	not specified
H. C. Marshall, ex Zoological and Botanical gardens	HcB	24	1859	villas
G. Lloyd, Hill Top Farm	HcB	25	1860	mansions & villas
Ray & Oliver, Potternewton Hall	P	58	1860	villas & other
Cowper	P	8	1862	not specified
Cowper, Newton Lodge	P	10	1863	not specified
C. Hives, Chapel Allerton Hill	CA	8	1865	houses £35+ annual value
T. Clapham, Royal Park	HcB	5	1866	not specified
" "	"	19	1866	

1. P - Potternewton; HcB - Headingley cum Burley; CA - Chapel Allerton

TABLE 22

COMPARISON OF SALE LOT SIZES, BUILDING LAND,
MEXBOROUGH (1845) AND CARDIGAN (1850) ESTATES.

LOT SIZE (ACRES)	NUMBER OF LOTS	
	MEXBOROUGH	CARDIGAN
70 - 20	3	-
19.9 - 15	2	-
14.9 - 10	3	-
9.9 - 5	11	3
4.9 - 3	5	3
2.9 - 2	3	2
1.9 - 1	8	26
0.9 - 0.5	-	19
0.49 - 0.25	-	8
0.24 - 0	-	9
Total: lots	35	70
Total: acreage	335	70

SOURCE: LCA, Mexborough MSS, 617; LCA, DB/M 359
Cardigan estate sale plan.

owner involvement.¹

The Earl of Cardigan also placed building land on the market in the 1850s, a first offer of 70 acres in Headingley and Burley being made in 1850. The attempt to sell inaccessible stubbed woodland on building leases was not repeated. Most of the land available in 1850 consisted of freehold plots of less than two acres in close proximity to existing settlement nuclei at Far Headingley, Headingley and Burley villages. Lot sizes were considerably smaller than the Mexborough estate lots, nevertheless only one of the six largest Cardigan estate lots was sold without having to be subdivided (see Table 22).

Most of the land for sale by the Earl of Cardigan had been his share of the Headingley Moor inclosure award in 1831; this land was unencumbered by family settlements, a freedom legally confirmed by a Deed Poll in January 1849.² The auction was held locally at the Oak Inn, Headingley and was spread over two days; newspaper reports recorded mostly very low prices, of between 11d and 1s-6d per square yard, with the exception of one unidentifiable lot which fetched 5s-5d per square yard. Many of the sales were concluded in private negotiation after each day's auction proceedings.³ The unsold lots were put up for auction in 1851, 1852 and 1853.⁴ By December 1853 the remaining lots had been further subdivided, and it was possible to obtain 'lots of various sizes, some being eligible for the erection of villa residences and others within the means of persons of small capital.'⁵

1. J. Caird, English Agriculture in 1850 - 1851, (1852), Letter XXXIV, p287.
2. LCD 14566.
3. LM, 12 October 1850.
4. LM, 13 September 1851; 11 September 1852; 3 December 1853.
5. LM, 3 December 1853.

The low prices reported by the Leeds Mercury are confirmed by the few available conveyances of Cardigan building land of the 1850s. The price level provided prospective purchasers with an opportunity for profitable land speculation. In 1854 a purchase of 5,112 square yards was made by Elkanah Oates, a Leeds innkeeper, at 8d per square yard; in 1859 he resold it at 1s-10d per square yard.¹ By 1855 Oates was calling himself a broker. He also purchased an additional two acres of Cardigan land at only 4½d per square yard; by reselling 2,114 square yards in the same year to S. and J. Prince, Meanwood stone masons, at 1s-1½d per square yard he recouped two-thirds of the original financial outlay on less than one-quarter of the land.² The stone masons erected a six-unit terrace known as Prince's Grove, through houses worth an annual rental of £8-15-0d each in 1861.³ Oates's selling price for the land was less than half that prevailing for building land in Lower Burley on which back-to-back cottages of between £4. and £7. annual rental were being built.

Speculative resales also attracted those who wished to create small residential estates of one or two acres on which could be built a mansion or villa. Oates's sale of 1859 at 1s-10d per square yard was to W.B. Holdsworth, a flaxspinner. The latter also purchased 5.5 acres from the Cardigan estate in 1855 at 1s-5d per square yard. At first Holdsworth subdivided and resold some of this land; 1.5 acres at 2s-1½d per square yard, and another 2,990 square yards at 3s-2d per square yard in 1861. Subsequently his plans changed and the first lot was repurchased at 2s-6d per square yard and an

1. ULD 221.

2. LCD17151.

3. LCA, LO/HE2, Headingley Poor Rate book, 1861.

additional 5,116 square yards purchased at the same price level. This sequence of transactions left Holdsworth with seven acres on which he proceeded to erect 'a mansion with conservatories, lodge, stable, coachhouse, ... pleasure grounds, lawn and surrounding grassland.'¹

A similar combination of land speculation and building was carried out by Jacob Wood, corn miller and seed crusher of Grove Mill, Headingley. He purchased just over three acres of the Cardigan estate in 1854 at 5½d per square yard, part of which was resold to James Fox, a land surveyor. Fox paid £300. for 4,000 square yards, 1s-6d per square yard and himself resold in 1865 at 2s-1d per square yard. Meanwhile Wood built a house, Wheatfield Lodge on 6,140 square yards of his land.² This was one of the early local versions of Italian renaissance domestic architecture, marked by an increased ratio of height to floor area, pronounced eaves and corbel supports.

By 1855 the impact of the Cardigan land sales was becoming apparent in the landscape; the area between Headingley village and Far Headingley was one of market garden land surrounded by building ground on which country villas or other good dwellings were in course of being erected.³ It had been rumoured at the time of the 1850 sale that the Earl of Cardigan intended to dispose of most, if not all, of his Yorkshire estates. Certainly as an enthusiastic army commander he was believed to have spent £10,000. annually on his regiment the 11th Hussars between 1836 and 1854.⁴ However, further sales after 1854 were checked by the involvement of the Earl

1. ULD 221; Moorlands, sold by auction in 1866 for £6,000.

2. LCD 8927.

3. LM, 10 March 1855.

4. V. Gibbs, ed., The Complete Peerage, III (1913), p.18.

in the Crimean War and the death of the local steward, George Hayward. Until 1868 the management of the Yorkshire estates was in the hands of B. E. Bennett of Marston Trussell Hall in Leicestershire.

The Cardigan estate emphasis on the disposal of land resulted in minimal controls being exercised over the types and quality of house building, an attractive feature to land speculators and developers. These factors, plus the low prices, gave Cardigan building land a distinct advantage over other Headingley building land available during the 1850s. Amongst those put at a disadvantage were the trustees of the remaining J. H. Fawcett land on Headingley Hill, first put up for sale in 1837.

Since that period, numerous mansions and villas of a superior class have been erected upon it. Care has been taken by the exclusion of all buildings of an inferior kind, to sustain the value and character of property in the hands of purchasers.¹

The care with which the clergymen trustees had nurtured purchasers had also left them with eighteen acres of unsold land. However, their problems had been exacerbated by two large sales of land to John Jackson Lee, a Leeds solicitor, made during 1841 and 1842. The trustees had contested the legality of these sales in Chancery against J. J. Lee, T. M. Lee, the Fawcett estate's lawyer, and J. H. Fawcett. In 1848 the Court had declared the sales invalid and ordered lands and money to be re-exchanged. Although legal aspects of the case dragged on until 1853, the fifteen acres, less two conveyances already made by J. J. Lee, were available to other purchasers in 1850.

From 1850 onwards it was necessary to compete for

1. IM, 11 May 1850.

purchasers, and the trustees responded to the competition by slightly reducing their previous high standards for development.

The lots comprise not only sites for first rate mansions, with extensive pleasure grounds, lodges etc and for detached villas, but also several lots of less dimensions, suitable for commodious and respectable dwelling houses.¹

Fourteen of the lots for sale in 1850 were between 1,500 and 3,400 square yards; only four lots of between two and four acres could have merited serious consideration as sites for residences of the grander kind. In spite of this relaxation building land was still available the following year and in 1855.² By 1856 J. H. Fawcett was dead, and the task of disposing of it for building purposes passed from the trustees to Richard H. Fawcett and the lawyer, T. M. Lee.

The increased local competition amongst vendors of building land was reflected in the prices obtained by R. H. Fawcett during the 1850s (see Table 23). Other factors were involved however; the land sold for 1s-0d per square yard was cut off from the Headingley Hill neighbourhood by the Leeds - Otley turnpike road and had a frontage to Victoria Road. Being lower down the hillside it was also overlooked by the Headingley Hill mansions. As on the Cardigan estate the increased desire to dispose of land gave land speculators a favourable opportunity. The resale of land at increased prices was the most prevalent activity amongst purchasers of the 1850s. Henry Ludolf, a flax merchant, was the principal exception, building a house for himself, and a terrace of five houses, Nelson Terrace, as an

1. LM, 11 May 1850.

2. LM, 8 November 1851; 5 May 1855.

TABLE 23

J. H. FAWCETT ESTATE, SALES AND DEVELOPMENT, 1851 - 1860.

DATE	NAME, OCCUPATION, LOCATION ¹	PROCESS CATEGORY	AREA (sq.yds)	PRICE per sq.yd.	DEVELOPMENT
1851	R. D. Newman corn factor	owner occupier	3,102	2s - 0d	mansion
1856	" " " "	land speculation	19,660	1s - 4d	resale
1857	H. Austin gentleman Hly	land purchase	2,760	2s - 3d	grounds
1859	H. Ludolf flax merchant Hly	land spec/ owner occ./spec.	27,969	1s - 0d	resales + mansion + terrace
1859	E. Bulmer dyer	land speculation	1,660	1s - 0d	resale
1859	W. Whalley agent	land speculation	1,726	1s - 0d	resale
1859	W. Waterhouse gentleman Hly	land speculation	7,786	1s - 0d	resale
1860	W. Mawson gent. Hambleton	land speculation	42,530	6d	resale

1. Leeds unless otherwise stated.

SOURCES: LCD 9468; 13592; 9447; 9423; 9355; 10528; ULD 61
LCA, Acc 1726, Brooke, North, Goodwin Papers, 14/Ludolf.

investment. He also sold off other parts of the land. In 1863 Bulmer resold his purchase at 1s-9½d per square yard, and Waterhouse his at 1s-9d per square yard. By 1865 R. D. Newman's estate had been subdivided and two detached villas built in the grounds. By the mid 1870s the land sold by Bulmer and Waterhouse had been resold again, this time to the eventual builders, at 4s-0d and 5s-2½d per square yard respectively.

Neighbouring landowners R. W. D. and D. L. Thorp also experienced problems in selling their estate during the 1850s. In 1851, six years after the first sale, twenty acres were still left in hand, including a frontage to the Leeds - Otley turnpike. This land was put up for auction in 1851, either to be 'considered as a whole or as to its capabilities for division into villa or terrace lots'.¹ Failure resulted, and in 1852 the estate was further subdivided, being 'now available for the first time divided for sale in small lots.'² Villa sites of one-half acre were available from £100. upwards, and land for good terrace houses with large gardens at prices varying from £60. to £80. The two were to be kept strictly apart by restrictive covenants. A purchaser in 1853 had to agree not to erect 'any buildings...except detached or semi-detached dwelling houses of an annual value of £30. at least.'³ Adherence to such standards meant that part of the Thorps' estate remained unsold in 1859.⁴

The largest sales period of all was experienced on the Cowper New Town of Leeds Development in Potternewton (see Table 24). The layout of this had been influenced by eighteenth century ideals of superior

1. LM, 16 August 1851.

2. LM, 17 June 1852.

3. LCD 8604.

4. LM, 2 April 1859.

terrace houses and squares. It had been repurchased from the original developers in 1829 by the 5th Earl, but neither he nor his successor had succeeded in producing an urban character on the development during the following twenty years. The price of building land had been set at a higher level than on rival Headingley estates, and restrictive covenant control gave purchasers less freedom in their development.

Instead of relaxing this control the 7th Earl reconfirmed them after his succession to the title in 1856. The common covenants for the making and maintaining of roads, pavements, and sewers, and restrictions on land uses were augmented by the retention of generous set-backs of building lines from street frontages, giving space where 'it shall be deemed expedient by the said Earl Cowper...to have lawns before the houses built thereon.'¹ Quality of built form was controlled by the specification of materials to be used, and all elevations were to be of a uniform height. A minimum height of twenty one feet from the ground was intended to discriminate against low ceilinged cottage property in favour of two storied houses with ten feet high ceilings which attracted more affluent and socially acceptable occupants. The main streets and their frontages were to be unalterable, unless a 'majority of the owners in number and in value...situate in any street' agreed. An earlier deed of arrangement between the 6th Earl and purchasers in 1837 had contained a proviso that the central focus of the development, Clavering Square, might be altered. This was confirmed in 1857 although another ten years elapsed before the option 'to plot and set out the same as Street Lots, Terrace Lots or Villa Lots' was exercised.²

1. LCD 6105, Deed of Agreement, 1857.

2. Ibid.

TABLE 24

EARLS COWPER NEW TOWN OF LEEDS, SALES AND DEVELOPMENT, 1840 - 1871.

NO.	DATE	PURCHASER NAME, OCCUPATION, LOCATION ¹	PROCESS CATEGORY	PLOT SIZE (sq.yds.)	COST per sq.yd.	DEVELOPMENT
1	1840	R. Burton bookkeeper N.T.L.	O.o.	387	2s - 6d	1 t.h.
2	1840	J. Wilkinson stone agent Selby	S.i.	774	2s - 6d	2 t.h.
3	1845	W. Dobbings innkeeper	O.o.+ i.	1,050	2s - 0d	2 s-d.
4	1846	J. Ripley schoolmaster	L.p.	1,232	2s - 0d	g.
5	1846	C. Hewson bookkeeper	S.i.	476	2s - 6d	1 t.h.
6	1848	W. Perkin architect	S.i.	1,100	2s - 0d	1 v.
7	1848	J. Morris gentleman	O.o.	1,040	1s - 10d	1 v.
8	1848	G. M. Bingley shorthand-writer	O.o.+ s.	1,937	2s - 0d	1 v.
9	1848	R. Stokell wheelwright Woodhouse Carr	S.s.	2,561	1s - 10d	1 v.
10	1848	S. Prince gentleman		448	2s - 4d	1 t.h.
11	1849	G. M. Bingley see no. 8	L.s.	1,710	1s - 9d	1.r.
12	1849	J. Ainley innkeeper	S.i.	944	1s - 6 ¹ / ₂ d	2 t.h.
13	1849	M. Hobson stone mason Meanwood	S.i.	424	2s - 3d	1 t.h.
14	1849	J. Dobson spirit merchant	L.s.	899	1s - 11d	1.r.
15	1850	G. Boddy cheese and bacon factor	S.i.	866	2s - 3d	2 t.h.
16	1851	J. Robinson painter	S.i.	656	2s - 0d	1 t.h.
17	1851	M. Perkin silversmith	S.i.	869	2s - 0d	1 v.
18	1852	W. Dobbings see no. 3	L.p.	901	2s - 0d	g.
19	1852	W. Perkin see no. 6	L.p.	962	2s - 0d	g.
20	1852	G. T. Woodson gentleman N.T.L.	S.i.	1,253	2s - 0d	4 t.h.
21	1852	J. Horner mason & builder Chapel Allerton	S.i.	829	2s - 3d	2 t.h.
22	1852	T. Richardson wine, spirit, and hop merchant	O.o.	1,534	n.d.	1 v.
23	1852	S. Standing dyer & milliner	S.i.	398	2s - 3d	1 t.h.
24	1852	J. Barras pawnbroker		623	2s - 3d	1 t.h.
25	1852	S. Winn joiner and builder	O.o.	357	2s - 3d	1 t.h.
26	1852	Capt. J. Prince militia N.T.L.	S.i.	3,500	1s - 6d	4 t.h.

TABLE 24 Continued

27	1853	J. Clark ironmonger	O.o.	2,264	1s - 6d	1 v.
28	1854	J. Barker cordwainer	S.i.	1,298	1s - 10d	2 t.h.
29	1857	H. Sunderland cap maker	S.i.	874	2s - 0d	2 t.h.
30	1857	J. Holdsworth builder	S.i.	909	1s - 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	2 t.h.
31	1858	R. Husband cabinet maker	S.s.	2,160	1s - 6d	1 v.
32	1859	J. Barker see no. 28	S.i.	1,008	2s - 0d	2 t.h.
33	1859	J. Hutton joiner and builder	S.s.	2,049	1s - 6d	3 t.h.
34	1860	" " " "	S.i.	1,281	1s - 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	2 s-d.
35	1860	H. Barker plumber	S.i.	504	2s - 0d	1 t.h.
36	1860	T. L. Dobson woollen draper	S.i.	1,281	1s - 10d	1 v.
37	1860	A. K. Dobson " "	S.i.	1,281	1s - 10d	1 v.
38	1860	R. Smalpage woollen draper & tailor	L.p.	1,081	2s - 0d	g.
39	1861	D. Nedwill gentleman	S.i.	464	1s - 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	1 t.h.
40	1861	C. Grainger solicitor	L.s.	1,008	2s - 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	1.r.
41	1863	S. Winn see no. 25	S.i.	928	1s - 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	2 t.h.
42	1863	J. Barker see no. 28	S.i.	504	2s - 3d	1 t.h.
43	1863	E. Oliver auctioneer	L.s.	504	2s - 6d	L.r.
44	1863	J. Hutton see no. 33	(S.i. L.r.)	2,944	1s - 9d	2 t.h. 1.r.
45	1864	F. Bedford plumber & glazier	S.i.	1,395	1s - 6d	1 v.
46	1864	T. Mould draper	O.o.+ i.	944	1s - 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	2 t.h.
47	1864	A. K. Dobson see no. 37	S.i.	899	1s - 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	2 t.h.
48	1864	T. L. Dobson see no. 36	S.i.	819	1s - 6d	2 t.h.
49	1865	J. Holdsworth see no. 30	S.s.	1,161	2s - 0d	2 s-d.
50	1865	W. Smith builder	L.s.	1,158	2s - 0d	L.r.
51	1865	J. Robinson agricultural equipment manufacturer	L.s.	1,755	1s - 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	L.r.
52	1865	W. Hewson painter	L.s.	3,307	1s - 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	L.r.
53	1865	A. Dixon n.d.	L.s.	1,912	1s - 6d	L.r.
54	1866	T. Bedford see no. 45	(S.i. L.o.)	934	2s - 0d	1 t.h. L.r.
55	1867	J. Robinson see no. 51	S.i.	1,980	1s - 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	4 t.h.
56	1867	W. H. Blakeborough commercial traveller	S.i.	990	2s - 0d	3 t.h.
57	1867	J. Tebbs commercial traveller	L.s.	5,194	1s - 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	L.r.
58	1868	E. A. Topham plumber & glazier	L.s.	1,980	1s - 10d	L.r.

TABLE 24 Continued

59	1868	T. Middleham clerk	L.p.	1,270	1s - 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	g.
60	1868	J. Holdsworth see no. 30 Potternewton	S.i.	3,298	2s - 1d	2 s-d. + l.v.
61	1868	T. Butterworth felt manufacturer Holbeck	L.s.	929	2s - 6d	L.r.
62	1868	T. L. Dobson see no. 36	S.i.	2,971	1s - 11d	5 t.h.
63	1868	A. K. Dobson see no. 37	S.i.	1,409	2s - 3d	3 t.h.
64	1869	J. Boyle brickmaker	L.s.	1,562	1s - 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	L.r.
65	1869	J. Tebbshop merchant	L.s.	3,515	2s - 1d	L.r.
66	1870	" " " "	L.s.	3,403	2s - 1d	L.r.
67	1871	" " " "	L.s.	1,899	n.d.	L.r.
68 pre	1873	W. H. Blakeborough see no. 56	L.s.	4,776	n.d.	L.r.

1. All Leeds unless otherwise stated.

SOURCE: See Appendix Two.

The early sales for which evidence is available were made at 2s-6d per square yard, a level which was attained only five times in the thirty years after 1840. The 6th Earl Cowper maintained average price levels above 2s-0d per square yard, but very little was sold between 1852 and his death in 1856. This hiatus cannot be attributed to estate affairs being held in abeyance during a period of declining health because the 6th Earl died suddenly of a heart attack while attending Maidstone assizes.¹ It is more surprising because the first half of the 1850s was a period of increasing prosperity and economic activity which reached a peak in 1856. The 7th Earl disposed of land in slightly larger lots at lower prices between 1857 and 1864; 1860 was a better year for sales than the trade cycle peak year of 1859; 1862 was a bad year both for Cowper and the national economy; an improvement in the amount sold during the upswing of 1863 - 1865 was not marked by an improvement in the prices obtained. Better prices were obtained during the rapid disposal of the remainder of the land between 1867 and 1871.^v This last phase of the development with sales in larger lots, mostly of between one-quarter and three-quarters of an acre, proved more attractive to land speculators. However, their resale prices do not, on the limited evidence available, appear to have exceeded 2s-9½d per square yard before 1870. The largest single speculative purchase, 5,194 square yards by J. Tebbs, a commercial traveller, in 1867 produced the greatest profit, 1s-3d per square yard on a resale price of 2s-8½d per square yard in 1868.² Purchase prices of above 2s-0d per square yard appear to have been too close to the prevailing estimated value of building land to encourage ordinary builders to purchase from land speculators on the New

1. V. Gibbs, ed., The Complete Peerage, III (1913) p.486.

2. LCD 12040.

Town development. However, Tebbs was able to make a considerable profit by dealing with Freehold Land Companies. His 1867 sale had passed to the Leeds and Yorkshire Land Building and Investment Company; additional purchases by Tebbs, by then a hop merchant, in 1869 and 1870 were subsequently resold to the Leeds Estate Building and Investment Company.¹ Tebbs had purchased at 2s-1d per square yard, he resold at 3s-4½d per square yard to purchasers who transferred the land to the Company in 1876 at 4s-6d per square yard. Although Tebbs' activities relieved the Cowper estate of much of its remaining land in the New Town, Tebbs himself went bankrupt in 1875. His final purchases in 1871 and 1873 were not built upon until the 1930s.²

The built form of the New Town of Leeds failed to reflect the aspirations of its founders. A small number of villas and terraces robbed of complete uniformity by the sporadic nature of the development were the principal determinants of the physical character of the neighbourhood. The terrace names of the original plan¹ inspired by the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott remained romantic drawing board aspirations of his publisher - developers. The 5th Earl, Peter Leopold Louis Francis Nassau Clavering Cowper, was honoured in street names by the publishers. For the 6th and the 7th Earls the whole New Town of Leeds development seems to have confirmed the wisdom of the family's unwillingness to become involved in the minutiae of building estate development in the first place. They did not attempt it again.

b. The new terraces, 1847 - 1861.

When I was seized of the [Royal] Park estate, there were 60 acres of land

1. LCD 9476.

2. LCD 9269.

unbuilt upon on the East side between the Park and any £20. house. There were at least 100 acres on the South side unbuilt upon; there were a 100 acres on the West side unbuilt upon; and on the North side of and fronting the Park estate there was not any house of that rental.¹

Clapham's letter was an exercise in self-justification and partially exaggerated the situation. During the early 1840s it had been apparent that the narrowness of the J. H. Fawcett estate sale lots at the eastern end of Victoria Road made them unattractive for mansion or villa building developments. By 1846 Joseph Bulmer, a local Woodhouse joiner and builder, had erected two houses on part of this land and on either side were building grounds held by the Fawcett estate. The plot nearest to the junction of Victoria Road with the Leeds - Otley turnpike road had been purchased by Christopher Pickard, a builder, who described himself as being of Headingley Lane as early as 1839.²

By 1861 this long narrow frontage to Victoria Road had been filled by terrace housing (see Table 25). The Fawcett estate restrictive covenants required houses to be of at least £15. annual rental and the use of stone for their street elevation. At least three new builders had been at work since 1846. Thirteen of the houses were valued for Poor Rate assessment purposes at less than the required £15. minimum annual rental, but this is more likely to reflect contemporary complaints that the Headingley valuation was made at only five-sixths of the prevailing rental than to suggest evasion of the Fawcett covenants.

Pickard built three houses, entirely of stone, on his land. The adjoining three houses of one Thomas Ward

1. LM, 22 March 1862. Letter from T. Clapham.

2. Baines and Newsome, Directory of Leeds, 1839.

TABLE 25

THE NEW TERRACES, 1847 - 1861;

HYDE PARK - HEADINGLEY.

TERRACE OWNER, OCCUPATION	ANNUAL RENTAL VALUE (£).					DETAILS
	7 - 9.9	10 - 14.9	15 - 19.9	20 - 24.9	25+	
<u>Finsbury Place.</u>						
T. Dixon, retired broker			4			
J. Spenceley joiner			5			
<u>Kensington Terrace.</u>						
D. Ellis shopkeeper				1		
- Mason n.d.				2		
R. Robinson chemist	4			6		
- Stephenson n.d.				2		
A. Wood builder			2			1 0.o.
<u>Parkside & The Terrace.</u>						
W. N. Hewitson engineer	2		1			
" " "	1		1	2		+ 2 shops
<u>Hyde Park.</u>						
J. Pullan's executors			1	4		
<u>Hyde Park Terrace.</u>						
H. Ellens provision merchant				2		
W. Dean accountant					2	
T. Henry shipping agent				1	2	
<u>Spring Rose Terrace.</u>						
J. Binks journeyman	1		2			1 0.o.
J. Mason shopkeeper				5		
J. Reynolds boot & shoe manfr.				2		1 0.o.
c/f	8	16		27	4	

TABLE 25 Continued

TERRACE		ANNUAL RENTAL VALUE (£).					DETAILS
OWNER, OCCUPATION		7 - 9.9	10 - 14.9	15 - 19.9	20 - 24.9	25+	
	b/f		8	16	27	4	
<u>Victoria Road.</u>							
C. Pickard	builder				3		
F. Ward	n.d.			3			
J. Wood	n.d.		6	4	1		
	Total	72	14	23	31	4	

SOURCE: LCA, LO/EE2, Headingley Poor Rate book, 1861.

were also of stone throughout. However, Bulmer's houses had side walls of brick; this was not evasion of the Fawcett restrictive covenant, but the failure of later builders to adhere to Bulmer's building line defeated the object of the covenant by allowing Bulmer's side walls to remain visible. The houses to either side of Bulmer's property, eleven in all, were owned by one Joseph Wood in 1861. All were stone fronted but were of two types. The later, more expensive, houses were given bay windows and ponderous decorative stone mouldings around the front door opening. Sandstone flags, not Welsh slate, were used to roof at least some of the houses, others which now have Welsh slate roofs may have been reroofed.

The rear of the Fawcett estate terrace development overlooked the adjoining estate of Henry Teal, a land surveyor.¹ When Teal first attempted to sell his estate for building purposes in 1851 there were only four houses on the Fawcett estate Victoria Road frontage. He considered the site to be 'admirably adapted for villa residences.'² By 1853 it was suitable for 'villa or other residences.'³ In 1856 three-quarters of an acre of the Teal land with a frontage to Woodhouse Moor was for sale by auction, divided into two lots, each described as having 'sufficient frontages for five good dwelling houses with gardens or eligible for one spacious villa and grounds.'⁴ As early as 1853 the greater part of the Woodhouse Moor frontage had been divided into twenty six lots, each of approximately 1,700 square yards, and a line of road established between the estate and the

1. Teal drew up the unsuccessful 1845 sale plan for the Mexborough estate.

2. LM, 13 September 1851.

3. LM, 15 June 1853.

4. LM, 19 April 1856.

commonland with gates at both ends to ensure privacy.

The only Teal sale for which evidence is available was of lots eight and nine of the Woodhouse Moor frontage, sold in 1853 to J. W. H. Richardson, a Leeds solicitor, at 1s-5½d per square yard. At that price level there can have been little difficulty in disposing of the attractive peripheral land. In May 1854 Richardson was able to resell part of his purchase to Robert Eeles, a Leeds tobacconist, at 3s-2d per square yard. The visual evidence for the development of the Woodhouse Moor frontage suggests a series of small scale building ventures, principally in brick, with an overall appearance of unity based on the prevalence of two storey houses of uniform height. More detailed analysis reveals a minor theme of considerable variation, between single and double frontage widths, and in the variety of door surrounds pragmatically composed from an assortment of classical architectural forms, pilasters, pediments and columns. The exceptions to this pattern were the two houses erected by Eeles at the western end of the terrace, built of rustic faced stone, with a different roof line and form, and ornamented dormer windows.

The interior of the estate experienced different development conditions with more subdivision and a longer building period. In 1859 2,416 square yards of the interior, lot 16 of the original Teal sale plan, was for sale, bounded by three new streets.

A desirable site for the erection of respectable residences, as it is in a healthy and rapidly improving locality, and within a convenient distance from town. The streets have recently been *
sewered at considerable expense. 1

1. LM, 5 March 1859.

This land, advertised for sale by Richard Robinson, a chemist and druggist, was built over in a variety of materials and styles, but all were terrace houses. In 1856 Robinson had had an acre of this land for sale at 2s-6d per square yard.¹

The lack of coherence and overall design is reflected still in Kensington Terrace, built along the southern edge of the Teal estate. Robinson had built ten houses in this terrace by 1861 but another four, smaller, developments provided considerable variety in the built form, not least because the last builders chose to have their main frontage on the opposite side to the remainder. In 1865 a plot of land was still for sale, 'the only one not built upon;' however the area was 1,700 square yards and it reappeared in April 1866 as seven separate lots.² In 1866 W. F. Dean, an accountant, had 1,320 square yards for sale in Hyde Park Terrace at the north end of the estate, having declined to add to the two houses he already owned in the terrace.

The slow pace of development on the interior of an estate was always liable to result in a variety of buildings, partly because of changes in building fashion and partly because of change in the social status of a neighbourhood. Kensington Terrace, where two storey bay windowed houses and plain three storeyed houses reminiscent of central Leeds in the 1830s appeared to have been distributed at random between 1851 and 1867, was completed with two pairs of three storey back-to-back houses at its western end.

It was this situation which produced an editorial in the Leeds Mercury at the end of December 1862 questioning the ability or willingness of those involved in the process of building and estate development to produce a satisfactory environment for future residents

1. LM, 14th June 1856.

2. LM, 30 December 1865; 28 April 1866.



· Photograph 15. KENSINGTON TERRACE, HYDE PARK, 1851-
for R. ROBINSON, druggist, et al. (O.o. + S.i.).

· Photograph 16. WOODBINE TERRACE, HEADINGLEY, 1861-
for W. T. SMITH, solicitor. (S.i.).



if left to their own devices.

It is by no means uncommon to see a row of good small houses with gardens faced by one consisting partly of pretentious looking back-to-back dwellings, and partly by a couple of semi-detached houses which turn their back on the first named row, and present to the dwellers therein a fine view of their ashpits and other conveniences. ...Those who have building land to sell inform us that it sells best when it is subject to no restrictions as to the style of house to be built, and when it can be disposed of in small lots. ...Thus good, bad, and indifferent houses are seen cheek-by-jowl with one another, and there is an utter want of uniformity even in mediocrity. ...It seems extraordinary that the owners of land should be allowed to erect rows of houses in a town without making any provision whatever for roads, excepting by leaving a vacant space of ground between them. ...Specimens of which may be found... [in] the district on the other side of Woodhouse Moor, known as Hyde Park.¹

Teal, as a professional land surveyor, can be expected to have been more aware of the situation than other developers. He had formulated a set of restrictive covenants which went beyond the usual specification of minimum annual values for dwelling houses. Covenants banning public houses and noxious trades, and requirements for the cost of streets and sewerage to be shared equitably between purchasers were also common. In addition Teal made detailed stipulations concerning the construction of the houses. The building line established by Teal was to be observed and in addition,

every dwelling house erected...should be built of a height of not less than 21 feet from the ground floor to the eaves

1. LM, 30 December 1862.²

of the roof, and not less than 2 feet from the ground to the ground floor. ...The height of the rooms on the ground floor should not be less than 10 feet 6 inches in the clear. ... Every such dwelling house should have a lawn or ornamental garden in front.¹

Such restrictive covenants may be presumed to reflect the experience of a lifetime involved with the preparation of estates for building purposes. The advantage of using construction details as restrictive covenants was the avoidance of the diminishing value in real terms of a minimum annual value control on houses during the quarter of a century that the development process was liable to take. However, plans for estate development could still be upset by events beyond the developer's control. Teal was unable to influence developments on the adjoining Fawcett estate which caused him to modify his sales approach during the first half of the 1850s. Nor, in 1851, was he to know that the attractive Victoria Cricket Ground of Robert Cadman to the south of his estate would within ten years be converted from an attractive amenity into a pleasure garden of doubtful respectability, pleasantly disguised as 'the Leeds Royal Park' by its founder, Thomas Clapham.

On the Cowper New Town of Leeds development covenants similar to those of Henry Teal had been applied for many years. In addition an attempt had been made to negate the disadvantages of a long development period by disposing completely of one block of land for building purposes before selling any part of another. Different blocks were available for terrace houses and for villas, but no other variation was made to the policy, even to the extent of accepting lower prices for the

1. LCD 9322.

last plot of land in a block. Until the late 1860s speculators had been discouraged from purchasing even half-acre blocks, but eventually the policy broke down in the face of a conflict of interest between the desire to maintain the quality of the New Town development and to sell adjoining land rapidly for the erection of cottage property. The latter scheme deterred all but speculators from buying the remaining New Town land at the southern end of the development. However, the conflict between neighbourhoods in this case was brought about by the estate, not by outside influences as had been the case on the Teal land at Hyde Park.

Two other areas underwent terrace house building, both were in Headingley and principally upon Cardigan land sold during the early 1850s. The two areas, Headingley village and the former Headingley Moor land exhibit similarities based on use of stone as the building material and simplicity of elevation. The basis of the survival of stone as a building material for the lesser houses of the 1850s when brick had been relieved of its tax burden was the availability of suitable building stone in the immediate vicinity, and the local community of stone masons at Far Headingley.

There was a difference between the terraces built by stone masons on their own account and those erected on behalf of a client. The former concentrated on the cheaper end of the market for through houses (see Table 26). Stone masons such as John Bailey and the Moxons, joiners such as Charles and John Rhodes were most active at the level of £7. - £10. annual rental value houses; one step, albeit a large one, beyond the provision of cottages for the working classes. The higher value terraces were a response to capitalists' desire to invest in rents. Ann Husler, wife of the major Headingley and Meanwood quarry owner, owned a terrace, Victoria Terrace, of eight

TABLE 26

THE NEW TERRACES, 1847 - 1861;
 HEADINGLEY VILLAGE - FAR HEADINGLEY.

TERRACE	ANNUAL RENTAL VALUE (£).					DETAILS
OCCUPATION OF OWNER	7 - 9.9	10 - 14.9	15 - 19.9	20 - 24.9	25+	
<u>HEADINGLEY VILLAGE</u>						
<u>Westfield Terrace & Grove.</u>						
C. Newsome stationer		1	3	1	2	1 0.0.
<u>King's Place.</u>						
Mrs. Smith shopkeeper		6				+ 2 shops
<u>Grove Place.</u>						
W. C. Raper	n.d.	1	3			
<u>Chapelfield.</u>						
J. Hardwick	n.d.	3				+ 1 c.
<u>Well Close Street.</u>						
M. H. Dean	n.d.		2			
C. Cromack	n.d.	2				
J. Rhodes II joiner		5				+ 4 c.
<u>Melbourne Terrace.</u>						
Mrs. Perkins	n.d.	4	1			
<u>Prince's Grove.</u>						
S. Prince stonemason		6				
<u>FAR HEADINGLEY</u>						
<u>Cardigan Place.</u>						
D. Speight builder			2	2		

TABLE 26 Continued

	7 - 9.9	10 - 14.9	15 - 19.9	20 - 24.9	25+	DETAILS
<u>Clarendon.</u>						
C. Rhodes joiner	5					
<u>Park View.</u>						
J. Rhodes I joiner		3				+ 4c
J. Farnell shoemaker	1	1				
<u>Forquay Terrace.</u>						
W. T. Smith solicitor			11			
<u>Victoria Terrace.</u>						
Ann Husler stone merchant				8		
<u>St. Ann's Terr.</u>					2	
<u>St. George's Terr.</u>					4	1 0.o.
<u>Balmoral Terr.</u>					3	
<u>Wesley Terr.</u>				4		
<u>Moxon's Buildings.</u>						
W. M. & T. Moxon stonemasons	10					
<u>South Terrace.</u>						
H. Dobson n.d.	4					
<u>Bailey Houses.</u>						
J. Bailey stonemason	1	3				

SOURCE: LCA, LO/HE2, Headingley Poor Rate book, 1861.

£20. - £25. annual rental value houses in 1861. A Leeds solicitor, William T. Smith, had an eleven unit terrace, Torquay Terrace, built in the 1850s and half of another, Woodbine Terrace, added after 1861.

In 1853 George Vevers, gentleman, began to engross plots of building land to the south of Shaw Lane, Headingley, which had been sold to several purchasers by the Earl of Cardigan. Vevers built himself a villa and in addition a series of short terraces of houses with neatly laid out gardens. The terraces of Vevers, Smith, and Husler, laid out in spacious grounds, were considerably superior to the street terraces of the New Town of Leeds, Hyde Park, and Headingley village. In 1857 'a second class house', one of Richard Robinson's in Kensington Terrace, Hyde Park, comprising kitchen, parlour, four bedrooms and fitted gas supply was worth only half the yearly rental of a house in Vever's Wesley Terrace which had dining room, drawing room and five bedrooms.¹

Between the parlour and the drawing room lay a step as large as that separating the smaller terraces from cottage property. The more salubrious terraces also retained a greater illusion of rural seclusion, at least temporarily overlooking green fields and gardens rather than another row of houses the width of a street away.

c. Problems of growth.

The new residents in their terrace houses, whether living in the New Town of Leeds, Hyde Park or Far Headingley had one thing in common, their need for inexpensive but regular transport connections with the urban core of Leeds. Since their inception in the early 1840s the horse drawn bus services had altered little in

1. IM, 25 July 1857; 22 August 1857.

their fares, frequency, and starting times. There were occasional changes of proprietors, and new routes were attempted, often unsuccessfully. From 1847 to 1853 a bus ran from Kirkstall via Burley into Leeds, five times daily in each direction on weekdays in 1847, four times in 1853.¹ It appears to have been withdrawn sometime in 1853, and no service was provided until 1861. In the latter year a letter to the editor of the Leeds Mercury called upon the inhabitants of Burley and the surrounding district to help

establish for ourselves a comfortable and easy passage from the town home by supporting the omnibus which has just commenced and not allowing it to fall through, as all previous attempts have done, for want of support. We have now every comfort provided and the fare is such that all can embrace the opportunity.²

By July 1862 it appeared that the new venture had proved successful, another correspondent complaining of 'excessive and shameful overcrowding.'³ Once again the period of success was short lived. A service in operation between Burley and Leeds in 1866 was discontinued after a few months; it was not only unprofitable but the buses were not waterproof, 'the time was as the proprietor thought fit' and street urchins appear to have been employed as conductors. Under such conditions another letter writer concluded 'is it surprising that ladies refused to ride, or that business men could not put up with such unpunctuality?'⁴

Even on the profitable routes all was not well; in 1861 an anonymous correspondent claimed in the Leeds Mercury that Leeds lagged behind Manchester in

1. W. White, Directory of Leeds, (1847), p229;
W. White, New Directory of Leeds, (1853), p290.
2. LM, 11 December 1861. x
3. LM, 16 July 1862.
4. LM, 24 August 1866. x

respect of public transport.

The present omnibus accommodation in Leeds very inadequately supplies the wants of the public and is dearer than in other large towns...Mr. Stork of Chapel-town has also commenced a new 'bus between Leeds and Moor-town, charging only 2d and 3d for the shorter distances of New Leeds and Chapel-town. This is a movement in the right direction, and ought to be encouraged, for as the town population are gradually extending their dwellings in the out-townships, a cheaper and more ample transit accommodation becomes not only important but necessary.

In Manchester and other large towns people can travel twice the distance for the same fares as are charged here, in some places 3 and 4 miles for 3d and 4d. But in Leeds, until Mr. Stork's bus started you could not ride to New Leeds for less than 6d, and even now if you go from Leeds to Woodhouse Moor, little more than a mile, the 'buses will set you down for 4d if only half full of passengers, but if any are left for want of room you must pay the full fare of 6d. Then, again if you go over Woodhouse Moor to Woodhouse Bar, which is short of a mile, 6d is the fare.

It is said that the great obstacle to improvement in 'bus accommodation are the toll bars, involving as they do the daily payment of ten shillings for each 'bus - at least so it is said. In the neighbourhood of Manchester, the same difficulties presented itself. How was it met and overcome? By some of the 'bus proprietors taking the tolls themselves, making a profit out of them, and allowing their own vehicles to pass on the road free.

This allusion to the Manchester 'buses reminds one of the great service they have rendered to Leeds during the meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society.¹ What would the thousands of visitors have done but for Greenwood's Manchester 'buses? Anybody can give the answer.

1. The annual show was held on the Earl of Cardigan's estate at Burley in July 1861. Over the five days, 145,329 people attended. IM, 9, 11, 20 July 1861.

Such 'buses large, airy and light, are very much wanted in Leeds, and unless some of our townsmen undertake the task of introducing a better system in Leeds, the public will not regret if the rumour, which is current, proves true, that Mr. Greenwood, of Manchester, is about to put some of his 'buses upon our thoroughfares to compete, at lower fares, and upon an improved plan, for the growing traffic of this rapidly increasing borough.¹

Nevertheless improvements were slow in coming; the Kirkstall-Burley-Leeds service made only periodic appearances, the rival Headingley - Leeds services continued to compete, and race, against each other, running at the same times instead of alternately. Not until 1866 did the Corporation of Leeds obtain the power to abolish turnpike road tolls within the borough. By then the era of the horse drawn omnibus monopoly of public transport was nearly at a close.

The new residents' problems were not confined to keeping open transport links with the centre but also included the problems of assimilation into local society. This was not always easy when there were differences of wealth, religion, and politics to be dealt with. Traditionally the Headingley ward, which included Potternewton and Chapel Allerton out-townships, had supported Tories in both local and national elections. A local election in 1860 produced the first real fight for a seat between Tory and Liberal candidates; on that occasion the Tories won. New opportunities of establishing social contacts via church and chapel attendance were provided during this period; St. Matthias, Burley, was consecrated in 1854, St. Chad's at Far Headingley in 1868, St. Augustine's, Wrangthorn, adjacent to Hyde Park corner, in 1870; the Methodists established a new chapel at

1. LM, 20 July 1861.

Headingley during the 1860s, and the Congregationalists one on Headingley Hill, designed by Cuthbert Brodrick, in 1864.

However, Headingley cum Burley township officials were elected through a procedure based on the parish church, St. Michael's, Headingley village. In 1859 the system was demonstrated in the election for an assistant overseer for the collection of the Poor Rate. The time and place for the election were announced at the parish church, a system which appears to have effectively disenfranchised many of the newcomers. This issue also provoked correspondence with the editor of the Leeds Mercury.

Headingley is not now a rural village as you and I can recollect it, but the residence of a great number of persons who have their business in Leeds, and who, being mostly considerable ratepayers, have a right to be informed when meetings affecting their interests as such take place.¹

The defender of the newcomers was Edward Bolton, an accountant, who had lived in Headingley since the 1830s.

The fundamental interest of the new residents of the terraces at Hyde Park was described by one of them in 1862.

We are mostly tradesmen who have our place of business in Leeds, and pay from £20. to £40. a year for our dwelling houses in Hyde Park, or professional men, who transact business at our offices in Leeds during the day, and hope to return home at night to quietness - peace.²

Even this was uncertain because adjoining land had been purchased by Thomas Clapham with the intention of opening

1. LM, 20 January 1859.

2. LM, 22 March 1862.

new pleasure gardens to replace his earlier tenancy of the former Zoological and Botanical Gardens. Normally parks were considered a great advantage to a neighbourhood, but the Clapham version proved to be a less desirable feature. Pigeon shooting competitions produced noise, excitement, and strangers 'prowling' around the district with guns; brass band concerts on Sunday afternoons were almost as unpopular as disturbances of the peace.¹ Clapham chose to continue, claiming that he had purchased his estate before any of the neighbouring terraces had been built. The cri de coeur of one of the residents, 'we do not pretend to be such landowners as Mr. Clapham, but a house that costs us £20. a year rent, (for we cannot afford to be buyers) is quite as dear to us as his estates that cost him £20,000', went unheeded.²

Unfortunately Hyde Park residents found themselves at the centre of a township quarrel at the end of 1861 and the beginning of 1862 which was not of their making. It commenced with a debate on the incidence of illness at the foot of Headingley Hill and amongst the Hyde Park terraces. The scope of the debate was widened to include not only the real causes of the disease but also the right of the Leeds Corporation to interfere in the out-township's affairs, economy in local expenditure, and the unreasonableness of other neighbourhoods having to be involved with the shortcomings of one neighbourhood.

The basic problem was that Headingley Hill houses of the 1830s and 1840s had been provided with sewage pits which had never been emptied. As a result percolation downhill of the effluent to the River Aire had taken place, via the wells, cellars and basements of less elevated neighbours. This fact was challenged vociferously, and the Leeds piped water supply from Eccup

1. LM, 13, 17 March 1862.

2. LM, 19 March 1862.

was blamed instead. An alternative view, held by local medical practitioners amongst others, was that the debate was irrelevant because statistics proved that Headingley mortality rates were lower than those of any other part of the borough of Leeds. However, a township committee chaired by Edward Baines, M.P., local resident, and editor of the Leeds Mercury, found 'at the bottom of the rows of new houses to the west of Woodhouse Moor, an open drain which appears to take the whole of the sewage from Headingley Lane and Hyde Park, down through Burley to the river...a discredit to the inhabitants of the hamlet.'¹

Before decisions were taken to remedy the situation, the debate became more acrimonious. Letters to the press carried references to 'sordid owners of property',² the self-interest of those whose living depended upon the township's 'high reputation for salubrity',³ and a description of Headingley Hill as 'a little aristocratic neighbourhood where ladies and gentlemen have a good deal of leisure time'.⁴

The Corporation of Leeds had the power to take the matter of additional sewerage into their own hands, and were likely to do so as the previous system had been the best that the township highway surveyors could produce under their existing powers. Furthermore, the township's own scheme for improvement entailed simply channelling its sewage, untreated, into the River Aire upstream of Leeds. In-township objections to this were at one stage derided as self-interest, and a call was made for the out-townships to unite against compulsory sewerage, imposed by the Corporation. Until 1867 the opposition

1. LM, 10 January 1862.

2. LM, 16 December 1861.

3. LM, 26 December 1861.

4. LM, 17 January 1862. x

to services which had to be paid for out of local rates were triumphant, as in 1831 when the township had refused to establish a board of health in the face of an approaching cholera epidemic. However, the Headingley sewerage committee would have been prepared to recommend acceptance of the Corporation's drainage plans, if the Corporation would have carried them out for a purely nominal sum.¹

Almost lost amongst the general outcry and inter-neighbourhood squabbling was one plea from 'an inhabitant of Hyde Park'.

The road between Woodhouse Moor and Hyde Park...is a sea of mud, either semi-liquid or nearly solid...in asking that this neighbourhood may have decent roads and good drains we do not demand any fanciful improvement.²

In April 1862 the Corporation of Leeds agreed to share the cost of making a road around Woodhouse Moor with the owners of adjoining property although opposition was voiced on the grounds of providing free aid to developers of building land. However, the scheme was halted in the month following because some property owners, not necessarily residents, at Hyde Park Terrace had changed their mind and refused to cooperate. Clearly, although the exodus to the developing suburbs had its attractions, the promised land was only the promise of the developer and the speculator.

5.2 A Brick and Mortar Crusade, The Building of Lower Burley.

The increase in population has led to a brick-and-mortar crusade which is defiling every green spot near the town.

1. LM, 10 January 1862. The progress of the debate was reported in LM, 13 November 1861; 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 21, 26, 27, 28 December 1861; 10, 11, 16, 17, 20, 22 January 1862; 11 April 1862.
2. LM, 16 December 1861.

Some of the sites are magnificent; and are being spoilt by the erection of houses fit only for grooms and railway porters.¹

a. Landowner-developers.

