BIOGRAPHIES OF PEOPLE AND PLACE:
THE HAREWOOD ESTATE, 1698-1813

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT IV

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS V

1. INTRODUCTION 1

Scales of Analysis *2*
Multivocality *3*
Biography *4*
METHODOLOGY 5
Archaeology *5*
Documentary Evidence *10*
HAREWOOD AND ITS NATURAL SETTING 13
STRUCTURE 16

PART I: CONTEXT 19

2. PEOPLE, PLACE AND LANDSCAPE 19

INTRODUCTION 19
ARCHAEOLOGIES OF THE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE: SCALES OF ANALYSIS 19
Post-Medieval Archaeology in Britain *20*
Historical Archaeologies *22*
Critiquing Global Archaeologies *25*
IDENTITIES IN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY: PEOPLE AND PLACE 27
Place, Identity and Landscape *31*
PEOPLE & PLACE: A BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH 34
Biographies of Place *35*
Biographies of People *39*
Biographies of People and Place *42*
WAYS OF TELLING 43
CONCLUSION 47

3. HAREWOOD IN CONTEXT 49

INTRODUCTION 49
I: EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LANDED ESTATES: DEFINITION, APPROACH & BACKGROUND 50
Definition *50*
Approach *51*
Background *54*
Improvement in Estate Landscapes *57*
II: HAREWOOD BEFORE THE LASCELLES: C.1000-1738 67
Post-Conquest and Later Medieval Period *67*
Seventeenth Century (1607-1698) *74*
The Early Eighteenth Century (1698-1738) *79*
CONCLUSION 85

PART II: ESTATE MANAGEMENT 86

4. HAREWOOD 1738-1771: 'NEW BROOMS SWEEP CLEAN' 86

INTRODUCTION 86
THE LANDOWNER'S INFLUENCE ON ESTATE DEVELOPMENT 87
THE HAREWOOD ESTATE AND ITS PLACE IN YORKSHIRE 91
IMPROVEMENT, 1753-1771: HAREWOOD HOUSE, DESIGNED LANDSCAPE AND VILLAGE 94
The Construction of Harewood House *95*
Establishment of the Designed Landscape *98*
The Redevelopment of Harewood Village *102*

IMPROVEMENT FROM 1753-1771: ENCLOSURE, FIELDS AND FARMSTEADS 108
Enclosure of Harewood common *110*
Farmsteads and Consolidation *116*
Farm Buildings *119*
CONCLUSION 125

5. HAREWOOD 1772-1813: PLAINS AND PROSPECTS 126

INTRODUCTION 126
THE LANDOWNERS 126
Edward Lascelles, 1st Earl of Harewood (1740-1820) *127*
Viscount Edward 'Beau' Lascelles (1764-1814) *129*
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HAREWOOD ESTATE 1772-1813 130
Investments *131*
Agricultural Improvement *147*
Pleasure, Aesthetics and the Home Farm *158*
CONCLUSION 165

PART III: BIOGRAPHIES OF LANDSCAPE 167

INTRODUCTION TO CASE STUDIES 167

6. THE JOINERS' WORKSHOP 171

INTRODUCTION 171
ENVISAGING THE ESTATE YARD: EDWIN LASCELLES AND THE ESTATE 173
BUILDING THE WORKSHOP: JOHN MUSCHAMP AND THE STONEMASONS 178
LABOUR AND THE WORKSHOP: JOHN WOOD AND HIS CRAFTSMEN 183
The Joiners *184*
Lives in the Workshop *187*
The Workshop and the Estate *191*
CONCLUSION 192

7. SANDYGATE FARM, 1759-1802 194

INTRODUCTION 194
THE STABLES OF HETHERICKE 196
SANDYGATE FARM, 1759-1787 199
Sandygate Farmhouse *200*
SANDYGATE FARM BUILDINGS 205
Layout *205*
The Barn *207*
The Stables *209*
The Pig-cotes *211*
Work on the Farm *213*
SANDYGATE, 1787-1802 215
CONCLUSION 223

8. SAMUEL POPPLEWELL (1713-1780), ESTATE STEWARD 225

INTRODUCTION 225
THE CONTEXT OF THE ESTATE STEWARD 227
SAMUEL POPPLEWELL (1713-1780) 229
I. A STEWARD OUGHT TO BE WELL VERS'D IN COUNTRY BUSINESS AND IN ALL THE NEW ARTS OF IMPROVEMENT, BEFORE HE UNDERTAKES THAT OFFICE *233*
II. HE SHOU'D ALSO MAKE HIMSELF MASTER OF ALL THE ANCIENT CUSTOMS WITHIN HIS LORD'S MANOR. *237*
III. EVERY PERSON OUGHT TO LIVE BY HIS PROCESSION, AND A STEWARD SHOU'D LIVE WITH REPUTATION AND CREDIT, RATHER ABOVE THE COMMON RANK FOR THE SAKE OF PRESENTING A BECOMING AUTHORITY IN HIS NEIGHBOURHOOD. *243*

CONCLUSION 249

9. CONCLUSION 250

AIMS AND ANSWERS 250
Biography..... *251*
Scale..... *253*
Multivocality..... *256*

BIBLIOGRAPHY……258
PUBLISHED SOURCES……..... 258
UNPUBLISHED SOURCES……... 279

TABLES

Table 1 Titles of the Landed Elite……...92

Table 2 Landowners in the West Riding with Estates of 10,000 acres in 1883…….93

Table 3: Expenditure on Harewood House……....98

Table 4 Cash in Hand for the years 1764-75……....100

Table 5 The spread of acreage across the Harewood tenant base, 1738 and 1758……...118

Table 6 Land Investments on the Harewood Estate, 1778-1810……..136

Table 7 The spread of acreage across the Harewood tenant base, 1738, 1758 & 1796.....149

Table 8 Selected tenants, farms and rents (£.s.d) in the Harewood township, 1770-1805…...…151

Table 9 A list of Harewood Estate craftsmen 1747-1803…...……..177

Table 10 References to families in the estate surveys of 1738, 1758 and 1796…….....217

GRAPHS

Graph 1 The burials and births in Harewood Village, 1614-1812…….……...107

ABSTRACT

T. G. TATLIOGLU

BIOGRAPHIES OF PEOPLE & PLACE: THE HAREWOOD ESTATE, 1698-1813

PhD

This thesis explores the development of the Harewood Estate during the eighteenth century. The work focuses around the three themes of scale, multivocality and biography to provide a new perspective on post-medieval estate landscapes. A biographical approach is used to conciliate different scales of analysis and give meaning to the local, fleeting lives of the estate's inhabitants. It is argued that at the local scale we find evidence that helps to challenge the taken-for-granted stories of historical archaeology.

A detailed account of the Harewood Estate is presented in order to contextualise the landscape developments, led by Edwin Lascelles, 1st Baron Harewood (1712-1795) from 1755. It is situated within the broader context of eighteenth-century 'improvement', a pervasive process that influenced many aspects of the Harewood landscape. By using a range of sources including, archaeological and documentary evidence, it is possible to gauge the impact of both the landowning family and the broader influences on the local scale. Surveys of a range of buildings such as workshops, farms and houses, show how eighteenth-century improvement had a variable impact at the local scale.

The 'biographies of people and place' have been used to introduce multivocality, or new 'voices', into the interpretation. By articulating several perspectives of the same landscape and recognising how people play a significant part in its formation - how they interact and are shaped by it - this thesis acknowledges the ways people inhabit their surrounding environment and furthers our understanding of post-medieval estates.

vii + 257pp, bibliography, appendices, 75 figures, 10 tables, 1 graph

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2008, and for being invited to give a number of guided walks and talks through the landscape. It has brought a different perspective on PhD research making the experience all the more valuable. Moreover, it has been inspiring to know that the research undertaken for this thesis has already influenced the received knowledge of Harewood and will continue to shape the public's engagement in the foreseeable future.

I am also indebted to Ian Copeland, Sarah Fleetwood and Christopher Ussher of the Harewood Estate. They have not only provided access to the private archive collection but also to the estate itself. They opened doors to many of the farms that I visited over the course of this work, and allowed me to record buildings that other visitors are rarely allowed access to.

There have been many archives and collections that have provided material for this research but in particular I would like to thank the staff at the West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds; the National Monuments Record, Swindon; the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds; the National Archives, Kew; the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York; and finally Jason Dodds, who was extremely helpful not only as an HER officer, but also as a colleague during my time spent working at the West Yorkshire Historic Environment Record, Wakefield.

There have also been a number of individuals who have not necessarily been associated with specific institutions but have offered advice and materials throughout my time working on Harewood. I am incredibly thankful for all the help from Margaret Moseley and the East Keswick History Group who not only leant me books, sent documents, and provided opportunities to share my work, but have also been friendly, appreciative and welcoming especially when we shared research directions. Karen Lynch, one of the few who have a deep understanding of Harewood and its history has also been very helpful sending comments, references and at times rebuffed some of my arguments. For that I am extremely grateful. I am indebted to Rebecca Lane of Scott Wilson PLC and English Heritage for allowing me to use her building survey as the basis for chapter six, and who was always helpful with comments and all those details I had to iron out. I would also

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1. INTRODUCTION

Harewood House is one of the most significant country houses in England and boasts an estate of over 4000 acres, a Palladian mansion and a designed landscape on a par with the likes of Castle Howard, Chatsworth, Blenheim and Stowe. It is located in the northeast tip of West Yorkshire, five miles from the spa town of Harrogate and six from the city of Leeds (Fig. 1.1). Its historical significance and cultural value is now reflected in over 100 listed buildings, a conservation area encompassing Harewood village, and the Grade I-listing both for the house and the designed landscape, which is included in English Heritage's *Register for Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Significance.*

Despite all of these recent accolades, the true character of the estate comes from its history: the lives of its owners, the industry of its inhabitants, the local geographies, topographies and landscape developments. The combination of many centuries and thousands of people helped fashion the estate into what we find today. Crucially, one of the few continuities in the landscape has been the survival of the Lascelles family who have remained owners of the estate since the early-eighteenth century. Over successive generations they have ordered changes, developments and alterations that contributed significantly to the modern character of the landscape. One of the most important phases, from c.1698-1813, included the purchase and improvement of the estate by the family. It was transformed from a traditional agricultural landscape into a modern, fashionable estate covering an area of 20,000 acres, and was joined by a host of other properties owned by the Lascelles in North Yorkshire, Essex, Ireland as well as the West Indies. It is this period that forms the subject of this thesis, focusing on the development of the Harewood estate landscape during the long-eighteenth century.

This research moves beyond studies of individual sites and subjects, and takes a more encompassing approach focusing on Harewood and the many elements that affected its development during the eighteenth century. In such an extensive tract of land, where many people lived and worked, it is necessary to not only understand the ornamental landscape, the country house, or social life of the landowning family, but also patterns of

agriculture, communication, settlement and industry (Finch 2007a; Lambert 2006; Barnatt & Williamson 2005). The central 'core' around the country house and gardens was not isolated (Clemenson 1982); it was the beating heart at the centre of a much wider structure where tenants and estate workers formed a society and economy that sustained the house, its family and their lifestyle. Without understanding this wider context it is impossible to comprehend the reasons for, and the influences on the development of the landscape.

Scales of Analysis

The aims of this thesis are directly related to the nature of eighteenth-century estates. The first is concerned with the issue of scale and how different forms of analysis inform our understanding of a landscape. Over the last two decades this has become an important element of historical archaeology with different authors taking approaches from wide-ranging global scales (e.g. Orser 1996), to those more concerned with individual artefacts and objects (Egan 2009; White & Beaudry 2009). Of course, there are benefits to both. Broader analyses shed light on historical discourses that lasted longer than a lifetime and spanned further than a single locality. Sarah Tarlow (2007), for example, has shown how the process eighteenth-century improvement was hugely pervasive and penetrated many aspects of contemporary life from agriculture to philosophy, and social values to urban living (Tarlow 2007). On the other hand, studies with the higher resolution of an individual have revealed how people made choices that ran counter, and alongside, broader political and social events, as well as living their lives in complicated and often contradictory ways (Baranek 2009). There is a question, then, of how to pitch a study that focuses on a landscape where overarching influences impacted on the local, fleeting lives of the individual

These debates are particularly relevant when considering an estate landscape. By their nature, eighteenth-century estates functioned on many levels: they were extensive areas of land owned by an individual landowner (Williamson 2009, 1); they spanned just a few hundred acres to over 30,000 (Bateman 1883); and often consisted of a country house, parkland, gardens, with farmland attached (Williamson 2009, 1-2). In the closest, fine-

grained accounts, estates were inhabited by social groups such as tenant-farmers, craftsmen, workers and labourers who were part of a broader system that contributed to the maintenance of the country house and its landowning family. In much broader terms, processes such as improvement and capitalism influenced landowners, both consciously and unconsciously, causing them to make important decisions about the development of their estates. To provide an account that balances these influences it is necessary to reject the choice between a more general study, and the fine-grained accounts of the local scale. By doing so, it is possible to celebrate the contradictions and complexities of different scales and break down the established and taken-for-granted stories of historical archaeology. The aim is to provide an analysis that works on a variety of scales, dealing with these local, fleeting lives and the longer-term cultural processes (Finch 2007a).

Multivocality

The second aim leads on from the first. By taking an approach that acknowledges the diversity at the local scale, it is possible to introduce 'multi-voicedness' or multivocality within interpretations. Recent theoretical arguments within historical archaeology have suggested that there are multiple histories of the past (Joyce 2005). This applies to the variability of experience that existed in historic landscapes, where at the local scale, buildings and places were experienced in many different ways. Country houses, for example, functioned not only as the home of the landowning family, but also the place of work for house servants and other members of the estate (West 1999). The same idea can also be applied to the wider landscape, where different groups engaged with buildings in multiple and contrasting ways. It is necessary, therefore, to take account of these different histories, and introduce multiplicity of meaning within interpretations.

Multivocality is also evident when considering material culture as a form of text (Reid & Lane 2004, 10). It can be read in different ways, depending on the archaeologist, their inclinations and theoretical leanings, which leads by nature, to a variety of alternative interpretations. Moreover, along with historical documents, archaeology and material culture provides another way of interpreting the past, and in particular to 'render articulate those who do not appear in the texts' (Moreland 2006, 137). In an estate

context this can be applied to the tenants, labourers and estate workers, who may all have been recorded in estate surveys and cashbooks, but are rarely viewed as important players within the grand narrative of landscape development. One of the purposes of this thesis, then, is to acknowledge some of these 'voices', and reintroduce them to the Harewood landscape.

Biography

The final aim is concerned with the concept of biography. Within historical archaeology biography has been recognised as a way of conciliating the interplay between scales at the general and the particular. The concept has risen in popularity since its introduction to landscape theory in the late 1970s (Daniels & Nash 2004; Finch 2008; Gosden & Marshall 1999; Mytum Forthcoming; Roymans et al 2009; Tatlioglu Forthcoming) and initially it was viewed by authors such as Marwyn Samuels (1979) as a way of showing how landscapes were not just the result of impersonal forces, but the product of real people, named or otherwise (1979, 62). In many ways, this view has been echoed in more recent archaeological theory where authors have articulated the life of an individual within diaries, written accounts and public lectures, and situated them within a broader context (Beaudry 1998; Praetzellis & Praetzellis 1998). Rebecca Yamin (1998), for example, created vignettes of nineteenth-century life in New York's Five Points district recounting stories of particular households and contrasting these with more traditional narratives associated with the neighbourhood. By creating these accounts, archaeologists are able to offer different forms of interpretation that help elucidate the diversity of the local context.

Where this thesis differs from more traditional concepts of biography is in the articulation of a 'biography of place'. It has become generally accepted that people in the past were deeply influenced by their material surroundings, indeed, some authors such as Allan Pred (1985) have gone as far as to say that places in the landscape were fundamental in the formation of a person's biography. When these places change, they have the ability to alter the patterns of everyday life. Pred showed that the transformation of the rural landscapes of Sweden had a profound effect on the social routines and work life of the

resident inhabitants. This change in rural life can partly be attributed to the changes in materiality, and more significantly, transformation of 'place'.

Architecture can be viewed in the same way. Buildings are altered through time, as their function changed, matching the needs of their occupants. Structures like houses, farm buildings and workshops reflected the activities they housed, often in their style, fittings and apparatus. But through time, the various layers and phases of activity, which all left a mark on the building, represent the different people that interacted with it. This forms the biography of place, where many social meanings are attributed to an area in a landscape. By understanding these places, we are able to not only 'read' how past people used them, but also infer ideas about their identity - why and what did it mean to them, how did the changes affect their lives? At this resolution it is possible to understand change and continuity at the local scale, while at the same time being able to account for the wider processes that may have influenced them.

In summary, biographies of people and place relate to multiple understandings of the past, both of people and materiality, and can be used to articulate the interplay between narratives of the general and the particular. The case studies in the later part of this thesis focus directly on these ideas and aim to present biography as an alternative way of viewing the past.

METHODOLOGY

Archaeology

It is important at this stage to present the methodology and sources that have been used to study the Harewood landscape. To a large extent, the aims, the approach of this thesis, and indeed the methodology, have been adopted to suit the available evidence. One of the most important resources has been the survival of archaeological remains around Harewood dating from prehistory to the modern day. These include some of the best-preserved historic landscapes in West Yorkshire, particularly with regards to the medieval and post-medieval phases of the agricultural landscape (WYHER). In some cases, these have included ridge-and-furrow dating from the eighteenth century that

survive as earthworks and relate to previous field systems, agriculture and settlement (Moorhouse 1985); for the most part these have been preserved in small areas of the Harewood parkland, particularly the North Park and close to Lofthouse Gates (Fig. 1.2). In both of these areas, remains of post-medieval field systems have survived, although at Lofthouse evidence of a deserted medieval village (DMV) and later eighteenth-century agriculture can also be found. The reason for such good preservation is largely due to the use of long-term pasture associated with parkland in designed landscapes. This management policy has led to the fossilisation of earlier phases of landscape, making it easier for modern archaeologists to identify the remains (Bowden 1999, 150).

In contrast, other sections of the landscape have been affected by modern agricultural policies. Both intensive agricultural production through deep ploughing and periods of farm rationalisation have made a significant impact on surviving archaeological features. This trend has been particularly visible on the Hollin Hall plateau where intensive agricultural practices have impacted on the archaeology (Fig. 1.2). This has not only led, in part, to the removal of historic field boundaries, and potential loss of subsurface archaeology, but also the demolition of post-medieval farm buildings. Modern pressures on agriculture have led to many structures falling into decay as farmers have struggled to find a way of converting historic buildings leading to demolition or aggressive changes to the fabric of the building. Although this process is certainly visible in the Harewood landscape, it is also part of much wider, national trend which has led to English Heritage publishing a series of monographs including *Historic Farm Buildings: Constructing the Evidence Base* (2005), which provided the baseline for the decay of historic farm buildings in England. At Harewood, many of the surviving structures have been altered for modern use, while in other cases there is clear evidence for partial or total demolition.

In summary, the Harewood estate contains a great deal of archaeological evidence that is in a variable state of preservation. The external factors affecting the conservation of archaeology has been a constraint upon this research, as it restricts the amount of analysis that can be undertaken. In particular, this applies to the survival of historic farmsteads, which are used to provide insights about their form and function. The information derived

from this resource depends greatly upon their condition and survival. Despite drawbacks such as these, a number of methods have been used specifically to shed light on the condition of local archaeology, and in turn, its connection with the development of the Harewood estate during the eighteenth century. Over the course of this research, an array of techniques has been used, but due to their volume, the main methods and sources are examined below.

Buildings and Farm Survey

To understand how places in the estate landscape were inhabited in the eighteenth century, a series of buildings surveys have been undertaken. These form part of a wider survey of nine farms that were built or altered between c.1698-1813. Farm buildings are an important cultural resource because they have the potential to reflect previous agricultural methods, climatic conditions, social processes, as well as farming patterns of the wider landscape. As a result, farm surveys provide an opportunity to analyse these details and provide a more general overview of landscape development (Wade Martins 1977). The eighteenth-century farmsteads at Harewood therefore present an opportunity to explore improvement and landscape change at the local scale of buildings, while also allowing for more general trends to be identified.

The farmstead survey has been designed in line with English Heritage's scheme of Historic Farmstead Characterisation, which aims to develop a better understanding of farmstead character, survival and use (Ball *et al* 2006, 36). Rather than undertaking detailed recording of individual buildings, the scheme has tried to improve our understanding of farmstead distribution, arrangement and function by using a Level 1 recording level in accordance with English Heritage's (2006) '*Understanding Historic Buildings: A guide to good recording Practice'*. Level 1 surveys 'provide a basic visual record supplemented by the minimum of information needed to identify the building's location, age and type' (English Heritage 2006, 14). As the Harewood survey includes nine farms, a Level 2 recording level has been used providing a descriptive record supplemented by descriptions and photographs and which forms the basis for Appendix B.

Topographical and Geophysical Survey

Two topographic surveys were carried out over the course of this research, both of which helped the collaborative nature of the AHRC doctoral award. The first survey was carried out in the area to the northwest of Lofthouse Gates in order to assess the remains of the eighteenth-century High Park Farm, which was located close to the modern Lodge Hill Plantation. A drawn survey was carried out in tandem with an exercise for the 2008 Landscape Archaeology Masters' course in the Department of Archaeology, University of York. The results showed that no structural evidence of the farmstead had been retained.

The second survey, at Gawthorpe Hall was undertaken first, to locate the site of Gawthorpe Hall, the medieval predecessor of Harewood House, and secondly to understand its position and relationship with the new house. The survey was organized by Ben Gourley, Anthony Masinton and the author as a part of the Masters survey courses of 2007. An area of approximately 275 square metres was sketch drawn revealing three terraces and the approximate site of the hall. A resistivity survey was begun by Masters students in November 2007 and completed by Ed Blinkhorn and the author in the following Spring. The survey was undertaken using a Geoscan Research RM15 Resistance Meter with a twin probe array and was carried out along lines parallel to the grid edges. The grid size was twenty-by-twenty metres, with data recorded every half a metre. Although damp conditions during the survey may have caused some interference with the readings, a number of positive results were detected that were likely to relate to stone or masonry connected to the remains of Gawthorpe Hall. The survey was later used as a guide for an ongoing excavation of the site managed by the University of York. The results of the survey, and this thesis more generally, feeds into a broader research framework that forms the Harewood Landscape Project, directed by Dr Jon Finch at the University of York.

Aerial Photography

A comprehensive interpretation of aerial photography was drawn from English Heritage's Lower Wharfedale Project, which was part of the National Mapping Programme (NMP). The project aimed to 'identify, interpret and record all probable and possible archaeological features visible in aerial photographs' located in an area of 1100 square kilometers covering 40% of West Yorkshire (Deagan 2003, 6-7). The project also covered the Harewood estate in its entirety. A further survey of photographs held by the West Yorkshire Historic Environment Record (WYHER) and National Monuments Record (NMR), was also undertaken in order to identify areas of the where previous phases of landscape were still visible. The results were used to not only inform the topographic surveys but also provided evidence for eighteenth-century agriculture through identification of post-medieval ridge-and-furrow, as well as remnants of contemporary field boundaries.

Other Secondary Material

Alongside the primary material there have been a number of archaeological reports concerning specific sites on the estate. These include investigation reports of the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service and Steve Moorhouse, whose projects in the landscape covered a number of key sites such as the North Park and Greystone Pastures (Faull & Moorhouse 1981, 386-8, 553, 607-10; Moorhouse 1977; 1978; 1984; 1985; 1989). Although this research has referred almost entirely to the medieval landscape, it has made an important contribution to the general chronology of estate development. Similarly, archaeological buildings reports for the joiners' workshop in Stank (Lane 2008) and the 'Cottage-in-the-Walls' in Harewood village (Ward 1998) have been used in tandem with the farmstead surveys to build an understanding of estate architecture, including the variability of form, style and function. Throughout it has been necessary to be aware of the precision of the reports, as the information derived relies on a high standard of recording by the original author. In the case of Lane (2008), the report forms the basis for a case study focusing on the joiners' workshop in chapter six.

Documentary Evidence

The archaeological methods described above only present half of the evidence dealing with the Harewood landscape. It is only when historical evidence is also examined that a more comprehensive account becomes clear. This is particularly relevant for a study of the eighteenth century when a plethora of documents, including maps, surveys, journals and correspondence, allow us to focus on the fine-grained accounts of people in the past. We are provided with details of names, times, dates and places that help to fill the gaps that cannot be recounted by archaeology (Barnatt & Williamson 2005, 8). This creates a more colourful account, populated by biographical details related to specific people and places.

Moreover, the historical record also provides another perspective of the past, which often conflicts with the material evidence, and reveals contradictions, complexities and continuities. Although documents are often rich in detail and colourful in account they are rarely objective or inclusive. They tend to have bias due to their author and their purpose. Historical documents were often created by the elite and were also defined by the creator's place in the society and general worldview. As a result, the researcher needs to be aware of their subjectivities and the individual implications for each form of evidence. Despite these limitations, however, the historical record contributes further to the multivocality of the historic landscape. By taking a multi-disciplinary approach, using historical and archaeological evidence, it is possible to repopulate the historic landscapes, with a number of 'voices', each with different perspectives.

A large proportion of the historical evidence used for this research is derived from the Harewood estate archive (WYAS WYL 250) housed by the West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds (WYAS) and covers a period from the fifteenth century to the modern day. The archive is extensive, including deeds, tenancy agreements, surveys, maps, court rolls and correspondence, as well as countless other documents. Due to the size of the archive, four specific areas became the focus of research: local agriculture; social and demographic patterns; landscape development; and the management of the Harewood estate. These themes were informed from a wide variety of sources which contributed to

the understanding of the estate, providing insights into both the local, individual lives, and more general scales of the broader developments of the estate. Running alongside the archive are countless other forms of evidence that range from contemporary commentaries to more recent estate management plans. These have been invaluable in gaining a broader understanding of the landscape but are too numerous to reference individually. Needless to say, these inventories, databases, reference guides and documents have each informed the general research questions that guide the form of this thesis (e.g. Brown 1799; Jewell 1819; Jones 1859; Lawrence 1731). The details of four of the most commonly used sources – estate maps, stewards' correspondence, estate cashbooks and parish registers - are outlined below.

Estate Maps (WYAS WYL 250/3/33, 44, 49 Harewood Estate Maps)

A number of estate maps have been studied that record the Harewood estate at various stages in the long eighteenth century. Maps might appear to be objective representations of the landscape, but are often created to fulfill a particular need, whether to record an area of land for sale, or to emphasize a landowner's property. As a result, there are problems of interpretation, particularly where errors are concerned. In an attempt to reduce many of these errors and form a tentative chronology of development, a map regression was carried out using estate maps dating from 1698, 1796, and 1813 and digitizing them for analysis (WYAS WYL 250/3/33, 44, 49 Harewood Estate Maps). The method comprised photographing each map, tracing the image in AutoCAD 2007 and Vectorworks 11.0, and overlaying each image in ArcGIS. By using Ordnance Survey (OS) maps as a base, it was possible to rectify the image using AirPhoto and reduce the degree of error in the original cartography. This was undertaken by finding common points in both the modern OS and historic mapping. The accuracy of each map depended on its size and the geographic area covered in each photograph. For photographs covering large areas it was harder to rectify to a high accuracy. This was because parts of the map that were away from the common points were skewed to make the image fit with the rectification process. This was a particular issue with the 1698 map, which was only scanned as two images. In contrast, the 1813 map was rectified using thirty-five photographs. Once linked to contemporary surveys the maps were used to show how

tenancy and cultivation patterns changed through time. Consequently, cartography of this sort was used to provide an insight into how the physical and social landscape changed over the course of the eighteenth century.

Stewards Correspondence, 1754-1818 (WYAS HAR SC)

The stewards' correspondence provides a narrative account of estate affairs dating from 1754-1818. During this period Samuel Popplewell (1713-1780) and his son (also Samuel (1741-1811)) were employed as the estate stewards and sent correspondence to Edwin Lascelles, 1st Baron Harewood (1712-1795), Edward Lascelles, 1st Earl of Harewood (1740-1820) and various other associates. The resulting letter books provide a personal account of the estate, vividly describing the daily issues, attitudes towards the landscape, and details of development. However, three issues relating to the correspondence have been recognised. First, the letters are most often written by the steward either to Edwin or Edward Lascelles, leading to a bias with focus on estate management and social life of the landowning family. In contrast, other members of the estate such as farmers and labourers are rarely mentioned. Another drawback is the time lag between letters. In particular, correspondence to the landowners was only exchanged for half of the year when the landlord was in London for the political season. Similarly, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the volume of correspondence thins out leaving the main emphasis on the period c.1750-1795. Alongside these issues, another concern is that a number of letters may have been mislaid or omitted. As a result, it is not clear whether the archive survives in full. Despite these drawbacks, the stewards' correspondence remains as one of the most valuable forms of evidence providing insights into the social life and management on the estate.

Estate Cashbooks, 1753-1810 (WYAS WYL 250/3/244, 247, 248, 250 Estate Cashbooks)

Another valuable resource has been the estate cashbooks covering the period 1753-1810. Eighteenth-century cashbooks provided the contemporary form of accounting where minute detail was recorded for income and expenditure. On the great estates such as Harewood, numerous details regarding agriculture, rents, sales, the home farm, subscriptions to local societies and charities were recorded in the accounts. As a result,

the estate cashbooks provide a detailed statement of the financial condition of the Harewood landscape between 1753-1810. The drawbacks of cashbooks, which are examined in chapters four and five, include the lack of differentiation between capital and income, the bias towards the lives of the landowners, and the often ambiguous or vague entries relating to the activities of craftsmen or workmen (English 1990, 102-103). However, these documents provide some of the best measures of the financial condition of the estate in the eighteenth century as well as its development over the same period.

Parish Registers, 1614-1812 (Brigg 1914)

The Harewood parish registers recorded all of the baptisms, burials and marriages in the parish of Harewood during the period 1614-1812. By analysing the registers and the details provided in each entry it has been possible to locate specific families on the estate and associate them with places in the landscape particularly if they lived in known farmsteads. Similarly, when biographical details such as an individual's date of baptism and burial are used in conjunction with probate inventories from the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (BIHR), and estate rentals, it is possible to gain further insight into their lives, revealing their status, position in society and connections with valuable objects recorded in their will. Beyond these details are the baptism, marriage and burial records, which provide a general guide to demographic information. The calculation of population rates cannot be undertaken with any degree of certainty as the registers were often affected by climatic or cultural events; however, a general trend of change can be assessed over the long-term (Stephens 1973, 29). The use of such records provides an invaluable insight into the lives of different estate communities as well as linking demographic patterns with phases of landscape change such as settlement growth and clearance.

HAREWOOD AND ITS NATURAL SETTING

Having outlined the aims and methods of this study, the Harewood landscape will now be introduced for the first time. It is crucial to recognise at an early stage that the landscape around Harewood was not simply created by a landlord who built fashionable gardens, or generations of farmers who worked the land, but was also influenced by processes that

were much bigger than people or ephemeral short-term trends. Topography, geology, soils and the climate had equal if not more influence on the character of the landscape than the impact of humans. They affected the types of agriculture and local ecologies, they helped form the land masses and physical appearance, and most importantly, they created the natural environment against which the inhabitants of the area had to react. The purpose of this section, then, is to introduce Harewood, and situate it within the wider region.

Harewood is situated high above a steep escarpment that rises 110m above sea level, before descending down into the Wharfe valley. The escarpment is formed by the dominating 'Millstone Grit', a carboniferous sandstone, and stretches from Collingham in the east to Weardley in the west. The landscape to the south is made up of small-scale ridges and valleys, escarpments and plateaux and interjected are a series of soft strata composed of wet shales that rise to form the undulating landscape.

Overlain are soils that have dominated the area since the eighteenth century, made up of 'clay, upon a bottom retentive of moisture' (Rennie, Brown & Shirreff 1793, Appendix 1, 46). These poorly draining soils appear particularly in the south, alongside the modern A61 among woodland plantations and the parkland of Harewood House. In the wide-floored valley to the north, the River Wharfe provides rich sources of fertile land containing long tracts of alluvium that are freely draining and are the most productive in the area. There is a great distinction between this river plain and the soils to the south, as arable now occupies the land by the river, while the farmland alongside the Harrogate Road, and on the Hollin Hall plateau is dominated by acidic grassland.

This environment lies within a broader area known as the Pennine Dales Fringe, which extends 100km north from Harewood to the Tees Lowlands. It is a transitional landscape, diverse and variable, and carries the characteristics of all its neighbouring regions. To the east the low-lying Magnesium Limestone Belt contributes a gently undulating character, which is formed by upper and lower magnesium limestone, overlain by thin glacial deposits that produce fertile land (Fig. 1.1). As a result, the region is known for its

productive soils and a strong tradition in arable farming (Rennie, Brown & Shirraff 1794, Appendix 1, 47). It extends as far as East Keswick, which is approximately one and a half miles from Harewood village, and was purchased gradually by the Lascelles over the course of the eighteenth century. Its limestone deposits became the local source of lime, used in the building of Harewood House and on the fields belonging to the estate (Batty 2000, 25-37).

In stark contrast to the west, the Southern Pennines are covered in acidic grassland and rough pasture, cut through by blanket bogs and wet heaths. The land is poor, and generally moorland, often characterised by a network of dry-stone walls enclosing areas for sheep grazing. This region is the most similar in terms of agriculture as the Harewood landscape. Both share a tradition of pasture and livestock rearing, although the topography and soils are much more favourable in the Pennine Dales Fringe.

To the south of Harewood are the Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire Coalfields where rich coal resources have been exploited, while local river transport networks facilitated the growth of the local population from the eighteenth century onwards (Housman 1802, 8). Urban areas such as Leeds, Bradford and Huddersfield became centres for textile production and a magnet for rural-to-urban migration. During the eighteenth century, agriculture in areas that bordered with these cities was influenced by textile production, and focused on the rearing of sheep. Harewood was no exception, and by the 1750s, many farmers raised flocks to take advantage of the local textile markets.

The climate around Harewood also influenced local life. The Pennine Dales Fringe, like the Coalfields to the south, is sheltered from the prevailing winds by the Southern Pennines. The more extreme weather conditions such as the heavy winter snowfall experienced in the west does not reach the eastern parts of the region. This is reflected in annual rainfall as the uplands receive double the volume compared with the neighbouring lowlands. In consequence, the poor draining soils at Harewood are subjected to much less rainfall in the winter seasons leading to moderately better conditions. However, the wet climate is traditionally associated with the area being noted in 1793 as being ‘showery

and wet' (Rennie, Brown & Shirreff 1794, 46). In parallel with the geology, pedology and topography, the climate at Harewood contributed yet another important influence on the inhabitants of the eighteenth-century. Alongside the influence of landowner and farmers, this physical, material environment influenced the way the landscape inhabitants approached agriculture, communication and everyday social life.

STRUCTURE

The general direction of this introduction has been towards a contextual view of eighteenth-century estate landscapes, where different factors from various scales are taken into account to provide a more nuanced approach. The three main aims of scale, multivocality, and biography help to achieve this by promoting a socially integrated approach to landscape, where a number of different voices are reintroduced to the grand narrative of estate development (Finch 2007a). By exploring these alternative histories it is possible to celebrate the complexities and contradictions that are found at the local scale, and which provide the richness of historical archaeology. So far these ideas have been expressed in very general terms but they will be explored in different ways and using a variety of evidence as this thesis progresses, ultimately providing a new approach to estate landscapes.

This research builds on other published work that has also been concerned with Harewood House. In particular, two books, *Harewood House* (1974) by Mary Mauchline and *Harewood: The Life and Times of an English County House* (1982) by Carol Kennedy have provided the accounts, each providing a particular focus; the former concentrated on the construction of Harewood House while the latter was more concerned with social life during the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries. Other research has focussed on the ornamental parkland (Firth 1980; Hay 1993; Lynch 2004), the archaeological remains of the medieval landscape (Hodgkinson 1993; Moorhouse 1977, 1978, 1984, 1985, 1989, 1990), as well as a very small proportion of historic buildings on the modern estate (Lane 2008; Ward 1998). For the most part, these studies have been undertaken in isolation, without reference to wider social trends, with Moorhouse (1984) being the exception. As a result, there has been a need to draw together these various

strands and provide a more contextual and nuanced view of Harewood that articulates the intricacies of estate landscapes.

Part one, which is made up of two chapters, provides the theoretical and historical context behind the main study of the Harewood landscape. Chapter two presents the theoretical background, examining issues of scale and identity, and their relation to previous studies in historical archaeology. It also articulates the biographies of people and place, the main theoretical approach, exploring ways of archaeological writing that are more inclusive, explicit and which are grounded in local experience but are also situated within broader contexts. Chapter three will consider the historical background to estate landscapes and present 'improvement', one of the most influential processes of the eighteenth century, as an important factor in the development of Harewood from the end of the seventeenth century. The second half of the chapter moves to a closer scale and explores the historical background of the Harewood estate from c.1000-1738. This section identifies some of the long-term trends in the landscape that later had an influence during the eighteenth-century.

The second part of the thesis also consists of two chapters and focuses on the growth, improvement and management of the Harewood estate from 1738-1813. Chapter four is concerned with the initial phases of development that took place under the guidance of Edwin Lascelles from 1738-1771. Areas of change, such as the building of Harewood House and the consolidation of the agricultural landscape, are presented as key aspects that affected both the social structure and physical layout of the estate. Chapter five covers the later period 1772-1813 and focuses more on the management of the estate and the continued affect of landscape improvement on the inhabitants and their material surroundings.

Having set out the development of the estate during the eighteenth century and presented a narrative that largely focuses on the motivations of the landlord, part three concentrates on biography by moving the discussion onto three case studies each presented from a different perspective. Chapter six explores the biography of the joiners' workshop built as

a part of the new estate offices during the 1770s. Multivocality is explored through views of the landlord, architect, masons and joiners who each had a different experience of the building and all played an important role in its use and construction. It is based on a paper published in the *Journal of Post Medieval Archaeology* as part of a volume focused on biography (Tatlioglu Forthcoming). Chapter seven moves beyond a building to a larger complex, Sandygate Farm, and its relationship with the Stables family who inhabited it during the second half of the eighteenth century. The biography revolves around the history of the Stables and their link to the materiality of the farmstead. Chapter eight presents the final case study and is concerned with the biography of an individual, Samuel Popplewell, the Harewood estate steward from c.1747-1780. The narrative uses biography as a way of exploring how a person encounters a number of places in their lifetime, structuring their lives and identity.

Finally, chapter nine draws together the various perspectives presented throughout the thesis, by showing how biography can be used to articulate different scales of analysis and promote the contradictions and complexities existing at the local scale. By socially contextualising the materiality of landed estates - their buildings, cottages, fields and farms – it is shown that we are able to connect with the people who once occupied the landscape, the stories and voices they left behind, and are able to situate these within much broader, longer-term trends. It is at this stage that we find multivocality, where different identities can be explored and the richness of the archaeological record brought to the fore. Overall, this thesis presents a different way of studying estate landscapes, where the richness of the archaeological record is accentuated by the biographies of people whose variety of experiences challenge our modern assumptions about the past.

PART I: CONTEXT

2. PEOPLE, PLACE AND LANDSCAPE

*And if we succeed in recovering this buried landscape, and wish to communicate to others the pleasure it gives us, how difficult it is without intruding the unpalatable jargon of the geologist or the economic historian or some other learned trade. (*HOSKINS 1955, 20*)*

INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with an estate landscape in West Yorkshire and its development during the eighteenth and early-nineteenth century. It is positioned within recent ideas in the theories of post-medieval and historical archaeology, placing emphasis on the particularity of the local including individuals and groups who each harboured differing worldviews, and the places and buildings that made up the material environment. Framing this interpretation is the belief that any historic place should be contextualised within broader frameworks, adding depth to an already colourful narrative, while asking 'bigger' questions of the locally derived evidence. Eighteenth-century lives were played out among contemporary historical processes such as capitalism, colonialism and improvement, which all had a profound effect on everyday life. We need, therefore, to take account of these influences in order to articulate questions about society, social practice and the relationship with material culture. This chapter is concerned with these issues and identifies the challenges facing us when interpreting a historic landscape of the eighteenth-century. The first half identifies the key questions surrounding landscape studies, emphasising the importance of scale, the influence of human agency and its innate link with place. The second half responds to these questions by presenting biography as a suitable approach, one that expresses archaeology in distinctive ways, foregrounding our analyses of the interplay between the general and the particular.

ARCHAEOLOGIES OF THE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE: SCALES OF ANALYSIS

This section of the chapter argues for a historical archaeology that takes account of long-term historical processes without losing sight of the variability of archaeological evidence at the local scale. The definition of this subject is not undisputed (Courtney 1997; Tarlow 1999b; Tarlow 2007), but as this research deals mainly with a British rural landscape

where many of the themes considered lasted from the late-medieval period until the twentieth century, a period definition has been drawn in line with recent considerations at 1540-1900 (Newman 2001, 8). In order to examine recent debates we need to visit the historiographies of historical archaeology. These are now well trodden having been the subject of specific chapters in a number of recent publications (Egan 2009; Hicks & Beaudry 2006; Hall & Siliman 2006; Tarlow 2007), but nevertheless reveal insights about how recent scholarship has approached the issue of scale. It is generally agreed that until the last decade the independent growth of each sub-discipline had led, in part, to disconnected research agendas leading to different questions being asked of data depending on which side of the Atlantic an author fell. Although recent generalist volumes such as *The International Handbook of Historical Archaeology* (Majewski & Gaimster 2009), *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology* (Hicks & Beaudry 2006) and *Historical Archaeology* (Hall & Silliman 2005) suggest that boundaries are becoming increasingly blurred as authors from both sides of the Atlantic are actively engaging with one another's work, the distinct practical and theoretical concerns of both research areas maintain a degree of segregation. North American Marxist archaeologies have made a considerable impact on our treatment of scale, but as it is argued throughout this chapter, they have a tendency to limit our ability to find multiple interpretations or 'multivocality' (Hodder 1997). Alternatively, some authors remain keen to tackle the 'minute nuances of *terroir'* before attempting to place their work within broader research frameworks (Courtney 2009, 183), thus localising their research without situating it within the broader cultural context. Consequently, a balance is required between broad relational approaches and those primarily focused on the materiality of a single site.

Post-Medieval Archaeology in Britain

In Britain, the issue of scale has become more important through the development of post-medieval archaeology. The watershed for the UK strand was the founding of the Post-Medieval Ceramic Research Group in 1963, which later became the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology (Egan 2009, 549; Orser 1996a, 81), and dealt with the period up to 1750 but has since been adapted to include the nineteenth century and industrial

period (Tarlow 2007, 3). Indeed, an early focus on industry did lead to the sub-discipline of industrial archaeology focusing mainly on technological development (Palmer 1990). The main emphasis of post-medieval archaeology, however, has focused on the transition from the later-medieval and historical periods (Johnson 1996), especially in the shifts in belief, and the new cultural and economic networks developing over the course of the period (Gilchrist 2005, 330). Geoff Egan's (2009) recent review on the subject has emphasised that these processes were studied through an early emphasis on portable material culture, although focus has since moved towards a variety of different media from buildings and other types of structure, to gardens and landscapes.

An emphasis on material culture reveals an anxiety in British post-medieval archaeology to unshackle the discipline from its often-perceived stance as the 'handmaiden to history' (Moreland 2006). Studies focused on sites and artefacts, and in general those included in *Post-Medieval Archaeology* rarely contextualise beyond a specific site. This might be explained in terms of the objects that archaeologists study: 'door knockers, ceramic bowls, [and] copper coins' (Orser 1996a, 15). These artefacts appear to be easily and readily understandable today because they are only a few hundred years old and lack the 'otherness' that requires imaginative engagement and interpretation. It has only been in the last decade that authors such as Sarah Tarlow and Susie West (1999) have challenged our familiarity with the more recent past bringing attention to less traditional histories, and highlighting the variability of experience in historic landscapes (Gilchrist 2005). Studies such as these have broadened theoretical horizons and taken multi-scalar approaches dealing with broader societal processes such as eighteenth-century improvement (Dalglish 2003; Tarlow 2007), a theme that will be explored in the next chapter; capitalism (Johnson 1996); and colonialism (Finch 2007a; Hicks 2007; Gosden 2004). Post-medieval archaeology has therefore become concerned with the context and meaning of familiar objects, places and landscapes, which in turn has placed increasing value on the 'big questions' (Tarlow 2007, 5) of identity, power, consumerism and the nature of modernity in historical archaeology. As some authors have pointed out (Courtney 2009; Egan 2007; Tarlow 2007), this has only been a recent development in

British archaeology and has, in the main, taken the lead from its North American counterpart: 'historical archaeology'.

Historical Archaeologies

Standing in parallel, and perhaps preceding British post-medieval archaeology in terms of theoretical development, historical archaeology has been used to provide a multi-scalar approach to colonial landscapes. Defined by James Deetz in 1977, historical archaeology was viewed as: 'the archaeology of the spread of European culture throughout the world since the fifteenth century and its impact on indigenous peoples' (1977, 5). In more recent years this definition has become more fluid, both in terms of its temporal scope and subjects of research (Beaudry 2006; Leone 2005; Orser 1996a) and certainly differs from its British cousin (see Courtney 1997; Tarlow 2007). Despite what are often semantic differences, the North American approach has nearly always concerned itself with the issue of scale, but often with a structural perspective that is not always applicable to British landscapes. This focus is derived from the abrupt introduction of European colonialism into the Americas during the historic period: 'European sailing ships set out for distant parts of the world, [and] a chain of events never before seen in human history was set into motion' (Deetz 1977, 5). This connection with colonialism has provided a significant framework from which post-Columbian historical archaeologies have been based.

While British landscapes have rarely been studied with reference to the wider world (notable exceptions include Hicks 2007 and Johnson 2005), historical archaeologists in North America have articulated a 'global historical archaeology' (Orser 1996a). This was first expressed, albeit in an embryonic form, in Henry Glassie's *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (1975) and James Deetz' *In Small Things Forgotten* (1977). These volumes argued that material culture was part of a deep-seated world-view known as the 'Georgian Order', which structured the colonial world according to a British intellectual blueprint influencing all aspects of material life from dinner services to architecture (Deetz 1977, 66-67). Deetz viewed these forms as a reflection of long-term cultural shifts, from the early modern period to the eighteenth-century, representing deep-rooted

cultural modes. These ideas were later extended to a much wider scale in colonial South Africa where Deetz noticed that the material of the British settlers differed from those found in North America. He argued that this represented a rejection of the 'Georgian norm' in favour of antiquated post-medieval cultural forms (Lawrence 2003, 26; Deetz & Winer 1990). Although the approach was structural in nature, it served to place the particularity of east-coast American material culture within the umbrella framework of British colonial expansion.

Taking this argument further, Charles Orser's *An Historical Archaeology of the Modern World* (1996a) has presented the most comprehensive and articulate argument for a global historical archaeology. Orser built upon a growing trend suggesting that historical archaeology's main contribution to the broader discipline should focus on locating universal patterns within European colonialism, a viewpoint that is more appropriate to North American colonial histories than it is to Europe itself (Deetz 1977; Leone 1984). We are told that 'whether the focus is eighteenth century England, Blackfoot Indians, or an industrial community in Indiana' the understanding of social relationships can tell us about cultural and social life across the world. These relationships are defined by what Orser has identified as the four 'haunts' of historical archaeology: colonialism, capitalism, Eurocentrism, and modernity (1996b, 21-22) – so-called as they 'haunt' every aspect of life across the modern world from objects in South Africa to the rural landscapes of Britain and Ireland. According to Orser, the most significant element of this broad, multi-scalar framework is the link to capitalism, which is viewed as a wider socio-historical system (Orser 1996b, 27; Nassaney 1998, 580). This framework is borne out of Wallerstein's World Systems Theory, which argues that the world since 1500 can be understood in terms of the creation and development of a single global capitalist system (Wallerstein 1974; Ogborn 2000, 44) where cultural and economic resources are distributed from the periphery (underdeveloped nations) to the core (industrialised areas). Orser uses this theory, albeit with a fluid interpretation, to link colonised nations with European expansion and the inherent exploitative nature of their relationship (Orser 1996a; Orser 2009). This approach has been criticised in some quarters for the privileging of the core and the playing down of the distinctive differences of the periphery (Funari

1999, 41; Leone & Potter 1988; Lucas 2006), a viewpoint also taken in this research. However, Orser argues that the models of unequal power resident within capitalism can be articulated alongside the boundless relationship between a site, complex and its region (Orser 2009, 264). Crucially, by taking such an approach, with overarching 'haunts' and applying them at various scales, Orser risked applying his model in places where it was neither appropriate nor applicable.

To counter, Orser's approach was firmly rooted within the Marxist approaches to the historic period which have viewed capitalism as a 'totalising' history' (Lucas 2006) where its trajectory through time was seen as all encompassing (e.g. Hall 1993; Leone 1984, 2009; Leone, Potter & Shackel 1987; McGuire 1992). In this perspective capitalism consists of a set of relations of production whereby the owners of the means of production govern a fundamentally unequal and exploitative relationship with the workers. This inequality is apparently found penetrating all levels of society and becomes manifested in material culture, which in turn, can be used to define identities either promulgating or resisting the dominant ideology. As a result, Marxists see the impact of capitalism across various scales, from the dinner table and consumerism to the commercial trade routes that were cast across the historic world (Orser 1996a).

The impact of Marxism on historical archaeology has been largely driven by the work of Mark Leone who over the last thirty years has explored the archaeology of eighteenth-century Annapolis, Maryland (Leone 1984, 2005). Leone and his colleagues have situated the resident society in a period following the emergence of the new Republican state when growing social divisions, or the 'cracks of Chesapeake society' (Johnson 1996, 16), was defined by elitist control over the middling and lower classes. This position was maintained via a set of ideological strategies, which Leone argues, penetrated nearly all aspects of everyday life (Leone 2005, 29). Most incisive was the use of order, symmetry and discipline – facets of the 'Georgian Order' previously identified by Deetz (1977) – that enabled the ruling class to naturalise social hierarchy within the city (Leone 1984). By walking through the carefully prescribed layout of streets, engaging with symmetrical forms of architecture or reading methodically segmented newspapers, local inhabitants

were apparently brought under the illusion that they were actively engaged in the shaping of society. Leone suggests, however, that in reality these people were either subscribing to the existing power relations, sub-consciously taking part in the system, or in some cases, were actively rejecting it (Leone 2005, 192-244). Annapolis became, therefore, a hotbed for the struggle to freedom and liberty within a much broader capitalist system (Leone 2005, 29).

Critiquing Global Archaeologies

In light of these neo-Marxist archaeologies, a number of criticisms have been raised that focus on some of the weaknesses of the approach and the importance of specificity within global networks. More generally, global histories have been critiqued for the simplification of social and cultural relationships between different sites, not least within the core/periphery framework (e.g. Ogborn 2000; Hicks 2005; Beaudry 2003; Lawrence 2003; Ploszajska 2000). For example, the cultural geographer Miles Ogborn has argued that across very broad scales such as the British Empire, social structures were adapted to and altered in a variety of ways across the globe. It was an impact *on* and an amalgamation *with* indigenous societies that led to new ways of life (Ogborn 2000, 49). Susan Lawrence (2003) has followed with a similar argument when examining the material culture of British settlers in South Africa. Dealing with some of the material that Deetz and Winer (1990) had previously interpreted, Lawrence argued against Deetz's assertion that by rejecting the Georgian norms the colonists struggled to make sense of frontier society. Instead, Lawrence suggests that the Georgian order was uniquely American and that the material culture of South Africa, Australia and Canada e.g. tableware and house plans, showed that Anglo-culture took on many different forms (Lawrence 2003, 28).

The sentiment of Lawrence's work, which shows that the distinctiveness of the local is formed by the unique relationship between society, material culture and the particularity of place, is shared by other authors who commonly agree that historical processes will never manifest in the same way in different contexts (Beaudry 2003, 290; Tarlow 1999b 267; Hicks 2004, 937). It may follow, therefore, that there is a danger of global structural

approaches privileging particular interpretations in places where they are neither compatible nor appropriate (Funari 1999). Moreover, the advancing of theories concentrating solely on social struggle particularly within the relations of class, gender, race, ethnicity and sexuality (McGuire 2006, 130) can lead to the same interpretations being repeated whatever the site or context, or as Adrian Praetzellis (1998) has suggested: 'by investing heavily in a model, the archaeologist may find himself merely telling the same story over and over' (Praetzellis 1998, 2). After all, archaeologies of capitalism and ideology can be restrictive especially if social contexts are defined by the (power) relationships of what are more often than not, two groups within a community. By following this pattern we risk losing the diversity of the period where emotions, meanings, values, and other identities become highly contextual, horizontal rather than vertical, and unique 'rather than being the acting-out of cultural norms' (Beaudry 2003, 290; Kealhofer 1999; Tarlow 1999a, 469; 2007, 11). In the case of eighteenth-century estates, for example, many types of inhabitant were resident, from estate craftsmen to the estate steward, who each negotiated roles, identities and responsibilities with motivations other than the negotiation of power and status (see chapters six, seven and eight). An approach focusing exclusively on class struggle may downplay these complexities resulting in a less multivocal narrative where the rich variety often championed by scholars of this period is jettisoned for one-dimensional approaches.

An argument for multivocality is relevant because it reverts back to scale as the assemblage and site becomes the place where diversity is most evident. This thesis is not a broader examination of power relations in an historic landscape, but is instead a study of the interplay between different scales of analysis. The central argument of this thesis is that the individual is situated within broader discourses, whether they are eighteenth-century capitalism, colonialism, or improvement, but does not reduce the experience of the individual to a single set of social, economic or cultural ideas. This is not to deny that broad cultural processes were at play during the eighteenth century, nor does this downplay the role of social practice; indeed, it is well established that the development of discourses such as capitalism and improvement did have far reaching consequences on social life – the enclosure of common land in eighteenth-century Britain and the

patriarchal nature of estates serve as just two examples where resident populations experienced dramatic changes to their everyday lives. Instead, we should situate our research within broader narratives but without losing sight of the multivocality and multi-layered local context. By refusing the choice between grand narratives and the fine-grained scale of site assemblages, the complexities and contradictions between different scales of analysis can be celebrated. After all, historical archaeologies are well placed to highlight the array of lived experiences found in the period by using a number of historical and archaeological sources to situate the particularity of the local scale within much broader cultural discourses.

IDENTITIES IN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY: PEOPLE AND PLACE

Linked directly to a discussion of scale are the ways in which scholars have begun to situate sites, assemblages and material culture in the playing out of social life. Archaeologists have been able to use different forms of material culture to find out how people defined themselves in the past both as individuals, and as part of wider groups. Understanding this type of identity is vital if we are to realise that landscapes were experienced in different ways and that the materiality of everyday life has a structuring effect on society (Delle 1999; Funari 1999; Yentsch 1994; 2001). After briefly summarising the use of identity in archaeology, this section will show that approaches to material culture can also be extended to places in the landscape. Places are also socially constituted and play a vital role in the playing out of everyday life at the local scale. This concept forms the basis for the biographical approach to landscape and will be used to inform later arguments for the biographies of people and place.

Identity has been used to interrogate material culture, tease out its meanings, and assess the influence of different objects, buildings and places. Identities are shaped by people's lives, through their biography, as issues such as gender, class, race, age, and role, contribute to the creation of an individual (Hodder 1986; Thomas 1996; Tilley 1994). Moreover, anthropological studies (e.g. Brück 2004; Fowler 2001; Hoskins 2005; Weiner 1992), have allowed archaeologists to take this idea a step further, showing that material culture was embedded into the process of identity construction. On the scale of the

individual, the idea of the self is reflected through material culture via personal adornment or the accumulation of personal artefacts (White & Beaudry 2009). These objects reflect ideas about the person, conveying particular cultural messages revolving around any combination of identities; they can become deeply meaningful and help define a person's role and actions within a society.

Identities are also related to multi-scalar approaches to archaeology. They are specific to a particular time and place, being created at an individual scale according to a combination of economic, social, cultural and political factors. White & Beaudry (2009) have explored particularity through performance, showing how bodily acts and gestures such as needlework or food preparation expressed and maintained multiple lines of identity (2009, 213). Such performances are specific to a particular time and place, within a distinct social, cultural and political milieu (White & Beaudry 2009, 213). As a result, the acts of an individual and the creation and/or use of personal artefacts remain specific to the local setting but were situated within a much broader context. For example, the use of a particular object such as a cooking utensil may have conformed to an expected cultural norm, or alternatively, it may have contravened more traditional uses. It is at this individual scale, with sufficient contextual knowledge, that historical archaeology can make a contribution, examining diversity, difference and contradiction at a particular place and moment in time.

The multiplicity of meaning, which is characteristic of many approaches to identity, is also derived from the many meanings of the concept. In their exploration of artefacts and personal identity, White & Beaudry (2009) summarised the flexibility of the term:

> The concept of identity is complicated, paradoxical and culturally situated in time, place, and society. Identity is at once both imposed by others and self-imposed, and is continuously asserted and reasserted in ways that are fluid and fixed. Identity can lie at the individual level and at the broadest of imaginable scales as it defines a person both as part of a group and as an individual. (White & Beaudry 2009, 210)

This fluid understanding conveys how identity is particularly amenable to studies of landscape, which move from the individual to the widest possible scales. Inhabitants of

historic landscapes had to negotiate the broad spheres of life such as politics and religion even if it was unconscious or innate. Cross-cutting these themes were identities of the everyday, which defined a person at the scale of personal social relations, while constellations of power, topographies, and cultural ecologies acted both subtly and dramatically to influence social life across a landscape (Short 1992, 40). Once woven together, these different strands produce complex and intertwined ideas of identity which were variable, ambiguous and often multiple. Matthew Johnson, for example, has shown that in sixteenth-century rural landscapes, men and women carried out coherent lives despite negotiating the often-contradicting aspects of religion, morality, community politics and family life (Johnson 1996, 67). These different aspects of everyday life reinforced group affiliation as well as individual identities and beliefs.

These shifting scales have encouraged scholars to explore identity in new ways, showing how they alter and change through space and time. As a result, there are three strengths that are relevant to the study of landscapes. The first has been to show how broad historical processes impacted on particular subjects at the local scale. Studies have been carried out using overarching themes such as the capitalist and Marxist ideologies (Leone 2005; Orser 1996; McGuire (2006), or have been more concerned with themes such as improvement or colonialism (Tarlow 2007; Gosden 2004). Dell Upton (1984) provided one of the best examples of using a landscape to articulate the interplay between various scale and identities. While examining the plantation landscapes of Virginia, Upton showed how portable objects, buildings and different forms of landscape helped define complex identities tightly bound to the broader colonial context. In particular, he showed how the 'white' planter landscapes were used to reinforce the local social structure. In parallel, 'black' slave landscapes were also found to exist, which used their materiality to help foster a distinctive group identity within the slave community. Secluded and private locations such as woods, fields, even rooms in cabins became social spaces where forbidden forms of material culture were used in tandem to promote a sense of belonging within the group that ran counter to the experience of the broader, planter landscape (Upton 1984, 68-71). Although Upton's work concentrates on the struggle between the planter and slaves, it reveals how two of the broader processes of the period – capitalism

and colonialism – were mediated to the local scale and impacted on the lives of those who inhabited plantation landscapes.

The concept of identity in historical archaeology is also useful because it relies on the premise that material culture embodies social meaning and plays an important part in social practice. Archaeologists use material culture to read these meanings and inform our understanding of the past by inferring attitudes and worldviews, concepts that form the basis for the playing out of social life. In the case of Marxist archaeologies, these might be linked to inequality, social struggle and the exercising of power. Clocks, watches, and scientific instruments, for example, have been interpreted as being 'technologies of the self', used to observe, study and order the natural phenomena (Leone 2005). According to Leone, these items were used to regulate the routines of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century (Leone 2005, 165). In parallel, more varied approaches have taken account of anthropological methods to show how objects and places referenced social life and the relationships between different people (Brück 2004, 312; Fowler 2001, 140). Objects are seen to reference personhood and the various identities associated within an individual. Jon Finch's (2007a) description of the gamekeeper's cottage on the Castle Howard estate illustrates this point clearly. In 1856 the cottage contained a parlour furnished with a mahogany bookcase, six mahogany chairs, an oak table, and prints of the 5th, 6th and contemporary Earls of Carlisle. These furnishings referenced not only the gamekeeper's connection with contemporary consumption patterns but also his close relationship with the estate landscape and its owners. The portraits represented his relationship with the landowners; the mahogany tables and chairs showed how he might have conformed to fashion; the bookcase reflected his knowledge and education. Each item carried its own significance, operating on various scales and representing identities relating to the gamekeeper's life on the Castle Howard estate.

The final strength of using identity to inform our understanding of the past is the recognition that material culture not only embodied cultural meaning, but also had the ability to affect as well as reflect social practice. In this sense, objects, artefacts and

places carried their own form of agency. If we return to Finch's description of the gamekeeper's parlour on the Castle Howard estate, the objects in the room and the space itself had the ability to influence the behaviour of whoever came into contact with them. The prints on the wall, for instance, would have carried particular meanings. These might have related to the status of the Howard family, the relationship between the gamekeeper and his employers, or might perhaps have represented hope and ambition to reach a particular level in society. In every case, the prints became the 'material bearers of collective memory' (Hoskins 2005, 80) as layers of meaning and associations were accumulated through time. It was these values that visitors reacted to when visiting the room, and according to their own cultural outlook, would have reacted in particular, individual ways (Gell 1998). If this conception of material culture as non-human agency is extended to other places in a landscape then we can begin to see how identity was forged across wider scales, and in ways that were also multiple and diverse.

Place, Identity and Landscape

Thus far, this chapter has argued for a more nuanced study of historical archaeology with a great emphasis on scale but without losing the variability and subtleties of local everyday life. The brief summation of identity illustrates the complexities of interrogating material culture for cultural meaning, particularly in the local context. An important aspect of this fine-grained scale is the idea of place, or the meaningful areas where broader historical processes had an effect on both the people who lived locally in addition to the associated material culture. Places took various forms, from rooms in houses to large open fields, and were nearly always the setting for social activity where identities were negotiated and relationships played out (Pred 1985, 337). It is the purpose of this next section to articulate the importance of 'place' in the historic landscape and demonstrate how it helps us to draw out the variety and multivocality of the period.

Since W. G. Hoskins' seminal work *The Making of the English Landscape* (1955), 'place' has formed a crucial element of landscape studies. For Hoskins the landscape was the product of centuries of human action; it was a palimpsest of evolution that could be decoded by understanding how and where transformations had occurred (Bender 2005,

304). Within this framework, places were where Hoskins saw particularity, where social, cultural and economic processes regularly occurred affecting everyday life on a local scale. Matthew Johnson (2005) has shown how this approach was limited, especially in terms of Hoskins' lack of engagement with comparative analyses and broader, global contextualisation that have become fashionable in the last two decades. Nevertheless, Hoskins' emphasis on the value of place was not misguided. As we shall see, both in this chapter and case studies that follow, places formed the medium through which people carried out their lives, whether in the estate workshops built near Harewood House, in the farmhouses scattered across the estate, or in the farms that made up much of the agrarian landscape. In their own distinct way, these places were meaningful and in many cases their material structure influenced how their inhabitants used them, and in turn how broader historical processes impacted on their form, function and meaning.

More recent studies, which have generally derived from inquiries of the prehistoric period, have shown how an embodied or phenomenological approach to landscape can also add further meaning to the idea of place (Edmonds 1999; Ingold 1993; Tilley 1994). In particular, research has shown that places formed a significant role within social practice; they were not merely the passive backdrop to the evolving performance of social life, but were the active context for human interaction (Bender 2005, 305; Cosgrove 1998; Pred 1985; Soja 2003; Stobart 2007). Much like the material culture found in the gamekeeper's cottage on the Castle Howard estate, the parlour (a place in its own right) was imbued with cultural meaning inscribed through regular interaction and engagement by its inhabitants. The space became the means by which social relations were visualised, acting as a frame through which people communicated identities and their outlook of the world (Sofaer & Sofaer 2008, 172). This relationship between people and materiality stemmed from the human and personal experience of those who encountered a place through time:

> A place owes its character to the experience it affords to those who spend time there – to the sights, sounds, and indeed smells that constitute specific ambience. And these, in turn, depend on the kinds of people's engagement with the world, in the business of dwelling, that each place draws its unique significance (Ingold 2002, 191).

Mark Edmonds has argued that the value accorded to a place is derived from the locality: the local area, materials, topography, fields, soils and the 'way of the land' (Edmonds 1999, 29). Such a personalised, fine-grained account of landscape is built up through routine encounters and familiar paths in the area, with accumulated meanings becoming embedded in the land via the recollection of stories within a community, collective memory, folklore and tradition. The knowledge *of* and associations *with* the place, in addition to the constellations within the political and social context, served to influence the patterns of everyday life including movement, communication and performance.

Giles & Giles's (2007) work on farm buildings in the Yorkshire Wolds has shown how places in the nineteenth-century agrarian landscape became the medium through which different groups encountered and made sense of the world. In particular, they focused on the horse-lads, 'a group of young men at the bottom of the social hierarchy' who were constantly jockeying for social position (Giles & Giles 2007, 336). By the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the changing economic and social patterns of farming that 'threatened both the jobs and their sense of self and place' were being tangibly inscribed into the buildings through graffiti (Giles & Giles 2007, 348-355). Sketches on the walls and engraved lists of the group's social hierarchy reflected the raw expressions of individual and group identity. The buildings, which were the site of everyday work for the horse lads, appear to have made an emotional and physical impact on each individual leading to some engraining their thoughts and feelings into the fabric of the building. Movement of lads within lists, etchings of people and agricultural methods on the walls all helped to record their lives, revealing ideas of group and personal identity and the impact of the broader social, political economic issues of the day. These farm buildings in the Yorkshire Wolds were far from the passive backdrop to everyday life, they were meaningful places engrained into the daily routines and social activities that the horse-lads were regularly apart of.

The fluid nature of the meanings of place leads to an intrinsic multivocality. Such a view is in line with Sarah Tarlow's (2007) recent critique of theoretical approaches that focuses on power and status as the main concern of historical archaeology (Tarlow 2007, 5-10). In particular, Tarlow identified the Marxist paradigm as both limiting, and to a certain extent, simplistic, with many studies often defining social encounters by the conflicting relationships within master/servant or landlord/tenant dialectics (e.g. Orser 1996; Thompson 1963). As it was argued in the last section, there is a danger with these approaches of compacting the rich stories and complexities of the historic landscape into monolithic meta-narrative. After all, the multivocality of place comes from the infinitely variable landscapes that appear when examining archaeology on the local scale. If we return to Hoskins' notion of landscape as palimpsest then we see that places are never static but are in a state of constant becoming. As layer upon layer of human activity shaped the landscape, and while historical and social processes were played out, then a uniqueness and particularity of place unfolds. This created infinite landscape variations that cannot be defined by universal experiences or wide-ranging global histories. Such a uniqueness of place, which derives from society, materialism and culture, necessitates an encompassing approach that can acknowledge the variable ways in which we can interpret the landscape. This reading of landscape allows us to realise the many interpretations existing simultaneously within historical archaeology.

PEOPLE & PLACE: A BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

This chapter has so far highlighted the issues of scale, identity and mutivocality as important aspects of landscape studies. These involved the interplay between broad cultural processes and the individual lives at the local scale. It has been argued that through material culture and the materiality of place we can begin to read material culture as a text, which provides insights into contemporary attitudes and identities. Due to the infinite variables that affect the development of places in particular, these identities are often multiple, sometimes contradictory, and rarely held by a single individual. As a result, it is important to use theoretical approaches that take account of this multivocality while appreciating the affect of the broader context.

The remainder of this chapter offers biography as an alternative approach to the study of landscapes and the regular interplay between the details of a local sequence to the broader scales and processes. The concept has gained popularity since its inception in the 1970s, and has led to a number of publications focusing on the subject within the last decade (Daniels & Nash 2004; Finch 2008; Gosden & Marshall 1999; Mytum Forthcoming; Roymans et al 2009; Tatlioglu Forthcoming). These vary in approach falling, in the main, into two categories. The first deals with the biographies of objects and places, studying their cultural transformations during their use-life and identifying how these relate to people's identity in historical archaeology. The second focuses on the people who lived in the past and follows their 'life-paths' as they engage with the material world through landscape. As Mytum (Forthcoming) has shown, these approaches are influenced by a number of temporal and spatial scales and have led to a variety of forms. Despite this variety and the recent popularity of biography, few historical archaeologists have engaged theoretically with the subject, particularly with reference to its application as an approach to landscapes. As a result this section seeks to readdress this balance and offer 'biographies of people and place' as an alternative and thought-provoking method of understanding historic landscapes. It focuses on the multivocality inherent in the individual agency of people and their connection with place.

Biographies of Place

An approach to 'biography of landscape' currently follows several lines of enquiry. Outside UK, emphasis has been placed on short episodes recording the life-use of a building or a place in a landscape, where they have been shown to play an active role everyday life (Tringham 1991; Nanoglou 2008). In parallel, the British perspective has been based in the study of prehistoric landscapes where monuments are seen as an anchor for identity construction and ritual practice (Pollard & Reynolds 2002; Gillings & Pollard 1999; Edmonds 1999). The studies that deal with a biographical approach to places, however, largely stem from the pioneering work by Kopytoff and Appadurai on the cultural life of objects (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986). By applying the life history approach to artefacts, Kopytoff and Appaduari articulated how material culture is

influenced by and helps constitute social meaning. To clarify, objects have a life-history – manufacture, distribution, use, re-use, disposal – during which they move from one context to another. During this process they are inscribed with new meanings as a variety of groups interact with the object and use it in different ways. For example, pearls exchanged by the indigenous South Americans to the European settlers in the seventeenth century were transformed from everyday items of the local tribes to 'brilliant objects' belonging to the Spanish, thus altering their meaning and significance (Gosden & Marshall 1999; Saunders 1999). Anthropologists have shown that this process of transformation can be deeply personal, with artefacts being impressed with biographical resonance, rather like places in the landscape, where meanings or associations are kept buoyant through memory, storytelling and/or folklore (Brück 2004; Hoskins 2005; Weiner 1992). As an object moves on in its life-history these meanings contribute to how people interact with it; it becomes inherently social and will have been used, read and understood in a multitude of ways and in turn has the ability to transform the way people interact. This multivocality is one of the strengths of the biographical approach, not only towards objects, but also in landscape. Like objects, places undergo transformations through time, altering their meanings as new and different groups experienced the landscape at various points in their lifetime. But unlike artefacts, the world transforms around a place and it is this variation in context that contributes to the different sorts of engagement that people had.

One of the most important contributions to biographies of landscape was made by Roymans *et al* (2009) who argued that biographies should focus on regions over the *longue dureé,* connecting narratives, meanings and processes from prehistory to the modern day (Roymans *et al* 2009, 356). This approach was influenced by the work of Marwyn Samuels who first coined the approach in the late 1970s (Samuels 1979). At that time Samuels was reacting against the New Geography and a view of landscape that saw it as passive by-product of large-scale historical processes. In response, Samuels sought to introduce human agency and show that landscape was not just the result of impersonal forces, but the product of real people, named or otherwise (Samuels 1979, 62). Emphasis was placed on the individual at the local scale showing how people had the means and the

opportunity to affect their lives in ways that ran counter to broader historical processes. Roymans *et al* were able to take this idea and show how individuals and communities reacted to the long-term development of the South Netherlands through the layering of meaning and memory at particular places in the landscape such as Bronze Age cemetery sites, medieval parish churches and nineteenth-century heathlands (Roymans *et al* 2009). It was through the biography of these places that the authors were able to extract ideas about community, identity and cultural meaning. By adding a time-depth they moved away from a temporally static view of archaeology, to an understanding where the 'multi-layeredness' of landscape led to earlier transformations being seen 'to have an ongoing effect on contemporary communities and their environment' (Roymans *et al* 2009, 356).

If we take Roymans *et al*'s approach further we can explore landscapes in more detail, seeing how through different time-scales they fitted into patterns of social practice. Here, the life-history approach can be used to articulate how places formed part of this process and become 'a biography of place'. As it has already been argued, landscapes are made up of a variety of places that each hold their own significance for a particular group or individual. At certain times these places represent a fleeting moment in a person's life-history: a brief visit to a friend's house, or a momentary stop along a country lane. At other times places may be the setting for large parts of an individual's lifetime where broader processes such as religion and capitalism might play a larger part such as the eighteenth-century church, the home or the workplace. In this way the materiality of each place formed the context and media for social practice. Each place became a 'locale' where people drew upon the materiality in order to 'warrant and regularise what they do' (Giddens 1984, 118-119). The understanding of this materiality is derived from the life history of the place and its interaction between different social groups who arrive and leave with various ideas and understandings of the surrounding world (Arnold 2002, 40; Ballantyne 2008, 30; Tringham 1991).

Architecture serves as a good example where biography can be applied and is a subject that has been explored by Dana Arnold (2002). She articulates the difference between a work of art and a piece of architecture, showing how a painting or sculpture may move

through time and space, being displayed in various settings, but its subject-matter, form and function largely remains unchanged. Architecture, however, is inherently different. It can be altered through time, with its function in constant flux as it meets the demands of its occupants. In parallel, its use and context (position and setting) adds further depth to its meaning, conveying how a building should be viewed, understood and engaged (Arnold 2002, 7). These variables illustrate that architecture should not be treated as a limited design housing a strict set of values created at the time of construction. Instead, it should be seen as being in a constant state of change as meanings are negotiated via the experience and interaction of the people it housed (Nanoglou 2008, 141). It is the accumulation of these ideas through time, influenced by broader processes and experienced on a local every day scale, which gives the house its own form of agency and helped to influence everyday, social life (Gillings & Pollard 1999, 180).

These ideas are partly drawn from Mark Gillings and Josh Pollard's study of Stone Four of the Avebury monument where they explored the biography of an artefact, albeit a large, static sarsen stone (Gillings & Pollard 1999). Their account placed the stone in various contexts that altered through space and time. As they plotted its life-history, relating it to period specific archaeological evidence, the authors illustrated how it may have been perceived in the pre-historic, Roman, medieval and pre-modern worlds. The authors showed that through the stone's six-thousand-year life-history it accumulated biographical details that influenced how people interacted with it. Various phases of activity, including the creation of concussion marks on its surface in the Neolithic period and its burial in the seventeenth-century, demonstrated that Stone Four had become an anchoring point for memory and meaning (Gillings & Pollard 1999, 180-89). This description of the stone suggests that it had become more than an artefact. Instead, it was a significant place in the landscape where over the course of its life-history, or biography, it had become a reference point for people's lives, as the focus for ritual or for more mundane purposes. Like buildings, it was the temporality and interaction with people that gave it its meaning.

If the understanding of Stone Four is extended to other places we find that they can be read in a multitude of ways. Their meaning would depend on the social situation, the context for engagement, the point in the life history of that place, or indeed of the people involved. At any moment the particularity of the area - the sights, sounds, smells and associations - was distinctly local, it was understood in a number of ways, but was bound up in broader cultural processes as people reacted to the social, political and economic climate. As a result, we see that through time, places were buffeted by wider discourses and embodied a number of cultural meanings. They are therefore tightly bound to a multivocal view of landscape.

Biographies of People

The second form of biography is that of people and their 'life-histories'. This approach is useful for articulating the spatial and temporal aspects of social life in addition to the ways people engaged with material culture and their surroundings. In particular, by plotting the lives of individuals and groups we are able to take account of their ability to make their mark on the geography of each landscape. The implication is that the approach requires a greater particularity in the definition of archaeological problems, shifting from the generalisations of overarching structural themes to recognising the uniqueness of place and the humanity of its subject matter. Marwyn Samuels' (1979) understanding of a 'biography of landscape' is allied to such an approach, and is articulated through his idea of 'landscape authorship' whereby 'key individuals and thousands of lesser figures' are recognised for their role in the making of landscape (1979, 62-81). The emphasis was placed on the individual through human agency, revealing an ability to affect the lives of themselves and others in active and significant ways while being placed within the auspices of broader contemporary cultural patterns.

In many ways this theory is found in recent historical archaeology where the use and literal meaning of biography as 'life-history' has been used to re-populate the historic landscape. Authors have been able to take advantage of the rich variety of sources dating from the early modern period, such as journals, maps, surveys and correspondence, to provide voices for those who might otherwise be swept aside within broader social,

economic, political, technological and ideological discourses (Lucas 2006, 41; Samuels 1979, 62). These have taken various forms from written or performed narratives involving a 'created' element within diary entries or public presentations (Beaudry 1998; Praetzellis & Praetzellis 1998), to the carefully constructed, more traditional form of biography (Finch 2008). These approaches, whether dealing with an entire life history or looking at episodes within that lifetime, have articulated the local, fleeting life of the individual and their unique place among the often competing trajectories of historical process. Indeed, some discourses such as eighteenth-century enclosure can be seen to have had a quick and measured impact over the course of a person's lifetime in addition to the longer-term development over the *longue durée.* With the rich vein of sources available to the archaeologist of this period, we can foreground a thick description providing fine-grained accounts that contextualise an individual and their actions. The biographical approach mediates this analysis, between the general and the particular, and advocates the role of the individual, named or otherwise, within the development of landscape.

An effective example of biography is found in the work of Christa Beranek who contextualised the life of Eleazer Tyng, a late-eighteenth century Boston merchant from Massachusetts, within a turbulent social and political locale (Beranek 2009). Through written and material sources, and analysing often conflicting forms of material culture such as house forms, tableware and furnishings, Beranek revealed how the life of Tyng was buffeted by various forms of identity. Whether investing in fashion to portray knowledge, or conveying his status through clothing and portraiture, Tyng continually reshaped himself as he progressed from noble dignitary to retirement. The study revealed how at the local scale, a singular life-history ran both counter and alongside broader political and social events, showing how people often lived their lives in complicated and often contradictory ways. Rather than risking the compression of this diversity within broader, more 'generalising histories' (Lucas 2006, 39) the biographical approach promotes the multivocality by presenting contrasting histories with broader contexts.

In addition to the notions of scale, in both the sense of analysis and temporality, the biographical approach also provides spatial context. The role of space in the formation of society has become a key concept within landscape studies and has derived from the disciplines of cultural geography and sociology. One of the first methods to combine temporality with space were time-space geographies, or 'life-paths', developed by the cultural geographer Torsten Hägerstrand (1973). Using this concept Hägerstrand demonstrated how a person navigates their way through a spatio-temporal environment by encountering a series of physical and social barriers such as social authority and capability (Hägerstrand 1973). This largely 'ecological' method was later developed to show how other factors such as memories, feelings, knowledge, imagination and goals all helped to shape a person's movement through life (Buttimer 1983, 44-77).

The approach has been criticised not least because it favours the 'presencing' of individuals within a given location (Gregory 1994, 117), however, some authors such as Allan Pred have used the theory to convey individual agency and show how the biographies of people (including their personality, ideology, and consciousness) are inherently linked to space (Daniels & Nash 2004; Pred 1985, 340; Short 2004; Soja 2003, 120). Pred stressed that the 'daily paths and projects' of peasants in Skane, Southern Sweden, who often travelled from farm to field, were deeply affected by eighteenth-century enclosures: *storskifte* and *enskifte*. Such changes resulted in new work practices for agricultural labourers eventually leading to new labour patterns, transformed experiences of the local landscape, and in turn, new conceptions of the local environment (Pred 1985, 337-365). Broad discourses of eighteenth-century improvement determined these changes, but it was at the local scale, in the fields, farms, and cottages that daily life was really affected, in ways that fell within the lifetime of an individual and were wholly particular to that place. The life histories of the inhabitants became inherently connected to the biography of each place in the landscape, leading Pred to suggest that: 'Biographies are formed through the becoming of places, and places are formed through the formation of biographies' (Pred 1985, 340). It is at this point that we see how the life-history of an individual was linked, via various methods of engagement, with the particularly of place.

Although this approach allows us to articulate the scale and process, it also requires a fine-grained account of an individual or group within a specific historical period. One of the main obstacles to such 'thick description' is that many inhabitants of historic landscapes rarely left a record of their lives. Instead, types of evidence point to groups of people, or archetypes, who remain nameless but are nonetheless known to have existed and contributed greatly to a landscape's development. In an eighteenth-century estate, for example, fields, ditches, buildings, and other landscape features were created via the countless hours of labour undertaken by groups of unnamed individuals. These might be labourers, the poor, transients and newcomers who were often omitted from documentary records but have left material traces of their actions during their lifetime. Through biography such groups are reintroduced via their interaction with place, not only as archetypal figures representative of a given theme but also as important players within the narrative of development. The biographical approach can provide a better understanding of how these groups functioned by recognising how places were created and maintained through time. Understanding this temporality and the material details of personal experience becomes an important step towards exploring how society in an estate landscape was reproduced.

Biographies of People and Place

The combination of these two forms of biography – of people and place – provides multivocality in two distinct ways. First, various individuals and groups inhabiting a landscape harboured a number of different attitudes according to their identity, personal background and life-history. In turn, they experienced the material world in a number of different ways, apportioning meaning and value in ways that were multiple, variable and often contradictory. Secondly, the places people inhabit change through time, altering form, function and meaning as they progress through their life-history. Combined, these two separate forms of biography allow us to examine the interplay between social life and material culture, particularly through time and space. After all, the life-paths of different individuals were cast across a landscape through various places. Daily 'projects' take people from one to the next reinforcing, altering and transforming the individual as each

place became a locale or setting for activity and social action. Giles & Giles (2007) illustrated this idea with the farm buildings on the Yorkshire Wolds, while Finch (2007) provided an example of just one place, the parlour in the gamekeeper's cottage on the Castle Howard Estate.

By using Allan Pred's (1985) work in parallel to the 'biographies of people and place', we find that a person's lifetime was made up of a number of places, each serving a different role in everyday life. In seventeenth-century Tidewater, Virginia, for example, various places in the landscape helped define a group's position in society. Lisa Kealhofer (1999) showed that at the church, in the courthouse, on roads, in markets, or on plantations, a variety of groups defined their identity. The governor's elaborate home at Green Spring defined his rank as the pinnacle of the colonial elite while the order of his elaborate garden was used to convey his natural place as head of society (Kealhofer 2009, 69-75). The church, meanwhile, revealed ideas about religion and gender, while the plantations showed how class and role defined society. In this way the landscape was made up of a series of meaningful places each defining a person or group in an individual way. The aim of biography is to articulate these relationships by situating them in the broader social, political, economic context, while providing a fine-grained account of life at the local scale.

WAYS OF TELLING

Linked to the exploration of biography and the lives of individuals and places, are the ways we present archaeology to different audiences. Recent theoretical movements within the writing of archaeology have promoted different interpretative approaches dealing with similar themes. Archaeologists have emerged as storytellers, writing their own historical accounts to expand interpretative possibilities and spread the significance of their findings (Deetz 1998, 94; Gilchrist 2005, 334). To a certain extent this has occurred in response to the recognition that landscapes were experienced and negotiated in variable ways. Additionally, authors have argued that the multivocality of the archaeological record should be made explicit (Hicks 2004, 937; 2005, 374). In answer to this, some historical archaeologists have gone as far as writing semi-fictional narratives

in the form of diaries, plays and letters in order to explore the themes of multiplicity of meaning, identity, experiential time and the impact of the larger historical processes (Beaudry 1998; Cook 1998; De Cunzo 1998; Praetzellis & Praetzellis 1998). Others have used computer imagery to construct multiple realities of past places (Joyce & Tringham 2007). Discussions of archaeological sites and their inhabitants have helped to reconstruct what things and places meant to people in the past and how these lives were grounded in the everyday.

Narrative discussions of archaeological sites have also been explored in broader landscape archaeologies. Whole publications have been written that weave together historical and archaeological interpretations into stories. These have attempted to convey a more nuanced approach to landscape by illustrating how materiality was bound up in the lives of individuals (Bender 2005; Edmonds 2004; Fowler & Blackwell 1998). The apparently random lives were given shape and meaning by carefully contextualising the local landscape with the longer narratives of development. Furthermore, descriptive vignettes within these volumes illustrate moments of time, people's experiences in the landscape as well as their connections with the wider world. The result is a series of interpretations that deal with various scales of analysis, from the life of an individual to the longer-term processes that structured the material conditions in which they lived.

Despite the archaeological evidence running through these volumes, the authenticity of these accounts has been brought in to question resulting in some critics calling this type of narrative 'hyper-interpretative' (Fleming 2006). Authors have been deemed to go too far beyond the evidence in their quest to give voices to the voiceless. This general unease can also be found in more traditional biographical discourse where historical biographers have grappled with the problem of presenting accuracy over colour (Fraser 2000, 5). Richard Holmes, the biographer of Mary Shelley and Samuel Taylor Coleridge has suggested that: 'all good biographies struggle with a particular tension between the scholarly drive to assemble facts as dispassionately as possible and the novelistic urge to find shape and meaning' (Holmes 2004, 16). Coupled with this tension is the danger of creating a narrative that reflects the teller rather than the historical moment itself

(Praetzellis 1998, 1). In some cases, modern themes might be accentuated in the past at the detriment of other, equally influential processes. In this case, anachronistic judgement, or writing with a sense of inevitability, can mask the complexity of decisions made in the past. It is for this reason that scholars have more generally distanced themselves from biography by emphasising the dichotomy between historical fact and fiction (Lowenthal 1985, 22).

It is the case that in writing archaeology we do more than arrange a series of known facts about an artefact or landscape in a neutral, unprejudiced manner. In fact, the very nature of writing, being objective with our thoughts providing evidence within a narrative, is often filled with implicit assumptions. These might include the choice of a photograph as an illustration or the inclusion and analysis of a particular data set. These decisions, derived from a variety of influences within our cultural milieu including our training, prior experience and/or the particular format of publication, are at the very least highly context-dependent and are often affiliated with particular modes of thinking (Mytum Forthcoming). This is not to say that such procedures lack value nor are they limiting. In fact, it is quite the opposite as such mechanisms allow us to vet academic work for its intellectual worth. It is the perceived 'solidity' of more traditional ways of writing, however, that can cause difficulties for those exploring lives in historical archaeology, as fact, informed truth and interpretation can often be found to intertwine.

Sources related to historic landscapes are often littered with detail while the people whose names appear regularly in rentals, correspondence and surveys, can seem tangible as the silhouettes of their lives are slowly pieced together. Despite the informed 'thick description' authors have rarely explored the full potential of biography owing to the considered view that life is too random to be committed to a single narrative as it negates the 'shapelessness of life' and 'anarchy of thought' (St. Claire 2004). In literature circles, the inquiry has also been met with caution. Virginia Woolf noted that if we think of truth as 'something of granite-like solidity' and personality as 'something of rainbow like tangibility', and the aim of biography is to 'weld the two into a seamless whole', then we find that the pursuit of biography is especially hard (Marcus 2004, 201). In order to

counter this problem authors have become reflexive in their approach arguing that no single story can account for the phenomena they study (Joyce 2005). Multivocality, or multiple readings of the same artefact or landscape, becomes the device with which to explore these ideas as various themes are examined through different voices. These come from letters, artefacts and vignettes, which help to present multi-faceted perspectives that 'denaturalise the taken-for-granted stories of historical archaeology' (Joyce 2005, 65) and show how materiality is perceived, given meaning, and used in social life.

The process of constructing biographical narratives also forces us to confront how we formulate our interpretations. It is inevitable that we will not be able to identify the entirety of decisions, relationships and feelings that are inherent within a person's life. A series of undocumented days will have existed that leave no trace in either the archaeological or the historical record. In order to deal with this problem archaeologists and biographers have employed a series of devices with which to enhance our confidence in interpretation. Some writers have focused on a theme of a life and have written from a particular perspective (Nolan 2005). Melanie Nolan (2005), for example, examined the McCullough family in late-nineteenth century New Zealand were each family member was assessed in a separate chapter focusing on a specific type of working-class milieu (Nolan 2005). The volume reveals several different voices that refer to the same time-period and social context and, as a result, this approach uses these themes to explore particular forms of experience. An existing body of evidence and the chosen representative narrative or theme guides these interpretations, which in turn, generalise about phases in a person's life that might otherwise be unrecoverable. This approach allows us to postulate about a chosen life from a particular standpoint without discarding traditional evidence.

A similar method has been used to examine a type of individual or group within a narrative that might be representative of a particular social group. This approach relies on a series of generalisations that are made about a category of person or archetype. Basing these generic representations on related evidence allows us to explore groups and communities that might not have been referenced in the archaeological and historical

record. When exploring the multivocality of Opovo, a Neolithic settlement in Yugoslavia, Ruth Tringham introduced two fictional actors to follow through her hypothesis that the houses were deliberately burned down at the end of their life-cycle (Joyce & Tringham 2007). These narratives are told through the voices of Baba and Yaya, two female survivors who represent an archetypal figure who was likely to have lived at the time. Tringham uses these characters to show how each actor in the past was very different and had a unique life-history made up of 'experiences and aspirations and hopes and fears' (Joyce & Tringham 2007, 344). Biographical narratives, when used in this way, provide a means for justifying our understanding of the past and allow us to 'go beyond the evidence' without discarding our consideration for data.

CONCLUSION

In summary, narratives, whether archaeological, historical or biographical, are constructed from fragments of evidence interwoven through the rhetoric of communication (Joyce 2005, 60). Telling, both in verbal and in written forms, becomes more than a presentation of facts, it is a way of explicitly acknowledging the inherent prejudices of research and communication, and reveals a particular understanding of the past. William Styron suggested that: 'An historian can tell you what happened at Borodino, but only Tolstoy, often dispensing with facts, can tell you what it was really like to be a soldier' (Ellison *et al* 1969, 76). However, historical archaeology provides another perspective. It examines the battlefield and its material culture, assesses the life of the soldier and their significance, and provides a more general overview of the cultural context. It is at this stage that a more nuanced perspective can be appreciated, conciliating the various scales of analysis and returning to the humanity of the subject matter. But while the 'truth' becomes malleable according the story we wish to tell, it remains underpinned by academic reason. It is the case that by exploring biographies, including those of people, places and landscapes, we begin to piece together the multivocality of the past in ways that articulate historic experience and challenge our assumptions of historical archaeology.

This chapter has primarily focused on the local, 'thick description' that can be inferred by historical archaeologists (Geertz 1993, 27). The balance with much broader trends needs to be readdressed, and over the course of the next chapter, the local, fleeting lives found within the historic landscape will be situated within the wider context of this research.

3. HAREWOOD IN CONTEXT

How lucky, if they know their happiness,
Are farmers, more than lucky, they for whom,
Far from the clash of arms, the earth herself,
Most fair in dealing, freely lavishes
An easy livelihood…
(VIRGIL, *GEORGICS*, 2, 458-462, TRANS. WILKINSON 1982)

INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers Harewood in its cultural and historical context. It leads on from the theoretical background by showing how broader themes, leading up to and including the eighteenth century, impacted on how Harewood was developed and experienced by its inhabitants. Estate landscapes did not arrive fully formed, nor were they separated from the outside world. They were established over centuries, progressively constructed, both physically and conceptually, by local geographies as well as the longer-term processes such as improvement and enclosure. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to show how developments leading up to the eighteenth century helped define the 'moment' when Henry Lascelles bought the Harewood Estate in 1738. These developments helped create a landscape that reflected the materiality of an eighteenth-century landed estate.

The chapter has been organised in two distinct parts. The first outlines what is meant by a landed estate - its definition and cultural background - and the approach that this thesis takes. It also introduces the idea of 'improvement', one of the most pervasive processes of the period which played an important role in the development of landed estates. The second part moves this discussion into a more localised view where the development of the Harewood Estate will be outlined from the medieval period to the early-eighteenth century. This provides the local historical background to Harewood, and shows how long-term themes such as improvement impacted on the fine-grained narratives of a landscape. Together, these two parts provide a temporal and cultural background to the more detailed analyses that are discussed later in this thesis, in Parts two and three.

I: Eighteenth-Century Landed Estates: Definition, Approach & Background

Definition

In advance of outlining the background and approach to this form of landscape, it is worth defining what is meant by the term 'estate'. The most articulate definition, by Williamson (2009), argues that: 'in a British context an estate may be defined as an extensive and continuous or near-continuous area of land, owned as absolute private property by an individual, although not necessarily…his or hers to alienate at will' (2009, 1). In these terms, an estate of the post-medieval period could vary in size from those owned by the great land magnates, which measured over 20,000 acres, to the smaller estates of under 1,000 acres (Bateman 1883; Johansen-Salters 2010). As Williamson (2009) has noted, by the mid-eighteenth century estates followed a basic form albeit in a very fluid manner. At the 'core' (Clemenson 1982, 33-38) was the country house with accompanying service buildings such as the stables, offices and kitchen gardens. Alongside, and often surrounding the house, was a designed landscape and ornamental gardens often including a home farm provisioning the house with local foodstuffs. Beyond the park pale was farmland rented by tenants that provided the landlord with a regular financial income. This structure often changed between sites, especially in colonial contexts, as the constellations of local topographies, economies, ecology, and power relations influenced the form of each landscape (Finch 2007a; Short 1992). In conclusion, when referring to a 'landed estate' or an 'estate landscape' in this thesis, it is referring to a seat belonging to the landed elite who were one of the great land magnates, great landowners, members of the gentry and greater yeomen (Bateman 1883; Johansen-Salters 2010).

We need to be aware that the term 'estate' can be problematic. As mentioned above, in the eighteenth century the term had as much currency as a description of an area of land measuring up to one thousand acres as it did twenty thousand. In 1764, for example, Edwin Lascelles of Harewood used the term to describe a three-hundred acre property in the neighbouring East Keswick township (WYAS HAR/SC/5 f96). It was made up of a farmstead and surrounding land and did not include the large country house or

ornamental gardens. The term could equally have been used to describe all of Edwin Lascelles' holdings around Harewood, an area that measured over three thousand acres by 1758 (WYAS WYL/25/3/16 Estate Surveys). Another problem was that estates could also be valued by yearly rental income rather than their total size in acres. In the *General View of the County of Cumberland* (1794) the authors noted that 'the rental of the largest estate in the county is said to amount to about 13,000*l* per annum' (Bailey & Culley 1794, 11). The issue here lies in the fact that the land in Cumberland may have compared poorly to the yearly income derived from a similar sized area in London (Williamson 2009, 2), thus creating a discrepancy. Moreover, the financial income of land depended wholly on its management and landowners like Edwin Lascelles relied heavily on its occupants: 'The only way I judge of the whole value of an estate is from the tenants being able to pay their rents at fix times and not falling into arrears' (WYAS HAR/SC 4/1/55 f1r). Management, then, was essential if income was to be extracted from the land. In most cases, the levels of management prior to the late-eighteenth century, when estates became more professionally administered, were variable (Webster 2007). Consequently, the historic values given to landed estates were rarely standardized and should therefore be treated with caution.

Approach

Underlying this study are a series of questions relating to an overall agenda based upon a new approach to estate landscapes. Recently, calls have been made within post-medieval archaeology to seek new ways of interpreting rural landscapes that move beyond settlement and vernacular buildings (Newman 2005). Richard Newman has noted that research into these areas had been primarily focused on form and function, regional difference and agricultural improvement (Newman 2005, 206-207). While these themes have identified trends and allowed for great insights into specific areas across Britain, they have rarely placed sufficient emphasis on the inhabitants of the landscape, broader cultural processes and the multiple ways in which they can be interpreted. In landscapes such as Harewood, there were countless groups who lived and worked within the bounds of the estate including tenant-farmers, husbandmen and agricultural labourers, who

exercised little control over the processes that were progressing in the world about them and of which they were often only vaguely conscious.

A lack of focus on the individual and their place within estates is also indicative of another problem within archaeological studies, especially those dealing with the historic period. Richard Newman (2001) has expressed, in his own summation of archaeology's contribution to landscape studies, that: 'for the most part there has been a lack of a specifically archaeological approach to the post-medieval landscape'. This might be explained by the often implicit view that the practice of archaeology is just another method of finding out what we already know from documents (Moreland 2001; 2006, 136), or that the historic period, lying so close to the modern day, lacks the otherness that would require a more comprehensive and imaginative engagement (Finch 2007a; Orser 1996a, 15; Tarlow & West 1999). This perception has only changed as archaeologists have challenged grand narratives and offered alternative histories by using a variety of methods and evidence (e.g. Johnson 1996; Nevell & Walker 1999; Williamson 1995). Estates landscapes offer a similar opportunity especially when the historical evidence, made up of archives and contemporary accounts, provide a different account of the material record.

Leading on from weaknesses within the discipline of archaeology, one of the issues of studying estate landscapes is the regular 'top-down' approach that provides much emphasis on the aspirations of the landlord at the expense of the tenants and other inhabitants. The reason for this lies in the way estates have been approached. For the most part, landscapes of this kind have been viewed as economic units dealt with by economic historians (Beastall 1975; Sharples 1997; Spring 1963). These comprehensive and detailed accounts have provided valuable insights into the financial workings of the landed elite during the Georgian period, showing how wealth was amassed, invested and used to extend each family's landed 'interest'. In these cases, much emphasis was placed on the landlord and their family. It is very likely that this particular viewpoint was taken in response to the large estate archives that provided plans, surveys, maps and cashbooks, and were mainly derived from the family in question. Equally influential have been

studies focussing on estate management incorporating agriculture, designed landscapes and the administration of people, servants and tenants (English 1990; Mingay 1963; Thompson 1963; Wade Martins 2004; Webster 2007). Again, these have often focused on an individual or a series of landowning families and their impact on their respective estates mainly because the authors have used a similar suite of evidence to support their arguments. Moreover, studies dealing with a particular theme such as improvement or designed landscapes (Barnes & Williamson 2005; Tarlow 2007; Williamson 1995) have also followed a similar vein, but have dealt with other inhabitants of the estate – farmers, tenants, and servants – in a sporadic way. As a result the historiography of estates has largely become the domain of historians, geographers and to a much lesser extent, archaeologists, who have mainly been concerned with the administration of the landed elite and their political interests.

In response to this approach, the focus on an individual family should not necessarily be viewed as a weakness. As this study proposes, it is essential to contextualise an estate, made up of its landscape, buildings and people, within a particular cultural moment. This makes it useful to focus on the most influential individuals in a district, who were more often than not the landowning family. We should measure their impact on the landscape by interpreting their actions in the context of the contemporary social climate. Even archaeological studies have taken this perspective with Barnes & Williamson's (2005) examination of Chatsworth, Derbyshire, showing how generations of the Cavendish family impacted on the materiality of the surrounding area and its inhabitants. The volume goes some way to readdressing the balance between the grand narrative of development, and the enterprise of individual agency involving inhabitants such as landscape designers and farmers as well as the landowning family. The next step in this approach is to bring into focus the detail that links the other inhabitants with estate development (Finch 2007a). At Harewood, we can reach a multivocality where the voice of the Lascelles is placed alongside the experiences of the tenants and inhabitants of the estate. In parallel, through a long-term view we can see how broader trends impacted on these experiences and helped to define the people as individuals as well as the materiality of the wider landscape.

Background

In order to contextualise Harewood and estate landscapes more generally, it is necessary to place it within the social and political life of the post-medieval period. During the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the meaning of landed estates was partly derived from the contemporary political climate. Following the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 British society had been redefined as the merchant classes rose through the social hierarchy and definitions of social rank became increasingly blurred' (Colley 1992; Cosgrove 1998; Mingay 1963; Williamson 1995, 16). The rise and fall of monarchs in the restored house of Stuart had contributed to this process by adding further uncertainty as favourites within their court both rose to prominence and fell from grace. For instance, The Tory Thomas Wentworth, 2nd Earl of Strafford (1672-1739) and owner of Wentworth Castle in South Yorkshire, had the ear of Queen Anne during her reign but he soon fell out of favour as support shifted to the Whigs, when George I came to the throne (Charlesworth 1991, 17). These insecurities within court were emphasised further by new ways of defining status. Rather than determining rank through wealth itself, a conspicuous display of affluence, taste, and knowledge began to differentiate one's status in society (Mukerji 1993). For the established elite, the period was representative of further consolidation of their estates that had been accumulated over the course of the last century. However, land provided opportunity for other groups in society. The upwardly mobile *nouveaux riches*, for example, looked to enter the ranks of the landed aristocracy by purchasing land. Conspicuous consumption in parts of the landscape, such as parks and gardens, provided further opportunity to advertise their rank, status and knowledge, helping to support their bid for success in 'polite' society.

Through a combination of the contemporary political and social climates, estates also gained currency as monuments of power for the landed elite who looked to strengthen their position in local, regional, national and international arenas. One method was to purchase land, more specifically a borough, or parliamentary constituency, that provided a seat in the House of Commons. In the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this was commonplace with members of the same family succeeding to seats as they were

passed through different generations (Shaw 1901, 88-105). A good example was Henry Lascelles (1690-1752), owner of the Harewood Estate, who between 1745 and 1752, was a Member of Parliament for Northallerton having acquired the borough from his nephew. The acquisition allowed Henry to mix in political circles that influenced his mercantile interests (Smith 2008, 73). By accumulating further properties the landlord was able to extend their social influence, particularly over the tenantry, who at election time were sometimes relied upon to support their patron.

There were also a number of reasons why landed estates began to grow in size at the beginning of the eighteenth century. These included the breakdown of lifelong leases, which allowed landlords to remove tenants after just a few years rather than following the death of a tenant. Landlords were therefore able to acquire land in large quantities, whereas before this would have been limited by the long-term leases held by their tenantry (Wade Martins & Williamson 1998). Equally influential was the introduction of strict settlement, a conveyancing device at the time of inheritance, requiring that land should not be sold or fragmented once bequeathed. Consequently, families tended to accumulate land as it became increasingly difficult for large estates to be broken up (Williamson 2000a; 2002, 15). In the East Riding of Yorkshire, for example, 127 successions took place between 1530-1910 with 61.4% passing to the eldest son (English 1990, 98). By accumulating land and keeping it within the family, the landed elite, increased their income derived from land from 2.5% in the seventeenth century to 24% nearly two hundred years later (Wade Martins 2004, 26-7). While some historians have questioned these overall figures, the general consensus is that from the late-medieval period to the nineteenth century, land ownership was concentrated into fewer hands (Thirsk & Clay 1990, 6).

There were of course economic and social motivations for acquiring property. Land was not just a symbol of status and power, but also a vehicle for capital accumulation (Blomley 2007, 2). To a certain extent, this was propelled by favourable market conditions highlighted by economic historians such as Chambers & Mingay (1966). Between 1670-1750 the economy was generally stagnant with low cereal prices and a population with a slow rate of growth (Chambers & Mingay 1966, 42-5; Lawton 1978,

313). These favourable conditions provided landowners with an opportunity to consolidate their estates further as they amassed holdings either in marginal land such as commons and wastes, which had been vacated by farmers who left in favour of more profitable holdings (Williamson 2002, 15), or in areas where small-scale communities were in decline and freeholds could be bought up and re-let. Estates particularly grew in areas of light soil such as the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire Wolds. These areas were better suited to sheep and arable than cattle rearing, as small owner-occupiers struggled to make a living as capital costs rose through the eighteenth-century (Williamson 2009, 2). Landlords were able to add value to land by modernising the landscape through agricultural methods such as enclosure or new farming techniques. Similarly, estates could bring social and political value via the construction of parks and gardens, which facilitated recreation, hunting and shooting (Williamson 2002, 19). As such, landed estates became productive landscapes where landlords had an opportunity not only to express their wealth but also enhance it.

Also woven into any account of eighteenth-century estate landscapes were broader influences at a scale of analysis altogether different from the single landowner or their tenants. Country houses and their estates were regularly placed at the heart of a mercantile world where their owners could afford to indulge in expense, luxuries and exotic consumption practices (Daniels & Seymour 1990; Jones 2000). It was at these places that landowners were linked via their source of income or choice of products to the broader, global histories of their time. At Harewood, Henry Lascelles arrived in 1738 having made his fortune in Barbados through sugar plantations and investments in slavery (Smith 2006, 75-83). By the mid-eighteenth century, his son, Edwin, 1st Baron Harewood, was using this capital to finance improvements on the estate and produce exotic foodstuffs in newly built hothouses including bananas, peaches and sugar cane, all transported from the Caribbean (Finch 2008). Another example could be found at Goldney House, Bristol, where Thomas Goldney III (1696-1798) had been a slave trader and industrialist who created a garden including a grotto crammed with a mass of African and Caribbean shells placed alongside fossils and glistening rocks (Hicks 2005, 382). The garden in Bristol as well as the estate at Harewood embodied the 'fluid, mercantile

landscape of the Atlantic' (Hicks 2005, 384) linking parks, produce and hothouses with international trade and colonial influence. Here the landed interests of the elite were found to extend far beyond the park pale revealing how country house estates in the British Isles can be conceptualised as playing a part in broad ranging histories (Finch 2007a).