The Upton family of Leeds solicitors had been attempting to attract capitalists, developers, and builders onto their land to the south-east of Burley village for two decades. Not until the early 1840s had they been successful. Although a small number of detached and semi-detached houses had long been in existence to the north of the Upton estate, developments in 1845 and 1846 precluded future building of similar quality. The Leeds-Thirsk Railway Company had purchased a route along the western side of the Upton estate, and between 1846 and 1848 contractors were busy erecting a large viaduct to carry the railway across the Leeds-Liverpool Canal, River Aire, and the Aire valley floodplain. An earlier proposal to erect a solid embankment had been rejected, but the visual impact of the viaduct was sufficient to dominate the view from the Upton estate. The sale of land to the Leeds New Gas Company for the site of a gasometer in 1845 confirmed the Uptons' concern for profitable disposal and the limited range of development alternatives for the land. The Upton response brought a new type of building development to the northern out-townships.

During the 1850s the adjoining fields to the east on the Lloyd estate were made available for this new form of development by T. W. Lloyd of Cowestry Hall, near Thirsk, who had inherited the estate after the death of his father, George Lloyd, in 1844. The new neighbourhood which resulted was built of brick, not stone, and was mostly the work of in-township residents investing

1. Builder, XX (1862), p523.

in the expansion of the working class west end of Leeds. An earlier generation of Lloyd, Upton and Beckett purchasers had anticipated the arrival of a wealthier and more salubrious west end based on their knowledge of the area at the end of the eighteenth century.

The fields were covered with back-to-back cottages, fronting directly onto long narrow streets, in courts, and in yards. The neighbourhood included public houses, a brewery, and workshops; all types of development which would have been banned by restrictive covenants on estates on the higher ground to the north along the Leeds-Otley turnpike axis. Between the new building estates and the River Aire stood Whitham's iron foundry, a migration from smaller premises at Kirkstall; in 1851 it employed 270 men. Nearby was Burley New Mill where, in 1851, 240 women and 120 men were employed by William Green, worsted spinner.¹ Other manufactories lined the banks of the Aire within the in-township. The proximity to potential workplaces far outweighed the disadvantages of railway and gasometer in the eyes of prospective purchasers. In 1862 the vendors of Burley New Mill announced that 'the surrounding population will at any time supply sufficient hands';² in 1870 the vendor of cottages in Lloyd Street described them as 'letting well, being near several large manufactories in Kirkstall Road'.³

By the early 1860s the progress of building, although incomplete, had given the neighbourhood a distinct identity because of the 'densely populated part of Lloyd's field'.⁴ It had also contributed towards the higher mortality rate for the Burley area, 23.5 per 1000 compared to Headingley along the Leeds-Otley turn-

1. PRO, HO 107 2315/3/3-9, Census Enumerator's Returns, 1851.
2. LM, 9 December 1862.
3. LM, 23 July 1870.
4. LM, 11 June 1862.

pike axis where the mortality rate was only 15.5 per 1,000. In 1861 the Burley village and Lower Burley area comprised nearly 700 dwellings, eighty per cent of them back-to-back cottages valued for Poor Rate purposes at between £4. and £7. per year (see Table 27).

T. W. Lloyd used his agent to superintend the laying out and sale of this part of his estate as freehold building land. In 1853 a purchaser, T. Drewery, was required to fence off his plot immediately and to make his part of the adjoining street 'to the satisfaction of Mr. William Wordsworth, of Black Gates, Land Surveyor'.¹ Wordsworth had apparently laid out the estate sometime during 1851, the first known agreement being signed then and confirmed 'unless the stakes have been moved' in June 1852.² Between 1845 and 1854 T. E. Upton largely overcame his lack of an agent by encouraging George Halliday senior, a Leeds bricklayer, as a sub-developer. Land worth £1,001. was sold to Halliday without a conveyance being made; it was then Halliday's responsibility to find purchasers. Although surviving details are incomplete, it appears that Halliday did not profit directly from sales until Upton had received his £1,001. This point was reached in February 1854 when only £13. remained outstanding and Halliday sold land to James Hargreaves, another bricklayer, for £82. Halliday appears, therefore, to have made 7 per cent gross profit in his role as sub-developer.³ No later property transactions in the area involve Halliday as a sub-developer, and all earlier transactions for which data survive indicate that purchase monies were paid directly to the estate. In order to dispose of the land it was necessary for Halliday to enlist

1. LCD 14011. Wordsworth and Lloyd were commemorated in the estate's street names. Greystone Street preserved the former field name.
2. LCD 14002.
3. LCD 13981.

TABLE 27

BURLEY AND LOWER BURLEY COTTAGE AND HOUSE PROPERTY
ANNUAL VALUES, 1861.

OWNER CATEGORY	NUMBER OF DWELLINGS IN ANNUAL VALUE (£) CATEGORIES						TOTAL
	0 - 3.9	4 - 6.9	7 - 9.9	10 - 14.9	15 - 19.9	20 - 25	
1. Local owner occupier plus speculation	12	273	9	11	8	1	314
2. Owner occupied	1	10	12	7	5	-	35
3. Non-local speculation	7	184	33	14	10	2	250
4. Agricultural estate owner	6	72	4	1	-	-	83
TOTAL	26	539	58	33	23	3	682

SOURCE: LCA, LC/HE2, Headingley Poor Rate book, 1861.

other members of his family (see Table 28; U10,11,13,17); none of them were major builders on their own account although George Halliday junior described himself as a builder. It took nine years to dispose of the acre and one-quarter, and even that time span was heavily dependent upon a single sale in 1849 to Samuel Brama, a Leeds millwright, who took 40 per cent of the land (see Table 28; U9).

During this period Upton also sold directly to builders on the southern, Kirkstall new turnpike road frontage. After 1854 no developer was employed by the estate, although two acres sold to the Beckett banking family in 1861 were subdivided and resold by them (see Table 28; U28). This sale, at a much lower price per square yard than had been previously acceptable, occurred after three years in which only one other sale had been made. The Lloyd estate also sold one large piece of land capable of further subdivision; in 1852 an acre and one-quarter was purchased by the West Riding Freehold Land Society with the intention of creating freeholds worth an annual value of forty shillings. The aim was political: the £10. property franchise, owner or tenant of a single landlord, of 1832 had excluded the majority of the skilled artisan class in Leeds who lived in cheaper housing; however, a forty shilling freehold entitled the holder to vote for the Member of Parliament for the county, at ^{at} this time the West Riding of Yorkshire. The Society had previously purchased land for this purpose in Wortley. One of the principals in this activity was Christopher L. Dresser, a Leeds land agent and surveyor; the year 1852 provided an additional stimulus as the Society's second estate at Lower Burley was begun in April, two months after Lord Derby had formed a minority Tory government (see Table 31).

TABLE 28

T. E. UPTON ESTATE, SALES AND DEVELOPMENT, 1841 - 1874.

NO.	DATE	PURCHASER NAME, OCCUPATION, LOCATION ¹	PROCESS CATEGORY	PLOT SIZE (sq.yds.)	COST per sq.yd.	DEVELOPMENT
1	1841	O. Lupton spinster	L.s.	1,643	4s - 6d	L.r.
2	1842	D. Thornton n.d. n.d.	S.i.	629	n.d.	7 c.
3 pre	1844	W. Watson overlooker Burley	S.i.	287	n.d.	2 c.
4	1845	G. Swaine " "	L.s. + S.i.	961	4s - 0d	L.r. + 6 c. + 2 t.h.
5	1845	New Leeds Gas Company	-	900	n.d.	Gasometer
6	1845	G. Halliday I bricklayer	S.s.	1,313	2s - 8d	2 t.h.
7	1846	S. Fleming engineer Kirkstall Road	S.i.	140	3s - 6d	2 c.
8	1847	J. Holmes millwright Burley	S.i.	250	3s - 6d	4 c.
9	1849	S. Brama millwright	S.i.	3,453	3s - 5d	6 t.h.
10	1849	G. Halliday II bricklayer	S.i.	198	4s - 0d	1 t.h.
11	1850	" " "	S.i.	368	3s - 6d	2 c.
12	1851	J. Thornton stonemason Burley	S.i.	480	3s - 6d	8 c.
13	1851	E. Halliday spinster	S.i.	240	3s - 6d	2 c.
14	1851	J. Hardaker whitesmith Burley Place	S.i.	120	3s - 6d	2 c.
15	1851	W. Ellis blacksmith Burley	O.o.	242	3s - 6d	1 t.h.
16	1851	W. Willans ironmoulder Burley	S.i.	242	3s - 6d	1 t.h.
17	1853	G. Halliday II see no. 10	S.i.	280	3s - 6d	3 t.h.
18	1853	S. Fleming see no. 7	S.i.	140	3s - 0d	2 c.
19	1854	J. Hargreaves bricklayer Burley	S.s.	409	4s - 0d	6 c.
20	1854	J. Chalmers gardener Burley	S.i.	155	3s - 0d	2 c.
21	1854	F. L. Lambert widow Headingley c.B.	S.i.	533	3s - 6d	8 c.
22	1854	G. MacDonald engineer Bradford	O.o.+S.i.	350	3s - 6d	5 c.
23	1855	J. Whitham engineer	O.o.+S.i.	500	3s - 6d	4 c.
24	1855	J. Orman forgerman Burley	S.i.	704	3s - 3d	10 c.
25	1857	W. Warburton brushmaker	S.i.	433	3s - 5d	4 c.
26	1858	J. Harrison publican Kirkstall Road	S.i.	845	3s - 10 ¹ / ₂ d	12 c.
27	1860	C. Thornton publican	S.i.	160	3s - 6d	Privies
28	1861	Sir T. Beckett et al. gentleman	L.s.	8,280	2s - 2 ¹ / ₂ d	See table 30
29	1862	W. Sharp dyer	S.i.	500	2s - 6d	8 c.
30	1863	J. Whitham see no. 23	-	1,983	2s - 1d	Brewery

TABLE 28 Continued

31	1863	J. Hargreaves see no. 19	S.i. + S.s.	670	n.d.	10 c.
32	1863	R. Backhouse joiner Burley	S.i.	3,841	3s - 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	12 c.+14 t.h.
33	1864	J. Hammond builder Ripon	S.s.	940	3s - 0d	14 c.
34	1864	J. Whitham see no. 23	-	1,133	2s - 6d	Brewery ²
35	1864	W. Catton millwright	S.i.+L.s.	890	2s - 0d	L.r.+6 c.
36	1864	J. Hargreaves see no. 19	S.i.	300	2s - 6d	4 c.
37	1864	A. Darnborough saddler London	L.s.	748	3s - 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	L.r.
38	1866	S. Thornton publican Headingley c.B.	S.i.	1,188	5s - 6d	14 c.
39	1866	W. Watson stone merchant Burley	S.i.	1,100	3s - 0d	14 c.
40	1867	J. Hargreaves see no. 19	S.i.	667	3s - 6d	10 c.
41	1867	J. Harrison see no. 26	O.O.+S.i.	970	1s - 10d	6 t.h.
42	1867	W. Catton wheelwright Burley	? O.o.	580	2s - 3d	Wooden House
43	1867	J. Hargreaves see no. 19	S.i.	872	2s - 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	14 c.
44	1869	" " builder, see no. 19	S.i.	862	3s - 9d	7 t.h.
45	1871	S. & J. Backhouse joiners Headingley c.B.	L.s.	240	2s - 7d	L.r.
46	1874	J. Carlton joiner and builder	S.s.	538	3s - 3d	6 c. ³
47	1874	" " " "		667	3s - 3d	8 c. ³

1. Location Leeds unless otherwise stated.

2. Brewery extension.

3. Plus a coalyard.

On map 7 all Upton sale numbers prefixed by U. e.g. U10.

SOURCE: See Appendix Two.

TABLE 29

T. W. LLOYD LOWER BURLEY ESTATE, SALES AND DEVELOPMENT, 1851 - 1858.

NO.	DATE	PURCHASER NAME, OCCUPATION, LOCATION ¹	PROCESS CATEGORY	PLOT SIZE (sq.yds.)	COST per (sq.yd.)	DEVELOPMENT
1	1851	C. Moxon gentleman Oulton	S.i.	351	2s - 3d	2 c.
2	1851	E. Craven joiner	S.i.	525	2s - 6d	7 c.
3	1852	T. Rider stuff finisher	S.i.	324	2s - 6d	3 c.
4	1852	W. Swallow watchman	S.i.	174	2s - 6d	2 c.
5	1852	T. Watson confectioner	S.i.	2,000	2s - 6d	25 c.
6	1852	S. Clayton gentleman Armley	L.s.	586	3s - 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	L.r.
7	1852	F. Green chemist and druggist	S.i.	544	2s - 6d	6 c.
8	1852	T. Kitchen painter Halifax	S.i.	213	2s - 6d	2 c.
9	1852	J. Mountain joiner and cabinet maker	S.i.	486	2s - 6d	10 c. ²
10	1852	S. Bateson gentleman Wortley	L.s.+S.i.	1,479) 999)	3s - 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	25 c. ³
11	1852	J. Bracewell hay dealer	S.i.	800	3s - 9d	16 c.
12	1852	C. Dresser land agent and surveyor	L.s.	5,940	2s - 3d	see table 31.
13	1852	P. Gibbs innkeeper) G. Haigh dyer)	S.i.) S.i.)	3,456	2s - 6d	12 c. 21 c.
14	1852	W. Asquith fuller	n.d.	570	2s - 6d	6 c.
15	1852	J. Horn lamplighter	n.d.	162	2s-6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	2 t.h.
16	1852	J. Jackson provision dealer	S.i.	594	2s - 6d	3 c. ⁴
17	1852	J. Mountain see no. 9	S.i.	486	2s - 6d	with no. 9.
18	1852	J. Walker carrier	S.i.	1,490	2s - 6d	13 t.h.
19	1852	S. Kitchen dyer	n.d.	2,880	n.d.	22 c. + 4 t.h.
20	1853	J. Atack flax mill manager, Belgium	S.i.	1,620	2s - 6d	14 c. + 6 t.h.
21	1853	G. Grayson overlooker	S.i.	468	2s - 6d	6 c.
22	1853	J. Harris rate collector	L.s.	783	2s - 6d	L.r.
23	1853	J. Roberts gentleman Burley Lawn	S.i.	2,380	3s - 2d	22 t.h.
24	1853	T. Drewery chemist and druggist	S.i.	1,701	2s - 6d	15 t.h.
25	1853	T. Grayson mechanic	L.s.	468	2s - 6d	L.r.
26	1853	G. Hewitt gentleman Willow Street	S.i.	385	2s - 0d	1 t.h.

TABLE 29 Continued

27	1853	J. Mountain see no. 9	S.i.	324	2s - 6d	with no. 9.
28	1853	J. Perkin millwright Burley	O.o.	550	2s - 0d	1 t.h.
29	1854	J. Dawson yeoman Wortley	S.i.	328	2s - 0d	3 c.
30	1855	A. Needham widow Headingley	S.i.	476	2s - 0d	4 t.h.
31	1855	J. Gray joiner	S.i.	510	2s - 0d	8 t.h.
32	1856	" " "	S.s.+i.	270	2s - 6d	12 c.
33 pre	1857	" " "	S.n.d.	702	n.d.	12 c.
34	1857	" " "	S.n.d.	792	2s - 6d	11 t.h.
35	1858	J. Yeadon press setter	L.s.	1,042	2s - 6d	L.r.

1. Location Leeds unless otherwise stated.
2. Cottages built on Nos. 9, 17, & 27.
3. Undisclosed numbers built on resold land.
On map 7 all Lloyd sale numbers prefixed by L. e.g. L10.

SOURCE: See Appendix Two.

TABLE 30

BECKETT SUBDIVISION OF THE T. E. UPTON ESTATE,
SALES AND DEVELOPMENT, 1869 - 1873.

NO.	DATE	PURCHASER NAME, OCCUPATION, LOCATION ¹	PROCESS CATEGORY	PLOT SIZE (sq.yds.)	COST per (sq.yd.)	DEVELOPMENT
1	1869	W. S. Wilkinson machine maker	O.o	442	3s - 1d	Workshop
2	1869	J. Walker & J. Middlewood joiners and builders New Wortley	O.o	328	3s - 9d	1 t.h. + joiners shop
3	1870	" " Kirkstall Road	S.s.	796	2s - 11.d	6 t.h.
4	1870	J. Meachin baker	S.i.	758	n.d.	6 c.
5	1871	G. Noble out of business bookseller Armley	S.s.+i.	2,765	3s - 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	40 c.
6	1872	J. Metcalf farmer Burley	S.i.	1,241	3s - 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	5 t.h. ²
7	1872	J. Barwick blacksmith & wheelwright	S.i.	762	4s - 10d	5 t. h. ³
8	1873	J. Hargreaves builder Burley Road	L.p.	560	4s - 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	no.dev.
9	1878	Metcalf's trustees	L.p.	518	3s - 0d	no.dev.

1. Location Leeds unless otherwise stated.

2. Plus a dairy.

3. Plus an inn.

On map 7 all Beckett sale numbers prefixed by B. e.g. B1.

SOURCE: LCD 14009; 14066; 13953; 14061; 6008; 14029; 14056; 14017; 18313; 10550; 13937.

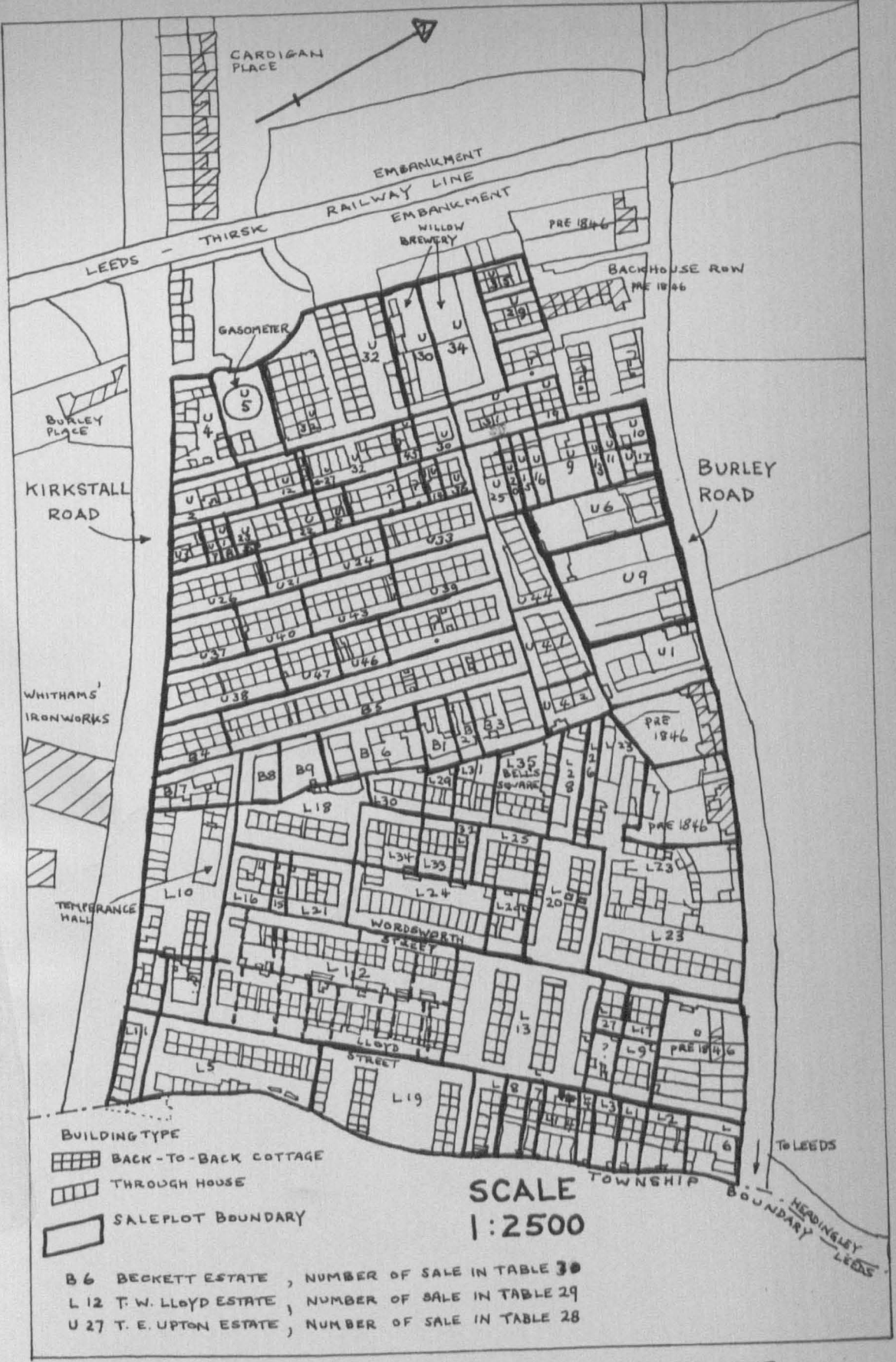
TABLE 31

THE SECOND ESTATE OF THE WEST RIDING FREEHOLD LAND SOCIETY,
1852 SALE AND DEVELOPMENT.

LOT NUMBERS	PURCHASER NAME, OCCUPATION, LOCATION ¹	PROCESS CATEGORY	PLOT SIZE (sq.yds.)	DEVELOPMENT
1 - 3	J. Wetherall n.d.	S.i.	531	8 c.
4 - 7	W. Billington dyer Bramley	L.s.	708	L.r.
8 - 11	G. King cooper	S.i.	708	12 c. ²
12	T. Plint sharebroker	L.s.	177	L.r.
13	J. Purdon compositor	S.i.	177	2 c.
14 - 15	J. Hampshire n.d.	L.s.	354	L.r.
16	C. Tilney land surveyor	n.d.	312	n.d.
17	T. Braithwaite cloth finisher	L.s.	177	L.r.
18	J. Savage warehouseman	S.i.	177	8 c.+ 1 t.h. ³
19 - 20	J. Wood shopkeeper	L.s.	354	L.r.
21	W. Wood cabinet maker	L.s.	177	L.r.
22	G. King see lots 8 - 11	L.s.	177	L.r.
23 - 24	" " " " "	S.i.	354	4 c.
25 - 26	J. Harris rate collector	S.i.	354	4 c.
27 - 28	J. Hawgood jeweller Derby	L.s.	354	L.r.
29 - 31	A. Sharp cordwainer	L.s.	531	L.r. ⁴
32	W. Bruce solicitor	L.s.	312	L.r.

1. Location Leeds unless otherwise stated.
 2. Cottages built on Lots 8 - 12 inclusive.
 3. Built on Lots 17 - 20 inclusive.
 4. Lots 29 - 32 inclusive built upon by H. Hodgson, Leeds stone mason, see Table 35.
- All lots sold for 3s - 6d per square yard in 1852.
On map 7 all development included within 112.

SOURCE: LCD 13950; 13984; 13972; 13983; 13997; 13931; 14065; 14037.



MAP 7. THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOWER BURLEY, 1846 - 1874.

Restrictive covenants on both Upton and Lloyd estates were very similar and confined to roads and sewerage. In 1851 James Thornton, a stone mason, was required by the Upton estate to make his half of adjoining streets 'with good and substantial tooled flags', to kerb the causeways, and to 'pave and keep in good repair with the materials aforesaid the remainder of the said streets'. In addition he was to pay 'on demand' half the cost of making, cleansing, and repairing the common sewers to be laid down the middle of the two streets alongside his building plot. The only additional Lloyd covenant was permissive, allowing cellars to be constructed as long as they had brick arches and were at least seven feet from the sewers.¹ However impressive restrictive covenants appeared on paper, the extent to which they were enforced was always questionable, even in wealthier neighbourhoods. In Lower Burley in spite of the covenants entered into by both sides during the 1850s, it was not until Leeds Corporation enforced paving, flagging and levelling orders in the mid 1870s that anything was done.²

The form in which the estates were laid out had a major influence on subsequent building development. On the Upton estate the blocks for building development were narrower than on the Lloyd estate. The result was that much of the cottage property on the former estate was laid out in long rows of back-to-backs opening directly onto the street, with privies at intervals along the row. The frequency with which privies appeared in a row tended to reflect the number of separate developments in the row. On the Lloyd estate the building blocks were wider, allowing the development of open spaces in

1. LCD 13951.

2. LCD 13950.

the centre. These spaces were subdivided, each building development having its own yard, privies, and boundary wall; the yards often had impressive names such as Bell's Square and Inkermann Court. The privacy afforded by the walls was considered more important than the resultant sense of confinement; in 1864 three owners of cottage and yard property between Greystone Street and Wordsworth Street (see map 7, L24,33,34) agreed that existing inner boundary walls should be raised an additional three feet 'to prevent the public from trespassing across the Yards'.¹ Both Upton and Lloyd permitted yard developments where irregular estate boundary lines were unsuitable for rectangular block layouts. Where no controls were exercised the development possibilities were considerable; the Beckett subdivision included a sequence of machine workshop with steam engine, joiner's shop and house, cowshed, dairy, and cottages (see map 7, B2,1,6).

Surprisingly, in view of their other similarities, the Lloyd and Upton estates were being sold at considerably different prices (see Tables 28 and 29). From 1846 until 1855 the prevailing Upton price was 3s-6d per square yard; during the first half of the 1860s this dropped as low as 2s-0d per square yard. Most of the Lloyd estate building land was sold at 2s-6d per square yard, with an additional premium for the turnpike road frontage (see Table 29; L11,23). A reduction in activity in 1854 and 1855 lowered the price to 2s-0d per square yard, but it was restored to its former level in 1856. The more flexible layout and lower prices of the Lloyd estate enabled all the Lower Burley land to be sold between 1851 and 1858. T. E. Upton's higher pricing policy produced a much longer development period, well into the

1. LCD 14011.

1870s. However, the latter part of the development period saw prices almost restored to the level of the 1850s (see Table 28). The disadvantage of the longer time span of Upton land sales was the competition with more attractive sites in the Burley area during the later years.

b. The builders.

The purchasers of building land in Lower Burley were mostly speculators in cottage property, either for sale or rent. Very few built solely for their own occupancy, although many built several cottages, lived in one and let the remainder. Half of all cottage property in the Burley area was held in this way in 1861 (see Table 27). Only in thirteen out of eighty-six traceable building developments in Lower Burley were the cottages built for resale within two years.¹ Although members of the building trades comprised a similarly small proportion of the total number of Lower Burley building ground owners there is no simple correlation between property built for speculative sale and members of the building trades.

Some builders by trade did act as speculative builders according to the classic model of builder behaviour; both J. Hammond of Ripon and J. Carlton of Leeds built and sold their property within twelve months (see Table 28; U33,46,47). On the other hand a more important local builder, Richard Backhouse, built twenty-six cottages on the Upton estate, but retained them as an investment producing rental income (see Table 28; U32). People in other trades such as the dyer, William Sharp, were capable of acting swiftly and speculatively. Sharp built eight back-to-back cottages

1. Upton, Lloyd and Beckett estates; developments based on separate conveyances, not the total number of individuals involved.

with the aid of a private mortgage of £550. at 5% annual rate of interest, and sold them within the year for £700. (see Table 28; U29). It is impossible to establish Sharp's profit on the basis of the two figures because the proportion of the building cost represented by the mortgage is unknown. However, the cottages were sold to produce an annual return of eight per cent. Presumably Sharp made more than eight per cent profit on his sale or he would have done better simply to have invested in cottage property rather than build on his own account.¹ Other builders, such as James Hargreaves, combined speculative sales and personal investment; in 1863 he sold four and retained six of a block of ten cottages (see Table 29; U31).

The overall picture of the building development of Lower Burley (see Tables 28,29,30) reveals the considerable complexity and diversity involved in the creation of a working class neighbourhood in the period before building and planning regulations, and also the essentially small scale nature of the activity. The largest operators in Lower Burley were more likely to be people investing business profits than members of the building trade (see Table 33). George Noble, the only builder to erect as many as forty back-to-back cottages at one time was a retired bookseller who turned builder in 1872.² James Gray, a joiner, and James Hargreaves, bricklayer turned builder, erected the most dwellings in Lower Burley but in five and six stages respectively; neither built more than fourteen at one time. Gray succeeded in building fifty-seven cottages in three years, but went bankrupt in 1861, unable to support his mortgage commitments.³

Any assessment of the scale of building operations

1. The possibility of undisclosed personal financial difficulties is a further complicating factor.
2. LCD 14029; 14056; 14017.
3. LCD 13929.

TABLE 32

SCALE OF BUILDING OPERATIONS; UPTON, LLOYD, BECKETT, AND
WEST RIDING FREEHOLD LAND SOCIETY ESTATES, 1841 - 1874.

ESTATE INDIVIDUALS	NO. OF DWELLINGS BUILT BY INDIVIDUALS					
	1 - 4	5 - 8	9 - 12	13 - 16	17 - 19	20+
Upton: Total ¹	11	9	3	4	1	2
Building trades ²	1	1	1	3	0	2
Lloyd: Total	11	4	1	3	0	8
Building trades	0	1	1	0	-	1
Beckett: Total	1	4	0	0	0	1
Building trades	0	1	-	-	-	1
WRFL Soc: Total	7	1	3	1	0	0
Building trades	2	n.d.	1	1	-	-
Lower Burley: Total (75)	30	18	7	8	1	11
Building trades (17)	3	3	3	4	0	4

1. Total number of individuals in each category.

2. Of the total number, those who were members of the building trades.

TABLE 33

BUILDERS OF MOST DWELLINGS, THE FOUR LOWER BURLEY ESTATES,
1841 - 1874.

ESTATE	NAME	OCCUPATION	NO. OF DWELLINGS	NO. OF STAGES
Lloyd	J. Gray	joiner	57	5(8+12+12+11+14)
Upton	J. Hargreaves	bricklayer	51	6(6+10+4+10+14+7)
Beckett	G. Noble	ex-bookseller	40	1
Lloyd	(P. Gibbs G. Haigh)	(dyer innkeeper)	33	1
Lloyd	S. Kitchen	dyer	26	1
Upton	R. Backhouse	joiner	26	1
Lloyd	T. Watson	confectioner	25	1
Lloyd	S. Bateson	gentleman	25 ¹	1
Lloyd	J. Roberts	gentleman	22	1
Lloyd	J. Atack	mill manager	20	1

1. Some built after subdivision by Bateson, precise number unknown.

in Lower Burley by members of the building trades should take into account contract work for the seventy-five per cent of purchasers who were neither builders nor building craftsmen. This work could have been carried out by means of contracts between the purchaser and individual bricklayers, joiners, and plasterers, or by contracting the whole operation out to a builder. No strong evidence survives on this aspect of building operations. It is impossible to confirm that the Hallidays, father and son, who built relatively little on their own account, did carry out building operations for purchasers of land on the Upton estate whom they had introduced to the estate through G. Halliday senior's development activity. There is a little evidence that James Hargreaves, the most prolific builder on the Upton estate on his own account, did build houses for other purchasers. On one-half of the 1864 Darnborough purchase from Upton (see Table 28; U37) three cottages, a house and a tailor's shop, and workshop were erected. In 1866 six cottages on the other half of the land were conveyed to Hargreaves for the cost of the land only. Neither Hargreaves nor any other builder erected half-back-to-backs against another set of half-back-to-backs in Lower Burley. Duplication of the dividing wall would have destroyed the economic advantage for building back-to-back. There was no reason to go to the trouble of building half-back-to-backs when other land was available on the estate. The possibility is that Hargreaves erected both halves of the property at the same time, part under contract to Darnborough, part on his own account.¹

c. The financiers.

Only one of the builders, George Halliday junior,

1. LCD 13962; 13995. The building of half-back-to-backs or 'blind-backs', was a feature of physical constraints of sites caused by property boundaries, not by artificially imposed constraints introduced by the developer within the site.

financed his work with a building society mortgage, and this was converted four years later to a private mortgage. All other members of the building trades relied upon private mortgages for finance. The amounts borrowed were mostly within the range of £150. to £600; the West Riding Benefit Building Society, the financing half of the West Riding Freehold Land Society, was exceptional, providing one purchaser with £720. but others with less than £90. Three purchasers of WRFL Society's land went to other building societies for finance: J. Savage, a warehouseman, obtained £301. from the Leeds Permanent Benefit Building Society; G. King, a cooper, obtained £320. from the Leeds Union Operative Land and Building Society; and J. Wood, a shopkeeper, obtained £330. from the Provincial Benefit Building Society. King obtained £720. from the West Riding Benefit Building Society on security of developments on a lot repurchased from T. E. Plint, sharebroker, and secretary to the WRFL Society. The criticism levelled at freehold land societies by the Builder in 1855 was at least partially confirmed by the activities of the WRFL Society.¹ Such societies had generally been unable to finance building, and were in the process of degenerating into a means of making money by subdivision of land and resale at higher prices. Certainly the Lower Burley estate of the WRFL Society, purchased at 2s-3d per square yard, was sold to members at 3s-6d per square yard, and the rate of building development was uneven. Thirteen of the lots were resold, ten lots were not built upon until the 1860s, and another ten lots remained empty for at least three years.²

Building Societies were a less important source of building finance than either private mortgages or the personal capital of non-building trade purchasers of

1. Builder, XIII (1855), p294.

2. LM, 10 February 1855; 30 May 1857.

building land (see Table 34). They were more significant as providers of capital to purchasers of completed property.

The experience of Henry Hodgson, a Leeds stone mason and builder, who purchased 312 square yards from the WRFL Society for £53. on 3 May 1856 and an adjoining 531 square yards for £98. on 30 May 1856, was typical of the financial arrangements between builders and private individuals during the nineteenth century. On 5 May 1856 he obtained a mortgage of £300. at 5% yearly interest rate on his first purchase from John W. Cudworth, a Leeds solicitor. On 31 May 1856 Cudworth provided Hodgson with an additional £400. on security of developments to be made on the second purchase. Hodgson kept a memorandum of monies received from Cudworth by himself and William C. Hodgson (see Table 35).

The memorandum indicates that the transaction had commenced well before the date on the legal conveyances of the land, and that it was customary for an amount to be handed over gradually, sufficient for progress to be maintained throughout the building season. In December 1856 Henry Hodgson sold the thirteen houses and a shop he had erected with Cudworth's money. He received £780., of which £700. went to the solicitor to pay off the mortgage, all interest having been paid previously. The cost of an eight month mortgage would have been £22., leaving the Hodgsons with a profit of twelve and one-half per cent on a total outlay of £722.

For those whose building costs exceeded their original estimates it was possible, although more expensive, to obtain a second mortgage. S. Thornton, a publican, who had bought the Lloyd's Arms in 1863, went on to build sixteen back-to-back cottages on the Upton estate in 1866 (see Table 28; U39). He borrowed £1,100. at 5% yearly interest rate from J.M.S. Musgrave

TABLE 34
 SOURCES OF BUILDING FINANCE;
 THE FOUR LOWER BURLEY ESTATES, 1841 - 1874.

Estate	Mortgage Source				Total
	Building Society	Private Individuals	None	No Data	
Upton	6	21	14	3	47
Lloyd	4	13	14	4	35
Beckett	0	6	1	2	9
WRFL Society	9	0	4	2	15
Total	19	40	33	11	108

TABLE 35

MEMORANDUM OF MONIES RECEIVED BY H. & W. C. HODGSON
FROM J. W. CUDWORTH, SOLICITOR, 1856.

DATE	AMOUNT(£)	RECEIVED BY	ADDITIONAL NOTES
1 Ap. 1856	5	H.H.	
28 " "	5	H.H.	
30 " "	5	W.C.H. for H.H.	
12 May "	3	H.H.	
13 " "	8	W.C.H.	
16 " "	20	W.C.H.	
24 " "	25	W.C.H.	
21 " "	97-16-0		Payment to A. Sharp for land and interest. H.H.
31 " "	15	H.H.	
3 June "	12	W.C.H.	
7 " "	20		£15 for today and £5 for next week. W.C.H.
18 " "	45	W.C.H.	
27 " "	50	W.C.H.	
5 July "	25	W.C.H.	
12 " "	18	W.C.H.	
19 " "	45	W.C.H.	
26 " "	35	W.C.H.	
2 Aug. "	35	W.C.H.	
7 " "	20	W.C.H.	
12 " "	25	W.C.H.	
16 " "	20	W.C.H. for H.H.	
22 " "	29-8-0	W.C.H.	
26 " "	25		J. W. Cudworth as loan at interest £25 for Harry Hodgson. W.C.H.
4 Sep. "	22	W.C.H.	
13 " "	32	W.C.H.	
19 " "	5		Received £5 completing the loan of £700 on my houses in Lloyd Street, Leeds. Henry Hodgson.

NOTE: Only the original £52-16-0 of the first land purchase is missing.

SOURCE: LCD 13983

of Red Hall, Shadwell, in 1866, increasing it to £1,300. in 1867. Additional finance came from William Wallis, a Leeds rent agent, who loaned Thornton £200. in 1867. In 1869 Thornton borrowed £300. at 8% yearly interest rate from two people. In 1867 Wallis also lent £130. at 7½% yearly interest rate to W. Watson, a stone merchant, who was building fourteen back-to-back cottages on former Upton estate land. In January 1869 Watson was able to take advantage of the increased value of his property to transfer the £130. onto his first mortgage, thus reducing his yearly rate of interest to five per cent.

d. Property, rents and investment.

Typical of the cottage property of Lower Burley were six back-to-back cottages built by William Asquith, a fuller, on the Lloyd estate in the 1850s. In 1870 they were let for seven pounds each, the accommodation 'a cellar, kitchen, sitting room and two bedrooms'.¹ Those facing Lloyd Terrace also had the advantage of small gardens. Similarly let in 1870 were fourteen back-to-back cottages built by John Hammond, builder of Ripon, in 1864.² They were let for a combined gross rental of £100. per year; the accommodation was a kitchen, two bedrooms, and two cellars. In 1862 six back-to-back cottages in Wordsworth Street built by G. Grayson, an overlooker, were let for slightly under seven pounds per year; these each comprised 'cellar, living house and two bedrooms'.³ A fourth alternative pattern of accommodation was provided in back-to-back cottages erected by W. Sharp on former Upton land, 'kitchen and two rooms on the Ground Floor, and two bedrooms'.⁴ Eight were let for a combined annual rental of £57-10s-0d, a little over seven pounds each. Only one piece of evidence

1. LM, 23 July 1870.

2. LM, 12 November 1870.

3. LM, 21 June 1862.

4. LM, 6 June 1863.

survives for the separate letting of cellars; in 1862 Samuel Fleming, an engineer, sold four back-to-back cottages 'and cellar dwellings'.

Double frontage width back-to-back cottages were built less frequently. Mrs. Lambert, a widow, J. Orman, foreman, and G. MacDonald, engineer, did so on former Upton estate land. None of them built just double frontage back-to-back cottages, but only MacDonald was recorded as using one of these larger cottages as his own residence at the time of the Poor Rate assessment of 1861. Through houses occurred less frequently than back-to-back cottages. The principal difference between them and the back-to-backs in terms of accommodation provision was additional space rather than new functions for the extra rooms. A through house in Willow Road built for W. Willans, a Burley ironfounder, had 'scullery, pantry and passage on the basement floor; sitting room, kitchen, passage and staircase on the ground floor; three lodging rooms on the chamber floor'.¹ This house had an annual value of £10-10s-0d in 1861 compared to between £8. and £9. of a double width frontage back-to-back. However, the difference between back-to-back and through dwellings was much greater to people concerned with the improvement of the housing of the working classes than the difference in annual values might appear to justify.

In 1861 a committee of Leeds gentlemen 'connected with the building and provident societies' of the town' had provided financial support for the erection of model cottages near Beeston Hill to the south of Leeds. The following year they began development of a site on Burley Lawn, immediately to the north of and overlooking Lower Burley. The houses they proposed to erect were through houses similar to Willan's house.

1. LM, 8 June 1861.

Each house upon the ground floor will possess a parlour 15 feet 8 inches by 12 feet, a living room, or kitchen, rather larger, and beneath these, cellaring, pantry, coalplace etc. They will have separate front and back entrances, and conveniences; on the second floor of the house there will be three convenient bedrooms, the two end houses will have each also a couple of attics in addition.¹

The cost, including land, was £160. for the middle houses and £190. for the end houses. Unlike many other societies for improving working class housing the association with building society funds allowed occupiers to purchase the freehold title to their home. It was possible to obtain a loan of £125. from a building society, but it was still necessary to provide the remainder of the purchase price. If this could be obtained then after payments of 5s-0d per week for thirteen and a half years the purchaser would obtain the freehold. However, the average weekly rental of local back-to-back cottage property was between 2s-6d and 3s-0d per week. This was the type of accommodation the majority of the unskilled workers in Leeds could afford. The latter were also unlikely to have £35. to put down as a deposit, nor were they able to anticipate thirteen years of regular employment. The first inhabitants of Albert Terrace in April 1861 were skilled artisans rather than unskilled and intermittently employed members of the working class in greatest need of assistance.

The majority of the working classes in Lower Burley lived in cheaper accommodation, back-to-back cottages provided as a means of earning eight per cent yearly on invested capital for their owners. This cottage property was exchanged between investors at prices which reflected an agreed annual rate of return on the investment. Thus the critical factor in a sale was the size

1. LM, 11 January 1862. They were called Albert Terrace.

of the rental income from the property. In 1863 Wilson Sharp sold eight back-to-back cottages for £700., a price which provided for a yield of 8%, the rental being £57-10s-0d.¹ George MacDonald asked £500. for his five cottages in 1865, the annual rent roll producing £37-2s-0d; he received £495., equal to an annual return of 7½%, but it was noted that the rental 'might be increased'.² In May 1866 four back-to-back cottages built by W. Warburton, a Leeds brushmaker, had an annual rent roll of £33. and were sold at auction for £425., again yielding an annual return of 8% on the purchase price.³ However, an attempt to sell G. Grayson's six back-to-back cottages in 1862 for £460. failed and £435. was accepted, providing an annual return nearer to nine per cent.⁴ When Samuel Bramma's trustees attempted to sell six houses on his former Upton estate land they asked a total of £1,900., to yield 6½% but had to accept an offer of £1,660. a year later, in 1867, which provided an annual return of 7½% on the rent roll.⁵

All such returns on property investment were calculated as gross rentals, without deductions for insurance, repairs, and taxes. The only details for yearly outgoings on Lower Burley cottage property are for Bell's Square, built in 1860 by James Gray, a Leeds builder. Unfortunately the surviving evidence is for 1889, but deductions represented one-third of the gross rental income.⁶ If this level of deduction is related to 8% returns in the 1860s then net returns of between 5% and 5½% would have been achieved. This level of return for

1. LM, 6 June 1863; LCD 13980.
2. LM, 12 August 1865; LCD 13895.
3. LM, 5 May 1866; LCD 13930.
4. LM, 21 June 1862; LCD 13964.
5. LM, 16 June 1866; LCD 3605.
6. LCD 13910. This figure was also given by E. Ryde, London surveyor, in 1886. P.P., 1886 xii, S.C. Report on Town Holdings, A7883.

the 1860s is probably too low an estimate for a period when mortgage loans were returning five per cent. No other local information is available on this point for the nineteenth century.

5.3 The Further Expansion of Kirkstall.

The expansion of Kirkstall in the 1850s and 1860s took place on land sold by the Earl of Cardigan, principally in 1852 and 1854. The prices obtained for the building land, although higher than for Cardigan land at Headingley, were less than the prices being achieved in Lower Burley (see Table 36). There were no restrictions on building type or quality, purchasers were only required to share the costs of road making, sewerage, and maintenance. Rapid disposal of the land was also encouraged by the withdrawal of later generations of the Graham family from active building development of their estate at Kirkstall. The demand for accommodation at Kirkstall, near to the textile and iron manufacturing industries, was sufficient to obviate the necessity of advertising the land in the local press or including it on the Cardigan estate sale plan of the 1850s.

Sales for which details survive reflect the local nature of Kirkstall building development, clothdressers, forgers, and shopkeepers being numbered amongst the builders. Only one major series of subdivisions and resales occurred, on land purchased by Charles Auty, a Leeds commercial traveller. In spite of the higher prices received by the Earl of Cardigan, Auty was able to resell for between 2s-6d and 3s-0d per square yard (see Table 37).

By 1861 eighty-seven dwellings had been built on three streets, a place and a square. The evidence on the ground is that the development was in the earlier tradition of local stone cottage building. Only the

TABLE 36

CARDIGAN ESTATE, KIRKSTALL, SALES AND DEVELOPMENT, 1852 - 1854.

DATE	PURCHASER NAME, OCCUPATION, LOCATION ¹	PLOT SIZE (sq.yds.)	COST (sq.yd.)	DEVELOPMENT
1852	C. Auty commercial traveller Leeds	1,248	2s - 1½d	7c
1852	A. Kennedy clothdresser	552	n.d.	4c
1852	J. Teal clothdresser	2,786	1s - 9d	2c and resales
pre 1854	W. Tordoff joiner Hly	1,582	n.d.	6c
pre 1854	J. Owen n.d.	1,115	n.d.	12c
1854	T. Firth the younger forgeman	2,079	2s - 6d	resale
1854	C. Auty see above	8,015	2s - 0d	resales

1. Location Kirkstall unless otherwise stated.

SOURCE: LCD 14582; 14583; 14566; 14587; LM, 4 January 1862; 1 December 1865.

TABLE 37

CHARLES AUTY AS DEVELOPER, KNOWN SALES AND DEVELOPMENT,
KIRKSTALL, 1854 - 1860.

DATE	NAME, OCCUPATION, LOCATION ¹	PLOT SIZE (sq.yds)	COST (sq.yd.)	DEVELOPMENT
1854	C. Auty	8,015	2s - 0d	
1855	W. Auty storekeeper	633	2s - 7d	5 t.h. and shop
1858	J. Chadwick builder Bramley	734	2s - 6d	10 c
1859	J. Metcalf wherryman	240	3s - 0d	2 c
1859	J. Pratt tea dealer	654	2s - 11½d	8 c and shop
1860	J. Waterman forgeman	373	3s - 0d	resale

1. Location Kirkstall unless otherwise stated.

SOURCE: LCD 14566; 14567; 14582; 15632.

TABLE 38

PROPERTY VALUATION PROFILES, HEADINGLEY CUM BURLEY, 1861.

AREA ¹	ANNUAL VALUE (£)							TOTAL
	0-3.9	4-6.9	7-9.9	10-14.9	15-19.9	20-24.9	25+	
Headingley	19	102	82	78	71	42	131	525
Burley	26	539	58	33	23	3	24	706
Kirkstall	42	430	25	21	4	3	2	527
TOTAL	87	1,071	165	132	98	48	157	1,758

1. Headingley = Hyde Park, Headingley Hill, Headingley Village, Headingley Moor, Far Headingley.
 Burley = Burley Village, Lower Burley, Cardigan Place, mansions in fields between Burley and Kirkstall Villages.
 Kirkstall = industrial village on Graham and former Cardigan land.
 1861 Census total inhabited houses 2,024.

SOURCE: LCA, LO/HE2, Headingley Poor Rate book.

presence of W. Tordoff, joiner, Robert Moxon, joiner, but member of the Far Headingley family of stone masons, and J. Chadwick, builder from Bramley, indicate the probable builders of this extension to Kirkstall. In 1861 the new development had a larger proportion of through houses than Lower Burley. There were eleven shops, which suggests that the existing twenty-nine shops and beerhouses on the Graham estate were insufficient to satisfy the needs of the population of Kirkstall.

Analysis of the property valuation for Headingley cum Burley in 1861 demonstrates the extent to which the township had experienced dissimilar types of development in various areas (see Table 38). No longer was it possible to regard the township as the socially homogenous residential retreat it had appeared to in-township residents during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Kirkstall had been first to develop a distinct property valuation profile during the 1820s and 1830s as the Graham estate industrial village community became established. Burley had developed a similar profile under the impact of developments in Lower Burley during the 1850s, but still reflected the more salubrious villa and mansion developments on the Graham estate between 1800 and 1830, and also the better quality houses and farm property of the old Burley village nucleus. Along the Leeds - Otley turnpike axis from Hyde Park to Far Headingley the terrace houses had reduced slightly the highly respectable developments of Headingley Hill and Headingley Moor. The low value property along this axis reflected the cottage property of Headingley village and Far Headingley.

5.4 New Building Estates of the 1860s.

During the 1860s mansion builders in search of suitable sites were moving into the outer fringes of

Headingley cum Burley, and beyond Potternewton into the out-township of Chapel Allerton. Behind them, in an area approximately 1.5 to 2.5 miles from central Leeds, they left a zone where the choice of development type was in a state of flux; detached or semi-detached villas, or good quality terrace houses; adjoining estates reflected different choices and further confused the development situation.

On the inner margin of Headingley cum Burley township rows of houses facing each other across only the width of a street had been introduced during the 1850s. At Hyde Park they were the homes of respectable white collar workers; clerks, commercial travellers, one or two retired entrepreneurs. In Lower Burley the rows were usually of back-to-back cottages, occupied by textile mill and iron foundry workers, working class but respectable, and reputed to be good tenants. Within this inner ring the state of flux was ended; the only uncertainties concerned the speed with which estates were converted into building land for terrace housing, and how soon incipient suburbia would impose itself upon the middle ring.

a The outer ring.

Development on the outer fringes of Headingley cum Burley during the 1860s was characterised by the establishment of country houses and residential estates of a larger size than had appeared in the Burley area between 1800 and 1830 or on Headingley Hill during the 1830s and 1840s. The estates were founded by a small number of wealthy Leeds entrepreneurs whose fortunes were based on textiles, engineering, banking, and brewing.

The first opportunity to purchase land within this, the Weetwood, area of the township occurred in 1858 when the Englefield estate was put up for sale by auction.

It consisted of 160 acres, a farm, several cottages, a watermill, sandstone quarries leased by Ann Husler, and a house called Weetwood Lodge.¹ Only 30 acres and the watermill were sold, the remainder being available for purchase by private contract in June 1858.² The major purchaser of land in 1858 was John Naylor, a cloth manufacturer, already living in Headingley. By July 1860 two more lots had been sold, a total of 29 acres.³ The problem of disposing of the remaining 93 acres was attacked by subdivision into five lots, the largest 34 acres and the smallest 10 acres. However, this proved unnecessary, the whole was purchased in April 1861 by William Brown, a stuff merchant, for £9,000., 5d per square yard.⁴ Brown had previously leased G. Tatham's mansion on Headingley Hill but this was for sale in July 1860; in December 1860 Brown bought 4.75 acres of former Englefield land from John Naylor at 1s-0d per square yard. On this latter purchase Brown built a mansion, Bardon Grange.⁵

In 1861 both Naylor and Brown resold parts of their land; Naylor sold 7.25 acres at 9d per square yard to Henry Oxley, a Leeds banker, and Brown sold 27.5 acres at 8d per square yard to F. W. Tetley, a Leeds brewer.⁶ Oxley built a mansion called The Elms, now Oxley Hall, on his land, adding another 7.25 acres from Naylor in 1864 at the slightly higher price of 11d per square yard.⁷ Tetley employed the Leeds architect, George Corson, to design a mansion, Foxhill, on his land in 1862. In 1866 Tetley enlarged his estate by purchasing 17.25 acres from Brown at 1s-0½d per square yard.

1. LM, 20 February 1858.

2. LM, 20 June 1858.

3. LM, 23 July 1860.

4. LCD 2799.

5. ULD 1.

6. LCD 8616; 4498.

7. ULD 92.

On 20 acres of former Englefield land to the south of the Brown and Naylor purchases the Leeds solicitor, T. Simpson, had two mansions designed by the architect John Simpson. One, called Bardon Hill, was for the solicitor's own residence; the other, known as Weetwood Lodge, was occupied by Frederick Baines, M.P. and proprietor of the Leeds Mercury. To the north of William Brown's purchase his stuff merchant partner, T. W. Stansfeld, owned a house and estate called Weetwood Grove.

In 1867 the small community was expanded as a result of two sales of building land on perpetual chief rents by the Earl of Cardigan. The purchasers were J. Manning, a Leeds engineer, and Henry Oxley, the banker.¹ Oxley was paying £107. per year for 8.5 acres, Manning £153. yearly for a larger plot of land to the north of Oxley on which he built a mansion, Weetwood Mount. The Cardigan estate required that Oxley build a mansion which would be valued for at least £200. per year for Poor Rate assessment purposes. This house, Spenfield, was designed for J. W. Oxley, also a banker, by George Corson in 1875. One other large mansion was built at a later date by W. Brown's son; this house, Quarry Dene, was let to the Leeds lawyer John Rawlinson Ford in the 1890s.²

By 1871 the zone of mansion building had reached the outer limit of Headingley cum Burley, the outer limit of this part of the borough of Leeds. The outer limits of Potternewton township to the north were closer to Leeds and had been developed as large residential estates in the eighteenth century. The pace of building development was considerably slower in Potternewton than in Headingley cum Burley, and some people considered it

1. LCD 3516; 2925.

2. Details of architects are taken from T. Butler Wilson, Two Leeds Architects, Cuthbert Brodrick and George Corson, (1937).

still worthwhile to purchase these estates for residential purposes in the early 1860s. In 1860 the former Barker Potternewton Hall estate, reaching southward from the former common, was subdivided. The mansion and 13 acres were sold to F. Lupton, gentleman and existing tenant. In 1863 Charles Naylor, a Leeds solicitor, purchased the adjoining Newton Lodge estate and 18 acres of which he was tenant from Earl Cowper at 1s-3d per square yard.

The essential characteristic of the outer ring developments was their isolation from the denser building developments taking place on those parts of the townships nearer to Leeds. However, lands adjoining the principal roads from Leeds were already being considered as possible sites for respectable villas. Charles Hives, partner in the company of Hives and Atkinson, flax-spinners, had established a twenty-three acre estate in Chapel Allerton from at least six separate purchases during the late 1830s.¹ Although Hives had been resident at his mansion, Allerton Hill, in 1842, he subsequently preferred to reside in the south-west. In 1865 eight acres of the estate adjoining the Leeds - Harrogate turnpike were put up for sale by auction in 17 lots.² The mansion and 3.7 acres of land were sold as one lot to J. W. Naylor, machine maker of Fairbairn and Company. Ten of the remaining lots were quarter of an acre plots with a £35. minimum annual value restrictive covenant. Two detached villas let by Hives for the previous twenty years were also for sale. Horse-drawn omnibus links with Leeds were already available.

The Allerton Hill estate plots were all sold in 1865. Of eleven purchasers, seven were already resident in Chapel Allerton. Thomas Fenwick, of Martin and Fenwick, the agents for the sale, already a local resident,

1. LCD 9457.

2. LM, 22 April 1865.

purchased three lots including an existing villa. Only one builder, R. C. Garland of Belgrave Square, Leeds, purchased 1,706 square yards at 2s-6d per square yard, building a villa, Allerton Lodge, for his own occupation. The decision of Charles Hives to attempt the sale from his residence in Westbury-on-Trym in Gloucestershire was probably influenced by the efforts by another member of the Hives family to sell building land in Potternewton from 1855 onwards.

b The middle ring.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the principal foci of building activity in Potternewton had been the Cowper New Town of Leeds and the former common land, enclosed in 1803. Unlike Headingley cum Burley, Potternewton lacked small estates with turnpike road frontages which might have been converted into building grounds by their owners. This situation was first modified in 1855 when the Newton Green estate, 45 acres, was put up for sale by Alfred Hives. The estate had been purchased from Earl Cowper by John Hives, a major Leeds flaxspinner, in 1842, but he had lived to enjoy his purchase for only two years. By 1855 his son had taken up residence at the Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, London. Although Alfred Hives had used the estate as security for a £9,000. loan in 1853 this was repaid before the sale took place; the decision to sell may have been dictated merely by considerations of distance between owner and estate.

Although no sale plan and particulars have been preserved, the pattern of sales and development can be partially reconstructed from available property deeds. The mansion, originally called Newton Hall, was to be

sold with an adjoining 18 acres of parkland; this was purchased in 1856 by John Leather, a Leeds civil engineer, who added more land in 1860.¹ It was anticipated that houses would be built on some of this land; Leather was restricted to the erection of houses of at least £40. clear annual value to the west of the mansion and was only to be allowed to erect 'a Lodge one Storey high of an ornamental Character' to the east. The 1860 land purchase carried with it a requirement to 'preserve the open and park like Character of Lot A and of the Eastern parts of Lots 21, 20 and 19'. The reference to at least twenty-one lots on the 45 acre estate suggests that Hives' advisors had expected the main demand to be for villa plots and had not expected to be able to sell so much land with the mansion. A new road, Newton Green Road, had been laid out across the south-eastern part of the estate to provide additional road frontages on the hitherto inaccessible backland bordering the parkland of Harehills Grove, residence of the woollen merchant James Brown.

The frontage to the Leeds - Harrogate turnpike was divided into lots of between one-quarter and three-quarters of an acre with a restrictive covenant not to erect houses worth less than £35. per annum. In 1856 four lots on this frontage were sold at 2s-0d per square yard to Samuel Buxton, a Hunslet contractor. On this land Buxton was already erecting a pair of semi-detached houses, called Newton Villas, with the aid of a £2,000. mortgage at 4½% yearly interest rate from an Ossett grocer. In 1867 Buxton defaulted on this mortgage without having erected additional buildings on the land.²

1. LCD 10996; PRO, RG10/4676, Census enumerator's returns, 1871. Leather described himself as the owner of eighteen acres of land.
2. LCD 7506.

The requirement to build £35. annual value houses failed to attract sufficient purchasers to the turnpike road frontage. In 1863 Hives raised a £3,000. mortgage at 6% yearly interest rate, part of the security being 22,263 square yards of unsold building land.¹ In 1864, 1,248 square yards were sold for 1s-11d per square yard; by 1866 the price of 2,882 square yards was 1s-8½d per square yard. During the years 1863 - 1866 sales of building land reduced Hives' mortgage by £1,200., which at 1s-8½d per square yard represented the sale of 14,160 square yards or ten lots of approximately one-quarter acre.² Thirteen years after the first sale notice in 1855 building plots were still available.³

Plots along the turnpike road frontage were not only developed as sites for detached and semi-detached villas, but also for higher density housing. This was achieved by laying a cul-de-sac across the depth of a plot, and thus increasing the available length of road frontage. By 1863 one such cul-de-sac had been laid out by Mr. Cranswick, a tea dealer. The additional streets, encouragements to terrace and semi-detached villa building, were laid out on the opposite turnpike road frontage to the Potternewton Hall estate.

The latter had been the creation of a lawyer, Edmund Barker, during the eighteenth century; by the 1850s it had descended into the hands of two infants. Before the land could be sold a private estate act had to be obtained and the question of ownership resolved by recourse to the High Court of Chancery. The Potternewton Hall estate was put up for sale by auction at the order of the Court in August 1860. The mansion and northern part of the estate were sold as one lot, but the three

1. LCD 7506.

2. LCD 10784, 10996.

3. LCD 18140.

southern fields with a frontage to the turnpike road and opposite Hives' building estate were laid out 'for the purposes of building' by the Leeds surveyors, Newsam and Son.¹

Three main streets were laid out across the fields and the land divided into fifty building lots, 'admirably suited for building villa and other residences of a first class character.' Only the corner lots with turnpike road frontage were larger than three-quarters of an acre; eleven lots were of one-half acre; and the other nineteen lots of approximately one-quarter of an acre. Newsams' plan aimed at the development of more than a ribbon of land along the main road. The proposed new streets were described as 'of a good width', and the areas and ornamental gardens or grounds between building frontages and road lines were intended to 'insure the preservation of fine open spaces between the houses.'

The expectation was that the development would be of terrace houses, and the concern of the layout and restrictive covenants on building values was to provide a guarantee of building and environmental quality that would attract respectable middle class residents. However, there was a gradation of building values on the estate, the standard decreasing on the lots nearest to Leeds and increasing as the town became more distant.

Development was still a gradual process; none of the fifty lots were sold at the auction in 1860, and only eighteen were sold between 1860 and 1868. By 1869 six people had purchased single lots, and another six people had purchased double lots. Only two purchasers were owner occupiers in 1871; the more notable was William Turton, Leeds Town Councillor, cab and omnibus proprietor,

1. LCRef, Plan, Particulars, and Conditions of Sale of the Potternewton Hall Estate, 1860.

2. Ibid. This was the first estate in the northern out-townships to condone the use of the privet hedge as a substitute for boundary wall or iron railings.

who built a villa, Hayfield House, on one of the large corner lots. Of the other eleven purchasers, three were builders, five were entrepreneurs in their own firms and one was a mechanic.¹

In September 1869 the vendors, with the approval of the Court of Chancery, gave up their attempt to be developers of building land and sold the remaining thirty two lots, 90,097 square yards at 2s-4d per square yard, to Thomas Whiteley, a Leeds builder, for £10,511.² In April 1871 twenty-four houses had been built on the land, five were unoccupied and one in course of erection.

The principal middle ring development in Headingley cum Burley took place on the former Zoological and Botanical Gardens estate to the south of Headingley village. In 1849 it had been purchased by H. C. Marshall, the Leeds flaxspinner, and until 1858 let to Thomas Clapham who had continued to open them to the public. By 1859 Clapham had moved on and the gardens had been divided into villa sites 'with the beautiful trees, rhododendrons, and other flowering shrubs and plants growing thereon.'³ The sale was unsuccessful and additional preparations were made before the next attempt in 1863. By then Marshall had obtained the services of the Leeds surveyors and land agents, Martin and Fenwick. They had laid out a new road, later called Cardigan Road, down the middle of the estate. The unique advantages of the estate for building purposes were re-emphasised.

A new road from Headingley to Leeds having now been made through these gardens they present some of the finest situations in the suburbs of Leeds for first class residences.

1. ICD 10977; Porter, Directory of Leeds, (1872).

2. ICD 10977.

3. LM, 25 June 1859.

Choice trees and ornamental shrubs of many years growth enrich the grounds, and give an air of maturity and finish to the building sites which cannot be found in any other part of the district. ¹

In spite of the new road nothing happened before 1866 when lots from 1,500 square yards upwards at moderate prices were advertised for sale. As an additional inducement, 'the proprietor would be willing to build for parties who may prefer to take or lease with the option of purchasing within a period to be agreed upon'. ² In 1868 it was announced that the sewerage of Cardigan Road had been completed and that the owner of the estate would build one or two villas to let. ³

Not until 1868 did building commence on the estate, the first house being Clareville, a detached villa designed by George Corson, architect, for John Hepper, the Leeds auctioneer. The first developments for which sales data are available occurred in 1869 and 1870. In 1869 Joseph Stenson, a retired Leeds ironmaster, bought 3,533 square yards at 3s-6½d per square yard, a total of £628; he built a villa, Oak Lodge, in brick with ornamental stone facings. In 1872 he raised a £1,800 mortgage on the house but sold it for £3,000. in 1873. His was one of only four families living on the former Zoological and Botanical Gardens estate in April 1871. In addition to the Hepper house, which had been let, there was one pair of semi-detached villas, The Cedars and Merton, occupied by two 35 year old oil merchants, J. Davies and W. H. Fearnside. ⁴

Other sales had been made however; in October 1869 Joseph Hudson, a Headingley agent, purchased the

1. LM, 20 June 1863.

2. LM, 16 June 1866.

3. LM, 6 June 1868; 28 September 1868.

4. LCD 7189; PRO, RG10 /4569, Census enumerator's returns, 1871.

northernmost lot, 1,030 square yards at 4s-0d per square yard and built a villa, Rawdon Lodge.¹ An 1870 sale, also at 4s-0d per square yard, resulted in the erection of Newport House by Henry Williamson, a Leeds woollen merchant.² Another 1870 sale, at 6s-0d per square yard, was to John Labron, a Leeds woollen manufacturer; the higher price was because the 2,571 square yards included a cottage and another building then used as a cottage which had been part of the original Zoological and Botanical Gardens.³ The cottages were intended to have been demolished within twelve months of the purchase; by 1875 they had been replaced by stables, but houses were not erected until 1877 when two woollen manufacturers, T. D. and W. Ibbitson, built a pair of semi-detached villas for their own residences with the aid of two £1,500 mortgages at 4½% yearly interest from W. T. Bolland, an ironmaster, of Hunslet.

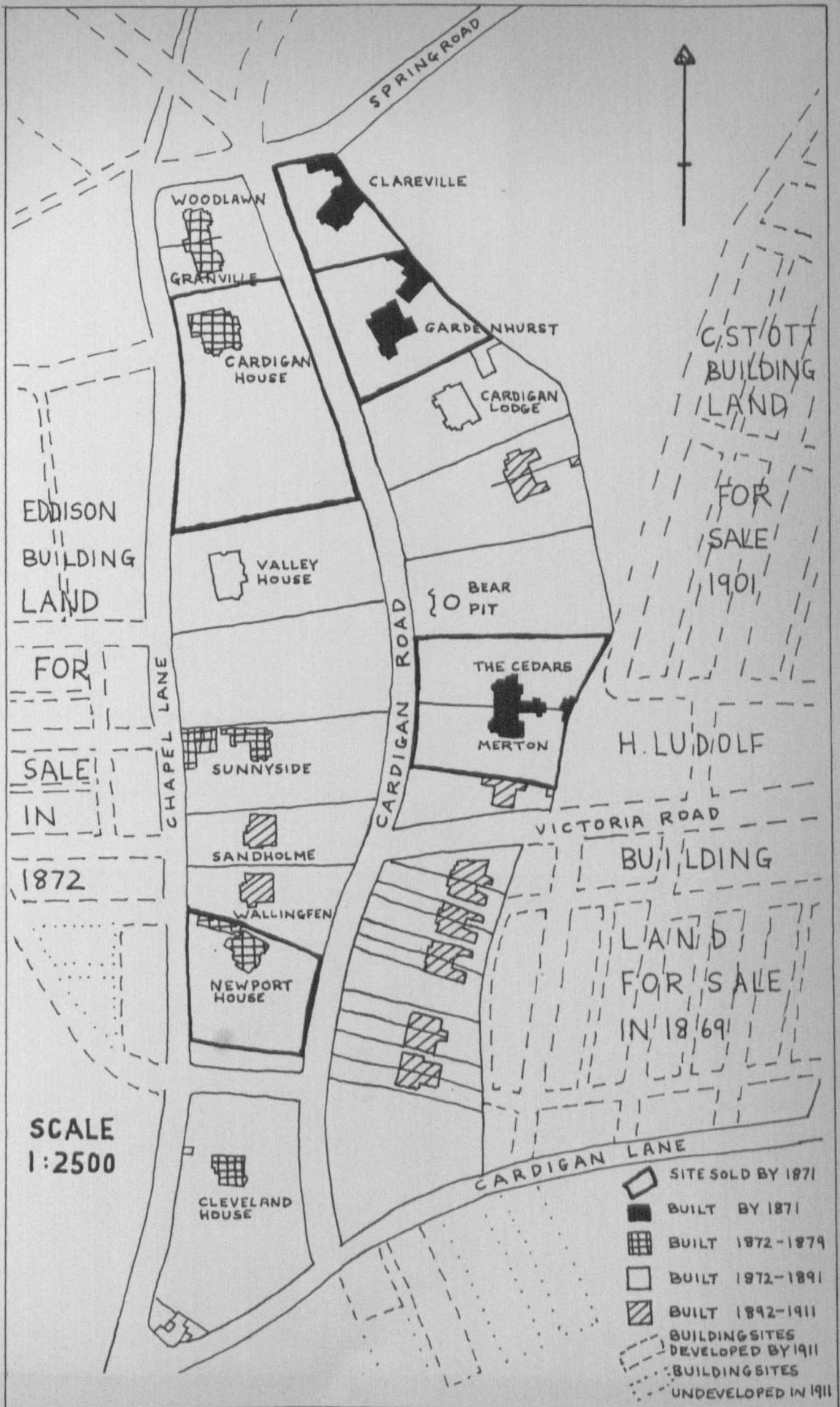
All the land appears to have been sold by the mid 1870s, the largest quantity being owned by Henry Ludolf, a flax merchant, who owned adjoining former Fawcett estate land. At the time of his death in 1877 Ludolf owned three separate lots, including the former bear pit, a total of 18,000 square yards.⁴ Building development was sporadic and a considerable area remained unbuilt upon in 1891 (see map 8). The slow pace of development was reinforced by the high standards required. Nothing less than a pair of semi-detached villas was to be erected; in only one case was the minimum acceptable annual value less than £40., unless it was a cottage for a manservant. By 1870 the families who could afford to employ a butler or coachman were not contemplating taking up residence so near to Leeds.

1. LCD 8766.

2. LCD 12506.

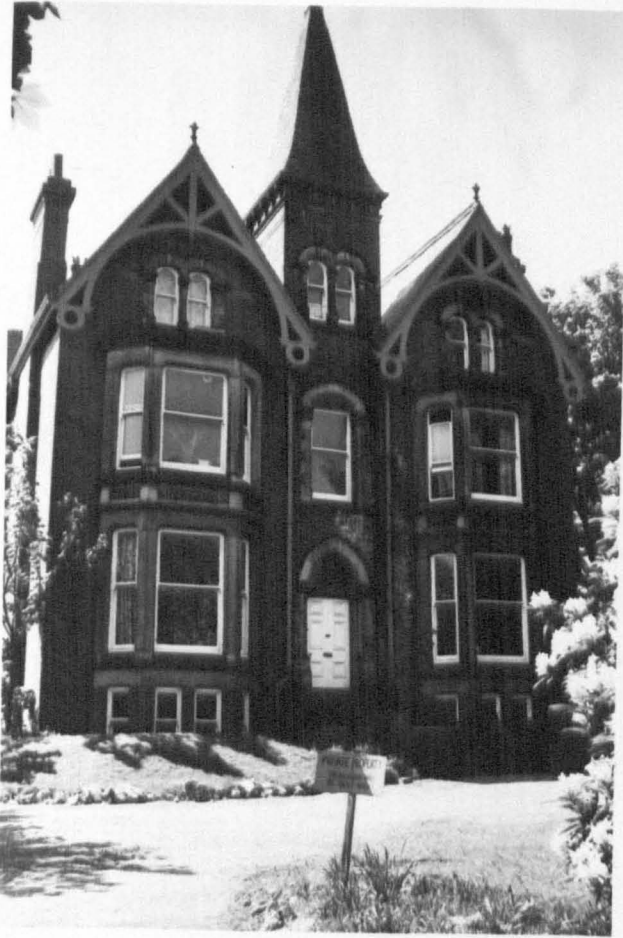
3. LCD 8854; 8972.

4. LCA, Acc.1726, Brooke, North, Goodwin Papers, 15/14 Henry Ludolf. The bear pit is the only significant survival exactly one hundred years later.



MAP 8. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORMER ZOOLOGICAL AND BOTANICAL GARDENS ESTATE, HEADINGLEY, 1861 ONWARDS.

RESIDENCES IN THE EX-ZOOLOGICAL AND BOTANICAL GARDENS



Photograph 17. 1890s-
SANDHOLME.

One of an identical pair built by B. and W. Walmsley, builders, for their own residences.

Photograph 18. 1860s - OAK LODGE (now Gardenhurst)
1871 resident J. STENSON, retired ironmaster.



The possibility was made even more remote once the owners of adjoining estates realised that Marshall had found purchasers, and also put their estates up for sale as building land. The remainder of the Mrs. Barbara Marshall estate was for sale by auction in October 1869, divided into nineteen lots, mostly of one-quarter of an acre, with frontages to Spring Road, formerly the approach road to the Zoological and Botanical Gardens, and to a new road called Bainbrigge Terrace.¹ These sites, in close proximity to the Headingley - Leeds omnibus services and to St. Michael's Church, were developed during the 1870s and 1880s with large semi-detached stone built villas and short terraces of large houses. Such developments were a potential hazard to the successful development of better quality houses in the former Zoological and Botanical Gardens; the vendors of adjoining building estates were happy to use the attractions of the estates they were threatening to lure purchasers onto their own land.

Another component of building in the middle ring during the 1860s was infill development. Vendors of existing houses with large garden grounds began to encourage purchasers to consider building over the land. In 1864 a stone built villa at Far Headingley with 1.5 acres of grassland was for sale, 'a considerable portion of the land...eligibly adapted for villa residences, without deteriorating the present messuage'.² On the former Fawcett estate on Headingley Hill, Oak Villa in Grosvenor Road was put up for sale by auction in 1865, purchasers to note that 'another house might be built without detriment to the present residence.'³

In the case of John Hope Shaw's estate on former Headingley moorland, for sale in 1864, a complete

1. LM, 23 October 1869.

2. LM, 26 March 1864.

3. LM, 19 November 1864; 28 January 1865.

sequence of piecemeal acquisition to piecemeal disposal took place within twenty-three years. By 1846 Shaw, a Leeds solicitor and future mayor, had purchased two adjoining moor inclosure allotments; in 1848 Henry Teal, the land surveyor, had charged Shaw 3s-11d per square yard for another adjoining allotment; in 1850 Shaw purchased the house he already lived in from its owner, John Atkinson, a Leeds surgeon-dentist, having already loaned him £550. on security of the house. The estate had been completed by two large, comparatively inexpensive purchases, 7,975 square yards from the Earl of Cardigan at 1s-0d per square yard, and two acres from H. C. Englefield at 1s-6½d per square yard.

After Shaw's death the house with vinery, hothouse, fernery, and 6,270 square yards was offered for sale in one lot; the remaining 17,649 square yards was divided into eleven lots and advertised for sale as building land.² An attempt was made to dispose of the estate in one lot, but it failed and in 1866 C. L. Dresser, the land surveyor active with the West Riding Freehold Land Society in Lower Burley in 1852, had five lots of building land laid out as sites for villa residences.

In neighbourhoods whose infill developments were of a similar type and quality to existing residences it was possible that the social standard of the locality would not deteriorate, although individual families might choose to leave. In 1862 Mrs. Hannah Baker moved from Headingley Hill to Adel, at that time outside the borough of Leeds; during the 1860s William Brown and T. W. Stansfeld, stuff merchants, moved from Headingley Hill to Weetwood. As late as 1867 F. W. Tetley had held the lease of Moor House at Far Headingley although by then he

1. LCA, Acc. 1726, Brooke, North, Goodwin Papers, 15/15.

2. LM, 22 October 1864.

had recently had a mansion built at Weetwood. For these people, the arrival of the new terraces, new building estates, and infill developments had been danger signals denoting the impending dominance of suburban Leeds.

The change introduced by infill developments was most marked amongst the mansions and grounds adjoining Burley village. In 1852 Burley House and its grounds had been enlarged by John Smith, a Leeds banker, who had purchased eight acres to the south of Burley Old Road overlooked by his house. He died in 1866, leaving his wife the choice of either Burley House or their other residence at Harrogate. She chose the latter, and in January 1867 the Burley estate was advertised for sale in two lots. The second lot was nearly eight acres which might 'at any time be advantageously disposed of for building sites'.¹ In July of that year it was purchased by John North, a Leeds solicitor, and Samuel Croft, a Leeds builder.²

Within a month the new owners were willing to sell the mansion 'and so much of the pleasure grounds as a purchaser may desire, and to divide the gardens into suitable lots, with hothouses thereon, under necessary restrictions respecting buildings for preserving the character of the property as a residential estate.'³ However, in October 1867 the laying out of the grounds as building sites entailed the sale of 'several hundreds of fine evergreens and flowering shrubs, including the rhododendrons which...hitherto formed so conspicuous and brilliant a feature in these beautiful grounds'.⁴ Before the opening of the 1868 building season Croft was advertising sites for villas in the grounds of Burley House and sites for shops and houses on the remainder of the

1. LM, 12 January 1867.

2. LCA, Acc.1726, Brooke, North, Goodwin Papers 15/7.

3. LM, 10 August 1867.

4. LM, 19 October 1867.

land.¹ Unfortunately for Croft and North the property market in 1868 had reached a level of inactivity not reached again until 1881.² The take up of their building land was slow enough for them to offer inducements: only five per cent of the purchase money was required as deposit, the balance within five months; loans were available for up to sixty per cent of a builder's outlay, payable as building progressed, interest at the rate of 4% per annum.³ However, Croft and North had to wait until the boom years of the 1870s before they found the builders.

c The inner ring.

The remaining undeveloped Headingley land adjoining the boundary with the Leeds in-township consisted of the T. W. Lloyd estate's inaccessible inter-axial land and T. Clapham's Leeds Royal Park. In 1859 Clapham purchased 14.5 acres of Lloyd's Hill Top estate adjoining his pleasure gardens and proceeded to expand the gardens, incurring the displeasure of residents in the new terraces to the north of his estate.⁴ For T. W. Lloyd the sale represented a logical second phase in the disposal of his estate after the sale of the last plot of the Lower Burley land in 1858.

By February 1859 the tenant of White House farm, Hill Top had been given notice to quit and sold his stock of 20 cattle, 4 geese, 30 poultry and a horse. In June 1860 Lloyd announced the forthcoming sale of the remainder of the Hill Top estate,

admirably adapted for building purposes, near the town of Leeds...a tract of elevated meadow and pasture land, in convenient sized enclosures, containing valuable beds of clay...now appropriated and laid out for sale in building sites. Convenient approaches to Woodhouse Moor and to the turnpike road leading from

1. LM, 25 January 1868.
2. LM, 31 December 1881. Annual Report of Heppers, Leeds auctioneers.
3. LM, 6 June 1868.
4. LCD 15896.

Leeds to Headingley, ...pleasant and elevated views, comprising about twenty five acres, eminently adapted for division into very desirable lots for building purposes, both on account of its dry and healthy situation, its proximity to the mansions and villas in the immediate vicinity.

Also the...cottage ornee...with the garden and orchard, two cottages, farm buildings and homestead.¹

Prospective purchasers who visited the site would have observed that the elevated meadows had steep slopes on the southern and western sides which although providing easy drainage also complicated the laying out of the sites for building purposes to avoid stepping houses up the hillside. Whilst less difficult sites were available builders were not attracted. On flatter land to the west the Curate of Beeston's small estate was covered with four short terraces, a malkiln, and the house of J. Briggs, the maltster, before the Lloyd Hill Top estate became a serious prospect for builders.

The pattern of Lloyd's successful disposal of the Lower Burley land was not repeated. The only sales of small plots were made on the frontage to Henrietta Street, a new road named after Lloyd's wife, along the eastern margin of the estate. In 1861, 1863, and 1866 Lloyd sold plots of building land between Henrietta Street and the in-township boundary to sub-developers- T. Grayson, a gentleman of Headingley, purchased 4,840 square yards at 2s-6d per square yard in 1861, and an additional 1,506 square yards at 2s-1½d in 1863.² By 1866 an estate agent, J. S. Mathers, was able to purchase 13,750 square yards at 2s-0d per square yard.³

Between 1866 and 1870 Mathers proceeded to subdivide

1. LM, 23 June 1860.

2. LCD 13468; 13481.

3. LCD 13468. The transfer to Mathers was at T. Clapham's request; he received £175. of the purchase money.

and resell plots, principally to a Hunslet builder George Lax, his sometime partner Joshua Swallow, and a Hunslet joiner. James Shepherd, at prices of 3s-3d and 3s-6d per square yard.¹ The new streets were lined with back-to-back cottages erected for speculative sale in blocks to investors in cottage property rents; eleven of thirteen known developments on the Mathers subdivided building land were sold in this way by the builder within two years of the original conveyance of the plot. By 1868 land on the neighbouring in-township estate of John Harrison's trustees was being sold to developers and the competition for builders in the area became more intense.²

In order to dispose of the remainder of the Hill Top estate Lloyd was reduced to selling in very large lots to Clapham, proprietor of the park. As a purchaser Clapham was less than ideal; it had been necessary to allow him a mortgage of £3,850. on his initial purchase of 14.5 acres. However, by 1866 the lack of response from other quarters allowed Clapham to purchase the remaining 18.5 acres of the estate, including the farmhouse and associated buildings. For this land Clapham paid £6,800 at an average price of 1s-6d per square yard; the price for individual lots varied from 11d per square yard for the least accessible and most steeply sloping, to 2s-6d per square yard for the most accessible southern portion. Only on the latter portion of the land did Lloyd achieve the price levels obtained on his Lower Burley development during the 1850s.

Clapham's ventures were highly dependent upon mortgage support. In 1862 he had been unable to pay the interest on a mortgage of £3,900. from Robert Cadman

1. LCD 13439; 13443; 13447; 13468; 13469; 13476; 13485; 13490; 13495; 13504; 13509.

2. LCD 13468.

which had originally enabled Clapham to take over Cadman's Victoria Cricket Ground; nor was Clapham able to pay T. W. Lloyd interest on the money outstanding from his 1859 purchase. However, Cadman and Lloyd were able to transfer their mortgages to Edmund Stead, who had himself loaned Clapham £4,000. in 1859. By December 1865 Stead was owed £13,000. of which £800. represented interest due. Nevertheless, Clapham was able to transfer the mortgage to a group of three people, Elizabeth Wright, the Reverend C. H. Poore, and H. G. Hopkins, with a provision for it to be increased to £15,000., and a covenant that the money could not be called in before June 1872. On another eight acres Clapham obtained mortgages of £3,000. from Thomas Styring, a Huddersfield wine merchant, and £2,500 from H. H. Mawson, a Leeds solicitor, in 1863 and 1864. The last two mortgages were paid off in December 1865, but a further £1,200. from Mawson in January 1866, subsequently transferred to Styring, placed Clapham back in their debt. In June 1866 Styring provided Clapham with another £2,400., but at an interest rate of 10% per annum. The £6,800. purchase from Lloyd in 1866 was financed with the aid of a £3,300. mortgage from the Leeds and Yorkshire Land Building and Investment Company and another of £1,400. from Samuel Pullan, a farmer of Kirkby Overblow in Yorkshire.¹

In late autumn 1866 Clapham possessed 43 acres of land adjoining the Leeds in-township boundary. Twenty acres of it were included within the enlarged and improved Leeds Royal Park. Clapham had attempted to sell other parts of his estate as building land; in April 1863 he had 50,000 square yards available at prices ranging from 2s-0d to 5s-0d per square yard.² A

1. LCD 9176; 15896; 8459.

2. LM, 25 April 1863.

surviving plan for 1865 shows that James Fox, a Leeds surveyor, had laid out the land east of Henrietta Street for building purposes. This area had been laid out in five building blocks with sites for fifty-two terrace houses and six intended streets. The land immediately to the south of this was occupied by G. Grayson as a brickyard.¹

Clapham appears to have needed a faster rate of development in 1866 to enable him to meet his financial commitments; the maintenance of £20,000. mortgages at 5% yearly rate of interest required an outlay of £1,000. per annum. In April 1866 he had had some success but had attempted to generate demand by hinting at a future scarcity. Five acres with a frontage to Henrietta Street had been for sale,

on the south side of the White House, nearly opposite to the land now advertised to sell by Messrs. Kershaw and Fawcett, that I sold a few weeks ago. This is all I shall sell for sometime as all the rest will be added to the Park. The price, if sold in one lot, will, of course be much less than if divided into sites.²

The purchase of an additional 13.5 acres from Lloyd altered the situation. In June 1866 thirteen acres of building land were available, and in August an unspecified amount could be divided into lots to suit purchasers. In September the entire estate was offered to Leeds Corporation as a park extension to Woodhouse Moor, but it was rejected. This was followed by an offer to sell the 1866 purchase in one lot or in lots as small as 180 square yards.³ Clapham was willing to offer builders favourable terms but at least one of his mortgagees,

1. Thoresby Society, Plan of building land in Henrietta Street belonging to Mr. Clapham, divided into lots for sale, October 1865.
2. LM, 28 April 1866.
3. LM, 22 September 1866.

Styring, insisted that all the proceeds from sales should go towards paying off the mortgage debt and that building land should not be sold for less than 2s-6d per square yard.¹

This requirement was not insuperable; by March 1867 Styring had received £400. However, on 21 March 1867 Clapham gave up and sold that part of the Hill Top estate not included in his park to one of his mortgagees, the Leeds and Yorkshire Land Building and Investment Company for £9,500., 2s-1d per square yard.² Of the purchase price £3,300. was retained by the Company as repayment of their loan, £2,000. went to Styring to pay off the remainder of his mortgage; a £1,400 mortgage was allowed to stand on security of part of the property and £2,770. was paid to Clapham. After interest payments had been made Clapham was left with a profit of approximately £2,500.

Although Clapham had withdrawn profitably from the slow process of building land sales, he appears to have considered the implications of his experience. In 1868 he added seven acres to his park, obtaining the land on a perpetual yearly rent charge of £55. from the Earl of Cardigan. This enabled Clapham to overcome his initial problem of under-capitalisation but was a form of tenure unfamiliar and thus unattractive to Leeds builders and developers. By 1870 he had determined to establish a similar company to the LYLBI, to be called the Leeds Royal Park Estates Building and Investment Company Limited.³ Clapham was both managing director and secretary, and there were seven fellow directors. The two most significant ones, Samuel Croft, a Leeds builder involved in the development of the Burley House estate,

1. LCD 9176.

2. Ibid.

3. PRO, C26/374, The Leeds Royal Park Estates Building and Investment Co. Ltd., File of Proceedings.

and Benjamin Snell, owner of a cloth finishing company, were both Town Councillors. Another was Charles Fiddey, a lawyer of Inner Temple, London, who had become associated with Clapham via arrangements for a £5,000. mortgage on the Leeds Royal Park in 1869. The remainder were C. Rider, a Woodhouse quarry owner; D. Vaux, confectioner of Woodhouse Lane; E. Forster, a Leeds physician; and R. Pearson, a grocer and draper of Burley.¹

The Company was to pay Clapham £36,000. for the right to reclaim the title to the property from its mortgagees, the payment to consist of £10,000. in debentures of the Company, £12,000. in paid up shares, and £14,000. in cash. Unfortunately the venture was short-lived; the other directors never received shares, Clapham never received the cash, no list of members was sent to the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, and no conveyance was ever made from Clapham to the Company. Failure to proceed beyond the embryo stage was caused by the collapse of the Leeds Royal Park under the weight of its outstanding debts and mortgages. From 1871 onwards the venture lost money, and the end came when Messrs. Heaps and Robinson, Leeds ironmongers, took the Company to court to recover money owed to them. Once judgement was obtained against the Company the mortgagees took the estate into their own hands and announced its sale by auction in September 1871. It proved impossible to sell the park as a going concern in 1871; the outer parts were re-offered as building land in 1872. It was finally sold for £16,500. in September 1873 although mortgages totalling £25,000. had been advanced upon it.²

1. Ibid; Porter, Directory of Leeds, 1872.

2. LM, 2 September 1871; 27 July 1872;
9 August; 5 September 1873.

In Potternewton the land adjoining the in-township boundary was owned by Earl Cowper. Part of this land between the Leeds - Harrogate and Leeds - Roundhay turnpike roads lay immediately to the south of the New Town of Leeds, and was readily accessible from the southernmost street of that development. The 7th Earl Cowper, who succeeded to the title in 1857, had introduced a more flexible attitude towards the purchase of his land by speculators. By 1862 a decision had been made to dispose of all the remaining Cowper estate land between the two turnpike roads. However, until the New Town sales were completed, only the land immediately to the south of it was made available. This portion of the estate suffered from its proximity to the Leeds Cavalry barracks which had been built right up to the boundary between the two townships; there was no likelihood of its being developed as sites for villas or good quality terrace houses.

The land was divided into large lots and sold very rapidly at low prices. (see Table 39). Of the four purchasers, two were builders who had been involved on the Cowper New Town development, another was a local cowkeeper, and the fourth, Emmerson Crawford, was chief clerk of Beckett's bank.

The restrictive covenants which had been applied to the New Town development were not used on this land. Building took place rapidly during the 1860s on four of the five lots, and the land was covered with predominantly back-to-back cottage property in short rows laid out in cul-de-sacs, one of which was misleadingly called Leopold Square. The most active developer was Emmerson Crawford who was prepared to sell individual lots as small as 268 square yards, suitable for one through house or a pair of back-to-back cottages. Crawford was also willing to provide land for builders of limited capital through a

TABLE 39

COWPER ESTATE SALES OF BUILDING LAND, 1862.

Lot Number	Purchaser	Plot Size square yard	Price per square yard (s - d)
18	J. Drake cowkeeper	12,140	1 - 3 ¹
19	E. Crawford 'gentleman'	10,190)	11
20	" "	8,850)	
21	J. Hutton builder	4,593	11 ¹ / ₂
22	J. Holdsworth builder	n.d.	n.d.

1. Inclusive of the cost of farm buildings on the land.

SOURCE: LCD 10635, 12247, 9314.

TABLE 40

THE SALE OF LOT 56 OF E. CRAWFORD'S BUILDING ESTATE.

AGREEMENT

From	To ¹	Occupation	Price per square yard
E. Crawford	W. Pearson	builder	1s - 11d
W. Pearson	T. Fletcher	jeweller	3s - 2d
T. Fletcher	W. Heeles	estate agent	3s - 4d
W. Heeles	A. M. Briggs	builder	3s - 6d

1. All of Leeds

SOURCE: LCD 9270.

series of small separate conveyances. In 1864 Henry Britton, a Leeds builder, purchased one of a series of 268 square yards lots at 2s-0d per square yard, an outlay of £27. This facility had to be paid for in higher prices per square yard; in 1862 Henry Harrison, a Leeds joiner, had had to pay only 1s-4d per square yard for 1821 square yards from J. Hutton, the developer of Cowper lot 21.

During the late 1860s and early 1870s Leeds builders and small land speculators were willing to pay more than Crawford was requesting. For one plot of 288 square yards Crawford had agreed a price of 1s-11d per square yard with William Pearson, a Leeds builder. By 1872, when Crawford was asked to convey the land, it had passed via two other people to another Leeds builder, A. M. Briggs, and the price had risen to 3s-6d per square yard. (see Table 40). The increase in total cost of the land appears less dramatic, up from £27-12s-7d to £56-8s-0d. Briggs required legal title to the land so that he could obtain a £300. mortgage from a Leeds spinster on two back-to-back cottages he had already erected on the land; these were sold in 1875 for £515.

Crawford's policy of providing the smallest possible plot sizes in order to appeal to the greatest number of potential purchasers brought him into contact with military personnel stationed at the adjoining barracks. When the time came to provide a conveyance to James B. Simpson of the Fifth Brigade, Her Majesty's Royal Horse Artillery in 1863 they had been transferred to Umballa in Bengal. Nevertheless, Simpson had two back-to-back cottages built which he sold in 1867 for £460.¹

The change in Cowper estate policy for building land sales had an effect on the environmental quality of

1. LCD 10605.

the New Town of Leeds. In 1872 some of the problems which had afflicted the Hyde Park terrace developments at the start of the 1860s were current in the New Town. A correspondent to the Leeds Mercury ironically queried whether the neighbourhood was anyone's responsibility?

The cross streets that merge out of Leopold Street to the south have been in the most abominable condition. Pedestrians could not get into the streets without being over the boot-tops in a stagnant pool of mud and water; and this is the case in nearly every street. At the end of Leopold-Square the difficulty has been greatly augmented by the great want of a lamp. This has been the cause of many accidents during the winter season. ¹

Although it may have been possible for the vendors of building land to differentiate with equanimity between developments of varying quality, such distinctions were frequently not only apparent but objectionable to residents in the superior areas. The newer developments were liable to bring not only social but also physical deterioration of the quality of a neighbourhood. The streets in poorer areas were always likely to remain unpaved and unsewered, just as they had in the in-township during the 1830s. For the out-township resident who had already moved away from a bad central area environment a choice repeated itself, improve or remove. It was during the 1860s that this choice had to be x faced once again in the inner and middle rings of Headingley cum Burley and Potternewton. For those who decided to remove the green fields of Chapel Allerton and the outer fringe of Headingley beckoned.

1. IM, 2 January 1872.,

CHAPTER SIX

BUILDING AND ESTATE DEVELOPMENT, 1871 - 1914

6.1 Waiting for Suburbia.a. Local responsibilities; landowners, the new community, and the Corporation.

In Headingley cum Burley successive Earls of Cardigan, as lords of the manor, had played a paternal role in the affairs of the out-township. In 1795 and 1806 the 5th Earl, in concert with other freeholders, had permitted common land to be enclosed and the rental income from it to be donated to the support of a school for the children of the poor inhabitants of the township.¹ In 1836 half an acre of land in Headingley village had been given by the 6th Earl to the trustees of the school as the site for a new building.² During the 1820s he had also provided land for the building of St. Stephen's Church at Kirkstall. This traditional support had also been adopted by other wealthy landowners. In 1854 St. Matthias, Burley had been built on land provided by John Smith, banker, of Burley House; it had been erected with money provided by Smith and his fellow bankers, the Becketts of Kirkstall Grange.

By 1868 Headingley township was in need of a cemetery, and in June 1868 a Vestry meeting appointed a committee to examine the problem. The chairman was John Hepper, Leeds auctioneer, and People's Churchwarden of St. Michael's, Headingley. The township's requirement was for approximately seven acres of easily accessible land, for which it was hoped to pay about £2,000, 1s-2½d per square yard. In February 1871 Hepper had to report to a Vestry meeting, adjourned to the local schoolroom, that his committee's search had been unsuccessful.

1. LCA, Headingley Parish Records, 118; 125; 129.

2. Ibid., 123.

The principal owners of land in the neighbourhood have shown an almost total disregard for the necessities of the large population on and surrounding their estates, and have placed the Board in the unpleasant position of being unable to provide the slightest accommodation for the dead within its district.¹

An attempt had been made to obtain Cardigan land, but since the death of the 7th Earl, the estate had been in the hands of trustees, guided by the Court of Chancery from London. After considerable delay the Burial Board had been offered land on the north-eastern edge of the township, but it was hardly accessible unless new roads were made. It also adjoined the railway line, which aroused fears in case horses should take alarm and bolt, with dire consequences for the hearse and its occupant. The Becketts' response had been more definite; in October the board had been informed that they declined to sell any land at all. Land outside the borough, at Adel, which adjoined a Quaker cemetery had been enquired about, but the owner was unwilling to sell for a burial ground. Finally, advertisements had been placed in local newspapers. The result was an offer of fifteen acres at Far Headingley at 1s-10½d per square yard; this was too large, too expensive, and immediately below the Waterworks reservoir.

The task of the burial board was made more difficult by the attitude of that minority of the township's population which attended vestry meetings. As early as August 1868 a proposal had been entertained that the former Zoological and Botanical Gardens should be purchased from H. C. Marshall. This was an attractive site, accessible from Headingley and Burley villages, a little too large for the purpose, but the main objection arose

1. Ibid., 105. Vestry meeting 15 February 1871, Report of the Burial Board.

from the repugnance of burying in ground used for recreational purposes for over twenty years. Another possibility was to buy two sites, one for Headingley and one for Burley, but there was no assurance that the land would be forthcoming, and the costs of maintenance and of chapel building would be increased.

More vigorous alternatives involved an application for an Act of Parliament to allow compulsory purchase of land, but such a course was liable to become costly, especially as whichever landowner whose estate was chosen could be expected to object. Finally, as with the sewerage question resolved in 1867, recourse could be had to the Corporation of Leeds, urging them to provide a general cemetery. One attraction of this scheme was that the onus for obtaining an Act of Parliament would fall upon the Corporation, but Hepper, who appears to have been in favour, was forced to admit a greater disadvantage in the eyes of the vestry. 'The Town Council would have the control, which has not hitherto been deemed desirable'. The conclusion reached in 1871 was that

no one seems willing to render the slightest assistance to the efforts made to secure a place of internment for the dead, although all are agreed on the reasonableness and necessity of these efforts.¹

The Board reconsidered the Far Headingley site below the Waterworks, but the price had risen to £11,250, 3s-1d per square yard. This was far beyond the original estimate of 1868 but experience had shown that to pay less would be to secure a location,

so remote that the dead bodies of their relatives and friends would have to be conveyed by Railway to their last resting place, and they themselves to a

1. Ibid., 25 July 1871.

great extent debarred from afterwards
visiting the graves.¹

The meeting accepted this point but resolved only to offer £6,250.