Of course, estate landscapes not only referenced the landlord and their political, social and commercial interest, but also of other inhabitants. At their heart were whole communities who worked under the shadow of the country house and played a large part in sustaining the landowning family and their lifestyle. Whether employed as workers who maintained the parkland or as tenant farmers whose biographies were cast across the landscape, they became part of the ebb and flow of people and capital through the estate. Although the parkland and farmsteads were physically divided, and have sometimes been termed the 'core' and 'periphery' (Clemenson 1982), they were conceived and used as part of the same estate space as people regularly breached boundaries to carry out work and responsibilities throughout the landscape (Finch 2007a). Studies have begun to show that life was complicated in this context (Johnson 1996, 67) with contradictory identities complicated further by the complex interplay of 'geology, climate, soils, topography...location, resources available, peer pressure, personal finance patterns, administration costs, tithes, taxes, maintenance, local expectations, [and] individual tastes' (Busteed 2000a, 181). Most discussions of estates polarise the relationship between landlord and tenant, creating an environment containing just two groups. In reality, boundaries between some groups especially within the tenantry, were often blurred as role, responsibility and lifestyle brought people together as well as pushing them apart. Estate landscapes were therefore highly particular at the local scale but were equally influenced by processes such as eighteenth-century Improvement.

Improvement in Estate Landscapes

Ideas of Improvement

By the eighteenth century landed estates had become inexorably bound up in affairs of the local, national and international scales. Knitting these scales together were broad

themes such as capitalism and colonialism, ideas so pervasive in the eighteenth-century that some authors have argued they structured social life (Leone 2005; Orser 1996). Another discourse that affected almost every landed estate during the eighteenth century was the process of 'improvement'. Although it cannot be viewed as having the same properties as the growth of capitalism, improvement was nevertheless a highly significant multi-faceted process acting as a philosophy and ethic underpinning contemporary cultural thought (Tarlow 2007, 11; Webster 2007, 47). It had a wide-ranging effect on an array of industries of the period including commerce, manufacture, transport, and agriculture, in villages, towns and cities (Girouard 1990, 86). Particularly relevant to this research are a number of recent studies examining the role of improvement in rural life, showing how it penetrated many aspects of society from farming and agriculture to houses and gardens (e.g. Busteed 2000; Johnson 1996; Jones 2000; Tarlow 2007). Daniels & Seymour (1990) have argued that within estates, improvement 'meant progressively restructuring the landscape for social and economic as well as aesthetic ends' (1990, 487). It signified the union of commercial profit and cultural display (Eyres 2002, 193) with little difference being seen between the laying out of parks and gardens and development of new farmland beyond (Wade Martins 2004, 8). This section briefly outlines the way improvement, as one of the broader processes of the period, impacted on estate development during the eighteenth century. It also presents the wider cultural context for the formation of these landscapes in preparation for the more localised history that forms the background to Harewood.

One of the reasons why improvement became so pervasive in the eighteenth century is that it incorporated philosophies that appealed to sections of the landed elite. By the late-eighteenth century, improvement was partly driven by the humanist outlook promoted by Scottish Enlightenment thinkers who supported the belief that Man should lead to change for the better of society. This philosophy revolved around individual agency where enrichment of the self would result in broader developments across the rest of system. In the *Wealth of Nations* (1776), for example, Adam Smith argued that changes to any part of the system could have far reaching effects elsewhere; it was suggested that the improvement of land could condition its inhabitants, including their productivity and

social well-being, and lead to the enhancement of society and the nation itself. Utopian thinking of this kind also embraced ideas suggesting how an ideal society could be engineered by ordering manners, etiquette, knowledge and understanding in order to produce social harmony and individual fulfilment (Tarlow 2007, 26). Implicitly, however, it was only those who had the financial independence and influence who could initiate such changes, leading more often than not to members of the landed classes taking up the initiative. Men such as Robert Owen, an early-nineteenth century philosopher and landowner, experimented with this view by creating settlements like New Lanark, a cotton mill village in Scotland, constructed with the aim of promoting social welfare through equality (Tarlow 2007, 71-73). In parallel with these ideas was the work of seventeenth-century philosophers such as John Locke, which enhanced the elite's position by promoting the view that Man should accumulate land. In his second *Treatise of Civil Government* (1690) Locke argued that land ownership was a natural right that preceded government and to invest in it with labour and cultivation was to make it more efficient and less barbarous (Locke 1690, sections 3-42). In its original state, land was simply waste and viewed as being offensive, whether in the marshes and commons of Britain or in the plains of colonial America:

> I ask, whether in the wild woods and uncultivated waste of America, left to nature, without any improvement, tillage or husbandry, a thousand acres yield the needy and wretched inhabitants as many conveniences of life, as ten acres of equally fertile land do in Devonshire, where they are well cultivated (Locke 1690, sec. 37)

Land was therefore a commodity to be acquired, invested, consolidated and improved not only for the advancement of the individual but also for the social and economic improvement of society. This was a concept readily consumed by many landowners of the period and contributed to their movement towards large-scale investment in landed estates.

Alongside philosophical motivations, landowners also carried out agricultural improvement because it enabled them to convey some of the hallmarks of a modern gentleman, whose role was partly defined by their connection with agriculture and an

active interest, knowledge and understanding of farming. Such a lifestyle was promoted by the 'Grand Tours' of Europe, which led to the consumption of classical art and literature. Poems such as Virgil's *Georgics* conveyed aristocratic and patriarchal virtues that formed a combination of 'beauty and use, pleasure and profit, land and commerce' (Daniels & Seymour 1990, 489; McBride 2001, 7-9; Wade Martins 2003, 8). Landowners were encouraged to work to the Roman ideals of agriculture with life set around a villa while pursuing estate management and improvement rather than simply striving for financial income (Johnson 1996, 89). In tandem with the philosophical writings of Locke and Smith, these works promoted a lifestyle that not only advocated the improvement of land but also made it a moral duty to exploit the landscape to the best of a landlord's ability. In other words, landowners were expected to maximise the potential of land because it was for the good of the nation and was a duty 'placed on Man by God' (Tarlow 2007, 41).

In parallel with the classical treatises, there were also contemporary works detailing regional and even national trends, allowing farmers and landlords to openly share information. From the 1660s, writers such as John Worlidge (1667) had advocated new systems of farming, advertising efficiency within the farmstead as well as new methods. This literature informed the use and maintenance of home farms and demesne lands, which were kept as practice grounds for the best examples of agricultural methods and presented to the tenants as examples of best practice (Mingay 1989). For the first time, landlords were able to share and have access to agricultural guidance, and help promote specific views and theories (Johnson 1996, 87-90). This tradition reached its height a little over a century later when Arthur Young and the Board of Agriculture published a series of *General Views of Agriculture (1793)* outlining the farming practices of England. Landowners from across the country had readily taken part in the survey sharing descriptions of their land, techniques and income. By 1800, thirty-five agricultural societies were also in existence (Tarlow 2007, 36), similarly used to disseminate information and share knowledge on a national scale. Previously, this had occurred either through agrarian treatises, or word of mouth as servants were sent to neighbouring estates to learn new methods (WYAS HAR 2/1/61 Steward's Correspondence). The new

consumption practices based on ideas found in agricultural manuals provided landowners with an opportunity to gain knowledge, carry out life as a gentleman farmer, and dictate change in the ways that they saw fit. This placed the landlord at the heart of estate improvement.

Agriculture and Enclosure

Estates also became fertile grounds for agricultural progress, experimentation and sometimes increased productivity of farming (Williamson 2002). Experimentation by landowners took place alongside some of the most profound changes to farming practice in the modern period, which saw the total amount of land in arable cultivation in England and Wales increase from nine million acres in the mid-eighteenth century to 14.3 million acres one hundred years later (Overton 1996 76). Much of this productivity has been attributed to the development of agriculture by landlords as the period became characterised by new crops and stock, the reorganisation of land into modern fields, buildings, machinery and farming regimes, all contributing to new patterns of labour and practice. Some authors have suggested that these changes were part of an 'agricultural revolution' where modern practices replaced the medieval regimes of open-field agriculture (Chambers & Mingay 1966). This type of farming was characterised by commons, unproductive waste grounds and 'open-fields'. Open-fields were usually made up of tightly-knit strips which were mainly cultivated as arable but which were also grazed following a harvest and under pasture (Barnatt & Williamson 2005, 28). Between the late-seventeenth and early-nineteenth centuries these were replaced by large fields owned by landlords who, more often than not, viewed these as much more efficient than the earlier open-field system. Such a view has been challenged from several quarters with some suggesting that the 'agricultural revolution' began in the preceding centuries as new farming practices were developed (Kerridge 1967); others have argued that agricultural change came later in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, through processes such as enclosure (Mingay 1989; Thompson 1968); while a third group have questioned whether there was a revolution at all, but rather a 'continuum' (Clark 1999; Thirsk 1987). Connected with this debate has been the view that Improvement was largely carried out

in the early-eighteenth century by a class of small-scale freeholders known as 'yeoman' who in 1688 are estimated to have owned a third of the agricultural land (Wade Martins 2004, 18). By the late-eighteenth century, this figure had dropped to just 10 per cent, revealing a pattern of large-scale acquisition by the large estates. As the benefits of improved agriculture became clear at the turn of the eighteenth century, such as the huge profits to be gained from favourable agricultural prices and newly enclosed landscapes, landowners turned their attention to the accumulation of land.

The movement towards increasing efficiency of the agrarian landscape has been linked by some authors to the process of enclosure. Sarah Tarlow (2007) has defined enclosure within an eighteenth-century context as: 'the act of marking off for private use land which had previously been farmed or grazed collectively as part of an open-field system, or been exploited as 'commons' or was in some other non-intensive use' (2007, 42). In general, it was viewed by landowners as a progressive act, required for increasing the efficiency of land. This was a view held by contemporaries such as John Worlidge (1669) who believed that enclosed land brought great advantages to the farmer and was an argument also used by some modern economic historians who suggested that enclosure was so pervasive because it brought more efficiency to the landscape (Chambers & Mingay 1966). More recent studies have shown that this was not necessarily the case and that in certain areas open-fields remained productive well into the eighteenth century (Johnson 1996). Nevertheless, as far as contemporary landowners were concerned, enclosed land could double rental income when compared to wastes, commons and open-fields. It was this endeavour for improvement, which was pressed by the landlords, that led to far ranging changes to the long-term development of British landscapes as well as the short-term lives of the inhabitants.

During the eighteenth century, there were four defining forms of enclosure. In some cases owners enclosed *by agreement* whereby different individuals met and agreed to enclose a large area and dispersed their lands according to their former rights to the land. In other cases, landowners enclosed through *unity of possession* where a landowner accumulated all of the land within a township and reorganised according to their own needs. Finally, a

slower form involved individual farmers re-fencing and re-structuring their small strips by *piecemeal* enclosure. This method is often fossilised in modern field boundaries as the reverse 's' shaped open field strips, caused by the tight turning circles of medieval plough teams, were used for the new boundaries (Tarlow 2007, 42; Barnes &Williamson 2006,12). These forms did not require the large-scale re-planning of a township or parish such as the *Parliamentary enclosures* of the eighteenth century. These were brought about by a landowner who petitioned for an act of parliament to enclose an area irrespective of traditional land use, and in some cases resulted in boundaries stretching for miles bisecting hills, plantations, fields and waterways.

It is important to stress that enclosure was not purely an economic process undertaken for practical purposes. As many authors have pointed out, enclosure was as much a social process wrapped up in the development of capitalism in the pre-modern world, as it was an agricultural development (Johnson 1996; Tarlow 2007; Williamson 2000a, 57). Matthew Johnson has argued that early enclosure was an active instrument of ideological change connected to the wider mentalities of closure in the early-modern mind-set (Johnson 1993). The disappearance of the open-hall in seventeenth century vernacular buildings, for instance, represented a movement away from communal space and face-to-face relations to 'a society based on less personal relations of class and capitalistic economic relations' (Johnson 1993, 107). Other literature has emphasised the negative consequences of enclosure upon the rural poor, particularly by Marxist historians such as E. P. Thomson (1991). This part of society was at times the most vulnerable as it was only the commoner's rights or *appertuant rights* that were linked to tenancy of land. In some areas of the country, this included rights to the common providing the ability to graze livestock or collect firewood. In these areas, the parish, in its efforts to sustain the poor, had granted use rights that were not strictly enshrined in law. By the time a manor enclosed its commons, 'it had no obligation to compensate those who had benefited from its generosity' (Birtles 1999, 85).

The impact of enclosure was extremely variable and was often dictated by region and position in society. This led to a wide variety of responses, depending on an individual's

place in society, the subtleties of geography, local resources and economy, patterns of tenancy, taxes and a range of personal identities. In general, landowners viewed enclosure as a technological advancement that enabled them to furnish the landscape with modern buildings and good quality land. This increased its value and allowed the landlord to enjoy higher profits by using incrementally raised rents that were envisaged to encourage tenants to carry out their own improvements (Tarlow 2007, 47). Landowners looked to consolidate holdings in order to recoup the large outlays spent on the surveying, ditching, fencing and general organising of the new land. For some, such as the medium-scale tenant farmer, the process could also be advantageous and brought opportunities to further their agricultural interests. Enclosed fields provided greater control for stockbreeding and for practising crop rotations that fertilised the land on a seasonal basis. In Croston Finney, Lancashire, for example, some tenant farmers risked cultivating more land in order to establish themselves as more substantial figures following the enclosure of the village common in 1727 (Rogers 1993, 152). This particular group grew as a small number of individuals took more land to rent. To a degree, this was representative of other parts of Britain, and particularly at Harewood, where the number of middling farmers who rented between 20-50 acres almost doubled between 1738-58, due to the changing tenancy patterns (WYAS WYL 250/3/13b). For groups such as these 'middling' farmers and for the landlord enclosure worked to their favour.

In other areas, enclosure was less positive and some sections of society found that the process was detrimental to their livelihood (Barrell 1980; Howkins 1992; Rogers 1993; Shakesheff 2002; Short 1992). The loss of common rights following enclosure meant that small-scale cottage farmers not only lost land but also customary rights to essential amenities such as timber, furze, clay, marl and grazing land, which all contributed to traditional rural living. Timber, for example, could be used as a building material for cheap repairs or for heating the household. In Croston Finney, the number of small-scale farmers decreased dramatically as land and resources were reassigned (Rogers 1993). Many have argued that improvement caused great contention as the landowner's push for economic progress and social stability polarised the relationship between landlord and

tenant (Chambers & Mingay 1966; Howkins 1992). Numerous cases of resistance to this new way of life have also been recorded, from disregarding of new bylaws cast by manorial courts, the breaking down of hedges, to the gleaning of crops and pilfering of timber (Blomley 2007; Shakesheff 2002, 1, 8; WYAS HAR SC/1/1/52). These acts of destruction reflected what was viewed in some areas of Britain as the detrimental changes to traditional patterns of rural life, a sentiment that was later illustrated in the early-nineteenth century by John Clare's poem *Enclosure.* For him, the reorganisation of the landscape symbolised the divisive nature of enclosure and the way it changed the land: 'There once were lanes in nature's freedom dropt/There once were paths that every valley wound-/Enclosure came, and every path was stopt;/Each tyrant fixed his sign where paths were found' (Edmonds 1999, 4).

Aesthetics and Society

Often located at the heart of the landed estate were designed landscapes, which were also created as a part of improvement. By the mid-eighteenth century these were areas where the landed elite could enjoy the landscape through pastimes such as game shooting or foxhunting (Finch 2005), or by entertaining guests via the intricate circuits of an ornamental garden (Girourard 1980, 210). Consumption in these gardens not only proclaimed wealth and power through the use of 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1986) but also advertised taste, knowledge and political beliefs by using designs to convey messages about their owners (Williamson 1995, 16). Since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, paddocks surrounding manor houses had been a staple of the rich who used them as an opportunity to ride or to house deer (Williamson 2009, 8), but by the eighteenth century this function had shifted. They had become long, sweeping areas of parkland closely aligned to boundless views isolating the country house from the outer estate beyond the park pale. Political opinions were expressed through the order and form of the designed landscape, while areas of woodland symbolised patriotism, stability in the landscape and the long-term establishment of the landowning elite (Daniels 1988, 43-82). In a period of social mobility within the upper ranks of society, the landscape park

became a vehicle through which individuals and families could differentiate themselves with the growing numbers of the *nouveaux riches.*

Some of the meanings of designed landscapes stemmed from particular readings of classical literature, which again, were bound up in the broader classical philosophies associated with improvement. In particular, architecture and landscape formed the main emphasis of thought, garnered during visits to Europe by members of the landed elite on the Grand Tour. By the late-seventeenth century, the Whigs argued that Baroque architecture, the style made famous by architects such as Sir Christopher Wren, was the symbol of the Catholic Church and foreign absolutist monarchies. They contrasted this with Palladianism, a style derived from the sixteenth-century Venetian architect Andrea Palladio, and which symbolised the Republican New Rome as an ideal for Britain at a time when the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had left the country between absolutism and democracy (Barnatt & Williamson 2005, 94). Lush Arcadian landscapes followed as designers such as William Kent introduced flowing lines punctuated by Roman temples and serpentine rivers (Bermingham 1987; Cosgrove 1998, 199-205; Mowl 2000, xii; Newman 2001, 102; Tatlioglu 2009). These open expanses of carefully designed landscape were both productive (Williamson 2009, 6) and meaningful, not only as symbols of wealth and social competition, but also as advertisement of the owner's political leanings and their appreciation of philosophy and aesthetics.

The creation of ornamental parklands should not be read in isolation from the development of agriculture and the improvement of landed estates more generally. As the philosophy and contemporary political ideas have shown, estate landscapes were bound up in the consumption patterns of the landed elite and their aim of consolidation within the upper ranks of society. However, the reorganisation of the landscape, from the designed features surrounding the country house to the economies of the agrarian land, were part of the same process, thus linking the country house to the surrounding landscape. These changes deeply affected the lives of the inhabitants (Johnson 1996). For most, conceptions of landscape were constituted through their experience of the apparatus of everyday life – fields, farms and buildings - but as the new parks were created, fields

enclosed, farmsteads built and modern housing constructed, the 'geographies of experience' were dramatically altered. Improvement in the landed estate renegotiated the relationship between the estate inhabitants and the material landscape, resulting in the new patterns of rural life and conceptions of the estate (Pred 1985). The archaeology of estates is seen in these new forms; they reveal how people reacted to the changes of the eighteenth century and the local constellations of society, broader contemporary discourse and the long-term development of the landscape. It is the last of these factors that the next section is concerned as the particularity of the local landscape context, made up of the unique configuration of society, topography and cultural geography, played a large part in the overall development of the Harewood estate landscape.

II: HAREWOOD BEFORE THE LASCELLES: C.1000-1738

Having laid out the cultural context for landed estates, it is now necessary to localise this study and introduce the historical background to the Harewood Estate. This evidence is vital if we are to account for the long-term landscape processes that had already begun by the time the Lascelles purchased the manors of Harewood and Gawthorpe in the 1730s. By that period, the landscape resembled a palimpsest where many layers of human activity had already taken place and could be seen in the layout of fields, settlements, routeways and rivers. In these places, a mixture of natural environment, social patterns and broader cultural processes helped shape the landscape at Harewood (Williamson 2002, 21-22). The aim of the next section is to outline some of the main phases of development during the period c.1000-1738. Read in tandem with the earlier contextualisation of landed estates, this section provides a summary of antecedence within the Harewood showing how social and physical patterns of the landscape influenced the developments undertaken by the Lascelles family from the late-1730s onwards.

Post-Conquest and Later Medieval Period

Manor of Harewood

By the eleventh century the population in the Harewood landscape was centred around twelve settlements including Harewood, Wike, Weardley, Weeton, Kearby, East

Keswick, and Dunkeswick, which all had origins in the Anglo-Saxon period (Butler 1986; Dennison & Richardson 2008, 11; Faul 1981, 194-5) (Fig. 2.1). The Domesday Survey recorded further settlements at Alwoodley, Lofthouse, Newall and Harewood, and Stockton. Lofthouse had been established alongside the hollow way near the Greystone Pastures (Faull & Moorhouse 1981, 386); Stockton was located on the north-facing escarpment approximately half a mile east of Newall and Harewood; and finally, Alwoodley was in an area almost due south of the modern estate. During this time the separate vill of Harewood remained the largest settlement in the manor at a size of ten caracutes or the equivalent of 1200 acres. The exact position of the village remains unclear with some arguing that it was located close to All Saint's Church (Beresford 1952, 237; Moorhouse 1985). Due to limited and inconclusive field evidence as well as modern planting schemes associated with the Harewood Estate, this argument is yet to be verified. Nevertheless, a presence of a settlement in this area provides a link with the manor of Harewood and its development through time.

By the mid-fourteenth century, both the manor and ecclesiastical parish of Harewood, which shared the same boundaries (Dennison & Richardson 2008, 16) were substantial, containing at least twelve adjacent townships with four to the north of the River Wharfe (Dunkeswick, Huby, Rigton and Weeton) and eight to the south (Butler 1986, 86). The administrative centre was Harewood Castle, a large tower house built in 1366 by Sir William de Aldeburgh, a servant to Edward Balliol, an intermittent King of Scotland. It was located high on a stable part of the millstone grit escarpment on the south side of the River Wharfe and had been constructed shortly after the manorial centre had moved from the nearby Rougemont Castle in the late-thirteenth century. Evidence suggests that the site had been in use for at least two centuries prior to the construction of the castle, suggesting that it had been and remained an important area in the landscape (Moorhouse 1989). It was built in an area that commanded views down the sloping topography towards the Wharfe valley and was highly visible as a recognisable monument in the landscape (Dennison & Richardson 2008, 16). This and the lack of earthwork defences suggest that it was built for social advertisement with a structure housing elaborate

internal architecture, and a local precinct boasting a designed formal landscape (Emery 1996, 342-344; Moorhouse 1989).

The castle was not however, the only significant element within the landscape. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the manor of Harewood was populated by a series of settlements, or vills (a feudal township division normally denoting a small group of houses), including those that had already been established earlier in its history. East of the modern Harewood village were the vills of Newall and Stockton. Newall, recorded twice in the Domesday survey, was noted on the 1698 Harewood estate map with two field names, *Newhall Field* and *Little Newhall* (WYAS WYL 250/3 33 Estate Maps) (Fig. 3.2). Evidence of the former settlement has been recovered through field survey revealing a series of truncated house platforms that are likely to have been affected by historic and modern road improvements dating back as far as the eighteenth century (Moorhouse 1984, 9). Adjacent to these remains are the associated field systems with two fields of ridge and furrow, which are clearly defined by a medieval throughway now a modern footpath (Moorhouse 1984, 9). The pathway in *Newhall Field* originated somewhere close to Harewood castle and continued eastwards towards Stockton (Moorhouse 1984, 9). Running perpendicular to this route was Fitts Lane, now a modern footpath, which led from Newall down the escarpment towards the River Wharfe, and provided access to both the river and the neighbouring farmland.

Further east, along the escarpment, was the village of Stockton. Cartographic and modern evidence has revealed that the village was situated close to Stockton Farm. Small-scale excavations in 1965 revealed cobbled surfaces in the field south of the modern farmhouse, indicating small outhouses and steadings (Bellamy 1965). Additional pottery assemblages indicate a low-status site with an occupation period lasting until the fifteenth century although later estate maps suggest that it may have existed into the post-medieval period (Bellamy 1965, 701-707). The settlement or farmstead with associated fields to the north-east, was therefore located in an outlying region of the manor, east of the main villages and positioned at the crest of the slope.

To the south and still surviving as earthworks in the modern parklands, were the settlements of Towhouses, Lofthouse and Stubhouse. Towhouses, a multi-phased village with ridge and furrow fields and natural springs, was located on the southern edge of the manor of Harewood (Moorhouse 1977). It was founded as a result of agricultural expansion during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries leading to outlying settlements within the manor (Faull & Moorhouse 1981, III, 609). Lofthouse, meanwhile, had been recorded in the Domesday Survey as a separate manor but by the thirteenth century had been incorporated into the manor of Harewood and featured several dwelling enclosures and a field system stretching eastwards (Fig. 3.2) (Moorhouse 1985, 10-11). The hollow way associated with the pre-historic period seems to have provided an access route to the fields in the eastern part of the manor. Excavations in the late 1970s revealed a long history with pottery assemblages dating from the twelfth century with occupation also found up until the Georgian period when a number of farmhouses are known to have been extant (Moorhouse 1978, 13). The final settlement was Stubhouse, a Domesday vill located in the southeast of the manor. There is no modern surface evidence although a late-seventeenth century estate map suggests that it was likely to have been located close to the modern Stub House farm (WYAS WYL 250/3 33 Estate Maps). From the historic evidence and archaeological remains it can be argued that by the late-medieval period, the area of landscape, which later became the Harewood Estate, was populated by a thriving agricultural community intermixed by small settlements and agrarian fields.

We can gain some idea of the population size of the manor, and the contemporary significance of Harewood from the poll tax returns dating to the fourteenth century. In 1377 and 1379 Harewood was one of the largest settlements in the area with 140 and 101 paying adults respectively (Butler 1986, 85). Contrasting with these figures was East Keswick, a small settlement in the east, which recorded 45 qualifying adults (Batty 2000, 10). Harewood seems to have been the larger settlement and this is reflected in a diverse occupational structure that included two butchers, one draper, one hosteller and a shoemaker (Batty 2000, 9). It had also become a local trading centre with a Saturday market and annual fair, and was of regional importance as a trader for ‘cloth, swords, furs

and wine' (t 1961, 41-47). This success was no doubt due to Harewood's favourable position along the respective routes from Wetherby to Otley and Harrogate to Leeds.

The presence of medieval agriculture in Harewood is indicated by earthwork remains and contemporary documentary evidence suggesting that emphasis was probably placed on livestock and sheep rearing, with grazing in areas by the river and in the common pasture lands. By the late-medieval period, the common land at Harewood was described as being damp and largely made up of heathland (Jones 1859, 177). It was also suggested that the common contained eight thousand acres, a number that is likely to have been grossly overestimated as the estate was only half the size (Jones 1859, 177). The largest area of common is likely to have been Harewood Common situated south of Newall and Stockton and east of the Harrogate Road. The land itself was more of a heath situated near areas of poor drainage and Hollin Hall, a late-medieval encroachment onto Harewood common (Fig. 3.2). The hall was the first of its kind, located in the middle of the shallow valley, and was only joined by later intakes in the seventeenth century (HHMP). As such, Hollin Hall was an early example of enclosure on the common and represents part of a small trend of middling to large-scale farmers who enclosed land with the permission of the landlord in the wastes to take advantage of agricultural conditions (Johnson 1996, 55; WYAS WYL 250/2).

Other types of common land also existed in the landscape. Wood-pastures provided an important source of timber used to rail and fence the tenants' fields (Wade Martins 2004, 35). In Harewood, woods such as the *Ellars* besides Fitts Lane, *Olcliffe Wood*, *Wathill Wood*, and *Longwood* in Harewood common were all noted in the later 1698 estate map and are more than likely to have been in existence during the medieval period. *Longwood*, for instance, was mentioned in a dispute of 1209 when a local farmer from East Keswick complained that he had been deprived of his pasture rights (Batty 2000, 7). Certainly by the fourteenth-century some woodlands were preserved by manorial landlords by employing methods such as coppicing (Barnes & Williamson 2006, 50). These management practices encouraged regular regrowth in order to provide a constant supply for uses such as firewood. One veteran oak tree located close to the southern park

wall near the Harrogate Road shows signs of pollarding and is likely to be a relic from this kind of wood-pasture in Gawthorpe Park (HHMP).

The landscape archaeology of Harewood also reveals evidence of open-field agriculture. These are particularly well preserved in the North Park, a short distance northwest of All Saints' church (fig. 3.3). Fieldwork carried out by Stephen Moorhouse in the 1980s identified a series of strip lynchets along the north-face of the millstone grit escarpment. They appear to have been reduced by a second phase of ridge and furrow that in some cases reveal a series of narrow north-west orientated terraced fields (Moorhouse 1985, 12). With several areas of ridge and furrow that overlap, it is likely that the North Park represents a number of phases where the patterns of agriculture were reorganised through the medieval period. During one of these phases a number of barn platforms were built in the southwest of the park, perhaps as a convenient way to distribute hay or manure over the crops, which were particularly common in the medieval Yorkshire Dales (Faull & Moorhouse 1981, 831-40; Moorhouse 1985, 15). Of particular note were a series of access ways that traversed the hillside leading from Harewood Bridge to All Saints' church. Through centuries of use, these routes have been fossilised into the landscape as modern footpaths, and in the nineteenth century helped form part of a series of ornamental walks across this part of the landscape (OS 1846-7, Sheet 188).

Manor of Gawthorpe

In the fifteenth century, a manor of Gawthorpe was created within the area already part of the manor of Harewood. The first indication that land to the south of All Saints' Church was inhabited came in 1260 when the Gascoigne family of Yorkshire built a structure on the slopes above the 'Great Stanke' or millpond. In 1480, William Gascoigne (d.1486), the High Sheriff of Yorkshire, was granted permission to crenellate the Manor of Gawthorpe and soon completed Gawthorpe Hall on the south-facing slope of the escarpment (Fig. 3.4). By this time the Manor of Harewood was in the ownership of the Ryther and Redmayne families. William de Aldeburgh had died in 1388 passing the manor to his two sisters, Sybil (c.1367-1439) and Elizabeth (1364-1417), who in turn had married Sir William Ryther or Ryther Castle near Selby and Sir Richard Redmayne (or

Redman) of Levens Hall in Westmoreland respectively (Craig 1984; Dennison & Richardson 2008, 14; Emery 1996). The two manors continued to be held independently until the late-sixteenth century when they were combined for the first time by the Wentworths (Butler 1986). Nevertheless, the early tenurial divisions between Harewood and Gawthorpe contributed to the development of Gawthorpe Hall and the surrounding area leading to the establishment of parkland within an area of agricultural landscape.

Concurrent with the building of Gawthorpe Hall, William Gascoigne was also granted a licence to empark two areas. The first measured 100 acres and included land around Gawthorpe, Weardley and Harewood. The second took up a larger area of 1000 acres to the south and extended towards Towhouses, Lofthouse and Wike (Keith 2010). The parkland appears to have reached as far south as the modern Greystone Pastures, east towards the Harrogate Road, west to Stubhouse and north towards the church. 'Lodge Hill' found in the present southern park is likely to have derived from a hunting lodge built in the area during this period. This phase represents a reorganisation of the landscape, possibly linked with the different phases of agriculture in the North Park, when the local community was moved due to the emparkment (Beresford 1952, 219). A letter dating to the sixteenth century sent by John Redman to William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520-1598) recounts the repercussions of this action:

> This town and paryshe (considering the quanity) for many poore and yll disposed people is not easily machable in all the north partes. The causis ar[e] these: ther[e] ar[e] many howses and cottages within that have lyttell or no ground lyeing to them, so that if thes[e] tennants keepe cattall or sheep, as they may do, upon the commons in somer, they cannot in winter releeve them to lyve…nowe the reson of thes[e] landless houses cam[e] first by the risynge of Judge Gascogn[e], whose father, a rich freeholder within that mannor, did buy out between them all the freeholders within the towneship of Harwod, wher[e] ther[e] owne howses stood and so laying the landes to make a demayn, left the tenements without grounds as yet they remain, but pletyfully stored of beggars and barrators (Jones 1859, 175)

The impact of emparkment is made clear by this letter suggesting that land around Gawthorpe had become full of the landless poor who did not have the wherewithal to alleviate their position. The manor had therefore shifted from an area containing a

relatively prosperous rural economy within the context of neighbouring townships, to a landscape deprived of private lands required for traditional farming methods.

Seventeenth Century (1607-1698)

Gawthorpe Hall and Architecture

The seventeenth century was a particularly significant period for Harewood because the early signs of improvement were gradually introduced. Of initial significance was the combination of the two separate manors by 1616 when Sir William Wentworth, who had acquired Gawthorpe through marriage in the late-sixteenth century, purchased Harewood for £11,000 (Goodchild 2000). It is likely that the Wentworth family continued to live at Gawthorpe Hall while the castle lay uninhabited (Dennison & Richardson 2008, 15). Over two generations the hall was transformed into the building that Henry Lascelles bought in the 1730s by adding a new classical sandstone extension, walled gardens and ornamental landscape. The hall was illustrated in two sketches by William Van der Hagen (1727), and records a striking building set back from the local settlements and apart from the local vernacular styles by ashlar sandstone, slate roofing and fashionable geometric gardens (fig. 3.5). Its size, measuring approximately sixty by ten metres, with projecting blocks of around twenty-five metres in length, meant that it would have been clearly visible in the surrounding landscape. The interior of Gawthorpe Hall is revealed by an inventory of 1657 and indicates a high-status structure containing a hall as the main reception room, the 'Dyneing Parlour' and 'Great Chamber', two progressively private rooms and a servicing wing containing two parlours, two pantries, a kitchen, a larder, two cellars, a brewhouse, dairy and washhouse (WYAS Add. 78/5/14). A colourful description from the same year noted that it had 'walls built with good stone…[with] foure roomes in the old building waynscotted, fine large rooms in the new building all waynscotted likewise and coloured like wall nut tree' (WYAS WYL 250/3/12a Estate Surveys). The impression from these sources is that Gawthorpe Hall was high status and contained a mixture of classical and medieval architectural forms. Its status is highlighted by its comparison with Harewood Castle, which in turn was described as being 'decayed yet the stones ther[e]of being much ashlar and the timber that is left fit for building a hansom new house' as well as 'the houses [in the village be] repaired' (WYAS 250/3

Survey 12a). Gawthorpe Hall had clearly become the principal residence within the manor while the castle had become nothing more than a source of local building materials.

Gawthorpe Hall, as a partially rebuilt fashionable manor house of its time, stood in stark contrast with the local vernacular architecture. This point was illustrated following the sale of the Manors of Harewood and Gawthope to Sir John Cutler and Sir John Lewis, both London merchants, in 1657. It has been suggested that shortly after buying the property Cutler was attacked by a highwayman named John Nevison, and retreated to a cottage in Bondgate, the northern part of Harewood village (Haynton 2004). The building survives as one of two seventeenth century houses in Harewood village and is likely to have been part of a piecemeal building of tenants' housing as the village grew in size. The plan was originally made up of a two-celled structure, split by a partition wall containing a hearth with an adjacent lobby entrance. The first and second rooms were likely to have been separated into the hall and parlour; these were rooms that housed a number of functions including cooking, household duties and sleeping accommodation (Barley 1990, 60). This form was typical of a low-status husbandman or yeoman farmer who had few personal possessions and who could rarely afford larger accommodation. Higher status farmers generally had service blocks with butteries for instance, one servicing the parlour-sitting room and the other the kitchen. Others had extra rooms for servants who lived in, a trend that was particularly prominent in the east of England. Nevertheless, the cottage provides a strong sense of what Harewood may have looked like prior to the rebuilding of the village in the mid-eighteenth century.

There is a deep contrast between the rural cottage and the larger manor house. The dark colours and haphazard laying out of the millstone grit sandstone in the cottage stood in contrast with Gawthorpe's ashlar and brick. Where the hall featured an array of rooms and spaces each with a particular purpose, the vernacular cottage provided little space for such luxuries; life was carried out in 'all-purpose' rooms where function and meaning were constantly fluctuating. A mixture of foodstuffs, cooking utensils, seating, tables, bedding and blankets meant that the mixed daily routines of the inhabitants took up little

space (Barley 1990, 60). This activity differed greatly from the formal order of progressively private rooms within the manor house. Such was the lack of refinement that later authors argued for the improvement of houses: 'shattered hovels which half the poor of this kingdom are obliged to put up with, is truly affecting to a heart fraught with humanity. Those who condescend to visit these miserable tenements, can testify, that neither health or decency, can be preserved in them' (Kent 1775, 229).

The Agrarian Landscape

During this period, the Harewood landscape also encountered several phases of change, which were at times bound up in the national process of improvement. The main difference from the medieval period was the depopulation of several settlements within the locality. Newall, which had existed at the cross-roads of the Otley and Harrogate roads, had been de-populated surviving only in the local field names. It is likely that Newall had been incorporated into Harewood village as *Newhall Field* and *Little Newhall* lay close to the settlement's northern edge (Fig. 3.2). Parish records, which are listed by township, do not mention Newhall in the seventeenth century, while the baptisms and burials at Harewood show a rising trend. This may be due to Harewood growing and enveloping Newhall.

Similarly, by the 1640s, Lofthouse had been reduced to just a small number of farmhouses but on the other hand was surrounded by a modernised agricultural landscape. Between 1614-1643, only five families registered baptisms suggesting that by the seventeenth century the size of the settlement had reached its peak. We can be certain that the settlement remained at a constant throughout the century as its' low rates compare with the other settlements in the manor, who all recorded lower levels of burial and baptism in 1640s and a general growth thereafter (Brigg 1914). The explanation for this was poor record keeping during the English Civil Wars, which may not indicate a lower population, just less people placed within parish registers. This was a pattern seen on a national scale, but was also influenced by a series of outbreaks of disease that included plague. In 1645, for example, the area around Leeds was devastated by the plague as nearly one and a half thousand inhabitants died (Drake 1962, 12). Whether

Lofthouse was affected by this outbreak is uncertain, but by 1698, what had formerly been a vill had become a small number of farmhouses located at the end of a routeway leading from the Leeds to Harrogate Road. This was a place in the landscape that had been in use since prehistory, as indicated by the hollow way formerly part of a Bronze Age pathway, which later became an access way to the medieval settlement. Other archaeological evidence suggests that the farmsteads were surrounded by associated farmland; headlands formed by two ridge-and-furrow-fields remain extant in the east of the area close to the modern *Wallside Plantation* (Fig. 3.6) (WYHER AP WY114-16, 44.34.23.33). To the north and west was also a complex arrangement of enclosed fields most of which had been associated with the earlier township lands. These had replaced the former deer park created by Judge Gascoigne known as the *High Parke* in 1656 (WYAS WYL 250/3 12a) and extended westwards into *Lodge Hill*. From this evidence, there is a suggestion that between the sale of the estate in 1656 and the estate map of 1698 (WYAS WYL 250/3/33 Estate Maps), the landscape around Lofthouse went from use as deer park to enclosed fields used for pasturing animals. A similar pattern can be found at other estates such as Chatsworth, Derbyshire, where similar sized fields encroached upon ornamental parkland (Barnatt & Williamson 2005, 83). This was a clear sign of early agricultural improvement and may have taken place as small-scale farmers, who have been viewed by some as being the main contributors to improvement at this time (Wade Martins 2004, 18-26), responded to the poverty reported by John Redman in the late-sixteenth century (Jones 1859, 175).

Enclosure of the sort found in Harewood during the seventeenth century is likely to have been caused by a mixture of local influences and national trends. From the mid-fifteenth century, a market-orientated economy developed throughout England where the size of farms increased and the local farmers began to specialise. In some areas, such as on the heavier soils of lowland England, there was a move towards specialised livestock and dairying economies (Barnes & Williamson 2006, 15-17). By the mid-seventeenth century, the area around Leeds, Bradford and Wakefield, which was made up of largely poor, clay soils, had started to establish itself as a centre of the textile trade. By 1672, the Hearth Tax returns for Leeds showed that it had grown into a large cloth-manufacturing

town with a population of around 6,700, and made up 3% of the West Riding (Purdy 1991, 138). The poor soil, the variable topography and the lure of the local textile markets may well have pushed farmers at Harewood towards a pastoral economy where small-fields created through piecemeal enclosure favoured individual gains through personal rather than shared agriculture.

At Harewood the early impact of enclosure is also reflected in other areas of the 1698 estate map (fig. 3.2) (WYAS WYL 250/3/33 Estate Maps). One of the most noticeable features is the great swathes of common that existed in Harewood, Weardley and East Keswick. Having been established in the medieval period these areas provided essential sources of material and areas for grazing. A common in Cartmel, Lancashire, for example, provided its tenants with 'bracken, furze, wood, peat, clay, rushes, nuts, juniper berries, slates and limestones' in addition to the natural herbage (Hoskins 1963, 49). By the late-seventeenth century, a national process had begun that focused on the enclosing of commons as a number of contemporaries looked to improve the 'confused Common' that were 'fruitlesse, naked and desolate' (Moor 1653). The map records the first signs of this process at Harewood as the *Intacks* appeared on the outskirts of the commons in the estate. The *Harewood Intacks*, for instance, were located close to Harewood village and provided a small number of tenants with new areas for cultivation. *Stubhouse Moore*, a common located to the south of Weardley, was also enclosed, this time by six local farmers who requested to improve the area 'almost destroyed by whims, so that it makes little benefit' (WYAS WYL HAR add. Maps and Plans 88 [78/5/10]). This pattern was fairly representative of a national trend where enclosure was generally small-scale, gradual and local. Much was carried out in an ad-hoc, field-by-field manner leaving just small encroachments such as those seen on Harewood Common (Barnes & Williamson 2006, 18). More aggressive and wide-spread enclosure did not take place until the next century.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the movement towards an enclosed landscape did not necessarily equate with the disappearance of communal forms of agriculture as a part of the open-field system. This is identified by the important distinction between

commons and common fields. Commons were communally owned areas normally used for pasturing animals and generally lay uncultivated all year round. Common fields, on the other hand were often 'made up of holdings of several farmers that lay together as unenclosed, intermingled strips, which were mainly cultivated as arable but which were also grazed in common when not under strips' (Barnatt & Williamson 2005, 28). The large common open-fields in the area surrounding Gawthorpe Hall, in the *Pinfold Close*, *Little Field* and *Great Wheatfield*, had been established in the preceding centuries. As such their existence in the area denotes the continuation of this medieval style of farming.

The Early Eighteenth Century (1698-1738)

The 1698 estate map was drawn up because the Harewood estate was sold to Sir John Boulter, and provides an insight into the landscape patterns of the late-seventeenth century (WYAS WYL 250/3/33 Estate Maps). We know that the landscape remained largely the same for the next forty years because the map corresponds with a survey dating to 1738, containing many of the same features including identical field names and numbers and for the most part, field sizes. The map was no doubt used by Sir John Boulter to record the economic value of the estate as well as assess the area over which he had authority. By the early-modern period, maps such as this were significant not only for what they said but also for what they represented, which was the inscription of property ownership on the land and the power of their owners (Johnson 1996, 90-1). Read in this way, the 1698 estate map recounted the extent of the manor, its contents and the relationship between the influence of Sir John Boulter and the materiality of the landscape.

The status of the landlord within this landscape is represented by two illustrations on the maps that carry a potent symbolism (Fig. 3.7). Through the three-dimensional sketches of Gawthorpe Hall and Harewood Castle in each corner of the map, John Boulter made an important gesture about dynasty and power. These sketches represent the ancient and modern seats within the manor, symbolising past, present and future connections between the landlord and the landscape. Boulter's contemporary residence at Gawthorpe is represented by the classical façade and fashionable, geometric, ornamental gardens. In

contrast, the roofless 'Ruins of Harewood Castle' appear uninhabitable and are differentiated by the River Wharfe flowing into the background. This expresses the status of the landlord through time as the medieval origins of both structures are complemented by their spatial significance as they were both placed in prominent positions overlooking the valleys. Within the architecture of the estate map these buildings are prominent, being the largest and most ornate on the document. Gawthorpe Hall is depicted with the full schema of hall, gardens, stables and orchard, while Harewood Castle is portrayed in plan with significantly larger outline than its real form. Owing to their histories these structures had become significant places in the landscape for both the landlord and the local population. They stood as residences of the lord and foci of power in a manor that was otherwise populated by small settlements and rural fields.

The Agrarian Landscape

The estate map also records the landscape at a stage when the estate was in a state of change as the process of improvement began to transform the local agricultural economy. On a national scale, the period between 1670-1750 was characterised by a climate of sluggish agricultural prices and a growing population, requiring many farmers to maintain their incomes by improving output (Wade Martins 2004, 8). This could be done in two ways: 1) by developing specialised livestock in pastoral regimes, 2) increasing crop yields. At Harewood, the common fields (*Pinfold Field*, *Wheat Field* and *Little Field*) became increasingly controlled by manorial bylaws that sought to improve the performance of the land (Fig. 3.8). These laws generally focused on stinting that restricted the numbers of livestock on the common fields following harvest, allowing for a rotation of animals through the land without damaging its fertility. The same principle was used to prevent tenants from overstocking their land just before the expiration of their leases. One contemporary commentator noted that this practice was: 'evil…sometimes prevail[ing] amongst shuffling little dirty tricking fellows of taking in a vast stock of sheep the winter and spring before they quit their farm…[it] not only [reduces] the surface of the farm but even the very base upon which it stood' (Lovett 1767, 10). By using rotations and a mixture of new techniques, farmers were able to increase yields significantly. One method was to spread manure efficiently over the crop

prior to sowing. In 1744, William Ellis described the process of creating his manure: 'This Dung I mix with my short Horse dung and keep both under Cover every now and then mixing some Ames with them and throwing Chamberly on all as often as the Maid empties her Pots This is my constant Practice and it is farther improved by the Addition of my Cocks and Hens Dung that roost over it. This is an exceeding good Compost which if timely turned and well mixed will certainly improve Crops of Wheat' (Ellis 1744, 97). This modern technique epitomised the integrated, improved approach to farming.

Despite the insights gleaned from the depictions of the 1698 estate map, it does gloss over the complexity of internal tensions within the landscape and any external threats as the estate developed. Judging from the 'pains' in the manorial court, changes and alterations to the landscape were not universally accepted. Prior to the sale of the manors of Harewood and Gawthorpe to Henry Lascelles in 1738, the trustees of the Boulter Estate undertook a survey in order to assess its value at sale. Within the terms of the assessment around 650 acres of common were to be enclosed by the tenants of Harewood who were required to pay for the improvements. though 'no rent should commence upon the common for the year 1739' (WYAS WYL 250/3/13b f7 Estate Surveys). The demarcation of the common land with hedges and ditches allowed farmers to delineate their property with a form of boundary that provided natural windbreaks for crops and a renewable source for timber. For others, however, hedges became the manifestation of what was perceived as an encroachment upon the rights of the common man (Blomley 2007, 8). The patterns of open-field farming that been in place for centuries, involving the summer pasture of livestock on *Harewood Common* were being phased out by a succession of alterations. In their place was a new mixed system of farming where animals and crops alternated in field rotations (Wade Martins 2004, 26). The driving of livestock from one field to another replaced the long walks towards the common. Cyclical movements between farm and field were slowly inscribed into the landscape as pathways, gates, styles and field boundaries all reflected this new method of farming. By 1741, a pain was passed in the manorial court stating: 'no person or persons whatsoever do at any time hereafter pull down or destroy any of the hedges or fences upon any part of the new inclosures upon Harewood Common' (WYAS WYL 250/2a f91). Prompted

by a feeling of unease created by enclosure and shifting farming methods, some tenants focused much of their anger on the hedges themselves. Opposition had already taken place throughout England since the beginning of the seventeenth century when the Midlands revolt of 1607 saw the systematic destruction of hedges by hundreds of men, women and children (Blomley 2007, 14). The hedgerows became a symbol of infringement upon local custom and it was the sheer physicality of the boundary, made up of shrubs, trees and fences, which became the focus of attention. Assaults on the new enclosures persisted until 1742 when a second pain reiterated the manorial sentiment. It is clear that for some members of the community enclosure and the new forms of agriculture were far from acceptable.

Estate Society

The survey of 1738 not only reveals that improvement farming practices were being written into local custom, but also that the patterns of ownership were also shifting. On the 1698 estate map, two distinct farming regions appear to have existed within the estates (Fig. 3.8). In Weardley and alongside the Harrogate Road near Lofthouse, the fields were small, around four acres each and generally curvilinear. North of the Wetherby Road and either side of the shallow Stank Beck valley, the fields were much larger, sometimes covering an area between thirty-two to eighty acres, having been divided into regular rectilinear enclosures. Contemporary tenancy patterns show that the larger fields were farmed in blocks by a small group of individuals. Six tenants leased large areas of land between 150 and 250 acres and had benefited from the recent enclosures. These 'yeoman' farmers were the principal members of the community whose authority spread from agricultural to parochial spheres as they took offices in both the parish and the manorial courts (WYAS WYL 250/3/13b f7 Estate Surveys). James Ellis, a tenant from this small group, rented over two hundred acres north of the Wetherby Road including a mixture of meadow on the ridge, rich-pasture down by the river and arable on the flatter land. The grouping of the fields allowed for a well-rounded and balanced form of agriculture where livestock was moved a short distance to and from adjacent fields.

A middle group of tenants worked anywhere from twenty to one hundred acres with holdings spread throughout the manor. This was an area large enough to turn a family farmer into a capitalist tenant as they took advantage of improved yields and lucrative local markets. These tenants tended to include some of the most prominent individuals within the manor, as a modest sized farm could supplement employment in higher offices. Mr Samuel Midgeley, the steward to Sir John Sheffield of Weardley, was in this group despite his social status as a 'master' and gentleman (WYAS WYL 250/3/13b f7 Estate Surveys). On his death in 1779, he lived in Alwoodley Hall, east of Harewood. The hall contained at least ten rooms containing high status goods such as a 'silver pint', 'tea board' and 'tea pot' (BI PRO 127/89). Judging by Samuel Midgley's house and its contents this example shows that high-status members of the community did not necessarily rent the most land.

In contrast to the large-scale and middling farmers, the smaller enclosures were distributed amongst half of the tenants within the estate. In general, these individuals were small-scale pastoralists who rented land spread across the manor. The daily patterns of tenants such as Charles Pike, whose four holdings were situated over a kilometre apart, required investment in time and effort to cover the journey between each site (Fig. 3.9) (WYAS WYL 250/3/13b Estate Surveys). It is not surprising, therefore, that shortcuts were established in the forms of 'usual' paths that stretched across the landscape (WYAS WYL 250/2s f9). At other times communal agreements allowed for named individuals to cross their neighbour's fields. In 1740 Henry Craven was permitted by Richard Savage to cross the *Eller Closes* while 'going to milk' (WYAS WYL 250/2a/ f88).

By 1738, the changing nature of agriculture and tenancy patterns had led to a diverse and varied social structure within Harewood village. It contained a nexus of professions from craftsmen and clothiers to farmers and labourers, who all lived in close proximity within the township. The pastoral economy dominated, as many cottagers turned to the textile trade by becoming weavers, tailors, cordwainers and shoemakers all linked to the local farming regimes (Brigg 1914). Joseph Ingleson, a cottager and linen weaver who lived in Harewood from the 1720s until his death in 1765 paid the small sum of one shilling and

three pence for his dwelling in Bongate (WYAS WYL 250/3/13b Estate Surveys). His anonymity within contemporary documents suggests that he may have been a small-scale producer who held little status in the village (Brigg 1914). Industries such as weaving were conducted in and around the family dwelling within the living areas of the home. A house in Honley Weare, near Wakefield in West Yorkshire, provides a good example of a common weaver's house. It contained two ground floor rooms, one acting as the kitchen and the main living area with the other functioning as the parlour (Linstrum 1978, 127). Like the seventeenth-century houses in Harewood, the ground floor became a space where at different times of the day, the functions of the room changed from socialising, to cooking or eating and sleeping. The upper chambers were made up of one room as a carding and spinning room and the other as the loom shop. The rest of the village of Harewood consisted of cottages populating the intersection between the Wetherby and Leeds-to-Harrogate roads. Their condition varied from 'old cottages', built of stone with thatched or occasionally tiled roofs, to dilapidated hovels in need of repair (Caffyn 1986, 24; WYAS WYL 250/3/13b Estate Surveys).

By the time Henry Lascelles had bought the Harewood Estate in 1738, the manor contained a community that provided all the basic needs of a prosperous rural settlement. Craftsmen, materials and labour, in addition to links with broader markets, were all in plentiful supply thus making Harewood a hub within the surrounding districts. Occurring on the manor at this time were the processes of enclosure and improvement that began to alter the ways people carried out their daily lives. Boundaries, buildings and pathways were all altered to suit modern needs. This did not mean that these new philosophies were accepted wholesale. The farmers were, after all, 'the same people on the whole as before, and so with the same outlooks' (Wade Martins 2004, 25). This was part of a broader, more gradual change that had begun in the centuries before, would continue into the future, of which the inhabitants were often rarely aware. In the short-term, however, while some purged the products of the new landscape, others struck up relationships allowing the landscape to evolve. This was a period of transition and development preparing Harewood for the improvements of the second half of the century.