In February 1872 the Burial Board had to admit defeat on this proposal, 'a strenuous opposition had been raised by persons residing in this neighbourhood, all possessed of great weight and influence.'² Both Leeds Corporation and the Home Office in London had declared against the scheme because of the proximity to the Leeds water supply reservoir and settling tanks. The opposition had also refused to believe that the major landowners would not cooperate, and the Board re-approached both the Beckett and Cardigan estates. The replies explained the abandonment of their earlier paternalistic attitudes. Sir Thomas Beckett's legal advisors wrote that he was 'disinclined to sell any of the sites proposed for a cemetery, as it seemed quite probable that the adjoining lands would be prejudiced as sites for good houses.' The reply for the Cardigan estate announced that 'the Trustees have an objection to sell this land...for a cemetery, as they think it would bring a nuisance to the Estate, which would be detrimental to the sale of adjacent land for building purposes and would depreciate its value.'³

To find a suitable site the Burial Board had to look beyond the areas in which the prospect of building was so eagerly awaited. The matter dragged on until September 1872 when a clergyman, the Reverend H. T. Simpson, agreed to sell eight acres near Adel Church in the adjoining township. For this land the Board was to pay 1s-0½d per square yard, less than their original

1. Ibid., 25 July 1871.

2. Ibid., 13 February 1872.

3. Ibid., 13 February 1872.

intention in 1868. Complaints were received from Adel residents, but these were finally resolved in 1874 when it was agreed to exchange the site for one of 10.5 acres in Lawn's Wood, adjoining the Leeds - Otley road and nearly a mile nearer to Headingley. A belt of trees was to be left around the perimeter for ornamental purposes, and to screen it from the outside world. The grounds were to be laid out attractively, George Corson, architect, was employed to design the chapel and entrance lodge, £5,000. being borrowed at 5% yearly interest rate from the Liverpool, London and Globe Insurance Company to carry out the scheme. To the supporters of economy in local affairs the Board had to justify the expenditure as enabling it 'to sell Graves to parties outside the district at such a price as will relieve the Burdens of the Ratepayers.'¹

Apart from the erection of a parochial hall in Bennett Road, Headingley, in 1877, paid for from the proceeds of the sale of the Far Headingley Glebe School, the role of the township institutions as sole controllers of township affairs was completed. Since the 1840s Leeds Corporation had had the power to levy an improvement rate upon the out-townships; since 1865 the three northern out-townships had been combined with Leeds in-township and two townships outside the borough, Roundhay and Seacroft, to form a single Poor Law Union. By the beginning of the 1860s the unpaid, part-time highway surveyors had been faced with an impossible task in controlling the road and sanitary problems of the township. Once the turnpike trusts had given up their right to tolls within the borough it was impossible that the responsibility for the upkeep of such roads should fall only upon the inhabitants of the townships

1. LM, 16 May 1874.

through which they passed. The township institutions had never been designed to cope with a rapidly growing suburban area and the problems of the increased rate of building development.

A series of local Improvement Acts in 1866, 1869, 1870 and 1872 effectively transferred control of building development to Leeds Corporation. The Act of 1866 provided the right to vet elevations of all buildings to be erected overlooking new roads made by the Corporation. It had also transferred the Highway Surveyors' responsibilities to the Corporation; one Highway Rate was to be levied throughout the borough. The turnpike tolls had been removed within the borough, and the Corporation was to have sole control over the making, sewerage and maintenance of streets. Building regulations were introduced to enforce minimum standards in the construction of walls, drainage provision, and the amount of space to be provided around buildings in order to secure adequate ventilation. The 1s-0d in the pound upper limit on the Improvement Rate was repealed.

The 1869 Leeds Improvement Act allowed the Corporation to levy a main sewer rate and increased the upper limit for the Highway Rate to 2s-6d in the pound. Powers were provided to allow the regulation of omnibuses on a similar basis to the control established over hackney carriages. Significantly the 1869 Act provided a system for appeals against Corporation planning decisions; a mechanism was provided to allow arbitration; demolition orders were not to be carried out until signed by a Justice of the Peace.

By 1870 the Borough Surveyor and a sub-committee of the Town Council were responsible for examination and passing of all plans for building and street layout within the borough. It proved necessary to strengthen controls over builders and developers, and more detailed

bye-laws were established. Only the Corporation was to sewer and kerb new streets, to alter the position of streets, their direction, gradient, and levels. Minimum standards were introduced for the height of rooms and for the amount of window space per room. The space outside houses considered necessary for the provision of adequate ventilation was stated in figures; a minimum of 36 feet space between parallel rows of houses, 150 square feet for the exclusive use of the occupants of any one dwelling, front or back. Nothing more than ten and a half feet high was to be built in this space. In the case of back-to-back cottages an alternative layout was specified, blocks of eight, four to each side, were acceptable as long as an open space at least 15 feet long was left between blocks. In this space only privies and water closets were to be allowed. Privies were not to be erected in cellars, nor under streets, but a proviso to all the foregoing regulations allowed the Corporation discretionary powers where the regulations entailed 'sacrifice of property'.

Once plans had been approved a time limit of three years was imposed during which the land had to be laid out and streets opened to the public. Sewers, drains, and buildings were to be carried out within two years of approval being given. Although it was still possible for a Vestry to voice opposition to the Corporation's influence in their affairs, from the 1870s onwards the power to control the rise to suburban status had been given to the Corporation, not the townships. The only opportunity for retaliation occurred when the Corporation needed to buy land for road development or the School Board needed a site. In 1877 Ludolf's trustees charged the Corporation 10s-0d per square yard for land needed to link Victoria Road to Cardigan Road in Headingley.¹

1. LCD 7189.

The School Board regularly had to pay 6s-0d per square yard for its sites, and for a site on the Hill Top estate they had to pay 8s-6d per square yard in 1889. The vendors had purchased it at 5s-8d per square yard four months earlier.¹ Earl Cowper was more sympathetic towards the Corporation when in 1877 he gave land for the making of a new road in Potternewton. He had at first objected to the scheme but withdrew his opposition on payment of his legal costs and a promise to make the road within three years at the Corporation's expense. Thus Cowper had an inaccessible part of his estate opened up for building purposes in exchange for the provision of a line of road which he would have eventually needed anyway.²

b. Transport improvement; the coming of the tram.

In 1871 the two rival omnibus concerns running between Headingley and Leeds had to face a third competitor when W. and D. Busby, also omnibus proprietors, introduced the first tramway to Leeds. They had received a lease of twenty-one years from the Corporation, newly responsible for the former turnpike roads in 1871, and had purchased land at Far Headingley on which to establish their stables and car sheds. By 1873 Busbys' business had been transferred to the Leeds Tramway Company.³

During the first months of operation the tramway experienced several problems. The extra traffic on the former turnpike road produced rapid deterioration of the road surface; this led to a legal battle with the Corporation over how much of the road needed to be built up to the level of the top of the rails, and whether it should be done with tarmacadam or granite. There were also complaints from the owners of coaches and hackney

1. LCD 8447; 8480; 8485.

2. LCD 7216.

3. LCD 2925.

carriages which had suffered from the protruding rails and the state of the road. The Corporation threatened to stop the tramway from operating if the Company did not pave the space between the rails, a move which produced the earliest Leeds defence of the tram.

It must be known to the Town Council that for many years past there has been a regular omnibus traffic between Leeds and Headingley, upon which the residents in the suburbs depended just as much as people at Notting-hill depend upon the Metropolitan Railway, or people at Chelsea upon the penny steamboats. Since the tramway was laid down, however, the omnibuses have almost entirely fallen into disuse. They have been superseded by the cars running upon the newly laid rails. And whilst this has taken place, there has been at the same time a very large increase of the passenger traffic on the road, so that for one person who used the omnibus it may safely be said that at least six use the tramway car. ...To suspend the whole of the traffic between Leeds and Headingley would be to dislocate the arrangements of numberless households and businessmen, and to put all who reside in that district to an amount of inconvenience which it would be difficult to exaggerate.¹

The amount of support for the tramway amongst Headingley residents appears to have taken the operators by surprise. Complaints rapidly arose about punctuality, the quality of horses, vehicles and employees. During the early stages of the operation one problem arose, unique to the tramways; 'the frequency with which cars going in opposite directions are driven onto the same line is a source of serious annoyance and inconvenience.'² However, within the space of six weeks the horse drawn tram had been accepted as an invaluable aid to out-town-ship life.

In 1872 there were twenty-one weekday horse bus

1. LM, 10 January 1872.

2. LM, 15 January 1872.

journeys each way between Leeds and Headingley, four of which went on to Adel. There were also seven journeys each way between Leeds and Burley. By 1875 the only surviving bus services were three on the Leeds - Burley route and five between Leeds and Weetwood. The change must have occurred very rapidly after 1872 because the first tramway timetable of that year provided a service every fifteen minutes in each direction on two routes, Leeds - Headingley and Leeds - Kirkstall, (see Table 41).

By 1875 both the Headingley and Kirkstall departure times had been altered to 8.45 am, and the frequency between 12 noon and 8pm had been increased to every 10 minutes. Late services had been introduced on Saturdays, allowing people to take their entertainment more easily in central Leeds; a reduced frequency service was provided on Sundays.

In 1872 Potternewton residents had still been dependent upon the horse drawn bus. One had run twelve journeys each way on weekdays between the New Town and Leeds, another had made twenty-two journeys each way on weekdays between Chapeltown and Leeds. By 1875 the tramways had reached Chapeltown, running on an identical schedule to the Headingley service.

By 1877 the omnibus operators had adjusted to a new role on these routes, providing connector services from the out-township termini to more distant neighbourhoods. Ten services daily were run from Chapeltown out to Moortown, in Chapel Allerton, and five from Headingley to Adel. The only major change on the tramways was that first departure times from Far Headingley and Kirkstall had been put back to 8.07am and 7.57am respectively. Not only had the tramways proved more frequent, earlier starting, and later finishing than the buses, they were cheaper too. In 1877 there were two

TABLE 41

LEEDS TRAMWAY SERVICES, 1872.

LEEDS - HEADINGLEY, WEEKDAYS.

Dep. Headingley 8.10 a.m., then every 15 mins. to 9.55 p.m.

Dep. Leeds 8.45 a.m., " " " " " 10.30 p.m.

LEEDS - KIRKSTALL, WEEKDAYS.

Dep. Kirkstall 9.00 a.m., " " " " " 9.10 p.m.

Dep. Leeds 8.25 a.m., " " " " " 9.25 p.m.

SOURCE: Porter, Directory of Leeds, (1872), p.xxxiii.

stages on the Leeds - Kirkstall route; between Leeds and the Cardigan Arms, the stop for Burley village, the fare cost 2d; the second stage, from the Cardigan Arms to Kirkstall, cost 1d.

Within the period 1871 - 1875 the transport system linking neighbourhoods in Headingley cum Burley and Potternewton with central Leeds had undergone a revolution. The significance for developers of building land was immense, but first it was necessary for the larger landowners to consider their own position.

6.2 The Creation of Building Land.

Out of the area involved in our boundary must be deducted, not only the busy nucleus, but several tracts which are low, marshy, or otherwise unsuited to residential purposes. For such objects the slopes and elevated tables are chiefly in request, commanding as they do, ceteris paribus, the advantages of dryness, prospect, and ventilation. If there be, further, a permeable soil, good water, easy access, cheerful aspect, and a neighbourhood free from objectionable circumstances, such a fulfilment of all reasonable requirements imparts the highest relative value. But land of this character is generally¹ doomed to rapid and minute subdivision.

a. Why sell building land?

None of the large landowners in the northern out-townships are known to have sold their agricultural land simply because of the decline in profitability of farming during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Both the Cowper and Cardigan estates had been partially disposed of for building purposes before agricultural depression was a reality. However, for both families, the sale of their distant north Leeds holdings for building may have become more urgent as a result of the decline of the rent roll on their main estates in

1. T. Morris, A House for the Suburbs; Socially and Architecturally Sketched, (1860), p8.

Hertfordshire, Kent, and Northamptonshire. These counties were amongst those in which rents on a sample of great estates taken by Thompson proved to have fallen 41% between 1874-8 and 1894-8.¹ Any attempts made to offset the decline by conversion from arable to grassland farms would have required additional capital.

Agricultural land in Potternewton and Headingley cum Burley had an especially high value as accommodation land. James Richardson had discovered this on the Cowper estate at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1871 a valuation of the Cardigan estates in Yorkshire reported that some of the land, although in a poor and neglected condition, 'commands a high rental from its being simply accommodation land; the demand for every description of farm produce too, from the denseness of the population, considerably influences farm rents.'² By normal agricultural standards the situation was bad; the wet land needed draining, ditches were unscoured, hedges untrimmed, fences, cottages, and farm buildings 'considerably out of repair'. Above all there was 'the deleterious influence the smoke from numerous public works has upon vegetation and the health of stock'.

However, accommodation for people was a more profitable activity. The Headingley rent roll had as its most profitable single item the income from letting cottages. From the 96 cottages and gardens came an annual rental of £823; Leeds, having 'a manufacturing population and the workmen commanding high wages, an additional impetus is given for land [for] houses and cottages'. The largest single cottage property was one worth an annual rental of £60, paid by the executors of Robert Backhouse, joiner, who had built eleven cottages and a carpenter's shop on a quarter of an acre plot.

1. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century, (1963), p310.
2. NCRO, Brudenell MSS, ASR 554, Countess of Cardigan's Estate Valuation, County of York, 1871.

Sub-letting of cottage property was frequent in Headingley cum Burley but deplored by the valuers.

'Several cottages are frequently let to one individual who sublets them at exorbitant rents, and who exercises no supervision over their condition'.

However, the greatest argument for abandoning agriculture was the possibility of selling, not for the equivalent of thirty-five years purchase but for at least one hundred years purchase. The opportunity was a long time in reaching all of the agricultural land in the northern out-townships. At the start of the twentieth century the trustees of the James Brown estate in Potternewton thought it far enough off to justify the building of new cowhouses on two of their farms.¹

An alternative to selling the freehold was the creation of building leases. Although the Graham estate at Kirkstall had employed them successfully between 1825 and 1850, they were thought to be unattractive to Leeds builders and developers. A descendant of the Grahams of Kirkstall who had, through marriage, become involved in the development of the Brown estate during the last quarter of the nineteenth century encouraged a reconsideration of the use of building leases. The attraction in 1897 was the small amount of interest that could be obtained once the proceeds of building sales had been invested. Lady Ann Graham also added that she had 'never yet heard of a town where land is not bought and sold on building leases'.² The estate's surveyors, Martin and Fenwick, who had acted for H. C. Marshall in the 1860s and were agents for the Cardigan estate, were called upon to explain, if they could, why Leeds and building leases were mutually

1. LCA, Acc. 1415, Brown Estate Papers, (hereafter REF), Letter C. Chorley - G. Markham, 4 February 1899; Tender from Chorley, Common and Chorley, Architects, September 1902.
2. Ibid., Letter Lady Ann Graham - G. Markham, 4 September 1897.

exclusive.

Some years ago now, we made an endeavour to introduce a system of building on ground rents, the result was so complete a failure we have not attempted it again, nor do we know of any Estate in or near Leeds where the system has been developed. We cannot account for the strong prejudice against building leases that exists in this district but the fact is it does exist.¹

A powerful incentive to the disposal of building land was the need to pay off debts. For the small builder and developer bankruptcy had long been a hazard, but for the large estates the problem usually occurred through the over-accumulation of mortgages. When the 7th Earl of Cardigan died in 1868 he owed £174,000. secured upon his Yorkshire estates. To meet immediate debts the trustees of his will had to raise an additional £65,000, although this was secured upon the Northamptonshire property. Attempts to reduce the mortgage commitments led to enquiries about the prospect of letting for building purposes.² The Trustees had the power to sell the Leeds estates, amongst others, with the permission of the surviving Countess of Cardigan. Unfortunately the Countess rejected ideas of retrenchment, and in 1883 the first mortgagees of her life interest appointed a receiver to take the rents and profits from the estates. By 1887 the Countess had raised £115,000. on her life interest, and the first to fourth mortgagees agreed that the Cardigan estates around Leeds should be sold.

The financial difficulties caused abandonment of a scheme to capitalise on the demand for accommodation on the Headingley cum Burley estate. The intention had

1. Ibid., Letter Martin & Fenwick - G. Markham, 8 September 1897.

2. LCD 2925; 3142.

been to demolish Burley village and replace it with 'picturesque and commodious houses' for the tenantry. Designs were produced by the London architects, Wheeler and Holland, and were praised in The Architect as 'a very liberal recognition of the duties of property as well as its rights'.

The scheme has regard to the latest sanitary improvements, and the promotion of healthfulness of the cottagers, each house being detached or semi-detached, and fitted with hot bath, whilst a large plot of ground will be included with each holding. When completed the scheme will have few equals in this country, ...the inception of this scheme argues well for a continuance of those happy relations which have always existed between landlord and tenant on these estates.¹

No class of houses like those depicted were within range of the resources of cottagers, labourers, or artisans. As an attempt to attract wealthier occupants to a site near those rejected by mansion and villa dwellers in the 1830s it would have been an interesting experiment. However, the auctioneer of the Cardigan estates in 1888 explained that the Countess had been unable to develop the estates as she would have wished because of lack of capital.

Another, more regular, cause of the sale of estates for building was the death of the owner. In many cases the surviving spouse or the trustees for the estate decided to sever their connection and realise the value of the land for building purposes. None of the trustees and devisees of the 700 acres James Brown estate in Potternewton lived in Leeds, and their greatest interest between 1883 and 1914 was in the realisation of its potential value as building land. In 1875, after the death of Samuel Clover's widow, the Headingley Hill

1. The Architect, 24 December 1885, p387.

residential estate he had created between 1836 and 1841 was divided into building lots and sold.¹ The attractions of this neighbourhood were so great that after nearly fifty years the new houses built on this land enhanced rather than diminished its quality although minimum value restrictive covenants had not been raised from the original £30. level of the 1830s.

One factor which became increasingly influential was the decision of older-established residents to leave in response to the changing character of a neighbourhood. This had become apparent during the 1860s with the movement from Headingley out to Weetwood and even farther into Adel township. The year 1888 proved to be the end of an era not only for the Cardigan relationship with Headingley but also for the flax-spinning Marshalls. Their Headingley House estate with its 31 acres of parkland was put up for sale in May; they were willing to leave it in the hands of 'a Capitalist or Syndicate', the best residential sites in Headingley having been almost all built over.² However, the purchaser was a manufacturer in the ready-made clothing trade, Joseph Hepworth, who continued to use it as a residence for another twelve years. When he sold it in 1900 the building developments which the Marshalls had anticipated took place.³

b. An alternative; the exploitation of mineral resources.

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century the Cowper estate had been exploring the potential coal reserves underlying the estate. As early as 1819 concern had been voiced about the possibilities

1. ULD 89; 455; 278; 90; 348; 209; 416.

2. Thoresby Society, Plan, particulars and conditions of sale of the Headingley House Estate, 1888.

3. LCD 7991. Hepworth moved to Torquay.

of conflict between colliery development and the development of building estates. However, after 1850 it had been considered worthwhile to exploit the coal resources, probably encouraged by the poor response of builders to offers of sites on Cowper land up to that date. By the 1880s three sets of shafts had been bored at the south-eastern end of the estate: Harehills Cottage had had shafts located both north and south of it; another had been opened on the opposite side of Harehills Lane to the former Griffith Wright Harehills mansion; finally, the Beckett Street Colliery had been opened adjacent to the in-township boundary and the Leeds Workhouse.

Further development of Potternewton coal resources during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was contingent upon the interest of the Low Moor Iron and Steel Company. In 1874 the Company took a forty year lease of the mineral rights under 417 acres of the Brown estate at a minimum rental of £2,000. per year. The attraction was the lowest series of seams in the Yorkshire Coalfield; the Crow and Black Bed coal seams, and the Black Bed ironstone. In 1875 the Company purchased the 51 acres Harehills estate from the trustees of the will of Griffith Wright for £16,500, 1s-3d per square yard. A colliery, the Park Pit, was opened at the southern end of this estate.¹ On the Brown estate the Company opened another colliery, Gipton Pit, to the south-east of Gipton Farm. Preparations were completed with the laying of a mineral railway from the latter pit to coal staithes established at the north end of the Company's Harehills estate which had direct access to Harehills Lane.

However, the disadvantages of the seams were unaltered since Charles Brandling had declined to work

1. LCD 21990.

them at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A complex set of additional royalties to be paid to the Brown estate trustees once the minimum rental had been exceeded was never needed. Irregular seams, disrupted by faults and coal of variable quality because of the location on the fringe of the coalfield ensured that it was not worth attempting to exceed the minimum rental. By the 1890s the Low Moor Iron and Steel Company was willing to sublet the mineral rights for only £500. per year, a loss of £1,500. per year until 1914. However, the Brown estate trustees found their mineral lease income a satisfactory source of £43,000. between 1874 and 1896.

During the 1890s the trustees considered selling their mineral interests, but they discovered in 1896 that it was almost impossible to sell mineral properties in Yorkshire at a price which would return less than twelve or fourteen per cent to the purchaser because of the depressed state of the coal trade. At seven years purchase the maximum possible price was estimated at less than £14,000; retention of the mineral lease for another eighteen years could be expected to return £36,000. A short period of optimism ensued when the Low Moor Iron and Steel Company sublet their lease to W. H. and G. F. Fitton, iron and steel merchants of Beeston, one of whom had been a colliery manager in the South Wales Coalfield. By 1904 the Fittons had transferred their rights to the Leeds Fireclay Company, major Leeds brickmakers. The new sub-lessees were no more successful than their predecessors.

The Brown estate trustees began to discover the truth of the statement that collieries and building developments were not compatible. In both 1896 and 1905 the Low Moor Iron and Steel Company attempted to

buy out the remaining years of their lease. In 1905 they were prepared to offer £8,000. for the last nine years, preferring a loss of £3,500. in 1905 to one of £13,500. between 1905 and 1914. However, the Brown estate trustees refused to sell. The disadvantage of their action to the trustees was the increased difficulty of selling the surface as building land without control of mining operations underneath. Dangers of subsidence, the problems faced by purchasers of small lots in attempting to buy the mineral rights under a few hundred square yards, and the attractions of other building estates without such complications, meant that the sale of building land could only take place at very low prices, if at all.

The Company withdrew from its freehold Harehills estate in 1902 and 1903, selling it as building land at prices ranging from 3s-5d to 5s-0d per square yard. However, a twelve feet wide strip of land was retained along the boundary with the Brown estate, effectively preventing future road access between that estate's backland and Harehills Lane. Much to their chagrin the Brown estate trustees had to raise their offer to purchase this strip from 5s-0d per square yard to £1. per square yard before it was accepted.

6.3 The Interposal of the Developer.

If your clients want to speculate and have a chance of making enormous profits, they can safely do so by investing in the right kind of real estate - such opportunities, for instance, as are afforded by the real estate operations in the suburbs of the large cities.¹

The role of developer was far from being a new feature of the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Headingley cum Burley and Potternewton. However,

1. R. Ernest, How to Become a Successful Estate Agent, (1904), pp237-8.

the almost total abdication of pre-development landowners from the development process after 1870 gave developers a major role to play in converting the townships' inner and middle rings, from rural-urban fringe areas into built-up suburbs. They catered for the provision of small through terrace houses and back-to-back houses which became the homes of the majority of the new residents in the two out-townships between 1871 and 1914. The attraction of becoming a developer of a building estate with the high potential profits to be made from subdivision may have been increased by the lack of other promising rapid routes to wealth. Railway mania, at least in Britain, was over; the riskier and more profitable industrial and mining ventures carried with them the danger of the loss of invested capital, whereas undeveloped building land retained an agricultural land valuation if builders failed to arrive. Those who required a less speculative investment, but a higher return than government stocks could provide, did not become developers. The investors of savings and of trust funds provided mortgages, or purchased houses and took their interest in the form of rents.

The developer who would turn agricultural land into streets and building blocks needed spare capital and patience, as Heppers, the Leeds auctioneers, pointed out in their annual report for 1889. 'Those who can afford to let their capital wait, with little or no interest for the rise in values, should purchase land on the margin of the town, as for some years to come, builders are likely to be busy in providing for future requirements.'¹ Until 1909, when Lloyd George attempted to tax the unearned increment produced by the rise in value of building land from its former agricultural value, no-one appears to have doubted the eventual

1. LM, 28 December 1889.

success of investment in building estates.

To the professional men involved in building and estate development there appeared to be considerable contemporary ignorance of the role played by the developer. This still held true in 1910 when Thomas Bright, surveyor, valuer and member of the Auctioneer's Institute published his handbook on the development of building estates.

To the ordinary observer...building land may seem to acquire its potentialities per se, and entirely apart from any external assistance or management on the part of the owner. ...In the case of larger properties, however, their early maturity under normal conditions, as well as their ultimate success from a financial point of view, depend in no small measure on the skill and foresight bestowed on their management during the period of transition from agricultural to building value.¹

6.4 Methods of Development.

The basis of profitable development of building land was subdivision; 'the more the subdivision, the greater will be the profit to be realized; but this increases trouble, and the profit is longer in realizing' had been the advice given to Earl Cowper² in 1825 by Jonathan Taylor, a Leeds land surveyor. By the 1870s the Cowper estate had given up subdivision and sales to builders in favour of selling larger areas of land to developers. No other large or medium sized estate was subdivided for sales to builders by the pre-development landowner during the 1870s. However, a series of alternative entrepreneurial systems were at work to fill the gap.

1. T. Bright, The Development of Building Estates, A practical handbook for the use of surveyors, agents, landowners, and others interested in the development, management, equipment, administration, or realization of building estates, (1910), p4.
2. HCRO. Cowper MSS, C4952, p9.

a. The Leeds and Yorkshire Land, Building and Investment Company.

The freehold land societies of the 1850s and 1860s had received a mixed response to their activities. To Samuel Smiles, land and building societies were splendid means of cooperation, enabling working men to become owners of their own property; the Builder in 1861 had been less enthusiastic because of the patchy development of building, interspersed with vacant plots of ground which became waste land, overgrown, derelict, local dust heaps.¹ In Lower Burley the West Riding Freehold Land Society, created with the political objective of selling forty shilling freeholds, had enjoyed only a limited success.

During the late 1860s the function of the land and building societies had reappeared in Leeds under a different guise, as a Limited Company under the Companies Acts of 1862 and 1867. The earliest public mention of the Leeds and Yorkshire Land, Building and Investment Company (hereafter referred to as the LYLBI) appeared in 1867, at the same time as the Leeds and Yorkshire Benefit Building Society.² There is, however, no evidence to confirm any link between them apart from the similarity of title; they had separate office locations and different managers. A description of the LYLBI's Headingley estate as belonging to the Leeds and Yorkshire Building Society in 1871 was provided by the solicitors for an adjoining estate, and is most likely to have been an error on their part.³

The LYLBI's first involvement in Headingley had occurred in 1866 when T. Clapham was provided with a mortgage on security of part of his Hill Top estate. The Company had purchased this from him in March 1867.

1. Builder, XIX (1861), pp228-9.

2. Kelly, Directory of the West Riding, (1867), p596.

3. LM, 2 September 1871.

By November 1867 the LYLBIIC owned another estate at Wortley to the south-west of Leeds. Building land was available on both estates, 'in plots to suit purchasers, which may be paid for in one sum or by instalments. Advances made for the erection of buildings thereon at 5%'.¹ In 1868 the Company also purchased land in Potternewton on the New Town of Leeds development. Joseph Tebbs, a Leeds commercial traveller, had purchased 5,194 square yards from Earl Cowper in 1867 at 1s-5½d per square yard; in July 1868 he resold it to John Wood, a fellow commercial traveller, who purchased on behalf of the LYLBIIC at 2s-8½d per square yard. A complete terrace of houses built by the Company were being sold individually between 1874 and 1877 for £700. each.²

The first manager of the LYLBIIC, John Smith, lived in Hopewell House on the Company's estate in Headingley; the name probably echoed the tentative nature of the speculation. Only one other similar venture appeared in Leeds, the Leeds Estate, Building and Investment Company, managed by John Sims of Leopold Villa in the New Town of Leeds. It first appeared in 1870 and survived into the early 1880s.³ By 1872 Smith had resigned as manager; his successor was John Bell junior whose father was manager of the Leeds Permanent Building Society and lived in Kensington Terrace at Hyde Park to the north of the LYLBIIC's Hill Top estate. The willingness of John Bell senior to accept his son's involvement with the LYLBIIC suggests that the Company was a respectable concern and more soundly based than Clapham's ill-fated Royal Park Estate Building and Investment Company.

1. LM, 2 November 1867.

2. LCD 12040; 11978; 11957.

3. White, Clothing District Directory, (1870), p217.

During the first five years of the LYLBIIC's existence it had its own brickworks at Dolly Lane in the Sheepscar area of the in-township. In the early 1870s a quarry and brickworks were opened on the Hill Top estate by John Smith, the former manager, and Joseph Smith, a Leeds contractor. In August 1869 John Smith, still manager of the LYLBIIC but described as an accountant, and Joseph Smith purchased four acres of the Company's estate at 3s-0½d per square yard. The latter obtained a £4,000. mortgage from John E. Wainwright, esquire of Halifax; in 1870 he added a second mortgage, £460. at 5% yearly rate of interest from Thomas Sunderland, an Armley gardener, on the additional security of a steam engine and boiler. Facilities for an additional loan of up to £1,300. were provided by the Leeds and County Bank in 1871.¹

By 1875 the brickworks consisted of three kilns, each capable of holding 37,000 bricks, a brick drying shed reputed to cover 700 square yards, and a ninety-six feet high chimney.² It is possible that both Smiths were important members of the Company, otherwise it is difficult to understand why the LYLBIIC should pass up such a potentially profitable venture on its own building estate. Certainly, stone from the quarry was described as being 'much in demand for building operations in the neighbourhood'; this must have been only for dressings, door steps and lintels, the houses being principally of brick, which the Smiths were also admirably equipped to supply.

However, Joseph Smith had the same difficulty as Clapham in financing his venture. The brickworks were put up for sale by auction in 1873 and 1875, the

1. LCD 18756.

2. LM, 14 June 1873; 26 June 1875.

occupants by 1875 being the Yorkshire Brick and Stone Company. In June 1873 Smith transferred his second mortgage to a group of people, including R. H. Braithwaite, a Leeds solicitor; interest had not been paid, and the interest rate was raised to 6% by the new mortgagees. By July they had taken over the £4,000. mortgage and similarly raised the interest on that. In February 1875 the situation had worsened still further, £5,093. was owed but the mortgagees were able to transfer their charge to the Leeds and County Bank. Notwithstanding the boom in the Leeds building trade between 1875 and 1878 Smith's brickworks failed to survive, and by May 1878 the bank had taken possession and was selling off parts of the land for building purposes.¹

A decision was made in February 1876 for the LYLBIIC itself to go into voluntary liquidation; William Middleton, John Barran, clothing manufacturer, and William Child, a surgeon-dentist, were appointed as liquidators.² This may have been a response to the Building Societies Act of 1874 which had forbidden the holding of land by building societies. As the work of developing the LYLBIIC's building estates had not been completed, the liquidators were still disposing of both land and buildings in 1879.

At first the Company specialised in the sale of building land in small plots to artisans, clerks, and members of the building trades. Between 1867 and 1878 a total of 70 sales were made; of 60 transfers involving 66 plots of land, over one-third were of less than 250 square yards (see Table 42). Of the 70 sales only eight people were involved in more than one purchase,

1. LCD 18756.

2. LCD 10567.

TABLE 42

LYLBIC; SALES OF BUILDING LAND, HILL TOP ESTATE, 1867 - 1878.

Area (Square Yards)	No. of Sales	Total Area in Category (Square Yards)
100 - 249	24	3,815
250 - 499	19	7,009
500 - 749	7	4,165
750 - 999	3	2,771
1,000 - 1,249	2	2,065
1,250 - 1,499	2	2,605
1,500 - 1,749	1	1,690
1,750 - 1,999	1	1,985
2,000 +	7	17,570
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	66	43,647

SOURCE: LCD 9176, endorsements, 17 December 1878.

the most active being George Lax, a Leeds builder and joiner in 1868, who by 1878 was also proprietor of the Providence Brick Works, Meanwood Road.

The larger part of the building estate had been laid out as ten short parallel streets between two wider roads, Kings Road and Queens Road; the streets were simply named, First Avenue, Second Avenue, through to Tenth Avenue. As building progressed more attractive names were supplied; Fourth Avenue became Howden Terrace; Eighth Avenue was renamed Holderness Terrace.¹ In 1869 restrictive covenants forbade public houses, music saloons, and the noisome trades; the only building limitations were on materials and sanitary arrangements. 'All ashpits, water closets or other conveniences erected in the said areas or gardens should be of such a level or depth that the highest part of the wall coping should not be higher than the level of the coping of the boundary wall.' As the boundary walls were to be 'dwarf walls' the intention was that all conveniences should be at least partially sunken.² By 1875 this requirement had been dropped.

The first houses on the estate to be advertised for sale, in September 1871, were in Edwin Road. They were described as 'through or double' houses, with larder and coal cellar in the basement, sitting room and kitchen on the ground floor, and two bedrooms above. The houses were intermediate in value between the back-to-back cottages prevalent in Lower Burley and the more spacious through terrace houses on the former Teal estate at Hyde Park. The vendor was able to point out that 'each house has a noble bay window', the first in the northern out-townships to claim that appendage as

1. LM, 14 June 1873; 22 June 1878.

2. LCD 18756.

a symbol of respectability.¹

In 1873 the Company revealed its sales policy in action. Five lots of building land with frontages to Third, Fourth, and Fifth Avenues were for sale; four lots had space for six houses, and the fifth, of 864 square yards, had sufficient space for eight houses. The sites were not intended for minimum standard through houses, but for 'cottages of a superior kind', the great demand for which in the area was purported to be well known.² Second and Third Avenues had already been built up by the LYLBIIC itself; in June 1873 twelve houses in the former street and twenty in the latter were for sale by auction in lots of four houses, each house being worth just under £10. annual rental.³ By December 1875 development had reached Ninth Avenue, a house of £14. annual rental being to let.⁴

Once the Company had passed into the hands of the liquidators the estate development policy altered. The principal concern became the disposal of the assets, but this did not lead to the hurried disposal of the land in one lot. Part of the policy was to encourage the purchase of larger blocks of building land by builders and entrepreneurs. During the period of high demand for building land during the latter half of the 1870s this was achieved without any apparent reduction in the price. In 1875 George Lax paid 3s-0d per square yard for 2,907 square yards; in 1879 Benjamin and William Walmsley, also Leeds builders, paid 4s-2d per square yard for 2,352 square yards.⁵ Entrepreneurs involved on the estate included Thomas Ibbitson, a

1. LM, 30 September, 1871.

2. LM, 17 May 1873.

3. LM, 14 June 1873.

4. LM, 11 December 1875.

5. LCD 12503; 12533.

woollen manufacturer, who lived on part of the former Zoological and Botanical Gardens estate in Headingley; he built at least fourteen through terrace houses on 1,985 square yards purchased in 1877.¹ Another was Eli Pullan, a cloth manufacturer, who lived on former Cardigan moor land at Far Headingley; he purchased twenty houses from the LYLBIIC.

Between 1876 and 1878 the liquidators sold cottages and houses built by the LYLBIIC on its own behalf. In July 1876 they had twenty-five for sale, including twelve cottages at £150. each and five houses at £230. each.² In January 1877 there were twenty-two cottages for sale, producing an annual rental income of £250. The asking price was £3,800, £172. each; this represented an annual return of fifteen per cent, but it was not made explicit whether the rental was gross or net.³ By June 1878 another thirty-six dwellings were for sale by auction, twenty-two of them back-to-back. Of the property offered only two houses were sold, the remainder were again for sale by auction in October 1879, with the addition of 11,584 square yards of building land.⁴ The last known transaction of the LYLBIIC occurred in December 1879 when lot 15 of the October auction was sold to B. and W. Walmsley.

b. The building club.

The several persons...should be associated together and constitute a Society to be called THE OAKFIELD TERRACE BUILDING CLUB, for the purpose of raising money by subscriptions, loans or otherwise for the purchase of a plot of land called Flush

1. LCD 10651; 10567.
2. LM, 8 July 1876.
3. LM, 6 January 1877.
4. LM, 25 October 1879.

Close situate at Mill Lane, Headingley...
and building thereon 16 Terrace Family
Houses.

The purpose of the Headingley building clubs of the 1870s was similar to that of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century terminating building societies. They cannot, however, be regarded as symbols of enterprising artisan self help. Both the Oakfield Terrace and Springhill Building Clubs formed in Headingley in 1874 arose from the entrepreneurial initiative of a recently established Leeds firm of estate agents, Richardson and Watson. Both terraces were built on former Headingley Glebe land which had been put up for auction in April 1874.

Within six weeks of the auction Richardson and Watson announced that they were forming.

a Club for the Erection of Terrace Houses,
with eight rooms each and large gardens...
to be called Oakfield Terrace. The
position is the best in the district,
having a southern aspect, and within five
minutes walk of tram.²

Richardson and Watson were not major developers on the Headingley Glebe estate, and they obtained their land at third hand. A complex series of agreements must have been made shortly after the auction in April; the legal transfer of titles to the land followed several months later. During this period transactions between developers raised the cost per square yard of the Building Club's land three and a half times. W. and J. Rayner, Leeds boot and shoe manufacturers, joined with G. Hancock, a Leeds surgeon, to purchase 47,100 square yards of the Headingley Glebe at 1s-0d per square yard; they resold at 1s-3½d per square yard to E. Holt, a

1. Oakfield Terrace Building Club, Memorandum of Agreement, 22 June 1874.
2. LM, 19 May 1874.

Leeds woolstapler, and J. Hall, a Leeds architect. In June 1874 Hall had subdivided the land and was offering plots for sale from 1s-6d per square yard. Hall and Holt conveyed 12,259 square yards to Richardson and Watson at 1s-11½d per square yard in October 1874. However, the estate agents had been assured of obtaining this land before the Rayners and Hancock had legally conveyed it to Hall and Holt. On the same day as he received conveyance of the land Richardson resold it to the Building Club's trustees at 3s-5d per square yard. Presumably the £900. profit made by Richardson on the transaction represented not just unearned increment but also a reward for his services to the Club, obtaining the site, bringing the Club members together and so on.

The scheme was to erect terrace houses of a superior quality to those being built on the LYLBIIC's Hill Top estate. The cost of land alone was £117. per house and the total cost of house and land appears to have been £500, twice the cost of a through house on the Hill Top estate. Oakfield Terrace was architect designed, Richardson having obtained the services of William Hill, formerly assistant to Cuthbert Brodrick, the designer of Leeds Town Hall. Hill had his own practice and a northern reputation by 1874; in 1868 he had beaten Brodrick in a competition for the design of Bolton Town Hall; he had also designed the Poor Law Guardians' Offices and the Dispensary in Leeds during the 1860s. In 1874 Hill also designed and built two large detached villas on another part of the Glebe estate on his own behalf.¹

Unlike some earlier Leeds terminating building societies, the initiators of the scheme also took a

1. Oak Lea and Burton Grange in Burton Crescent.

TABLE 43

FOUNDER MEMBERS OF THE OAKFIELD TERRACE BUILDING CLUB, 1874.

LOT NO.	NAME	OCCUPATION	FORMER ADDRESS ¹	DATE OF SIGNATURE
2	W. Hill	Architect	De Gray Road	16 June
18	B. H. Richardson	Estate Agent	Sunnybank Terrace	" "
14	T. H. Watson	" "	-	17 June
9	E. Butler	Solicitor	Hampden Villa, Hly	" "
11	G. Bladon	Gentleman	-	" "
16	{ E. Heaps }	Ironmongers and Whitesmiths }	Woodhouse	" "
17	{ A. Robinson }		Lane	" "
6	J. S. Emery	Accountant	Hanover Street	18 June
5	J. Foster	Contractor	Hanover Square	" "
12	A. Aldred	Iron Merchant	Hillary Terrace	" "
15	W. Grisdale	Painter	Dewsbury Road	" "
8	A. Richardson	Dyer	-	" "
1	H. Gallon	Commercial Traveller	Caledonian Road	22 June
13	H. Hathersley	Gentleman	-	" "
3	J. Longfield	Woollen Merchant	-	3 July
4	T. Benton	Corn Factor	Cobourg Street	22 August
10	W. Wheeler	Surveyor	" "	28 "
7	T. Storey	Plumber & Gasfitter	Cromer Terrace	" "

1. Former address in Leeds in-township unless otherwise stated.

NOTES: B. H. Richardson an Insurance Agent in 1871.
 J. S. Emery a Corn Merchant's Clerk in 1871.
 T. Benton a Coal Merchant by 1876.
 W. Wheeler a Land Agent in 1871.
 A - denotes absence of previous residential data.



Photograph 19. OAKFIELD TERRACE, HEADINGLEY, 1874
BUILDING CLUB £500 HOUSES.

Photograph 20. REGENT TERRACE, HYDE PARK, 1875
by G. LAX, builder. (One sold for £285 in 1888).

Ph 20 Regent Terr

full part in it.¹ The membership of the club was not completed until August 1874, partly because the number of shares was increased from sixteen to eighteen. The members were mostly middle class entrepreneurs and well equipped to exercise knowledgeable control over the development (see Table 43).

The Memorandum of Agreement was formally dated 22nd June 1874, but significantly the first two signatories on 16 June were B. H. Richardson, the estate agent, and W. Hill, the architect. Richardson and his partner, Watson, were to be the secretaries of the Club; Messrs. Hill and Swann were to be the Club's surveyors, to be paid a fee of five per cent of the total building costs. Another member, Edward Butler, was appointed one of the Club's trustees, and his law firm of Butler and J. E. Smith became the Club's solicitors. J. S. Emery, a fellow club member and accountant, served as the Club's accountant.

Each member took one share in the Club, being thereby entitled to one house and the accompanying garden. A deposit of £25. was paid before signing the Memorandum of Agreement, and monthly subscriptions of £5. per share were to be paid at Richardson and Watson's offices on the second Tuesday of each month. Shares could be sold, but money paid into the Club's funds could not be withdrawn; failure to pay the subscription for three successive months entitled the trustees to sell the share in question. Provision was made for members to pay their total share of the costs before the agreed terminating date of the Club on 1 June 1877, in which case they were to be allowed interest at 5% per year on their money. Only B. H. Richardson did so, and this is likely to

1. Contrast the experience of the Fountains Gardens Society, Kirkstall and the Alfred Place Society, Leeds during the 1820s. See chapter three and W. G. Rimmer, 'Alfred Place Terminating Building Society, 1825-1843,' Thoresby Society, XLVI (1963), pp313-4.

have been a paper transaction as partial settlement for the cost of the land. As houses were completed the future owner was allowed to rent it from the Club; if he wished to delay entry until building operations were completed or for other personal reasons then the Club was entitled to let the house as it saw fit during the interim period.

It can never have been intended that the deposit and monthly subscriptions should pay the entire cost of the development during the three years the Club was intended to last. The total income from both sources could not have been above £4,750, yet the land cost £2,100, and a £4,000. mortgage was necessary in 1875 to enable completion of the terrace. If the precedent of the earlier terminating building societies had been followed then the building of the terrace would have taken much longer, houses being erected one by one as sufficient money from subscriptions became available.

The £4,000. loan of 1875 was an overdraft facility from the Exchange and District Bank of Leeds, and was replaced in July 1876, after an interval of four months, by a mortgage from Mrs. Elizabeth Robinson, a widow, William Pepper, a Leeds coal owner, and Thomas Anbler, a Leeds architect. £500. mortgages at 5% per annum were taken individually by all of the Club members except Richardson who had already paid. The money raised was assigned to the use of the Club through its trustees. This mortgage arrangement enabled the members to wind up the Club promptly once building activities had been completed. The £500. mortgage per house was equivalent to the summation of deposit, subscription, and the overdraft facility on each house. Without the mortgage each member would have had to find another £225. at the July 1877 winding up of the Club.

Alternatively the Club could have continued for another four years at least. Each member had the option of continuing or paying off the £500. mortgage on his house once he took full legal title to the property.

Under this system, unlike the older method of terminating building societies, the ballot amongst members for precedence in the taking of houses did not have the same significance because of the shorter time span of the development. However, Hill's design had provided a considerable amount of variation between individual dwellings within the terrace. The width of the southern, garden, frontages varied, and consequently so did the amount of garden space provided. The less attractive houses had a wider frontage at the rear, but gained only extra back yard space and a view over the back road intended for coal carts and other traffic of 'a heavy or offensive kind'. It was intended that there should be a curved carriage drive across the front gardens, dividing them into two parts; this pattern survives for Headingley Terrace, built on the Fawcett Headingley Hill estate in the late 1840s. The most superior houses were those at either end of the terrace, with projecting polygonal bay windows and the largest gardens. The variations necessitated a ballot amongst the members to determine who should live in the most resplendent parts of the terrace. It was not a lottery, members submitted secret tenders or bid against each other in auction to discover who was willing to pay the highest additional premium for the house they wanted to live in. Richardson, founder of the Club, took the best house, lot number 18, with the largest garden running down towards the Meanwood beck. Watson, his partner, took one with the more attractive large southern frontages. Number one went to Henry Gallon, the commercial traveller, whilst William Hill

took lot two, which lacked bay window embellishments and had one of the narrow southern frontages.

Enthusiasm for the Oakfield Terrace venture encouraged Richardson and Watson to found another, less expensive, club in August 1874.

Richardson and Watson, by request are forming another Building Club for the erection of medium sized through houses at Headingley, to be called 'Spring Hill Terrace', each house to contain two cellars; kitchen, scullery, passage and sitting room on the Ground Floor, three bedrooms, front gardens and separate enclosed yards. The cost of each house will be under £300. Only a few members wanted to complete the Club.¹

By September only three more members were required. Spring Hill Terrace, unlike Oakfield Terrace, was built of brick and lacked architectural treatment, nevertheless it too was successful.²

The success of Richardson and Watson's building clubs in Headingley encouraged the founding of several others elsewhere in Leeds during the second half of the 1870s. However, the firm of Richardson and Watson had disappeared by the end of the decade, and the Building Club as a method of developing building land once again fell into neglect. Its great advantage, in its 1870s form, was that it enabled a developer to find a rapid sale for his land; for a Club member payment by subscription was only one alternative to obtaining a building society or a private mortgage. If the termination of the Club necessitated the transfer of outstanding costs to a mortgage anyway then was it worthwhile being a Club member? Even the luck of the draw had been converted into a willingness to pay an additional premium. The success of the Oakfield Terrace venture in particular

1. LM, 22 August 1874.

2. LM, 5 September 1874; 24 May 1879.

may be indicative of the failure of speculative builders to provide that type and quality of residence, at least in Headingley. What was most unusual, however, was that the entrepreneurs did not prefer to purchase detached or semi-detached villas rather than terrace houses.

c. The individual as developer.

Building Clubs and Land, Building, and Investment Companies contributed only a very small proportion of the houses built in the northern out-townships between 1871 and 1914. From the 1870s onwards individuals and partnerships of two or three people were responsible for the majority of building estates which were developed (see appendix one). Three major occupational groups were involved:

1. Builders; a) singly, b) in partnership
 c) retired.
2. Entrepreneurs; a) manufacturers, b) merchants,
 c) others.
3. Professions; a) land/estate agents,
 b) architects/surveyors,
 c) lawyers/solicitors.

The relative significance of the three groups as developers of more than one acre of building land is shown in Table 45, and their respective importance on individual pre-development estates in Table 44. Builders were the most numerous developers in terms of number of separate purchases of building estates, total quantity of land purchased, and the number of individuals involved. However, the builders who acted alone were no more active than the entrepreneurs and the professional men, and were less important than the latter in development of the largest building estates. The predominance of the builder group as a whole was established by the activities in the other two sub-categories; retired builders, and builders in partnership with a source of

TABLE 44

DEVELOPER OCCUPATIONS; PURCHASES OF MORE THAN ONE ACRE OF BUILDING LAND,
 HEADINGLEY CUM BURLEY AND POTTERNEWTON, 1873 - 1903.

DEVELOPER OCCUPATION	ESTATE								TOTAL		
	Cardigan	Cowper	Headingley Glebe	Horticultural Gardens	Ludolf's Trustees	Headingley House	Naylor's Trustees	Titley, Manor House	ex-G. Wright Harehills	PURCHASES	NO. OF INDIVIDUALS
1. BUILDERS											
1a singly	4	5	1		1		3			14	10
1b in partnership		2						1		3	2
1c retired	4					1		1		6	1
2 ENTREPRENEURS											
2a manufacturers	2	5	1							8	4
2b merchants	1									1	1
2c others	1									1	1
3 PROFESSIONS											
3a land/estate agents	1	8								9	4
3b architect/surveyors	1		1							2	2
3c lawyers/solicitors		1	1	1						3	3
4 OTHERS	2							1		3	3
NO DATA	3									3	3
										53	34

SOURCE: Appendix One.

TABLE 45

HEADINGLEY CUM BURLEY AND POTTERNEWTON DEVELOPERS, 1873 - 1903.

DEVELOPER CATEGORIES		SIZE OF SEPARATE PURCHASES (ACRES)														
		ACREAGE CATEGORY														
		1 - 4.99			5 - 9.99			10 - 19.99 PERIOD 1			20 - 29.99			30+		
		x	y	z	x	y	z	x	y	z	x	y	z	x	y	z
1 Builders	a singly	2	2	2	1	2	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	b in partnership ²	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	c retired	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	1
	total	3	3	2	2	3	1	-	4	1	-	1	1	1	-	1
2 Entrepreneurs	a manufacturers	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
	b others	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	total	1	3	-	1	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
3 Professions	a land/estate agents	-	1	2	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
	b architects/surveyors	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c lawyers/solicitors	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	total	1	1	3	1	2	4	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Others	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	
No data	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
TOTAL		5	7	5	4	8	5	-	11	1	-	2	2	1	1	2

1. x 1873 - 82; y 1883 - 92; z 1893 - 1902.

2. With a non-builder.

SOURCE: Property Deeds; see Appendix One.

SUMMARY	1873-82 (x)	1883-92 (y)	1892-1903 (z)
Builders	6	11	6
Entrepreneurs	2	9	-
Professions	2	5	8
Others/No Data	-	4	1
TOTAL	10	29	15

TABLE 46

MAJOR DEVELOPEERS, HEADINGLEY CUM BURLEY AND POTTERNEWTON, 1871-1914.

Period ¹	Name occupation location	Area (square yards)	Costs(£)	Average Price per square yard ³
Y, Z.	C. Stott retired builder Armley	431,287	60,575 ²	3s - 4d
Y.	J. W. Archer woollen manufacturer Potternewton	248,163	19,008 ²	2s - 2½d
Y.	B. & W. Walmsley builders Leeds	224,182	21,994	1s - 11½d
Z.	H. H. Hodgson estate agent Leeds and W. S. Arnold contractor Doncaster	218,553	12,500 ²	1s - 2d
X.	E. Wray builder & brickmaker Leeds	161,145	5,233	8d
Z.	J. W. Watson estate agent Leeds	157,562	8,700 ²	1s - 5d
Z.	H. Iax builder Leeds and J. Boyle brickmaker Leeds	142,355	25,017	3s - 6d
X, Y.	W. & J. Rayner boot & shoe manufacturers Leeds	134,910	3,499 ²	1s - 1½d
Z.	J. B. Mays retired publisher's agent Roundhay	123,420	15,526 ²	4s - 0d
Y.	J. N. Sharp builder Leeds	80,545	8,654	2s - 2d

1 X 1873-82; Y 1883-92; Z 1893-1903

2 Incomplete cost data

3 Of land for which full details are available

SOURCE: Property deeds, see Appendix One.

capital. Of the builders on their own who appear amongst the major developers, two had alternative sources of capital; B. and W. Walmsley, who were the only builder-developers to finance their purchases through mortgages, and E. Wray, who was also a brick-maker, an alternative source of capital for the purchase of building land. (see Table 46). Mortgage support for developers was unusual; the uncertainty, the difficulties of management, and lack of financial return if foreclosure was necessary on unripe building land, and the fact that unripe building land was a less negotiable commodity than houses were, all provided reasons for not investing in the developer's activities. Financial support for developers from pre-development landowners was also unusual; if the purchase price was to be paid from the developer's sales then the pre-development landowner was as dependent on the vagaries of the development process as if he had carried it out personally, achieving higher returns.

Most significant of all the developers was Charles Stott of Armley, a retired builder who died in 1902 before he had had an opportunity to develop his later purchases; this was carried out subsequently by his trustees. His purchases were on such a large scale that he was able to subdivide and still provide later purchasers with an opportunity for further subdivision and development. After the auction sales of the Cardigan estate in Headingley cum Burley in 1888 and 1891 Stott was the owner of forty acres of the land. During the 1890s he disposed of twenty acres, purchased at 10½d per square yard, in two lots for 2s-0d and 1s-7d per square yard. The first sale was of 51,546 square yards to Henry Marvell and Benjamin Paver, Leeds contractors. Stott's contribution to the rise in value of this land was to lay out a basic street

pattern before reselling.¹ However, very little building development had taken place by 1899 when 43,147 square yards were resold at 3s-0d per square yard. Major building development took place after the third set of developers, R. G. Emsley and J. B. Smith, Leeds solicitors, and A. G. Binner, a Leeds builder, had laid out building blocks and a complete network of streets. The predominantly back-to-back terraces of the Grahams were erected on part of this land between 1901 and 1905; their development was disturbed by an exchange and sale of land between the developers and the North Eastern Railway Company to facilitate widening of the permanent way. This necessitated the demolition of several recently built end terrace houses. The adjoining part of the land had a much larger development period, commencing in the early 1890s with Marvell and Paver, but Beechwood View with its through houses was not completed until 1914.

The other half of Stott's twenty acres was sold by him to the Leeds Corporation in 1892 as the site for allotment gardens, the price of less than 1s-7d per square yard being extremely low for potential building land. Nevertheless, Stott made a profit of 8½d per square yard, and no development preparation had been necessary.

After 1898 Stott also carried out a similar subdivision of the Bainbrigge Manor House lands at Headingley to the south of the Leeds - Otley road; in May 1901 a fifth of the land, 13,360 square yards, was sold to Hobson, Chadwick, and Watson, Leeds architects. Stott's most expensive purchase was the former Marshall Headingley House estate which cost £33,000, at 4s-4½d per square yard. For this he had the support of a

1. LCD 577; 21145. Stott's roads were Beechwood Grove, Avenue, and Drive, Lumley and Acacia Avenues.

£15,000. mortgage from Sir James Kitson and Mrs. Kitson, a widow, both of the wealthy Leeds engineering family, G. Talbot, a gentleman of Burley, and J. North, the Leeds solicitor who had been a co-developer of the Burley House estate during the 1860s.

The only other purchases of building estates of over twenty acres in a single lot by builders were made by Edward Wray during the 1870s, and by Henry Lax in partnership with Joseph Boyle in 1903. A common factor was their involvement in the production of building materials. Wray and Boyle were both brickmakers, Lax was not only a builder but also a patent stone manufacturer. The size of Wray's purchase was also controlled by other factors. In 1876 the Cowper estate had wished to dispose of the remaining unsold lots of its Roundhay Road estate, land which was unattractive to builders because of its elongated triangular shape and the close proximity of the Gipton Beck. By 1876 Wray had already purchased land on this estate; 15,510 square yards from another developer had cost him 2s-9d per square yard in 1874; 6,620 square yards purchased directly from Earl Cowper in 1875 had cost 2s-0d. His familiarity with the progress of building development of this land must have encouraged him to purchase the whole remaining nine lots of the Cowper sale land, 154,525 square yards, in 1876. The locational disadvantages and the Cowper desire to dispose of the remaining land enabled Wray to pay the lowest price for building land in Potternewton during the nineteenth century, 7d per square yard, a total of £4,571.¹ Altogether Wray spent £7,366. on the purchase of Cowper estate building land between 1873 and 1876, but required no mortgage assistance. He obtained his land during the boom

1. LCD 12919; 12529.

years of the building trade, but his development of it had to contend with the depression of 1878 - 1882; not until 1888 did building activity in Leeds return to the level of activity it reached in 1876. Nevertheless, Wray was able to realise the potential building value of his cheap land. In February 1876 he resold 11,608 square yards at 3s-0d per square yard to J. and C. E. Charlesworth, gentlemen, of Lofthouse Hall and Moor House, Stanley in Yorkshire.¹ C. E. Charlesworth had previously purchased 10,305 square yards of Wray's 1874 land at 3s-3d per square yard. Another 4,284 square yards were sold to J. Robinson, a Leeds builder, in 1878 at 3s-6d per square yard, and 10,011 square yards to T. R. Clarke, a Leeds woollen cloth manufacturer, at 2s-8½d per square yard in 1879.² This is unlikely to have been the full extent of Wray's resales to sub-developers and builders, but sufficient evidence exists to demonstrate the profitability of the developer role. The four sales disposed of 23% of Wray's land, but recouped 77% of its original cost. In addition Wray had obtained a considerable supply of building land for his own purposes at an extremely cheap price. His own building activities appear to have begun in 1876; in December he obtained a mortgage on four houses, including his own, in Spencer Place, and an adjoining 6,524 square yards. He was still building on this land during the early 1890s, and in 1895 it still supported a £1,500. mortgage from the wife of a Harrogate timber merchant.³ However, Wray's building activities were not confined to his own land; when he died in 1899 he had built nine houses in Leam Terrace on land originally developed by the Leeds boot and shoe manufacturers, W. and J. Rayner. The alterna-

1. LCD 12699. The Charlesworths were collicry proprietors in Stanley township, eight miles from Leeds.
2. LCD 12785.
3. LCD 12136.

tive of purchasing more Potternewton land to develop had been reconsidered; an agreement to buy 24,590 square yards from Earl Cowper in 1887 at 2s-6d per square yard had been transferred to another builder, J. Newton Sharp, for a consideration of £80.¹

The other brickmaker, Joseph Boyle, had first been involved in Potternewton in 1869 when he had purchased 1,562 square yards on the Cowper New Town of Leeds development. He purchased at 1s-9½d per square yard and resold at 3s-2½d per square yard without building.² Boyle's most important contribution to Potternewton building development began in 1903 when, with Henry Lax, he purchased half of the former Griffith Wright Harehills estate from the Low Moor Iron and Steel Company for £25,000. The price of 3s-6d per square yard was much higher than any developer had paid for northern out-township land in the 1870s, but the demand for building land in the rapidly growing suburbs of the 1900s was sufficiently strong to support prices of 6s-0d and 7s-0d per square yard for building blocks prepared for the erection of houses.³ The site was laid out for building by Frederick Mitchell, a Leeds architect; the colliery site was available for building upon; Wright's mansion had been sold to The Wallpaper Manufacturer's Limited. Mitchell laid out thirty-four building blocks, twenty-one for through houses and thirteen for back-to-backs, leaving space for a fifty feet wide road through the estate as the line for a prospective tramway route. Within four months nine full blocks and parts of six other blocks had been sold.

By 1906 Lax and Boyle had turned their attentions to 12.5 acres of the former James Brown estate in Potternewton.

1. However, Wray bought land in Chapel Allerton, see 6.5 below.

2. LCD 10256.

3. LCD 5547; 10568; 10762; 12444; 12652; 12958; 18976.

On this land Boyle introduced a restrictive covenant which bound purchasers to use the product of his brickworks; 'all bricks used...should be bought from Messrs. J. and C. Boyle, brickmakers'; in 1907 the covenant was to apply as long as Boyles supplied good quality common bricks at £1-5s-0d per 1,000 and pressed bricks at £1-17s-0d per 1,000, free delivery. In 1912 the covenant still applied, except for a decrease in the price of common bricks, down to £1-0s-1d per 1,000, and pressed bricks, down to £1-15s-0d per 1,000, which reflected the continuing decline in Leeds building activity which had begun in 1900.¹

Largest of the builder-developers dependent upon mortgage support to carry them through the development period were Benjamin and William Walmsley. In the early 1870s Benjamin Walmsley, a joiner and cabinet maker living in Hyde Park Road, Headingley, had purchased 382 square yards of building land on the LYLBIĆ's estate; by 1879 Benjamin and his brother were in partnership as builders and operating on a large enough scale to purchase a complete building block of 2,352 square yards for terrace houses on the same estate.² The Walmsleys emerged from the Cardigan estate sales of 1888 and 1891 with 224,182 square yards at an average price of 1s-11½d per square yard, almost all of the available building land nearest to the in-township boundary. The full extent to which the £22,000. cost of the land was secured on mortgage is not known, but £3,600. was raised in March 1889 and £5,000. in April 1891. A mortgage of £1,600. in March 1891 enabled them to build sixteen houses in Harold Grove and Street. In 1901 they still owed R. W. Bower, coal merchant of Meanwood Park, 'considerable monies' which were secured

1. LCD 10524; 12471.

2. LCD 9176; 12533.

on land, not buildings.¹

Demand for building sites on the Walmsleys' land was considerable, between August 1889 and December 1892 at least twenty-one plots were sold, a total of 31,308 square yards, and 264 houses were built by other builders on their sixteen acres purchase south of Brudenell Road in Headingley. In 1891 and 1893 the Walmsleys were receiving between 6s-3d and 7s-9d per square yard for building blocks from 1,210 square yards to 2,420 square yards; in 1901, at the height of the building boom of the turn of the century, they were able to charge 10s-0d per square yard for 2,261 square yards in Hesse Terrace.²

Walmsleys continued to build on their own account; in 1898 they obtained a £1,600. mortgage from the Leeds Provincial Building Society on four through houses in Cardigan Road.³ They also built themselves two identical detached houses, Wallingfen and Sandholme, at the southern end of the former Zoological and Botanical Gardens estate. However, their greatest single success of the 1890s was the sale of 61,875 square yards to Leeds Corporation at 7s-0d per square yard. This land, to be used as a recreation ground for the residents of the new terraces built by Walmsleys and others, was sold at prevailing building land prices and fetched £21,656, enough to cover all but £300. of the Walmsleys' original cost for 224,182 square yards.⁴

An alternative method for a builder to become a developer was to obtain the support of the pre-development landowner. The trustees of the late Charles Naylor, solicitor, agreed to this course of action with Joseph Boothman, a Leeds builder, for the development of the Newton Lodge estate in April 1891.

1. LCD 18756; 18026; 999; 9450.

2. LCD 18756; 18602; 9450.

3. LCD 12714.

4. LCD 999.

It was thereby provided that the said Joseph Boothman might have the said premises conveyed to him or to sub-purchasers from time to time by separate deeds but that the said Joseph Boothman should have vacant possession of part of the said premises immediately after the signing of the now reciting Agreement and of the remainder on the 31st day of December 1891. And that the said Joseph Boothman should commence to lay out and use the said premises for building purposes. ...And whereas...he has laid out the said lands for building purposes and...has set out streets...and has divided the residue ...into portions and...prepared a plan upon which the said streets and the position of the buildings intended to be erected and the building lines or frontages thereof and other particulars are delineated...and he has obtained the sanction of the Municipal Corporation of Leeds to such plan in accordance with the bye-laws of the said Corporation. ...The said lands so set out in streets and so laid out for building purposes...are now collectively known by the name of 'The Hall Lane Estate'. ...The said Joseph Boothman has already contracted for the sale of certain lots... and it is his intention to sell the residue.¹

Although Boothman had to finance the costs of laying out the building estate, he did not have to pay for the land at that stage. Between December 1891 and September 1896 he sold nearly 30,000 square yards of building land. The earliest available example of a sale occurred in 1895 when Joseph Richardson, a builder of Chapel Allerton, purchased 1,766 square yards at 5s-6d per square yard. Of the purchase price of £486, half went to Naylor's trustees and half to Boothman; another sale in 1895 fetched £967. of which £713. went to Naylor's trustees.

By September 1896 the trustees were sufficiently dissatisfied with the rate of progress to sell the remaining 14,320 square yards of the April 1891 agreement

1. LCD 21477.

to Boothman for a single payment of £1,098, 1s-6½d per square yard. Boothman continued to sell building land at 5s-6d per square yard, and in addition built at least two houses himself with the aid of a £580. mortgage from the Leeds and Holbeck Building Society.¹

In February 1896 the trustees attempted another system of development for the northern part of the Newton Lodge estate. It was sold to another builder-developer, John Newton Sharp for £4,000, 1s-10d per square yard for 44,035 square yards and the mansion. Instead of accepting payment as sales were made, the trustees provided Sharp with a £7,000. mortgage. As a development system it had the advantages of paying interest regularly and of being transferable if necessary. Unlike all the other builder-developers Sharp appears to have undertaken the whole of the building development himself as a long term project, raising a second mortgage of £4,000. on the same security in 1912.²

Sharp had been at work on the Cowper estate, on land purchased in 1887. Although he did resell some of his land, for example 3,652 square yards at 5s-0d per square yard in 1888, Sharp undertook a considerable amount of building himself. In 1896, when he purchased the Newton Lodge land he raised a mortgage of £8,100. at 3¼% from W. Brooke and C. L. Brooke, the latter a cotton thread manufacturer. Sharp's security was not only the remaining part of the Cowper purchase but thirty-six houses and two shops he had built in Banstead Grove and Harehills Terrace; ten cottages and nineteen houses in the in-township of Leeds, built on land purchased in 1886, completed the security for the mortgage.³ This combination of land speculation in the

1. LCD 21098; 21339; 21856.

2. LCD 6098.

3. LCD 18567.

DEVELOPER-BUILDER BACK-TO-BACKS OF THE 1890s



Photograph 21. HAREHILLS TERRACE, POTTERNEWTON, c.1896;
36 houses and 2 shops by J. N. SHARP.

A superior form with bay window and integral lavatory.

Photograph 22. THORNVILLE GROVE, HEADINGLEY, c.1892;
17 houses by B. AND W. WALMSLEY; outside privies.



growing suburbs, plus a decreasing amount of building involvement in the in-township was probably typical of many of the medium-sized builders of Leeds during the last quarter of the century, lacking sufficient capital or adventure to become entirely suburban based developers.

Only a small number of entrepreneurs became major purchasers of building estates in the northern out-townships. Those who did so were mostly manufacturers and tended to invest in building land only once. The main attraction proved to be the Cardigan estate auction in 1888. William Plews, a linen manufacturer of Burley Mount, purchased fifteen acres of building land very unripe for development, between Kirkstall and the boundary of borough and township with Horsforth, in partnership with Philemon Denton, a publican. Maurice Marcan, a woollen merchant, paid 5s-2½d per square yard for 5,780 square yards adjoining his house on the fringe of Headingley village. George Bray, a gas lighting engineer, spent most on building land of all the manufacturers, £14,750. for 61,650 square yards, 4s-8½d per square yard. Part of this prime building land to the south of Headingley village was purchased to provide a site for the Leeds Cricket, Football, and Athletic Company, better known today as the home of the Yorkshire County Cricket Club and the Leeds Rugby League team. Had Bray and his fellow sporting enthusiasts been prepared to purchase their earlier sporting venue, the Cardigan Cricket Fields, they might have paid less as it was sold to B. and W. Walmsley at only 2s-2½d per square yard. However, it was a less readily accessible site in a less desirable neighbourhood.¹

Only two entrepreneurs, both manufacturers, were actively involved in the development of their building

1. However, Bray conveyed the sports ground site to the Company for 1s-1½d per square yard, ULD 356.

estates. They were J. W. Archer, a woollen manufacturer of Gledhow Mount, Potternewton, and W. and J. Rayner, Leeds boot and shoe manufacturers. At first Rayners had been involved in rapid but moderately profitable resales without subdivision. In February 1873 they had purchased 14,650 square yards of Earl Cowper's Roundhay Road estate, reselling it in January 1874 to Thomas Pape, a Leeds builder, and John Maude, a Leeds innkeeper, at a profit of 1s-0d per square yard. In June 1874 they had been party to the transactions in former Headingley Glebe land which eventually led to the founding of the Oakfield Terrace Building Club. Rayners had purchased 47,100 square yards at 1s-0d and resold to John Hall, a Leeds architect and Edwin Holt, Leeds woolstapler, at 1s-3½d per square yard.

W. and J. Rayner did not resume a developer role in the northern out-townships until the second half of the 1880s. Between 1885 and 1889 they purchased 73,160 square yards of the Cowper estate 'between Roundhay and Harehills Road', in three separate lots. No information is available about the progress of sales of this land. Houses built by Edward Wray in Leam Terrace were on land previously sold by the Rayners to Joseph Boyle, the brickmaker.¹ Back-to-back cottages miserably sited to the north of the Leeds Workhouse were built by J. W. and H. Charles, Leeds architects.² When John Rayner died in 1900 he owned houses on this land, including a block of eight back-to-backs.³ One possible indication of the small size of the northern suburbs developer world was that John Rayner was sufficiently well acquainted with Benjamin Walsley, the Headingley builder, to appoint him as one of the trustees to his will.

1. LCD 12502.

2. LCD 12240.

3. LCD 12599.

The development activities in Potternewton of the other active manufacturer, J. W. Archer, are slightly less obscure; in 1888 and 1889 he purchased 248,163 square yards of the Cowper estate between the Roundhay and Harehills Roads. For his 1889 purchase he paid £19,008, 2s-2½d per square yard, without recourse to mortgage assistance; the purchases probably were the result of a decision to speculate with a portion of accumulated business profits. No other investment was made in building land in future years. Archer resold land to builders throughout the 1890s, receiving 6s-0d per square yard in 1890, 1891, and 1894.¹ The layout and development of the estate was the responsibility of John Hall, architect and surveyor, and R.S. Wigin, a Leeds solicitor. Hall had had previous development experience on his own behalf in Headingley during the mid 1870s.²

The third group of developers, lawyers, architects and surveyors, and estate agents, were members of professions which provided services to the development process. To their nineteenth-century contemporaries it is doubtful if any but the lawyers would have been recognised as belonging to a profession. Although the Royal Institute of British Architects had been founded in 1835 only eleven per cent of those calling themselves architects in 1881 had been members, and the number was only twenty-seven per cent by 1911.³ A separate Surveyor's Institute had been founded in 1868,⁴ but throughout the nineteenth century there continued to be a considerable overlap between the activities of

1. LCD 18205; 18857; 8485; 12726. Only 4s-3d per square yard was received for the single known sale in 1895. Archer bought land in Chapel Allerton in 1887.
2. LCD 7494.
3. B. Kaye, The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain, (1960), pl75.
4. Ibid., pl3.

architects, surveyors, land and estate agents. The estate agent's role of bringing together buyers and sellers of property grew rapidly in importance in Leeds after the 1850s. Headingley property was first advertised for sale by estate agents in 1855; the earliest was that of Hobson and Hindle who had offices in Park Row, Leeds. By 1857 W. B. Hindle was handling not only cottage property in Burley but also houses to let in Headingley.¹ Not until 1864, however, did the compilers of Leeds directories recognise estate agents as a separate occupational category.²

Throughout the nineteenth century 'estate agency' included men, without training, who were agents for the development of their own building land. B. H. Richardson, the founder of the Oakfield Terrace Building Club, had been an insurance agent in 1871 before becoming an estate agent. Charles Higgins, a developer on Cowper estate land in 1896, had had a more varied career, becoming an estate agent only after his purchase of a building estate; 'formerly a cabinet maker, afterwards a grocer and general dealer and subsequently for a period of nearly twelve months prior to his decease an estate agent and mortgage broker'.³

Two of the other four estate agents who purchased building estates bought considerable amounts with long term development potential. As such their purchases were highly speculative, but inexpensive. William Robshaw, who described himself as a land agent, purchased twenty-seven acres of the Cardigan estate between Kirkstall and the out-township boundary with Horsforth for only 3½d per square yard. Its development potential

1. LM, 4 August 1855; 21 February 1857.

2. Charlton and Anderson, Directory of Leeds, (1864).

3. LCD 6521. Declaration of M. J. Prentis, Leeds clerk.

was not realised until 1935 when Leeds Corporation bought most of it. Robshaw's immediate return in 1890 was a rental of £33-8s-0d per year for 24.5 acres of arable land and the proceeds of any timber sales from 2.5 acres of woodland.¹

Earl Cowper's success in disposing of his remaining Potternewton land after 1890 was almost entirely the result of sales to estate agents. The land with the long term development prospects was sold to H. H. Hodgson, a Leeds estate agent, in partnership with a Doncaster contractor, W. S. Arnold. The latter had purchased Cowper land in 1898, subdivided and resold it to Doncaster builders, who in turn resold to their Leeds counterparts.² However, the principal director of the joint activities appears to have been Hodgson. They had first purchased jointly in 1891 and 1892, but their major purchase took place in 1899 when they paid £12,500. for forty-four acres, including Broomhill Farm, at 1s-2d per square yard. They also purchased seventy-six acres of adjoining land outside the township from the Meynell-Ingram estate for £15,000. Within twelve months they had resold forty-five acres to Leeds Corporation for £20,000, the land to be used as a cemetery.³ In December 1913 they sold 16,177 square yards of their Potternewton land to the Corporation as the site for a school.⁴ These sales, at 1s-9d and 2s-0d per square yard reflected the land's lack of immediate development potential. However, Hodgson and Arnold anticipated a continued high demand for building land during the first decade of the twentieth century and proceeded to lay out their Potternewton land

1. LCD 4495.

2. LCD 10735; 12230.

3. LCD 2800.

4. LCD 2630.

for building purposes. In 1902 they sold 8,850 square yards at 2s-0d per square yard to the trustees of the James Brown estate as part of a cooperative effort to improve access to both estates from the Leeds - York Road.

The Hodgson and Arnold land was laid out in fifteen building blocks, all for back-to-back houses; the only exception was the land adjoining the cemetery, this was intended for factories. The regimented layout of the terraces aptly commemorated the events and personages of the Boer War; there were streets for Buller, Kitchener, Kimberley, and Ladysmith. Only four blocks were ever built upon, the remainder was purchased by Leeds Corporation in 1921 and 1925 at 2s-5d and 2s-0d per square yard.

The most active of the estate agent developers was John Wainwright Watson. His earliest involvement with Potternewton development came from his role as agent for the sale of the Low Moor Iron and Steel Company's land. Whilst purchasing building land on the adjoining Cowper estate at less than 1s-0d per square yard in 1902 he was helping to sell Low Moor Iron and Steel Company land at 3s-7d per square yard. Between 1897 and 1902 he purchased 157,562 square yards of Cowper land adjoining the in-township boundary; each of his successive purchases cost less, from 1s-9d per square yard in 1897 to 11d per square yard in 1902. His earliest purchase of Potternewton land occurred in 1895 when E. O. Wooler, Leeds solicitor, and E. P. Wooler, a Batley corn miller, sold him 16,485 square yards at 2s-2d per square yard. The transaction provided the Woolers with a profit of £152. in twelve months. In 1895 Watson was reselling his former Wooler land at 6s-0d per square yard; between 1898 and 1902 he re-sold building blocks on land purchased directly from Earl

Cowper at 5s-0d and 5s-6d per square yard. These prices were between 1s-0d and 2s-0d per square yard lower than those prevailing on adjoining Potternewton building estates; this represented a saving of £80. on the purchase of an 800 square yard block suitable for the erection of eight back-to-back houses.

Consequently development on Watson's land was rapid although even he suffered from the decline in building activity from 1902 onwards. One response to this was reflected in his erection of eight back-to-backs on his own behalf with the aid of a mortgage from the Leeds Permanent Building Society; in 1907 he sold them for £1,940.

Lawyers had been involved in land transactions for centuries; through mortgage arrangements and conveyancing the lawyer was in a good position to know the current state of the market for building land but few became developers. T. E. Upton II had developed his eight acres in Lower Burley during the 1850s and 1860s; J. North had been a partner of the builder Samuel Croft in the development of the Burley House estate; during the 1870s T. Simpson had subdivided part of the Headingley Glebe land for the building of detached and semi-detached villas. Only two law firms became involved in the development of building estates for small through houses and back-to-backs after 1871. These were Lupton and Fawcett, and Ford and Warren.

John Rawlinson Ford appears to have been drawn into development as mortgagee of the Leeds Horticultural Gardens Company.¹ It had set out in 1875 to restore Clapham's Royal Park Gardens as a place of recreation with the aid of an £11,000. mortgage from R. Lawson Ford. The mortgage had been continued by J. R. Ford

1. LCD 12456. He also made loans to builders, for example £1,700. to John Hutton in 1883, LCD 15999.

after his father's death in 1878. By 1885 it was apparent that the venture had been unsuccessful, the mortgagees took over and attempted to sell it by auction. They were no more successful than the Director's attempt had been in 1884. In December 1885 J. R. Ford took over, extinguishing the mortgage and paying the Company £1,300. for the fixtures.¹ Ford, having taken the land for the equivalent of 4s-5d per square yard, resold 29,630 square yards to his legal partner, W. Warren, and J. Franks, a surveyor, at 7s-0d per square yard in June 1888. This price gave them little opportunity for profit; resales to builders at 8s-6d per square yard in 1888 were reduced to between 6s-6d and 6s-9d per square yard in 1892. J. R. Ford was also selling his part of the land at 6s-9d per square yard in 1892.²

At his first attempt to sell the land for building purposes Ford had announced that 'facilities may be offered to investors or speculative builders which will give them advantages they do not usually obtain in the development of building estates.'³ Lawyers were in an excellent position to be able to find financial support for builders, a factor most clearly demonstrated by W. A. Lupton and W. Fawcett, sub-developers on the former Low Moor Iron and Steel Company's estate in Potternewton. In 1903 they went into partnership with J. Hobson, a Holbeck joiner and builder, to develop 35,222 square yards purchased from J. B. Mays, a retired publishers agent, at 6s-0d per square yard. Between 1903 and 1905 they succeeded in reselling to builders at prices ranging from 7s-6d to 10s-9½d per square yard, a much higher price than Mays was able to obtain from his

1. LM, 20 September 1884; LCD 15896.

2. LCD 15896; ULD 195; 227.

3. LM, 5 June 1886.

own sales. Lupton, Fawcett, and Hobson were able to offer their builders mortgages, at 5% yearly rate of interest. A. Maude, a Holbeck joiner and builder, presumably introduced by Hobson paid 11s-0d per square yard for 1,885 square yards, but was provided with a £2,700. mortgage at the same time. He received an additional £1,116. while building was in progress. Once building was completed all but £566. of the mortgage debt was transferred to other mortgagees, the twelve houses and a shop built by Maude standing as security.¹ The possible disadvantage of this policy was mortgage foreclosure, with the usual follow-up of an auction of the property for whatever could be obtained. In 1904 and 1905 Lupton, Fawcett, and Hobson provided W.A.C. Walters, a Leeds builder, with mortgage support for the erection of thirteen houses, a total of £3,050. Although Walters defaulted in 1907 the mortgagees successfully sold them for £3,800.

The only architect with a good reputation as a designer to be involved in building estate development was George Corson. During the late 1860s he had purchased land on the northern fringe of Headingley village from the Earl of Cardigan. In 1885 he had laid out a new street to be called Shire Oak Road and was willing to build houses for the purchasers of half acre lots, according to his own designs.² Another architect, Thomas Ambler, had attempted a similar scheme during the 1870s at Far Headingley.³ The demand for the quality of houses Corson and Ambler wished to build was too small to support many such developments. Lesser architects like Charles Fowler in 1870 and John Hall in 1875 were willing to act as developers and sell land

1. LCD 10542.

2. LM, 23 May 1885; 18 July 1885.

3. LM, 13 June 1874; 15 May, 24 July 1875; 28 October 1876.

to speculative builders.¹

Another architect, Robert Wood, a purchaser of land at the 1888 Cardigan estate auction had elevated himself from the ranks of the builders and contractors where he had been in 1884 when he purchased part of the Headingley Glebe land. It was at this level where the boundaries between architect, surveyor and builder were most blurred, that the greatest awareness was displayed of the needs of the ordinary builder. In 1886 Wood offered a complete service for the small builder.

Land for scullery houses, nineteen feet frontage, with gardens fifteen feet long, including sewerage, kerbing, free conveyance and plans, drawing and passing by the Corporation, only £22. per house; for through houses fifteen feet frontage £29. To a purchaser of land for eight cottages, upon paying 10% deposit, money would be advanced until ready for occupation.²

Wood's offer emphasized the problems facing the small builders during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They had been made subject to the constraints of the building regulations introduced during the late 1860s and the early 1870s. Not only did it mean having to conform to a standard of construction but also having to make and submit plans. For builders of the older generation the changes represented a threat to their rule of thumb methods. Heppers, the Leeds auctioneers, considered that more stringent building regulations applied in 1875 had caused a check in building operations in some quarters. They also lamented the lack of training, technical knowledge and acquaintance with the first principles of geometry in the trade.³

In these circumstances the master builders who were able to cope with the new situation of the 1870s were

1. LM, 23 July 1870; 27 June 1874.

2. LM, 23 October 1886.

3. LM, 1 January 1876.

able to take on more labour and to increase their scale of operations as the town of Leeds continued to expand, subject to the economic prosperity of its inhabitants and the vagaries of trade and building cycles. The most enterprising builders were able to forge alliances with capital and become developers. They did so because the greatest speculative profits were to be made from subdividing building land, not from building houses.

For the smaller builders the building estates of the developers provided safe parameters within which they could erect houses. Developers usually provided guidelines for builders through restrictive covenants in much the same way as their predecessors had earlier in the century. The type and quality of houses was frequently specified; after 1871 developers in Headingley cum Burley and Potternewton most frequently required terrace houses of between £12. and £30. annual rental value, the cheaper ones being back-to-back, the more expensive being good quality through houses.

Additional controls were sometimes used; the Countess of Cardigan as pre-development landowner insisted that houses with frontage to Cardigan Lane should be worth £400. and those with frontage to Brudenell Road worth £350. because the two roads commemorated the family's names. Naylor's trustees would not allow any houses 'of the type called back-to-back' to be erected on the Newton Lodge estate.¹ Developers were usually more flexible; J. W. Archer, the woollen manufacturer, was willing to accept 'any class of dwelling houses approved by the Corporation of Leeds.'²

It was also possible to control house type through the development plan, some blocks being reserved for

1. LCD 9450; 18756; 10896.

2. LCD 15469.

through houses and others, of greater width, being for back-to-back houses. Building lines were also a means of enforcing the amount of garden and yard space to be provided. Builders were often required to obtain approval for the elevations of the houses they proposed to erect. In theory Earl Cowper retained this control of all his building land, but it proved an impossible task after land had passed through several hands and considerable subdivision had taken place. Occasionally lawyers appear to have required an indemnity for their client against such inspection after houses had been built and sold. In 1905 this led to J. W. Watson writing a formal letter of approval for houses already built by a builder who had subsequently died.¹ Watson clearly had not bothered to approve the elevations beforehand.

On the Lupton, Fawcett, and Hobson building land control of elevations was taken more seriously, approval having to be obtained from their surveyors. Builders were also provided with a materials specification.

New pressed bricks neatly dressed off with putty lime or weather jointed with black mortar, all openings to have wrought stone sills, steps and thresholds and stone heads or pressed brick arches. All roofs to be covered with new slates and no old or second hand materials to be used on the outside of any of the buildings.²

However, once a satisfactory style and builder had been found most developers were content.

The buildings to be erected...should be through houses with a frontage of sixteen feet each to the said Terrace...and should be built in the same style of Elevation

1. LCD 15918.

2. LCD 9116.

and covered with the same kind of slates as the said houses already built by the said J. Boothman in the said Terrace.¹

6.5 Repetition of the Development Sequence in the Outer Ring: Chapel Allerton. X

a. The search for seclusion.

The early stages of the development sequence, experienced in Headingley cum Burley and Potternewton between 1825 and 1850, were present increasingly in Chapel Allerton after 1860. Hives' sale of part of the Allerton Hill estate in 1865 as sites for the erection of villas on the fringe of the village at Chapeltown was a similar development response to that of Bischoff, Marshall, and Thorp on their Headingley Hill estates south of Headingley village during the 1830s and 1840s.

Higher density suburban development in Chapel Allerton was delayed by two factors: the availability of building land closer to central Leeds; and also the rejection of development by the major Chapel Allerton landowners, the Beckett family of bankers, during the second half of the nineteenth century. Instead, smaller estates provided the opportunity for families seeking a new refuge from urban Leeds to establish residences in the privacy of a rural setting. In Headingley and Potternewton during the first half of the century such estates had been occupied principally by bankers, textile manufacturers, and merchants. Foremost in the movement into Chapel Allerton after mid-century were the entrepreneurs of the Leeds engineering industry; J. W. Naylor, machine maker for Fairbairns, had been amongst the first when he purchased two lots on the Hives estate, comprising the mansion, Allerton Hill, and four acres.

Another machine maker, T. S. Kennedy, created the
1. LCD 18147. Developer; C. Morgan, 1888.

forty acres Meanwood Towers estate between 1869 and 1883;¹ F. W. Tannett-Walker, engineer, replaced the Oates family of woollen manufacturers and merchants at Carr Manor;² J. Kitson the younger took Gledhow Hall, the former Dixon mansion, as his residence in 1884.³ Kitson took the estate after having been a co-mortgagee to the previous owner; he paid his co-mortgagees £20,000. Three years later Kitson spent £11,000. on adjoining land.⁴

Not all engineers were equally successful; one of the Whitham family of engineers, originally of Kirkstall, had to transfer his house and estate in Chapel Allerton to his mortgagees; in 1887 the thirty four acres estate was sold to another engineer, R. C. Parsons, who promptly resold to C. Ryder, a Leeds brewer, for an additional £1,250.⁵

The growing Leeds clothing industry was represented amongst Chapel Allerton residents by John Barran, who purchased Chapel Allerton Hall and forty-eight acres for £21,300. in 1871 from the trustees of W. Nicholson, banker, of Roundhay.⁶

Successful members of older established Leeds trades were also amongst the new purchasers. A wine merchant, J. Hebblethwaite, bought twenty-six acres and Grange House in 1870;⁷ the cloth merchant, E. Schunk, purchased twenty-seven acres from the Dixon family of Cheshire in 1885;⁸ a hide and skin broker, G. Watson, bought Donnisthorpe House and sixty-seven

1. LCD 5852; 5853.
2. LCD 5852.
3. LCD 6994.
4. LCD 3915.
5. LCD 2675.
6. LCD 14419; 21516
7. LCD 8611.
8. LCD 7619.

acres in 1894.¹ The major purchaser in the latter year was W. L. Jackson, a Leeds tanner, member of parliament, and future Lord Allerton; he purchased Allerton Hall and ninety acres from the heirs of W. W. Brown, banker, for £22,000;² Jackson also spent another £11,000. on adjoining land in 1898.³

By the 1870s the 700 acres Meanwood Park estate of Christopher Beckett had descended to his niece, Mary Beckett. She continued to purchase adjoining land. In 1875 she purchased the twenty-eight acres of the Tunnel How Hill estate for £4,000. from a branch of the Lloyd family then resident in Ireland. The land had been put up for sale by auction as eligible for building upon.⁴ Fourteen acres were purchased from E. Ward, a London barrister, the following year.⁵ In both instances the land purchased had been salients protruding into the Beckett domain. The policy of consolidation was still evident at the turn of the century. In 1898 9.5 acres were exchanged with the new resident of Chapel Allerton Hall, W. L. Jackson.⁶ Smaller purchases were made in 1893⁷ and 1895.⁸ The only release of land was a 99 year lease of half an acre for the construction of a Convalescent Hospital for Children in 1879. Miss Beckett provided £300. towards building costs, and in 1883 converted the lease to a freehold.⁹

Between them the descendants of Christopher, Thomas, and William Beckett owned 35 per cent, more

1. LCD 3096.

2. LCD 789.

3. LCD 3235.

4. LCD 2849.

5. Ibid. Ward had inherited the estate. Sale price £1,626.

6. LCD 3235.

7. LCD 2849. Parkside House and 4.5 acres for £1,825.

8. LCD 3270. Six cottages and stables for £550.

9. LCD 8978.

than 850 acres of Chapel Allerton, primarily in the western half of the township. Although the Becketts had their principal residences in Lincolnshire they were unwilling to sell Leeds property until E. W. Beckett became the 2nd Lord Grimthorpe in 1905. He began a policy of selling land originally purchased by William Beckett in both Headingley and Chapel Allerton.¹ Mary Beckett's policy, and control, of the other Beckett land remained unchanged until her death in 1915.²

b. Land speculation and building estate development.

The impact of the distribution of residential landed estates was to restrict developers' interest in Chapel Allerton to the north-eastern part of the township and to small sites on the periphery of Chapeltown village. It was not possible, therefore, for development of building land to spread almost imperceptibly across the township boundary from Potternewton as had appeared to happen in Lower Burley during the 1850s. This 'green belt' separation did not deter a three man Leeds syndicate from purchasing the 618 acres estate of E. Simpson, of Regent's Park, London, in 1870.³ Riley Briggs, flaxspinner, Richard Robinson, linen manufacturer, and William North, solicitor, paid £36,783, taking over a mortgage of £16,317. made to Simpson in 1861 by mortgagees including Lords Elcho and Egerton.

Although the estate lay beyond the limits of current building estate development land resales between 1870 and 1873 recouped almost half the purchase price. J. W. Hebblethwaite purchased Grange House

1. LCD 2388. 1907 sale to Leeds Corporation.
2. Her heir, Sir Hickman Beckett Bacon sold 767 acres during 1920 and 1921. LCD 2849; 2757.
3. Simpson's father had purchased parts of the estate from the Dixon family in 1836 and 1839; 148 acres lay in the adjoining township of Shadwell.

and 27 acres for £5,190. in 1870;¹ Robinson purchased the two-thirds shares of Briggs and North in 90 acres for £5,000. in 1871;² H. D. Harrison, a brick manufacturer, purchased the Sportsman's Hall estate and 41 acres in 1873;³ Harrison also appears to have purchased the Holly Bank estate and at least 67 acres.⁴ The three sales for which full details are available realised £15,691. and must have been instrumental in enabling the mortgage to be paid off in 1871.

In 1875 the remaining 254 acres of the estate in Chapel Allerton were divided between the three men.⁵ Only Briggs lived long enough to see major sales to developers. Richardson died in 1875; his only disposal had been of the 90 acres of Lidgett Lane Farm, bought in 1871, as gift to his brother, Isaac. North sold one acre with frontage to the Harrogate road in 1877 and gave Leeds Corporation land for the making of a new road to be called Street Lane in 1881.⁶ North died in 1883.

The earliest large scale speculation by a developer occurred in 1887 when J. W. Archer purchased the Lidgett Lane Farm for £6,700.⁷ This was the first known venture of Archer into north Leeds building development, antedating by one year his first building estate in Potternewton.⁸ However, available records of resales to builders do not commence until 1898 when 2s-6d per

1. LCD 8611.

2. LCD 1351.

3. LCD 8909.

4. LCD 8611.

5. LCD 2652. Robinson 93 acres; Briggs 81 acres; North 80 acres. Briggs paid North £300. for equality of partition.

6. LCD 8902; 2652.

7. LCD 8508. Purchase at 4d per square yard.

8. Archer appears to have purchased a residence, Gledhow Mount, in the township in 1886; he resold land to Kitson of Gledhow Hall in 1887 for £10,825. LCD 3915.

square yard was obtained for 1,610 square yards; a minimum annual value restrictive covenant of £20. was applied.¹

By 1900 Archer was selling his Chapel Allerton land with the aid of another developer, J. B. Mays, who was also active with Archer in Potternewton. Archer was only able to obtain 1s-8d per square yard from Mays for 62,870 square yards, a price which left opportunity for further speculation. When the land was finally conveyed in 1901 Mays had resold it to a Nottinghamshire bleacher, A. Bexon, for £6,811, a profit of £1,572; Bexon in turn had made a profit of £1,048. on his resale to A. S. Musgrave of Settle.² Archer's impending removal to Bournemouth in 1902 may have increased his desire to dispose of his oldest development estate without maximising his profit.

The builder-developer, Edward Wray, active in Potternewton from 1874 onwards, purchased R. Robinson's share of the 1875 portion for £8,000. in 1894.³ He immediately resold the 45 acres of the estate south of Street Lane to two Leeds solicitors, E. O. Wooler and H. M. Carter, for £5,394. Wooler was also involved in Potternewton building estate development during the 1890s.⁴ Wooler and Carter had a layout plan produced by the Leeds architect and surveyor, W. H. Beevers. By 1897 they had made three sales, a total of 7,124 square yards at an average price of 1s-8d per square yard. Another 1,722 square yards had been given to Leeds Corporation in 1896 for the widening of Street Lane from thirty-six feet to sixty feet. The only

1. LCD 18493. A pair of semi-detached houses were built in The Avenue.
2. LCD 3793.
3. LCD 4459. Purchase at 4d per square yard. Immediate resale price was 6d per square yard.
4. Wooler on the Cowper estate, LCD 15469.

large sale for which evidence is available was of 18,620 square yards at 2s-0d per square yard to the Leeds Poor Law Guardians in 1899.

Wray himself fared little better. His daughters still had building land to sell after his death in 1899; a block of 5,377 square yards sold in 1905 for 1s-8d per square yard, below one-quarter of the price commanded by building land nearer to Leeds.¹ The survival of Wray's restrictive covenants of minimum structural values of £250. and only through houses on back streets may also have deterred purchasers.

Land speculation was also more significant than building development on R. Briggs' share of the divided lands. In 1894 a farm and 47 acres were sold to Joseph Talbot of Batley for £5,217.² Talbot resold in two lots in 1900 at 1s-0d per square yard. H.M. Carter purchased 7.5 acres and promptly resold to A. T. Tannett-Walker, occupant of the adjoining Moor Allerton Hall, for a profit of £852. Carter and G. W. Atkinson, a Leeds architect, purchased 35.5 acres for £8,978. They acted as trustees for W. C. Hall, also an architect, and H. C. Bowling, a Leeds solicitor. The estate was laid out for building purposes by Atkinson; the trustees were to sell the land and to judge when to do so.³ By 1912 only three sales had been marked on their plan; £13,500. had also been raised on the estate between 1900 and 1907, probably to enable the proprietors to carry out building on their own behalf.

The trustees of the will of W. North experienced similar delays. Their earliest sales for which evidence is available were in 1909 and 1912 when prices of 2s-1d per square yard were obtained for blocks of 7,565 square

1. LCD 3112. The streets were the Romans and Normans.

2. LCD 8611. Purchase at 5½d per square yard.

3. LCD 25652. The streets were the Talbots and East Moors.

yards and 7,400. square yards. ¹ Minimum annual value restrictive covenants of £19-10s-0d were applied on back streets and £22-10s-0d on the Street Lane frontage.

Developments of a smaller class of houses north of the village nucleus at Chapeltown were also slow to reach a conclusion. Two rows of building plots either side of Northbrook Street were put up for sale by the trustees of the will of Thomas Ward in 1876. ² Although prices ranging from 2s-10d to 4s-0d per square yard were obtained for lots between 1,000 square yards and 2,000 square yards building development was slow. ³ Progress was delayed by the decline in building activity during the late 1870s and early 1880s. Undeveloped plots were resold for 4s-6d in 1888 and 4s-10d in 1889. Land was still being resold in 1897, albeit at the improved price of 6s-5d per square yard. ⁴

The demand for back-to-back cottages and small through houses in the area was buoyant at the start of the twentieth century. H. H. Hodgson, estate agent and developer, purchased Glebe land facing the Northbrook Street houses on the opposite side of Chapel Allerton recreation ground in 1901 for 2s-6d per square yard. He also purchased an adjoining 4.75 acres of steeply sloping ground from G. Dixon in 1902 for 8d per square yard. The 1901 purchase was laid out in seven blocks with plots for 29 through houses and 90 back-to-back cottages. At least one block of back-to-backs was erected by the Leeds architects J. E. and H. Preston in 1904. ⁵ Hodgson received 6s-4d per square yard for

1. LCD 2652; 4458.

2. LCD 21679.

3. LCD 21336; 21348.

4. LCD 21679.

5. LCD 21349; 21678. H. Preston was a Northbrook Street resident. The block was Pasture Grove - Pasture Terrace.

SMALL TERRACED HOUSES IN THE OUTER RING: CHAPEL ALLERTON



Photograph 23. NORTHBROOK STREET, through houses, 1876-.
Plots were still unbuilt on in 1897.