CONCLUSION

The pervasive process of improvement was one of the key strands that influenced the landed elite during the post-medieval period. There is no doubt that improvement was complicated; it varied from one estate to another as each landowner reacted to both their surroundings and the wider cultural milieu. As a result, people other than the landowning family were affected in ways that were plural and which had both positive and negative implications leading to an inherent multivocality. Enclosure, for example, was highlighted as part of this process and was viewed by contemporaries and modern scholars alike, being both helpful or detrimental to the local patterns of rural life depending on one's place in society. Different forms of the materiality found in an estate landscape have been identified, from the fields, hedges and farmsteads to the lush parks and gardens and associated polite architecture. It was this materiality that gave the landscape its meaning and structured how contemporaries engaged with it through time. However, like most forms of material culture, these elements of landscape did not arrive fully formed in the 1700s, they were influenced by antecedence and wider ideas of contemporary life. Consequently, the particularity of a landscape is not only dictated by the ideas held in the period in question but is also influenced by its own development through time. As a result, the Harewood landscape was laid out in detail from post-conquest era to the early-eighteenth century showing how long-term processes such as Improvement affected the development of the landscape while short-term influences buffeted the local biographies of particular places. This cultural and historical context of Harewood provides a fitting background to the more nuanced analyses of the estate focusing on the period from 1738 to 1813.

PART II: ESTATE MANAGEMENT

4. HAREWOOD 1738-1771: 'NEW BROOMS SWEEP CLEAN'

We have a proverb in Yorkshire Sir that new brooms sweep clean.
(SAMUEL POPPLEWELL TO EDWIN LASCELLES, 16TH MAY 1757*)*

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the period 1738-1771, when the principles of management and improvement were introduced as Harewood became a modern estate with a 'core' of parkland, new house and associated service buildings surrounded by a continuous stretch of tenanted farmland. The year 1771 was a benchmark in the history of the landscape following two decades of consolidation on the estate by Edwin Lascelles, and the completion of Harewood House. This chapter introduces five key areas of improvement that impacted greatly on specific places in the landscape and on the physical appearance of the estate: the construction of Harewood House; the establishment of the designed landscape; the rebuilding of Harewood village; the enclosure of Harewood common and the reorganisation of the agricultural landscape. The aim is to situate these themes within the context of the estate and within wider debates about the nature and significance of improvement, and to what degree it impacted on everyday life.

It has been necessary to draw upon a number of different sources to inform this chapter. This has involved analysis of the Harewood estate archive; of particular relevance have been the cashbooks, surveys, maps, steward's correspondence and parish registers. These provide key insights into the chronology of developments, and into the financial status of the estate. It should be noted that some of these sources have been used by previous authors (Kennedy 1982; Mauchline 1974), but not to infer how improvement affected the broader estate and its inhabitants. Placed alongside the documentary evidence are architectural and topographical surveys carried out to measure the impact on the materiality of the estate. Together, these two forms of evidence provide a well-rounded account of Harewood that provides a critique of established narratives about country

house estates (Barnatt & Williamson 2005; Kennedy 1982; Girouard 1980; Mauchline 1974).

THE LANDOWNER'S INFLUENCE ON ESTATE DEVELOPMENT

The landowners' influence was one of the key factors for the improvement of estates during the eighteenth century. The most famous examples include men such as Thomas William Coke (1754-1842), of the Holkham estate, Norfolk, who directed landscape development by undertaking work on their own (Wade Martins 2007, 67-73). At Harewood, improvements were also carried out in this way. In the first half of the century it was Henry Lascelles (1690-1752) who oversaw small-scale changes to Gawthorpe Hall. He was the head of an ascending gentry family who had made his fortune in Barbados through money lending, sugar plantations, government contracts and victuals, and a number of investments in slaving (Smith 2006, 75-83). Purchasing Harewood was a timely investment for a man who wished to influence politics in England, and further his own commercial interests. Short-term improvements to the new family seat in Yorkshire appear to have been a gesture towards the assertion of Lascelles' own status and wealth. It seems that his residence at Harewood was 'a marriage of convenience' as it was only the hall that was altered rather than the broader landscape, and it was his steward, James Whitaker, that looked after local affairs while Henry was in London (WYAS WYL 250/2 Manorial Papers). Purchasing the estate was therefore a means to an end, as it allowed Henry to make the expression of an established member of the landed gentry who spent half of the year in London during the political season (Shaw 1901, 88-105; Smith 2008).

It was Henry's son, Edwin Lascelles, 1st Baron Harewood (1712-1795), who led the main phase of development from 1753 when a traditional small-scale agricultural landscape was transformed into a modern, fashionable estate. Harewood became the Lascelles' principal seat, covering an area of over 4,000 acres extending from Weardley in the west, to East Keswick in the east and was accompanied by further estates held by the family in North Yorkshire (Tatlioglu 2009). Edwin had been born in Barbados in 1712 and prior to his arrival at Harewood had moved to England by January 1732 when he was admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge. Following his education he embarked on a 'Grand Tour'

through Europe where he is likely to have developed a taste for classical architecture and philosophy before returning to England and entering a brief military career (Smith 2006, 184). During this time it is likely that his father continued to oversee his commercial interests in London, leading to long periods spent away from Harewood House in the 1740s. Thus, two years after serving with the army to defeat the Jacobites in 1745, Edwin was installed as the lord of manor at Harewood (Smith 2006, 184).

Edwin first appeared in the manorial court rolls in 1747, although his first improvements on the estate do not appear until the following year. The first of these took place in 1748 when Edwin was granted permission to 'pull down' a pew in All Saints' church and rebuild it 'for the better Accomodation of his Servants for the Hearing of Divine Service' (Brigg 1914, 7). From that moment there was a shift in emphasis towards the status of the landlord and his workforce. This was epitomised by the reorganisation of the house servants and re-organisation of space within the local parish church. Some of the servants were newly employed, such as the estate steward, Samuel Popplewell, who had succeeded Henry Whitaker. The landlord, the steward and their close acquaintances sat at the front of the congregation close to the chancel, while the house and estate staff were positioned behind, with the rest of the lay parishioners distributed among the remaining pews. The social organisation of the estate was therefore reflected in the fabric of All Saints' as the church, serving as a microcosm of local society with the landlord at the head of the congregation. The episode represents an affirmation of the local social hierarchy, as Edwin made his first gesture towards the reorganisation and improvement at Harewood.

Large-scale developments at Harewood did not take place in earnest until 1753, when Edwin inherited from his father. Simon Smith (2006) has calculated that Henry's wealth at death was more likely to be close to £408,000 (net) rather than the £390,000 his executors had accounted for in 1753 (Smith 2006, 87). Two-thirds of this sum fell to Edwin who was the eldest of two sons, and became a major source of funding for his building projects. Improvements began in 1754 with alterations to Gawthorpe Hall by the young Palladian architect, John Carr of York (1723-1807). Carr set about the old Hall,

and was ordered to create a new portico for the main entrance, a garden house for the grounds as well as a new barn for the surrounding fields (Mauchline 1972, 32). In retrospect, these initial alterations were part of a short-term scheme prior to the wider improvements started in the second-half of the decade.

Coupled with these early developments were Edwin Lascelles' political and mercantile ambitions. Edwin had been the Member of Parliament for the constituency of Scarborough between 1744-1754 during which he had supported the government and crown while promoting agricultural improvement (Eyres 2002, 194). As a major landowner with broader commercial interests, Edwin is likely to have sought an estate that could act as an anchor for his political and social movements. Harewood certainly served this purpose when he returned to parliament in 1761, this time for Yorkshire and then later for Northallerton where he replaced his younger brother, Daniel (d.1784) in 1780. Upon his brother's death in 1784, Edwin inherited the West Indian business and for the first time the colonial investments were united with landed interests in Yorkshire. This marked a significant juncture in Edwin's lifetime as the West Indian properties were reshaped over the course of the next decade. He pursued a new strategy of accumulating plantations through seizing land from creditors and within a decade had become the owner of twenty-four plantations with more than 27,000 acres of property (Smith 2006, 189). These commercial interests linked with his political influence in parliament meant Edwin became an important player in both local and national politics with influence and capital flowing as far as the Caribbean (Finch 2007a). These interests finally bore fruit on the 9th July 1790 when Edwin Lascelles was granted the barony of Harewood and he entered the peerage.

To suggest, however, that the landlord was the only influence in estate improvement would be misleading. Many authors have highlighted the role of estate stewards during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, revealing how they had an increasingly influential role in estate life (Beckett 1990, 57; English 1990; Spring 1963; Thompson 1966, 152; Webster 2007, 48). Most agree that the social identity of the steward was defined by their responsibilities, status and day-to-day interaction with the landscape and

inhabitants. They undertook an array of responsibilities including introducing 'newly developed agricultural techniques…the moral improvement of tenants…oversee[ing] the administration of the estate including the home farm, house, gardens and park and were also involved in land purchases, surveying, accountancy, political campaigning, and legal issues…'(Webster 2007, 48). Such tasks were plentiful and required a sound knowledge of agriculture, law, construction and accounting. In the main, however, they were determined by the will of the landlord who adjusted estate policy as they reacted to contemporary economic, political and aesthetic concerns (English 1990; Mingay 1963; Webster 2007).

At Harewood, the structure of management became a dialogue between Edwin Lascelles and Samuel Popplewell[1], his steward, who discussed developments, delegated tasks and negotiated ideas. After all, the office of the estate steward was the place where the ebb and flow of activity was minutely recorded and analysed so the landlord could gain an understanding of the social and economic condition of the estate. The meticulous accounts demanded by Edwin Lascelles (WYAS HAR SC/3/2/79) and the large amount of correspondence between himself and Popplewell (WYAS HAR\SC) suggests that it was the landowner who dictated the overall scheme of the estate improvement. It was this 'grand design' that was mediated into the estate buildings, modern farms and the use of land. The estate steward, meanwhile, formed a point within the estate hierarchy that, to a certain extent, controlled the pace and direction of improvements, especially when Edwin Lascelles was absent for long periods in London and was unable to influence the rate of change as much as he would have liked (Jones 2000, 50). As such, this approach to the influence and direction of improvement stands in opposition to recent models of estate society based on a landlord/tenant relationship, where social relations are solely understood in terms of the landlord's power over his tenantry (E.g. Orser 1996, Thompson 1963). There is a distinction between the overarching schemes of the landlord and the mediation of these ideas to the local scale.

[1] An in depth account of the role and biography of Samuel Popplewell is considered in Chapter 8. .

THE HAREWOOD ESTATE AND ITS PLACE IN YORKSHIRE

Operating alongside the global channels of economics, trade and colonial politics was the role of Harewood on the regional scale. Among other factors, the estate was defined by its form, geographic location and placement alongside the other Yorkshire estates. At the sale to Henry Lascelles in 1738, the estate measured close to 2,500 acres (WYAS WYL 250/3/13b Estate Surveys). This figure contained the main township lands around Harewood in addition to smaller parcels belonging to neighbouring settlements. East Keswick, for example, contributed 238 acres to the survey in addition to 305 acres included as a part of East Keswick Common (Batty 2000, 26). A great majority of land was not included, however, because it was held in townships that lay a distance away from Harewood and were not part of the survey. These townships included Dunkeswick, Weeton, Wigton, Chapel Allerton, Wike, Wescoehill and Alwoodley. As a result of their omission, it is hard to estimate the overall size of the estate in the late 1730s, however, if the acreages taken from contemporary surveys are each totalled then the Harewood estate appears to have measured approximately 6,991 acres (HHMP, 12; WYAS WYL/250/3 Surveys). By the early 1760s, this area provided an income of approximately £7,000 per annum.

In comparison to other Yorkshire estates, Harewood appears to have been significant (Fig. 4.1). This can be determined by a number of sources including similar analyses of contemporary estates (e.g. Beastall 1975; Sharples 1997; Thompson 1963) as well as the compilations of landed estates created in the nineteenth century. At 7,000 acres in the 1740s, the Harewood estate would have qualified the Lascelles as 'greater gentry' (Table 1). When compared to other estates in Yorkshire there were certainly those that were considerably larger. Sledmere in the East Riding had been accumulated on the chalk Wolds among the open sheep walks in the first quarter of the eighteenth century (Wade Martins 2004, 28). When Sir Christopher Sykes (1749-1801) inherited the estate mid-way through the 1770s it was one of the largest in the region and by the time it was recorded for *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* it had swelled to 34,010 acres (Bateman 1883, 432). Similarly at Castle Howard, North Yorkshire, Charles Howard, the 3rd Earl of Carlisle (1669-1738), had forged his baroque mansion and estate among the

rolling hills between the Vale of Pickering, the North York Moors and the Yorkshire Wolds. By the end of the next century the estate measured approximately 13,000 acres (Bateman 1883, 78; Finch 2007b). Closer to Harewood in the West Riding, the large estates of Bramham Park on the eastern limestone ridge and Farnley Hall to the west, were owned by the Lane-Fox and Fawkes families respectively, and had both been established in the early part of the century. The Fawkes were neighbours of the Lascelles and held approximately 11,000 acres with an income of around £12,000 (Sharples 1997, 13), while the Lane-Foxs accumulated closer to 15,000 acres (Bateman 1883). The Harewood Estate was considerably smaller than some of the more prodigious properties within the county during the mid-eighteenth century, particularly those that had already begun large-scale improvements and land acquisitions.

TABLE 1
Titles of the Landed Elite

Title	Annual Income and Estate Size
Land Magnates	over £20,000 per annum with 20,000 acres
Great Landowners	£10,000- 19,999 per annum with 10,000-19,999 acres
Greater Gentry	£3,000-9,999 per annum with 3,000-9,999 acres
Lesser Gentry	£1,000-2,999 per annum with 1,000-2,999 acres
Greater Yeoman	£300-999 per annum with 300-999 acres

(*Source:* Johansen-Salters 2010)

Although the West Riding clearly included some larger estates, there were a significant number that were smaller in size. Thomas Saunderson, the 3rd Earl of Scarborough, was accumulating his landholding at Sandbeck, near Rotherham in South Yorkshire. The estate was surveyed at 4,405 acres in 1724 while its income was worth £1,092 per year with the principal revenue coming from the sale of timber (Beastall 1975, 80). At Towton and Scarthingwell, near Tadcaster, meanwhile, Lord Hawke owned a much smaller sized estate, where 1,600 acres had been taken into hand (Rennie, Broun & Shirreff 1794, 136). Small estates of this kind were numerous in the West Riding and it seems that this remained so until the end of the eighteenth century when the authors of the *General View* (1799) noted that 'a considerable part of the West Riding is possessed by small proprietors [who] are as numerous in this district as in any other part of the kingdom' (Brown 1799, 7). Harewood was positioned at the higher end of these smaller estates

albeit with a favourable high income.

TABLE 2
Landowners in the West Riding with Estates of 10,000 acres in 1883 (in order of size)

	Name	Seat	Acreage	Gross Annual Value (£)
1	Lord Londesborough	Londesborough Lodge, Scarborough	52655	67876
2	**Earl of Harewood***	**Harewood House, Leeds**	**29078**	**36798**
3	Earl of Wharncliffe	Wortley Hall, Sheffield	22544	34440
4	Dowager Viscountess Downe*	Baldersby Park, Thirsk	22237	26843
5	Earl Fitzwilliam*	Wentworth House, Rotherham	22192	87406
6	Andrew Montagu	Ingmunthorpe, Wetherby	20700	35234
7	Duke of Norfolk	Arundel Castle, Sussex	19440	39897
8	Augustus William Savile	Rufford Abbey, Ollerton	16000	35000
9	Sir Charles William Strickland	Hildenley, Malton	16000	17000
10	George Lane-Fox	Bramham Park, Tadcaster	15000	17000
11	Duke of Leeds*	Gogmagog Hills, Cambridge	14772	21470
12	Marquis of Ripon*	Studley Royal, Ripon	14668	20842
13	John Yorke	Bewerley Hall, Ripon	14499	11000
14	Walter Morrison	Malham Tarn, Leeds	13705	4371
15	Hon. Mrs Meynell-Ingram*	Hoarcross, Burton-on-Trent	12176	32560
16	Lord Hothfield	Hothfield Place, Ashford	11953	15919
17	Ayscough Fawkes	Farnley Hall, Otley	11850	12460
18	Rev. Matthew Thomas Farrer	Ingleborough, Lancaster	11512	9403
19	Walter Thomas William Spencer-Stanhope	Cannon Hall, Barnsley	11357	11070
20	Sir John William Ramsden	Byram, Ferrybridge	11248	168420
21	Sir Henry Day Ingilby	The Castle, Ripley	10609	11149
22	Viscount Halifax	Hickleton Hall, Doncaster	10142	12169

Source: Bateman (1883) (In some cases seats were in other counties)
* Denotes land also held in one or both of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire

The pattern of smaller landowners of holdings between two and ten thousand acres continued well into the next century. By 1883, the West Riding measured approximately 1.7 million acres with 41% of this area owned by 138 individuals (Bateman 1883). According to Bateman (1883), who constructed what was conceived at that time as a modern day Domesday for the landownership in Britain and Ireland, this number included seventy-two individuals who could be termed lesser and greater gentry, while twenty-two earned over £10,000 per year and were greater landowners. By this stage, the Lascelles' landed interests had increased markedly to 29,000 acres with an income of £36,000, making them the second largest landholders in the county and qualifying them

as 'land magnates' (Table 2) (Bateman 1883; Johansen Salters 2010). By the late-nineteenth century, the Lascelles had risen to the same rank in terms of size of estate and income as some of the more established families within the county such as the Fitzwilliams based at Wentworth House, Rotherham, the Duke of Norfolk, who resided at Arundel Castle in Sussex, and Andrew Montagu of Ingmunthorpe, Wetherby. With hindsight one might suggest that the Lascelles had aspired to this position from as early as the mid-eighteenth century; the estate was an instrument of display, used to further a landowner's interests within the social and political worlds. As such, the dramatic growth of the Harewood estate between 1750 and 1813 should be read in tandem with the Lascelles' rise to prominence during the same period. Indeed, it was the improvement of the landscape during this earlier period that allowed the Lascelles to progress further up the social hierarchy until they became one of the most powerful families in the region.

IMPROVEMENT, 1753-1771: HAREWOOD HOUSE, DESIGNED LANDSCAPE AND VILLAGE

The period 1753-71 was one of the most important phases of improvement as it marked the consolidation of key areas within the landscape. The period was characterised by large-scale improvements led by Edwin Lascelles, mediated by Samuel Popplewell, and felt by the many groups and individuals who inhabited the estate. Authors such Matthew Johnson (1996) and Sarah Tarlow (2007) have explored similar phases of improvement, but have been concerned either with broader, structural developments within rural landscapes, or have provided wider overviews of the subject. Although both have provided valuable insights about the influences of improvement, both materially and in the lives of their inhabitants, neither have looked at the in-depth changes made to estate landscapes during this period. These details provide an opportunity to compare the developments that took place at a macro scale, with those more broader alterations across the landscape.

As it has already been established, this narrative is supported by the use of a number of sources. Of particular relevance to this section has been the steward's cashbooks, which provide an overview of the financial health of the Harewood estate during the period 1753-71. In most cases, cashbooks have survived as the preferred method of accounting

because landowners were generally interested in two areas of finance: one that provided an approximation of income due to be received; and another that showed how much money was being spent over the year (English 1990, 103). This practice was known as the 'charge/discharge' method, and in many cases provided the landowner with an approximate way to avoid being defrauded by their stewards (English 1990, 103). Unlike modern accounting, cashbooks rarely divided capital from income or distinguished revenue from other sources. As such, many entries can be found, as it seems, to 'balance the books'. Great caution has been taken therefore, when attempting to use this material to inform the development of Harewood.

The Construction of Harewood House

One of the most significant building projects at Harewood during this period was the construction of Harewood House and accompanying stables (WYAS WYL 250/3/240). As it was argued in the last chapter, country houses had become the 'core' of the estate. These buildings were the centre from which the surrounding land was administered, the local workforce organised and the power of the landlord projected, or as Mark Girouard has argued: 'Land provided the fuel; a country house was the engine that made it effective' (Girourard 1980, 3). Between 1755-1759, Edwin Lascelles employed John Carr of York to build a new set of stables to accompany the antiquated Gawthorpe Hall. They were built in the fashionable classical style and featured triumphal pediments, a Tuscan colonnade and Romanesque arches, and were derived from William Kent's (1685-1748) design for the Royal Mews in London (Fig. 4.2). The structure measured approximately 45m-by-45m and overshadowed the older hall, which in comparison measured a slim 10m-by-60m. The new stables represented Edwin Lascelles' wish to create a structure that expressed the 'Georgic' modes of beauty and utility while sponsoring the work of a young and aspiring architect. Whether the success of this project led to the building of a new house remains unclear, but shortly after the stables were begun in 1755 Edwin Lascelles commissioned plans for a new house from contemporary designers such as William Chambers and 'Capability' Brown.

Harewood House was constructed in the fashionable classical style and conveyed the desired status of the Lascelles family. It was designed by Robert Adam (1728-1792) and John Carr, and became one of the finest houses in Yorkshire and was included in the fifth volume of Colen Campbell's celebration of British Palladian architecture, *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1771). The northern elevation features a seventeen-bay symmetrical façade with two lateral extensions and wings, all with a rusticated basement now hidden by Charles Barry's (1795-1860) nineteenth-century raised bank. Carr's central section with a nine-bay elevation included giant Corinthian pilasters supporting a pediment incised with the Lascelles' coat of arms (Fig. 4.3). Until the nineteenth century, this elevation also included four medallions representing *Britannia*, *Liberty*, *Commerce* and *Agriculture*, suitable emblems for a Whig family whose colonial legacy was supporting the improvements being made to this Yorkshire landscape (Firth 1980, 129). Here, the watchwords of pleasure and profit, land and commerce, beauty and industry were combined as the improvement of the estate became tangible, emblazoned on the front of the building. On the southern side, a tetrastyle portico designed by Robert Adam completed the fifteen-bay façade. This enclosed space acted as an extension to the adjacent saloon, allowing guests to move freely from the classically designed interior to an area that encouraged contemplation of the landscape to the south. In this way, the house was married to the landscape allowing Edwin Lascelles to portray himself as a contemporary of polite society while also a gentleman farmer whose estate was clearly visible from the portico of his house, symbolising his position at the centre of the landscape.

The building costs of the new house allow us to situate it among other country seats built during the same period. Harewood House was constructed between 1759-1771 and in that time was the most expensive enterprise on the estate costing £36,202 including materials, transport and labour (Wilson & Mackley 1999; WYAS WYL 250/3/240). Houses such as Sledmere and Brodsworth Hall totalled £20,548 and £24,327 respectively, while the larger houses including Castle Howard and Wentworth Woodhouse generated figures closer to £80,000 (Wilson & Mackley 1999, 440, 462). Harewood, then, was situated between these figures making it a more modest investment. Despite this position, the outgoings made an impact on the wider accounts. In 1756, Edwin Lascelles, apparently

disconcerted by the level of expense, noted: 'I am every year playing at Ducks and Drakes with the income of my estate and spending half the rents before they become due' (Appendix D) (Mauchline 1972, 22). Over the course of the project the building expenses took up an average of 34% of the total outgoings, although in certain years the figure peaked at over half of the annual expenditure (Table 3). The cashbooks, however, suggest that between 1764-71 the estate never made less that £290 in a year with the peak in 1765 when £1787 was recorded as 'cash-in-hand'; this figure was the annual estate income minus expenditure (Table 4). Nevertheless, a number of years represented a careful balance between income and heavy expenditure confirming what Edwin Lascelles had suggested in 1756.

In comparison to other estates of the period, Harewood appears to have been successful in terms of the overall income, despite its small profit margins. At Sandbeck, the accounts balanced during periods of improvement though they were less profitable than those at Harewood. In 1750 cash-in-hand came to £2,290, £2,221 in 1751, £2,230 in 1753 and £2,183 in 1757/8 (Beastall 1975, 84); the year-on-year margins were small, often only £20 to £30. At Holkham in Norfolk, meanwhile, the profits were higher but in the case of William Coke, he chose to reinvest in further improvements leading to estate income from rentals increasing from £12,332 in 1776 to £25,789 in 1815 (Thompson 1963, 218; Wade Martins 2007). While Edwin Lascelles may have been nervous of running into debt due to the perceived spiralling costs of building and maintenance, Samuel Popplewell was in fact maintaining a healthy estate that was self-sufficient and rarely required private cash-injections from the landlord. Indeed, the situation was quite the contrary, as the estate regularly made payments to Lascelles, which between 1765-1775 amounted to £10,589 (WYAS WYL 250/3/240). Harewood was fairly usual in this way especially compared to the likes of Sandbeck, which often made payments to the landlord of £600 and £800 a year (Beastall 1975 78-113). Nevertheless, we cannot be certain of Lascelles' overall wealth owing to his connections with the Caribbean and the potential income streams from his brother Daniel, who ran the Customs House in London (WYAS WYL 250/3/247 Cashbook).

TABLE 3

Expenditure on the house (Source: WYAS WYL 250/3/Cashbooks)

Year	*Total Expenditure Nearest (£)*	*Expenditure on the House Nearest (£)*	*% of Total Expenditure on the House*
1759	10778	705	6.5
1760	7121	2441	34.3
1761	7591	2017	26.6
1762	6599	2796	42.4
1763	7279	2981	41
1764	6583	2187	33.2
1765	5461	1722	31.5
1766	8544	3509	41.1
1767	8810	4016	45.6
1768	6939	3702	53.4
1769	6636	3080	46.4
1770	6563	2380	36.3
1771	6991	2056	29.4

Establishment of the Designed Landscape

The designed landscape was laid out in parallel with the new mansion and stables as an ornamental setting for the Lascelles' new home. Although work was continuously undertaken in the second half of the century, the initial phase of development required substantial investments turning a largely agricultural landscape into parkland comparable to the size and proportions of those at Wentworth Woodhouse and Castle Howard. These were examples that would have been known to Edwin Lascelles whose social and political affiliations extended to Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2nd Marquis of Rockingham (1730-82) and Frederick Howard the 5th Earl of Carlisle (1748-1825) (WYAS HAR SC 2/2/73; Mauchline 1972, 23, 37). By the mid-eighteenth century, the proliferation of ornamental landscapes marked an assertion of material wealth, knowledge, taste and fashion (Williamson 1995, 16). They had become places where the motivation for economic and social prosperity were manifest in the material culture made up of vast landscaping schemes of woodland plantations, plants and buildings designed by some of

the finest architects. Conspicuous consumption of this kind, which could cost hundreds of thousands of pounds to complete, became an important indicator of social ambition.

Unfortunately, due to the vague and often scarce records of the period 1757-1771, it is difficult to assess the financial impact of the designed landscape on the estate finances. Over the course of the period, the landscape around Gawthorpe Hall and the new house was transformed by a host of designers and gardeners including Capability Brown, Richard Woods, John Sparrow, Thomas White and John Hutton (Firth 1980). The initial phases included the hard landscaping of fields surrounding the new house; the *Eller Closes*, *Timber Garth* and *Little Field* were turned to grassland in order to create views to and from the house (WYAS HAR SC/3/2/88; WYAS HAR SC/7/29; WYAS HAR SC/9/2 f1r) (Fig. 4.4). The hillside by the stables was 'shaved' and planted with elders and firs in order to ornament the area towards the 'Greate Stanke' (HAR SC 2/1/55 f1r; WYAS HAR SC/5 f156, f168). From 1765, Thomas White set about creating the northern pleasure grounds by planting over 3000 trees bought from the nurseries of Mr Perfect at Pontefract (Hay 1993; WYAS HAR ACC 269 f22), while the fields to the south of Gawthorpe Hall were flooded in preparation for the ornamental lake (Ismay 1942). The kitchen gardens, meanwhile, were built in the late-1750s on the northern shores of the lake. These became the centre for food provision for the house as well as the cultivation of exotic plants transported from the Caribbean (Finch 2008, 525). Melons and pineapples were consumed as a way of conveying colonial ties and an intimate knowledge of nature (Ismay 1942; Wilson 1998, 76-88) (Fig. 4.5).

TABLE 4
Cash in Hand for the years 1764-75 (*Source*: WYAS WYL 150/3/225)

Year	*Total Exp. (£)*	*Total Income (£)*	*Cash-in-Hand (£)*	*Difference with Previous Year*
1764	6583	7045	*462*	
1765	5461	7249	*1787*	1325
1766	8544	8915	*371*	-1416
1767	8810	9100	*290*	-81
1768	6939	8026	*424*	134
1769	6636	7630	*993*	569
1770	6563	7735	*1172*	179
1771	6991	8399	*1407*	235
1772	6882	8685	*1803*	396
1773	7508	9000	*1491*	-312
1774	8055	9687	*1631*	140
1775	9534	10075	*540*	-1091

One of the most expensive appointments was the employment of 'Capability' Brown, the famous landscape designer who, by the 1770s, was at the height of his career having already carried out over 100 commissions throughout Britain (Colvin 1995, 165-167). He received £6203 from Edwin Lascelles from 1774-1781, at an average of £400 per year without labourers' fees and materials (WYAS WYL 250/3/537). Similar sums of around four hundred pounds per annum were spent in the previous years as other designers set about reorganising the landscape space. In 1761, the expenditure had reached such heights that Edwin Lascelles complained to his steward: 'As for my buildings and improvements of all sorts I am astonished and ashamed at their charges; what doth a man get by improving and raising his rents if without any very extraordinary additional expenses, his accounts are inflamed and he runs more into debt?' (WYAS HAR/SC/3/2/79 f1v).

These improvements reflected the aspirations of Edwin Lascelles who wished to create a fashionable park as the setting for his new Palladian mansion. As Tom Williamson (2009) has identified, these areas had become the symbols of the upper ranks of society mainly because it was a form of design that was unavailable to those who lay outside that group (2009, 11). Moreover, it was a form of conspicuous consumption with a

precondition that the owner possessed land on a massive scale. For a member of the landed elite such as Edwin Lascelles, who wished to progress up the social hierarchy, having a designed landscape was not simply a luxury that could be afforded, but a necessity enabling him to convey his status and wealth within a social class who partly defined their identity by keeping up with contemporary fashion.

The improvement around Harewood House also led to the reorganisation of space changing it from an agricultural area to an ornamental landscape. In 1738, nine different tenants had occupied landholdings around Gawthorpe Hall, notably the farms rented by William Stables in Stank, John Kitchingman at the Castle Farm and Christopher Pike who resided at the 'Cottage in the Walls' in Harewood Village (WYAS WYL 250/3/13b Estate Surveys). By 1758, the shape of this space had already begun to change as the developments around the new stables and the fields adjacent to the 'Great Stanke' were converted to more formal aesthetic use. Within a year the number of tenants dwindled as the adjacent hamlet of Stank, including the farm belonging to the Stables family[2], was cleared and the creation of the lake in the following years removed further areas from agriculture. The changing function of this area had two effects. First, the landscaping served to isolate the new house and landowning family from the rest of the estate population. Harewood House became the centrepiece of a designed landscape promoting the building as the principal structure in the area at the top of an elevated slope. This position reinforced the distinction between the grand house and the local settlements, and was emphasised by the areas of surrounding parkland.

Secondly, the space had formerly contained route ways across the landscape, as evidenced by manorial by-laws permitting tenants to walk across neighbour's lands in order to reach their fields and milk livestock (WYAS 250/2/5a pp. 88, Manorial Court-Leet). By the 1760s, it had had been transformed into parkland. This was a process undertaken by a number of groups of estate workers: labourers who helped 'shave' the hillside and flatten the landscape on the north lawn; estate craftsmen who helped design and construct the new house and other buildings; and gardeners who planted the

[2] A detailed discussion of William Stables and Stables Farm is discussed in chapter 7.

woodland and helped mow the parklands (WYAS HAR SC/3/2/88; WYAS HAR SC/7/29; WYAS HAR SC/9/2 f1r; HAR SC 2/1/55 f1r; WYAS HAR SC/5 f156, f168). Through the work of these groups, the area became private, restricted by access, and governed by the landowner. At this close scale we see how the will of Edwin Lascelles and the influence of improvement impacted on the use of the landscape. The paths, field boundaries and buildings that had formerly occupied the area and which had formed the daily surroundings for local farmers, had been removed and in their place were approaches and parkland reserved for the landowner and his family. The change led to new ways of experiencing this part of the landscape, as tenants were directed around the house via new pathways and roads such as the new Otley-to-Tadcaster turnpike established in 1753 (Randall 2006, 165). It also redefined the relationship between estate workers and tenants, with the new house and the landowning family.

The Redevelopment of Harewood Village

Another place in the landscape that was reconfigured as a part of Edwin Lascelles' improvements was the systematic rebuilding of Harewood village. Beginning in 1757 and lasting almost sixty years, this process involved the modernisation of the village from a rural market town to a fashionable classical village of the eighteenth century. Past accounts have suggested that project was undertaken solely as a means for Edwin Lascelles to build an impressive entrance to Harewood House (Caffyn 1986). However, once placed within the broader context of estate improvement, the project reveals a more complicated motive highlighting other social, aesthetic, economic and patriarchal considerations.

Prior to development, Harewood village consisted of cottages laid out at the intersection of the Wetherby and Leeds-Harrogate roads. Their condition varied from 'old cottages' built of stone with thatched or occasionally tiled roofs, to dilapidated hovels in need of repair (Caffyn 1986, 24; WYAS WYL 250/3/13b Estate Surveys). Harewood's character can be glimpsed from the surviving examples of the pre-Lascelles architecture. The seventeenth-century 'cottage in the wall' on Harrogate Road provides a case in point. The

building is roughly square measuring approximately six-by-six metres with two storeys and maintains a rustic appearance (Ward 1998, 5) (Fig. 4.6). One of two surviving elevations is the eastern façade facing the road. Two multi-light mullioned windows can be seen at ground and first floor levels, while a chamfered course divides the two storeys. Both this façade and the northern elevation were built with rubble brought to courses over large, well-dressed blocks of stone, much in the same way as Cutler's Cottage, the only other surviving structure from the seventeenth-century (Ward 1998, 5-7). The appearance of the cottage in the local vernacular style provides a strong sense of what Harewood may have looked like prior to the rebuilding in the second-half of the century. With these sorts of structures in the village, and set in a disorderly manner, it is likely that Harewood may have seemed archaic to Edwin Lascelles whose ideas of improvement were based on beauty and utility, principles not associated with the older cottages in the village.

Development to the village began in earnest in 1759, and was initially driven by its function as a model estate village. This type of settlement had proliferated in England from the late-seventeenth century although their popularity did not peak for another sixty years (Darley 2007). Some, such as New Houghton in Norfolk (built from 1729), replaced earlier villages that had interrupted the vast parkland views (Barley 1990, 136; Barnatt & Williamson 2005, 168). In this case the rapid demolition of Houghton was made possible as the inhabitants were quickly relocated from the older settlement into modern, widely-spaced, double cottages located outside of the park. The creation of parkland was later formalised by Edmund Burke in his *Philosophical Enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757) in which he equated beauty with soft, gentle lines of sight, uninterrupted by farms, cottages and other estate buildings. In the case of Harewood, these aesthetic ideals played a significant role as Lascelles' landscaping scheme centred on the views taken from Harewood House. Crucially, Harewood village was located approximately one kilometre east of the new house and over the brow of a slight incline; the village was therefore out of sight and not in need of relocation. Unlike other rebuilt settlements of the period, Harewood was not 'moved' for the benefit of the landowner.

From the late-1750s, Edwin Lascelles commissioned John Carr of York to design the new village (Fig. 4.8). It was undertaken with the greatest attention to aesthetics with each block of houses linked by an assortment of classical motifs, each subtly altered to break the monotony of a single design. One example is the blind arcading, which can be seen on the southern facades of nos. 2-5 and 12-16, The Avenue. In the first block, a twelve-pane sash-window is placed under each recess, while the windows in the nos. 12-16 are divided by two vertical mullions, to form a Diocletian window. Among these and many other subtleties, the assortment of motif became a common feature of Carr's designs across the estate: in the new house, agricultural buildings and later at the home farm[3] (Ivan Hall pers. comm.). This form of architecture allowed nearly every individual residing in the village to live in a modern building constructed in a similar style to the main house regardless of their social status. Harewood village was an example of social inclusiveness, while its aesthetics provided a showpiece acting as a grand entrance to Harewood House. Moreover, it was the urban effect, made up of a wide street and impressive architecture that gave the village a likeness to an elegant town terrace and the reason why it soon became an attraction for passing tourists (Jewell 1819).

Another influence on the design, however, may have been drawn from philosophical ideas. By the mid-eighteenth century, it was increasingly accepted that old structures such as those in Harewood did nothing to inspire and improve the lives of their inhabitants (Barnatt & Williamson 2005, 168). In 1775 Nathaniel Kent (1737-1810), the land agent and agricultural writer, noted that 'the shattered hovels which half the poor of this kingdom are obliged to put up with, is truly affecting to a heart fraught with humanity. Those who condescend to visit these miserable tenements, can testify, that neither health or decency, can be preserved in them' (Kent 1775, 228). The structures represented backwardness and inefficiency that brought little in the way of finance to bolster estate income, or any basis from which to improve the moral welfare of an estate's tenants; after all, 'a well housed and contented labour force would be more stable and more efficient than a miserable and discontented one' (Havindon 1981, 415). This was an ideal

[3] I would like to express my gratitude to Ivan Hall for his thought provoking ideas regarding the career of John Carr of York and his unrivalled knowledge of the architecture of Harewood village.

employed on a number of estates in the West Riding, especially in the industrial west of the region, where planned villages were built to encourage productivity and profit. Golcar in the Colne Valley is a prime example, where the Savile family built rows of weaver's cottages in order to encourage the tenants to actively take part in local industry (Caffyn 1986, 21). At Harewood, modern amenities were built into the design of each house such as a yard to keep stock, sometimes a stable, a coalhouse and often privies (WYAS WYL 250/3/19 Estate Surveys). More significantly, facilities such as a new school and ribbon factory were built providing education for the young and employment for a manager and a number of apprentices. These utilities provided modern, sanitary conditions that could also encourage enterprise and efficiency within the estate. As it was argued in the last chapter, this was a key aspect of contemporary utopian thought since the personal improvement of the self was believed to have been of benefit to greater society (Tarlow 2007, 71-3).

There were also financial constraints to the project and these played an influential role on how it developed. From 1759, Harewood Avenue was gradually lined with new blocks, each replacing its predecessor, and following a course that crossed the Harrogate Road into 'The Square' and passed into what is now the parkland. Between 1759 and 1771, the majority of the village was rebuilt leaving only four blocks on the Harrogate Road and Harewood Avenue to be reworked at a later date (WYAS WYL 250/3/494 Cottage Account Books; Ivan Hall pers. comm.); nos. 28-33, Harrogate Road; nos. 82-88 and 106-8, The Avenue. The others blocks, meanwhile, were rebuilt over nine years, each block at a time in a general east to west direction. One of the reasons why the redevelopment was piecemeal was due to the economic condition of the estate during the early-1760s. By 1760, the financial burden of the new house had grown to £2441 making up 34% of the total outgoings (WYAS WYL 250/3/225). With an escalating buildings account and an emerging deficit the wholesale rebuilding of the village could have been financially crippling for an estate undergoing such a high level of expenditure (WYAS WYL 250/3/3 f115 Estate Rentals) (Table 3).

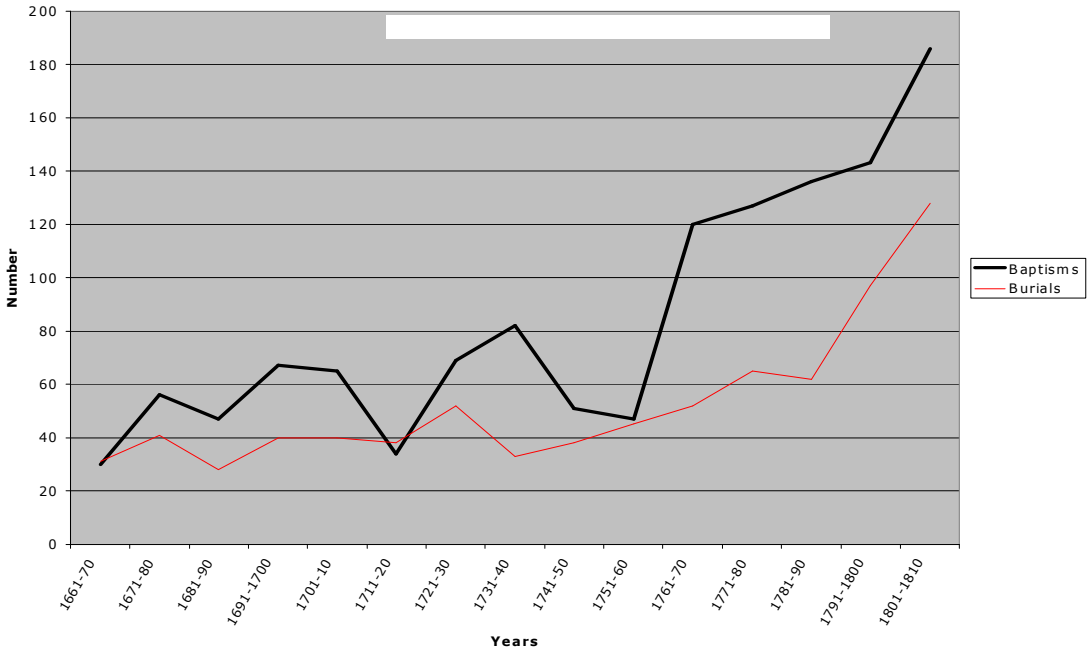
The evidence taken from building accounts also suggests that the project was not undertaken for a quick profit. In Nathaniel Kent's (1775) *Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property* the cost of building a cottage in brick and tiles was listed at 70*l* (Kent 1775, 235). The houses at Harewood were built from local stone gathered from Craven's Quarry. Despite this close proximity local stone could still carry a substantial cost. Materials for John Bickerdike's ornamental farmhouse at New Lays, for instance, reached a total of 86*l* 12s *6s* even before the workman set in (WYAS WYL 250/3/225 Cashbooks). Unfortunately few records detail the individual costs of each house, however, it is possible to glean some insight into the level of return for the investment. The cottage rents from 1770, a period when the initial stages of rebuilding had been completed, varied from as little as 2*s* to over 6*l* a year (WYAS WYL 250/3/3 f113-4). If the outlay on the new cottage was as much as 80*l,* bearing in mind reuse of stone might make a build marginally cheaper, and the average annual rent was approximately 2*l*, then the return would only be as little as 2.5% per year requiring forty years to break even. As cottages offered no other means of gaining a return, it appears that profit was not a motivation of the Lascelles.

A final factor that may have led to the rebuilding of the village was the impact of a growing population. Up to the mid-eighteenth century the population in the West Riding had increased, especially near the textile centres such as Bradford and Leeds. Lawton (1978) has noted that a mixture of low mortality and high birth rates between the years 1740 to 1780 led to a 27% increase in population within the region most likely resulting from improved diet, hygiene and control of epidemic diseases (1978, 313). In consequence, most areas experienced a shift in age structure and a growing workforce and this appears to have been the case at Harewood. Analysis of the parish registers for the village show that between 1761 and 1770 the birth rate increased significantly by 155% while the death rate had risen by 15.5% (Graph 1). The rental rolls indicate a growth in population as the number of cottagers rose from 23 in 1757 to 60 by 1770, a figure that may have reflected an increase in households (WYAS WYL 250/3/3 Estate Rentals). This level was not experienced to the same degree in the neighbouring settlements of Lofthouse, East Keswick or Stank, and as such indicates that Harewood's

growth was not typical of the locality (WYAS WYL 250/3/3 Estate Rentals). As a result it is possible to suggest that one of two events took place: either the demand for houses necessitated an increase in housing capacity, or the creation of more buildings facilitated a burst in population. Either way, the development of Harewood village contributed to the rise in population within the village between 1740-1770.

GRAPH 1*:*

The Burials and Births of Harewood Village: 1614-1812



(*Source*: Harewood Parish Registers)

From 1759, Harewood village was one of the principal entrances to the new house and parkland and there is little doubt that Edwin Lascelles took the opportunity to create an elaborate approach to impress visitors. However, it appears that there were also other reasons for its reconstruction. First, contemporary philosophy determined that a patriarchal approach to society should encompass modern sanitary conditions. In turn, these alterations could lead to broader improvements in efficiency across the landscape. Secondly, financial constraints dictated that the village should be built block by block. This provided the tenants with time to prepare and make arrangements for accommodation. From this we see that the process of improvement was multi-faceted and

not necessarily led by either aesthetics or economics; it was a combination of these factors and more.

IMPROVEMENT FROM 1753-1771: ENCLOSURE, FIELDS AND FARMSTEADS

Part of the process of improvement around Harewood also involved the reorganisation of the local agricultural economy. This was a period of consolidation when Edwin Lascelles created a base for expansion that could take place later in the century. Authors such as Chambers & Mingay (1966) have argued that during this period a landlord's prime concern was the need for income. This meant provisioning the estate with compact and convenient farms in order to entice new tenants who were willing to pay higher rents and capable of maintaining a modern farmstead (Chambers & Mingay 1966, 34-53). This could be mutually beneficial as tenants benefited from new techniques and facilities leading to higher yields and a better chance of gaining profit (Wade Martins 79-87). Much like arguments above, however, other authors have recently shown that improvement involved motivations other than profit (Johnson 1996; Tarlow 2007; Wade Martins 2004; Williamson 2002). To begin with, some landowners felt a moral obligation to feed an increasing population (Webster 2007, 47). In West Yorkshire alone, the population had increased by over 25% between 1740 and 1780, which led, in part, to a demand for imports and higher crop yields (Lawton 1978, 313). By rationalising field boundaries to suit modern farming rotations and enclosing the wastes and remaining commons, landlords were able to bring new land into cultivation (Brown 1799, 46) and address the demand for more produce. Alongside these patriarchal incentives, landowners also stood to benefit from the cultural prestige of running a successful landed estate. As it was argued in the previous chapter, the lifestyle of a 'gentleman farmer' was tightly aligned to the Georgic ideals of the mid-eighteenth century, which had been promoted by the 'Grand Tours' of Europe and the consumption of associated literature and philosophy. In response, the management of an estate was set in tandem with its aesthetics, as well as the overall social and cultural importance of the estate. As such, the improvement of Harewood should be considered in parallel with these contributing factors; after all, landlords such as Edwin Lascelles, who had the time and inclination to read, learn and understand these philosophies, were able to match ambitions of aesthetic beauty with the

'practical', financial benefits of agricultural development, as well as the other contemporary concerns.

Prior to the large-scale improvements that took place from around 1755, the landscape around Harewood was farmed in livestock-based regimes similar to those practised in the late-seventeenth century. This form of agriculture was reflective of both the geological and environmental conditions as well as local market pressures; the local environment was not suitable for arable agriculture; and the lure of the textile markets in Leeds, Bradford and Wakefield encouraged local tenants to rear flocks of sheep. Moreover, the *General View* (1799) suggested that in areas where investment in trade exceeded that of agriculture, the chances of improvement were greatly diminished: 'the occupiers of the ground will generally be found destitute of stock for cultivating the ground in an advantageous manner' (Brown 1799, 16). The result had led to the West Riding becoming a predominantly pastoral region with few farms larger than 400 acres while small pockets of arable existed on the limestone ridge in the east of the region.

Harewood seems to have been part of the livestock-based trend and by 1738 just under half of the land was under pasture while only one quarter was in arable (WYAS WYL 250/3/13b) (Fig. 3.8). This blend of 'mixed farming' was distinctive of the West Riding as farmers took advantage of the local textile industry and favourable conditions for raising livestock while also cultivating a small amount of arable to become self-sufficient (Edwards & Lake 2006, 32). Indeed, a stark contrast to Harewood could be seen at the estates belonging to the Duke of Devonshire near Wetherby, where a greater proportion was directed towards arable husbandry. Fallow, wheat and beans were seasonally rotated on the fertile limestone clays and represented the movement towards 'improved' farming practices (Rennie, Broun, Sherriff 1794, 139). At Harewood, however, such improvements were still in their infancy, although grasses such as Dutch clover were introduced to fertilise the land while white grass, rye grass, trefoil and vetches were also planted to help the efficiency of the soil (Marshall 1796, 110-111; YASA DD240; WYAS HAR SC/5 f71; WYAS WYL 250/3/179 Deeds). By the time Edwin Lascelles

inherited the estate in 1753, the agrarian landscape was in a state of transition from the earlier forms of traditional agriculture to the modern, improved ways of farming

Enclosure of Harewood common

One of the most significant acts of improvement was the enclosure of Harewood Common, although for the most part, it had been carried out after the sale of the estate in 1738. As part of the sale agreement, the local tenants agreed with the executors of John Boulter that the common should be enclosed at their own expense though rent was not be demanded until 1740 following the 'great charge' required for the work (WYAS WYL 150/3/13b f7). This led to all but 100 acres being enclosed, leaving just a small 'stray' adjoining East Keswick Common close to the township boundary (WYAS WYL 779 Acc.1967). By around 1745 however, what remained of Harewood Common had been reduced to a strip of thirty acres, an area that was used by the whole township to pasture their livestock and was overstocked in 1760 (WYL 779 Acc. 1967). Enclosure of the last thirty acres of common was not completed until sometime in the 1760s, although the differences in acreages recorded in the 1738 and 1758 surveys suggest that by the middle decades of the century over seven hundred acres had been brought into cultivation WYAS WYL 150/3/13b, 16 Estate Surveys). This area roughly equates with the 2.8 km^2 that covered Harewood common, the boundaries of which are still discernable today.

Enclosure of this sort was not in keeping with much of the wider region. Until the 1750s, enclosure in the West Riding had largely consisted of enclosing open-fields. Rogers (1952) has argued that over half of the 232 parishes within the county had been completely enclosed by 1750 (1952, 6), while Faull & Moorhouse (1981) suggest that many of the enclosures by agreement were 'usually unrecorded' (1981, 21). Very little is known about this earlier period and this is largely due to the lack of formal agreements, which were often made without the use of maps (Kain, Chapman & Oliver 2004, 22). To clarify, during the middle decades of the eighteenth century, enclosure in the West Riding was more often concerned with the open-fields than the marginal lands of wastes and commons and so the gradual enclosure of Harewood common seems to have been unusual.

There are likely to have been two reasons why Harewood common was enclosed earlier than the majority in the West Riding, which took place during the main wave of parliamentary enclosure in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. These involved motivated tenants in the area and the presence of an actively improving landlord. First, tenants in Harewood had a history of being pro-active and reaching agreements to enclose commons in the area. In the early part of the eighteenth century, six local tenants requested to improve Stubhouse Moore, a common located to the south of Weardley that had been 'almost destroyed by whims' and gave little benefit to its right holders (WYAS WYL HAR add. Maps and Plans 88 [78/5/10]). John Boulter, the estate owner, granted permission and the moor was divided into six smaller fields and distributed among the tenants. Similarly, small 'intacks' had gradually been made on Harewood common since the seventeenth century. Encroachment was common-place in the north and west of England because there were a large enough commons and wastes that owners of common rights were still left with enough space to continue their livelihood (Kain, Chapman & Oliver 2004, 12). As the tenants were also allowed to carry out their own enclosure at Harewood following the 1738 survey, it may have been the case that the process had already begun prior to Edwin Lascelles' inheritance.

The second reason for early enclosure, and perhaps more likely, was the presence of Edwin Lascelles, an active improving landlord. Authors have argued that there were many reasons for promoting enclosure. These might include profiteering from newly cultivated land, the belief that it was for the good of the nation, or even that it was an opportunity to make an aesthetic statement (Tarlow 2007; Williamson 2000a). Edwin would have been aware of contemporary agricultural literature that promoted enclosure of both open-fields and commons. As early as 1669, John Worlidge, one of the first agricultural writers to advertise the virtues of enclosure, wrote that it was the 'most principal way of improvement' (Worlidge 1669). He argued that commons were a threat to social order, attracting squatters, travellers and vagabonds who could only be shunned through the division of property and the use of boundaries to defend against people (Blomley 2007, 8; Williamson 2000a, 72). Despite this aggressive tone, other writers

argued that the process was a progressive act taking man forward from the 'backward' stages of history into a modern, enlightened era of farming that could eventually lead to greater income (Tarlow 2007, 50; Young 1808). In the library of Harewood House there is evidence that Edwin Lascelles was a consumer of this sort of literature: *Compleat body of husbandry. Containing rules for performing, in the most profitable manner, the whole business of the farmer, and country gentleman* (Hale 1756), a *Treatise of husbandry on the improvement of dry and barren lands* (Hitt 1760), and *Farmer's letters to the people of England: containing the sentiments of a practical husbandman, on various subjects* (Young 1768) survive in the modern library. Although subsequent members of the family may have purchased some of the volumes, at least a small proportion of the six thousand-book library would have been acquired by Edwin Lascelles.