Photograph 24. PASTURE TERRACE, 1904. Double frontage
back-to-backs by J. E. AND H. PRESTON, architects.
Through houses in block at rear. H. H. Hodgson, developer.



his building land. His assessment of the ripeness of land at that distance from central Leeds for building purposes was confirmed by the Lax family of builders working on the southern fringe of the village on land formerly belonging to the Earl of Mexborough. In 1902 they built up five streets; two blocks of back-to-backs and two blocks of through houses.¹

Two small estates in the south-western corner of the township also attracted developers because of their proximity to tanneries and other factories lower down the Meanwood Valley. Across the beck in Headingley former Glebe land had been developed successfully by R. Wood during the 1880s and 1890s as sites for back-to-backs and small through houses.² In 1885 J. W. Heeles, estate agent, purchased 18,388 square yards from the trustee of T. Midgley's estate.³ Heeles developed a single street, Greenwood Mount, with a row of houses on either side rather than the customary block of building land with front and back road. He was able to purchase at 7d per square yard and resell in small plots, achieving 6s-1d per square yard in 1901. The eventual builder on that plot paid 7s-4d per square yard for 722 square yards, erecting four through houses.

The second estate was the Bentley House estate of thirteen acres, purchased by Charles Stott, retired builder and the largest scale developer of the Headingley and Potternewton developers. Stott succeeded in selling 5.7 acres of building sites during the building boom at the turn of the century.⁴ In 1903, after Stott's death,

1. LCD 21080; 21196; 21210; 21276; 21694. Zermatt Terrace; Methley Drive, - Mount, - View, - Terrace, - Place.
2. LCD 21498; 21804; 21961. The Highburys.
3. LCD 25445. Midgley had been a farmer.
4. LCD 10909. The estate had been sold twice previously in the 1890s. The price Stott paid is unknown.

his descendants sold the remaining land for 8d per square yard to G. W. T. Laverack, Leeds gentleman, F. J. Laverack, a London Congregational Minister, W. H. Saville, Leeds solicitor, and C. E. Taylor, Leeds land agent. The new purchasers found sales harder to achieve as building activity declined ¹ Taylor and Saville withdrew in 1907 and 1909 respectively, leaving the Laveracks to struggle on into the 1920s before defaulting on their mortgage commitments, more than half of their original purchase still unsold.

Although the basic pre-1914 cheap suburban form of streets of brick built terraces had penetrated into Chapel Allerton by 1900 it was still feasible to attempt the development of a more expensive, highly respectable form. The developer was a Leeds solicitor, W. J. Cousins, owner of the Allerton Park estate who was aided by the civil engineers, surveyors, and land agents, Martin and Fenwick. They divided the building land into sites by means of a single cul-de-sac drive round the 20 acres, with building plots radiating from it on both sides. ² Of the few early purchasers the most significant was Bernal Bagshawe, gentleman, formerly of 'The Cedars', Headingley. He bought 3.5 acres in 1902 for £4,300; he also covenanted to spend not less than £3,000. on a single house, exclusive of internal decorations; roofs were to be of red, green, or grey tiles, common blue slates were forbidden. Bagshawe had the option of erecting two detached houses each of £1,000. value or a pair of semi-detached houses worth £800. each. He built one grand house and called it the Red House. ³

1. Sales in 1904, 1905 and 1909 disposed of 10,899 square yards; prices received unknown. LCD 10909.
2. LCD 9404. Sale plan, 1902. One site was marked for Cousins' own house.
3. Ibid.

The only other house for which details are available was Pytchley House, built for F. D. Briggs, a maltster. The land was purchased in 1908 for £1,235, at 2s-6d per square yard. A minimum value restrictive covenant of £1,000. for each of two houses was imposed. When Briggs required an additional 524 square yards in 1909 he had to pay 6s-7½d, the peak of local small building plot prices although there were still vacant sites on the Allerton Park Estate.¹

When Cousins prepared to develop an adjoining part of his estate in 1913 the layout was for semi-detached houses on small sites.² This type of house, free of low-class connotations of the terrace, but too cheap to afford the landscaped surroundings of Allerton Park, was to become the most prevalent building form in the township during the next half-century; only the halt to building activity during the 1914 - 19 war masked its pre-1914 origins.

1. LCD 15768.

2. LCD 10920.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BUILDING ESTATE DEVELOPMENT AS A PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY;
THE BROWN ESTATE, POTTERNEWTON, 1882 - 1907.

It has been suggested that the significant decisions which predetermined the nature of a housing estate had been taken by developers before the house builder arrived to put the materials together and give those decisions a built form. Although the developers made the decisions, on what basis were they made? Whilst builder-developers could be expected to have accrued practical experience on which to base decisions, they were not beyond seeking the assistance of others. Henry Lax and Joseph Boyle had many years experience of Leeds building development, but in 1903 their estate was laid out by the architect Frederick Mitchell. How did developers who were not members of the building trades arrive at their decisions? J. W. Archer, the woollen manufacturer, had the assistance of the architect John Hall and the solicitor R. S. Wigin. Common to both developers was the assistance rendered by members of professions which provided a service at some stage in the development process.

The most satisfactory evidence for elucidation of the role played by professional advisors in the development of estates for building purposes is afforded by the experience of the trustees and devisees of the James Brown estate, Potternewton, between 1882 and 1907.

7.1. The Control of Development.

In 1882, five years after the death of James Brown II, the estate trustees enquired about the potential of the Harehills portion of the 700 acres Potternewton estate. None of the trustees lived in Leeds, and their enquiry was addressed to their agent, Gervase Markham, who was based at Malton in Yorkshire. Markham in turn contacted the Leeds firm of Martin and

Fenwick, civil engineers, surveyors, and land agents. This firm had played a part in the development of the northern out-townships since the 1860s, their clients included H. C. Marshall and the Cardigan estate trustees.

Thomas Fenwick provided an estimate, based on a sale by auction within twelve months. He also added that he had under consideration 'the project for a Suburban Railway which I hope to bring before Parliament next Sepim [sic], and if it succeeds it will enhance the value of the Harehills property'.¹ Although the project failed Martin and Fenwick began a connection with the estate which was to last for the next quarter of a century. The trustees made their development decisions at third hand, after the same pattern of communication as the first enquiry.

The Brown estate trustees relied upon Martin and Fenwick to devise a strategy for the sale of the estate as building land, to produce an optimum layout, and to handle negotiations with builders and local authority planning officials. Martin and Fenwick's advice and information was conveyed to the trustees by Gervase Markham. Markham, at Malton, relied upon a clerk O. W. Stone, who ran the Harehills estate office, to carry out instructions from Martin and Fenwick on matters relevant to the development of building land.

Once preparations were underway and negotiations commenced with builders another party became involved, the Leeds law firm Ford and Warren. The Ford was John Rawlinson Ford, active during the late 1880s with his partner in the development of the Leeds Horticultural Gardens estate in Headingley for building purposes. Apart from the normal legal duties involved in the conveyancing of property Ford also carried out

1. LCA, Acc1415, Brown Estate Papers, [B.E.P.] Letter T. Fenwick - G. Markham, 15 July 1882.

investigations into the probity of those who applied for building land on the trustees' estate and generally interested himself in the progress of the development. From the surviving correspondence between the parties involved it is apparent that there was a sense in which Martin and Fenwick and J. R. Ford felt they were the de facto rulers of the estate, irritated both when the trustees failed to follow their advice and when the Leeds Borough Surveyor and his staff insisted upon modifications to their plans which upset their strategy for the development. It was not necessarily that the three men rejected the need for planning, rather that they rejected the quality of some of the decision making.

Thus in 1894 Martin and Fenwick wrote to Markham:

The Streets Committee have imposed conditions upon our deposited Sections, making very objectionable Cuttings and Embankments in order to get one continuous gradient for each Street. We saw the City Engineer upon the subject and remonstrated with him, and these plans and sections have been again before the Committee and we are glad to say they have given up their requirements and agreed to our gradients which will make a considerable difference in the cost of forming these streets.¹

In 1898 the relationship had become rather more strained.

The Building Inspector now refuses to pass the Chapel Plans unless the sewer and kerb are put down in Avenue Crescent as well. ...There is no limit to this arrant stupidity.²

There is to be no connection with the Chapel, yet he insists in the most unreasonable and stubborn manner that

1. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham, 20 September 1894.
2. Ibid., 14 June 1898.

the sewers and kerbs are to be laid for about a quarter of a mile beyond the buildings to be erected. Such is the deplorable excess to which this Autocrat is allowed to domineer.¹

Nevertheless, Martin and Fenwick succeeded in having this requirement abandoned. They were not always successful, however.

We have made several attempts to obtain approval for a plan of the Pond Site, but have not yet satisfied the unknown and unwritten laws by which we are governed in these matters.²

Their disapproval of the bye-law regulations was at times a reflection of the rigidity with which they, were applied in cases where experience suggested a need to allow site conditions to dictate the most satisfactory response.

We consider this [four acres adjoining Roundhay Road] will be an exceedingly awkward piece of ground to lay out, and to sell for dwellinghouses, there is a sharp rise in the ground; just over the wall at one point the surface is about twelve feet above road level, it rises quickly beyond - access for dwellings would be difficult. The by-laws [sic] require a cross street, regardless of the fact that it will be positively dangerous and impracticable with a gradient of 1 in 6 or thereabouts.³

Most annoying too were the occasions when the Leeds Corporation officials attempted to use the granting of a planning permission as a lever to obtain action on other matters. This was a problem Ford and Warren met in 1901.

We have been to the City Engineer's Office to try and expedite the passing of the

1. Ibid., 13 June 1898.
2. Ibid., 13 December 1899.
3. Ibid., 14 April 1905.

plans of the land between Harehills Lane and Avenue Crescent. We think we have made some progress, but the Authorities are very tiresome people to deal with, as they refuse to pass the plans until the question of the widening of Harehills Lane is settled.¹

7.2 Development; the 1883 Auction.

The original enquiry from the trustees in 1882 had been about the possibility of a sale of building land by auction. It was followed up in 1883 by an auction sale of 112 acres of the estate to the north of the Cowper New Town development; this land had been purchased from the 6th Earl Cowper during the 1840s. Martin and Fenwick divided the land into thirteen lots, valued it, and set reserve prices for the sale. Only four of the lots were sold in 1883, and only one of those reached its valuation price, and two of the other three lots were sold for slightly less than their reserve price (see Table 47).

Disposal of the remaining nine lots was not achieved until 1890. The final success of the sale was primarily determined, not by developers and builders, but by the three people who between them purchased over 100 acres of the land; Sir James Kitson of Kitson and Company, locomotive and general engineers, E. Schunk of Schunk and Company, stuff and woollen merchants, and Robert Benson Jowitt, woollen merchant. All three entrepreneurs moved into residential estates carved out of the break-up of James Brown's Harehills Grove, park, and surrounding agricultural land. Jowitt expanded his estate with additional purchases in 1887, 1890, and 1891; his thirty-five acre estate and the former Brown mansion were purchased by Leeds Corporation in 1900 for £35,000,

1. B.E.P., Ford and Warren - G. Markham,
13 August 1901.

TABLE 47 .

BROWN ESTATE, POTTERNEWTON; 1883 AUCTION,
PRICES AND PURCHASERS, 1883 - 1890.

LOT NO.	SIZE sq.yd	VALUATION	RESERVE	SOLD FOR	DATE	PURCHASER
1	7,804	3s - 0d	2s - 6d	2s - 6d	1885	Sir J. Kitson
2	3,993	3s - 0d	2s - 9d	2s - 7d	1885	W. Myers
3	9,468	2s - 6d	2s - 2½d	2s - 6d	1887	E. Schunk
4	79,860 ¹	1s - 4d	1s - 4d	2s - 6½d ²	1889	R. B. Jowett
5	10,890	3s - 0d	2s - 6d	10d ³	1890	Sir J. Kitson
6	6,352	2s - 0d	1s - 9d	1s - 8d	1883	J. Eastwood
7	20,207	1s - 6d	1s - 4d	1s - 5½d	1883	R. Addyman
8	10,436	2s - 0d	1s - 8d	2s - 7d	1890	T. Hutton
9	65,776	7½d	7d	7½d	1883	E. Schunk
10	69,406	10½d	10d)		1889	Sir J. Kitson
11	6,897	2s - 6d	2s - 0d)	1s - 0d)		
12	28,895	1s - 3d	1s - 1d	1s - 0d	1885	Sir J. Kitson
13	89,927 ⁴	8½d	7d	8d	1887	E. Schunk

1. Including mansion and park.
2. Sold with additional land.
3. Land rearrangement with lot 4.
4. Including house and quarries.

SOURCE: LCA, Acc 1415, Brown Estate Papers.

at 4s-7d per square yard, to form Potternewton Park.¹

During the intervening time the rapid growth of population in the vicinity decreased the attraction of these residences and their illusion of country life, replacing views of fields with rows of roofs of terrace houses all the way down to the centre of Leeds. By the mid 1890s this change was being firmly established, but the purchasers of the 1880s made an attempt to stand fast against it. Unfortunately for Kitson, Schunk, and Jowett, the Brown estate was in the hands of Martin and Fenwick, who were aware of the exact situation. In 1892 Mrs. Schunk considered the purchase of 2.5 acres at 2s-7d per square yard but when her agent called upon Martin and Fenwick to say she had changed her mind they reported,

we told him a Builder had been in treaty for it and would probably build a small class of house, which might be objectionable to the residents in the House near the old quarry.²

However, this appears to have been a tactical manoeuvre because after Mrs. Schunk refused to be persuaded they revealed to Markham that they had no immediate purchaser, 'the land will probably be no worse for being in hand a few months.'³

By 1896 such subterfuge was unnecessary; when Jowett offered to purchase seven acres adjoining his park at 1s-5½d per square yard he was informed that its sale in small lots with frontage to a new street would produce prices of 3s-0d per square yard. In 1897 Sir James Kitson offered £5,250. for nine acres and Harehills House, 2s-4d per square yard, but he wanted in

1. LCD 1254.

2. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham,
9 February 1892.

3. Ibid.

return a restrictive covenant imposed upon all other nearby purchasers of land not to build houses costing less than £400. His offer was a counter to an offer of £5,000. from Messrs. Charles, 'builders and architects...their intention being to cut it up and build a small class of terrace houses or cottages'.¹ Messrs. Charles raised their offer to £5,500. but the Brown estate trustees rejected it. They were not entirely antipathetic to Kitson's offer; in 1897 Martin and Fenwick informed Markham that they had been unable to persuade Sir James to raise it 'but that having regard to the amenities of the neighbourhood he should perhaps preserve them better than a Speculative Builder'.² In 1898, when the house and land were put up for auction it was decided by the auctioneer, Hepper, and Martin and Fenwick that it should be offered in one lot because in that way it might still entice bids from both Sir James Kitson and Mr. Schunk.³ At auction it was sold for £10,500. to Seth Joy Stott, a builder; neither Kitson nor Schunk thought it worthwhile to safeguard their environs from despoilation when the cost had risen to a building land price of 4s-8d per square yard.

7.3 Building Land Sales.

a. Preparation.

The failure of the 1883 auction to dispose of all the land quickly at its estimated value must have been instrumental in producing a decision to sell building land directly to builders. The exclusion of developers of building land as purchasers had made it unlikely that the land would be disposed of at the estimated

1. Ibid., 13 September 1897; 16 September 1897.

2. Ibid., 17 September 1897.

3. B.E.P., J.R. Ford - G. Markham,
8 February 1898.

value; the alternative of selling in smaller lots at higher prices over the same length of time had considerable appeal. When a large lot was sold to a developer in 1887 the trustees could only admire the purchaser's ability to convert 21,000 square yards at 3s-0d per square yard into building sites at 6s-0d per square yard within twelve months.¹

By August 1886 Martin and Fenwick had drawn up a layout plan for part of the Brown estate and obtained the approval of the Leeds Corporation. In spite of the gradual recovery of building activity between 1886 and 1889 nothing was done to implement the proposals. It was necessary in March 1889 for Martin and Fenwick to remind Markham and the trustees that if nothing was done soon then the planning permission would lapse.²

The year 1890 was one of considerable activity in the preparation of the estate. Builders were interested in purchasing but in January Martin and Fenwick had to re-emphasise that streets needed to be made as soon as possible if houses were to be built during the summer.³ In March the lifting of 4,800 square yards of turves along the line of the intended Harehills Avenue was put out to tender. Even at this stage it was possible to contemplate profit; Martin and Fenwick had considered a tender of three-farthings per square yard excessive but Oswald Stone, the Harehills estate clerk, had discovered that the cut sods could be sold for 3d per square yard.⁴ Earthmoving to

1. LCD 15624; 15614; 18167; 21998; 18147. The developer, C. Morgan, gentleman, had also to pay 5d per square yard to the Low Moor Iron and Steel Company for the mineral rights under the land.
2. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham, 7 March 1889.
3. Ibid., 27 January 1890.
4. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - O. W. Stone, 5 March 1890.

achieve the required gradient for a road was more expensive, but by judicious planning it was possible to coordinate activities so that surplus soil from the making of one street could be used to raise the level of another.¹ At that stage it was also necessary to decide whether trees along the line of intended new streets should be felled or left standing.² Markham, the trustees' agent, was aware that suitably located trees enhanced the value of a street, and was prepared to pay to have them planted along Harehills Avenue, a street reserved for the most expensive houses.³

Road making activities were not without attendant problems. J. R. Ford had to find out whether the formal bye-law requirement that streets be paved and flagged meant that tarmacadam could not be used. The excavation of a road provided the neighbourhood with an opportunity for dumping which, if not stopped, could become a nuisance. At one stage the Harehills Avenue excavation was being used as a tip for ashpit refuse; Martin and Fenwick suspected the culprits to be Corporation contractors. In addition, the requirements of local authority officials had to be considered. In October 1890 the foundations for a road on the estate were declared to have been unsatisfactorily levelled; this was briefly dealt with by instructions from Martin and Fenwick that their contractor 'level the edges of the tipping a little'.⁴ However, once Martin and Fenwick had staked out a new street on the ground and Markham's clerk, Stone, had superintended the

1. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham, 9 September 1890. The cost, including cartage, was 2s-2½d per cubic yard.
2. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - O. W. Stone, 13 September 1890.
3. Ibid., G. Markham - O. W. Stone, 22 January 1896; Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham, 12 June 1895.
4. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham, 29 October 1890.



Photograph 25. HAREHILLS GROVE AND PARK, ?c.1822
sold 1889 to R. B. JOWITT, wool merchant. Resold 1900
to Leeds Corporation for a public park.

Photograph 26. HAREHILLS AVENUE, principal new street;
trees were to be planted to enhance plot values
c.1895. Semi-detached houses, Nos 33-43 (odd) by
G. LAX. Each pair with different elevation.



work it was possible for negotiations with builders to be concluded.

b. Negotiations with builders.

The earliest offer received in 1889 came from Charles Morgan, gentleman, who had profited considerably from his 1887 purchase. In July he offered £900. per acre, 3s-8½d per square yard, for 9.5 acres with frontages to the Leeds - Harrogate road and the estate's intended new road, Harehills Avenue. He was willing to build houses of £45. annual rental value on the latter, but only houses of £25. annual value on the former. The backland would have been covered with £16. minimum rental houses, 'all to be through houses and none of the kind known as back-to-back houses, provided also that shops may be built at the gable ends of houses if he thinks fit.'¹ Martin and Fenwick described him as 'a speculator' who would rival the estate's own attempts to sell building land. He was willing to pay £3,000. or £4,000. on receiving vacant possession, but had a definite idea of the price which would enable a satisfactory profit to be made from subsequent subdivision and resales. Martin and Fenwick attempted to persuade Morgan to increase his offer to £1,200. per acre, 'which he flatly refused, but we think he may be induced to advance to £1,000. an acre but not more.'² In addition they wanted a contribution of £300. towards the estate's much earlier costs of making one-half of Cowper Street in the New Town of Leeds. The trustees proved willing to accept £1,000. per acre but their rival developer, Morgan, refused.

At first the trustees attempted to obtain building land prices from builders who were wanting large blocks

1. Ibid., 22 July 1889.

2. Ibid.

of land suitable for subdivision and resales. In 1891 Martin and Fenwick received an enquiry for the price of between eight and ten acres in large blocks, anywhere on the estate. Martin and Fenwick set an asking price of £600. per acre, 2s-6d per square yard, but advised acceptance of £500. per acre, 2s-0½d per square yard, for any quantity above three acres. On the Harehills part of the estate Martin and Fenwick suggested only semi-detached villas and terrace houses of £25. annual value should be built.¹ However, Markham passed on the trustees' instructions that only £600. per acre would be acceptable for between eight and ten acres with a stipulation that only semi-detached villas would be satisfactory.² Martin and Fenwick acknowledged their instructions, but commented 'we shall probably have to be satisfied with terrace houses.'³

Builders had their own set of opinions, based on experience, as to what was and was not profitable. In May 1889 Martin and Fenwick informed Markham of their negotiations with the Leeds builders, Isaac and Wilson.

We have had some builders this morning wanting the Corner block of Chapeltown Road and Cowper Street, but we wished them to treat for a Plot nearer to the proposed Harehills Avenue. They finally asked to have prices named for each of the three blocks..., assuming that we do not require houses of a high class, which are not wanted so near the town. They built most of the houses in Reginald Terrace and Scholebrook [sic] Avenue for which the rents had to be lowered, and yet were not well let. ... They required an early answer, as they are ready to commence work, and say they cannot remain idle. They were going to

1. Ibid., 27 April 1891.

2. B.E.P., G. Markham - Martin and Fenwick, 30 April 1891.

3. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham, 2 May 1891.

look at a 20 acre lot in Hunslet.¹

However, the sympathy for local experience Martin and Fenwick were liable to display at times did not always find a reciprocal chord in the mind of the trustees. Isaac and Wilson never came back to Potternewton.

Both trustees and professional advisors were agreed on the need to deal with only the best of the builders. They were apparently identifiable in two ways; through their financial situation and from the demand for their end product. However, these people tended to be developers too, and also to demand special conditions before they would undertake to build themselves. In 1891 Martin and Fenwick were negotiating with one of the good builders who wanted the width of the building blocks to be decreased and a new back road introduced.

We should not have entertained this proposal from a common builder, but Mr. Franks has got a name for building very tasteful detached and semi-detached Villas and we feel sure the houses he will put up on this land would be exceedingly nice and would probably induce other builders to adopt the same style in the neighbourhood.²

Franks was willing to build only semi-detached houses and to have the elevations of his houses approved by the trustees, but was not prepared to countenance paying additional road costs caused by the trustees' decision that the width of one road should be increased from eighteen to thirty-six feet.³ By September 1891 terms had been agreed; Franks was to take 6.5 acres, build £30. annual value houses on the major street frontage and £25. houses on the backland. However, he also wanted purchasers of lots on the opposite frontage

1. Ibid., 14 May 1889.

2. Ibid., 28 July 1891.

3. Ibid., 8 August 1891.

also to be bound by a £25. minimum annual value restrictive covenant.¹ Bargaining continued into December, when Franks refused to continue with the matter unless allowed to purchase the opposite frontage.² Eventually negotiations were dropped, and in February 1892 Martin and Fenwick reassured Markham that they had other applicants for the land besides Franks.³ However, Franks tried briefly in March to obtain the frontage to Harehills Avenue without any backland for 2s-6d per square yard, providing he also had an undertaking that no back-to-back houses should be built on the opposite frontage. Martin and Fenwick rejected his offer immediately.

The earliest successful negotiations with builders took just as long. In October 1889 an offer by Messrs. Huttons, Leeds builders, to buy 4.75 acres with frontages to the Leeds - Harrogate Road and Cowper Street had been rejected by the Brown estate trustees. George Hutton's response was to offer 6s-0d per square yard for a portion of the land, 10,070 square yards. However, the offer was subject to his being allowed to pay for it in four instalments, paying £100. deposit on signing the contract, and interest at 4% per annum on the balance.⁴ Martin and Fenwick were not prepared to accept the proposal without a larger deposit 'and a more satisfactory arrangement as to Completion of the purchase.' By November Hutton was prepared to buy 9,367 square yards at 6s-0d per square yard, paying £300. deposit, and the balance on 5,636 square yards of the total area immediately upon obtaining possession in February 1890.⁵

1. Ibid., 17 September 1891.
2. B.E.P., Ford and Warren - G. Markham, 11 December 1891.
3. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham, 26 February 1892.
4. Ibid., 19 October 1889.
5. Ibid., 1 November 1889.

Martin and Fenwick found this offer more acceptable and reported enthusiastically upon it.

He will build three villas fronting Chapeltown Road and a respectable row of terrace houses in Cowper Street of not less value than those opposite. They will have front gardens 24 feet wide whereas those opposite are only 6 feet. ...Mr. Hutton wants to have a decision as he has the offer of other plots at Woodsley House and Hillary Street where he has already built some good houses.¹

This offer was refused by the trustees and Hutton raised his offer to 7s-6d per square yard for the Cowper Street frontage and to 6s-6d per square yard for the remainder. In addition to the financial arrangements agreed in November 1889 he wanted until November 1890 to pay off the balance. Restrictive covenants were to be imposed for small villas of £35. minimum annual rental on the Chapeltown Road frontage, £30. houses on the Cowper Street frontage, and £25. houses on the remainder. In return Hutton had the length of the gardens of houses on the backland reduced from fifteen feet to twelve feet.²

In 1891 the Huttons, father and son, offered to purchase 36,614 square yards to the north of George Hutton's 1890 purchase at 4s-6d per square yard. This was declined by Martin and Fenwick, who wanted 5s-6d per square yard. George Hutton then offered 5s-0d per square yard, subject to being allowed to make three separate purchases with three different deposits and conveyancing in six lots. He was only willing to offer £900. deposit, not £1,500. as Martin and Fenwick and J. R. Ford wanted.³ By March the Huttons were prepared to pay the asking price

1. Ibid. The alternatives were in-township sites.
2. B.E.P., T. Fenwick - G. Markham, 11 November 1889.
3. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham, 20 February 1891.

for the land, 5s-6d per square yard. A compromise of £1,000. deposit was agreed, the balance to be paid by instalments as determined by J. R. Ford. The Huttons were to bear the cost of making the roads, but they were to receive the land in three conveyances.¹ This arrangement was accepted by the trustees, and a contract drawn up in May 1891. However, George Hutton requested that they should have the land in five separate conveyances; Martin and Fenwick agreed to three, but Ford and Warren proposed acceptance of Hutton's request as he was willing to pay the cost of the two additional conveyances.² The trustees were anxious about the possibility of the builder going bankrupt before the conveyances were completed, but Ford and Warren assured them of their legal title to the unconveyed land, and their right to retain the deposit as most of it was to be deducted from the first conveyance, leaving only £300. of £1,125. to be reclaimed from the bankrupt's estate, if the situation should arise.³ Final adjustments were made to the transaction in June 1891; five payments were to be made between then and March 1892 in addition to the deposit, making a total purchase price of £10,125; interest at 4% per annum was to be paid on all but the deposit until final completion. One final modification divided the land and the deposit between George Hutton and his father, John Hutton, a retired builder.⁴ George Hutton subsequently transferred his business from Enfield Terrace in the adjoining Sheepscar part of the in-township to a house which he built on the Cowper

1. Ibid., 9 March 1891.

2. B.E.P., 25 March 1891; Ford and Warren - G. Markham, 11 May 1891.

3. Ibid., 20 May 1891.

4. B.E.P., J. R. Ford - G. Markham, 25 June 1891.

Street frontage of his land.

One of the trustees' problems was that acceptable builders were apt to reveal unsuspected speculative tendencies once they obtained the title to sufficient land enabling subdivision and resale at higher prices. In 1890 Martin and Fenwick had been negotiating with Messrs. Lax, Leeds builders, whom J. R. Ford had investigated and found to be 'respectable men'.¹ These negotiations had been set aside when the Huttons made a better offer for the land. However, in 1894 George Lax purchased an acre in Harehills Avenue at 2s-8d per square yard, and W. H. Lax purchased the adjoining two acres at the same price.

George Lax had been active in the northern out-townships since the late 1860s when he had built on part of the former T. W. Lloyd Hill Top estate in Headingley. From 1878 onwards he had been working on the former Potternewton Hall estate. In the late 1860s he had been a joiner, by the late 1870s he was a builder, proprietor of a brickworks, and also purchaser of land from developers for further subdivision and resale. In 1878 he had paid £5,945. for 23,780 square yards of the Potternewton Hall estate at 5s-0d per square yard. It was part of a larger plot purchased by Thomas Whiteley, a Leeds contractor and builder, at 2s-4d per square yard in 1869. Whiteley had regold at 3s-9½d per square yard, and the purchasers, an estate agent and a surveyor, had resold to Lax.² Although Lax had paid twice the original cost of the land he had still been able to subdivide and resell at a profit. His own building activities had been temporarily in financial difficulties during a slump in demand for property which lasted from 1878 until 1883 when demand,

1. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham,
27 January 1890.

2. LCD 10977.

especially for cottage property, improved. However, Lax had been building semi-detached villas worth at least £30. annually, a class of property for which the recovery in demand was much slower. In 1882 Lax had abandoned his mortgage on part of his property and it was sold by the mortgagee for £2,163.¹ Between 1890 and 1892 he was active on J. W. Archer's former Cowper land, building small through houses and back-to-backs. He had been paying Archer 6s-0d per square yard for land supplied in a series of conveyances, reselling in one case at 8s-0d per square yard.²

However, by 1896 Lax had not built upon his acre on the Brown estate, causing Martin and Fenwick to doubt his intentions; they suspected that he wished to obtain building land cheaply for the erection of low value houses, and for subdivision and resales.³ Lax put his case in a letter to Martin and Fenwick.

Being in need of a plot of land as a Store yard, I telephoned to ask you to sell me the land bounded by Markham Avenue - the Beck - Ellars [sic] Road and Beck Road. You replied that you would not sell any land except that abutting onto Harehills Avenue. I felt rather surprised on hearing this seeing that the whole of the estate was understood to be for sale, and that for my present purpose the land in Harehills Avenue was to me of no use, I afterwards thought that perhaps the making of the roads, kerbing etc might have something to do with it. But seeing that for probably 5 or 6 years I should not need either kerb or Road making as it would not be used for building purposes before that time. I have as you know an acre

1. Ibid.

2. LCD 18857; 18205; 12140.

3. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham, 30 April 1896.

of land already in the Avenue but I do not wish to use that even temporarily as a yard - as a wood fence and piles of timber might be considered objectionable, in fact would be objectionable in so prominent a place as Harehills Avenue. But alongside the beck there could be no objection taken by anyone as the only use at present it can be put to so far as I can see is for accommodation land.

As for buying any more land on the top side of Harehills Avenue there is not much encouragement so far seeing that for a £800. house only £30. rent can be obtained and that only with difficulty. So my little acre will have to bide a wee. As regards the land on the low side of Harehills Avenue towards the beck, I see by the plan that the main Streets are fixed. The space between apparently been left to set out as the purchaser and the corporation can agree except so far as the frontage to Harehills Avenue is concerned which have to be Terrace houses of a rental of £25. That is all right. The land remaining from the back of those houses down to the beck being unrestricted as to rental value. That being so - and if you are determined to get of [sic] the land in Harehills Avenue before you proceed to deal with any other portion of the estate, I dont wish to be awkward. So you will please put in price to me the portion bounded by Harehills Avenue - the Beck. Ellars [sic] Road and beck Road upon which I propose building similar Houses to those we have built in Roundhay Road and letting from 5/3 to 7/- per week - but seeing that is in a position not so good I should have to give them more accomodion [sic] and considerably larger gardens and more space - with perhaps a few Small Through houses if I saw there were any demand for them, which is rather problematical as so far as I can see they are a kind of house much disliked by the tenants. I should have been glad to have negotiated for a much larger piece only interest at 4 per cent on unproductive land and the much larger expences [sic] of Road making, kerbing, Sewering etc etc kills it. If you could see your way to lower the rate

of interest for a stated time it would be a great inducement to make a larger purchase.¹

Although J. R. Ford was in favour of some form of agreement with Lax, Martin and Fenwick added their own comment to Lax's letter, 'it would be absurd to place a large block at the disposal of a speculator.'² Lax's point that meeting a £30. annual value restrictive covenant meant an outlay of £800. during a period of apparently depressed rents and low demand for such property whilst a considerable demand existed for lower value back-to-back houses failed to convince Martin and Fenwick. However, 1895 and 1896 were the two worst years for house building in Leeds during the 1890s. George Lax was unable to buy any additional land on the Brown estate but other members of the family did so after 1900.

The most active builder on the estate was Robert Steven who purchased 83,700 square yards for £16,250. between 1892 and 1900. He appears to have made the transition from model machine maker to builder in 1891, when he purchased Cowper land at third hand for 3s-0d per square yard. He proceeded to subdivide and resell at between 4s-2½d and 5s-0d per square yard.³ In the development of this land Steven purchased right of access to the extension of Spencer Place from the New Town of Leeds onto the Brown estate. In 1892 Steven offered to buy two acres of the Brown estate which adjoined his 1891 land. Although informed it was not for sale he raised his offer from 2s-6d to 3s-1d per square yard. Martin and Fenwick advised acceptance of

1. B.E.P., G. Lax - Martin and Fenwick, received 30 April 1896. Underlining by Martin and Fenwick.

2. Ibid.

3. LCD 12699, 12566.

the revised offer because it would transfer half the costs of making two roads for a considerable length from the estate onto a purchaser.¹ In August 1892 Steven requested an additional six months to pay the balance of his purchase money, £856, paying 4% per annum interest in the meantime; J. R. Ford was willing to advise this.²

In June 1894 Steven was reported to be in difficulties, what his problems were is not known but they were short-lived because in September he was negotiating for more land.³ This was a less attractive plot of nearly two acres, bisected both by the tail goit of a corn mill and a public sewer, for which he was only willing to pay 2s-6d per square yard.⁴ In July 1895 a revised offer of 2s-8½d per square yard was accepted. Martin and Fenwick erred in this sale by not preventing Steven from making cross streets, but a compromise was reached by which he was to be allowed a diagonal street, over the line of the public sewer.⁵ Ford's opinion had been that as an exchange for layout alterations Steven might be permitted to build a shop in a back street. Martin and Fenwick were also in favour, 'in the course of time the necessities of the community will make it expedient to have shops on this or some other portion of the estate.'⁶

From this stage of the development onwards J. R. Ford took a greater part in providing advice, which at

1. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham, 28 January 1892.
2. B.E.P., J. R. Ford - G. Markham, 15 August 1892.
3. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham, 27 June 1894.
4. Ibid., 15 September 1894.
5. B.E.P., J. R. Ford - G. Markham, 21 December 1895.
6. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham, 13 December 1895.

times tended to be critical not only of the trustees' attitudes, but also of Martin and Fenwick.

As I told you we are in difficulty in regards to the land already sold to Steven because Mr. Fenwick did not bind him to build a continuous row of houses to Harehills Avenue and he can therefore lay out cross streets if he likes. And I look upon such a plan as most injurious to the Avenue and the land fronting at and lying to the westward. It removes all line of demarcation between the better houses and the cheaper ones which is most necessary if we are to sell our best land to advantage. Some sacrifice will have to be made now and the question is what is the least we shall have to make.¹

By the time Steven purchased 18,900 square yards in 1896 at 3s-9d per square yard the trustees had accepted that houses on the estate could no longer be of the standard they had hoped for originally; Steven was required to build houses of £25, £18, and £16. annual value on his land. Further negotiations in 1897 were upset by the discovery that he was re-selling land bought from the trustees at 2s-8d per square yard for 5s-6d per square yard. Both Martin and Fenwick and J. R. Ford attempted to reassure the trustees that Steven's profits from subdivision were not as high as at first appeared.

Steven asserts that his actual profit on the land is not more than a shilling a yard, there having been much expense incurred in various ways. That I can quite believe, as I was from my own experience in the case of an estate I bought and laid out and then retailed to purchasers. ...You must remember he makes it his business to hunt up purchasers, and that is by no means easy work.²

1. B.E.P., J. R. Ford - G. Markham, 3 January 1896.
2. Ibid., 7 May 1897.

However, it was difficult to explain why other developers were more successful at obtaining higher prices than the trustees' professional advisors. Subsequent sales were at higher prices and for smaller lots. In May 1897 Martin and Fenwick rejected a possible sale of fifteen acres at 3s-0d per square yard as being 'too large a plot to pass...in one lot to speculative builders, who would only expect to make a considerable profit out of the transaction.¹ When Steven purchased additional land in 1898 and 1900 he had to pay considerably higher prices, 4s-6d and 7s-6d per square yard. The search for higher prices was rewarded because of a high demand for building land during the building boom of 1898 - 1905 in Leeds.

Steven still attempted to obtain favourable terms. The sales to him had only been recommended 'subject to a plan limiting him to a certain number of houses with proper open spaces.'² He requested that he might be allowed two shops and a reduction in the annual value of the houses to be built to £14.³ He was allowed one shop in January 1898, but requested a second in April. Martin and Fenwick considered Steven had received enough concessions and demanded an additional payment 'representing the additional value of the land as a site for a shop.' This was refused by Steven who replied that 'considering the result of the sale...it would be a gracious act.'⁴ In 1900 he made a final purchase on the estate, 10,090 square yards, for which he paid the prevailing cost of land for builders, not developers, 7s-6d per square yard.

1. B.E.P., Martin and Fenwick - G. Markham, 13 May 1897.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 18 January 1898.
4. Ibid., 4 April 1898.

7.4 Preparation in the Rural-Urban Fringe.

A speculator must not only be able to form a closely approximate estimate of the length of time that a property will require to mature under skilled management, but also to predetermine the best method of realisation.¹

The land is sure to sell sooner or later, and it is cheap at 3s-6d. Why should we sell it in bulk at all! Why should we not lay it out and sell it in plots at better prices.²

During the boom in building activity at the turn of the century most of the remaining Brown estate building land north of the New Town of Leeds was sold. Twelve acres were sold at auction in 1901; divided into lots of up to an acre it was purchased by builders at prices ranging from 5s-7d to 11s-0d per square yard. Not only the current demand for building land at a time of considerable prosperity in the trade, but also the spread of the built up core of Leeds to the borders of the estate contributed to receipts £1,224. above the reserve price, a much more satisfactory outcome to that of the 1883 auction.

Brown estate land to the east of the built up area now began to be considered for future disposal as building land. At this stage the failure to negotiate successfully with the Low Moor Iron and Steel Company for the return of mineral rights became a disadvantage. In addition the topography of some of the land made it less suitable for building sites, some of the flatter land was badly roaded, and there was a danger that developments on adjoining estates might prove detrimental to the prospects of the Brown land. J. R. Ford was the

1. T. Bright, The Development of Building Estates, (1910), p2.

2. B.E.P., J. R. Ford - G. Markham, 12 June 1897.

driving force behind long term planning for this land.

As the land is very hilly and rises a good deal above the level of Roundhay Road it will be difficult to lay out, the price is probably very nearly as much as it is worth as it now stands. The alternative to accepting the offer is to lay the land out ourselves for building purposes, and retail it in smaller pieces. This will not be easy to do, on account of the nature of the land, but if a purchaser can do it, there is no reason why we should not. It will of course involve outlay on roads, and kerbs, and sewers.

Before doing this we should consult Mr. Childe [Civil and Mining Engineer, Wakefield] as to whether the subsequent working of the coal would let down the houses. If so we must arrange with Fittons to leave sufficient pillars and pay them for doing so. If we do not do so, the small purchaser will shy, as he cannot go to the Fittons and arrange for coal being left under a small portion except at relatively disadvantageous terms.¹

In 1898 Fittons, sub-lessees of the mineral rights under the Brown estate, offered £12,000. for 16.25 acres. Martin and Fenwick persuaded them to raise it to £14,790., but this was short of the required price of £16,000. The alternative of selling in small lots was examined by Thomas Fenwick in 1898. He considered that a sale period of sixteen years would be insufficient to dispose of all the land. Possible sales were estimated at 3 acres at 4s-7d per square yard, 1900 - 1904; 4 acres at 6s-0d per square yard, 1905 - 1910; and a further 4 acres at 7s-0d per square yard, 1911 - 1916, leaving nearly 5.5 acres in hand in 1916.² The difficulty of the mineral

1. ibid., 7 May 1897. The offer was 3s-2½d per square yard for fifteen acres.
2. B.E.P., T. Fenwick - Ford and Warren, 17 August 1898.

rights was brought out in 1903 when an offer of 4s-7d per square yard was received for twenty acres. The prospective purchaser was John Wainwright Watson, the estate agent and developer active on adjoining former Cowper land since the 1890s. Although Watson's offer was raised by 5d per square yard he had difficulties in negotiating with the Low Moor Iron and Steel Company for the release of the land from their mineral rights; they refused an offer of 2s-1d per square yard from Watson although he had been agent for their property interests.

Once a policy of small sales had been established, consequent upon the failure of negotiations for large sales, the possibility of improving the land's desirability for building purposes became more important. In 1899 agreement was reached with H. H. Hodgson, an estate agent, for the improvement of road access to both the Brown estate and Hodgson's adjoining estate from the Leeds - York Road.¹ This agreement was contingent upon withdrawal of Brown estate opposition to the establishment of a cemetery on Hodgson's land. For Hodgson the sale of this land to Leeds Corporation was crucial if he was to regain a major portion of his outlay on unripe building land. Fenwick was against the cemetery for the same reasons that Headingley landowners had been in the 1870s: J. R. Ford was not so certain but expected little consideration from the Corporation to opposition based on the protection of building land.

I suppose if we refuse our consent we shall have to give some good reason, though the real reason might be that the proximity of the cemetery might possibly prejudice our subsequent sale of land for building purposes. I don't

1. B.E.P., J. R. Ford - G. Markham, 30 October 1899,
31 March 1900.

know that it would prejudice the sale and the presence of a large piece of open ground might be an advantage. The houses to be erected on this land in the future will be small, and I dare say we might be able to sell some of the land for manufacturing purposes, but whatever reasons we may have in our own minds we could only object to the cemetery¹ on grounds affecting the existing farmhouse.

The road was more important than the cemetery because, as Ford pointed out in 1899, building operations were approaching rapidly, and the southern part of the estate would only sell cheaply as backland if access was not improved.

There still remained the drawback of the mineral lease to the Low Moor Iron and Steel Company which was not due to expire until 1914. Ford was totally committed to a policy of negotiating the prior termination of the lease. This led to disagreement with the devisees who shared this part of the estate, who were reluctant to give up the certain mineral lease income for the uncertain profits of building land sales. In 1904 Ford was the more adventurous, looking forward to future gains.

When the next building boom comes, which will be, I hope, in two or three years' time, the estate of the Devisees will be the only land available at this end of the City, and ought to command good prices, and meantime some of it might be sold even now. But if the Low Moor lease be not put an end to as regards land for sale, we cannot hope to sell, or if we do, we must submit to low prices on account of the risk of subsidence. Until June 1914 we should have to go on as we are...

If Lady Graham does not on reflection see her way to join in the proposed scheme, it

1. Ibid. 11 October 1899.

must fall through, for which I shall be sorry. I have had the development of this estate very much at heart, and have hitherto lost no opportunity of securing such improvements as would improve its value when the time for sales has arrived. The town of Leeds has travelled towards it quicker than I expected, and I can see that before long we shall have many applications to buy, and if we are not able to sell, there is danger that the applicants will go in a different direction for what they want and for a time leave this property in a backwater. There are fashions in building as in everything else.¹

However, in 1905 Ford was more cautious because of factors external to the estate.

Disappointment might afterwards ensue by reason of the land not coming onto the market as quickly as we hope. ...Leeds is at present suffering from a depression in trade, ...it might be two or three years before the sale of land for building purposes revives.²

Had Ford known that building activity in Leeds was not to pick up with the general improvement in trade in 1907, but to decline steadily down to 1914 his advice would undoubtedly have been more cautious. As it happened the more sceptical judgement of his clients, derived from twenty-five years' disillusion at the failure of building estate development to produce instant wealth, proved to be accurate although in 1905 they did not know of the factors which were to make it so.

1. Ibid., 22 November 1904.
2. Ibid., 12 January 1905.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PROCESS OF SUBURBAN RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT.

It is the intricate pattern of problem, personality and performance which fascinates the historian of Leeds, the pavement view rather than the vista from the balloon.¹

Immersion in the intricacies referred to by Briggs does nevertheless lead towards consideration of the position of the particular within a wider context. To what extent was the suburbanisation of the northern out-townships of Leeds during the years from 1781 to 1914 a microcosm of the contemporary national experience of suburban development? The considerable expansion of urban history knowledge since Briggs' 1963 statement should have increased the possibility of taking a wider viewpoint. Notable recent works by Chalklin, Hobhouse, and Thompson have extended knowledge of urban development with emphasis upon process, person, and place respectively.² However, published work on urban development in provincial nineteenth century England, especially freehold development, has been limited by theme or by development estate.³ A basis for analysis of the development process is required which is capable of encompassing variations in time, place, and tenure.

1. A. Briggs, Victorian Cities, (1963), p159.
2. C. W. Chalklin, The Provincial Towns of Georgian England, 1740 - 1820, (1974); H. Hobhouse, Thomas Cubitt, Master Builder, (1971); F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead, (1974).
3. S. D. Chapman, ed., The History of Working Class Housing. A Symposium, (1971); S.M. Gaskell, 'Yorkshire Estate Development and The Freehold Land Societies in the Nineteenth Century,' Y.A.J., XLIII (1971); D. Olson, 'House Upon House: Estate Development in London and Sheffield' in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian City, Images and Realities, I, (1973), pp333-57.

DIAGRAM 1

THE PARTS OF THE SUBURBAN RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESS.

ROLE	SUB-CATEGORIES
A Pre-development Landowner	A1 Agricultural Estate Landowner A2 Land Speculator
B Developer	B1 Agricultural Estate Landowner B2 Member of the Building Trades B3 Associated Professions (Lawyer, Surveyor, Architect) B4 Industrialist
C Builder	C1 Speculative Builder C2 Contractor
D Building Owner	D1 Landlord D2 Owner Occupier
E Resident	E1 Tenant E2 Owner Occupier

8.1 The Parts of the Process.

The first step in the establishment of a basis for comparison is to clarify the form of the process by identification of its constituent parts (see Diagram 1). Each role embraces a distinct sphere of activity with the exception of the case of an owner occupier who would be identified both as building owner (sub-category D2) and resident (sub-category E2). Further refinement of role A, pre-development landowner, can distinguish between land purchase, land resale, and land speculation (see glossary and tables 11, 12, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30). The sub-category of speculative builder (C1) may be further divided to distinguish the builder who acted as landlord and erected houses as a speculative investment from the builder who built speculatively for sale as rapidly as market conditions would allow. The sub-categories of role D, building owner,¹ reflect the low level of individual house ownership in nineteenth century England and the significance of house property as an investment producing profit in the form of rents. In 1886 Edward Ryde, a past president of the Surveyor's Institute, described the letting of houses and cottages to working class tenants as almost a distinct trade carried out by small capitalists.² Although lower density neighbourhoods of detached and semi-detached villas had owner occupiers amongst their residents the landlord was also present amongst the homes of commercial and professional men.

Attention to each role in the process in turn enables an assessment to be made of the relative importance of each role; of significant sub-categories within

1. The use of the word 'builder' for building owner (Chalklin, op.cit., p.157 note 1) is rejected as an obstacle to discussion of work by builders.
2. P.P., 1886:iii, S.C. on Town Holdings. Q7905-6.

each role; of the extent to which roles were combined; and of changes in the form of the process through time and place. Identification of the roles performed by individuals is also an essential prerequisite for the reconstruction of the development process from the vast amount of data preserved within property deeds by the legal profession.

8.2 The impact of variations of tenure.

During the nineteenth century building land development in Leeds was carried out overwhelmingly upon a basis of freehold tenure. In 1886 material collected by Charles Harrison, a London lawyer, for the Select Committee on Town Holdings demonstrated that in this respect development in Leeds was similar to that in Liverpool and Bradford. It was unlike Manchester, developed on a system of perpetual chief rents; unlike Sheffield, Birmingham, and London, areas primarily of leasehold development.¹

The emphasis upon freehold tenure in Leeds was not readily explicable by contemporaries. Martin and Fenwick were unable to explain why to Lady Ann Graham, a trustee of the Brown estate in Potternewton during the 1890s. As four out of five forms of tenure identified by the Select Committee on Town Holdings had been attempted in the northern out-townships of Leeds,² the emphasis upon freehold must have been a matter of demand rather than supply. In Sheffield the Duke of Norfolk controlled sufficient land to ensure that

1. P.P., 1839xv, S.C. on Town Holdings, pp6-8.

Summary of types of tenure and their geographical distribution.

2. a) Freehold, b) 99 year leasehold, c) Long leasehold (100 years plus), d) Chief rents, e) A term of lives. All but the last were available.

builders would have to accept the leasehold tenure which he favoured. In Headingley the Cardigan estate failed to dispose of 99 year leasehold building plots around the mid nineteenth century, primarily because ample freehold building land was for sale on other estates with equally good or better access to Leeds. During the 1860s a Cardigan attempt to dispose of land on a system of chief rents was partially successful; seventeen were obtained but only four were worth more than £30. per year.¹ No other estate imitated Sir James Graham and Sandford Graham in the disposal of building land on 299 year leases.

Between 1886 and 1889 the Select Committee on Town Holdings investigated the relative advantages of leasehold and freehold forms of tenure. Their conclusion was that leasehold produced quicker development of building estates, but freehold towns could not be shown to have suffered in consequence of freehold tenure.² This balanced conclusion was not necessarily echoed by specialist witnesses who tended to be firm adherents to one or other of the forms of tenure.³ The evidence of E. Yates, a South London developer and builder, suggested that it cost more to borrow money on leasehold than on freehold property. His experience of both forms of tenure enabled him to demonstrate that houses built by him on freehold land could be let for ten per cent less than identical houses built on leasehold.⁴

1. LCD 2925. Details from rental in Second Schedule of the Chief Clerk's Certificate, 5 August 1873.
2. P.P., 1889xv, op.cit., p15.
3. P.P., 1886xii, S.C. on Town Holdings. For example, pro-leasehold: E. Ryde, Qs 7827, 7849. Pro-freehold: C. Harrison, Q8285.
4. P.P., 1889xv, op.cit., p14.

Trust funds were also more readily forthcoming for building on freehold land than on leasehold.¹

The select committee concluded that builders would be more active on leasehold land because there would be only a ground rent to be paid rather than the purchase price of the freehold title. However, this advantage was negated when in freehold areas the landowners were willing to accept a deposit on the purchase price of the land whilst building went ahead. Alternatively, in Leeds at least, a builder might borrow two-thirds of his capital outlay on security of the title deed to the freehold.² Such financial considerations must have done much to eliminate any theoretical disadvantage viz-a-viz leasehold development.

Opinion during the 1880s was also divided upon the impact of tenure on the quality of building. One argument was that buildings held upon leasehold tenure were neglected towards the end of the period of the lease. Another belief was that leasehold tenure had the advantage of providing greater control over occupiers of houses than freehold. A more balanced view held that quality of building reflected not the type of tenure, but the quality of the individuals who produced the building. For some landlords the temptation to increase net rental income by skimping or neglecting property repairs must have been irrespective of their form of tenure.

Apart from the evidence of the London builder, Yates, one might conclude that there was no significant variation in the profitability of the development process caused by variations in tenure. The five roles

1. P.P., 1867xliii, S.C. on Town Holdings, Q7094.

2. Ibid., Q3265.

of the process were present in leasehold developments. Irrespective of the form of tenure the greatest profitability lay in the sub-division and sale of plots to those who would build, rather than in the building operation itself.

8.3 The impact of specialist support.

Three people seemed to be responsible for the production and arrangement of suburban towns, viz., the land speculator, the financial agent, and the estate agent. These three personages determined what should be the character of a suburb, and no one else appeared to be approached in the matter.¹

Whereas Thomas Cubitt had employed his own draughtsmen and lawyers, and had negotiated the financial support for his activities,² the builders of the northern out-townships of Leeds went to professional men for assistance in drawing up plans, seeking mortgages, and making conveyances. After the bye-law control of building development was introduced in Leeds in 1866 the rule of thumb methods for building design and construction were no longer sufficient. One result was a growth of specialist activities associated with the building trades. The specialists were often opportunists rather than trained professionals; this was already a cause for concern in some parts of the country by 1866.

In our provincial towns there are commonly found men of no special education, - frequently men whom it would be mere gratuitous courtesy to consider as educated men, even in a very moderate degree, - who affix to their names, 'architect, auctioneer,

1. Builder, (LXXX) 1901 - I, p345. Comments from Mr. S. Flint Clarkson on a paper by Mr. H.D. Searles-Wood on Small Suburban Houses to the Architectural Association.
2. H. Hobhouse, op.cit., pp264-5, 316-44.

and accountant'...or 'architect, surveyor,
and house agent.'¹

The growth of the house or estate agent's function appears to have occurred after 1850 in London as well as in Leeds. A correspondent of the Builder in 1865 could recall the period of great expansion of this activity which 'although requiring no diploma...has become a profession.'² It was claimed that the fees charged for bringing together buyer and seller, or lessor and lessee, had helped to bring about an increase in house prices since the late 1850s. Even Thomas Cubitt had used the services of a house agency firm in London, but it was claimed that he only paid one per cent commission on a yearly rental rather than the normal five per cent.³

By 1900 the ranks of Leeds estate agents included at least five who were also active as developers: J. Richardson in Headingley during the 1870s; W. H. Heoles in Chapel Allerton from the 1880s onwards; C. Higgins, H. H. Hodgson, and J. W. Watson in Potternewton from the 1890s onwards. The growth of estate agency during the second half of the century reflected the greatly expanded scale of suburban development and the difficulty of finding tenants. The response of E. Yates to a Select Committee question during a period of limited new building was significant.

Q. Do you think that rent is regulated by the cost of houses, or the competition for houses among tenants? - In the suburbs it is by the competition for tenants among the house property owners.⁴

1. Builder, (XXIV) 1866, p512-3. 'W.L.S.'
2. Builder, (XXIII) 1865, p195. 'Quondam'.
3. Builder, (IX) 1851, p805. H. Hobhouse, op.cit., p267. Hobhouse points out that the firm, Messrs. Trollope, combined house agency with speculative building.
4. P.P., 1887 xiii, op.cit., Q7109.

At least one Leeds architect, Frederick Mitchell, who was involved in the layout of building estates kept a copy of How to Become a Successful Estate Agent in his library.¹

The traditional idea of the architect's involvement in suburban development being during the early stages when there were mansions and villas to be designed has been too limited. Certainly, recognition is due to unknown provincial architects such as John Child who designed several mansions on Headingley Hill during the 1830s and 1840s. However, architects also acted as specialist advisors to estate developers, as did J. Hall to J. W. Archer, and F. Mitchell to Lax and Boyle in Potternewton. Mitchell, in turn, drew upon the experience of the Birmingham architect and surveyor, J. J. Raggett, who between 1900 and 1904 produced portfolios of plans and elevations for houses ranging in size from labourers' and artisans' cottages to single and double fronted houses. Raggett's plans for labourers' cottages were first ordered by the City of Birmingham Housing Committee. Such pattern books demonstrate architects' involvement with the meaner streets of the country's developing suburbs. E. Raggett, himself, was able to demonstrate the profitability of at least one layout plan and design on the basis of expenditure and income from his own property over a period of years.²

Leeds architects such as G. Corson and T. Ambler have been shown to have acted as developers and designers of respectable villa property during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Little known members of the

1. R. Ernest, How to Become a Successful Estate Agent, 1904. Mitchell purchased his copy in September, 1905.
2. Letter, E. Raggett to F. Mitchell, (undated, c.1904-5).

profession were active as designers and speculators in the building of back-to-back cottages and through terrace houses: R. A. Bullivant built at least twenty-five through houses in Burley Lodge Terrace between 1887 and 1890 before running into financial difficulties;¹ in Potternewton J. W. and H. Charles built back-to-back cottages in Edgware Place and Grove;² in Chapel Allerton J. E. and H. Preston also built back-to-back cottages in Pasture Grove and Terrace.³

The involvement of architects in the design of low priced housing was welcomed by at least one member of the medical profession as early as 1860. This was not merely because of the training received by architects but also because of the advantage of professional status. It was hoped that the conscience and awareness of fellow-professional's opinion might stand in the way of unhealthy and overcrowded house design and layout where builders and others might submit to temptation.⁴ However, legislation proved the strongest weapon in that fight because the logic of affordable rent levels was at least the equal of the logic of healthy surroundings during the 1860s.

Some Leeds developers were fortunate in having the aid of the nationally respected composite specialist agency, Martin and Fenwick. Their firm combined estate management, building land layout and development, property valuation, and civil engineering consultancy. They also acted as intermediaries between developers and borough officials over the vagaries of the local

1. LCD 21380; 21828.

2. LCD 12240.

3. LCD 21349.

4. Builder, (XVIII) 1860, p125. Dr. Drutt, 'On the Construction and Management of Human Habitations, Considered in Relation to the Public Health.'

building regulations. The evidence of the development of the Brown estate in Potternewton suggests that Martin and Fenwick achieved negotiating status with local planning officials over the interpretation and application of bye-laws. Their control over the Brown estate is the clearest nineteenth-century Leeds example of the extent of the specialists' function in freehold development; in a more bureaucratic period their responsibility went beyond that of earlier nineteenth-century land agents.

The specialist support of lawyers in conveyancing had been a feature of the development process long before the nineteenth century. For the lower echelons of the legal profession, the respectable professional men of provincial England, involvement in real estate development offered an additional source of income from an activity about which they had considerable information which was not in general circulation. Lawyers not only arranged mortgages between monied clients and builders but also had the opportunity to select favourable sites and individuals as recipients of their own money. Chalklin has discovered that lawyers became increasingly involved in the lending of money to builders between 1780 and 1820 in some provincial towns, notably Bristol and Liverpool.¹ Infrequently eighteenth-century lawyers also acted as developers; in Birmingham John Brooke developed forty-one acres, commencing in 1787.²

The earliest successful development of a building estate in the northern out-townships of Leeds by a lawyer was begun in 1838 by T. E. Upton II. However, his father, also a lawyer, having obtained the undivided whole of an estate of inheritance in 1815, had made

1. C. W. Chalklin, op.cit., pp238-9.

2. Ibid, p88.

spasmodic attempts to attract builders to the land during the following two decades. Leeds lawyers increasingly acted as developers during the second half of the nineteenth century: W. North in Chapel Allerton from the 1870s onwards; J. R. Ford and W. Warren in Headingley during the 1880s; H. M. Carter in Chapel Allerton, and E. O. Wooler in Chapel Allerton and Potternewton from the 1890s onwards; W. J. Cousins in Chapel Allerton, and Messrs. Lupton and Fawcett in Potternewton during the first decade of the twentieth century. The developer-lawyers were a minority within the legal profession in Leeds, but their colleagues continued to be active in the more secure functions of securing finance for building operations.

The increasing influence and involvement of specialists in the development process after 1860 was matched by demands for their involvement in the process on behalf of the public interest.¹ The introduction of the Borough Surveyor was not at first a guarantee of professional standards in that office. In 1867 there were complaints at Derby and Newcastle because Corporation officials continued to practice privately in addition to carrying out their public duties.² At Derby local architects and surveyors objected because prospective clients believed that having their plans drawn up by the Borough Surveyor saved 'trouble and uncertainty', about their approval: at Newcastle the Town Surveyor also prepared plans for builders, and occasionally even superintended the erection of buildings.

Elsewhere there were complaints that local

1. Builder, (XVIII) 1860, p216. E. Tarbuck, 'Architectural Competitions and Speculative Building: Their Evils and Remedies'.
2. Builder, (XXV) 1867, pp453, 514-5.

authorities were employing badly trained or non-qualified surveyors as Borough Surveyors because they would accept lower salaries.¹ There was a call for a representative association of Borough Surveyors in 1867; by 1874 the Association of Municipal and Sanitary Engineers and Surveyors was in being with a Yorkshire District Committee presided over by A. C. Morant, the Leeds Borough Engineer.²

Leeds established the posts of Borough Engineer, Borough Surveyor, and Medical Officer of Health during the 1860s. Their presence was insufficient without both the support of legislation and the goodwill of all the parties concerned. The Builder, whilst welcoming Dr. Goldie's appointment as Medical Officer of Health in 1866, considered his duty a heavy and almost hopeless task.³ Criticism of the sanitary state of Leeds by a government inspector in 1866 was considered by one correspondent of the Builder to reflect the 'slight esteem in which are held the knowledge and ability of the town surveyor.' As in the case of the developers and builders there was a belief in some quarters that the advice of the professional man with his specialist knowledge would show the way forward.

Who can doubt, that with all our boroughs and considerable towns placed under the care of educated and competent surveyors, all ... local Acts might be amended so as to apply stringently to the cleansing of our towns from every score and blemish with which they are at present overrun?⁴

Goldie must have been amongst the first to doubt.

1. Builder, (XXIV) 1866, p471.
2. Builder, (XXV) 1867, p474; (XXXII) 1874, p340.
3. Builder, (XXIV) 1866, pp535-6.
4. Ibid, p547. 'M.P.'

One of his early actions was to oppose the erection of back-to-back cottages on health grounds:¹ in 1885 he gave evidence to the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes that the corporation subsequently had overruled his objection because the public were in favour of that type of dwelling.² Financial considerations were still of paramount importance; back-to-back cottages were cheaper to rent than through houses, and there was a considerable demand for them.

8.4 The process and profit.

The art₃ of building is really building
to pay.³

Nineteenth century journals and newspapers more frequently discussed building activity in terms of sanitary and social improvement. However, even Victorian philanthropists were interested in combining the goals of improvement with a commercial rate of interest on their capital expenditure.⁴ The majority of houses erected during the nineteenth century were a response to the profitability of the residential development process as well as the rapid increase in the urban population. However, detailed demonstration of the profits to be made from the process is difficult without the account books and ledgers of developers, builders, and landlords. Nevertheless, it is possible to examine the comparative profitability of the stages of the process.

a. The pre-development landowner.

Agricultural land in close proximity to urban areas

1. M. W. Beresford, 'The Back-to-Back House in Leeds', in S.D. Chapman, editor, The History of Working Class Housing, (1971), p126, note 64.
2. P.P., 1884-5xxx, Qs 9823-9849.
3. P.P., 1887 xiii, op.cit., E. Yates, Q7127.
4. J. N. Tarn, Five Per Cent Philanthropy, (1973), p43.

possessed an additional value because of the demand for temporary grazing land, milk farms and market gardens. In 1819 the London surveyors, Claridge and Iveson, estimated the sale value of 318 acres of the Cowper estate in Potternewton as £57,370; the land was to be offered for sale in fifteen lots.¹ The average estimated value of the land was £180. per acre, equal to 47.5 years purchase. Although no absolutely reliable national or regional index of nineteenth-century land values exists, it is possible to make a tentative comparison with an analysis made by Norton, Trist and Gilbert of 'A Century of Land Values' and printed as a letter in The Times.² The assessment was based on sales handled by the firm, estimated by F.M.L. Thompson as two per cent of the total volume of business.³ During the decade 1820 - 9 they estimated the average price per acre for agricultural land in England and Wales at only £31, equal to 29 years purchase. A sale of 25 acres of the Bainbrigge estate on Headingley Hill in 1827 at £205. per acre, within the range of values made by Claridge and Iveson on the Cowper estate, again suggests the higher value of agricultural land within 1.5 miles of central Leeds.⁴

Pre-development landowners who were able to await the developers' increased keenness to speculate in potential building land during periods of considerable building activity could obtain considerably increased prices for their land. The Cowper estate sale of the 55 acres Squire Pasture Farm in Potternewton in 1825

1. HCRO, Cowper MSS, C4950, pl4.
2. The Times, 20 April 1889.
3. F.M.L. Thompson, The Land Market in the Nineteenth Century, Oxford Economic Papers, (1957) p.300
4. LCD 9452. How far out the higher values extended is not known.

was indicative of the returns which might be obtained. It was sold in one lot for £545. per acre, the equivalent of 95 years purchase.¹ Had the proceeds been invested in 3 per cent Consols they would have produced more than three times the 1819 rental income from the farm. Although the price of the unprepared building land, 2s-3d per square yard, was considerably higher than the agricultural value it was still lower than prices of 4s-0d and 6s-0d per square yard reported to have been obtained for Cowper land near Sheepscar Bar in the in-township in 1824.²

In the northern out-townships from the 1830s onwards the sale price of agricultural land which lacked building development potential appears to have been lower than the £180. average valuation made by Claridge and Ivcsen in 1819. In 1834 H. Dixon obtained £86-10s-0d per acre for 46 acres of Chapel Allerton moor enclosure allotments;³ Earl Cowper sold 25 acres of Potternewton moor enclosure allotments at £143. per acre in 1842;⁴ in 1870 E. Simpson's sale of 618 acres in Chapel Allerton and Shadwell was also at £143. per acre;⁵ in 1875 G. Lloyd sold a 28 acres farm in Chapel Allerton at £144 per acre;⁶ in 1876 E. Ward sold 13.5 acres also in Chapel Allerton at £120. per acre.⁷ In 1876 Earl Cowper sold 32 acres of his Potternewton estate at £143. per acre.⁸

During the 1880s and 1890s lower prices prevailed.

1. LCD 6105.
2. LI, 7 October 1824.
3. LCD 2388.
4. LCD 3616.
5. LCD 1351.
6. LCD 2849.
7. Ibid.
8. LCD 12919.

The purchasers of the Simpson estate obtained only £75. per acre for 89 acres sold in 1887; £85. per acre for 94 acres sold in 1894; and £111. for 47 acres, also sold in 1894.¹ In Headingley cum Burley three Cardigan estate farms on the outer margin of the township were sold in 1890. The 40 acres Spen Lane farm sold at £70. per acre; the 76 acres Moor Grange farm sold at £79. per acre. Whitehouse farm, partly in Adel township, sold at £69-10s-0d per acre; it had been let at £1-15s-0d per acre in 1890.² Twenty-four acres nearby, also sold in 1890, fetched £70. per acre; it had been let at £1-7s-0d per acre,³ half of the average rental per acre on the estate at the beginning of the century.

The owners of land ripe for building development, were far more fortunate. Between 1873 and 1875 Earl Cowper obtained £445. per acre for twelve acres sold in four lots; further sales between 1885 and 1891 produced average prices of £588 per acre; between 1894 and 1902 less favourably located land produced sale prices of £352. per acre. In Headingley cum Burley Cardigan estate sales between 1885 and 1893 produced average prices of £420. per acre.⁴ Clearly, agricultural land ripe for building upon was worth at least five times its purely agricultural value by the end of the century. Whether it had an even higher value depended on the amount of preparation undertaken for its new purpose.

b. The developer.

Theoretically, this estimate of profit should be based on the amount of the purchase price, plus expenditure on development.⁵

1. LCD 1351; 2652; 4459; 7619; 8508.
2. LCD 5070; 6982; 9121.
3. LCD 4495.
4. Calculated from Appendix One; Cowper estate, Potternewton; Cardigan estate, Headingley cum Burley.
5. T. Bright, The Development of Building Estates, (1910), p234.

Preparation costs were of two types, professional services and physical preparation. In 1910 Bright listed the costs of the first type. The vendor's solicitors received conveyancing fees of 1% on sales under £3,000, for negotiating the sale plus 1.5% on the first £1,000. for deducing title and drawing up the conveyance. The percentage was reduced on values above those amounts.¹ Surveyor's charges also varied with the type of work. Preliminary analysis of a prospective building estate with guidelines for management cost between £1-1s-0d and £3-3s-0d per acre. Detailed plans, levels, and cross-sections in accordance with local bye-laws cost between £1-10s-0d and £2-10s-0d per acre. Detailed plans and working drawings of roads and sewers for local authority approval, tender, and contract amounted to between 5% and 6% of the cost of the work. A bill of quantities for the work added another 2% to 2.5% of the cost of the work; acting as Clerk of the Works was another 1% to 1.5% of the cost of the work. Setting out building plots and plans for building agreements cost £1-1s-0d to £3-3s-0d; examining the purchaser's plans cost £2-2s-0d per set. The incidental expenses of letter writing and travelling costs were also added to the developer's bill.² Bright's generalized analysis assumed these costs to be 11.5% of the value of an undeveloped building estate, 5.5% of the developed estate value. His estimate of speculative profit was equivalent to 16.7% of the sale price, 25% of the outlay.³

Evidence for the costs of physical preparation were provided in the Brown estate correspondence. Deturfing

1. Ibid., p328.

2. Ibid., p331-333.

3. Ibid., p233-4.

before work began was tendered for at $\frac{1}{4}$ d per square yard in 1890; it was possible to make a profit on this, however, by selling the cut sods at 3d per square yard.¹ In 1890 cut and fill operations cost 11d per cubic yard;² in 1891 levelling ground cost 9d per square yard;³ in 1896 filling hollows cost 3d per cubic yard.⁴ However, developers usually needed only to pay these costs on small portions of a building estate, principally along the line of roads.

Until the 1870s it was always possible to shorten the period during which preparation costs were borne by the developer by delaying the making of streets and sewers until sufficient purchasers had settled on the estate to pay the bulk of the expense. In areas of low quality housing streets might remain unmade and sewers unlaid for many years; the Lower Burley development underway by 1850 was subject to local authority enforcement notices for kerbing, sewerage, and paving during the 1870s. After the introduction of building regulations in 1866 it became more difficult to defer such expenses. Building plans were not passed until roads had been sewerage and kerbed. By 1898 controls had been further tightened, and it was necessary for the complete length of a street to be kerbed and sewerage, not merely the part adjoining a plot which had been sold.⁵

After seven years of development as building land the Brown estate's trustees' outlay for road making on their Leeds estates amounted to £3,275, of which only £821. had been recouped from purchasers.⁶ One consequence was that lower prices were accepted for plots

1. Brown Estate Papers, Martin and Fenwick to O. Stone, 5 March 1890.
2. Ibid., M. and F. to G. Markham, 9 September 1890.
3. Ibid., M. and F. to O. Stone, 9 September 1891.
4. Ibid., M. and F. to G. Markham, 21 January 1896.
5. Ibid., M. and F. to G. Markham, 28 May 1898.
6. Ibid., Memorandum, Leeds Estates Outlay on New Roads, 28 April 1896.

which transferred a considerable proportion of road making costs from developer to builder.¹ An attempt by the Chapel Allerton developers Carter and Wooler to shift the responsibility for road making costs directly to the builders in 1906 failed when the Leeds Town Clerk, R. E. Fox, ruled that it was the developers' duty to have the expense of collecting the money from their purchasers.² Nevertheless, the eventual transfer of road making costs onto the purchasers, and the fact that purchasers also paid for the land on which the streets were laid out, suggests that only half of the outlay costs need to be deducted from the gross income from sales in order to establish the net profit.

The size of the profit to be made from the developer role was also influenced by the size of the sale plots. Evidence from the period 1825 - 75 suggests that small plots, typical of the poorer quality neighbourhoods, produced the highest prices per square yard (see Table 48). On the Bischoff and Fawcett estates the preference was for good quality detached mansions and villas; on the Cowper New Town of Leeds the development period was ultimately characterised by terraces of through houses; the Upton and Lloyd estates of Lower Burley were covered with back-to-back cottages in streets and yards.

The disadvantage of development of estates intended for high quality residential building was increased by over-optimistic assessment of demand from the mid-1830s onwards, probably encouraged by the amount of public complaint about deterioration of the urban environment. Impatience caused by the slow rate of development tended to result in lower prices and larger plot sizes in order to speed up the process. One end result of this was on

1. Ibid., M. and F. to G. Markham, 28 January 1892.

2. LCD 7516. Letter, R. E. Fox to E. O. Wooler, Burrows and Burton, 12 October 1906.

TABLE 48

PLOT SIZES AND PRICES PER SQUARE YARD, 1827 - 1875.

DEVELOPMENT PERIOD	ESTATE	ACREAGE (known sales)	PLOT SIZE (sq. yds.)		PRICE (per sq. yd.)	
			MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN
1827 - 46	Bischoff ¹	24.5	8,453	4,448	1s - 5d	1s - 3d
1838 - 47	Fawcett ²	66.4	13,971	11,711	1s - 1d	11d
1840 - 73	Cowper ³	20.6	1,467	1,090	1s - 10d	2s - 0d
1841 - 74	Upton ⁴	8.9	914	580	3s - 3d	3s - 0d
1851 - 58	Lloyd ⁵	7.6	1,053	547	2s - 6d	2s - 6d

1. Plot size 14 cases; price 6 cases; based on table 11.
 2. " " 23 " " 9 " " " 12.
 3. " " 68 " " 65 " " " 24.
 4. " " 47 " " 43 " " " 28.
 5. " " 35 " " 33 " " " 29.

the Fawcett estate in Headingley; land sold by Fawcett during the 1850s at 1s-0d per square yard produced greater profits for his purchasers than Fawcett himself. When the land finally passed to the builders of terrace houses in the 1870s the price had risen to 4s-0d and 5s-0d per square yard.

The Brown estate also provides evidence of the comparative profitability of selling in plots directly to builders rather than in larger quantities to lesser developers. In 1894 Martin and Fenwick valued 45.3 acres of the estate at £27,712, equal to £611. per acre; the valuation included preparation costs of £1,550. or 5.6% of gross value. The calculations were for large plots expected to be sold in from two to eight years. A further more tentative valuation of £55,000. to £60,000. was made on a basis of sale in smaller lots over a longer period. Although the gross value might be doubled thereby it was pointed out that much would depend on the uncertain course of building speculation over the following years.¹ The highest valuation represented a selling price of £1,325. per acre, 5s-6d per square yard. During the peak period of building activity 1898 - 1901 Martin and Fenwick's estimates were surpassed. Their best achievement was the sale of twelve acres in lots to builders at auction in 1901 for an average price of 7s-5½d per square yard, £1,815. per acre.²

The profitability of the developer role was considerably increased by the willingness to become involved in the minutiae of building estate management, albeit with professional guidance. The comparative gross income of the Brown, Cardigan, and Cowper estates

1. B.E.P., M. and F. to G. Markham, 16 January 1894. Additional pencil notation, 20 January 1894.
2. Ibid., Results of sale by auction, J. Brown 1877 estate, 8 October 1901.

TABLE 49

BUILDING LAND SALES AND GROSS INCOME, 1883 - 1902.

Development Period	Estate	Acreage Sold	No. of Sales	Gross Income	Average per Acre	Price per Square Yard
1883 - 1902	Brown	209	66	£207,077.	£992.	4s-6d
1884 - 1893	Cardigan	211	22	£92,429.	£438.	1s-10d
1885 - 1902	Cowper	161	15	-	£402. ¹	1s-8d

1. Based on price data from 10 of 15 known sales. Gross income from the sale of 121.5 acres was £48,847.

SOURCES: Brown; B.E.P. Schedules of Land Sold.
 Cardigan; See Appendix One.
 Cowper; See Appendix One.

during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century reflects this (see Table 49). Although Martin and Fenwick were also agents for the sale of the Cardigan estate their instructions in that instance were to divide it into lots for auction in 1888, not to manage it as a building estate. The Cowper estate policy during this period was for sales by private contract in large lots to sub-developers. In order to maximise profits it was necessary to prepare building sites and negotiate directly with builders.

c. The builders.

The level of profit earned by builders remains unknown for the area studied. From the evidence available it is possible only to consider changes in the organisation of the industry, its performance through a time of trade recession, and the influence of the building societies on its financial arrangements.

The northern out-townships' building industry was largely divorced from that of the in-township of Leeds until the second half of the nineteenth century. Records of school building in Headingley parish in 1797 and 1847 indicate the continuance of the system of contracting with craftsmen from the several trades. In 1847 half of the cost was for the work of the mason, Robert Moxon, and a quarter for the work of the carpenter, J. N. Hillas. The remaining quarter of the cost was for the work of the plasterer, plumber and glazier, painter, and the installation of the heating system.¹ Hillas' son, also a carpenter, made the plans and superintended building operations.

A movement away from contracting by separate trades to negotiation with one contractor - the builder, who had his own workforce - became apparent in the northern

1. LCA, Headingley Parish Records, 119;130.

out-townships during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The first individual in the northern out-townships to call himself a builder was Christopher Pickard who was established on the former Fawcett estate in Headingley Lane by 1839.¹

By 1851 several craftsmen were describing themselves as builders too; Aaron Wright, a Kirkstall stone mason, described himself as a builder employing seven men; at Far Headingley Joseph Bailey described himself as mason and builder employing four men; John Wilson of Headingley, probably the J. Wilson, plasterer, of the Headingley school contract of 1847, described himself as a builder employing seven men in 1851; in Burley, Richard Backhouse described himself as a joiner and builder employing one man.² The changeover from craftsman to builder was a gradual transition. At mid century the local men were probably willing to undertake a contract for their particular trade or to organise the whole building process if so requested.

Examination of building estates in Lower Burley and the Cowper New Town of Leeds during the period 1850 - 1875 suggests that contract work, either by trades or with a builder, was employed by more than three-quarters of the purchasers of building plots.³ The work carried out by building trades craftsmen on their own sites represented personal property investment rather than speculative building in anticipation of future sales. In Lower Burley eight of twenty-six land purchases by builders and building craftsmen were for speculative building for resale; in the New Town of Leeds the

1. Baines and Newsome, Directory of Leeds, (1839), p257.

2. PRO, Ho 107/2315/3/3-9. Census Enumerators' Returns, 1851.

3. Number of Purchasers		Building Trades Craftsmen	Builders
Lower Burley	62	10 (16%)	2 (3%)
New Leeds	49	7 (14%)	4 (8%)

comparative figure was only one purchase in seventeen. The largest single speculation for sale was the building of fourteen back-to-back cottages in Lower Burley by J. Hammond, a Ripon builder (Table 28, no 33).

From 1850 onwards building activity in the northern out-townships became increasingly the province of builders from central Leeds. The scale of building operations increased, a growth which may have been encouraged by the development of estates in Headingley adjoining the in-township boundary.

Craftsmen who had become builders, planning and superintending work, and employing other craftsmen, must have received an additional financial reward for their organisation of the building process; there is no northern out-township evidence of how large this amount was. The next stage of development for a builder, once the nucleus of a permanent workforce had been established, was to seek a continuous sequence of work, albeit subject to wider influences of weather and local trade conditions. One way of achieving a satisfactory work flow would have been to combine contract work with building in advance of demand.¹ This more speculative activity required an increased level of judgement than building under contract: sites had to be chosen, financial support obtained for land purchase, credit obtained from suppliers of building materials, and the completed house had to be sold. The rewards of speculation came when demand for houses was high and property values were increasing. In the absence of local data on building costs it is difficult to demonstrate a rise in property values; however, between April 1867 and March 1868 ten back-to-back cottages in Lower Burley were built, sold for £730. and

1. See H. Hobhouse, op.cit., p97.

promptly resold for £810.¹ Under a system of contract work the advantage would accrue to the client rather than the builder.

During the 1870s it appeared as though the existing capacity of the local building industry was incapable of meeting the demand for dwellings. In 1876 the Leeds Mercury considered that the pace of population growth would speedily overtake any addition made to the cottage accommodation of the borough, and that 3,000 new cottages were needed to satisfy the requirements of the existing population.² This analysis came towards the end of four years of an exceptionally high level of building activity. T. Fatkin, secretary of the Leeds Permanent Building Society considered that the years 1874 - 77, probably represented the peak of demand for house building in Leeds down to 1885.³

The principal building types for speculative builders were the back-to-back cottage and the small through house. The erection of such dwellings was almost a separate activity from the construction of larger and more expensive houses. James Hole, the Leeds housing reformer, noted that the smallest houses produced the largest percentage profits.⁴ For as long as a considerable demand existed for cottage property a rapid turnover and small profits per dwelling represented a satisfactory pattern of activity for the speculative builder.

The potential demand for cottage property amongst

1. LCD 13972. A claim made by plaintiffs in Chancery Proceedings against the proposed sale of a house on Headingley Hill in 1875 was that its value was steadily rising and therefore a sale was undesirable, ULD43. The house had been built in 1848.
2. LM, 31 December 1876.
3. P.P., 1884-5xxx, op.cit., T. Fatkin, Q10,856.
4. J. Hole, The Homes of the Working Classes, (1866), p.8.

investors and tenants was sufficient to encourage builders to continue to operate even when other trades in the area were suffering a decline in their levels of activity. This was the case in Leeds in 1876. Building work increased in 1877, prices of raw materials were raised, there were shortages of bricks and stone, the wages of bricklayers, masons, and plasterers were advanced. However, houses were unlet and rents being reduced, factors liable to deter property investors. Nevertheless, the check on house occupation in 1877 failed to halt the increase in house building during 1878, and a seventeen per cent increase in houses built was recorded.¹ At the end of 1878 the Leeds Mercury reported that many families were moving in with relatives or friends for the sake of economy.²

However, the increasing population of the borough required an average of 1,100 dwellings to be built annually during the period 1861 - 1901 in order to maintain the number of people per household at the period average of 4.6. This was achieved even during periods of recession in the local economy and led the Leeds Mercury to comment in its Annual Trade Review for 1888:

It has been curious yet instructive to note during the late years of depression that, whereas little has been done in the building of better class property, cottage house building has gone on apace almost throughout the period, and almost on all sides too.³

1. LM, Annual Trade Reviews, 1 January 1876, 30 December 1876, 29 December 1877, 31 December 1878, 31 December 1879.
2. LM, 31 December 1878. No evidence was presented other than the amount of empty property in the town. It was quoted in the Economist Review of 1878, in turn quoted by W. W. Rostow, British Economy of the Nineteenth Century, (1949), p209.
3. LM, 29 December 1888.

The secretary of the Leeds Permanent Building Society took a more disapproving view of the same period.

During the last five or six years there has been very little building at all going on in Leeds. The amount of building would not depend upon whether the houses were wanted or not. There are speculative builders who, if they could get the money, would put up houses even if they were going to be empty for a long time.¹

Fatkin's point about speculative builders was confirmed two years later by the London builder, E. Yates, whose activities in Camberwell during the building recession 1868 - 1872 have been demonstrated by Dyos to have continued unremittingly,²

As long as the builder is able to pay and can get a margin he will keep on building.³

When a builder could not find purchasers his survival depended upon the strength of his credit arrangements: with suppliers of raw materials; with his mortgagees; with the developer. Details of the relationship between builders and their suppliers of raw materials are rarely available. One Headingley builder, W. Hudson, active in the township since the 1860s was brought down in 1880 by the death of his timber merchant, G. Steel. Since 1871 Hudson had had credit up to £400. at 5% interest; although he had been able to pay off a mortgage of £573. in 1875 he was unable to pay his outstanding timber bills when requested by Steel's descendants, and his builder's workshop, complete with

1. P.P., 1884-5 xxx, op.cit., T. Fatkin, Q10936.

2. H. J. Dyos, Victorian Suburb, (1961), pp132-3.

3. P.P., 1887 xiii, op. cit., E. Yates, Q7099.

engine house and sawmill was auctioned to obtain the money.¹

One step towards insolvency was the second mortgage, carrying at least an extra one per cent rate of interest than a first mortgage. In 1883 Isaac Wilson, a Potternewton builder, failed to support the combination of a first mortgage of £410. with the Leeds Provincial Building Society contracted in 1882 and a second mortgage of £150. at 5% from S. Kay, a cloth merchant.² Loans from developers to builders also carried higher rates of interest. Several loans between 1897 and 1905 carried 5 per cent interest rates;³ in 1904 two developers charged six per cent interest on unpaid purchase money.⁴

Larger scale builders were better placed to survive financial difficulties. In 1878, at the end of the 1870s boom in Leeds house building, George Lax was building substantial semi-detached houses in Potternewton on land purchased by him for £6,000. and subject to mortgages of at least £5,700. By 1881 he had succeeded in selling part of the land and had repaid £4,000. of his mortgage debt. However, £2,000. was still owing and default was made on this sum; in 1882 the remaining four acres of his purchase was sold by the mortgagee.⁵ The setback did not prevent Lax from emerging as one of the major builders in the area during the boom years of the early 1890s and 1900s.

Builders who became developers were not immune from financial problems. In 1881 T. Pape and his innkeeper partner, J. Maude, had to sell 2.5 acres

1. LCD 13481.

2. LCD 12529.

3. LCD 10542; 15930; 21524; 21853.

4. B.E.P., M. and F. to Gervase Markham,
29 July 1904; LCD 21949.

5. LCD 10977.

purchased in 1875 for £1,200, a loss of £430.¹

Developers with larger financial resources were able to let their land lay idle during periods of slack demand.

The contribution of Leeds permanent building societies to builders' finances was negligible. The Leeds Permanent, largest and most lauded of the local societies, remained strongly antipathetic to the speculative builder until the building revival in the latter half of the 1880s. It had been founded 'by men who are interested in the town...bankers, merchants and men of position';² such people did not become landlords of working class property, but believed in aiding the working man to become a small capitalist, owning up to eight cottages, living in one and letting the rest.

The Leeds Permanent was also a supporter of improvement of working class housing. Its founder and first manager, John Bell, was a co-founder of the Leeds Model Cottage Society.³ Purchasers of cottages built by the society in 1861 were provided with eighty per cent mortgages by the Leeds Permanent. Between 1864 and 1866 the building society loaned James Hole £6,152. for a larger venture, the purchase and modernisation of forty-six 1820s cottages adjoining Burley Mill.⁴ The society appeared to agree with Hole that speculative builders did not have as strong a commitment to improvement. 'Social or sanitary considerations do not sufficiently weigh with the capitalist builder if they involve increased outlay without a corresponding return'.⁵

1. LCD 9435. The purchaser, almost inevitably, was a solicitor, B. R. Burrell.

2. P.P., 1887 xiii, R. Farrant, Q8132.

3. J. Hole, op.cit., pp.87, 180.

4. LCD 11180. Hole also built 14 new cottages, now demolished.

5. J. Hole, op.cit., p.8.

The extent of the permanent building societies' contribution during their early years to the finance of building operations in the northern out-townships is shown in Table 50. Of eighteen individual mortgagors for whom details have been traced only two were building craftsmen, none were builders. The emphasis was upon loans to artisans for small scale building activity on land in close proximity to the in-township boundary. Two mortgages were for land purchase two miles from the centre of Leeds.¹ Of 650 dwellings in Lower Burley for which title deed information is available only 53 were erected with the aid of building society finance, slightly more than eight per cent.

During the 1860s one society was willing to lend to speculative builders working on building grounds close to the in-township boundary. In 1867 the Provincial Benefit Building Society provided George Lax with £1,162. to build twelve back-to-back cottages;² in 1868 James Shepherd, joiner and builder, received £990. for the erection of fourteen back-to-backs;³ in 1867 Shepherd had switched from a private mortgage to a Provincial Society mortgage on an adjoining block of eight back-to-backs,⁴ and had also received £766. on another eight back-to-backs.⁵ In 1868 and 1870 the W. Hudson mentioned previously had received a total of £846. to build eight back-to-backs.⁶ The policy of the Provincial Society may have been partly due to the presence of a Leeds builder, Edwin Boothman, on its board of trustees, but there were additional factors involved. The developer

1. Former Cardigan estate building sites adjoining Headingley village.
2. LCD 13439. Verdun Street and Place.
3. LCD 13447. Verdun Street, Apsley Street.
4. LCD 13476.
5. LCD 13509. Hyde Avenue, Apsley Street.
6. LCD 13502. Spring Grove Place, Woodsley Street.

TABLE 50

BUILDING SOCIETY MORTGAGES IN THE
NORTHERN OUT-TOWNSHIPS, 1846 - 1860.

DATE(S)	MORTGAGOR	AMOUNT (£)	BUILDING TYPE ¹	PERIOD HELD (YEARS)
LEEDS SECOND PERMANENT BENEFIT BUILDING SOCIETY				
1846	S. Fleming engineer	121	2 t.h.	10
1851	G. Swaine overlooker	478	6 c.	3*
1851	J. Hardaker whitesmith	151	2 c.	9**
1851	W. Ellis blacksmith	155	1 t.h.	11
1851 - 2	W. Willans iron moulder	204	1 t.h.	8*
PERMANENT SECOND LEEDS BUILDING AND INVESTMENT SOCIETY ²				
1850 - 2	M. Hobson mason	179	1 t.h.	7
LEEDS ALLIANCE BENEFIT BUILDING SOCIETY				
1850	G. Halliday bricklayer	276	2 c.	4*
WEST RIDING FREEHOLDERS BENEFIT BUILDING SOCIETY ³				
1852	J. Horn lamplighter	150	2 c.	n.d.
1852	T. Rider stuff finisher	240	3 c.	7**
1853 - 5	G. King cooper	720	12 c.	8
LEEDS UNION OPERATIVE LAND AND BUILDING SOCIETY				
1852	G. King cooper	320	4 c.	n.d.
LEEDS PERMANENT BENEFIT BUILDING SOCIETY				
1852	W. Swallow watchman	62	2 c.	10
1853-4-6	T. Umpleby farmer	579	3 t.h. + mistal + stable	5*
1855	J. Savage warehouseman	301	8 c. + 1 t.h.	n.d.
1855	A. Needham widow	397	4 t.h..	3*

TABLE 50 Continued

LEEDS AND YORKSHIRE PERMANENT BENEFIT BUILDING SOCIETY					
1854	E. Oates	n.d.	120	l.p.	5
1855	J. Fox	land surveyor	180	l.p.	8

1. Abbreviations: c. = cottage, t.h. = through house, l.p. = land purchase.
2. Possibly a clerical variant of the Leeds Second Permanent.
3. Five nominal loans for land purchase from the society's own estate are excluded.

* Converted to a private mortgage at 5% interest per annum.

** Transferred to the Leeds Permanent Benefit Building Society.

of the land on which the building described above had taken place was an estate agent, J. S. Mathers.¹ He had close contact with John Kershaw, described as a bookseller in a conveyance of 1869, but called an estate agent in his will of 1870.² Kershaw was also a trustee of the Provincial Benefit Building Society; after his death in 1873 his place as trustee was taken by Mathers. The Provincial's actions would probably have been frowned upon by housing improvers because such societies were more concerned to do business than to enforce the goals of improvement.³

However, the examples of Hole, the Model Cottage Society, and the Leeds Permanent failed to inspire similar local ventures. From about 1870 onwards when the Leeds Permanent had funds in excess of working class demand it chose to lend to wealthier people; by 1885 nearly £750,000. was loaned on a better class of property than working class cottages.⁴ One Potternewton example of this policy occurred in 1874 when W. H. Blakeborough, a commercial traveller, and W. Herrox, a Leeds architect, received £1,600. for the erection of two pairs of semi-detached houses in the Cowper New Town. The four were sold in 1878 for £512. each compared with the £150. to £200. each of the model cottages supported by the Leeds Permanent in the 1860s.⁵

The attitude towards the speculative builder held by the Leeds Permanent began to change during the 1880s. The earliest loan traced in title deeds was to A. Haggard,

1. Purchaser of 13,750 square yards of T. W. Lloyd's Hill Top Estate in 1866.
2. Co-mortgagees to builders on Mathers' land, 1868; LCD 13468.
3. J. Hole, op.cit., p.86.
4. P.P., 1884-5 xxx, T. Fatkin, Q10904-5.
5. LCD 10256.

a joiner and builder, for the development of three streets of back-to-back cottages on former Headingley Glebe land; he received £4,000. between 1884 and 1886.¹ In 1896 the Society, perhaps unwittingly, was aiding George Lax, Sarah L. Lax, spinster, received £2,644. on security of twenty back-to-backs and two shops in Bexley Mount and Place, Potternewton. The land had been transferred to Miss Lax at cost price by George Lax in November 1895; the property was Lax built.² Other permanent building societies lending to speculative builders in the northern out-townships during the 1880s included the Halifax³ and the Leeds Commercial.⁴

From the evidence of title deeds available for the Leeds northern out-townships during the period 1875 - 1914 it appears that building societies provided financial support for builders in under a quarter of the cases examined. The example of Henry Lax, Potternewton builder, may be representative of the pattern of finance for the larger builders. At his death in 1910 he owned 266 dwellings in Leeds, 154 of them in Potternewton; the latter were subject to twenty-six mortgages, of which only four were from building societies, on twenty-two houses.⁵

By the start of the twentieth century the speculative builder had become a more acceptable member of society.

We do not talk of speculating cabinet-makers and speculating hatters. He

1. LCD 18919; 21804. Highbury Street, Place and Lane.
2. LCD 12726.
3. LCD 21409. £2,520. to B. Hewling for 14 through houses, Burley Lodge Road, 1887.
4. LCD 15648. £2,004. to G. W. Hargreaves for 20 back-to-backs.
5. LCD 21276. The other 112, in four areas of the city, were subject to ten mortgages, five of them from building societies. In all, six of nine building society mortgages were from the Leeds Permanent:

who, with sufficient command of capital, carries on this business honestly is no speculator in the ordinary sense.¹

d. Building owners; the landlords.

The most common economic relationship in the nineteenth century suburb was that between landlord and tenant. Investment in property to produce rental income was a major activity. Foremost of the early Leeds landlords was the soap boiler Richard Paley who had accumulated more than 260 houses by 1805; the gross income from this property must have been more than £1,000. per annum.² During the 1830s the solicitor T. E. Upton owned 74 cottages, 5 houses, a mill, a warehouse, and building grounds.³ In 1873 the property of William Croysdale, at Richmond Hill, Leeds, comprised 270 cottages plus houses, shops, and a tavern; it was sold for £24,015. and attracted the notice of the Builder which described it as an unusually large sale.⁴ A Leeds solicitor, W. S. Hannam, replying to enquiries on behalf of the Select Committee on Town Holdings, stated that no large districts were under individual ownership, important blocks of property were owned by individuals.⁵

Amongst the residents of the northern out-townships in 1851 were those who informed the census enumerators that they derived their income from property or from

1. Builder, LXXX (1901 - I), p.213. Paper read by Mr. T. Blashill, 'The Present Condition of the Building Industry' to the Surveyors Institution. It was still necessary to separate the jerry-builder from the honest builder.
2. M. W. Beresford, 'The Making of a Townscape' in W. C. Chalklin and M. A. Havinden, eds., Rural Change and Economic Growth, (1974), p.298, table 11.2.
3. LM, 23 June 1838.
4. Builder, (XXXI) 1873, p.411.
5. P.P., 1887 xiii, op.cit., Appendix, p.683.

houses. By the 1860s a large proportion of the houses and cottages built since the 1830s were owned by landlords. The landlord-tenant relationship was a feature of the villa and respectable terrace neighbourhoods as well as the cottage property districts populated by artisan and labourer. In Headingley cum Burley and Potternewton Poor Rate assessments during the 1830s show that two-thirds of the house property was let rather than owner occupied. The balance was unchanged in Headingley cum Burley in 1861 when two-thirds of the best class of houses, annual value above £25, were let.¹

In the area of Burley village and Lower Burley in 1861 eighty-three per cent of the property was owned by landlords; eighty per cent of the dwellings were back-to-back cottages. Only 23 of 623 dwellings of less than £10. annual value were owner occupied, less than four per cent. Of the remainder, thirteen per cent were let by agricultural estate owners, thirty-six per cent by absentee landlords, and forty-seven per cent by local landlords. The three principal property owners by value in 1861 were a retired joiner and builder aged sixty eight, a retired cut nail manufacturer, aged seventy six, and the widow of a Halifax painter, (see Table 51).

At Kirkstall in 1861 fifty-five people owned 525 dwellings; in Burley and Lower Burley 112 people owned 682 dwellings. The average dwellings per landlord were 9.5 at Kirkstall and 6.1 in the Burley and Lower Burley area. The value of property owned by landlords did not vary significantly by occupation. Building craftsmen, retired tradesmen, small scale manufacturers, shopkeepers, beer-house keepers, widows, and executors were amongst the principal landlords.

1. LCA, PL/17/6, Potternewton Poor Rate Survey and Valuation, 1837; LO/HE 1 and 2, Headingley cum Burley Poor Rate Books 1834 and 1861.

TABLE 51

THE TEN PRINCIPAL LANDLORDS OF COTTAGE AND OTHER PROPERTY,
BURLEY AND LOWER BURLEY, 1861.