As historians have pointed out, profit was also a motivator as the enclosure of commons could become lucrative, however in order to fashion new areas for agriculture an initial outlay was necessary. Chambers and Mingay (1966) calculated that the average cost of enclosure in the late-eighteenth century was approximately 28*s* per acre although this could vary depending on local variables including the cost of fencing and hedging and the provision of roads and buildings (Chambers and Mingay 1966, 84). Since rents could double as a result of enclosure, the landowner could potentially make up to fifteen to twenty per cent from their investment, a figure that was three times higher than similar speculations in funds or land purchase (Mingay 1997; Thompson 1963, 221; Wade Martins 2004, 42-43; Williamson 2000a). A particularly impressive example was found on the Sledmere Estate, East Yorkshire where in 1776 Sir Christopher Sykes purchased large tracts of sheep walk, which were rented at 1*s* 3*d* -3*s* per acre. When they were enclosed at the beginning of the nineteenth century Sykes rented them for 10*s* to 15*s* per acre, making over three times their original value (Thompson 1963, 221-2). The enclosure of waste and commons, then, could be a lucrative for members of the landed elite.

At Harewood, Samuel Popplewell estimated that the difference in value of open and enclosed fields was at least twenty-five per cent (Brown 1799, 46), which indicates that it

was in the landlord's financial interest to support enclosure. Whether Popplewell was referring to the common is unclear, but by the 1760s investments were being made in the area. By the end of the century, sixteen tenants held an interest in the former common by either renting a farmstead or leasing a small number of fields (WYAS WYL 250/3/ Kent Claridge & Pearce). Of those sixteen, four farms are traceable through the documents for the period 1738-1771 and provide a clear indication of the agricultural improvements that took place during that time.

Hollin Hall and Lofthouse Grange Farms

In the period from 1760-65, a disproportionately high number of farms on the estate were improved between the end of one lease and the commencement of another (Fig. 4.9). This gap provided Samuel Popplewell with the time to make significant adjustments to a farmstead before renting it to the next tenant. One example of this sort was Hollin Hall where a substantial amount of work was carried out in 1764 (WYAS HAR SC/3). Hollin Hall Farm was one of the oldest on the estate having been illustrated on the 1698 estate map and whose origins may have been medieval (HHMP). At the time of the 1738 survey, the farm consisted of 143 acres including twelve enclosures situated on the Hollin Hall Plateau as well as those skirting the East Keswick township boundary to the east (Swanick, Rollins, Minshull & Gorst 1994). By 1758, and following a fifteen-year tenancy by John Bickerdike, the farm had increased to 193 acres with rent doubling from around 30*l* to 60*l* per year. This is likely to have resulted from increasing agricultural prices as well as the new land added to the farm (Chambers & Mingay 1966, 40). The main improvements did not take place until 1764 between the end of Bickerdike's lease and the start of the new tenancy. Between July 1764 and November 1765, a number of projects took place on the farm including substantial draining, ditching, and the creation of new buildings (WYAS WYL 250/3/247; WYAS HAR SC 3&4). Structural evidence suggests that an extension of an early-eighteenth century barn may be attributed to this period. The barn was extended by approximately eight metres, almost doubling the size of the structure and providing more space for livestock away from the threshing floor in the north (Fig. 4.10) (See Appendix B). By making improvements such as this,

Popplewell added value to the farm and was able to charge £130 per year, a figure that was more than double what had been charged previously, and provided a significant return on the investment. A similar pattern was found at Lofthouse Grange Farm where the tenant, William Scott, experienced a rise of 93% from £30 10*s* to £58 during the period 1758-1765 (WYAS WYL 250/3 Rentals). Again, there is evidence of structural changes to an earlier barn, while holdings around the farm were increased. However, it is unclear if the type of farming at both of these farms, had shifted towards arable and therefore affected the value of the farm. From these examples, however, one can see how the potential for financial reward may have motivated the landlord to drive enclosure.

High Lofthouse Farm

In addition to profit, Edwin Lascelles also appears to have been motivated by aesthetics. This is indicated by two farms also built on the common during this period, which point towards the *Georgic* themes of beauty and utility. One of these, High Lofthouse, was located to the north of Wike Lane, and by 1758 was rented by Thomas Smith who had moved to the area sometime between 1748 and 1758. Change was not felt until 1765 when the rent was raised from £32 7s a year, to £49 12s (WYAS WYL 250/3 Rentals). The reason for this was the construction of a new farmhouse built and designed by John Carr of York. It took the form of a three-storey three-bay farmhouse, built in the Palladian symmetrical style featuring a central bay flanked on either side by pavilions. Crucially, it faced northwest towards the Leeds-to-Harrogate turnpike and was easily visible from both Harewood village and the new house being built 2.2km to the northwest. The farmhouse was an eye-catcher designed for passing visitors to reflect on the new improvements on Harewood common.

New Lays Farm

Another model farmhouse was built in the north of the common at New Lays farm, the largest in the area at 140 acres. It adjoined the boundary with Hollin Hall, while to the east was the border with the East Keswick township. Alongside the ditching and hedging,

which took place from 1763, a new set of farm buildings were constructed (WYAS WYL 250/3/247). The Steward's cashbook reveals that at least £235 10*s* 10 3/4*d* was spent building it, while other expenses were disbursed for ground improvements (WYAS WYL 250/3/247). In comparison with contemporary treatises such as Nathaniel Kent's *Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property (*1775), the common amount to be spent on a farmhouse was around £75, so this building was unusual. A later estate map dating to 1813 (WYAS WYL 250/3/3 20 Estate Maps) indicates that it was built in a similar form as High Lofthouse, with a central house flanked on either side by two pavilions. Moreover, John Carr of York is known to have built similar farmhouses at the Street Farm and Arbour Hill Farm on the Hornby Castle Estate, North Yorkshire (NMR EST01/SC01305) (Figs 4.11 & 4.12). The significance of the farm is also illuminated by information about the tenant, John Bickerdike, a yeoman farmer who, by the 1760s, was a principal inhabitant on the estate who sat on the manorial court and was also a churchwarden at All Saints' (Brigg 1914; WYAS 150/2/5a Manorial Court Rolls). His probate inventory reveals that in 1779 the farmhouse contained a large parlour, a little parlour, back kitchen, cellar, bed chamber, and men's chamber (Garrett 1747). These sources suggest that the farmhouse was valued as an aesthetic showpiece and a monument to Edwin Lascelles' scheme of improvements on the common. Here, Lascelles demonstrated the central tenets of improvement: beauty and utility, pleasure and profit (Wade Martins 2002, 8), which led, in part, to these eye-catchers built as 'a theatre of ornamental farms' (Witts 1777).

The enclosure of Harewood common was evidently a process that was beneficial to the landlord. Significantly, however, there were less positive aspects experienced by others. By the 1760s, the fabric of the common reflected modern agricultural methods as new enclosures enabled crop rotations and the establishment of farmsteads in place of the open pasture and grazing land. Historians have often highlighted the impact of this change, showing how small-scale farmers were impacted by the loss of their grazing rights (Beckett 1983; Mingay 1961-2; Thompson 1991). Due to the lack of manorial court rolls and other sources during this period it is hard to judge whether there was widespread resistance to enclosure within Harewood. However, there does seem to have been a measure of change and a level of disruption within rural life. For the most part this

came in the final quarter of the century and will therefore be dealt with in the next chapter, but it is worth noting that a small number of events took place at the turn of the 1760s. It has already been noted that Harewood common was reduced to little more than a thirty-acre 'stray' adjoining East Keswick common by 1759 (WYAS WYL 779 Acc.1967). By 1760 the traditional method of grazing sheep 'in common' had not been phased out, despite the lack of common in Harewood. Instead, the local tenants grazed their animals in the neighbouring common in East Keswick, and on the 29th August of that year, 487 of the 1063 grazing sheep belonged to the inhabitants of Harewood. In addition to the earlier manorial by-laws of the 1740s restricting access to new folds on the common, and destruction of hedges (WYAS WYL 250/2a Manorial Court Rolls f91), it seems that the new practices of improved husbandry were only gradually being adopted. This can be taken as a sign that despite the overarching emphasis on improvement by Edwin Lascelles, at the local scale, there was only a gradual appropriation of new methods within the farming community.

Farmsteads and Consolidation

Agricultural improvement also played a role in the consolidation of the agrarian landscape at Harewood. It is at this scale of tenurial patterns that we find the continuation of traditional farming methods alongside the more modern practices. It is clear that by the 1760s, Edwin Lascelles relied heavily on estate rents and their contribution to the overall income; in 1763 he wrote: '…the only way I judge of the whole value of an estate is from the tenants being able to pay their rents at fix times and not falling into arrears. If they fail in this point, it is a sure sign that they are either rack beyond measure or they are bad managers…'(WYAS HAR SC 4/1/55 f1r, f1v). Lascelles expected his tenants to maintain their farms and carry out improved methods of farming as it guaranteed a regular income. In 1738 the rents totalled £1579 14*s* 6 1/2*d* making them the principal source of revenue from the Harewood estate. This trend continued into the second half of the century when on average between 1755-71 they drew close to 65% of the total income (WYAS WYL 250/3/Cashbooks) and by 1771 they had reached £5891 per year. A large part of this growth was due to increasing emphasis placed on consolidation through land purchases as well as improvements in the landscape. Although the broader trends of rents and

income are useful to gain an overall understanding of the estate, it is also necessary to look deeper, at the material impact of improvement on the landed estate. This involves studying changes in field patterns, the construction of farmsteads as well as surviving historic buildings. These provide more of an indication of how improvement affected local everyday life than the more general trends found in economic histories and estate cashbooks (Beastall 1975; Spring 1963).

Field Sizes

In order for improvements to be carried out, it was necessary for the land to be organised in such a way that new methods of husbandry could be carried out. As it was argued above, the general trend of the West Riding was to have 'small proprietors' with farms of less than 100 acres (Brown 1799, 7). It was only on the limestone ridge that farmsteads were consistently bigger such as at Thornber Hill on the Earl of Scarborough's estate at Sandbeck, which consisted of 312 acres (Beastall 1975, 80). Even bigger still, were the large-scale arable farms on the lighter soils of East Yorkshire, where holdings could reach upwards of 600 acres (Popham 1986, 130). Farms at Harewood, however, were located in a more hostile environment less suited for cereals, with more rolling topography on the millstone grit, poor soils and a wet climate. The letting policy of 1738 reflected this situation with tenants favouring small acreages with only five farms among forty with holdings over 150 acres (WYAS WYL 250/3/13b). In the late-1730s, prior to large-scale improvement at Harewood, it is likely that the local natural environment and commercial enterprise helped shape local tenantry patterns.

By 1758, it appears that land holding patterns on the Harewood estate had begun to shift and through comparison between the 1738 and 1758 estate surveys, a number of trends begin to emerge (Table 5). The first noticeable difference is the number of tenants who rented land over the course of the period. In 1738 there had been forty tenants, which by 1758 had increased to 69. The increasing number of small-scale tenants who rented between 1-10 acres can partly be explained by over half of the group holding up to two acres, which were likely to be small gardens or 'mistalls' (a place to keep a animal). There was also a rise of 'middling' farmers who rented between 20-100 acres. This was

more than likely to have been the result of enclosure on Harewood common where up to 600 acres had been brought into cultivation and shared among sixteen tenants. A significant proportion of those sixteen were new to the area and took advantage of new enclosure. Finally, the number of farmers with holdings of 101-200 acres also increased. On a regional scale within the West Riding, these tenants were 'styled [as] a great farmer' (Brown 1799, 16) because they leased 100 acres or more. In 1758 only eight tenants qualified for this category.

TABLE 5

The spread of acreage across the Harewood tenant base, 1738 and 1758
(*Sources:* WYAS WYL 250/3/13b, 16 Estate Surveys)

Holdings in acres/Tenant	*1738*	*1758*
1-10	14	22
11-20	7	11
21-50	7	18
51-100	5	10
101-150	2	3
151-200	1	4
201-250	3	0
250+	1	1
Total Tenants	**40**	**69**
Total Acreage:	**2263 acres**	**2974 acres**

N.B. No. of tenants are shown in corresponding columns

The layout of the 1758 survey, which appears to be organised in order of fields in the landscape rather than the landholdings held by an individual, suggests that rationalisation and grouping of fields had already begun and may have led to the first farmsteads. This would certainly be in keeping with contemporary commentators who looked to make 'small farms in to great ones' by accruing adjacent fields (Lawrence 1731, 4). When a series of enclosures were grouped in this way, field boundaries could be moved without much difficulty and in turn, larger, more profitable holdings could be developed (Wade Martins 2004, 34). However, between 1738 and 1758, the average size of a field on the

estate was reduced from eight acres to five (WYAS WYL 250/3/13b, 16 Estate Surveys). This can be explained by the number of smallholdings between 1-10 acres, which increased markedly over the same period. Despite this, however, the size does still appear to have decreased. It seems, therefore, that initial enclosure and reorganisation in the 1750s resulted in the opposite of what was recommended in contemporary farming treatises. It is unclear whether this trend was a conscious decision by the landowner and tenants, but it might indicate that improved methods of husbandry were only gradually being accommodated into contemporary attitudes to farming. To be sure, enclosure and the consolidation of land was a sign of improvement, but smaller fields were more associated with small-scale livestock farming, not the better use of the land and a shift to arable that was encouraged in other parts of the country such as on the lighter soils of Norfolk and East Yorkshire (Wade Martins 2004, 34). It seems that these were trends that had not reached Harewood by the late 1750s.

Farm Buildings

The contemporary farm buildings on the estate provide further evidence to suggest that the local tenants were adopting improved methods on a gradual basis. As it has already been noted, some of the newly built farms on the former common were furnished with modern buildings. This was seen at New Lays where a barn, granary and fold yard were positioned to the west of the farmhouse, while the cow sheds were placed down wind, directly to the north. This practical layout can be traced to some of the first copybooks for farmhouses including Daniel Garrett's *Designs of Farm Houses etc for the Counties of Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland the Bishoprick of Durham* (1747). Garrett created a host of designs ranging from single-yard layouts to double yards, which were aimed at new farms based on cheap and convenient principles (Wade Martins 2004, 74). Often a barn or stable faced the house while the fold and stack yards were placed to the side of the building either on a north/south or east/west orientation (Garrett 1747) (Fig. 4.13). This convenient layout had practical benefits such as the storage area in the stockyard for manure, which was used to fertilise the land. Similarly, straw was taken as a by-product of threshing and in an ordered farmstead could easily be moved from the barn to the stables (Wade Martins 2004, 74). This utility was viewed as a

necessity and by the nineteenth century it was understood that 'to farm successfully with defective and ill-arranged buildings is no more practical than to manufacture profitably in scattered ill-arranged workshops in place of one harmoniously contrived, completely fitted mill' (Denton 1863).

The availability of pattern books and the growing acceptance of improvement by Edwin Lascelles meant that Harewood became part of a wider trend of development that saw gentleman farmers creating ornamental farms with practical concerns. This was a pattern found throughout the country as landowners embraced new farming methods and built a host of model farms (Mingay 1989, 571; Wade Martins 2002; 2004, 72-81). During the 1770s, for example, Sir Christopher Sykes built five new farmsteads on the Sledmere estate in East Yorkshire, which were no doubt known to Edwin Lascelles as he regularly corresponded with Sykes and the farms in question were partly designed by John Carr of York (WYAS HAR SC). At the Marramatte and Life Hill farms, Sykes took an active role in the designs creating well-proportioned plans with farmhouses linked to pavilions, which housed the stables and cow houses, all of which opened on to foldyards (Neave & Neave 2008; Pevsner 1975, 700; Popham 1986, 130). As it has already been argued above, the farms at High Lofthouse and New Lays on the Harewood estate were built along similar lines. They also featured a central farmhouse flanked either side by pavilions – a favourite arrangement of Garrett (1747) - but unlike those at Sledmere, they were built largely as aesthetic showpieces without the associated farm buildings and courtyard. This was largely because they were 'eye catchers' rather than fully operational model farms. More efficient layouts and grander buildings were reserved for Lascelles home farm built in the 1770s.

Paul Barnwell and Colum Giles (1997) have argued that model farms in estates like Harewood and Sledmere should not be studied in isolation. Farmsteads developed according to a variety of factors including the pre-existing buildings, nature of farming practiced and local vernacular traditions (1997, 146). Moreover, they were often less efficient than the model examples with animal accommodation next to farmhouses, foldyards at a distance from livestock housing, and local circumstances such as

topography and underlying geology also limiting development (Tarlow 2007, 70). The significance then, was not necessarily the presence of model farms *per se*, but rather the adoption of modern farming practices within vernacular traditions. On the Harewood estate this can be gauged through the examination of surviving farmhouses and barns, two of the most important buildings on eighteenth-century farms (Appendices B & C). The approach taken here mirrors Dan Maudlin's (2008) study of Scottish farmhouses, which recorded the frequency of key building elements to infer patterns of consumption within the statutory buildings lists. Although this method relies on the visual interpretation of buildings (Edwards & Lake 2006), it does provide an overview of agricultural development. It also reveals the rate at which improved agriculture was being adopted, and the level of penetration of Edwin Lascelles' broader schemes at the local scale.

The first group of buildings included eleven farmhouses surveyed on ten farms, which reveal how an architectural livery was being introduced across the estate landscape. Since the construction of farmhouses was an expensive venture, much like rebuilding cottages in Harewood village, the buildings would have been highly valued. This was reflected in the form of the structure as well as embellishments in design and ornamentation. Whether these buildings were designed by the tenant, the steward, the landowner or the architect or even a mix of all four is hard to tell, but in some cases, such as at Stables Farm, sources do suggest that the tenant paid for some of the development themselves (Stables 1855). As Maudlin identified, the principal architectural language used to build farmhouses during this period was the classical style associated with Palladian architecture (2008, 12). In every case studied, the front elevation was built with 3 bays with the great majority in a symmetrical double-pile or T-shaped plan. Of the 11 farmhouses that survive however, seven were built prior to 1800, while only three date to the period 1755-71. The front elevation was the public face of the building, nearly always facing a road and was used as the most important element of conspicuous display (Maudlin 2008, 15). As a result, the repeated use of specific layouts may have been used to convey wealth and rank, as well as the general understanding of agricultural methods. Even if these ideas were mediated through Samuel Popplewell to the local craftsmen,

they represented the landlord's vision for improvement, an estate livery, rather than a broader pattern within estate society (Johnson 1996, 79-83). These elevations were after all, statements of 'modernity and wealth, social aspiration and conformity' (Maudlin 2008, 15).

Like Maudlin's study of Scottish farmhouses (2008), the use of classical ornament on the exterior elevations was restrained. This pattern is likely to indicate the slow adoption of new elements within this local setting. Ornamentation was mainly restricted to moulded kneelers and false-voussoirs in the lintels of doors and windows (Fig. 4.14). These features were derived from classical architecture and the houses more traditionally associated with the landed elite (Wittkower 1998). Maudlin (2008) has suggested that this restraint was due to the notion of 'Decorum' with tenant farmers deeming broader elaboration inappropriate for their station (2008, 15). Another explanation, however, and perhaps more specific to Harewood, was by the late-1750s, estate craftsmen were still acclimatising to new methods and styles of building. This is highlighted by the inclusion of mullioned windows and less elaborate surrounds at Carr House and Stables Farm (Fig. 4.15), suggesting that while an estate livery may have been in its infancy, the more traditional features of architecture were still being incorporated[4]. Although the use of mullioned windows continued in some parts of West Yorkshire until the nineteenth century, those at Harewood appear to have been phased out by the late 1760s (Lindstrum 1978). Moreover, the 'new' classical features could be seen in neighbouring towns, which may have promoted a degree of emulation. After all, local craftmen regularly attended social engagements as far away as York (WYAS HAR/SC)[5]. As a result, this evidence suggests that that while improvement was actively being promoted by Edwin Lascelles, 'improved' elements within the architecture were only gradually being adopted.

The second group of buildings included nine barns all built during the eighteenth century. Barns are particularly useful for this purpose because they are often the oldest and most

[4] For a more detailed analysis see Chapter seven.

[5] The movement of craftsmen are discussed in the analysis of joiners on the estate in Chapter six.

impressive buildings on a farm and reflect the prominent processes of agriculture. The mid-eighteenth century had been characterised by fairly low agricultural prices although by the 1760s the economic climate had begun to improve. As a result, barns in the area around Harewood tended to be geared towards pastoral farming and livestock with a central threshing floor accompanied by mistalls and a raised storage area for hay or grain (Edwards & Lake 2006). This type of 'fully-storeyed' barn (Edwards & Lake 2006, 54) was common both in the locality (seven out of nine surviving barns had mistalls), as well as the wider region, and in most cases the buildings had been adopted for new functions. Linked with this trend over 50% of the farmsteads were built in a loose-courtyard plan, which was characteristic of a piecemeal development rather than the single phase preferred by most landowners building model farms (Edwards & Lake 2006, 42; Tarlow 2007, 70). It is likely, that this pattern also extended to the barns, as local tenants used the same structure over the course of their tenancy and made alterations when needed. The implication is that the improvements made to the broader estate landscape, such as those at Hollin Hall in the 1760s (Fig. 4.10 & 4.16) (WYAS HAR SC/3) included adaptations to older structures rather than building new, model buildings. So while large-scale redevelopments were taking place in Harewood village and at the new house, pre-existing farmsteads were only being updated. On the few occasions where this did take place, such as Stables Farm and High Lofthouse, it was the main house that became the focus while the agricultural buildings became a secondary concern.

The lower status of farm buildings compared to the farmhouses is confirmed by looking at the building materials and architectural features. A great proportion of the barns dating to this period were built with squared rubble brought to courses, which was rougher in appearance than the masonry seen in the farmhouses and was probably built of reused local stone. The use of rubble often saved money, but in areas where the barn was likely to have been seen by important visitors such as at High Lofthouse, a higher grade of dressed stone was incorporated. Other vernacular features included roughly aligned composite jambs and plain surrounds, which suggest that the local tradition was rarely concerned with the more formal elements of classical architecture. This is confirmed by the earliest barns on the estate at Carr House and Hollin Hall, which both date to the

early-eighteenth century and contain early window openings with plain surrounds and single monolithic lintels. The appearance of false-voussoirs and projecting sills, which became the more common window arrangement on estate buildings by the late-eighteenth century and had first appeared during the building of Harewood village, do not appear in barns until around the 1790s (Fig. 4.17). This indicates that forms of window remained in the local vernacular style. One element that bucked this trend was the use of moulded kneelers, which were used more often from the 1760s. *Cyma-recta* mouldings were generally reserved for the higher status farmsteads such as Stables Farm while lower-status mouldings such as *ovolo* could be seen elsewhere (Fig. 4.18). This tendency towards vernacular forms and irregular use of classical architecture does suggest either the estate craftsmen or the farmers continued to use the same familiar elements that they had in previous decades. Thus, despite the progression of improvement in other parts of the landscape, vernacular architecture roughly remained the same as it had been in the second-quarter of the eighteenth century.

From this evidence, the overall picture suggests that following Edwin Lascelles' improvements in the 1750s and 1760s an estate livery was being established. This was particularly noticeable in the new farmhouses built in the 1760s, which were the first of their kind on the estate. In the less important buildings such as the barns, 'improved' architecture was less prominent. This may either indicate that the tenantry were less appreciative of the style and were maintaining their older, more established forms of architecture, or there wasn't the same need to spend money on lower status buildings. The continuation of combination barns during this period does reflect the mixed husbandry of the area, which had become prominent prior to Edwin Lascelles' inheritance. As such, at this local scale, we see that farming practices were only developing at a slow rate as commons continued to be used, the size of fields remained small, and barns were maintained for their traditional use as mistalls and areas for threshing. Together, these elements suggest that by the late-1770s, local agricultural methods and processes were only gradually adopting the broader improvement philosophies encouraged by Edwin Lascelles and his steward.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has laid out the first phase of improvements following Edwin Lascelles' inheritance in 1753. It has moved from the broader scales of the region, situating the Harewood estate within its wider context, while also focusing on the details of landscape change that took place between 1755-1771. It has also shown that estate landscapes were not simply made up of a 'core' and 'periphery' (Clemenson 1982) but contained different elements that were part of the same system that were principally governed by the landlord. From this perspective it was shown how the process of improvement was multi-faceted. It was led by pleasure, profit, patriarchy and social ambition all aspects of a modern gentleman farmer. Underlying the consolidation of the estate were also aspects that ran counter to the overall scheme. Tenants maintained traditional methods of farming, grazed their livestock in the neighbouring parish and used older buildings for their day-to-day work. So as improvement changed the physical landscape with parks, gardens and a country house, more embedded and established social practices continued. It is only as we look at this fine-grained account of landscape, at the scale of the inhabitants, that we see that improvement was not accepted in wholesale. Having outlined the development of the main areas in the landscape, the next chapter will move on to examine the broader improvements situating it in the turbulent period of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

5. HAREWOOD 1772-1813: PLAINS AND PROSPECTS

Another vista open to the view,
The prospects pleasing, and the objects new,
Here cast the eye o'er nature's wide domain,
The wood enamel'd, and the fertile plain;

(EXTRACT FROM ODE ON HAREWOOD BY JOHN JEWELL, 1819)

INTRODUCTION

The last chapter showed how the Harewood Estate was formed and developed in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. For the most part, the pervasive process of improvement impacted on the estate as the agrarian landscape, local village and ornamental gardens were developed according to the influence of Edwin Lascelles and the management of his steward, Samuel Popplewell. It was through the negotiation of the wants of the landlord, improvement philosophies, and the influence of national and regional trends that led to Harewood progressing along its own individual trajectory.

This chapter will set out the development of the Harewood estate in the later part of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. In doing so, the structure is based on the management decisions carried out by Edwin and Edward Lascelles from 1772 to 1813. Their biographies as individuals and members of the landed elite played a vital role in the development of the landscape, and in turn the lives of those inhabitants of the estate during that period. The decisions taken by these men enhanced the landscape, helped it grow in size, and permanently changed the character of the area. These commitments will be contextualised as a part of the broader scheme of improvement initiated by Edwin Lascelles earlier in the century that was concerned as much with the physical development of estate as it was about philosophy, aesthetics, patriarchy and economics.

THE LANDOWNERS

It has already been established that in order to understand the development of a landscape it is necessary to gain some idea about the influential figures who affected its course. This can reveal insights about the motivations lying behind many of the decisions. The main

landowner who oversaw the early stages of development at Harewood was Edwin Lascelles. It was his political and mercantile connections that helped the family to finance the estate improvements from the mid-1750s to the end of the century, and provide the impetus for later schemes. Despite two marriages, to Elizabeth Dawes, daughter of Sir Darcy Dawes, 4th Baronet, and Lady Jane Fleming, Edwin Lascelles died without a male heir in January 1795. It was for this reason that the estate was passed to his cousin, Edward Lascelles.

Edward Lascelles, 1st Earl of Harewood (1740-1820)

Edward Lascelles, 1st Earl of Harewood, was born in Barbados in 1740 during a period when his father, Edward (snr), was serving as the Collector of Customs in the Port of Bridgetown (Smith 2006, 59). This was a position that had formerly been held by Henry Lascelles, who had vacated the post in 1734 (Smith 2008). Edward (snr) remained on the island until his death in 1747, two years after he had been embroiled in the fraud charges made against the Lascelles brothers by Robert Dinwiddie, the Inspector-General of customs, who had been dispatched to Barbados in 1745. It is likely that Edward (jnr) remained on the island during this period and did not move to England until after his father's death, upon which he inherited the English estate at Kellington and Beale, Yorkshire, £21,176 in securities, an annuity of £220 and Barbadian plantations worth at least £12,400 (Smith 2006, 87). By 1761, and following a short career in the Royal Horse Guards (Thorne 1986, 376), Edward established a countryseat at Stapleton Hall, near Pontefract, only thirty kilometres from his cousins Edwin at Harewood, and Daniel at Plompton.

Edward's association with his cousins did not end at the close vicinity of their estates. His name also appears with theirs on the subscription lists for the York Assembly Rooms, and he and his wife, Anne Chaloner of Guisborough, frequently stayed at Harewood becoming well acquainted with the estate and its steward, Samuel Popplewell (Mauchline 1974. 113). He also shared a similar background with Edwin and Daniel, having been brought up in Barbados before returning to England to take a Yorkshire seat. Edward later re-entered Parliament for Northallerton when Edwin became a peer in 1791, a move

that would have brought further influence for the family in political circles (Thorne 1986, 376). Upon Edwin's death in 1795, Edward was installed as the head of the Lascelles fortune, which included the Caribbean investments as well as those closer to home at Goldsborough, Plompton and Harewood. The peerage, meanwhile, became extinct in the absence of a direct succession although Edward revived the title in June 1796, and was later created the 1st Earl of Harewood in 1812.

From the estate accounts and cashbooks it appears that a period of land investment took place following Edward's succession. He seems to have been interested in the purchase estates in the surrounding counties. Among others, purchases at Kellingly, Pontefract and Rigton between 1797 and 1810 illustrate what seems to have been a concerted effort to strengthen his landed interests in a time when economic stresses were pressurising the income at Harewood. This general concern for the management of his estates was not only limited to Britain. Smith (2006) has argued that during the period 1792-1799, the Barbadian estates had not produced a profit (2006, 229) and led the 1st Earl to order a thorough review of his West Indian properties. A 'total change of system' followed including an overhaul of bookkeeping and a biannual statement of slaves, livestock and crops (Smith 2006, 229, 234). It seems that Edward Lascelles was more concerned with administering his estates both at home and abroad, and lessening the strain upon his financial position, than embellishing the grounds at Harewood House.

Despite these reservations Edward took a keen interest in the arts and culture. During his time at Harewood House he was responsible for a series of portraits created by the painter, John Hopner. Mary Ann, his daughter, Henrietta Lascelles, the wife of his son Henry, and the Earl himself, were all depicted shortly after his arrival at Harewood at the cost of £80 1*s* (Mauchline 1974, 115). Similarly, collections of china and porcelain were contributed to the house, while a trained choir was maintained at All Saints' church (Mauchline 1974, 114; WYAS WYL 250/3/250 Estate Cash Books). The latter may have been linked to his involvement in urban society where he patronised both opera and the theatre in London and Leeds, as well as subscribing to a lending library in the capital (Mauchline 1974, 115). From these brief insights Edward appears to have taken an

interest in the cultural aspects of high society, as he took a house in the capital while taking part in many of the social engagements of the period. It seems, however, that while his appreciation of the arts may have extended to fine-art and theatre, it did not extend to the landscape surrounding Harewood House. According to David Hill, it was Edward's eldest son, Viscount Edward 'Beau' Lascelles (1764-1814), who led improvement in that part of the estate (Mauchline 1974; Hill 1995).

Viscount Edward 'Beau' Lascelles (1764-1814)

Edward is likely to have been born in Yorkshire at his father's residence of Stapleton Hall, as the eldest of four children including Henry, 2nd Earl of Harewood (1767-1841), Frances (1777-1817) and Mary Anne (d. 1831). He was educated at Harrow during the 1770s and left for a Grand Tour of Europe in 1785 where it is likely that he fostered an appreciation for French decorative arts and sculpture. This may have led to his later purchases of Sèvre porcelain, which are now exhibited at Harewood House (Mauchline 1974, 113; Thorne 1986, 376; NYRO ZBM/168). Upon his early death in 1814, Robert Raikes noted in his diary that Edward Lascelles 'was a handsome man, rather inclined to be fat which gave him a considerable resemblance to George, Prince of Wales, whom he evidently imitated in his dress and manner…His house though not large, was a museum of curiosities selected with great taste and judgement…His life was luxurious but short, as he died at the age of fifty' (Raikes 1858, 184-5).

In addition to Edward's appreciation for the French arts, he was also a keen painter and was influenced by the rising prominence of the young topographic water-colourists. It was with this interest that he invited Thomas Girtin, J. M. W. Turner and John Varley to Harewood House between 1788-1805. Mary Mauchline (1974) has made the connection between the picturesque style associated with the watercolourists and the invitation sent to Humphry Repton who, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, laid down plans for Harewood (Mauchline 1974, 118). These designs seem to resonate with earlier romantic conceptions of landscape as represented by Turner, and may well have been echoed by 'Beau' Lascelles (Hill 1995). In his memorandum of 1800, Repton refers to 'corn fields beyond the Porch to be planted as far as they are visible over the swell of the hill'

(WYAS WYL250/4 Box 1: architectural plans, f5). Repton held the working elements of the rural scene in high regard, but critically, sought to remove them from the foreground at what is now known as Lodge Hill, and in turn, move them to the horizon. This had consequences for the agrarian land that Turner and Girtin had depicted in the preceding century, as it required the careful management of the farms and their occupants as the ornamental gardens began to infringe on the agricultural landscape. This evidence suggests that it was Edward 'Beau' Lascelles who was the main protagonist in the development of the ornamental landscape from 1795.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HAREWOOD ESTATE 1772-1813

From 1772, contemporary accounts show that the management of the Harewood Estate shifted from an overall scheme of consolidation towards growth and diversification. Whether this was consciously undertaken is unclear, but nevertheless the estate experienced growth and improvement resulting in a rising estate income. This was a pattern also shared by other estates and landowners of the period. On his inheritance of the Percy lands of East Yorkshire during the 1750s, for instance, Charles Wyndham, 2nd Earl of Egremont (1710-1763), immediately employed Thomas Browne, one the finest surveyors in Britain, to report on the estates and suggest improvements. Wyndham ordered the survey first to provide a picture of what land had been passed to him, and second to use the summary as a guide to improve the estate (English 1990, 154). Wyndham's actions were part of a broader trend of the period, where landowners sought to increase the income of an estate through land purchases, enclosure awards and agricultural improvement as well as expenditure in smaller sources of income such as turnpike trusts and tithes. Such investments had the potential to dramatically change the character of a landscape by consolidating farms and constructing new estate buildings, in turn requiring the resident population to come to terms with a changing environment. The following section outlines the various forms of improvement made by the Lascelles on the Harewood estate from 1772-1813 and situates them both in the local context and within much broader patterns on regional and national scales.

The data and information used to construct this narrative have been drawn from several sources from estate account books and correspondence to the surveying of the landscape itself. For the first time, the cashbooks and home farm accounts have been analysed in detail in order to form a judgement about the condition of the estate between 1772-1813. As described in the previous chapter, the account books used the charge/discharge method by which the yearly income and expenditure was noted in detail but little effort was made to separate capital from income (English 1990, 103). As identified by Barbara English (1990), the main purposes of this method were two fold: first, to estimate how much income was expected on rent day; and secondly, to make sure the landowner was 'not being robbed by their stewards' (English 1990, 102-3). These sources bring inherent difficulties for those wishing to form an absolute picture of how the estate was run. For example, there are a number of payments that are neither accounted for, nor explained. Similarly, it is not uncommon to find that the accounts are balanced by erroneous and often vague entries. It has been necessary, therefore, to crosscheck sources both with other accounts books, and where possible, with the material evidence derived from farm and landscape surveys on the Harewood Estate.

Investments

Inheritance

One of the principal ways in which landowners of the eighteenth century could accumulate property was through inheritance. At Harewood, the transmission of land from one member of the family to their successor contributed a small number of properties that helped the estate grow from 1772. In its most basic way, inheritance provided a method for accumulating and maintaining property within a family. In many cases, this involved strict settlement, a legal device developed to prevent the break-up of estates at the death of the legal owner. In areas such as the East Riding of Yorkshire, the succession of land between the landowner and a blood relative was very common. Between 1530-1910, 127 successions took place with no estates passing except on death, with 61.4% transferred to the eldest son (English 1990. 98). In truth, this limited the fragmentation of estates and helped to maintain the landed elite's position in society (Williamson 2002, 15).

At Harewood there were two distinct phases of inheritance that connected properties that lay further away from the main estate centre at Harewood. The first phase involved Goldsborough and Plompton, both in West Yorkshire, which passed from Daniel Lascelles to Edwin in 1784 (Fig. 4.1). Both properties are significant because they reveal the interconnectedness between Edwin at Harewood and his cousin based ten kilometres away. Plompton had initially been bought in 1755 as the Yorkshire seat for Daniel who had taken over as the manager of the West Indian merchant house following his father's death. At Plompton, Daniel had employed John Carr of York to survey the old manor house before asking for designs for a new hall. The most remarkable building was the stable block designed again by Carr, and consisted of a rusticated arched entrance surmounted by an octagonal cupola reminiscent of William Kent's stables at Houghton Hall (Worsley 2000, 17). The stables were built concurrently with those at Harewood House, and indicate that Edwin and Daniel were working in concert as they established their new estates, although Daniel's main concerns remained with the family's West Indian interests that had been passed to him following his father's death (Smith 2008, 204). Shortly after the completion of the stables in 1762, Daniel purchased the second property, Goldsborough Hall, which was located three kilometres from Plompton and twelve from Harewood. It was a red-brick gabled mansion and was later substantially remodelled by John Carr and Robert Adam. The second phase of inheritance, meanwhile, took place at the death of Edwin Lascelles in 1795, at which point the estates owned by Edward Lascelles, 1st Earl of Harewood, were added to the Harewood accounts. These included his residence at Stapleton Park, West Yorkshire, as well as the estates at Kellington and Beale, which Edward had inherited from his father in 1747.

The addition of these properties to the Harewood Estate provided a small number of benefits. First, their value helped to balance the expenditure that was taking place in other parts of the Harewood landscape. Although the size and value of the properties at Gouldsborough and Plompton remain elusive, the cashbooks dating from 1789-1813 reveal that the Plompton lands generated at least £4,000 per year, roughly a quarter of the estate income from rents (WYAS WYL 250/3/250 Estate Accounts). This was a

considerable amount, and with Gouldsborough also contributing to the rental income, the benefit of the inheritance would have been all too apparent to both Edwin Lascelles as landowner and Samuel Popplewell who balanced the accounts each year. In contrast, when the properties relating to Edward Lascelles' inheritance of 1795 were first placed on the rent books, they were valued at £97 17*s* 6*d* per year, suggesting that they were only a small investment. Nevertheless, they still provided a landed interest in parts of the country that had not formerly been represented in the accounts at Harewood. This enabled the family to further their political and commercial reach and convey their influence to other members of the landed elite.

The second impact of owning these properties was the potential for estate workers to make visits. Such movements provided rare opportunities for some members of the working staff to move beyond the bounds of the estate. Members of the craftsmen, for example, rarely left their workshops and only travelled beyond to visit friends or local towns. For men such as Samuel Popplewell (snr), however, their position stemmed from knowledge, which unlike many of the tenants, lay beyond the confines of the estate (Hainsworth 1992, 3). He visited new properties to assess their value, gain knowledge of the regional trends, while regularly visiting lawyers, agents and tenants in order to assess new properties. In 1763, for example, Popplewell had visited Stapleton Hall prior to Daniel Lascelles' purchase in order to survey its value and make recommendations for improvements (WYAS HAR SC 4/1/1). Such an understanding provided a flow of intelligence that made the steward more knowledgeable than even the landowner (Hainsworth 1992, 3). This was wholly dependant on movement between properties held by the estate.

Land Purchases

For landowners in the eighteenth century investments in the purchase of land were equally, if not more important than those acquired through inheritance. As it was argued in the last chapter, the accumulation of estates by the landed elite was a growing trend that had begun to accelerate by the end of the seventeenth century. By 1883, 41% of the

West Riding was in the ownership of just 138 individuals (Bateman 1883). This trend was driven by a series of factors. First, some members of the landed elite followed an ideology led by enlightenment thinkers who argued that land was a commodity to be acquired and consolidated for the greater good of society (Locke 1690; Smith 1776). This was linked to an appreciation of classical texts by certain landowners who, alongside 'improved' attitudes towards agriculture, led some to become 'gentlemen farmers' who promoted new methods of husbandry (Wilkinson 1982). This pastime was an essentially elitist exercise as it necessitated the ownership of large amounts of land, a requirement that was unobtainable to those outside the landed aristocracy. The same can also be said of the large ornamental landscapes created around countryseats (Williamson 2009, 11). At Chatsworth in Derbyshire, for instance, William Cavendish, 3rd Duke of Devonshire (1720-1764) planted his 1000-acre park with 22,000 birch, 71,800 thorns, 15,000 mountain ash and 10,000 oaks all in the space of a year (Barnatt & Williamson 2005, 112). Such a large project would have been impossible without the space to make it successful. Like other estates of the mid-eighteenth century, this was achieved through the purchase of land (Beastall 1978).

Another benefit of purchasing land was for political support (English 1994, 144). It was argued in chapter three that estates were sometimes used as monuments of power by the landed elite to maintain their position in society. Between 1761 and 1780, for instance, Edwin Lascelles stood as the Member of Parliament for Yorkshire. During this period he relied on his tenants for endorsement, although for the most part elections rarely came to a vote. One reference in the steward's correspondence dating to 1768 suggests that Samuel Popplewell took a number of Harewood's inhabitants to vote in the Pontefract elections where Edwin held sway:

> I, with all the Harwood People, left Pontefract after we had polled…last Tuesday, the election was not then ended nor have I heard since who were return'd; all was exceeding quick. Mr Popplewell's (the late mayor) beds were taken up by Mr Walsh's friends. My Son and self slept at the Inn in a very cold room and bad bed, and have got severe colds, my throat is so sore I can swallow little but spoon meat… (WYAS HAR SC/5 f211)

This reference suggests that taking tenants to vote may not have been uncommon. As such, the ownership of properties throughout the county became useful for gaining widespread support for the Lascelles at election time. This was particularly useful when a member of the family was opposed, such as during the famous 1807 election, the first contested election for Yorkshire since 1741, in which Henry Lascelles, 2nd Earl of Harewood lost by 88 votes to Charles Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, Viscount Milton (1748-1833). In the lead up to the election, Lascelles relied upon local tenants to support his cause.

Alongside the issues of philosophy, aesthetics and politics, landed estates were also influenced by the value of rents. With vast sums, often in the thousands, being spent on countryseats, estate income from rentals provided the main ballast to steady the burden of expenditure (Table 6) (Thompson 1963, 218; Wade Martins 2007). Gordon Mingay (1963) has shown that in 1690 the average income for one of the 'great landowners' (Bateman 1883) was nearly £5,000 per annum, but by 1790 this figure had doubled to £10,000 (Mingay 1963, 21). More specifically, in 1788 Harewood produced £9,406 from estate rents but by the time the estate had swelled to 13,371 acres in 1803 (WYAS WYL 250/3/Kent Claridge & Pearce), the sum had increased dramatically to £25,968 (WYAS WYL 250/3/244 Estate Cashbook). To put this into perspective the large 30,000 acre Holkham estate in Norfolk, received £20,880 in the same year (Wade Martins 2007, 87), while the much smaller Sandbeck, West Yorkshire, of around 8,500 acres took in nearly £7,000 (Bateman 1883; Beastall 1975, 110). These figures suggest that over the course of the eighteenth century, Harewood had been transformed into an estate producing more income per acre than some of the more famous seats of the period. Purchasing estates and improving land was one of the methods that contributed to this achievement.

TABLE 6

Land Investments on the Harewood Estate, 1778-1810
(*Sources:* WYAS WYL 250/3/244, 247-249, Cashbook Accounts; Batty 2000)

Year	Property	Cost 1 (£)	Cost 2 (£)	Cost 3 (£)
1778	**Rigton Enclosure**	41	2	
1785-8	Gouldsborough Wood	2300		
1786	Purchase of estate in East Keswick	1050		
1789	Purchase of estate in East Keswick	315		
1791	East Keswick Allotments	3		
1791	Purchase of estate in Oxton	1000		
1791	**Dunkeswick Enclosure**	675	485	74
1792	Purchase of estate in East Keswick	N/A		
1792	Purchase of estate in Wescoe Hill	280		
1793	**Beal and Kellingly Enclosure**	19		
1794	Purchase of estate in Weaton	775		
1795	**Rufforth Enclosure**	4		
1795	Bill for valuing Weardley and Eccup	81		
1797	Purchase of estate in Pontefract	420		
1797	**Weardley Common**	51		
1797	**York and Pontefract Enclosure**	1126		
1797	**Wigton Enclosure**	253		
1798	**East Keswick Enclosure (ditching etc)**	15		
1799	**Kirkby Overblow Enclosure**	11		
1800	Purchase of estate in Rigton	610		
1801	Purchase of estate in Rigton	722		
1801	**Harewood Enclosure**	94		
1801	**Weardley Enclosure**	5		
1801	Purchase of Tithes at Leagate	120		
1802	**First tax on Whixley Enclosure**	9		
1801	**Kearby Enclosure**	91		
1802	Purchase of Land Tax in Swindon	37		
1803	Purchase of Estate in East Keswick	500		
1807	**Rufforth Enclosure**	1		
1808	**Addle Enclosure**	239		
1809	Purchase of estate in East Keswick	340		
1809	Purchase of estate in Northallerton	800		
1809	Purchase of estate in Kellingly	1930		
1810	Purchase of estate in Rigton	2300		
	Land Purchase Total =	13583		
	Enclosure Expenses =	2637		
	Land Investment Total	16220		

N. B. **Bold** denotes expenses for enclosure

Linked directly to the increase in rents over the course of second half of the eighteenth century, was the growing acreage of landed estates. In regions such as the East Riding of Yorkshire, the main landowning families took part in more land transactions in the period leading up to the nineteenth century, than they had a century earlier: 102 in 1720, 234 in 1820 (English 1994). On the large estates such as Sledmere in East Yorkshire, the greatest expenses found in the account books were the purchases of land (English 1994, 103; Wade Martins 2007, 87). This trend was led partly by the favourable economic conditions that encouraged investments in agriculture. Both grain and meat prices rose steadily from the 1750s until the outbreak of the Napoleonic War, leading many landowners to turn to agriculture in order to reap the rewards of agrarian profit (Thompson 1963, 212). Between 1760-92, most landowners and farmers across Britain increased their investments. In general terms, those in the eastern and southern counties where the light soils favoured arable, increasingly turned to cereal crops and a dependence on wheat, barley, oats and straw. The western half of the English lowland, south-western England and the borders, which were already centres of pastoral agriculture, focused on livestock husbandry. The Midlands, Pennines and Yorkshire Moors, meanwhile, provided pastures for the summer fattening of cattle and sheep (Chambers & Mingay 1966, 107). The national trend shows that in the second half of the eighteenth century almost a quarter of the land of the country was brought into cultivation (Barnes &Williamson 2006, 15). This has traditionally been attributed to the influence of the landlords who increased the size of their estates and sought to improve the landscape (Chambers & Mingay 1966, 77; Edwards & Lake 2006, 45). It should be noted, however, that more recent literature has shown that educated tenant-farmers, who were similarly inclined to increase their income, may also have played a role in improving the agrarian landscape (e.g. Wade Martins 2007, 109).

The Harewood account books recording the period 1773-1813 reveal that the estate was by no means detached from this national trend[6] (Table 6). Until the death of Edwin Lascelles in 1795, land purchases appear to have been based on accumulating land that

[6] It should be noted that transactions for properties not recorded in the cashbooks but which later appeared in the estate rentals have not been included in this analysis

lay contiguous with the estate and this is confirmed by correspondence in 1773, when Edwin stated: 'I have no thoughts of purchasing small estates which do not lay continuous to my other estates in the West Riding' (WYAS HAR SC 4/42/15). This was carried out as land around Harewood was acquired in the neighbouring townships. Exchanges were arranged with Sir John Sheffield in 1782, 1786 and 1795, for lands at Weardley and Eccup in order to amalgamate farmland and provide access to the rerouting of both Stank Beck and the Tadcaster-to-Otley turnpike (WYAS HAR SC/4/43; HAR SC/7/61; HAR SC/7/62). These parcels were located to the north-east of Stank along the line of the modern Church Lane. Similar additions were made in East Keswick during the 1760s when Edwin purchased properties from John Ritchie a farmer who sold a property for £750. In the later decades three more properties were purchased and these included a 33-acre farm for £1,050, and a 50-acre farm both bought in 1786. These were part of a process of buying out the non-resident owners, which was completed in 1792 when the second largest property in East Keswick, a property of 122 acres, was added to the Lascelles' lands. By 1796, the Lascelles were the largest landowners in the township with over 600 acres to their name, while the remaining 239 acres were divided among twenty-four others many of whom held less than ten acres (Batty 2000, 30-31). This increased investment in East Keswick, as well as in the surrounding townships, and allowed the Lascelles to gain a firm foothold as leading landholders.

During this period land purchases also included other holdings in West Yorkshire where properties at Eastdyke, Skipbridge, Oulton, Rufforth, Breighton, Pontefract, Potterton, Northallerton all took place (WYAS WYL 250/3/5 Estate Rentals). Counted together these areas doubled the annual income from rents, which were otherwise drawn from the Harewood lands. These outlying areas of the Lascelles' land portfolio were important for bringing in a sizable income, and with management from a series of agents, including Samuel Popplewell, they became a profitable investment for the family. By 1801, the Northallerton rents alone made up 28% of the rental income (WYAS WYL 250/3/5 Estate Rentals). This figure may have been due to improvement although the paucity of related documents makes this hard to confirm.

Following Edward Lascelles' inheritance in 1795 the economic climate developed in such a way that agriculture became highly prosperous. Linked with this were high agricultural prices, which enticed landowners to invest in land in order to reap the rewards of high rents increased by landlords who wished to profit from the favourable conditions (Wade Martins 2007, 85). During this period, Edward Lascelles maintained Edwin's former policy of purchasing landholdings adjacent to established estates. Estates at Pontefract, Weaton, Rigton and East Keswick were bought between 1797-1803 with a combined cost of £3121. Over the next decade further properties adjacent to those already owned were purchased at Northallerton, Kellingly and Rigton, totalling £5030 (WYAS WYL 250/3 Cash Books). In some cases, land purchases were followed by an Act of Enclosure, which provided access to highly profitable land. At Pontefract, for example, the £420 spent on new property in 1797 was quickly followed by the Pontefract Enclosure tax costing £1126 (WYAS WYL 250/3 Cash Books); this tax was levied according to the proportion of land gained through the enclosure. By gaining a foothold in the township, the Lascelles stood to make as much as 15% from an enclosure (Mingay 1997; Thompson 1963, 221; Wade Martins 2004, 42-43; Williamson 2000a). This suggests that Edward Lascelles may have been investing in land in order to gain a healthy financial return.

In summary, the impact of land purchases led to a substantial increase in the size of the estate in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1738 the total acreage was around 7,000 acres including the neighbouring townships around Harewood (HHMP, 12). By 1810, this figure had doubled to 13,000 acres and incorporated estates held by the Lascelles in the West and North Ridings (WYAS WYL 250/3/Kent Claridge & Pearce; WYAS WYL 250/3/247 Cash Books). In terms of rental income, the increase in acreage had been instrumental in raising the figures from £5,891 to £31,106 between 1771-1810 (WYAS WYL 250/3/2 Estate Rentals). This was a considerable rise that at the broad-scale illustrates the value of improvement to the landowning family. It was their influence and motivations resulting from contemporary social, political and philosophical ideals that led to the development of the estate in this way. At the local scale, small properties

were added to land already owned by the Lascelles and as we shall see in the next section, this could have significant consequences on the local character of the landscape.

Enclosure

One of the most prominent processes during the second-half of the eighteenth century was enclosure. On a broad scale it allowed for land to be brought into cultivation for the benefit of the landowner, while locally, it affected both landscapes and communities. Estimates have shown that between 1750-1820, close to 25% of England was enclosed, leading to the parcelling up of open-fields and commons in various regions across the country (Williamson 2002, 12). In the West Riding, the last of the open-fields had been largely enclosed in the first half of the century, leaving marginal land and commons as the last remnants of earlier forms of agriculture (Rogers 1952, 6). In this context, Harewood was unusual because the main subject of enclosure up to 1750 was Harewood common, which had been brought into cultivation over the course of seventy years. The last chapter argued that this was likely to have been due to the combination of proactive tenants who sought improvement and an active landlord. Throughout the rest of the region, however, commons became the main subject of enclosure during the period c.1750-1820 (Rogers 1952, 6). During the eighteenth century, 13% of all the parliamentary acts in the West Riding were aimed at the eradication of commons (Mingay 1989, 1114). This was undertaken through the use of Parliamentary Acts of Enclosure where landowners, who held three quarters of the land by value, petitioned for an act that led to a survey and award (Barnes & Williamson 2006, 12; Williamson 2002, 9). The result generally fell in favour of the principal landowners, providing them with new land from which to take an income.