Owner, Occupation	Property Type ¹				Total Annual Value (£)
	c	t.h.	s/b	other	
R. Backhouse retired joiner and builder	57	1	-	1	286
J. Roberts gentleman	18	6	3	-	207
Mrs. A. Kitchen widow	26	1	1	-	166
J. Ardill clasp manufacturer	25	1	-	-	138
T. Watson druggist	23	1	1	-	125
S. Brama's executors	-	6	1	-	108
G. Halliday bricklayer	7	4	3	-	103
J. Harrison beerhouse keeper	14	-	1	-	95
S. Bateson -	13	1	1	1	91
S. Clayton -	-	5	-	-	85

1. Types: c = cottage, t.h. = through house, s/b = shop or beerhouse.

SOURCE: LCA, LO/HE2 Headingley Poor Rate Book, 1861.

TABLE 52

THE TEN PRINCIPAL LANDLORDS OF VILLA AND TERRACE
PROPERTY, HEADINGLEY,¹ 1861.

Owner, Occupation	Property Type ²			Total Annual Value (£)
	m	v	t	
G. Vevers gentleman	-	2	11	325 ³
J. Jackson gentleman	-	-	5	272
Executors of F. Brown	-	4	-	223
'Tootal trustees'	-	-	5	214
Executors of S. Spenceley	-	4	4	189
W. T. Smith solicitor	-	-	11	181-10s-0d
R. Robinson druggist	-	-	10	176
'Tatham's devisees'	2	-	-	169
Mrs. A. Husler stone merchant	-	-	8	168
J. Child architect	4	-	-	166-10s-0d

1. Far Headingley, Headingley village, Headingley Hill, Hyde Park.

2. Types: m = mansion, v = villa, t = terrace.

3. He was also owner occupier of a £31. annual value house.

SOURCE: LCA, LO/HE2 Headingley Poor Rate Book, 1861.

This pattern of ownership in 1861 was very similar to that described by Edward Ryde, a past president of the Surveyor's Institution, in 1886.¹ There was no emphasis upon shopkeepers as the main investors in working class property such as that noted by Reeder in West London during the 1840s and 1850s.² In Burley and Lower Burley only six of twenty-one shops were owner occupied in 1861. However, the scale of shopkeeping may have been increasing; the Burley area principally developed after 1850 had one shop for every sixteen dwellings; Kirkstall, developed from the 1820s onwards had one shop for every thirty-two dwellings under £20. annual value. In more salubrious areas like Headingley Hill and the Cowper New Town of Leeds shops were not permitted.

In 1861 the principal landlords of better class villas and terraces in Headingley included trustees, executors, and devisees of four deceaseds' estates. Other occupations amongst the leading ten landlords by value were the professional ones of solicitor and architect. (see Table 52). Landlords were less likely to live locally than in the cottage property areas. The ten leading Headingley landlords owned no shop property, and fewer dwellings than their Burley and Kirkstall counterparts, but had higher average rentals; £208. for Headingley, £176. for Kirkstall, £140. for Burley and Lower Burley.

Two factors are demonstrated: firstly, the landlords of cottage property were different individuals from the landlords of more expensive property; secondly, the skilled artisans of Leeds manufacturing industries were not amongst the principal landlords although the

1. P.P., 1886 xii, S.C. on Town Holdings, Q7875, 7905 - 6.
2. D. A. Reeder, *Capital Investment in the Western Suburbs of Victorian London*, (Leicester University Ph.D. thesis, 1965), pp372-3. Reeder found this claim repeated in the 1860s and 1830s.

permanent building societies had begun to increase the number who were landlords in a small way.

Cottage property appears to have been the more profitable investment. A pair of back-to-back cottages produced more rental per ground surface occupied than a through house; Beresford estimated the additional rental of twenty per cent.¹ Where cottage property below a certain annual value was exempt from the Poor Rate, or the rate could be compounded by the landlord at up to 50 per cent discount, there was the prospect of additional benefit to the owner by failing to remove the value of the exemption from the tenant's rent.² In Leeds during the 1860s owners of cottages below a gross rental of £7-4s-0d, three shillings per week, were entitled to compound, a factor which may have placed a premium on cottages which were cheap enough to produce that level of rent. The housing reformer, Hole, argued that increased building costs meant that the cottage which qualified for compounding in the 1860s was of a lesser quality than that which qualified in the 1840s.³

The great demand for cottage property from a growing urban population was increased by the desire of some of the working classes for low rental accommodation which would enable cash to be used for other necessities or, possibly, non-essential items.⁴ Demand also held firm because of the lack of alternatives; the retreat from back-to-back cottage to single room or cellar became less possible from the 1860s onwards when the local authority began a campaign against overcrowded lodging houses and cellar dwellings.⁵

1. M. W. Beresford, 'The Back-to-Back House in Leeds, 1787-1837', in S.D. Chapman, ed., The History of Working-class Housing, (1971), p115.

2. J. Hole, op.cit., p43.

3. Ibid., pp125-6. Hole considered the £6. cottage then would be worth £9. in 1866.

4. Ibid., p5.

5. Ibid., pp22-3; LM, 31 December 1876 editorial for the consequences.

The improvement of the back-to-back during the last quarter of the nineteenth century with the provision of additional rooms, and improved minimum standards required by the building regulations carried the demand for this type of property amongst tenants forwards for another century. George Lax, builder, argued in 1896 that the next stage up the accommodation ladder, the small through house, was not very much in demand then and was 'a kind of house much disliked by tenants.'¹

A prospective landlord about to speculate in more expensive types of house property was faced with a much smaller number of potential tenants. Such tenants were likely to have more mobility, be more particular, and be increasingly attracted to purchase by the availability of building finance from the 1870s onwards. A single dwelling required more capital outlay than a back-to-back, but fewer dwellings for a given amount of capital meant that each unoccupied dwelling meant the loss of a greater proportion of the rental.

The demand for more expensive houses also responded more sharply to changes in the level of local economic activity. At the end of 1883 the Leeds Mercury noted that many houses worth above £20. per year were standing empty;² new cottages and small houses were letting as soon as they were completed without significantly depopulating older cottages.³ During 1884 property in the £20. to £60. range of annual rentals which had been empty for the previous four years was gradually being let.⁴ In 1887 it was noted that more families

1. B.E.P., G. Lax to Martin and Fenwick, 30 April 1896. Lax built both types of house.
2. LM, 30 December 1883. Annual Trade Review.
3. LM, 29 December 1883. Hepper's Annual Circular. Heppers were the foremost Leeds auctioneers of the time.
4. LM, 30 December 1884. Annual Trade Review.

were changing from smaller to larger houses,¹ but not until 1889 was it suggested that the demand for £40. to £80. annual rental houses was in advance of supply.²

Larger house properties also produced a lower percentage return on capital than cottage property. The gross return on cottages was usually reckoned at 7 or 8 per cent and sales of cottage property were at prices which would provide that level of return from the existing rentals. Comparative returns on better class property are almost totally unavailable, but Lax in 1896 considered that only £30. rent could be obtained on an £800. house, equivalent to a gross return of 3.75 per cent, 'and that only with difficulty', whereas he was selling £300. houses which were letting at from 5s-3d to 7s-0d per week, between £13-13s-0d and £18-4s-0d per year; this was equivalent to a return of 4.5 per cent to 6 per cent.³

A gross profit of less than six per cent was liable to produce a lower return than the same amount of capital put out as mortgage money once the average thirty per cent deduction was made from the gross rental for insurance, rates, and maintenance costs. Whilst the property was new the outlay on repairs might be very low or non-existent; once repair and maintenance costs increased the owner had three alternatives to accepting a reduced level of profit; one was to sell and take advantage of any rise in property values since purchase; a second was to sub-divide the house and let flats or rooms; a third, not always possible, was to sell for commercial purposes. The larger houses were always susceptible to such changes when the physical and social

1. LM, 1 January 1887. Hepper's Annual Report.
2. LM, 5 January 1889. Hepper's Annual Report.
3. B.E.P., G. Lax to M. and F., 30 April 1896.

characteristics of a neighbourhood altered because their occupants were more sensitive and more mobile than the cottage dwellers.

e. The residents.

Study of the residential development process in the nineteenth century leads one to doubt whether the suburbs were created for the benefit of their residents. The editor of the Builder approached a similar viewpoint in 1881.

There are many ways of regarding the house, and most of them, it must be confessed, are prosaic. There is the picturesque architect's point of view, which is the least prosaic. ...There is the contractor's point of view of it, as a piece of construction out of which to make money. There is the sanitarian, who regards it as a place liable to develop smells and gases; and the investor of money, who regards the house as property worth so many years' purchase.

It may be that, if we could only recognize it, there is after all, a suitability to the circumstances, an occult fitness of things, even in the speculating builder's street house. It may be the true expression of the circumstances of the life that is lived in it, - most dwellings are so in one way or another; but then how very unfit the fitness of things must be in that case.¹

The freedom to control one's residential destiny, and the criteria employed, varied according to rank in society. Although the nineteenth century suburbs undoubtedly exhibited myriad social distinctions to their residents it is possible to distinguish three principal groupings, each corresponding to a distinct suburban form: firstly, the mansion and villa dwellers, equipped at least with stable and shrubbery, and at best with carriage house

1. Builder, XL (1881-I), pl.

and landscaped estate; secondly, the respectable terrace house dweller, usually without horse or carriage but employing one or two servants; the employment of a general servant, sometimes graphically described as a 'maid of all work' by census enumerators, was the minimum distinction between these residents and the remainder; without a servant a family lacked a fundamental item in the trappings of respectability and middle class status; thirdly, the mass of artisans' and labourers' families, recognizing distinctions amongst themselves based on occupational groupings, religious denomination,¹ temperance, and thrift. To the majority of the higher echelons of society such distinctions were blurred and their habitations unexplored. The working class streets of cottage property, with their corner shops and public houses constituted a totally different milieu from the servant supported society.

The tram may have produced a measure of egalitarian rubbing of shoulders by 1914. The disparity between the hours of manual labour and those of professional and commercial workers may have been reduced. However, the social distance between entrepreneur and artisan had widened since the beginnings of the industrial revolution, and during the second half of the nineteenth century the gap was filled by the insertion of the burgeoning ranks of white collar workers-managers, clerks, commercial travellers. Churches largely failed to provide a social leavening of these disparate groups. The new, more socially homogeneous neighbourhoods were each provided with their own places of worship.

The improvement of living conditions in new cottage property neighbourhoods during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was imposed by local bye-law control of developers and builders. After the 1872 Leeds Improvement Act the minimum standard cottage was more

1. Or lack of it.

spacious internally with minimum eight feet ceiling height for living and sleeping rooms and six feet average height for attic rooms. All rooms were required to have a specified amount of window space; a requirement for the attic room window to be not less than six feet above the floor level made the dormer window of cottage property as ubiquitous as the bay windows of terraces which proclaimed their respectability. Through terraces had to have private open space - a back yard and/or a pocket size front garden of at least 150 square feet.¹ In 1885 Dr. Goldie, Medical Officer of Health, confirmed that the housing in the suburbs was very much better than the earlier built houses of inner Leeds.² The best back-to-back dwellings could now hardly be described as cottages, having two principal stories, plus attic and basement, garden and bay window to front, individual water closet at basement level.³

The willingness of Leeds Corporation and its officials to permit the new neighbourhoods of the late nineteenth century to be composed principally of back-to-back terraces was considered by contemporary opinion in other towns to be against the best interests of the citizens of Leeds. Back-to-backs had long been made illegal in other major northern cities: Manchester in 1844; Bradford in 1860; Liverpool in 1861;⁴ Sheffield in 1864.⁵ The basis of opposition to the back-to-back form was stated comprehensively by a builder - correspondent to the Darlington and Stockton Times in 1863:

1. 35 & 36 Vict. cap. 97 Leeds Improvement Act, (1872). 23,1; 23,2; 23,3.
2. P.P., 1884-5 xxx, G. Goldie, Q9788-9.
3. For example the Cardigan fields development by C. Stott from the 1890s onwards; the Brudenells in Headingley; the Luxors in Potternewton from the 1900s onwards.
4. M. W. Beresford, 'The Back-to-Back House in Leeds', op.cit., p113.
5. E. Gauldie, Cruel Habitations, (1974), p257.

There can be no apology for back to back houses; and though it is one of the common features of the country in this neighbourhood we believe strong efforts are now being made to put a stop to the practice. Its adoption in this case seems to have been from the desire to bring the rentals within the necessary limits of the workmen's incomes; though even from this aspect we are convinced it is false economy thus to build. It may possibly enable the proprietor of such tenements (for we cannot call them houses properly) to obtain an additional $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest on the outlay more than could be derived from the erection of through independent houses, with a communication back and front and the possibility of ventilation, but some of the health thus lost, some of the feelings of privacy and delicacy thus destroyed, will bear their fruits; and in the form of taxes and rates and subscriptions, the grudging landlord will have to disgorge his extra percentage with compound interest, for his participation in the origin of crime, disease and pauperism. ...At Leeds, for instance, where this system of half houses is the most common the people have been said to succeed in everything but in making health and it has been asserted that the rates of mortality are higher than can be accounted for except by explanation that the people are cannibals and live upon each other as surely as if they eat one another.¹

During the 1890s Leeds received adverse comment on its support of back-to-backs. The Builder was especially scathing.² At the annual conference of the Municipal and County Engineers at Brighton in 1896 the local Medical Officer of Health described the perpetuation of the back-to-back house as a scandal. 'Leeds was one of the worst offenders in that respect, and, he had no doubt, was building up what would be a

1. Darlington and Stockton Times, 21 February 1863. I am indebted to Mrs. N. Binyon of Richmond, Yorkshire, for this reference.
2. Builder, (LXXI) 1896-II, p170.

pest spot in the future.¹

Even Leeds builders who were members of the Leeds Builders' Exchange considered the question of erecting through houses when the prohibition of back-to-backs was proposed as part of the Leeds Consolidation Bill in 1894.

The committee had visited Hull at their own cost in consequence of the laudation of the through houses for the working classes there, but...their careful inspection of these resulted in a conviction that the system prevailing in Leeds was in every way superior to the houses they saw in Hull.²

It is possible to interpret their response as a conservative adherence to local tradition, factors 'beyond the quantifiables of price, income, density, costs, rents, returns, and land values.'³ However, Leeds Corporation and some of its officials considered the positive argument for the back-to-back to be twofold. Firstly, it provided accommodation at rentals which poor families, tenants of old unhealthy in-township properties, could afford. Secondly, the back-to-back was not itself unhealthy. The architectural determinism which elsewhere blamed the building form for high mortality rates was in Leeds replaced by a more pragmatic attitude. Outside Leeds the over-riding concern with lack of ventilation was correlated with higher mortality rates in back-to-back areas. Where arrangements for water supply and sewage disposal were the same for back-to-back neighbourhoods as for better class areas other factors needed to

1. Ibid., p9. Conference report.
2. Ibid., (LXVI) 1894-I, p101. The Leeds Builders' Exchange held its Second Annual Meeting in January 1894; it had club rooms in Boar Lane. It appears to have served both as a club and master builders' association.
3. M. W. Beresford, 'The Back-to-Back House in Leeds,' op.cit., p121.

be taken into account. As the cheapest form of accommodation available for poor families the back-to-backs provided shelter for the lower paid, old people not sufficiently destitute for the workhouse, those with the least knowledge of principles of hygiene and nutrition to help themselves. Simply moving such people into new housing areas was insufficient. In 1912 the Leeds Medical Officer of Health noted that the transfer of the urban population into part of suburban Potternewton might have benefited the new owners, but they had carried with them diseases contracted in the old insanitary areas of the in-township.¹ Thus the sanitary bye-law suburb of back-to-backs became identified with earlier back-to-back developments which had lacked main drainage rather than ventilation.

A. M. Fowler, Leeds Borough Engineer during the 1870s, subsequently Borough Engineer for Manchester, was president of the Municipal and County Engineers' Institute in 1894. He chose during his period of office to publicly defend the 'Leeds system' of back-to-back houses. The idea of six or seven storey barracks he considered abhorrent.² The through house had been observed by him to have disadvantages which had not been remarked upon by others.

The houses erected after the Local Government Model Bye-Laws - demanding a through passage and ventilation, with ground space at the back or side - have a tendency to create much self-sacrificing on the part of the tenant, inasmuch as the rooms have often to be let off to lodgers owing to the high rents; whilst the back-yard premises often become occupied

1. J. Spottiswoode Cameron, The Annual Report Made to the Urban Sanitary Authority of the City of Leeds for the Year 1911, and partly for 1912, p67.
2. Builder, (LXXI) 1896-II, p9.

with poultry and an accumulation of rubbish resulting in filth. I have therefore come to the conclusion that the back-to-back house (as so extensively constructed at Leeds on the modern plan) is the best class of house for the working man.¹

It must have been with considerable satisfaction that the members of the Leeds Council Sanitary Committee compared mortality rates with the nine largest British cities during the 1890s. For example, the Report for 1899 - 1900 noted that in the former year Leeds had the best record of all, marginally better than London, substantially better than Sheffield, Manchester, and Liverpool.² During the 1890s back-to-backs continued to comprise two-thirds of the new dwellings built in Leeds.

Notwithstanding the local belief in the economic and sanitary validity of the back-to-back form in the 1890s, the following decade brought an unheralded reappraisal of the comparative merits of that form and through houses before the impact of the 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act. In 1903 - 04 planning approvals for through houses were greater than for back-to-backs for the first time; 55 per cent and 39 per cent respectively of the total number approved. The rising importance of through houses was accompanied by an increase in the number of semi-detached houses. The numbers of the latter, both approved and built, had begun to increase during the second half of the 1890s.

The change in emphasis after 1895 in favour of the through terrace and the semi-detached house is not

1. Ibid., (LXVII) 1894 - II, p.224. Fowler's analysis met considerable opposition.
2. Leeds Town Council, Annual Reports of Committees, 1899 - 1900. Sanitary Committee.

readily explicable. The period was not one of rising real wages.¹ Rents of the most expensive back-to-backs were one-third higher than the cheapest small through houses; the most expensive through houses were no more expensive than the smallest semi-detached villa.² Past experience of the nineteenth century development process would suggest that supply factors were more significant than the wishes of tenants. Developers and their professional advisers may have predetermined building estate layout for through houses in anticipation of the spirit of anti-back-to-back legislation. The advisers would almost certainly have been aware of successive campaigns in parliament for further legislation on housing from 1900 onwards. In Headingley Charles Stott, a retired builder, and subsequently his trustees, insisted upon through terrace house development on two of his estates, the former J. Marshall Headingley House estate and the former Manor House estate of A. Titley, developed between 1902 and 1912. Although estates with street plans approved by the council before May 1909 could continue to be built over with back-to-backs, estates already laid out in blocks for through house development were not readily convertible to the wider back-to-back building sites.

1. W. Rostow, British Economy of the Nineteenth Century, (1949), p230. Table, Prices and Wages, 1870 - 1913. W. Ashworth, An Economic History of England 1870 - 1939, (1960), p200.
2. Leeds Town Council Annual Reports, (1907), Building Plans Sub-Committee of the Improvements Committee Annual Report, 1906 - 7. Villas £30. to £100. per annum; Semi-detached villas £13. to £33, both exclusive of rates. Through houses 5s-9d to 10s-6d per week; Back-to-backs 4s-6d to 7s-6d per week. Rates would have added 30% to the first two categories.

The reverse had been the case in the 1860s when J. Hole and the Model Cottage Society had found difficulty in obtaining land on which to build through houses because estates were laid out for back-to-back cottages.¹

For those who regretted the laying out of new streets in Headingley and Potternewton, whether for back-to-back, through house or semi-detached, there remained available the traditional response. Developers and builders beckoned, not only in Chapel Allerton, but beyond the Leeds City boundary. In 1908 J. R. Ford, the lawyer, noted that an estate called Fearneville had been purchased by a syndicate who were

establishing what they are pleased to call a Garden City, which means apparently that they are cutting the estate up into a number of plots for sale on each of which only one house is to be built thus leaving a considerable area of land for garden purposes. This estate is in Roundhay.²

The Cowper estate steward of the 1800s, J. Richardson, and G. Bischoff, merchant and developer of a Headingley Hill estate in the 1830s would have recognised the process.

1. J. Hole, op.cit., p213.

2. BEP, J. R. Ford to G. Markham, 14 February 1908.

EPILOGUE

The Rise and Fall of the Suburb

'Joshua XXI. 42: These cities were everyone with their suburbs round about them; thus were all these cities.'¹

The truth is that the history of Button Hill, like the history of everything else, consists of a succession of infinitesimal changes - some for better, some for worse. At first every tiny change that came to Button Hill had been hailed as a change for the better, as indeed it seemed at the time. Then a sort of slack-water period had ensued when the value of such changes were counter-balanced by other tiny changes, the value of which was more open to question. Eventually at some quite implacable date the little changes for the worse tipped the scale.²

Where wealth and fashion led, money followed. The years 1912, 1913, and 1914 saw a steady secession from the terraces of Button Hill to the newer suburbs.³

Possibly high-class residential suburbs, like almost everything else, carry within them inevitably the seeds of their own destruction.⁴

Thus concluded Gordon Stowell who disguised his experience of living through the growth of Potternewton in a novel, The History of Button Hill. In the 1970s the development process continues, but in Headingley and Potternewton it takes a different form, with choices between urban renewal, rehabilitation, and conservation. The nucleus of Burley village has been demolished; the Graham industrial village at Kirkstall has almost gone the same way; Lower Burley has disappeared except for the

1. G. Stowell, The History of Button Hill, (1929), p23. The text taken by The Reverend A. S. Knight, March 1894.
2. Ibid., p203.
3. Ibid., p204.
4. Ibid., p202.

cobbled streets; the Cowper New Town of Leeds is gradually being eroded and the area given a new name. Pre-1870 middle class neighbourhoods in Headingley have stood the test of time rather more successfully, albeit with much changed functions. Headingley Hill, the Cardigan moor land developments of the 1850s and 1860s, and Far Headingley have been given Conservation Area status which constitutes some measure of control upon the developers. The partial demolition of the 1860s and 1870s villas of the former Zoological and Botanical Gardens has been checked by Conservation Area designation. The pre-1870 working class neighbourhoods, about which the least written documentation survives, have already gone. In Chapel Allerton the pre-1914 developments are but islands in a sea of semi-detachedness.



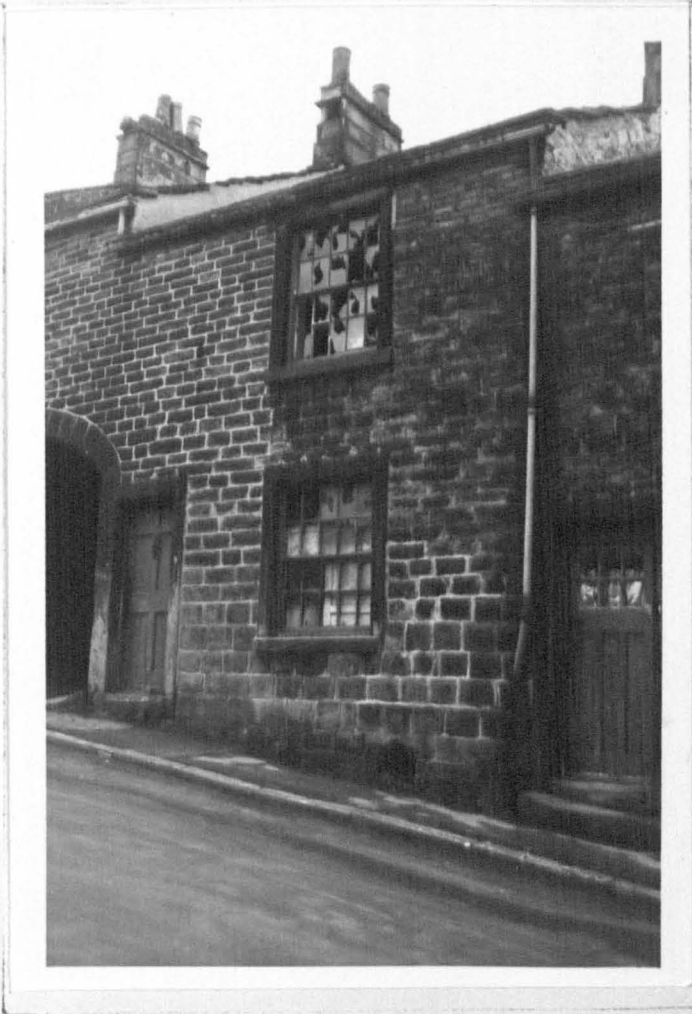
Photograph 27. GRANGE HOUSE, CHAPEL ALLERTON.

Still a private residence in 1914; sold to Leeds Corporation in the 1940s; now part of a school.

Photograph 28. MEANWOOD PARK, CHAPEL ALLERTON.

Eighteenth century Denison estate; Beckett land in the Nineteenth century; now part of a hospital.





Photograph 29.

8 BEECROFT STREET,

KIRKSTALL. 1830s

Back-to-backs for

T. BACKHOUSE, farmer,

on Graham 300 year

Building Leases.

Photograph 30. CARDIGAN PLACE, BURLEY.

Through houses by M. and W. SOWDEN, stone merchants.



RESPONSES TO CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES: III REHABILITATION



·Photograph 31. PRE-ENCLOSURE COTTAGES, HEADINGLEY MOOR.
 ·In 1829 this was an 'ancient encroachment' by
 ·G. SMITH, milk dealer.

·Photograph 32. BYWATER BUILDINGS AND TANNERY SQUARE,
 ·MEANWOOD, CHAPEL ALLERTON. Small through houses on right
 ·built by JOHN MORRIS (n.d.).



APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE:

DEVELOPERS' PURCHASES, 1871 - 1914.

CARDIGAN ESTATE, 1884 - , Headingley cum Burley.

Major purchasers of building land: 1888 Auction;
1884 - 1893 by private contract.

Name, Occupation and Location. ¹	Lot No.	Area square yards	Price (£)	Price per square yard (s-d)
J. Bowling quarry) owner Ilkley and) J. Richardson) solicitor)	64	24,200	£1,700	1s-5d
G. Bray gas lighting engineer	17 & 17a	62,580	£14,750	4s-8½d
W. Child n.d.	4	27,520	£6,250	4s-6½d ²
P. Denton publican) and W. Plews linen) manufacturer, Burley)	47	73,440	£1,200	4d
S. Ingham timber merchant Hly	24a	2,950	£600	4s-0½d
W. & G. Irwin contractors Burley	49	n.d.	£1,256	n.d.
G.E. Isles manager	62	19,692	£800	9½d
A.T. Lawton n.d.	32	86,294	£5,000	1s-9d
M. Marcan woollen merchant	24a & 24b	5,780	£1,500	5s-2½d
W. Robshaw land agent	54	131,745	£1,900	3½d
C. Stott retired builder Armley	-	102,245	£4,425	10½d
"	1	9,238	£2,050	4s-5½d
"	3 & 3a	61,650	£19,000	6s-2d
"	16	38,600	£2,100	1s-1d

1. Location Leeds unless otherwise stated.

2. Price included the Cardigan Arms Inn, Burley.

Name, Occupation and Location.	Lot No.	Area square yards	Price (£)	Price per square yard (s-d)
E. & W. Strickland land and estate agents	-	18,270	£3,654	4s-0d
W. Wade Milnes schoolmaster	44	43,560	£320	1½d
B. & W. Walmsley builders	15	86,104	£7,862	1s-11d
"	-	78,340	£7,544	1s-11d
"	-	59,740	£6,588	2s-2½d
G. Watson n.d.	42	58,080	£420	1½d
R. Wood surveyor and architect Hly	11	34,790	£3,000	1s-8½d
"	18	n.d.	£510	n.d.

COWPER ESTATE, 1873 - , Potternewton.

1) The Roundhay Road estate.

1.1) February 1873. 14,650 square yards @ 1s-6d, £1,099.
 (Lots 14 & 16) W. & J. Rayner, boot and shoe manufacturers, Leeds.

January 1874 resale; 14,650 square yards @ 2s-6d to T. Pape & J. Maude.

1.2) July 1874. 5,960 square yards @ 1s-6d, £447.
 (Lot 15) T. Pape builder, Leeds and J. Maude, innkeeper, Leeds.

September 1874 resale 1.2 and part 1.1; 15,510 square yards @ 2s-9d to E. Wray.

1.3) June 1875. 6,620 square yards @ 2s-0d, £662.
 (Lot 13) E. Wray, builder, Leeds.

1.4) June 1875. 31,300 square yards @ 2s-8d, £4,200.
 (Lots 2-12, even) T. Pape and J. Maude, see 1.2.

1.5) February 1876. 154,525 square yards @ 7d, £4,571.
 (Lots 1-9, odd) E. Wray, see 1.3.

February 1876 resale; 11,608 square yards @ 3s-0d to J.E. Charlesworth, esquire, Lofthouse Hall and C.E. Charlesworth, Moor House, Stanley, both Yorkshire.

pre 1878 agreement; 4,284 square yards @ 3s-6d to J. Robinson, builder, Leeds.

October 1879 resale; 11,011 square yards @ 2s-8½d to T. R. Clarke, manufacturer, Leeds.

2) 'The Estate between the Roundhay Road and Harehills Road.'

2.1) August 1885. 59,250 square yards, no price data.
(Lots 1 & 2) W. & J. Rayner, see 1.1.

2.2) April 1887. 24,590 square yards @ 2s-6d, £3,074.
(Lot 8) J. Newton Sharp, builder, Leeds.

2.3) April 1887. 11,920 square yards; agreement
(pt. Lot 9) Cowper - E. Wray, (see 1.3), @ 2s-6d, £1,500. but conveyance Cowper for Wray to J. Newton Sharp @ 2s-8d, £1,580. August 1892 resale; 3,052 square yards @ 5s-7½d to W. W. Clayton, engineer, Leeds.

2.4) December 1888. 76,000 square yards, no price data.
(Lots 3,4,& 5) J. W. Archer, manufacturer, Leeds.
October 1890 resale; 4,498 square yards @ 6s-0d to G. Lax, builder, Leeds.

2.5) pre February 1889. 13,910 square yards, no price
(Lot 6) data. W. & J. Rayner, see 1.1.

2.6) February 1889. 172,163 square yards @ 2s-2½d,
(Lot 7 & £19,008. J. W. Archer, see 2.4
additional land)

2.7) July 1891.) 5,545 square yards, no price data.
October 1892) W. Sayles Arnold, contractor,
Doncaster and H. H. Hodgson, estate
agent, Leeds.

3) Other Cowper land, Potternewton.

3.1) February 1894. 17,725 square yards @ 2s-0d,
£1,773. E. O. Wooler, solicitor, Leeds.

October 1895 resale; 16,485 square yards @ 2s-2d to J. W. Watson, estate agent, Leeds.

3.2) December 1896. 6,533 square yards @ 1s-10d, £599.
C. Higgins, estate agent, Leeds.

3.3) May 1897. 25,160 square yards @ 1s-9d, £2,202.
J. W. Watson, estate agent, Leeds.

June 1898 resale; 1,009 square yards @ 5s-0d to H. W. Thompson, builder, Potternewton.

- 3.4) May 1898. 46,407 square yards plus farm buildings @ 1s-7d, £3,674. J. W. Watson, see 3.3.
- March 1898 resale; 584 square yards @ 6s-0d to T. Gozzard, builder, Potternewton.
- November 1899 resale; 611 square yards @ 5s-6d to G. Best, builder, Dewsbury Road.
- 3.5) November 1898. 35,338 square yards, no price data. J. W. Watson, see 3.3
- August 1902 resale; 885 square yards @ 5s-6d to W. Lister, builder, Burmantofts.
- 3.6) December 1898. 19,336 square yards @ 1s-9d, £1,692. W. Sayles Arnold, see 2.7
- 3.7) December 1899. 213,680 square yards @ 1s-2d, £12,500. H. H. Hodgson, estate agent, Leeds and W. Sayles Arnold, contractor, Doncaster.
- May 1902 resale; 8,850 square yards @ 2s-0d to J. Brown, estate devisee for road widening.
- December 1913 resale; 16,177 square yards @ 2s-0d to Leeds Corporation for a school.
- Unsold land at 2s-6d, 3s-6d, and 5s-0d per square yard.
- 3.8) June 1901. 23,577 square yards @ 1s-4d, £1,585. J. W. Watson, see 3.3.
- 3.9) July 1902. 27,080 square yards @ 11d, £1,240. J. W. Watson, see 3.3.

HEADINGLEY GLEBE, 1874 - , Headingley cum Burley.

- 1.1) April 1874 Auction. Lot 1. 40,176 square yards, reserve price 2s-8d per square yard, £5,385. Purchased by T. Simpson, solicitor, Leeds.
- October 1874 resale; 4,835 square yards @ 3s-9d to W. Hill, architect, Leeds; D. Boothman, contractor, Leeds; and H. Broomhead, contractor, Leeds.
- May 1875 resale; 6,359 square yards @ 4s-0d to G. Lax, builder, Leeds.

- Lot 2. 10,176 square yards, reserve price 1s-1d per square yard, £561. 'Oates', no other data re-purchaser.
- Lot 3. 16,093 square yards, reserve price 2s-10½d per square yard, £1,471. Purchased by T. Ambler, architect, Leeds.
- Lot 4. 47,100 square yards, reserve price 1s per square yard, £2,427. Purchased by W. & J. Rayner, boot and shoe manufacturers, Leeds, and G. Hancock, surgeon, Leeds.
- June 1874 resale; 47,100 square yards @ 1s-3½d to J. Hall, architect, Leeds, and E. Holt, woolstapler, Leeds.
- 1.2) January 1884. 13,230 square yards and former parsonage @ 6s-4d, £4,200. R. Wood, builder and contractor, Headingley.
- January 1884 resale; 4,864 square yards @ 6s-0d to C. J. Bentfield, gentleman, Headingley.
- December 1884 resale; 875 square yards @ 9s-0d to J. Lambert, woollen merchant, Leeds.

LEEDS HORTICULTURAL GARDENS ESTATE (ex - LEEDS ROYAL PARK),
1874 - , Headingley cum Burley.

- February 1874. 96,800 square yards @ 3s-5d, £16,500. R. Robinson, linen merchant, Leeds; W. Ingham, upholsterer, Leeds; and T. Hattersley, machinist, Leeds. Sold by T. Clapham's mortgagees.
- June 1875. 49,755 square yards resold @ 5s-2½d, £13,000. to the Leeds Horticultural Gardens Company.
- December 1885. Taken over by the Leeds Horticultural Gardens Company mortgagee, John Rawlinson Ford, solicitor, Leeds, for equivalent of 4s-5d per square yard plus £1,300. for fixtures.
- June 1888. 29,630 square yards @ 7s-0d, agreement J. R. Ford with law partner, W. Warren, solicitor, Leeds and J. Franks, surveyor, Leeds.
- December 1888 resale; 982 square yards @ 8s-6d to W. Farndale, joiner, Leeds.

January 1892 resale; 2,455 square yards @ 6s-11d to W. A. Hobson, architect, Leeds.

LUDOLF'S TRUSTEES' VICTORIA ROAD ESTATE, 1880 - ,
Headingley cum Burley.

September 1880. 25,258 square yards @ 3s-6d, £4,421.
F. Postill, builder, Leeds.

January 1883 resale; 1,123 square yards @ 4s-6d to J. Hutton, builder, Burley.

October 1889 resale; 2,130 square yards @ 4s-0d to N.M. and H.D. Nettleton, builders, Leeds.

MARSHALL, HEADINGLEY HOUSE ESTATE, 1888 - , Headingley
cum Burley.

July 1888. 151,686 square yards @ 2s-3d, £17,000.
J. Hepworth, clothing manufacturer, Leeds.

March 1900. Resold @ 4s-4½d, £33,000. C. Stott,
retired builder, Armley, (d 1902).

C. Stott's trustees develop.

April 1904 resale; 3,760 square yards @ 6s-6d to J. Carr, builder, Leeds.

August 1904 resale; 2,128 square yards @ 5s-8½d to R. Jagger, builder, Leeds.

June 1910 resale; 1,164 square yards @ 7s-0d to J. Pick, builder, Headingley.

January 1912 resale; 4,517 square yards @ 3s-9d to J. and J. Coates, builders, Leeds.

C. NAYLOR'S TRUSTEES' NEWTON LODGE ESTATE, 1891 - ,
Potternewton.

1.1) April 1891. 43,560 square yards. Agreement with
J. Boothman, builder, Leeds.
To be paid for as sales made.

1.2) September 1896. 14,320 square yards, remainder of
the above, @ 1s-6½d, £1,098. J. Boothman.

September 1895 resale; 1,766 square yards @ 5s-6d to J. Richardson, builder, Chapel Allerton.

February 1897 resale; 1,600 square yards @ 5s-6d to R. Fisher, fruiterer, Leeds.

1.3) February 1896. 44,035 square yards @ 1s-10d,
including mansion, £4,000.
J. Newton Sharp, builder, Leeds.

Trustees provide J. N. Sharp with £7,000.
mortgage secured on the property.

A. TITLEY'S MANOR HOUSE ESTATE (ex-BAINBRIGGE, HEADINGLEY HILL), 1898 - , Headingley cum Burley.

July 1898. 67,871 square yards, no price data,
C. Stott, retired builder, Armley.

May 1901 resale; 13,360 square yards,
no price data, to W. A. Hobson, Chadwick
and Watson, architects, Leeds.

February 1902 resale by Hobson, Chadwick
and Watson of 2,653 square yards to
W. A. Hobson.

February 1902 resale by W. A. Hobson of
the 2,653 square yards to W. Flint,
builder, Leeds.

G. WRIGHT'S TRUSTEES' HAREHILLS ESTATE, 1875 - ,
Potternewton.

1) February 1875. 263,690 square yards, including mansion,
@ 1s-3d to the Low Moor Iron and Steel
Company.

2) September and December 1902. 123,420 square yards,
agreement The Company and J.B. Mays,
retired publisher's agent, Roundhay.
To be paid for in several lots.

December 1902. J. B. Mays purchased the mineral rights
under the 123,420 square yards for
£1,000. from the sub-lessees.

2.1) September 1903. 35,322 square yards @ 3s-11½d,
£6,943, from the Company to J. B. Mays.

September 1903 resale; 35,322 square
yards @ 6s-0d, £10,593. to Lupton &
Fawcett, solicitors, Leeds, and J. Hobson,
builder, Leeds.

Lupton, Fawcett and Hobson resales:

September 1903; 7,311 square yards @
8s-0d to E. Poppleton, builder, Leeds.

February 1904; 819 square yards @ 9s-0d
to W. C. Wheatley, and F. Easton, builders,
Leeds.

March 1904; 818 square yards @ 7s-6d to W.A.C. Walters, builder, Leeds.

October 1905; 592 square yards @ 8s-6d to H. G. Atkinson, builder's merchant, Leeds.

Two-thirds shares Lupton & F-wcett to J. Hobson.

October 1903; 1337 square yards @ 6s-8d.

December 1904; 466 square yards @ 5s-4d.

2.2) September 1903. 21,142 square yards @ 3s-6d, £3,643. from the Company to J. B. Mays.

August 1905 resale; 418 square yards @ 6s-6d to C. H. Dunn, builder, Leeds.

September 1906 resale; 784 square yards @ 6s-0½d to H. Oates, saddler, Leeds.

2.3) September 1903. 16,451 square yards @ 4s-9½d, £3,940. from the Company to J. B. Mays.

September 1903 resale; 16,451 square yards @ 5s-9½d to T. H. Stephenson and A. Murgatroyd, builders, Leeds.

2.4) October 1903. 4,229 square yards @ 4s-8½d, £1,000. from the Company to J. B. Mays,

October 1903 resale; 4,229 square yards @ 7s-0d to T. S. Bramham, joiner and builder, Leeds.

3) May 1903. 142,355 square yards, including house, cottages and site of Park Pit Colliery, @ 3s-6d, £25,017. H. Lax, builder and patent stone manufacturer, Leeds, and J. Boyle, brickmaker, Leeds.

November 1903 resale; 2,619 square yards @ 6s-0d to G. Lax II, builder, Leeds.

September 1905 resale; 1,324 square yards @ 6s-0d to J. J. Walker, builder, Leeds.

March 1909 resale; 1,245 square yards @ 6s-0d to C.H. & F. R. Lax, builders, Leeds.

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LC Ref, Plan, particulars and conditions of sale, Leeds estates of the Countess of Cardigan, 1888.

LM 12,13,14,22 December 1888. Reports relating to the sale.

ULD 126, 356.

LCD 577; 999; 3142; 4495; 8762; 9011; 9450; 10373; 11098; 11105; 12714; 15564; 17169; 18026; 18523; 18602; 18756; 21145; 21608.

Cowper Estate.

LCD 2630; 2800; 4504; 5274; 5386; 5548; 5584; 5768; 6521; 7494; 8485; 9245; 9435; 9470; 10735; 10941; 10945; 12012; 12094; 12140; 12227; 12456; 12468; 12529; 12600; 12674; 12726; 12919; 15047; 15467; 15469; 15918; 18205; 18857; 21242.

Headingley Glebe.

LCA, Oates Papers, O/A 14a & b, Plan, particulars and conditions of sale of part of the Headingley Glebe estate, 1874.

LCA, Headingley Parish Records, 39, Correspondence and accounts re-sale of Glebe lands and investment of proceeds.

LM 13;27 June 1874.

ULD 173; 174.

LCD 9032.

Leeds Horticultural Gardens Estate.

Thoresby Society, Plan, particulars and conditions of sale of the Leeds Horticultural Gardens Estate, 1885.

ULD 195; 227.

LCD 15896.

Ludolf's Trustees' Victoria Road Estate.

LCD 12583; 15999.

Marshall, Headingley House Estate.

LCD 3001; 7991; 10852; 12274; 12320.

Naylor's Trustees' Newton Lodge Estate.

LCD 6098; 10896; 21339; 21477; 21856.

A. Titley's Manor House Estate (ex-Bainbrigge, Headingley Hill).

LCD 21159.

G. Wright's Trustees' Harehills Estate.

LCD 5547; 9116; 9152; 10542; 10568; 10762; 12444;
12498; 12652; 12958; 15930; 18976; 21524; 21525;
21838; 21853; 21854; 21949; 21989.

APPENDIX TWO

SOURCES FOR TABLES OF ESTATE SALES
AND DEVELOPMENT.Table 11. G. Bischoff estate, sales and development,
1827 - 1846.

LCD 9452; 12904; 15924.

ULD 89; 277; 455.

WRRD KR.373.322.1830	MP.75.77.2/1836
LC.230.172.1831	MP.167.161.1/1837
LH.167.170.1832	NS.88.75.2/1840
LY.576.528.1/1835	NT.467.374.1/1841
MC.525.487.2/1835	UD.623.474.2/1841
MH.90.90.1/1836	Ol.573.516.1/1843
MH.90.91.1/1836	OT.132.116.2/1843
MG.325.286.2/1836	

Tables 12,13,14. J. H. Fawcett estate, sales and
development, 1838 - 1847.

LCD 9355; 10528; 12442; 15407; 21152.

ULD 41; 43; 44; 178; 223; 300; 307.

WRRD MW.518.474.2/1838	NS.628.489.1/1841
NA.643.608.2/1838	NX.245.206.1/1841
NB.505.469.2/1838	NX.504.456.1/1841
NB.342.302.2/1838	OC.299.250.2/1841
NC.132.126.2/1838	OE.377.323.2/1841
NC.133.127.2/1838	Ol.3.3.2/1842
NH.469.410.2/1839	ON.68.41.2/1842
NO.270.270.1/1840	ON.728.712.1/1843
NO.120.111.2/1840	
NS.626.488.1/1841	

Table 24. Earls Cowper New Town of Leeds estate, sales
and development, 1840 - 1871.

LCD 6105; 8714; 9172; 9201; 9269; 9390; 9401; 9458;
9473; 9476; 10256; 10503; 10504; 10505; 10549; 10593;
10611; 10613; 10631; 10671; 10698; 10745; 10746;
10761; 10764; 10795; 10796; 10876; 10980; 11964;
11969; 11979; 12040; 12061; 12103; 12124; 12175; 12211;
12242; 12272; 12275; 12307; 12309; 12326; 12360; 12578;
12789; 12795; 15147; 15255; 15282; 15448; 15599; 15652.

Table 28. T. E. Upton estate, sales and development,
1841 - 1874.

LCD 2997; 8605; 9917; 10428; 13894; 13895; 13904; 13910;
13915; 13922; 13926; 13930; 13946; 13948; 13951;
13961; 13962; 13969; 13976; 13980; 13981; 13983;

13987; 13988; 13990; 13995; 13999; 14012; 14014;
14015; 14027; 14030; 14036; 14041; 14052.

Table 29. T. W. Lloyd Lower Burley estate, sales and
development, 1851 - 1858.

LCD 6842; 8833; 10301; 12117; 13894; 13898; 13900; 13906;
13910; 13911; 13914; 13922; 13927; 13929; 12932; 13940;
13944; 13959; 13964; 13966; 13970; 13997; 13998; 14002;
14008; 14009; 14011; 14016; 14025; 14043; 14068; 14070;
18313.

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DB papers; Leeds City Archives. Include a considerable number of plans, plus Beckett (DB44) and Cardigan (DB220) estate papers

c. Estate papers.

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Brudenell collection; Northamptonshire CRO. Includes rentals and accounts of the Cardigans' Yorkshire estates intermittently up to 1858; also surveys 1792 -98 and 1871, lacking accompanying maps; estate plans of 1711

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Oates collection; Leeds City Archives. A diverse collection including an Englefield estate plan 1758, plans of nineteenth century estates, Oates' correspondence for 1825, reminiscences

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MAP 9



MAP 9. MAJOR DEVELOPER PURCHASES, 1875 - 1914.

MAP 10





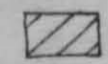


R. B. JOWITT PURCHASES

1887	38,139*	@	1/10 1/2
1889	95,668*	@	2/6 1/2
1890	9,982	@	6d
1891	39,597	@	2d

1901 AUCTION
40,139*
PURCHASED
BY SIX BUILDERS
H. LAX
W. LOLLEY
J. MEKAY
S. J. STOTT
A. J. SHAW
C. WILSON

AVERAGE PRICE PAID
7/5 1/2 PER SQUARE YARD PRESENT

SCALE 1:2500

-  BROWN ESTATE HOUSES BUILT BEFORE 1883
-  BROWN ESTATE SALE PLOT, STATEMENT OF DATE OF SALE, SIZE OF PLOT IN SQUARE YARDS, PRICE PAID PER SQUARE YARD, AND NAME OF PURCHASER
-  SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT ON BROWN ESTATE BUILDING PLOTS

MAP 10. BROWN ESTATE LAYOUT AND DEVELOPMENT, POTTERNEWTON, 1883-1904.

MAP 11

MAP
OF THE
Borough
OF
LEEDS.
Published by *Deans & Son*,
1854.
Engraved by *R. L. Lister, Edinburgh.*

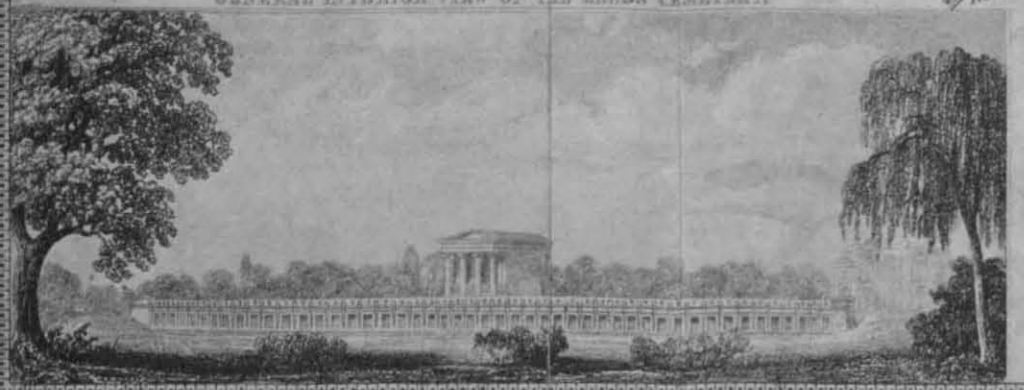
SCALE OF MILES

Explanation.

- Boundary of the Township of Leeds shown thus
- Boundary of the Out Townships
- Houses and other Buildings
- Rivers and Brooks
- Turnpike Roads
- Foot Paths
- Hills and rising Grounds



GENERAL INTERIOR VIEW OF THE LEEDS CEMETERY.



KIRKSTALL ABBEY.