In West Yorkshire, parliamentary enclosure was mainly aimed at 'mixed' regimes, although arable pockets were found on the limestone ridge in the east of the region. Pasture land had long been the most prominent form of cultivation as the textile industries had developed on the doorstep of a county full of grazing flocks (Faull & Moorhouse 1981). By 1810, a visitor to the region described the landscape as a 'rich and highly cultivated country' with 'great flocks of sheep confined by net-fences in turnip

fields. The meadows are of the most vivid green' (Hibbert 1968, 111). This picture came after a period of enclosure that saw many of the commons and wastes targeted by local landowners. By 1794, the authors of the *General View* had noted that commons were still numerous in the east of the region and especially in the area close to Doncaster (Rennie, Broun and Shirreff 1794, 33). This included townships surrounding Harewood where traditional farming regimes had remained buoyant.

The Harewood archives indicate that a number of commons survived on the estate at East Keswick, Dunkeswick, Weardley, Kirkby Overblow and Rigton (Table 6). Over the course of the final quarter of the eighteenth century, each one was enclosed either through a parliamentary enclosure or by an agreement between the Lascelles family and another local landowner. An example of this took place at Weardley common, where Edwin Lascelles and Sir John Sheffield enclosed the area *by agreement*. The cashbooks dating to this period reveal that the family paid contributions towards a total of 15 enclosures, including those stated above, at a total cost of £2,637 not counting the preparation and maintenance fees (Table *6*) (WYAS WYL 250/3 Cash Books). Compared to other landowners of this period, this was only a small expenditure: Thomas William Coke at Holkham spent close to £7,000 on 17 enclosures between 1806-1816 (Wade Martins 2007, 127), the 5th Duke of Bedford (1765-1802), meanwhile, who resided at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, exceeded £30,000 between 1793-99 (Brown 1999, 187), while some of the largest outgoings were found on the Sledmere estate between 1771-1801 where over £67,000 were spent on enclosing the large sheepwalks on the chalk wolds (English 1990, 186). Judging by these figures, which do include some of the highest in the country such as those at Sledmere, it does suggest that the Lascelles' outgoings were modest. This discrepancy can be explained by the areas of land involved as well as the relative costs of enclosure in different parts of the country. Nevertheless, it was the act of carrying out enclosure and receiving the rewards that may have motivated the Lascelles. After all, rents increased six-fold from £6,294 in 1772 to £31,106 in 1810, albeit with favourable economic conditions and a greater area of land (WYAS WYL 250/3 Cash Books).

On a wide scale, enclosure appears to have been beneficial for the estate as it helped contribute to the accounts. At the local scale, however, changes could be less advantageous to those with a vested interest in the common. The most detailed account on the estate comes from East Keswick where a parliamentary act was passed enclosing the common between 1797-1803 (Fig. 5.1). This area was first recorded on the 1698 estate map and lay adjacent to the former Harewood common. Having established themselves as the principal landowners in the township by 1796, the Lascelles commissioned Jonathan Teal, an experienced cartographer within the West Riding (Kain, Chapman & Oliver 2004, 140) to examine the township. In his report, Teal argued that enclosure should be carried out in East Keswick as it would 'embrace a large tract of uncultivated common upwards of 300 acres now of little or no use but which then be worth in many part more than a guinea [21*s*] an acre' (WYAS WYL 250/3/19). By February 1797, Henry Lascelles had presented a bill to parliament to which there was no opposition and within a year an act of parliament had been passed. Of the 690 acres allotted to those who had formerly received rights Lord Harewood received a sixteenth of the total, the Vicar of Harewood was entitled to a seventh owing to his rights from tithes, while the rest was distributed between the other tenants (Batty 2000, 49-50; English 1985). The result led to over 60 acres gained by the smallholders while Edward Lascelles was entitled to approximately 126 acres. It is difficult to ascertain the improved value of the newly enclosed land owing to the lack of a survey relating to the post-enclosure land. Its impact, however, can be seen in the estate rents, which increased from £20,934 in 1800 to £26,114 in 1801, which, as argued above, also included land purchases (WYAS WYL 250/3 Cashbooks). Clearly, the enclosure of East Keswick common was part of the broader enclosure trend and would have been viewed as an opportunity to gain income for the estate.

While the economic evidence indicates that enclosure of this sort was a wholly positive process for the landowner, other sources might suggest otherwise. Indeed, it would be misleading to present an account without reference to the negative connotations of parliamentary enclosure. This subject has been one of the most hotly debated topics of agricultural and economic history and as such has drawn great attention when dealing

with the role of the smallholder (Beckett 1983; Mingay 1961-2; Thompson 1991; Williamson 2002, 16-17). More often than not the negative consequences of enclosure have been emphasised as social historians have argued that local custom and tradition were worn away by the landlords' wish to impose modern agricultural methods (E.g. Blomley 2007). Indeed, contemporary writers such as William Goldsmith and John Clare did little to convey the positive aspects of enclosure. It is necessary, then, to situate the Harewood estate within this context, judging whether or not the Lascelles' policies had a negative impact on their tenants.

Within the related documents found in the Harewood Estate papers, dissenting voices are rarely heard. There are a number of reasons why this might occur, but mainly it is due to the nature of the sources and individuals who created them. In this case, it was either members of the Lascelles family or their representatives who recorded those people who directly related to the estate and its administration. These individuals were not likely to have recorded dissent or those who did not contribute income to the estate (Moreland 2006, 143). Similarly, some authors have argued that the groups who were likely to have been hardest hit by suffering the loss of rights to common land were possibly too small to have made a significant impact on the related documentation (Mingay 1997). As a result of these factors, it is necessary to look elsewhere in order to judge the significance of enclosure at Harewood.

One of the ways in which we can judge the effects of enclosure is through the perceived growth or decline of local farmers in settlements. Unfortunately the enclosure map that would have accompanied the award has not survived, making it difficult to assess the reorganisation of the landscape. One way to counter this is to assess the recorded population of local villages. Some authors have argued that a decrease in population may have resulted from the pulling down of cottages so that landowners could reduce the numbers of those receiving relief for the poor (Chambers & Mingay 1966, 143). Others have shown that population could often remain the same or increase, as new farms resulting from enclosure still required labour and manpower (Williamson 2002). In East Keswick the first censuses were printed in John Jones' *History and Antiquities of*

Harewood (1859) and reveal that in the years 1801, 1811 and 1818, the population fell from 535 to 267 and then grew to 279. This might suggest that following the enclosure the number of cottages was dramatically reduced. However, these figures can be debated as the work of Andrew Batty (2000) has shown. Not only do the parish registers record the same levels of births and burials throughout this period, but cartographic evidence also fails to record any significant loss of buildings (Batty 2000, 52; Brigg 1914). This impression is further confirmed by a document entitled 'Answers to questions contained in the schedule to an Act 1801 population for East Keswick' where the total was recorded as 234, a figure half of that recorded in the *History and Antiquities* (Jones 1859). If Jones' account is correct then population remained near constant, suggesting that there was not a depopulation following enclosure of the common.

Another insight might be gleaned from the number of tenants who sought poor relief within the Parish of Harewood. During his tours in the south of England, Arthur Young found several instances where the parliamentary commissioners had not compensated the smallholders. As a result, with a loss of their livelihood, many were forced to claim relief particularly if they were unhealthy, unemployed or pensioners (Stephens 1973, 61-9; Young 1801, 21-5). Debates over the use of poor relief within rural settlements have revolved around the use of the terms 'open' and 'closed' villages. Open villages are recognised as settlements that were not under the control of a main landowner, while closed villages tended to be strictly controlled settlements owned by an individual who limited the size in order to reduce the financial burden on the estate (Holderness 1972; Williamson 2002, 46). In this case, Harewood would have been classified as a closed village where the population would be kept low. At Harewood between the years 1767-1808 the claimants of poor relief only rose from 50 to 57 (WYAS WYL 150/1/693), a figure that does not suggest a dramatic growth in rural poverty and may in fact have been tied to the increase in population indicated by the parish registers (Graph 1). These figures may also be linked to the Lascelles' policy of only accepting tenants with at least £500 of capital to rent his farms and cottages, thus limiting those who could begin a tenancy (WYAS HAR SC/5 f98). However, critiques have shown that limiting the size of settlements did not necessarily lead to fewer numbers of the poor (Banks 1988). After all,

farm hands were employed for a number of tasks including the planting of new crops, cleaning out livestock as well as threshing wheat – all exercises encouraged by farming treatises promoting improved methods such as Arthur Young's *The Farmer's Kalenda* (1771). In summary, the evidence used above appears to indicate that neither the levels of population, nor the poor rates, were affected by enclosure.

If enclosure did influence some elements of estate society adversely then the social impact may have been alleviated through the Lascelles' patriarchal attitude to their tenants. Every Christmas the poor were given £20 out of the estate accounts in addition to the relief gathered by the more wealthy tenant farmers (WYAS WYL 250/3/Cash Books). Attempts were also made to secure the livelihoods of the tenants and alleviate poverty. In May 1800, for instance, Edward Lascelles subscribed to a 'soup establishment', which had been set up in Harewood village by Richard Snow, a local storekeeper, to provide food for the poor (WYAS WYL 250/3/Cash Books). The most prominent project came in 1814 when Edward established an extensive set of allotment grounds in the northern part of Harewood village at Bondgate (Fig. 5.2) (Finch 2008, 518). This was in fact a suggestion raised in 1801 by Arthur Young, who had found that in the southern counties commissioners had failed to provide allotments to the poor following the allocation of enclosed land. Young went on to praise early attempts to create supervised allotments by the Duke of Bedford at Woburn, Bedfordshire, and the Earl of Egremont at Petworth, Essex, who motivated the poor by offering prizes for the best cultivation (Chambers & Mingay 1966, 101; Young 1801, 21-5). The exercise at Harewood provided an incentive for the local inhabitants to maintain a small-income while encouraging them to stay off the poor rate and out of the ale-house, especially during a time when agricultural wages were low (Gritt 2002, 25). While it might be argued that this form of inducement was drawn from the need to reduce the strain of the poor upon the parish, it is also justified to suggest that the welfare of the inhabitants was an equal concern. As it has been argued in earlier chapters, this patriarchal attitude began in the mid-eighteenth century and clearly continued as Edward Lascelles actively sought to ensure that his tenants were provided for in a manner that was not seen on a national scale until the 1840s.

In summary, enclosure was a pervasive process that had already gathered momentum by the mid-eighteenth century when Acts of Parliament became the most prominent form of improving land. Like many of their contemporaries, the Lascelles invested in enclosure as means to extend their acreage and perhaps gain financially from an award. Locally, however, the commons that had existed in the townships around Harewood were enclosed *en masse* in the later decades of the eighteenth century. The represented a forced shift in methods of farming as common grazing land was parcelled up. Whether this had an adverse effect on the resident population is unclear, but the Lascelles' patriarchal attitude to the rural poor may have helped to alleviate any negative impacts. In this sense the enclosures around Harewood were not only linked to economics and financial gain, but also to paternalism, another of the key aspects of the Georgic mode of improvement.

Turnpikes

The other type of investment came in the form of turnpike trusts, which provided an annual dividend and influence as to how and where a road could be laid. Although these might appear to be purely financial investments, they did have an important impact on the development of the estate landscape. Turnpikes had been created to meet the growing demands of the West Riding whose population, manufactures and trade were placing a strain on the existing transport system (Fraser 1980, 121). As a result, modern roads were built that could manage the ever-increasing traffic on the system. Edwin Lascelles had held a position on the board of both the Leeds-to-Harrogate and Otley-to-Tadcaster trusts since their creation in 1753 thus providing him with a seat from which to influence their growth (Fig. 4.1). Throughout the second-half of the eighteenth century the annual dividend amounted to a modest payout of £48 per year (WYAS WYL/250/3/Cashbooks).

Although it may appear that turnpikes were only a moderate investment, their real value came in the ability to influence how they were developed. Both Edwin and Edward Lascelles were able to dictate when and where the turnpike roads were positioned in relation to the designed landscape at Harewood. The first example took place between in 1753 when the Otley-to-Tadcaster turnpike was moved from its original route from Harewood village to the south of All Saints' church, to what is now Church Lane leading

from Bondgate towards Weardley (WYAS WYL 250/3/Cashbook; WYAS WYL 250/3/39 Home Farm Account Book). The new line effectively incorporated 40 acres into the designed landscape and provided the land in which the northern pleasure grounds were developed between 1771-96 (Hay 1993, 19). The second occurrence, meanwhile, occurred between 1798-1803 when the same turnpike was widened between Tadcaster and Harewood village and redirected northwards, along the route of the modern A61. On this occasion nearly 180 acres were taken 'into hand' and added to the designed landscape in preparation for the developments of the 1810s that would link Harewood Castle to Harewood House via a set of interconnecting rides and walks (Dennison & Richardson 2008, I, 18).

The significance of turnpikes at Harewood lay in the Lascelles' ability to dictate their placement and form. By doing so, they were able to take nearly 250 acres out of agriculture and into the parklands that formed the designed landscape. Although in one sense this represented an aesthetic motivation on the part of the landlord, the landscape also went through a transformation. Like the area around Harewood House before it, this part of the estate was formalised and a new routeway established around Harewood Castle. As a result, Bondgate, in the north of the village became an important element as visitors passed what had formerly been the more vernacular part of Harewood, populated by farmers and craftsmen (Brigg 1914). This may explain why a series of new cottages were built along the roadside between 1784-1809 (WYAS WYL 250/3/247 Estate Cashbooks), providing handsome housing that matched the rest of the village. The creation of the turnpike and the continual rebuilding of the village were therefore connected and no doubt had an impact on the local lives of those who resided at Harewood.

Agricultural Improvement

Estate Management and Rents

Between 1772-1813, the agricultural land on the Harewood estate continued to be improved. This involved long-term trends including the slow adoption of new farming

practices and the gradual change in the size of fields and farmsteads. These were part of improvement that had gained momentum since the end of the seventeenth century, and were linked to national trends towards modern types of farming. Along this trajectory, short-term influences such as the impact of a new landlord and the influence of the contemporary economic climate helped Harewood to develop in a local and individual way. At the high resolution of farmers and their holdings, these influences helped structure the lives of both the landowner and his tenants, and as the physical landscape was altered, so to were the patterns of rural life (Pred 1985). In order to understand how these patterns impacted on Harewood it is necessary to examine the estate in detail, taking account of the localised decisions and intricacies that marked its development.

One of the patterns that had already begun to emerge by the estate survey of 1758 was the social structure of the agricultural tenants (Table 7). In the last chapter it was argued that the number of 'middling' farmers, or those renting between 20 and 100 acres, was increasing due to the recent enclosures on Harewood common (WYAS WYL 250/3/13b, 16 Estate Surveys). By 1796, this group had halved, and in their place were farmers, deemed by the authors of the *General View,* as being 'great', as they farmed over 100 acres (Brown 1799, 16). Over the course of forty years these tenants increased their holdings from neighbouring farms. Lancelot Dickenson of the Park Farm, whose interest had increased to 209 acres, acquired fields from Thomas Shiers, Joseph Wright and William Kirby (WYAS WYL 250/3/Kent, Claridge and Pearce Survey; WYAS WYL 250/3/5 Rent Books). It was through this form of exchange that the amalgamation of fields could take place, resulting in larger holdings Between 1758-96, field sizes increased from an average of 5 to 7 acres, while the total acreage increased but was rented by fewer tenants. The number of larger farms was also increasing and may have been due to a variety of reasons: advances in husbandry involving the cultivation of roots required large areas to be successful; larger farmers held sufficient capital to withstand bad years; and large-scale tenants were capable of sustaining improved husbandry (Stead 2003; Williamson 2002). As such, this pattern appears to have been a continuation of that experienced at the end of the 1750s.

The reorganisation of the landscape did come at the expense of the smallholders. While tenants who kept a garden or a small 'garth' for keeping an animal remained steady, it was those who farmed between 20 and 50 acres that were most affected. This reduction of the small-scale farmer was a trend recorded across the country and is likely to have been linked to the rising prices in the 1790s, enclosure, as well as other contributing factors such as growth in the size of farms (Beckett 1983; Mingay 1961-2; Thompson 1991). These figures reveal, therefore, that the long-term trend of farm rationalisation had by 1796 reached a point where large farmsteads could benefit from modern farming practices, while the smallholder was reduced to just a few acres.

TABLE 7

The spread of acreage across the Harewood tenant base, 1738, 1758 & 1796
(*Sources:* WYAS WYL 250/3/13b 16, Kent Claridge & Pearce Estate Surveys)

Holdings in acres/Tenant	*1738*	*1758*	*1796*
0-10	14	22	20
11-20	7	11	9
21-50	7	18	6
51-100	5	10	9
101-150	2	3	6
151-200	1	4	1
201-250	3	0	2
250+	1	1	0
Total Tenants	**40**	**69**	**53**
Total Acreage	**2263 acres**	**2974 acres**	**3184 acres**

N.B. No. of tenants are shown in corresponding columns

In order to initiate restructuring of this kind, both the landowner and his tenants had to navigate through a number of practical decisions. Unless the landlord wished to cause distress to the tenants and risk harming both his income and his farms, he had to wait for leases to expire or for the death of a tenant before making changes. David Stead (2003) has argued that tenurial continuity could have been carried out for a variety of reasons. Sitting tenants, for example, understood the idiosyncrasies of their farm, its layout and

geography which all took time to appreciate. A change in tenancy could be costly not only because it took time to find a replacement, but also as landlords ran the risk of having their land 'whipped', or stripped of assets, before the tenant left (Stead 2003, 174). Across a national scale, considerations such as these led to the relatively low tenurial mobility, with tenants often staying at the same property for around two generations (Stead 2003, 188). At Harewood it is difficult to assess whether tenants moved regularly because the estate rentals only refer to their names rather than their farms. However, it is possible to trace some individuals by cross-referencing their rents with later surveys (WYAS WYL 250 3/3/Kent Claridge & Pearce). Table 8 includes six tenants or families of the twenty-six farms recorded in 1797. Increases in rent are representative of either estate-wide changes such as those experienced between 1795-1800, or alterations made to a farmstead resulting in a higher value. Where dramatic changes in rent occurred out of sync with the rest of the estate it is generally attributed to a farmer's new tenancy at a different property. With these caveats, these six examples form a cross-section of the estate: one provides an example of a stable tenancy throughout the period (Stables); two represent tenancies across generations at the same farm (Bickerdike & Wiggan); a further two (Dickenson & Barrett) reveal large increases in rents resulting from landholding additions; and one more (Wright) reveals a stable tenancy until the tenant's death when the family left the property. For the most part, however, these examples reveal a degree of tenurial stability. They represent a minimum of 20% of the tenants on the estate renting the same property for at least twenty years. This was enough time to become accustomed to a property and reap the benefits of long-term improvements to the land.

TABLE 8

Selected tenants, Farms and Rents (*£.s.d*) in the Harewood township, 1770-1805
(*Source:* WYAS WYL 3/3 Estate Rentals)

Tenant	1770	1775	1780	1785	1790	1795	1800	1805
Bickedike, New Lays Farm	38.15.0	38.15.0	38.15.0	38.15.0	43.9.0	43.9.0	65.0.0	67.1.0
Williams Stables, Sandygate Farm	29.0.0	29.0.0	29.0.0	29.0.0	29.0.0	29.0.0	36.5.3	38.14.9
Joseph Wright, Wright's Farm	108.18.0	108.18.0	123.10.0	123.10.0	123.10.0	123.10.0	LF	LF
Lancelot Dickenson, The Park Farm	18.15.0	25.15.0	42.5.0	42.5.0	42.5.0	42.5.0	105.0.0	LF
Wiggan, Fox Hall Farm	26.10.0	26.10.0	26.10.0	26.10.0	26.10.0	26.10.0	26.10.0	LF
Abraham Barrett, Gallow Hill Farm	39.7.6	39.7.6	42.2.6	46.2.6	46.15.6	46.15.6	83.10.0	LF
Gawthorpe Demesnes*	97.11.3	124.1.3	145.4.3	145.4.3	223.3.6	223.3.6	336.1.0	584.13.6

* Denotes land held 'in-hand' by Edwin/Edward Lascelles, forming the designed landscape.
LF = Tenant left the farm.

Throughout the rental books dating from 1776 -1812, movements and land exchanges can also be inferred, which inform our understanding of how certain farms developed. The main exchanges took place in 1779, 1789 and 1793 and occurred following the death of one of the principal tenants. In 1779, James Ellis, a long-term tenant who farmed north of the Wetherby Road, passed away leaving a 379 acre farm. At that stage, William Kirby took over the tenancy, while another part of the holding was divided between two other tenants who extended their farms (WYAS WYL 250/3/6 Rentals). Similarly, following Joseph Wright's death in 1793, his farm was divided between Edwin Lascelles (to extend the parkland towards Lofthouse) and the growing High Park Farm rented by Lancelot Dickenson. Wright had been one of the last freeholders in the estate and had previously refused to sell his portion to Edwin Lascelles declaring 'Harewood belongs to me and thee' (Fig. 5.3) (Jewell 1819). 173). These examples illustrate how at the local scale the progress of estate improvement, including the extension of the parkland towards Lofthouse, was hampered by more practical concerns. They also reveal that some of the

largest farms on the estate were developed through gradual, opportunistic accumulation as the more wealthy yeomen farmers increased their interest as others relinquished their tenancies.

The tenancy and farm patterns described above were also linked to wider forces that helped influence the way they were organised by the landlord and his tenants. Of particular relevance were the economic influences of investment in agriculture. During the period 1773-1810, the estate rentals made up 88% of estate income[7] (Appendix D). Indeed, they had risen from £6,545 to £31,106 during the same period (WYAS WYL 250/3/Estate Cashbooks). This figure can partly be explained by the rising acreage of the estate from 7,000 to 13,000 acres, but it was also affected by high agricultural prices during the Napoleonic Wars (O'Donoghue 2004). More generally, the value of land was influenced by the short-term change in prices for meat and grain. At Harewood, prices for meat remained on a general upward trend. For example, hides, a product of the slaughter process, increased from 7*s* per stone in 1773 to 13*s* in 1794 (WYAS WYL 250/3/39 Home Farm Account Book). But from the mid-1790s wheat prices rocketed and peaked in Leeds at 128*s* per quarter in 1800 as opposed to the 50*s* charged ten years earlier (Mingay 1989, 987). These prices had an important effect on the farming landscape at Harewood. While the 1758 survey showed that Harewood was a largely pastoral estate, by the end of the century nearly half of the land had been converted to arable (Brown 1799, 138). This translated as 2249 acres of arable, 640 acres of meadow and 1741 acres of pasture (WYAS WYL 250 3/3/Kent Claridge & Pearce). These figures were representative of the wider estates owned by the Lascelles in the North and West Ridings, which proportionately placed arable at 41%, meadow at 16%, and pasture at 32%. Despite this proportion, the most valuable farmland at Harewood remained pasture and was surveyed at 20-36*s* per acre, while arable only reached 12-30*s* (WYAS WYL 250/3/Kent, Claridge and Pearce), although these figures were largely determined by the position of the land in relation to the village as well as the condition of the soil. On a national scale, high agricultural prices had influenced many landowners to invest in

[7] This has been calculated by taking the average rental income between 1773-1810 and comparing it to the average total income during the same period (WYAS WYL 250/3/Cashbooks)

agriculture, especially as they could be transferred into high rents for farms resulting in more estate income (Wade Martins 2007, 98). Moreover, rationalisation of farms towards the end of the eighteenth century was an indication of better farming technique; larger farms and bigger fields could, but did not always, lead to bigger herds, higher yields and therefore more profit (Wade Martins 2007; Williamson 2002). This may provide one explanation as to why farms at Harewood generally grew in the second half of the century.

Although this economic model may explain some motivations for landowners to improve, at Harewood there was another significant influence. When Edward Lascelles inherited the estate in 1795 he immediately ordered a survey detailing what he owned and its condition. This was part of a broader decision to survey his entire landed interest, which led to a review of his West Indian properties from 1799 (Smith 2006, 229). At Harewood, he initially employed Jonathan Teal, a local surveyor, to quantify the lands around Harewood and the neighbouring townships of Weardley and East Keswick. This survey was a precursor for the more detailed accounts drawn up by the London firm, Kent, Claridge and Pearce, who were employed to provide a far more detailed account of the estate and its condition. The Lascelles' estates were extensively surveyed by the firm between July and November 1796, resulting in three detailed volumes outlining the status of holdings, descriptions of properties, recommendations for improvement and changes in rent. Hollin Hall Farm at Harewood, for example, was described as: 'a stone and tiled farm house of an inferior sort to the rest – a barn with two threshing floors, a cow house, stable, hovel, pigscotes etc – all in tolerable repair' and was valued at £165 per annum, £45 more than it had previously (Figure 5.4) (WYAS WYL 250/3/Surveys, Kent, Claridge & Pearce). As Table 8 and Appendix D show, Kent, Claridge and Pearce immediately introduced changes to the local rents. Among others, William Stables' farm increased from £29 to £36 5*s* 3*d* while the Bickerdikes at New Lays Farm changed from £43 9*s* to £65. The episode was also geared towards improved husbandry practices and was epitomised by a set of new standardised leases introduced in 1796 (WYAS WYL 250/3/179). They outlined crop rotations, the banning of 'whipping' of farms, as well as the detailed upkeep of farm buildings. At every point the leases were directed towards

improvement and increasing the efficiency of the land. The firm's general philosophy of improvement was most starkly visible in their general comments of the Harewood township:

> It was a great satisfaction to us to find on going over this part of the estate that great indulgence has been shown to the inhabitants of Harewood in letting them have small parcels of land to keep a cow or two. A mode of letting which we hope will never be superseded for where population is thick it is much better for the community as well as individuals that the land should be let in small bargains and not in great farms - which we are happy in repeating we are glad to see is here adopted by Lord Harewood and his agents - Much attention however is necessary to see that the tenants act properly up to their new covenants with respects to their lands - and examples should be made of those that are slovenly and bad managers by taking away their land and letting it to others in want of it. (WYAS WYL 250/3/Surveys, Kent, Claridge & Pearce)

From 1797 to 1798, the first year in which changes were identifiable, the total estate rents increased from £15,240 to £21,067. In addition to the land purchases and enclosures carried out simultaneously, the rental income increased by 25%. These figures suggest that although the contemporary economic climate presented a favourable environment for investing in agriculture, it was the role of Edward Lascelles and his influence that led the changes to both the physical and economic condition of the estate. In parallel with longer-term trends, these alterations led to a distinct change in the size of farms, their apparatus and the ways they were managed.

Buildings

Alongside the changing forms of farmsteads, the farm buildings on the estate were also the subject of improvement. The cashbooks and steward's correspondence give the impression that maintenance was carried out if and when a building needed treatment. In 1781, for example, one entry reports that Stephen Barrett was given £20 towards 'building a new barn' (WYAS WYL/250/248). For smaller jobs, meanwhile, it is likely that general conservation was carried out by either the tenant themselves, or by one of the estate craftsmen who included the costs in their end of year bill (WYAS WYL/250/Cash Books). It is therefore difficult to accurately date the surviving farm buildings without simply attributing them to the last few decades of the eighteenth century. This also means

that it is difficult to assess whether an investment in agricultural fixed capital contributed to the rising farm rents between 1771 and 1789.

From the mid-1790s, however, the picture becomes a little clearer. While the number of entries relating to the farms did not necessarily increase, we get a better understanding from the built remains. Between 1787 and 1794, Harewood Mill, near Harewood Bridge was rebuilt by John Muschamp, at a cost of nearly £250 (Fig. 5.5) (WYAS WYL 250/3/250). A three-storey structure now survives with the external façades featuring the common features of the Harewood Estate buildings. The openings, for example, featured lintels with false voussoir, similar to those found in the village and at the home farm. The interior, meanwhile, includes a wheel-house retaining the intact cast-iron undershot waterwheel complete with wooden buckets and in tact gearing made by Porteus (Leeds). The buildings of this structure led to the rent being increased from £25 5*s* 5*d* to £65 5*s* between 1785-1790 and later increased again during the early 1800s to £89 5*s*. Within four years the mill at Rigton was also rebuilt, followed by 'improvements [Samuel Wilkinson] was making to his house and new farm buildings' for Henry Pike in 1798 and 1804 respectively (WYAS WYL 250/3/250). These new buildings are likely to have represented a more general focus on arable during this period. It has already been noted that during the 1790s and early 1800s was a period when high agricultural prices encouraged investments in arable farming. At Harewood, the amount of cultivated arable had grown since the 1750s, and this may have resulted in substantially more corn to be milled than in previous decades. The construction of mills was therefore a reflection of this process and the demand placed upon local resources.

This was also a period when many other landowners were investing in agricultural buildings. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, for example, the Duke of Bedford at Woburn invested up to £31,000 in new farm buildings (Spring 1963, 48). By investing in this way, landlords were able to promote improved husbandry practices through the creation of modern buildings, maximising the use of space and efficiency, and in doing so commanded higher rents for a better quality farmstead. This level of investment was not a problem for landlords, and as Susannah Wade Martins found at

Holkham, Norfolk: 'when farmers were optimistic, they put in more requests for new buildings, and if high rents were coming in, the estate was more inclined to comply with them…' (Wade Martins 2007, 98).

Although the cashbooks do not reveal expenditure on agricultural buildings, the remains of surviving properties suggest that the Lascelles did invest during this period. Related to the construction of mills, this period was also characterised by the modification of barns to granaries (Fig. 5.7) (*See Appendix C*). As arable and the growing of cereals became popular on the estate it became more important to store corn. Formerly this has been done in haylofts, or areas where corn could be stored off the ground, away from the damp and vermin (Edwards and Lake 2006, 54). At some stage during the 1790s or early-1800s, granaries were built at Lofthouse Grange, New Lays, Stockton, High Lofthouse, and Sandygate (Fig. 5.7). These were adapted to pre-existing buildings, in the lofts of stables or barns, and provided tenants with a permanent place for storage. The significant point here is that Edward Lascelles and Samuel Popplewell (jnr) chose not to invest in purpose-built structures, but rather continued the tradition of modernising older buildings. As a result, the resident tenants were presented with a level of continuity at a time when the size and nature of farms was changing. As the type of agriculture shifted towards a 'mixed' form weighted towards arable, patterns of farming shifted from the older pasture-based regimes. The converted barns on the estate symbolised this change.

As new ways of managing agriculture became apparent, it appears that the architecture on the farms also shifted. Like the middle-decades of the century, the loose courtyard plans found at farms on the estate such as Lofthouse Grange and Stockton Grange, indicate that that they were gradually adapted to suit contemporary needs (Appendix B). These included new stables, which were built on both farms, and were adorned with windows comprising projecting sills and monolithic lintels cut with false voussoirs. By the late-eighteenth century, this had become the common window arrangement on the estate and can be seen at nearly all the farms as well as other estate buildings at the home farm and village (Fig. 5.8). Alongside the use of moulded kneelers, these 'classical' features suggest that the simpler forms of window seen in the earlier barns were being phased out

as these modern features permeated the local vernacular style (Fig. 5.9). Indeed, the voussoir arrangement became such a stock element of local architecture that it reached East Keswick where it became known as the 'Harewood fan' (Margaret Moseley pers. comm.). Changes in the buildings used on an everyday basis by the tenant would have resulted in new meanings and ways of interaction. The classical repertoire of the estate livery, for example, would have projected associations of fashion and status, especially for visitors to Harewood who were friends of the landowning family. For the tenants, however, daily interaction with new forms of architecture may well have encapsulated the wider improvements of the agricultural landscape.

By 1814, at the end of the period that this study is concerned with, Edward Lascelles planned further changes to be made to the agricultural landscape. Although this scheme is not recorded in the accounts, the design can be found on the c.1814 estate map. Overlaying the original map (WYAS WYL 250/3/49 Estate Maps) are a series of red pen marks that indicate where additions had been planned both within the layout of field boundaries and in the farmsteads themselves (Fig. 5.2). Judging by the planned allotments in Harewood village (Jewell 1819), and the scheme for the northern pleasure grounds that date to 1814 (Dennison & Richardson 2008, 18), we can assume that the rest of the scheme was concurrent. The map reveals that at a number of new buildings were planned. The most prominent changes were the construction of five new farmhouses, each built in a 'T' plan, with service areas at the rear and two parlours at the front of the house (Fig. 5.10). The scheme was repeated with little variation and continued the tradition of a symmetrical three-bay front elevation with all the hallmarks of a Georgian façade. Moreover, further structures were built on farmsteads during what seems to have been an important phase of investment. These included stables at Sandygate Farm, as well as further buildings at Middlefield, Lofthouse Grange and Stockton (Edwards and Lake 2006, 63). The significance of this scheme is that the Lascelles appear to have been riding on the wave of agricultural prosperity just prior to the post-war depression of the early-nineteenth century. The building of these farms shows that the Lascelles were still concerned about the maximisation of income and improvement of the landscape as they had been during the 1750s. However, as this period lies at the end of this study and into

the period beyond 1813, further research is required to provide a more specific explanation.

Pleasure, Aesthetics and the Home Farm

Expansion of the Designed Landscape

Of equal importance to the economic conditions in shaping the appearance of the landscape was the immediate influence of the landscaping schemes surrounding Harewood House. Over the course of the second-half of the eighteenth century, the demesne lands had slowly been accrued from 87 acres in 1758 to 568 acres by 1796, with the value increasing fivefold over the same period (WYAS WYL 250/3//2 Estate Rentals; WYAS WYL 250/3/16; WYAS WYL 250/3/ Kent Claridge & Pearce). This represented a substantial area of land that had been taken out of agricultural use and into the designed landscape. During the 1750s and 60s the ornamental gardens were mainly enhanced around Gawthorpe Hall and the new Harewood House. Fields such as the *Eller Close*, *Timber Garth* and *Wheat field* were grassed over in favour of ornamental parkland used to accentuate the views from the house. In the following decades further encroachments were made with the land surrounding Robert Adam's lodge (built 1781-2) being laid in pasture in order to provide a suitable setting for a new approach leading from the village to Harewood House (Fig. 4.9) (WYAS WYL 250/3 Cash Books; WYAS WYL 250/3/44 Estate Maps). Ten years earlier, 'Capability' Brown had designed a coach road from Lofthouse leading from John Carr's new gates towards the southern pleasure grounds built along Stank Beck towards Harewood House. By 1796, the fields to the south of the approach had been taken in hand and again laid to pasture. The reason for this is likely to have related to the Temple of Venus, which had been built in the preceding decade at the northern extent of the Sugar Hills, and lay on the southern horizon when viewing from Harewood House (Fig. 5.11). The pasture lying directly between the house and the temple provided an uninterrupted view and a panorama described in 1819 by Jewell: 'From [the saloon] you walk out upon the fine portico, on the south front, which delights you with its beautiful home scenery, enriched by the sheet of water, a glimpse of the temple, and an immense plantation, extending itself as far as the eye can reach' (Jewell

1819). By that date, Jewell was describing a landscape that looked very different to that of 1796 owing mainly to the larger area that had been consumed by the ornamental parkland.

Just prior to the remodelling of the landscape by Humphry Repton in the early-nineteenth century, 'Beau' Lasclles invited some of the finest young artists in the country to capture the panoramas around Harewood. Between them, Turner, Varley and Girtin illustrated the house and its gardens from every angle. This consisted of carefully structured views of an improved, highly cultivated landscape (Eyres, 2002, 204). In their depictions, Turner and Varley captured the essence of the estate at the turn of the nineteenth century, with the assets of sheep, cattle and deer roaming freely next to the fields filled with men servicing the estate. In juxtaposition was the backdrop of a carefully designed arcadia with 'enamel'd' woods and open vistas across the 'fertile plains' surrounding Harewood House (Jewell 1819). Some of these contained plantations that may have become a source of timber. At other estates such as at Woburn, Bedfordshire, timber became a principal source of income, producing 18% of its revenue between 1816 and 1895 (Brown 1999, 188). However, at Harewood the cashbook accounts do not contain any references to the sale of timber, only to that of woods at Gouldsborough and Plompton between 1786-1790. Moreover, visits by the head joiner to Tadcaster, Wetherby and Weston Hall from 1781-3 to purchase wood (WYAS WYL 250/3/39 Home Farm Cashbook), indicate that sources at Harewood were not suitable for carpentry and joinery. On this evidence, it appears that the plantations at Harewood had either not reached maturity or were not used as managed woodland. Nevertheless, the broader designed landscape that included roaming flocks and herds of livestock represented what has been described as a 'lush productivity' of the planned landscape (Eyres 2002, 204; Williamson 2000b).

In contrast to the depictions by Turner, Varley and Girtin (Fig. 5.12), Humphry Repton's plans for the ornamental landscape seem to reveal a disparity between the appreciation of the agrarian land and the ornamental elements. Repton's design reveals a new approach leading directly from the village and an entrance archway flanked on either side by plantations (WYAS WYL 250/44). The few remaining arable fields to the south, at

Lofthouse and Lodge Hill, were to be 'planted as far as they were visible over the swell of the hill' (Fig. 3.4) (WYAS WYL 250/4/1 Repton Memorandum, f5). In this way, the more 'productive' elements of the landscape were being pushed to the extremities of the view from Harewood House so as to leave an element of arable agriculture within the picture but provide grassland as the main subject. Although Repton's memorandum dates to 1800, his memoirs reveal that his first visit to Harewood took place in 1799 (Gore & Carter 2004, 78), the same year that the rental books record the initial signs that the agricultural land to the south was to be grassed over. In that year four farms were taken into hand, including the large Park Farm rented by Lancelot Dickenson lying to the west of the Leeds-Ripon turnpike. In 1800 a further four tenants were removed and finally, in 1802, the final farm belonging to Charles Pike was relinquished (WYAS WYL 250/3/7 Rentals). This area was then converted to pasture, and by 1813 the landscape was open grassland only punctuated by clumps of trees planted as part of Repton's designs. As a result, the extension of the parkland may have led some tenants to fear for their security, particularly in the margins of the new park. This was a threat that was very real during the years 1798-1801 when the Castle Park and Sandygate Farms were encircled by the new course of the Tadcaster-Otley turnpike (Fig. 5.13). As a result, some tenants, such as the Stables family at Sandygate[8] left their property while the remains of farm buildings belonging to Charles Pike[9] and Lancelot Dickenson[10] were left in the parkland (Jones 1859, 196).

Alongside Repton's landscape designs, a number of buildings were converted for use in the designed landscape. Charles Pike's 'Cottage in the Walls', became a gothic folly on the eastern edge of the parkland in Harewood village. More significant were designs to reintroduce Harewood Castle into the formal landscape. Plans were initially made to incorporate the castle into the designed landscape as early as 1796 when the Duke of Rutland noted that 'as yet there is no park at Harewood, but the present owner is in the

[8] The impact of the park on Sandygate Farm is explored in chapter seven.

[9] Ward (1998) has suggested that the seventeenth-century 'cottage in the walls' was formerly part of the Pike farm buildings and may have been used as a rustic folly from the nineteenth century.

[10] Field survey in the area around the former Park Farm has revealed some structural evidence that may have been related to agricultural buildings. A twentieth-century plantation has, however, destroyed much of the material remains and hinders any conclusive interpretation.

intention of forming a considerable one, in which he means to include the old ruinous castle…the vale down to the river, and the ground two miles beyond the Wharfe' (Manners 1813, 260). Initially preventing the development of the designed landscape were several farms that were established in the Castle Park. J. M. W. Turner's (1775-1851) *Harewood Castle from the East* (1798) (Fig. 5.14) depicts one of these farms with pastureland reaching the foot of the castle. It was not until the death of Samuel Popplewell (jnr), the Harewood estate steward, in 1811 that the area could be landscaped owing to the ending of his occupancy at the Castle Park Farm.

Unlike some of the properties in the estate, the southern view from Harewood House and the former area surrounding the Castle Park Farm were primarily managed according to the principals of aesthetics. At a time when agricultural prices were at their peak, the parkland was being enlarged at the expense of farming. This form of consumption was guided towards conveying a sense of wealth and social standing through the advertisement of taste and fashion (Williamson 1995). These were principles attributed to an improved agricultural landscape and part of the Georgic mode that united aesthetic beauty with utility and profit in the landscape (Daniels & Seymour 1990, 489). These had been principles adhered to by Edwin Lascelles since the 1750s and had been continued during Edward Lascelles tenure. The process of improvement, which had lasted longer than a generation of Lascelles patriarchs, continued to influence the Harewood landscape at the local scale. Indeed, this phase in the designed landscape included the extension of the parkland over areas of former agricultural land, which covered over five hundred acres.

The Home Farm

The final influence on the Harewood landscape during the period 1772-1813 was the establishment of the home farm. By the 1760s, some landowners had become more than 'archetypal conservatives, ignorant of change', and had shifted to well-educated and enterprising landlords (Robinson 1992, 19). Having already begun the redevelopment of Harewood village, a project that would not be complete until 1812, and built a small number of new farms on the estate, Edwin Lascelles fulfilled his role as a paternalistic yet

ambitious landlord by creating the showpiece of his improvement philosophy: the Home Farm. In general, these complexes had become a symbol of the landowner's willingness to embrace modern farming methods, while at the same time encompassing that vision within the confines of the landscape surrounding the house (Robinson 1979, 19). They also represented the pinnacle of improved farming with modern methods, conveniently laid out buildings and above all, a large supply of land. In some cases, home farms were set as an example for the tenantry, as experimentations in agriculture and were viewed as a method of improvement.

At Harewood, Edwin Lascelles employed John Carr of York to create the home farm and office complex in Stank. The complex was built between 1772-4 and included a nexus of buildings such as the craftsmen's workshops, laundry, menagerie, kennels, pigeon cote and granary (Fig. 5.15) (WYAS HAR/SC/5 f251; WYAS WYL 250/3/249). Like Carr's similar works on the estate, the home farm was built in his distinctive classical style and provided a sense of architectural unity. It was designed in a courtyard plan, a scheme that was in keeping with the ideal layouts of the late-eighteenth century: the cattle sheds were to the west with the stables to the north and oxen housed in the eastern range. This provided the most convenient layout for agricultural purposes as it reduced the distances between buildings and allowed plentiful ventilation, while the flanking bays protected the animals from the cold (Robinson 1992, 62). Although parts of the farm were rebuilt at the turn of the nineteenth century by Peter Atkinson, Carr's assistant, the design still retains much of its original layout as indicated by a contemporary plan (Worsley 2000). It is possible that the design may have been influenced by one of the first publications on farmhouses, Daniel Garrett's *Designs of Farmhouses* (1747), which advertised convenience and utility as its principal aim. The courtyard plans highlighted in the book were often repeated by Carr, but more importantly, a drawing of a five-bar gate inscribed 'Garrett's design of a Gate' can be found among the building plans in the estate archive (Fig. 5.16) and this may indicate Garrett's influence on Edwin Lascelles or his steward who oversaw the build (Robinson 1979, 2113). Judging by Carr's design, the home farm was clearly built not only as a convenient working farmstead but also an architectural showpiece.

While the farming ideals and aesthetic appearance conveyed status and progress, the economic reality of the home farm was very different. The reality of home farms often meant that profits were far from achievable. By the mid-eighteenth century most landowners had almost withdrawn from farming altogether, deciding instead to maintain a home farm for the household needs rather than producing for the market. Despite this, some landlords expected good returns, such as the Duke of Bedford at Woburn who expected his bailiff to produce a 5% profit (Mingay 1989, 571). The reality was that this was nearly always impossible as many farms traded at a loss due to their high expenditure (Spring 1963, 47). Even at Holkham, the renowned home farm ran at a loss of nearly £5,095 at the turn of the nineteenth century (Wade Martins 2007, 78).

To a certain degree, the poor performance of home farms was due to external influences such as the contemporary economic climate. Between 1775-83, the price of wheat per quarter in Leeds remained on a constant rise from 39*s* in 1775 to 43*s* in 1783. However, a succession of poor harvests, which led to a low supply of grain, meant that prices began to rise sharply from 1795 (Mingay 1989; Chambers & Mingay 1966, 114). Such a volatile period heavily impacted on the home farm as expenses grew sharply. Regular purchases of corn that had been in place since the 1770s such as those from the local tenant, John Brigg, escalated from around £50 to £171 between 1783 and 1794, during a period in which his own farm remained the same size (WYAS WYL 250/3/Home Farm Account books; WYAS WYL 250/3/2 Estate Rentals). Coupled with growing maintenance costs, the home farm struggled to keep expenditure on a similar level from year to year, and as a result outgoings doubled from £1013 in 1788 to £2098 within six years.

From these figures it is clear that the home farm was managed largely as an extravagant endeavour in improved farming. The main expenditure between the years 1767-92 lay in the purchase of livestock. 'Scotch Beasts', cows, pigs, horses, as well as oxen for the plough team were regularly purchased. Entries such as '20 Scotch Bullocks' for £96 16*s* 6*d* are frequent, although prices rarely exceeded £100 (WYAS WYL 250/3/Home Farm

Account Book). The other significant purchases were for main staples of the farm such as wheat, corn, hay, barley and beans, which all had their own function: wheat was either used in the kitchen at the house, or fed to the pheasants housed at the menagerie; barley, was either sown locally or fed to the pigeons in the pigeoncote above the granary; oats were given to the cart horses, the pigs and fowles, or used by the gamekeeper to fatten cattle; finally, beans provided fodder for the cart horses or were fed to the pigeons (WYAS WYL 250/3/40 Grain Book). The demand for these crops remained constant throughout the period and it seems that the farm required greater quantities than it could produce. Despite the demesne lands doubling in size between 1758 and 1795, the acreage used for tillage that lay 'in hand' was only 7.9% of the total 760 acres (WYAS WYL 250/3/Kent, Claridge and Pearce Survey). This was largely due to the broader management schemes of the estate requiring most of the demesne lands to be reserved for parkland. Pamela Sambrooke (2006) has argued that the dependence on local produce created a set of social relationships between the households, the manager of the home farm and the local farmers and markets. Rather than isolating the household, this self-sufficiency forged closer links with the local rural economy (Sambrook 2006, 205)

To maintain a balance, the farm relied on the sale of livestock and other by-products to create a regular income. These transactions were regularly made with local farmers like Lancelot Dickenson, who often bought cattle (WYAS WYL 250/3/39 Home Farm Account Books). The main products, however, were livestock and hayseed, but the more considerable income was drawn from the sale of hides, tallow and wool - all by-products of the slaughter process – and often sold to local tenants (WYAS WYL 250/3/Home Farm Accounts books). The product sold in the greatest quantities was tallow, which often featured purchases of up to 140 stone, bringing in around £50 each and a figure that illustrates the significantly lower prices when compared to contemporary grain prices (WYAS WYL 250/3/Home Farm Account Books). As a result, the accounts suggest that income barely reached 10% of the farm's expenditure (WYAS WYL 250/3/Home Farm Accounts books). In turn, this might indicate that it was the connection with the local farmers that was key, as shared produce may have encouraged different and improved farming practices.

Alongside these external markets, it is likely that beef, pork, lamb and mutton would have been produced for the household alongside the fruit and vegetables from kitchen gardens and ale at the brewhouse. From 1795, Edward Lascelles continued his cousin's tradition of maintaining a herd of scotch cattle as well as other 'special breeds' of sheep (WYAS WYL 250/3/Home Farm Account Books). Animals were bought from local farmers, pastured in the demesne lands and later used as meat for the household. The cost of maintenance is hard to judge because the internal economy between the farm and house was not monitored, but the investment in produce may explain the large deficits found in the home farm accounts.

The impression given by the account books is that the Harewood enterprise was more of an expensive extravagance rather than a profit making business. It stood as a beacon of improvement, where the landowners deliberately used innovation to influence their tenants and gain kudos from contemporaries. Indeed, positions on the agricultural societies helped to spread the Lascelles influence (WYAS WYL 250/3/244, 247-249 Estate Cashbooks). Edward Lascelles, for instance, was the vice-president of the Wharfedale Agriculture Society alongside Walter Fawkes II of the neighbouring Farnely Estate. Membership in the group also included many local dignitaries including members of the Lane-Fox and Tempest families at Bramham and Broughton. Shows in 1805 and 1810 provided an opportunity for local landowners to demonstrate and compare their produce while competing for prizes. Tenants were also encouraged to improve their 'stock' and take part in proceedings (Sharples 1997, 119-120). At Harewood, the home farm provided the local centre for ingenuity and improvement. It featured pleasing classical architecture and formed part of 'an elegant little village' at Stank (Jewell 1819). It was also another method of gaining an income, albeit a small one, from the 'lush productivity' that had been cultivated across the Harewood estate.

CONCLUSION

In summary, this chapter has assessed the management decisions made by the Lascelles family that affected the Harewood landscape over the course of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. It has been important to show that the estate incorporated

different elements of the landscape from agricultural land and farmsteads, to designed gardens and parkland. The approach taken here has articulated the fluid nature of these places, showing how they changed meaning, purpose and function depending on how they were perceived by particular individuals and their role in estate life. In particular, biography has been used to contextualise the landowning family and their motivations, and place these within the broader cultural context of landscape development. As a result, this chapter has looked at Harewood across several scales, from the long-term process of improvement, to the tenurial patterns of the tenantry and the impact on their day-to-day lives. Viewed in this way, estates appear far more complex and nuanced than some authors have previously shown.

To a certain extent, part two of this thesis could be criticised for taking a 'top down' approach, using the landowning family as a window into eighteenth-century estate life; a broad overview of Harewood has been presented from the viewpoint of Edwin and Edward Lascelles. It was stated in Chapter three that this should not be viewed as a weakness because it is necessary to measure the main influences on the landscape, and in many ways these either start with the landowning family, or are mediated through them. This approach, however, only offers half of Harewood's story. The remaining part comes from the other people who lived on the estate - the tenants, craftsmen and estate workers – and the ways that they came to terms with the changing material environment. Some of these themes have already been touched upon, particularly with regards to farmsteads and estate buildings, but it is in part three that attention reaches a closer resolution. Over the course of three case studies, people and places will come into focus, showing how improvement and other contemporary processes impacted on the everyday lives of the individual.

PART III: BIOGRAPHIES OF LANDSCAPE

Biographies are formed through the becoming of places,
*and places become through the formation of biographies (*PRED 1985, 340*)*

INTRODUCTION TO CASE STUDIES

So far, this thesis has largely been concerned with the physical development of the Harewood landscape through the eighteenth century. Framing this narrative has been a series of motivations and aspirations stemming from the landowning family who through the philosophy of improvement made a remarkable impact on the character of the landscape. The Lascelles' political and social ambition paved the way for the re-organisation of the local agricultural economy as conveniently laid out farms and an ever-expanding acreage helped to establish the family's long-term future. This 'new' and efficient landscape was juxtaposed by a powerful aesthetic with fashionable parkland, classically designed architecture and vistas across the estate. Until now, a narrative focussing on the estate management and administration has been used to contextualise the broader developments of the landscape facilitated by the Lascelles family. To a certain extent, this has underplayed the role of the estate inhabitants within that narrative, leading to a general overview of Harewood. In response, this part will be more concerned with the latter and seeks to reintroduce people to the estate landscape. Through three case studies – of a building, a farmstead and a person – it will be shown how different narratives of landscape existed simultaneously and that both people and places were impacted by the developments of the eighteenth century.

Woven into this account will be the broader historical narratives and processes that occurred on an altogether different scale. As earlier chapters have shown, both Harewood and other contemporary estates were not isolated from the outside world by the park pale. One of the strengths of a biographic account of a landscape is that it aims to articulate the interplay between several different scales of analysis linking the general to the particular. Buildings such as workshops, farms and cottages were created in response to broader discourses that penetrated local lives from the landowning family to the small-scale farmer. It will be shown that at the heart of the landscape developments were the estate

buildings providing a nexus of activity that involved local workers, craftsmen and labourers who all helped to maintain the landscape, the house and the Lascelles family. As a part of both the local economy and estate society, these individuals represented a significant group who were directly linked to the broader influences of the period but lived their lives on the local scale.

Biographies of People and Place

Although the biographical approach was outlined in Chapter two, it is worth recounting its core strengths, particularly with regards to how it can be applied to estate landscapes. Approaches based around 'biographies of landscape' have gathered momentum within research since Marwyn Samuels first coined the term in the late 1970s (Samuels 1979). Arguing in favour of a geographic humanism, Samuels had sought to bind human agency with ideology by proposing that landscape was not just the result of impersonal forces, but the product of real people, named or otherwise, whose intentions could be interpreted by their material expression (Samuels 1979, 56-81). In many ways, this mirrors more recent work in historical archaeology where this very literal meaning of biography, the 'life-history' of an individual, has been used to repopulate historic landscapes by finding 'voices' for the 'voiceless' through written and sometimes performed narratives (Beaudry 1998; Deetz 1998; Joyce 2002; Praetzellis & Praetzellis 1998). This is a theme discussed by Harold Mytum, who also provides an overview of such work (Mytum Forthcoming). By giving prominence to a life-history, some archaeologists have attempted to articulate the effect of long-term cultural processes on the local, fleeting lives of the individual, as well as assessing the impact of human agency on buildings and the surrounding environment. This reflexive relationship, between people and the material world, forms the crux of the biographic approach as it seeks to reassert the particularity of place by adding colour to the social, spatial and temporal contexts in what Nico Roymans *et al* have called the 'multi-layered' nature of landscape (2009). They argue that landscape is a 'palimpsest of objects and structures' where at any moment in time, earlier transformations can be seen to have an ongoing effect on contemporary communities and their environment (Roymans *et al* 2009, 356). Moreover, multiple perspectives of the same place exist as the separate 'biographies' of different groups, each developed

according to a unique set of socio-historical circumstances. As Jon Finch has identified, in his recent appraisal of the resident communities in Yorkshire estates, a number of groups existed in these landscapes from the servants in the country house and the craftsmen in local workshops, to the agricultural workers in the fields (Finch 2007, 42-47). At the heart of these communities a complex interplay between a history of mentalities, institutional change, social development as well as contemporary reactions to improvement and elitist consumption led each group to affect their surroundings in their own distinct way (Finch 2007, 49; Roymans *et al* 2009, 339). With a number of different viewpoints we find a polyvocality of the archaeological record where multiple and often contrasting experiences were found at the same place.

Another strength of the biographical approach, particularly in the post-medieval period, is that we can gain a nuanced understanding of how large-scale developments impacted on everyday life. Estate archives can be rich in maps, surveys, journals and correspondence, all helping to shape our comprehension of how places functioned from the broad, physical changes over time to the daily routines of the individual. Labourers' workbooks and craftsmen's bills inform us about the responsibilities of particular groups and the reasons for their employment (WYAS WYL 250/3/222). The material culture of the estate, meanwhile, including the farms, fields and buildings, leads us to interrogate the impact of the broader developments on the local scale, revealing how people negotiated their surroundings and made their lives work. While other approaches have sought to measure this impact across the *longue durée* (Pollard & Reynolds 2002; Roymans *et al* 2009), it is at the scale of an individual's lifetime that we can see how processes such as improvement quickly changed the face of a landscape and dramatically altered the lives of its inhabitants. Across longer chronological units of analysis this thick description is often lost as the individual is replaced by broader societal themes. Through biography the groups who were affected, including those who were largely omitted from documentary sources such as labourers, the poor, transients and newcomers, are reintroduced to the landscape not only as archetypal figures representative of a given theme but also as important players within the narrative of development (Finch 2007; Tarlow 2007; Wade Martins 2007; Williamson 2000a).

The final advantage of this approach lies in the way that it allows us to articulate the relationship between the life histories of people and those places which they inhabited. As social practice is spatially contingent, the material world plays an active role in the formation and transformation of social relationships. In particular, it is the role of places – whether they are landscapes or buildings – that are paramount to the creation of society. Allan Pred has argued the biographies of people (including the development of their language, personality, ideology and consciousness) are partially determined by an interaction with places across time and space (1985, 340). These places are each seen to have their own biography that takes shape as life occurs both within and on account of them. Thus, a building has an independent life story, ever-changing as inhabitants arrive and leave, with different ideas and understandings of the world around them (Ballantyne 2008, 30). While these meanings may have caused the building to change shape, it is the accumulation of these ideas over time and through memory that gives the structure its own form of agency, helping to shape the lives of those who move through and interact with it (Gillings & Pollard 1999, 180). On an estate such as Harewood, these places take many forms: from agrarian fields worked by the farm labourers to the cottages and workshops built for the workforce. By studying these places in parallel to the individuals who shaped them, we can begin to move towards an understanding of how places were used, the role they played in structuring estate life, and what they meant to their inhabitants as evidenced through their changing practices.

6. THE JOINERS' WORKSHOP

Removing from the Stables to the Workshop – John Wood – 1/2 a Day
*(*CRAFTSMEN'S ACCOUNTS, 16TH OCTOBER 1773*)*

INTRODUCTION

The joiners' workshop in the Harewood estate was a principal element of the estate yard complex established at Stank hamlet between 1771-80 (Fig. 6.1) (WYAS WYL 250/3/247 Estate Cashbooks). This biographical account examines both archaeological evidence and related documentary sources by drawing on a recent building survey carried out by Rebecca Lane of Scott Wilson Ltd for the Harewood House estate (Lane 2008). The survey has provided the formal record of the standing remains from which further spatial analysis of the building has been carried out, as well as marrying the documentary sources relating to estate society to the material evidence in the structure. Over the course of the workshop's life-cycle, from the design through to its use (c.1770-1813), the building went through several significant stages that were inherently bound up in the broader developments on the Harewood estate as well as the lives of the local people. By articulating the relationship between the biography of the structure with that of its inhabitants we can begin to understand the multivocality of the Harewood estate and reintroduce some of the 'voices' that might otherwise be omitted from the grand narrative of landscape development. The study of the building's use, including its meanings and associations, can be seen to continue into the present day; valuable as these insights would be, it falls outside the scope of this chapter, which primarily focuses on the eighteenth century.

Although landed estates have been studied in terms of their economic, social and aesthetic roles, it has often been the case that the marginal elements of the landscape, such as estate yards and workshops, have received limited attention. One reason for this lies in the fact that estate buildings more generally have often been studied in terms of their relationship with the general management of the estate (Lane 2008) or their similarity to other complexes such as model farms (Robinson 1992; Wade Martins 2002). As a result, research into estate landscapes has concentrated on one of three types of

building: large country houses and their 'polite' architecture (Girouard 1980; West 1999), agricultural buildings and their development during the period of improvement (Wade Martins 2007; Tarlow 2007, 67), or structures built as a part of ornamental gardens (Williamson 1995; Hicks 2005).

This marginal position of estate workshops within scholarly syntheses can partly be explained by their principal function. These small-scale industrial workshops provisioned the country house and its household with the necessities for building, maintaining and developing the infrastructure of the estate landscape. Jones has noted that this function is often viewed in parallel with that of the home farm where foodstuffs and provisions were cultivated for the use of the household kitchen (Jones 2002, 14). While both complexes carried out essential processes directly related to the functioning of the estate, it has been the agricultural buildings that have received most attention. This may well be explained by their 'improved' layouts and fashionable styles of architecture, which, in turn, have attracted more attention from agricultural and architectural historians (Robinson 1979, 1992; Williamson 2002; Worsley 2000). The result has led to the small-scale workshop being overlooked in favour of those buildings that are more traditionally associated with estate landscapes.

A lack of recognition for workshops is also linked to the study of the vernacular workshop where the 'grander' buildings associated with industrial processes, such as factories and mills, which have been favoured at the expense of lower status structures. Until the 1990s, work had more generally focused on the progression of technology during the industrial revolution (Nevell 2006, 6), and the appearance of industrial buildings as well as the profits they generated (Mellor 2005, 49). Attitudes towards production have moved on in the last twenty years to a more nuanced approach to buildings (Campion 1996; Mellor 2005), and in some cases have led to recent reappraisals of lower status buildings with small-scale workshops continuing to function despite large-scale advances in technology (Barnwell et al 2004). Moreover, recent developments have paved the way for more subtle approaches aiming to contextualise buildings within a social milieu, casting light on the structuring material conditions of

workers' lives (Campion 1996, 847; Barnwell et al 2004; Palmer & Neaverson 2005). In these cases, buildings have been shown to have inherent structuring properties that impact directly on the lives of their inhabitants, as architecture becomes the context and medium for social relations (Tringham 1991, 102). Such insights highlight the potential for subjects such as estate workshops, which lie in the margin between vernacular industry and 'polite' enterprise, an area that might otherwise be sidelined within the broader narratives of improvement.

ENVISAGING THE ESTATE YARD: EDWIN LASCELLES AND THE ESTATE

The role of the joiners' workshop in the Harewood estate can be explored through a biography of the building over the first decades of its life, paying close attention to the reasons for its construction, how it was built, and the ways in which it was used. This not only provides a spatial and temporal context but also introduces the different groups who made an impact on the building by designing, building, using and working within and around it. Of initial importance to this life-history was the genesis of the workshop, or the moment that it was first conceived. The workshop was envisaged at the beginning of the 1760s as a part of the Harewood estate yard, a complex built to the west of Harewood House in the hamlet of Stank, as a means to provision and maintain the rest of the estate (Fig. 6.2). This was an essential element of Edwin Lascelles' scheme of improvements that had previously included the progressive rebuilding of Harewood village, the construction of Harewood House, and the reorganisation of the agrarian landscape. The scheme was inherently bound up in two aspects of estate life - elitist consumption, and the process of improvement – themes that were primarily derived from the landlord's interests.

The whole Stank complex at Harewood was built as an architectural showpiece, designed with convenience and utility in mind, and used to illustrate the status of Edwin Lascelles (WYAS WYL 250/3/19; Robinson 1979). The construction of this suite of 'service' buildings served to enhance the self-sufficiency of the estate by complementing the other structures, such as the ice-house, kitchen-garden, brewhouse and bakehouse, which had been built in the preceding decades (Fig. 6.1) (WYAS HAR SC 5; WYAS WYL 250/3/19

f2r Harewood Estate Surveys). These structures formed part of a cohesive system that supplied the household with a variety of luxuries and foodstuffs throughout the calendar year (Finch 2008, 526; Ismay 1945, 340). In consequence, the family's wealth was advertised in various forms from the exotics presented in the dining room (Crawford 2002, 200) to the visible buildings that were spread throughout the landscape.

Another aspect of conspicuous consumption was through the fashionable designs used for the estate buildings. Both Worsley and Lane have argued that the architect responsible for designing the Harewood estate yard and offices was John Carr of York who had also worked on Harewood House (1759-71), the Stables (1755-8), Harewood Village (1758-1813), and in 1770 was concurrently planning the adjacent Home Farm (Worsley 2000; Lane 2008). The repetition of Carr's style at these separate sites led to a unity of architecture where proportion, motif and design were repeated across the estate. Stock motifs were used not only to bind each site into a whole but also to articulate status and function with their varying degrees of application. In consequence, an overarching scheme such as Carr's may in fact be viewed as an extension of Edwin Lascelles' wish to create a principally utilitarian yet fashionable landscape. On the one hand, the complex represented functionality and efficiency illustrated by improved designs and convenient layouts, but on the other it was an outward expression of knowledge and rank, expressed through a modern improvement philosophy and fashionable architecture. It was a tangible articulation of Edwin Lascelles' perception of himself as a gentleman landowner, whose ongoing colonial ties with the West Indies helped to define his philosophy of commerce and agriculture (Smith 2006; Firth 1980).

Lascelles' promotion of the estate yard was significant because it was one of the first of its kind in a country house estate, illustrating not only architectural innovation but also a progressive attitude to the estate workforce. For the 1770s this form of yard was distinct from many of the other complexes found at landed estates of the period. The advent of estate yards, and workshops more generally, seems to have occurred on most estates from the first quarter of the nineteenth century when theories of industrial efficiency and power transmission had reached the home estates (Lane 2008, 8). At Woburn,

Bedfordshire, for instance, the 9th Duke of Bedford (1819-1891) built a set of workshops that allowed for 'every kind of work [to be undertaken] on the premises' (Caird 1852, 439). Over the period 1853-59, workshops erected at Longlands, Holkham, Norfolk, answered an ever-increasing demand on the estate (Wade Martins 2007, 173), while further examples were built at Dunham Massey, Cheshire, and Castle Howard, North Yorkshire (Jones 2002; Sambrook 2006, 10). At Harewood, Edwin Lascelles appears to have produced an early model of this form of estate yard and the reason for this may have been two-fold: first, the yard may have been built as a response to rising demand for work during the second half of the eighteenth century; and secondly, the yard was also linked to a particularly strong form of paternalism and desire to physically organise the workplace. A decade earlier in the 1760s the rebuilding of Harewood village had introduced new, spacious housing built with modern amenities while a new ribbon factory provided incentive for the rural poor through employment in the local textile industry (Caffyn 1986, 24). This early attempt to alleviate poverty and provide for the estate's inhabitants illustrates the landowner's paternalism, an ideal that was repeated at the estate yard. The nearness of the joiners, smiths and plumbers allowed for the movement of people, materials and ideas from one workshop to the next without going, as noted in the nineteenth century for such schemes, 'to a distance to the residence of these necessary mechanics' (Loudon 1831, 453). This layout not only encouraged efficient work practices and an improved output, but also provided the workforce with a far more convenient method of working and also a more intimate yet potentially controlled working environment.

Being a part of the Lascelles' estate scheme meant that the workshops and their inhabitants were also inherently bound to the broader scales of improvement. By the 1770s, this was translated into the broader landscape developments that had been implemented since the mid-1750s. By 1760, the re-organisation of the local agricultural economy at Harewood had led to the common being enclosed leading to over 700 acres being brought into cultivation and resulting in nine new farms (WYAS WYL 250/3/19 Harewood Estate Surveys; WYAS WYL 779 Acc. 1967). As these improvements required substantial investments (at New Lays Farm at least £235 10*s* 10 3/4*d* were spent

on the new farmhouse) (WYAS WYL 250/3/247 Estate Cashbooks), it was important that the buildings and agricultural furniture did not fall into disrepair. One of the principal aims of the landlord was to generate profit from the agrarian landscape, and this meant enticing industrious tenants with conveniently laid out farms with modern, well-kept facilities (Wade Martins 2007, 85). Consequently, one of the main purposes of the estate workshops was to complete rapid repairs and provide assistance when buildings required attention. This became economically viable by the long-term employment of local craftsmen, a practice contrasting to the earlier employment of outside firms (Mauchline 1974). Writing in 1852, James Caird noted two benefits for this form of work. Firstly, that pieces could be built by a trained team of craftsmen who understood the architectural grammar of the estate; and secondly, work could be carried out at a cheaper rate: 'The windows, doors, and stairs of farm buildings and cottages, being made of certain dimensions and of certain uniform sizes, are constructed in sets more economically and substantially than they could be by country tradesmen' (Caird 1852, 439). By provisioning the estate with the necessary tools with which to develop and maintain the landscape, i.e. a group of workshops managed by local craftsmen producing standard items in the estate style, Edwin Lascelles bound the estate yard complex to the process of improvement (Table 9).

It seems that Edwin Lascelles conceptualised the estate yard as part of the broader improvements being undertaken across the Harewood landscape. It was a scheme of foresight that, at a time when estate yards were in their infancy, the estate became self-sufficient, relying on a large workforce of craftsmen and labourers to sustain the house, Edwin's family and their lifestyle. Through a dialogue with John Carr (WYAS HAR SC/5)[11], such concerns would have been mediated as ideas became designs and then into the buildings themselves. In one sense, the design of the complex was negotiable as its meaning became paramount representing improvement for social, economic and aesthetic ends (Daniels & Seymour 1990, 487), as well as the family's dominance within the estate landscape. In contrast, for Carr, it was the design that was crucial, conveying his skill,

[11]Plans have not survived for the estate yard largely owing to the working practices of John Carr who often used designs on site to guide workmen (Ivan Hall, pers. comm.).

advertising his ability and reinforcing his reputation as an architect. The negotiation between these two ideals would have no doubt had an impact on the final design, and in turn, influenced the final building – its windows, doors, roofs and walls – which later became the material conditions that would structure the lives of the estate craftsmen. For the next part of the biography we must turn to those craftsmen who actually transformed these concepts into reality, who through their own form of agency constructed the joiners' workshop.

TABLE 9

A list of Harewood Estate Craftsmen 1747-1803

(Sources Harewood Parish Registers; Estate Cashbooks; Craftsmen's Accounts)

Joiners

John Walker (d.1780)
John Wood (Head joiner from around 1780)
Thomas Read
Richard Thackwray
John Waterworth
Samuel Middleham
James Sanderson (Head Joiner for the Stables and House)
Thomas Wade
Richard Harding
John Brierley
Benjamin Wade

Masons (1759-1772)

John Muschamp
William Burland
John Cryer
Jonathan Drake
Thomas Kendall
William Lofthouse
Thomas Muschamp
Robert Pullen
Richard Waters
Joseph Watson

Carpenters

Samuel Whtehead, Weardley
George Renton, Lofthouse
William Scott
James Norfolk
John Richardson
John Upton
John Child
John Smith
Timothy Brewerton
Thomas Robinson

Glazier

Henry Tarbottom

Plumber

Mr Rhodes

BUILDING THE WORKSHOP: JOHN MUSCHAMP AND THE STONEMASONS

Following the initial planning of the workshop by Edwin Lascelles and John Carr, the building went through the construction phase of its biography. Between 1768 and 1780 the workshop was built as a part of the broader Stank complex, which also included the home farm, menagerie and service yard (WYAS HAR SC/5 f251; WYAS WYL 250/3/39 Home Farm Account Book). The estate accounts and contemporary correspondence shows that the initial clearance of the hamlet took place between 1771 and 1775, with the foundations being built in a 'large hollow place' to the east of Stank Beck (WYAS HAR/SC 5 f251). The area had formerly served as an agricultural settlement with a small number of farm buildings that serviced the adjacent agrarian land (Fig. 6.3) (WYAS WYL/250/33 Estate Maps). The result meant that from the late 1760s, Stank went through a distinct transformation from a principally domestic, vernacular settlement to a fashionable 'elegant little village' used to service Harewood House and the surrounding estate (Jewell 1813).

One aspect of Stank's change of purpose was the construction of the new buildings that formed the workshop complex, and it was during this process that a number of groups were able to make an impact on the structure and help give it new meaning. Both craftsmen and designers were responsible for choosing its form and aesthetic appearance, aspects that helped govern how the workshop was to be perceived and used during its lifetime. It is essential to understand that in building the workshop these individuals were not only taking part in the Lascelles' overall estate project, but were also reacting to a set of unique social circumstances where their employment helped to foster their identity and position in estate society both through the practice of their crafts and through the construction of yet further buildings in the by now customary estate style. During this process the joiners, masons, smiths and other craftsmen worked in tandem to create the building. This process not only reflected the co-operative nature of building a structure like the workshop but also helped to foster a wider craft community that was separate from the other estate workers.

The stonemasons were one group who had a significant influence on the construction of the joiners' workshop and it is with their impact that this next section is primarily concerned. Traditionally viewed as being a 'race apart' from the other craftsmen, masons had become a highly regarded group renowned for overseeing large-scale building projects (Woodward 2002, 16). At Harewood this certainly seems to have been the case as John Muschamp (1723-1805), the master mason who had worked at Harewood since the 1750s and had overseen the building of Harewood House and stables, was given the task of managing the construction of the estate yard. This was a position determined by his reputation within the estate and the considerable number of projects that he had undertaken (WYAS WYL 250/3/247-250). This was reflected in his accounts where his bills for masonry at Harewood House came to just over £4,000, a figure that made him one of the highest earners on the project and was almost four times that of the master joiner (Mauchline 1974, 51). While this is likely to have been due largely to the high cost of labour and materials, it was also the case that Muschamp, his son (also John Muschamp (1777-1847)), and their team of masons were involved in almost every building project on the estate between 1754 and 1813 (WYAS WYL 250/3/247-250; WYAS HAR/SC 4-7). Moreover, the Muschamps were heavily embedded in estate life as they lived locally at no. 83, Harrogate Road (WYAS WYL 250/45 Harewood Estate Maps), were part of the agricultural community through renting land and stood on the in-jury of the manorial court (WYAS WYL/250/2 Manorial Court Rolls), as well as being regular worshippers at the local parish church (Brigg 1914). The Muschamps, and the stonemasons more generally, were therefore members of a highly conspicuous group often found working in the parkland and surrounding farms frequently for members of the estate with whom they lived and socialised. Working at Stank provided the team with another opportunity to express their aptitude over a long period, advertise their ability and help reinforce their position as the principal craftsmen on the estate.

The workshop as it was first built in the mid-1770s, was made up of three principal workspaces defined by the activities that would have been carried out within them (Fig.

6.4).[12] The western-most room was designed as formal space equipped with fitted cupboards, a hearth and chimney piece and was lit by two sixteen-pane hung-sash windows (Lane 2008, 16). This more 'domestic' setting is likely to have been an office where administrative tasks and planning would have taken place. Linked by a corridor to the east is the main workshop with a floor-space of approximately 65m^2 that extended northwards to the external wall. This was where a significant proportion of the joiners' work was carried out before finished pieces were taken to site. Adjacent to the workshop was a smaller workroom that provided another area for activity and appears to have been an extension of the principal workroom (Lane 2008, 23). Finally, in the eastern part of the building, and forming the dogleg of the workshop, was another room likely to have been the plumber's shop. This area was a separate unit from the other workspaces, with no internal communication apart from a light well in the north, and was externally accessed by a door in its western elevation (Lane 2008, 29).

Externally, the south and western elevations of the workshop were the most visible, facing into the estate yard. The south elevation was designed as a ten-bay façade with a series of window and door openings, all made of coursed squared sandstone at ground level. Two contemporary sixteen-pane hung-sash windows dominated the western end of the façade and faced into the workshop office. To the east, a mixture of Yorkshire sliding-sash and casement windows provided light for the main workshop spaces. The western elevation of the south wing, meanwhile, also faced into the courtyard and formed a continuation of the adjacent elevation and was similarly made up of coursed sandstone with openings for a door and window (Figs. 6.5 & 6.6). The window in particular is unusual having been built close to the returning wall of the southern elevation, but shows no signs of insertion (Lane 2008, 10). It was only in the nineteenth century that a pitched stone slate roof, of which its scar can be seen in the north elevation of the adjacent house, was replaced by a weather-boarded first floor (Fig. 6.5) (Lane 2008, 9). The north and eastern elevations, meanwhile, faced a rising bank and are now, for the most part,

[12] The phasing of the workshop becomes more complicated in the nineteenth century and is examined in Lane 2008. As stated above, the scope of this chapter is concerned with the period immediately before, during and after the workshop's construction.

concealed by the hillside. At particular intervals the bank was cut back to create light wells for corresponding windows (Lane 2008. 9-12).

The construction of the workshop was significant because it gave the masons a chance to convey their personalities and identities as craftsmen. As argued above, the development of the yard was built as a part of the Lascelles' broader developments; its architecture, purpose and style were all directed towards utility and uniformity while John Carr of York's classical postures served to unite the area with the other disparate parts of the estate. Notably, Carr's designs also featured a repertoire of motifs and details from which a selection of examples were chosen for use within any new structure. In the estate yard, for example, the door and window surrounds on each building were treated differently, varying from a 'post-and-lintel' configuration to more ornamental arrangements such as those seen on the joiners' workshop. This assortment provided an opportunity for the masons to make subtle alterations to the design, allowing them to make their mark on the building and express their own form of individuality.

One area where this is clearly discernable is on the south and western elevations, where specific features were added by the masons during the building phase. In particular, it is the treatment of the lintels that reveals how the masons, or more specifically the master mason, negotiated the construction of the building. On the southern elevation two forms of lintel can be seen: one with false voussoirs and the lintel-ends cut at a forty-five degree angle (Type A), and another of a similar style with screwbacks (Type B) (Fig. 6.7). The latter was a type often associated with John Carr of York and may suggest that he was involved with the original designs. The inclusion of both types, as well as the awkward treatment of the window in the western elevation, indicate that the original design was altered as the construction took place. This is illustrated by the lack of disturbance in the stone courses and the change of rhythm along the façade from Type A to Type B in a sequence of: A-A-B-A-A-A-A-B-B-B. Similarly, the width of the hung-sash windows was wider than the lintels above; these were original elements is indicated by the well-pointed jambs and undisturbed coursing.

As John Muschamp was overseeing the construction work it is likely that it would have been his decision to make the changes to the design. We know that he and the other masons were capable of carrying out this type of work from the other projects they had undertaken. A particular example would be the north side of Harewood Avenue, where nos. 2-15 feature different treatments of window lintels and were built by Muschamp, George Hunter (1734-83) and William Brewerton between 1763-8 (WYAS WYL 250/3/247). These former commissions and the alterations at the workshop reveal insights about the identity and abilities of John Muschamp and his team of masons. The choice to crown the casement window with a different form of lintel, and to position the window in the western elevation adjacent to the returning wall, may have been practical solutions for problems encountered at the time – such as the need for ample light projecting into the plumber's workshop. These alterations were expressions of masonry expertise, skill and experience. The window in the western elevation is particularly interesting as the aesthetic appearance is disrupted by the cumbersome placement within the façade, something that would not have been part of Carr's ideal design but which for practical reasons had to be modified on site.

The building process presents an alternative view of the workshop, as a building project and tangible solution to the designs by John Carr. The treatment of the window and the finishing of the return wall, suggests that Muschamp understood the aesthetic of the estate's architectural repertoire as well as the general scheme for the estate yard, and therefore made a practical decision regarding how Carr's idealised schemes could be suited to the building; a further dilution of Lascelles' philosophical ideas into their built form. In turn, A. C. Smeaton's suggestion of 1837 that: 'the man who professes to execute ornamental work in stone must study how he can make all the parts of his work harmonize or bear a just proportion to each other' (Smeaton 1837, 94) rings true. It reflects John Muschamp's architectural knowledge, practical skill and above all, his ability as a stonemason.

Unlike Edwin Lascelles who, as argued above, would have viewed the building as a representation of his intellectual, financial and social hegemony, the masons built the

workshop with values derived from problem solving and the art of masonry. Trials and tribulations, personal tensions and resolutions no doubt added another layer of meaning, one that is not recorded in the documents nor in the building fabric, yet would have contributed to the overall sense of place felt by the masons. It was developed over the course of the building's construction, as walls were built and fittings installed. After all, it was buildings such as the joiners' workshop that survived as monuments to the stonemasons' skill and craft, and in turn became the very objects that built their reputation both within their vocation and as a part of the wider estate society. This very personal perception of the structure would have contrasted starkly with the views and ideals held by those who ranked above them, such as Edwin Lascelles and John Carr. Through the lens of the masons and at this particular juncture in the biography of the workshop, we see how both the life-histories of the group and the construction of the building were directly related, as ability, knowledge and life-experience had a tangible effect on the outcome of the building.

LABOUR AND THE WORKSHOP: JOHN WOOD AND HIS CRAFTSMEN

The next stage of the workshop's biography was the use of the building after it was completed at the end of the 1770s (WYAS WYL 250/3/39 Home Farm Accounts). The joiners would, of course, have been involved with the construction of their own workshop, producing particular pieces that formed the anatomy of the building. They would have worked in concert with the other craftsmen such as the masons who, as we shall see, built a series of practical features into the design. By September 1773, the joiners were fitting 'doors to the joiners' shop' having carried out the preparation in the temporary workshop at the nearby Stables approximately 300m away (WYAS WYL 250/3/492 f281 Estate Cashbooks). Having a hand in creating and fitting one's workplace would have given the task a particular significance, as the joiners helped to define the character of the very spaces in which they would later regularly work. The window frames, workbenches, shelves and desks were created specifically to suit the needs of the team who built them. It was for this reason that the joiners' 'removal to the shop' on 16th October 1773 (WYAS WYL 250/3/492 f282 Estate Cashbooks) would have carried great

poignancy as they moved to a place that reinforced an already established personal connection.

The Joiners

From October 1773, the workshop became a functioning part of the estate yard acting as a nexus of activity for the resident craftsmen. It became the main focal point for the estate joiners who provisioned the rest of the estate with the necessaries required for Edwin Lascelles' overall project. Through the formal evidence derived from the building survey and the associated documentary sources we can begin to piece together how the building was used and the ways in which it shaped the lives of those who interacted with it. Specifically, this part of the case study will be concerned with the lives of the estate joiners who were led by John Wood, the head joiner, from 1780.

Much like the stonemasons, the joiners were a group of individuals who were essential to the general upkeep of the estate buildings and were often called upon for new projects. Unlike the masons who were often the first group to be brought onto site, the joiners arrived towards the end of the build when the finer ornamental work was completed and the pieces built in local workshops were added to the structure. Their work was defined in 'relation to the more ornamental parts of the art of building;- the construction of woodwork is designed to please the eye, rather than to add to the stability of the edifice' (Smeaton 1837, 75). While this work was crucial at any build, it seems that it was not rewarded with the same rates of pay as stonemasonry. By the 1790s, the bills submitted for joinery on the estate averaged at £183 per year (WYAS WYL 250/3/247-250 Estate Cashbooks). When compared to the masons' total of nearly £350 over the same period we see a distinct difference. This might be explained by higher cost of materials and a greater quantity of work, but even William Marshall who toured Yorkshire in 1796 noticed a 2*d* difference for a day's work leaving woodworking the lesser paid of the two arts (Marshall 1796, 288). Although it is evident that the joiners did not receive high financial rewards, it did not necessarily equate to less work being undertaken, nor does it suggest that their status on the estate was any less than other crafts. A set of joiners' bills from 1780 reveal that their work consisted of various types from 'oak coolers for the

brewhouse', 'oak posts for…the lawn' and 'a door to the west end of the church' to 'making a sopha (mahogany) for Lady Fleming's Dressing Room' (WYAS WYL 250/3/364 Estate Vouchers). As will be argued below, the joiners' were linked to both the extraordinary and the familiar through exotic materials and lavish furniture as well as the more conventional work required for construction purposes and farm apparatus.

This relationship between high-status work and the more mundane pieces was nourished by the joiner's place in estate society. Their role as craftsmen was fostered by their position in Harewood by frequent movement across the estate and employment on projects that affected a number of Harewood's inhabitants. In September 1778, for instance, Samuel Middleham was sent to 'Richard Snow's Shop' at no.68, The Square, and worked with Joshua Craven, the local quarryman who was slating the roof in addition to Henry Smith who had provided the masonry (WYAS WYL 250/3/248 Estate Cashbooks; WYAS WYL 250/3/45 Harewood Estate Maps). As well as Middleham, there would have been labourers, and other joiners all installing domestic apparatus, allowing the group to permeate into the personal lives of neighbours and acquaintances. This not only helped to forge a group identity, as joiners within an estate, but also helped them to assimilate as broader members of the estate community. Moreover, some members of the group were long-term residents of the village and were part of village life. John Walker (1689-1780), for instance, lived at Harewood until his death in 1780 and worked on a number of projects throughout the estate including the construction of the Stank offices (WYAS WYL/250/3/247 Estate Cashbooks). Also John Wood, who succeeded John Walker as master joiner in 1780, lived in a cottage at Weardley until the early-nineteenth century when he moved to no. 27, The Square, only five doors away from Richard Snow. Individuals such as these were embedded into estate society with their familial and social lives spent in and around Harewood village, while their daily work took them from the workshop to site. The fact that the joiners' work included cottages, farmsteads and agricultural apparatus meant that much of their output was directly used by their relatives, friends and acquaintances, so that the group became ingrained into both the social community and material fabric of the estate.

In parallel, the internal hierarchy of the group was also important as it defined the roles of each individual and the respective work that could be carried out. In his examination of craft hierarchies of pre-industrial England, Woodward found that the life-cycle of a joiner differed little from the other craft trades (Woodward 2002). Most joiners began their career as apprentices in the service of a master craftsman earning money to cover their maintenance and training expenses. Following an apprenticeship, a significant number of men would then work as servants to an established master before later taking on the role as an independent joiner where he could employ labour and carry out work of his own. At Harewood, the structure seems to have been slightly different as the local joiners were employed directly by the Lascelles. As a result, it is hard to say if John Wood picked those who worked alongside him, but what is clear is that as a master craftsmen he was given more responsibility than the rest of the group. Visits to purchase wood at Tadcaster, Wetherby and Weston Hall between 1781-3 suggest that his duties extended further than simply working on the estate at all times (WYAS WYL 250/3/39 Home Farm Cashbooks). In addition a 'hamper for John Wood' sent by Lady Fleming (d. 1811), wife of Edwin Lascelles, in March 1783 may also indicate strong links with the landowning family (WYAS WYL 250/3/39 Home Farm Cashbooks). Indeed, the 'sofa' for Lady Fleming mentioned above indicates that some members of the group possessed cabinet-making abilities that were sometimes utilised by the Lascelles to turn Chippendale designs into the finished article[13]. Clearly a demonstrable knowledge of polite aesthetics was evident in the workshop with craftsmen such as John Wood, able to carry out highly-skilled pieces. In contrast, other joiners such as John Waterworth and Richard Thackwray may have been less educated as they rarely appear in the cashbook accounts. This suggests that their work was based at the workshop or on site, undertaking activities taken for granted such as the 'sawing, mortessing, tenanting, scribing, paring, plaining and moulding, &c' (Moxon 1703, 118). It was only as they progressed up the craft hierarchy that they received greater responsibility (Woodward 2002, 34), and could spend fewer of their waking hours away from the workshop.

[13] Two Chippendale designs are currently hung in Harewood House and may have served as outlines for the joiners (Melissa Galimore pers. comm.).

Lives in the Workshop

While many of their commissions involved some work out at site, the best part of the joiners' time was spent in the new workshop at Stank. This was in contrast to craftsmen such as the masons who erected semi-permanent cabins at the place of their commission (Woodward 2002, 118). Within the workshop the main room where much of their work would have taken place appears to have been the large space at the centre of the building (Fig. 6.8). It measured approximately 65m^2 and was a long room running east to west with access provided by two doorways leading either to the corridor in the east or the second smaller workshop to the west. Three windows now dominate the southern elevation while another opening indicated by voussoirs on the exterior denotes that either a window or a single doorway was converted to a double door later in the century. An inventory from 1795 reveals that it was filled with six workbenches with 'one large iron clamp', while the room itself was built with storage and convenience in mind (WYAS WYL/250/HAR Add. 1795 Inventory).

Rebecca Lane's survey of 2008 reveals that on the southern and eastern walls a series of niches had been built into the elevations. These were located in the spaces between and underneath each window as well as a series of five niches placed at 0.8m above ground level on the eastern wall (Fig. 6.9) (Lane 2008, 15-16). These shelf spaces would have been used to store the 'great variety of tools' available to a joiner including 'saws, plains, chisels, hammers, hatchets, axes, awls, gimblets, &c' (Philips 1818, 86). Jacques-Andre Roubo's *L'Art du Menuisier* published between 1769 and 1775, suggests that the niches may have been of equal height to the workbenches allowing an easy reach between worktop and shelf. The windowsills, meanwhile, were placed at a similar height with a depth of approximately 0.3m (Lane 2008, 16). For jobs of extraordinary length, such as on newly worked timbers or particularly large commissions, the sills were used as a support whereby a piece could be supported at each end and passed over the top between the workbench and the window (*L'Art du Menuisier*, cited in Landis 1998, 9). Such details reveal a practicality built into the design of the building a decision that would have been made at the time of construction. Even the floor reveals evidence of functionality and organisation of space as an arrangement of stone sets and flags may

have separated the room into different work-zones with the workbenches arranged accordingly. Although several twentieth-century cement machine bases have disturbed the configuration, an area of flagging still survives at the eastern end of the room where it is defined by several long stone sets (Lane 2008, 15). This would have been used for a particular purpose such as sawing, planing, or chiselling as pieces were passed across benches (Moxon 1703, 68), from one craftsman to the next. Contingent on work and depending on the needs of the job the processes differed, with certain joiners specialising in anything from cabinet making to ornamental piecework. In this case, the building clearly helped to structure such manufacturing processes as the joiners' movements, sight lines, and potential patterns of conversation were defined according to the space at hand, ultimately forming the atmosphere of the workshop.

The second workroom was of a different character to the first and was linked by a plank door in the east wall of the main workshop. Its small size, nearly a third of the principal workroom, suggests that it had a different purpose. It was lit by a double-light casement window, while another plank door to the south provided access to the yard (Lane 2008, 13). In comparison to the main workroom, the walls were plainer with little evidence of disruption, although a succession of five mortices does survive in the eastern wall next to some disturbed courses of the squared sandstone (Lane 2008, 17). The mortice joints are likely to have provided the support required for a bench top, while the courses represent a fill for what may have been a niche in the wall. From this evidence, the room appears to have been a second, smaller workshop possibly for activities that did not require a large amount of space. It may be related to the finer joinery work undertaken by the workmen and used for the more ornamental aspects of their craft such as 'marquetry' a technique where a decorative pattern was made by inlaying a number of different woods into a veneered surface (Moxon 1703, 76-77). This separate room, enclosed by the plank doors, is likely to have been created as a smaller area used for work that might otherwise have been hindered by the noise and bustle of the neighbouring workshop; an inner space that held a special significance due to the ways in which it was used, the people who accessed it and the types of activities that it housed.

The daily work patterns of the craftsmen can be gleaned from the formal evidence as well as contemporary reports. Work would have consisted of long, hard days lasting from dawn until dusk with short rests for meals. According to Caird in 1852, workmen attended the estate workshops at Woburn, Bedfordshire, throughout the year from '6 a.m. till half-past 5 p.m. with intervals of half an hour for breakfast and one hour for dinner' (Caird 1852, 439). If this were the case at Harewood then the workmen would have spent almost twelve hours a day at the building during the winter months, while the summer allowed periods when the joiners were working on site, at cottages, farmhouses and other estate buildings (Woodward 2002, 125; WYAS WYL/250/249 Estate Cashbooks). An aspect of these days was the atmosphere created by the structure. The joiners required both light and ventilation to generate conditions that were conducive to working – a practical concern also built into the design of the workshop. Three three-light Yorkshire sliding-sash windows dominated the southern elevation, which would have allowed plenty of light into the workspace during the daylight hours. This may have been accentuated further by another fenestration that was later converted to a double doorway. In addition, the middle section of each window could be slid open allowing air to enter and circulate the room. Insertion of three grates, two in the northern wall and one in the south (Lane 2008, 15-18), suggests that later in the use-life of the building the room required further aeration and may be an indication of how stifling the space could become, particularly when many of the joiners worked in concert, accommodated in the same workshop, and as temperatures rose and the pungent smells of labour and worked timber filled the room.

The spatial layout of the building, meanwhile, also reveals how the workshop was managed. The management of the projects and the administration of the joiners' workshop ultimately lay with the head craftsman, who from around 1780, was John Wood (WYAS WYL 250/3/248 Estate Cashbooks). The space where much of this organisation took place is likely to have been the office room in the west of the building (Fig. 6.4). This area appears to have been spatially and aesthetically distinct, being separated from the joiners' workroom by a plastered corridor accessed by an external panelled door in the south (Lane 2008, 14). Both stylistic features were specific to this

part of the building, as most of the other elevations show signs of whitewash, while the doorways were predominantly filled with plain plank doors (Lane 2008, 13-20). The office room formed a high-status space with a fireplace flanked on either side by fitted cupboards. By 1795, the room also contained 'a writing desk' that overlooked the two large sixteen-pane hung sash-windows (Fig. 6.9) (WYAS WYL/250/HAR Add. 1795 Inventory). This formed an important space within the building where John Wood left the practical concerns of overseeing the craftsmanship in the workshop and instead looked towards planning, designing and undertaking paperwork in the comfort of his office. This was carried out in a more domestic setting, distinct from the other rooms in the workshop, and clearly referenced by the panelled door and hung-sash windows.

Ian Mellor has argued that offices of this sort, found in industrial buildings of the period, were used as a space to mediate relations between the workshop and client (Mellor 2005, 55). In this case, the office would have been the location where representatives from the estate, such as Samuel Popplewell, the estate steward, would have met with John Wood to discuss new projects to be undertaken elsewhere in the Harewood landscape. At this stage, the room was not only the place where ideas were mediated down the management hierarchy from the Lascelles to the master joiner, but also where the grand schemes of landscape improvement were conciliated to the local scale and the everyday work of the joiners. This physically separated office would have carried potent associations of authority, as people who were not the craftsmen's social equals used the space to negotiate, plan and structure the actions of the joinery team. These were men who habitually travelled further afield, beyond the park pale, and had a comparative view of the workshop, unlike some members of the team who spent the largest proportion of their waking hours in the building. For craftsmen such as these the workshop was a locale within which daily activities were carried out, technical construction problems encountered, grievances aired and internal rivalries played out. Within this arrangement, the office stood as a marker of rank, where multiple meanings were perceived from resentment or envy, to partnership and fulfilment, all depending on one's place in the craft hierarchy, or more broadly, their position in the estate.

The Workshop and the Estate

While the internal hierarchy of the joiners seems to be clear, the group's status within the broader workforce is less certain. As has already been argued, the stonemasons were the most prestigious group amongst the estate craftsmen but evidence from the workshop might indicate that the joiners were also highly regarded. The inclusion of the office in the building suggests that planning and administration was a key part of the profession. The other craftsmen, meanwhile, such as the plumbers in the adjacent workshop, the glaziers in the next building and the blacksmiths in the workshop opposite, were not provided with such rooms. This raises questions regarding the level of planning required for the other crafts, and more significantly, why the master joiner, above all others, was granted his own office (WYAS WYL/250/3/247-250 Estate Cashbooks).

It is also important to recognise that the biography of the workshop was inherently bound to the broader improvements taking place elsewhere on the estate. Here, this can be seen in two ways: first, in the changes made to the fabric of the structure and secondly, in the products manufactured in the workshop. Of initial importance is the impact on the structure itself and this is clearly seen in the south elevation of the workshop where a double doorway was inserted as a replacement for the third fenestration (Fig. 6.6) (Lane 2008, 15). Lane has suggested that this took place at some point between the initial construction phase and the building of the first storey (*c.*1780-1815) (Lane 2008, 29). If this is correct then this raises the question as to what had occurred at the workshop requiring the insertion of a new door? An initial explanation might be linked to a response to the small doorways that led into the workshop. Measuring *c.* 0.8m in width, the door-spaces may not have been practical for moving large materials in and out of the workshop and, as a result, this inadequacy was corrected by the addition of a new, larger door-space. Another explanation might be linked directly to the projects taking place on the estate in the final quarter of the 18th century. The rebuilding of Harewood village (1758-1813), the creation of Robert Adam's Lodge (1780-82), as well as the erection of several garden buildings were all completed during this period and may well have had a direct influence on the workshop. By using large pieces of timber for the projects, the workshop would have had to be fitted in order to cope with the change in materials. The

insertion of the doorway was therefore a direct response to the broader landscape improvements and had, in turn, altered the ways in which joinery was carried out. It casts light on the fluidity of work patterns contingent on different commissions and projects that demanded different ways of working.

Similarly, the more 'exotic' timber, such as mahogany, linked the joiners with the landscapes that lay far beyond the park pale, and would have evoked images of the foreign and of the extravagant. This type of timber was used 'only for the best kind of work; for doors, sash-frames, and baluster-rails' (Smeaton 1837, 76) as well as 'chairs, tables and bookcases' (Philips 1818, 78). It was imported to Harewood as a part of the Lascelles' trade networks that spanned from Barbados to Hull before being taken down the inland navigation routes to Tadcaster (Mauchline 1974, 60). Much like the fauna and flora purchased for the kitchen gardens (Finch 2008), the timber represented the exotic 'other', instilling a sense of the unconventional for both the craftsmen who worked it and the family who owned the final product. Pieces such as the mahogany 'sopha' built for Lady Fleming in 1780 would have been carefully worked by the joiners in the workshop before being taken to her dressing room in the upper apartments of Harewood House (WYAS WYL/250/3/364). There it was accompanied by other luxuries including '2 bolsters and 2 pillows' while the rest of the room contained '1 Wilton Carpet, 2 white window curtains' and '2 Venetian blinds' (WYAS WYL/250/HAR Add. 1795 Inventory). Examples such as the 'sopha' served to link the joiners directly to the landowning family and their commercial concerns. The workshop became the conduit through which the joiners encountered the far reaching trade routes and broader processes in such a way that enhanced both their own reputation as craftsmen as well as the eminence of the landowning family.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter has been to explore how the biographies of different groups have impacted on the joiners' workshop through its design, construction and use during the 18th century; but in doing so there have been two prevailing themes that have played a part in the construction of the narrative. First, it has been shown that there should be an

inherent appreciation of the broader processes at play. Sometimes these have been all too clear; the role of improvement, and its economic, social and aesthetic implications, resulted in alterations in all scales of life, from the principles behind the workshop to the everyday lives of those who came to build and use it. At other times, such processes have been less obvious and only emerge through careful analysis of surviving built fabric and documentary records. These might include the buoyancy of traditional, practical ways of building that mediated the designs of an idealised modern workshop. We should be mindful, however, that an awareness of such themes is almost made redundant if we cannot account for their impact at the local scale, on the realities close at hand, on the significance of the everyday worlds of people's lives.

This leads to a second point, which was to present how a place in the landscape, in this case a workshop, came to reflect and structure the lives of those who came to interact with it. Key to this argument has been to articulate how the multivocality of the building, with various viewpoints, reveals how separate lives were inherently influenced by the same structure. This has been presented, almost arbitrarily, through three different perspectives; the landlord, builder and user. These voices offer a more nuanced understanding of how the workshop was perceived, and perhaps more significantly, how these groups were linked to the structure, not only by living *with* the building, but through working, everyday, with the materiality of the workshop – designing its elevations, constructing the walls or working in amongst the bustle of craftsmen and the processes of joinery. Through this lens we saw how the workshop was not only an economic entity or indeed an architectural showpiece, but a place owing its character to the sights, sounds and indeed smells that helped constitute its meaning

7. SANDYGATE FARM, 1759-1802

> *Within the grounds attached to the mansion of the Earl of Harewood, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, is a substantial and well-built farm house, furnished with suitable outbuildings, and surrounded by a fine cluster of fruit-trees. It stands on the side of a hill, which slopes gently down to the river Wharfe, and commands a prospect, which, though not extensive, is singularly picturesque…*
>
> *Formerly there was only a sandy lane, which passed immediately in front of the house, and winding up the hill, entered the village between the castle and the church. From this circumstance the adjoining farm was called Sandygate, but with the changes that have taken place, the appellation is now almost forgotten, although the house still retains the name of its original occupant, and is known in the neighbourhood as 'Stables House (*LYTH 1861, 13-14*).*

INTRODUCTION

The second set of biographies to be explored are the Stables family and the farm they occupied from 1759 onwards. This case study provides an opportunity to explore the relationship between a family and their material surroundings, all set within an estate context and influenced by agricultural improvement and other contemporary processes. The farm itself was built as 'Sandygate Farm' in the late-1750s in an area of consolidated farmland to the north-west of Gawthorpe Hall. It was built for the Stables family who had previously lived at their ancestral home in Stank prior to the developments that led to the construction of the estate offices and Home Farm. Over the course of the next fifty years and over two generations, Sandygate became synonymous with the Stables family and it was for this reason that by the mid-nineteenth century, the complex had became known as 'Stables Farm'; a name referencing the biographies of both the site and the family.

Unlike the previous case study where a formal architectural survey was placed at the heart of the narrative, this exploration of biography relies on a set of historical documents called *The Notices of the Stables Family* (Stables 1855). These detail the life of William Stables (1707-1787) the first owner of Sandygate Farm, and the main influence on its development in the second half of the eighteenth century. It was written by his grandson, William Stables (1794-1862), and recalls the biographies of his ancestors from the

seventeenth through to the nineteenth century detailing their lives, relations and relatives. The document provides an in-depth look at a particular family of yeoman farmers who were affluent, certainly in comparison with their neighbours, and were affected by the improvements occurring in the wider landscape around Harewood. Such a source is not devoid of pitfalls and bias. Indeed, it is written from the point of view of a wealthy farmer who is casting a look back over his ancestors, and in most cases rarely directs an unfavourable eye upon their actions. Additionally, it is written some time after many of the family members had died, and although proof of evidence for their actions and behaviour is often quoted in the text, one has to treat these comments with a degree of critical interpretation. But for all their pitfalls, sources such as diaries, letters and other written material do come with advantages. *The Notices* form more than a simple bibliographical reference; they provide colour for the narrative and supply insight to people's lives otherwise sketched by estate papers, parish registers, surveys which often omit the details of everyday life. More importantly, the document helps to furnish the landscape with the individuals who formed it, 'peopling' the landscape in its farms, houses and fields. We are provided with a lens through which broader themes are viewed, where biographical details are situated among much wider cultural forces.

Alongside this approach is the belief that the material evidence found in a landscape played a structuring role in these people's lives. Accumulated memories and associations, built up through work in different parts of the landscape, meant that farms, cottages and fields began to structure daily work patterns. In order to understand these processes, and perhaps appreciate the local realities behind national trends, it is necessary to study buildings and their development through time (Barnwell 1998, 46). This can tell us about the changing practices of the period, such as new husbandry techniques and ideas, as well as revealing how the buildings were used. After all, farmsteads and their surrounding fields were not simply economic entities created only for revenue and profit, they were the places where people worked, where they lived, contributing to their overall sense of dwelling within the landscape (Ingold 2002, 191). This exploration of the Stables family and Sandygate Farm helps to elucidate these ideas, showing how the biographies of both people and place were entwined.

THE STABLES OF HETHERICKE

It is important to establish early on that William Stables came from a long pedigree of family members who had lived in Harewood. As far back as 1656, a 'James Stables of Hyethericke' was recorded as a part of the sale particulars written prior to the sale of the Harewood Estate from the 2nd Earl of Strafford to Sir John Cutler (WYAS WYL 250/3/12a f6r Estate Surveys). 'Hyethericke' or Hetheric, was the earlier name given to Stank before it was changed some time in the 1740s (Brigg 1914; Jones 1859, 181). Nevertheless, it was James Stables' son, John Stables (1664-1747), who appears to have been the main influence on the family's rise to prominence within the local district. Through purchases of land and tithes at Huby, Weeton, and Kirkby-Overblow (Stables 1855, 17-19), all villages that lay within five kilometres of the farm at Stank, John Stables was able to establish himself as a yeoman farmer with sufficient capital to maintain multiple holdings producing a favourable income. By the time his farms were passed to his son, William, at the age of 73, the estates at Huby and Weeton provided John with sufficient 'pocket money'; moreover, his reputation within the district grew to such an extent that his eulogy noted: 'John Stables was a highly respectable man. His good sense and prudent conduct combined with his station in society, gave him great influence in the sphere in which he moved, and as his judgement was cool and sound, and combined with great magnanimity, of spirit and mildness of temper, in the latter part of his life he was much looked up to as a counselor [*sic*] and advisor' (Stables 1855, 19). Such a testimony is supported further by his regular appearances as an in-juryman for local manorial court where he represented the township until the age of 82, and helped to pass by-laws for the agricultural landscape (WYAS WYL 250/2/5a).

John Stables' memorial erected in All Saints' churchyard also indicates the family's status. Built in the west of the churchyard alongside the tomb belonging to his wife and son, Elizabeth and James, the chest tomb stands apart from the rest of the eighteenth-century memorials. Not only is it spatially distinct,

but it is also one of a few tombs found in the graveyard dating to that period suggesting that it may have been built as a social marker. Although its location may be explained by the availability of plots at the time of burial (Mytum 2004, 130), the memorial was placed close to the public entrance to the church and would have been highly visible to the parishioners. Its contrast with the contemporary gravestones as well as it location within the churchyard indicating that John Stables was making a tangible expression about his identity and status within the parish.

By the time William Stables gained possession of the farm at Stank as well as the other family holdings in 1737 (Stables 1855, 33), the farmstead had become a favourable holding developed according to modern farming needs. It occupied an area of 62 acres, 38 perches, and stretched from a wood in Stank to the northwest along the south-facing escarpment that led to Sandygate Field (Fig. 7.1) (WYAS WYL 250/3/13b Estate Surveys). According to the survey drawn in preparation for the sale of the estate in 1738, this type of farm, which was compact and conveniently laid out, was rare within the estate. Alongside farms belonging to James Ellis, the Pike family and holdings rented by Holmes, Wiggan and Wright, the Stables had one of the few where the fields had been spatially consolidated (Lawrence 1731, 4; WYAS WYL 250/3/13b Estate Surveys). In contrast, nearly all of the other tenants held land that was distributed throughout the estate, leading to far less efficient patterns of husbandry. In this case it appears that William Stables' convenient and consolidated farm perhaps contributed to his overall status within the community.

As well as a more convenient layout, the Stables' Farm was also distinguished as an early adopter of arable farming. By 1738, nearly three-quarters of the agricultural land at Harewood was cultivated as pasture or meadow (WYAS WYL 250/3/13b Estate Surveys). This is likely to have been the result of a combination of factors including topography and soils, sluggish cereal prices as well as the lure of regional textile markets such as Leeds and Bradford. In consequence, any movement towards arable farming would have required heavy investment in time, effort and capital as field boundaries

needed to be moved in order to create the large fields more suited to the production of cereals. As the Stables had a farm made up of contiguous holdings, such changes were possible but this was no easy task. *The Notices* suggest that as a boy, John Stables' grandson, Brian Proctor would drive a plow over the fields 'and a very, rough, awkward, stoney piece it was' (Stables 1855, 19). In fact, it was the short depth of soil before hitting bedrock and the naturally rocky ground that made the process so troublesome and this later became a similar issue for Edwin Lascelles when trying to level the ground in the 1760s (WYAS HAR/SC/7/29). By 1758, the farm had over 16 acres of arable, enough for the family to carry out a 'mixed' form of agriculture where the production of cereals and the growth of livestock were practised in tandem. It was also at this time that William Stables had become part of the flourishing dual economy of the West Riding, where the textile industry influenced agriculture through the raising of sheep needed for wool, while other livestock and the growing of cereals contributed to the mixed character of the region (Edwards & Lake 2006, 32).

One of the issues confronting farmers on the Harewood Estate by that period was the development of the landscape around Gawthorpe Hall. In the twenty years that separated the 1738 and 1758, surveys William Stables' Farm at Stank had reduced in size from 63 to 42 acres. This placed the family within the most common group of farmers who rented between 21 to 50 acres (WYAS WYL 250/3/16). As it was argued in chapter four, this was part of a broader trend where farms had decreased in size but fields had been rationalised to encourage more efficient methods of farming. Closer to Gawthorpe Hall, however, the reduction was also due to the early developments of the designed landscape where fields adjacent to the 'Great Stanke' were converted to parkland. These improvements were bound up in the schemes of Edwin Lascelles who showed early signs of his intentions for the area close to Stank. Work had begun in April 1755 when the new stables for Gawthorpe Hall were begun and *The Oaks* field was cleared and levelled by workmen (Wragg &Worsley 2000, 18) (Fig. 7.1). From that moment, a systematic phase of replanting and landscaping took place whereby a number of fields were taken 'in hand', including land rented by William Stables. Further improvements were made around the house and church, such as the levelling and grassing over of *Eller Close* and

the *Timber Garth* (WYAS HAR SC/1/3/68; WYAS HAR SC/7/29) as well as flooding part of *Maw Kerr* to form the lake (Fig. 4.4) (Ismay 1767). By 1759, when Stank was being cleared in preparation for the estate yard (WYAS WYAS HAR SC/3/3/53; WYAS HAR/SC/5 f19; HAR/SC/5 f251), William Stables' farm was being encroached upon by the surrounding improvements and would have been viewed as a threat to the Stables' security of land.

While the family's security was called into question, it was their long-term pedigree and financial strength that would have played an important role in their decision to move to Sandygate Farm to the north of Stank in 1761. In the years following his father's death in 1737, William had continued his land investments, consolidating his status as a yeoman farmer. He had married first at the age of 33 in 1740 to Miss Jane Moiser of Leathby who died childless in 1747 from a 'poor health of body' after seven years of marriage. William's second union in 1753, this time to Miss Mary Bentley of Pannal Hall, proved more fruitful for his fortunes (Stables 1855, 33). Owing to his visits to Pannal where his sister Anne had married Mr William Bentley, William soon married his brother-in-law's sister Miss Mary Bentley, who brought with her a portion of £400 (Stables 1855, 33). *The Notices* suggest that most of this sum was used to purchase land at Kirkby-Overblow, an estate that added to those in Huby and Weeton (Stables 1855, 34). The result of these transactions meant that William was now worth over the £500 required to take a new lease on the Harewood Estate, and this would have no doubt been appreciated by Edwin Lascelles and his steward, Samuel Popplewell (WYAS HAR SC/5 f105). As an established local farmer who was heavily involved in estate affairs, William would have found himself well placed when Edwin Lascelles began to redevelop the landscape around Stank in the 1750s. Whether he was able to negotiate or was simply offered the new farm, it is not clear, but by 1761 William Stables and his family were living at Sandygate.

SANDYGATE FARM, 1759-1787

Moving to Sandygate in 1761 provided the Stables family with a new place to live and a new farm to develop and cultivate. The buildings they used and the layout of the farm were built as a part of the new improvements to the agricultural landscape set out by Edwin Lascelles and managed by his steward. Authors have recently argued that such buildings are an essential, if often undervalued resource within the historic landscape (Ball *et al* 2006, 2) that inform our understanding of the local realities of more general trends of the period (Barnwell 1998, 46). In this case, at Sandygate Farm, the development of the improved agricultural landscape was still in its infancy. The vast swathes of parkland close to Harewood House had not yet been established and new farmsteads only just being planned. Sandygate, however, was the first to be built *de novo* between 1759-61.

Sandygate Farmhouse

The most prominent building found at Sandygate was the farmhouse, a newly built Georgian form reflecting the needs of the modern gentleman farmer. It was to act as the guide to the other farms, setting the precedent alongside the 'classical' farmsteads at New Lays and High Lofthouse for a new architectural livery. Such an impression is first conveyed through the buildings accounts, which unlike many others relating to Harewood, survive in detail. What is particularly significant is the common reference to 'Mr Stables House', a term, identifying its tenant, normally reserved only for a handful of buildings (WYAS WYL/250/493 Estate Accounts). This was a direct reference to William Stables' place in the Harewood tenantry, referring to him as a 'master' and yeoman farmer. According to *The Notices,* which in turn are supported by the contemporary parish registers (Brigg 1914), the farm was occupied from 1761 (WYAS WYL 250/3 f172v Estate Rentals) by William and his children William, John, Mary and Elizabeth; his wife had died from a 'severe cold' following the birth of their second daughter (Stables 1855, 34). By the time they had moved in, the building was complete and reflected the status of both the tenant and the landlord.

Initially, the status of the building was reflected in the fabric and plan built in the most fashionable of designs. Begun in 1759, the farmhouse was built as two storeys with two bays of windows set between a doorway with large-scale margin-dressed tie-stone jambs and chamfered surround (Fig. 7.3). The layout, meanwhile, was typical of the mid-eighteenth century (Brunskill 1978, 112), built with a central entry double pile plan with a parlour and living room at the front, and dairy, kitchen, cellar and access to the first floor all at the rear. Despite its prominence elsewhere in the country, this layout was distinct for Harewood. Earlier examples of houses around Harewood dating to the late-seventeenth century reveal more antiquated arrangements with two cells and a lobby entrance such as Cutler's Cottage found in Bongate (Ward 1998). Moreover, farmhouses dating to the first-half of the eighteenth century do not survive at Harewood but contemporary treatises suggest that Sandygate was in keeping with modern trends. In fact, the layout is similar to those found in Daniel Garrett's *Designs of Farmhouses* (1747) featuring a typical two-by-two arrangement, albeit without the flanking projections. Garrett's influence was seen later during the development of the Home Farm (see chapter five) in the survival of a design for one of Garrett's gates within the estate archives (WYAS WYL/250/4/1 Estate Plans). This may suggest that Garrett's ideas for a conveniently laid out farm may have made a long-term impact beginning with Sandygate in the 1750s and extending even to the Home Farm.

The use of the new layout would have made an impact on how the family lived in the house. Such plans also referenced a broader progression within contemporary society whereby the architectural space was sub-divided according to function and status. Rooms provided various opportunities to advertise class and prestige, thereby differentiating a family not only from those further up or down the social ladder, but also from their peers (Dalglish 2003, 210; Johnson 1996, 108). At Sandygate the living areas were placed at the front of the house, with a small parlour used for everyday activities, and 'best' parlour often chosen for receiving visitors (Lovett 1768, 132). These are often regarded as the rooms where the males of the household would remain after a day working on the farm (Johnson 1993, 137). At the rear, meanwhile, the kitchen and dairy were often the domain of the farmer's wife (Verdon 2003, 27). When compared to smaller farmhouses on the

estate, where only two or three rooms were built in a cottage (Ward 1998) these subdivisions equated to a more formal structure of social life (Johnson 1996, 108). Parlours had shifted from acting as bedrooms or multi-purpose rooms to areas used solely for living and display for the wife and husband (Barley 1990, 60; Johnson 1993, 137). For a respected yeoman family such as the Stables, the use of a more formal reception room would have distinguished them, certainly in the early-1760s, from other families on the Harewood estate.

This strategy was also underpinned by the furnishing of the rooms with portable material culture. Although the probate for William Stables has not survived, a similar inventory taken from one of his peers, John Bickerdike, Esq. of New Lays Farm, reveals the value of items contained in each room. For example furnishings and objects in the cellar and back kitchen were more valuable than those in the bed chambers and parlours (BIHR PRO). The impression given by the inventory is that the service rooms including the 'back kitchen' and 'cellar' contained items of higher value such as meat, as well as eating and cooking utensils. The living areas, meanwhile, were populated with less costly items including simple tables and chairs. One drawback of this document is the risk that items of value were removed shortly before the inventory was taken, thus leaving only half the picture. Nevertheless, an inventory drawn by Thomas Lovett in his guide to estate management of 1762 reveals a similar story (Lovett 1762). The 'common' parlour, as Lovett names it, appears to have been used for everyday use, for relaxing and socialising, being furnished with chairs, a large oak table, china set, tea chest and silver spoons (Lovett 1762, 131-2). In the 'Best parlour' meanwhile, the room was more sparsely populated with simply a table, chairs and a mahogany tea board. This may indicate a more formal purpose, used sparsely, and for special occasions (Lovett 1762, 132).

Although William Stables may not have furnished the house in exactly the same way, men of his stature would have followed similar consumption patterns. One area where display was particularly important was during visits by friends and relatives when tea would be shared in the parlour. *The Notices* report that in the late-1770s Richard Birdsall,

a local preacher, visited the house and William 'bid his daughter put on the tea kettle' (Stables 1855, 39). Taking tea meant displaying a range of luxury goods, from the tea itself to the chinaware in which it was served (Berg 2007, 230). Some households reserved the best wares for guests or for Sundays, while coarsewares were reserved for everyday use (Berg 2007, 230). The parlour, being furnished for daily living, but supplied by the service rooms at the rear, therefore acted as an area where William interacted with people from outside his home. This was an area where he could affirm his status in his own home via conspicuous consumption in portable objects.

In parallel to the new plan and layout, which conveyed status and identity, similar principles were also applied to the exterior where aesthetics helped echo cultural messages of the interior. One example can be seen in the architectural detailing of the corbelled kneelers on the north and southern facades. All four kneelers feature a *cyma recta* moulding over a *cavetto*, a specifically refined detail that is not repeated elsewhere on the estate (Fig 4.18). On the rare occasion that it did appear on other farmhouses a *cavetto* moulding was used, by the early nineteenth-century, however, its accent had been softened until the concave had become almost eradicated. At other sites, particularly in the Cleveland Hills, North Yorkshire, such features were commonplace from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, but were often the only embellishment found on a façade (Harrison & Hutton 1984, 146). Consequently, the subtle carving at Sandygate marks out the individuality of the farmhouse and in turn, helps to convey the cachet of its inhabitants. Furthermore, with the detail repeated in the barn at Sandygate, one gets the impression that either landlord or the manager of the project, most likely to have been Samuel Popplewell, the estate steward, wished to make an impact in all areas of the design from the fashionable plan of the building to the more subtle elements of the architecture. As a farmstead built in a stage of transition from the local vernacular to a more classical style, these elements formed part of the aesthetic change.

But while the design, layout and architectural details conveyed contemporary fashions and ideology, some elements reveal a more vernacular tone. Of particular note are the

flat-faced stone mullions used to create the three-light windows in the eastern façade. Mullions, more generally, were of medieval origin but were used in farmhouses until the mid-eighteenth century when they were phased out in favour of the more fashionable hung-sash windows (Brunskill 1978, 126-9). At Harewood, the earliest examples survive in the late seventeenth-century 'cottage in the walls' on Harrogate Road (Ward 1998, 5-7), where a three-light window with chamfered mullions occupies the second storey. A further example can be found at Carr House, a farmhouse lying approximately 1.5km to the south. Now consisting of two semi-detached double-pile cottages, the farmhouse was originally the southern most structure (Fig 4.15). It features flush stone mullions in the upper storey and may indicate that the house was built following Sandygate. Returning to Sandygate, the mullion windows were clearly part of the local vernacular until the 1760s when a series of new farmhouses were built using more modern designs for the hung-sash or the Yorkshire-sash windows, which replaced the mullion style. Their appearance therefore raises issues regarding this early phase of improvement on the estate. In particular it shows that Edwin Lascelles was not enforcing a wholesale change in architecture and secondly, elements of the vernacular style had continued to be used in the traditional style of building.

One of the reasons for the continuation of such traditional styles may have been due to the employment of local craftsmen. Prior to the building of the estate workshops in the 1770s Edwin Lascelles employed local firms and artisans to help construct new buildings. As Mary Mauchline (1974) found when researching the new house, firms such as Riley and Walker (joiners), and Craven and Brewerton (masons), both Harewood-based partnerships, were regularly employed in the process (Mauchline 1974, 60-1). This type of management was also seen in the other construction projects on the estate, including the building of new farmsteads. At Sandygate, the final bills dating to July 1761 reveal that the main craftsmen were James Norfolk (carpenter), John Walker of the joiners Riley and Walker, and 'Geo. Hunter and Co' as the principal masons (WYAS WYL/250/493 Estate Accounts). All the craftsmen lived on the estate and in the case of George Hunter, he was a 27-year old who also rented a small-holding close to the village (WYAS WYL 250/3/2/f172 Estate Rentals). Over the course of their careers, the local

craftsmen would have gained a personal working knowledge of the local methods and the vernacular style. As Edwin Lascelles was changing this style to a modern, Georgian type of architecture, there is a strong likelihood that the new designs were compromised as the classical themes were mediated into the vernacular. To illustrate this point we find in George Hunter's bills that in comparison to the windows and surrounds, including the stone beds, mullions, jambs, and heads, the corbelled 'gable ends' took almost double the amount of work to complete (WYAS WYL/250/493 Estate Accounts). While this might be down to the extra level of care required for such pieces, it also suggests that this was a new element being incorporated into the vernacular style for the first time. In parallel, the modern, symmetrical Georgian façades and layouts while not necessarily new to the craftsmen (who might have encountered them at other places), were certainly untried at Harewood; we see the implementation of modern ideas used for the first time within the local vernacular, but all the while being cosntructed according to local tradition. This fits with the earlier arguments made in chapter four stating that classical elements of architecture were only gradually adopted from c.1755 onwards.

Sandygate Farm Buildings

While the farmhouse at Sandygate was clearly an important building within the farmstead, it was only part of the full complex. By the mid-eighteenth century, farms were often built as a set of conveniently laid out structures that helped create a more efficient farming environment. As a result they have been used to inform our understanding of how farmsteads were managed, used and developed over specific periods of time (Edwards & Lake 2006; Wade Martins 1991). Most importantly, when used in parallel to documentary sources, farm buildings also disclose details of the people who worked with them, and in turn how they came to structure regular work patterns.

Layout

The first detail of importance was the layout of the farm and how it was structured. Although cartographic evidence does not survive for the period immediately after

Sandygate's completion in 1761, we do get an impression of the farmstead from the contemporary buildings accounts. Built concurrently to the farmhouse, and by the same set of craftsmen, the complex featured a barn, pig-cote and stables (WYAS WYL/250/3/493 Estate Accounts). According to Edwards & Lake (2006, 66), this was a regular arrangement for a 'mixed' farm as livestock could be kept in the barn in mistals, while the stables provided housing for the horses, the main source of motive power. These buildings helped the farmer to provided two main advantages for the farmer: they helped conserve good manure used to fertilise the land, and provided housing for livestock – an increasingly important element that would impact on the quality and quantity of meat products (Wade Martins 2007, 138). The first glimpse of how these buildings were laid out is found in the illustrations included in the Kent, Claridge and Pearce survey of 1796 (Fig. 7.5) (WYAS WYL/250/3/Surveys Kent, Claridge & Pearce), revealing that by the end of the eighteenth century, the farmstead was L-shaped but placed alongside one of the main routes travelling east to west through the estate. L-shaped plans are representative of a linear layout with a later addition of a 'byre' (a Yorkshire term for a cowhouse) or barn (Edwards & Lake 2006, 44). This layout normally indicates piecemeal development rather than wholesale construction, with the implication being that this was not a model farm built in one phase according to a single plan or one offered by authors such as Daniel Garrett (1747). Instead, the farm appears to have been constructed over time with a more vernacular, even practical layout. By the end of the century, the farm seems to have been focussed around a yard screened on at least two sides. The fold yard provided a place to stall cattle or more simply as an area to store dung (Wade Martins 2007, 139). This layout provided shelter from the wind and any obnoxious smells emanating from the yard while also supplying warmth for the south-facing barn (Edwards & Lake 2006, 44).

Judging by the farming trends of the period as well as the estate survey of 1796 (WYAS WYL/250/3/Surveys Kent, Claridge & Pearce), Sandygate Farm, like many others on the Harewood Estate, would have dealt mainly with livestock rearing with lesser elements of arable farming. The methods of husbandry required for this form of mixed farming can be seen in the fabric of the farm buildings. As it has already been stated, by 1761 the

complex included a barn, pig-cotes and stables (WYAS WYL/250/3/493 Estate Accounts).

The Barn

In the first case, the barn was positioned to the north of the house and with comparison to other barns on the estate, appears to have been built concurrently with the farmhouse in the 1760s. Including an extension to its eastern end the structure measures roughly 27m by 7.5m, and was originally of similar proportions to that found at Lofthouse Grange (Fig. 7.6). It was built of coursed punch-dressed stone with a slate roof, with access provided by opposing central segmental-arched cart-entries, with flanking mistal doorways that have since been altered. In the first bay, above the mistal opening is an inserted doorway on the first floor. It has large composite jambs and a massive stone lintel, very similar to those found in the farmhouse, and via an external staircase, provided access to a granary indicated by an iron pulley used for hoisting bags of grain (Fig. 5.6). The eastern half of the barn has been altered and extended since the nineteenth century, although the sixth bay contains flat-faced mullion windows included presumably to match those in the farmhouse. In addition to the *cyma recta* moulded kneelers, the windows provide an architectural unity between the two buildings.

Internally, the space to the east has been divided by a stonewall, leaving access only to the central, former threshing area. The space is characterised by the presence of ventilation slits in both the north and south elevations that are normally associated with threshing floors. In the west wall are three arched openings approximately 1.5m high, with those to the left and right having been filled (Fig. 7.7). These are similar in character to those found in barns at Stockton Grange and Lofthouse Farm and are likely to have provided access to the room behind (accessed via the doorway in the 1st bay of the south elevation). This is likely to have been a mistal or storage area for grain prior to the addition of the 1st floor granary. The insertion of the granary floor is indicated by the insertion of approximately 18 mortice joints above the arches.

The barn includes many of the hallmarks of a 'mixed' farm. The mistal doorways and area behind the arched openings on the interior of the barn indicate areas where livestock were held (Fig. 7.7). These may have been used for storage of implements or grain or perhaps even as livestock housing. The cart-entries, ventilation slits and threshing floor, meanwhile, suggest that the barn also housed some processes associated more with grain and cereals, i.e. threshing (separating grain from straw) and winnowing (separating grain from chaff). Throughout the year, then, the barn would have experienced a number of functions depending on the season. Cattle would be sheltered at various times though especially in January before calving, and their dung would be stored in the fold yard before spreading it on the land. Threshing, meanwhile, would have taken place in August and September after the harvest, when a number of hands would have been employed to help with the work bringing the harvest to the barn (Young 1771, 231). The threshed grain would be stored normally above ground, while the chaff was processed into fodder and then taken either to the stables where it was fed to the horses or given to the cattle in their housing. Each building formed part of a cohesive system of husbandry structuring how the inhabitants performed each process and where they took place.

When the structural evidence is compared to documentary records it appears that the organisation of space in the barn reflects a farmstead whose lands were unequally divided between arable and pasture. By 1758, most farmers in Harewood allocated only a third of their land to tillage, resulting in far less cereals requiring storage and processing (WYAS WYL/250/3/16). As the value was placed on other goods rather than grain, 'combination barns' were built where the interior space was used for several functions. This provided a more efficient use of space and was lauded by William Marshall during his tour of Yorkshire in 1788 (1788, 129). By 1796, Sandygate Farm only featured five acres of arable out of fifty-five suggesting that the Stables family were primarily livestock based, but also relied on some arable. Whether this was grown for personal use as grain or for fodder, or for the market is not clear, however, receipts for small amounts of cereal sold to the Harewood Home Farm would suggest that the arable provided a small income

(WYAS WYL 250/3/39 Home Farm Accounts). A reference from 1783 suggesting that William Stables sold small amounts of grain to the home farm worth only £20, may indicate that this was not his primary income (WYAS WYL 250/3/39 Home Farm Accounts). This was a small sum compared to other tenants such as John Biggs of Weardley who sold over £270 in the same year (WYAS WYL 250/3/39 Home Farm Accounts). Furthermore, the purchase of '5 Scotch Oxen' in 1780 may indicate a further use for the barn (WYAS WYL 250/3/39 Home Farm Accounts). Oxen were considered as 'essentially necessary in an awkward hilly country' (Marshall 1788, 264) and as William Stables owned land elsewhere at Huby, Weeton and Dunkeswick, not to mention renting land on the hillside at Harewood, these animals could have been put to work in cumbersome locations. William Marshall had found that within the Vale of York, oxen were rarely used for ploughing, their more traditional application, and instead were employed on the road, pulling farm carriages often taking manure to the field (Marshall 1788, 261; Young 1771, 13). In West Yorkshire, however, it appears that oxen were used for their more traditional function as motive power in the fields, and may well have been housed in the barn. Plough teams generally consisted of three horses or four oxen and one horse with two servants (Rennie, Broun & Shirreff 1794, 38). Moreover, livestock including sheep, pigs and cattle are likely to have provided the main source of income, and the main channel through which capital could be accumulated for purchasing land such as those already owned in the neighbouring townships. It seems therefore, that William Stables had shifted from a being a subsistence farmer like his grandfather James Stables, to a capitalist yeoman taking advantage of convenient buildings and improved agriculture.

The Stables

The second building of interest was the stable. By 1700, horses had become the principal source of motive power on a farm and were highly valued on a farmstead. Often, stables were located within easy reach of the farmhouse while also conveniently placed a short distance from the fields (Edwards & Lake 2006, 65). In West Yorkshire, stables dating from this period were generally small owing to the focus on pastoral farming, although

they were often built to accommodate more than one horse. Activities such as carting milk and other produce was an important secondary activity on farmsteads especially in areas lying close to industrial centres such as Leeds (Edwards & Lake 2006, 65-66). In reference to the 1796 map, the stables may have formed part of the range of buildings that lay perpendicular to the barn, forming a 'T', only a short distance from the farmhouse (Fig. 7.3). This building may have formed part of the blocked archway now found in the coalhouse to the rear of the modern farmhouse, where the external wall would have provided access to the store. Without further exploratory work below ground, however, the nature of this relationship cannot be verified although the opening may have been used as a coal delivery point at a later date.

The orientation and placement of the stables does reveal insights about the husbandry patterns found on the farm. According to a letter included in the *General View* in the region close to Skipton, West Yorkshire, it was possible to manage a large farm with seven or eight hundred acres of pasture with only one farm servant and two horses (Rennie, Broun & Shirreff 1794, 80). While this might have been an extreme case, especially placed on the edge of the Yorkshire Dales where large swathes of grassland dominated, it could be expected that only a small number of animals would have been needed at Sandygate. Indeed, *The Notices* suggest that William Stables kept two hackney horses, a breed used mainly for hunting, but could also, on occasion, be exercised in agricultural work (Stables 1855, 35). It is reported in *The Notices* that as a younger man, William would use these horses to follow the races at Harrogate and sometimes to take part in local hunts (Stables 1855, 55), but more regularly they were engaged in other work. As a general rule, one horse was required for every 20 acres of land found on the farm (Edwards & Lake 2004, 64), suggesting that Sandygate may have required up to five, with three carthorses forming a small team. This fits with the construction of a set of stables built at the turn of the nineteenth century as the replacement, to the west of the barn (Fig. 7.8). It would have housed up to six animals at any one time, revealing that the original may not have been adequate and may have needed replacing.

The stables do share some characteristics with others including those at Lofthouse Grange (Fig. 4.17 & 7.9). These include corbelled kneelers and the punch-dressed stonework suggesting that the buildings were conforming to an estate livery. Inside the stables, the space would have been divided with regular wooden divisions used for the carthorses while more elaborate stalls were reserved for the riding animals (Edwards & Lake 2004, 64-5). Unfortunately, the stables at Sandygate have been redeveloped, although examples at Lofthouse Grange and Stockton provide some idea of the character of the internal space. They suggest that the interior walls would have been whitewashed and a plaster render laid up to ten courses high with partitions every three to four metres. Surviving chains and iron clasps used to tie rope provided practical solutions for controlling the animals while housed. Overall, the general character would not have been of a high status building but rather a vernacular, working structure. As such, architectural flourishes such as the voussoir lintels found at Lofthouse Grange, provided rare opportunities to introduce an aesthetic element that conveyed to both the farmer and visitors that the building was new and part of the wider estate. Moreover, the stables also represented improved status with horse drawn transport and carriages. With the Otley-to-Tadcaster turnpike to the south of the property, the Stables family had access to the main coaching roads to and from Harewood. Such transportation methods compared favourably to those who rode or travelled by foot through the estate. Thus the Stables family were conspicuous in their status both in travel and at home at the farmstead.

The Pig-cotes

The final buildings constructed on the farm were the pig-cotes in 1761. These were an essential element normally managed by the farmer's wife. One or two pigs were often kept on most farms mainly for domestic use, and were generally fed on waste products from the kitchen, dairy and barn. This meant that sties were often placed close to the kitchen or dairy room of the farmhouse, and were generally small single storey structures, with low entrances (Edwards & Lake 2006, 66). In the West Riding, sties were generally small and were rarely built with an enclosed yard as the pigs would be allowed to wander in the fold yard. Unfortunately, no sties survive in the farms around Harewood although

the Kent, Claridge and Pearce survey suggests they were fairly common, appearing on at least nine farms within a township containing over twenty (WYAS WYL/250/3/Surveys Kent, Claridge & Pearce).

At Sandygate, the sties are likely to have been located behind the house, in the west, perhaps close to the stables. By the mid-eighteenth century, management of the pigs, as well as the kitchen and dairy were the responsibility of the farmer's wife, or her absence, the farmer's daughter (Stables 1855, 41). Elizabeth Stables remained at Sandygate throughout her father's life, despite the departure of her brothers and sister in 1777, and 'was early a kind of mistress in the house, and frequently assumed a more authoritive tone, expression, and manner, than was agreeable to her brothers and sister' (Stables 1855, 42). It is understood by some authors (Johnson 1996) that a process of 'withdrawal' was already at play, where space around the farm was organised around gender-based spheres, which although not exclusive, helped to structure the day-to-day work patterns (Johnson 1996, 137-8). Men generally worked in the farmyard, or in the fields carrying out ploughing, or managing the cattle. The service areas at the rear of the farmhouse, meanwhile, became the domain of the wife and her servants as she was expected to arrange and supervise work routines (Verdon 2003, 28). Until recently, the role of the farmer's wife has been underplayed owing to the scarcity of references in traditional sources such as account books. However, Nicola Verdon (2003) has shown that the role of women extended further than the house and into the general management of the farm. Indeed, women were not confined to the house, in fact it was quite the contrary, as the farmer's wife was expected to organise the dairy, poultry, pigs and the kitchen garden. Additionally, she managed the storage of meat and required firm knowledge of farm affairs so as to stock the cellar when needed (Verdon 2003, 28). In this way, women such as Elizabeth Stables would have had a controlling influence over the management of the farm, helping to organise the dairy and milk cows, and understand how and when livestock was required.

Moreover, Verdon (2003) has shown that wives had to be resourceful; making sure that meat was prepared and stored over winter, while other foodstuffs including butter and cheese were produced in sufficient quantities in the dairy. This was where buildings such as the pigsties became crucial as they acted as profitable appendages to the other services found on the farm. Pigs provided an important source of meat, and were generally fed on waste products but were later fattened on buckwheat or peas, before being killed in the winter. Their meat was then salted or pickled and stored in a cool room such as the cellar included at Stables House until it was ready to eat in the spring when meat prices had begun to rise (Verdon 2003, 31) (Fig. 7.8). From these processes, the farmhouse and pig-cotes became as much a part of the farmstead as the barn and stables, while the women similarly provided an essential part of the farm management.

Work on the Farm

Although Sandygate Farm was the first to be built in its entirety by Edwin Lascelles, it appears to have been created along vernacular lines where architecture and agrarian practices helped to mould the form of the buildings. While contemporary fashion and philosophy may have dictated the style of the farmhouse and the layout of the farmstead, it was William Stables, his family and their husbandry practices that heavily influenced how it was developed. It was their daily routines, biographies and the local style of farming suiting the landscape that determined the form and function of structures, and in turn, the development of the buildings concerned. Life on the farm conditioned William and his family as they progressed through their professional careers. Lascelles' new farmstead, which embodied his philosophies of agricultural improvement – commerce and agriculture – was not only significant as a source of income and profit but was also came to have a direct impact on the local lives of its tenants.

Buildings such as those mentioned above required regular maintenance undertaken by members of the Stables family as well as local workers. Wade Martins (2004) has

estimated that for farms over 70 acres extra farmhands were required (2004, 124) and these were employed to undertake agricultural tasks both in the farm and out in the field. Such activities would have included: 'hedge and ditch work, roads, the garden, cleaning out furrows…attending to cattle, pigs, and straw-yard, killing sheep and pigs when required…assist in harvest, hay-time, threshing, filling dung, &c' (Loudon 1831, 789). This was significant work requiring ten-hour days beginning at six o'clock in the morning, with half an hour for breakfast and an hour for lunch (Loudon 1831, 795). Agricultural labourers were drawn from the neighbouring townships or apprentices, most likely to be local boys over the age of 15, and would be hired often in the month of October (Young 1771, 309). *The Notices*, for example reveal that William Stables employed the son of Anthony Shearwin, a farmer from East Keswick, for a period when he was '16 or 17' (Stables 1855, 41). This was a relatively common practice found throughout the country (Wade Martins 2004, 123) in order for farmers in the early stages of their life to gain experience before returning home or setting up their own farm. Such a role was invaluable providing first-hand knowledge and experience from a young age.

Similarly, some eldest sons were trained at home by their fathers in the hope that through learning agricultural tasks as a labourer or apprentice, they would one day be in the position to inherit or take over a property. After all, landlords seldom evicted good tenants whose family was well established and regularly paid their rent on time (Turner, Beckett & Afton 2001, 32). Thus, by 1777, having grown up on the farm at Sandygate William's sons, John (20 years of age) and William (22 years of age), and their younger sister, Mary, had gathered enough experience to be sent to the family's property at Kirkby Overblow (Stables 1855, 38-41). Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, meanwhile, remained at Sandygate working as the housekeeper for her father (Stables 1855, 38). Moving between farms, especially those within close reach, enabled young farmers to gain knowledge of the landscape and appreciate the idiosyncrasies of the lay of the land. This became particularly useful when inheriting or renewing a lease (Wade Martins 2004, 123; Stead 2003, 171).

As a result of the life-cycle and activities undertaken by farmers like the Stables, their identities are likely to have been heavily bound to the farmstead and its contents. By working closely on the farm, learning the routines of agriculture, and fraternising with other tenants like themselves, the family were defined as 'yeomen' and principal inhabitants of the estate (Brigg 1914). Regular visits by Samuel Popplewell, the estate steward, helped define their role as tenant while receiving advice and recommendations (WYAS HAR SC/2/2/31). Yet, by day, their lives were defined by their roles on the farmstead. Depending on the date, month or season, the weather, or condition of the land, jobs on the farm could vary from shepherding flocks, monitoring herds, or ploughing, threshing in the barn or mucking out. Most trips would have been taken with a labourer or two, or with members of the family, as they walked across farm holdings, guiding a plough team or undertaking other jobs such as maintaining the field boundaries (Stables 1855; Young 1771). In this case, their identity was forged by sex, role and occupation as Elizabeth Stables stood as the housekeeper, William Stables as the head of the family, and his sons as apprentices undertaking the more menial jobs. Across broader areas, these ideas shifted once more, whether managing a farm at Kirkby Overblow, or travelling to holdings at Huby or Weeton, the family became part of a broader social network. There the roles shifted according to circumstance whether visiting church, a neighbour or managing land. Through these various scales, from the life in the farmhouse to travelling across the district, the identities of the family were tied to the activities they took part in and the places they visited. As it was argued in chapter two, these different strands produced complex and intertwined ideas of identity which were variable, ambiguous and often multiple (Johnson 1996, 8), defining the person as an individual or as part of a much larger group or community.

SANDYGATE, 1787-1802

From 1787, a combination of broader processes influenced the family's material surroundings, which not only altered the particularity of their day-to-day lives but also the trajectory of their careers. This eventually led to the family leaving Harewood after almost two centuries of occupation. The final part of this chapter therefore seeks to

elucidate the economic, philosophical and practical factors that contributed to this outcome, arguing that no single facet was responsible and that we need to be contextual in our examination of eighteenth-century agricultural development (Barnwell 1998, 46).

One of the most important events of the late-eighteenth century at Sandygate was the death of William Stables. After 'a long illness' (Stables 1855, 51) he died on 13th June 1787 and was buried, like his father and two wives before him, in a chest tomb on the west side of All Saints' church. This was a mark of his wealth and status within the parish ranking him as one of the few members of estate society who were buried with such a prominent memorial. The significance of this event was also marked by the passing of Sandygate Farm to the youngest son, William, who had lived with his father for the last eight years having left his elder brother, John, at the farm in Kirkby Overblow (Stables 1855, 39). Tenure of this sort, within families, was particularly advantageous to both the landlord and the tenant. The residing family understood the idiosyncrasies of the farm at hand, including its soils and the lay of the land, all details that would take a newcomer time to learn (Stead 2003, 171). Similarly, the costs of finding a replacement were far from trivial with time and money spent for advertising, a heightened cost if there was a lack of farmers with sufficient capital (Stead 2003, 174). For the succeeding tenant, meanwhile, advantages included the continuity of crops and the return of long-term planting investments, as well as the chance to progress up the agricultural hierarchy. As an established family and one of the 12 who were present in the key estate surveys of 1738, 1758 and 1796 (Table 10), the Stables, therefore, would have been well-respected and desirable tenants who seemingly never fell into arrears (WYAS WYL 250/3/2-7 Estate Rentals). Moreover, William Stables' (jnr) appearance as 'Mr William Stables' in the manorial court of May 1789 (WYAS WYL 250/2/Manorial Court Rolls) appears to confirm his rise in society to a 'master' indicating that through his succession to Sandygate in 1787, he had become one of only eight yeoman farmers within the community; he had taken over as farm manager.

TABLE 10

References to Families in the Estate Surveys of 1738, 1758 and 1796

Name	1738	1758	1796	Name	1738	1758	1796
Baldwinson		*		Liverseige		*	
Barber	*			Lockett	*		
Bateman	*			Mallory^	*	*	
Barrett^^		*	*	Midgeley^	*	*	
Bickerdike	*	*	*	Mushcamp			*
Brown	*	*		**Norfolk**	*	*	*
Bradley		*		**Parker**	*	*	*
Carr		*		Parkinson			*
Clark		*		**Pike**	*	*	*
Clayton	*	*	*	Popplewell			*
Cockett^^		*	*	Reed		*	
Cooper^	*	*		**Rainton**	*	*	*
Collett			*	Richardson		*	
Craven	*	*	*	Robinson	*		
Dickinson^^^	*		*	Royston	*		
Ellis^	*	*		Savage	*		
Ellison			*	**Scott**	*	*	*
Ely		*		Shearwin		*	
Fleming			*	Shiers			*
Gill	*			**Smith**	*	*	*
Greeves			*	Snow			*
Hanson			*	**Stables**	*	*	*
Hargreaves^^		*	*	Stead		*	
Harrison^	*	*		Taylor			*
Horeseman			*	Thompson		*	
Hawke^	*	*		Tidswell	*		
Hill		*		Turner	*		
Hollins		*		Waterworth			*
Holmes^	*	*		Watson^	*	*	
Hunter^	*	*		Webster			
Jackson^^		*	*	Whitaker	*		
Kemp	*	*	*	**Wiggan**	*	*	*
Kitchingman^	*	*		Wilkinson		*	
Kirby			*	Wright^	*	*	
Lee^	*	*					
Lister			*				

N. B. This does not account for incumbents having the same name as the outgoing family, nor the transmission of farms to daughters. (**bold =** appears in all three surveys; ^ = appears in 1738 &1758; ^^ = appears in 1758 &1796; ^^^ = appears in 1738 &1796 surveys)

Another key aspect of the late eighteenth-century agricultural landscape was the impact of the economic environment and its influence on landowners. From the late 1780s, grain prices rocketed, peaking during the Napoleonic Wars and leading many landowners to invest heavily in agriculture (Thompson 1963, 212). Land was in high demand and with the greatest number of Parliamentary enclosure acts taking place in the years between 1790 and 1819 (Wade Martins 2004, 33), landowners sought profit from the reclaimed lands via new rental income. As it was shown in chapter five, the Lascelles were very much part of this trend and through agricultural improvements and land purchases their estate income through rents was improved six-fold between 1771-1810 (WYAS WYL 250/3/Cashbooks). This is likely to have resulted from a combination of new purchases and raised rents resulting from land improvement.

One method of taking advantage of the economic climate while simultaneously improving the value of land, was by converting pasture into tillage. In the most basic of terms arable land could add value to a farm as high cereal prices made the production of grain a lucrative business. Mr John Biggs, a yeoman farmer in Weardley, for example, sold grain to the Harewood home farm for sums approaching £170 (WYAS WYL 250/3/Home Farm Accounts). The conversion to arable certainly seems to have occurred at Harewood, particularly in the final quarter of the eighteenth century. In 1794, Samuel Popplewell confidently stated to the authors of the *General View* that the estate was 'in pasture and in tillage, in proportions nearly equal' (Rennie, Broun & Shirreff 1794, 138). This claim is backed up by contemporary surveys revealing that a shift had taken place since 1758 when the arable around Harewood had moved from nearly a third to 48% of the total acreage (WYAS WYL 250/3/16; WYAS WYL 250/3/Kent, Claridge and Pearce Survey). These details become particularly relevant when considering the increased production of grain on the estate, and in turn the farming apparatus required for storage and processing.

By 1796, every farm in the Harewood township had a barn, the traditional place for storing unthreshed corn following a harvest. As stated above, each barn is likely to have

included a threshing floor, while a storage area may have been created in the upper floors to keep grain away from vermin and the damp (Edwards and Lake 2006, 54). This was a form prevalent in West and North Yorkshire from the eighteenth century onwards and seems to have been a plan followed on the estate. Interestingly, by 1796 only five farms were listed as having granaries on the estate, and these included the most prominent tenants of the period: Samuel Popplewell, the estate steward of the Town Street and the Castle Park Farms; Peter Scott of Lofthouse Grange; John Bickerdike of New Lays; and finally, William Stables of Sandygate. It is likely that it was these farmers who, owing to their capital resources, were able to make alterations to their farms and respond to the contemporary economic climate. Such alterations may of course have been financed by the estate, in which case, Lascelles and Popplewell may have been trying to take advantage of the economic conditions. Owing to evidence at Sandygate, however, where William Stables built a number of his own structures (Stables 1855), the conversion of barns could well have been the responsibility of the tenants.

The example at Sandygate provides a clear case, showing how an older building was adopted to fit in with new methods. It is characterised by the external steps on the western end of the building that lead to the first floor on the southern side of the barn. On the interior of the western wall, the blocked arches, which formerly provided access to further storage areas, are cut by a course of mortices, likely to have been inserted when the granary floor was built (Fig. 7.7). This configuration suggests that the space behind the arches may well have been a storage area for unthreshed corn. It was not uncommon for grain floors to have a trapdoor allowing the produce to be lifted directly up to the floor above (Edwards & Lake 2006, 52), however, an iron pulley bracket on the exterior of the barn, above the door at first floor level, shows where the grain was probably hoisted up.

At the end of the eighteenth century, farmers were taking advantage of the high cereal prices, and through modern ideas regarding corn storage, alterations were being made to their farm apparatus. William Stables appears to have reacted to the contemporary

climate and like his peers had understood the importance of protecting his grain. The fact that only 5 acres of his 67 acre farm were in arable at the time of the survey (WYAS WYL 250/3/Kent, Claridge and Pearce Survey) may suggest that while he had not adopted arable farming *per se* he was showing a willingness to invest in capital that was not directly related to his principal output (livestock rearing) but would allow a change of focus if the opportunity arose. He may also have been renting land in other townships or consuming the arable production from other holdings away from Harewood.

Another example of where improvement impacted upon both the economic and physical aspects of the estate landscape was through the estate survey recorded by Kent, Claridge and Pearce. In 1796, following the inheritance of Harewood by Edward Lascelles, the London-based firm were called to review the status of holdings across the West Riding estates. The resulting survey, which came in three volumes, had been produced concentrating on three main themes. The first was to describe the contents and condition of each farm, noting buildings, their state of repair, and the size and cultivation of every field. The second was to provide a value for each farm, including rent and cost per acre, signifying which holdings were proving to be the most lucrative. And thirdly, the firm offered qualitative summaries of each township recommending alterations and improvements. The most important of these aspects was the new value placed upon each farm, which in turn impacted on annual rents. As it was shown in chapter five, between 1797 and 1798 rental income swelled from £15,240 to £21,067, a figure that was also assisted by several land purchases (WYAS WYL 250/3/250 Estate Accounts). At a local level this meant rents were being raised, and in some cases, this was occurring for the first time in a quarter of a century.

During this period the rent for Sandygate Farm was also increased. Having been £58 since 1770, by 1796 it had risen by 29% to £75 per annum. Although the increase may not have been detrimental to the running of the farm, especially for a farmer such as William Stables, it would have no doubt made an impact on the yearly income. Most farmers accepted the alterations, possibly as they had little choice having already invested

in their farms and had long-term connections with the area. Indeed, only around five tenants across the whole of the West Riding estates left due to the new terms (WYAS HAR SC/75, 76). Nevertheless, income from the farms would have been dampened as the benefits of the new leases, which were designed to encourage long-term investments and best practice (Wade Martins & Williamson 1998; Young 1797, 95), would not be experienced for a few years. This may have led some tenants, such as the Pike family to leave their farms over the subsequent years as agricultural prices continued to grow and further landscape improvements threatened farm security. Indeed, this factor may have contributed to the relocation of farms during the extension of the ornamental parkland at the end of the century.

Linked directly to these improvements were alterations being made to the ornamental landscape and the surrounding transport network. As it was discussed in chapter five, between 1799-1802 the agrarian land between Lofthouse Gates and Robert Adam's lodge was gradually put down to grass. In that time the nine remaining farms that were in the area were removed and in their place were Repton's designs for parkland. The question of where the tenants moved to is difficult to answer as some appear to have taken smaller farms elsewhere on the estate, while others left altogether (WYAS WYL 250/3/7 Estate Rentals). This extension of the parkland may have led some tenants to fear for the security of holdings, particularly on the margins of the newly formed park. This was a threat that had become very real during the years 1798-1801 when the Castle Park and Sandygate Farms were encircled by the new course of the Tadcaster-Otley turnpike (Fig. 5.13). The new road, which had moved from the old Church Lane, was re-routed further north beyond the castle before turning west towards Otley. It was argued in chapter five that this event enabled over 180 acres of land to be taken 'in hand' very much as a precursor for the later developments around Harewood Castle where a number of walks and rides were incorporated.

Further west, however, close to Sandygate, these developments had other ramifications. Over an acre on the northern extent of the farm holding was taken 'in hand' and laid in

the new road and planted with a row of trees (WYAS WYL 250/3/7 Estate Rentals). The building of the road, meanwhile, led to £10 10*s* worth of damage to the farm as workmen led stones across the fields from the quarry to the south (Stables 1855, 63). Another addition was a 'very excellent wall about 9 feet high' (Stables 1855, 63) that skirted the turnpike and is likely to have been an extension of the original built surrounding the parkland in the late 1770s (WYAS HAR SC/4/2/38 f1v). It marked the extent of the Lascelles' ornamental landscape stating their presence in the area, but had been broadened by Edward Lascelles as a possible statement of intent with regards to the growth of the parkland. The result of this left Sandygate entirely enclosed apart from a 'mere strip' (Stables 1855, 64) that lay on the other side of the park wall in the field approaching Harewood Mill. With rent increases already in place and with the division of the farm, the situation had become far from ideal for William Stables; but having purchased a new 160 acre farm at Linnington, near Pickering, North Yorkshire, in 1797, William was in the unique position where moving had become a realistic possibility (Stables 1855, 64).

No doubt, having resided at the farm for nearly half a century and grown up in and around the area, William Stables would have held long-term associations with the farm. Not only was it his place of work where he and his father had invested both time and money, but there was also a temporal connection to his family history, with his ancestors having lived in the township for at least two hundred years. The farmhouse had been the place where his father had resided after the death of his second wife and where William and his wife had lived in the company of his older sister, since their marriage in 1789 (Stables 1855, 65). Such memories would have been bound up in their engagement with the landscape, anchoring the family to the landscape:

> Much [as] he would have enjoyed the thought of settling down quietly in his nest, all his associations, ideas, connections and habits had become formed, and to have to break away from all these would require the exertion of no little energy of soul. And had he sit [*sic*] still, had he been quiet, there is no doubt that they would have let him alone, until they could have provided him another suitable farm, for such men of activity, respectability and capital, as he was, a rather desirable tenant (Stables 1855, 63).

The change in tenure from the Stables to the Horner family in 1802 (Brigg 1914) was not therefore a simple transaction recorded simply for posterity in rental books. The biography of the farm, including the growth of the buildings and the cultivation of the farmland, was deeply entwined with each member of the Stables family who had moved to, and lived at, Sandygate from the beginning of the 1760s. In many ways, it will have helped shape them as individuals as they interacted with it on a regular basis as its rooms, sheds and yards structured their daily work patterns. To leave the farm would have been distressing, but as William Stables seems to have been a man of practicality and circumstance was counting against him, the decision to move to Linnington may have proved alluring. Nevertheless, the fact that the farmstead soon became known as Stables Farm was a reflection of their history with the place and their connection with the area.

CONCLUSION

This case study has explored the biography of the Stables family in relation to the use and development of Sandygate Farm. In doing so, there have been three main themes that have been prominent. First was to show how part of the landscape, in this case a farmstead and its buildings structured the lives of its inhabitants. Key to this argument was that complexes of this sort have often been broken down into their constituent parts as historians have concentrated on particular types of farm building and their development through time. Here the farmstead was treated as a whole as each building -

the farmhouse, barn, stables and pig-cotes - played its own part in the overall running of the farm. Through time the inhabitants reacted to the changes in the contemporary way of thinking, such new farming practices, which led to rebuilds and additions such as a new granary and stables. But throughout the narrative, it was shown that these buildings were always linked not only by the processes that they housed, but also by the people who inhabited them.

The second theme fits with the broader aim of the thesis to situate the fine-grained accounts with broader processes. In this case study the role of the economy played a vital role in the development of agriculture as farmers and landlords reacted to the contemporary climate. Improvement, too, had a key part, as landscapes and their contents were altered according to fashion, philosophy and ideology. Like the joiners' workshop in the last chapter, these themes have been mediated to the local scale, identifying the local realities of processes such as improvement.

The juxtaposition of these broader themes with the local reality has been articulated here through the biographies of the Stables family. Three generations were recounted as they moved from one farm in Stank to the second at Sandygate, and reacted to a multitude of influences that ultimately structured how they lived on the Harewood Estate. Most significant was to show how the family were linked to the landscape, not only by living in the farmstead complex, but by using the buildings and their apparatus on a daily basis. After all, Sandygate Farm was not just a name in a survey or rent book, but rather places where the Stables family worked and lived, contributing to their overall sense of dwelling within the landscape (Ingold 2002, 191).

8. SAMUEL POPPLEWELL (1713-1780), ESTATE STEWARD

I AM WILLING AND READY TO SERVE YOU NIGHT OR DAY IN ANY CAPACITY.
I REPEAT IT WITH TEARS AND TO CONVINCE YOU THAT
I DO IT HEARTILY AND WITH JUSTICE AND INTEGRITY.

(SAMUEL POPPLEWELL TO EDWIN LASCELLES, 14TH NOVEMBER 1761)

INTRODUCTION

So far, the case studies have shown how places in the landscape were affected both by the people who interacted with them as well as the broader processes of improvement and landscape change. In each case, different groups drew meaning from the materiality of buildings, rooms and objects, which determined their identities within the estate. The office in the joiner's workshop, for example, with a desk, fireplace and large, hung-sash windows differentiated the head joiner and helped define his position within the workforce. In contrast, this chapter deals with the biography of a single individual, Samuel Popplewell (1713-1780), who worked as the estate steward from the late-1740s until his death in 1780. From the perspective of one person, it articulates how at the local scale, everyday life and identity were defined by a series of places in a landscape and that each contributed to his biography

Throughout this thesis Samuel Popplewell has been referred to as an influential member of the estate. This chapter aims to provide context and colour to both his position in the estate as well as his experience of the landscape. The three main aims of the chapter are first, to articulate the way several places in the landscape defined Popplewell's identity, helping to structure how people viewed him and how he was viewed by others. The onus is therefore placed on the local lived experience rather than generalities. Second, Popplewell's role as steward and relationship with Edwin Lascelles will be shown to be integral to how he engaged with both the landscape and different groups on the estate. Finally, it is crucial to show how the concept of identity was often fluid at the local scale, highlighting contradictions that often resulted from the many roles held by an individual.

The sources used to construct this biography are pivotal to its approach and structure. Popplewell's life is drawn from the Harewood estate archives, and in particular extracts from his correspondence, 1750-1780 (WYAS HAR/SC). These reveal thoughts, perceptions and attitudes to the estate, and provide an important lens through which we can assess his experience. Indeed, the very act of committing these ideas to paper, as well as receiving letters from others, involved the recall of life-spaces, and tells us much about the identities of Samuel Popplewell and those of his neighbours (Short 2004, 489). The main drawback to these sources, however, is the limited information regarding other aspects of life that lay away from the estate. Moreover, there are many undocumented days as well as a series of other details that would normally be essential for any biography. These include Samuel Popplewell's life prior to Harewood, information about where he lived, as well as more detailed accounts of his life away from the estate.

Faced with such inadequacies, some authors have treated biography with caution, considering that life is too random to be committed in a single narrative (St. Claire 2004), and that so few facts may lead to a more serviceable past (Lowenthal 1985, 228). However, as Joyce (2005) has identified, the past should not be read from one set of evidence, nor should it be viewed in granite-like solidity (2005, 65). The past had multiple meanings and was referenced in a multitude of ways. In this case the material record provides the means by which social relations are visualised 'for it is through materiality that we articulate meaning and, as such, it is the frame through which people communicate identities' (Sofaer & Sofaer 2008, 172). Such an approach relies on the notion that social practice is spatially contingent, and that the material world plays an active role in the formation and transformation of social relationships including ideologies, and the identity of a particular person (Pred 1984, 340). More specifically, this chapter is concerned with how Samuel Popplewell's daily engagement with the landscape defined his biography. Encounters took place spatially, across the estate in *locales* such as the country house, agrarian fields and in the parish church, which all informed his perception of the estate and place within it. In this way, the estate becomes a dynamic landscape (Austin 1998; Pred 1984; Upton 1984) with multiple understandings defined by the various roles and identities that are played out with each social encounter.

In view of the available sources and in some cases their paucity, the biography of Samuel Popplewell is presented in a non-linear fashion. Attention focuses on three themes relating to aspects of his life during the period c.1750-1780. These include: his role as manager of improvements and agriculture; his position as overseer of estate society; and his relationship with the materiality of the landscape. Each theme is distinct, yet is also connected by the overall aims of this thesis, which are to draw out the issues of scale, multivocality and identity. To a certain degree, the approach and often-sparse evidence means that biography has to be considered in a different way. By studying Samuel Popplewell across themes and at a fine resolution, it is possible to break down the 'taken-for-granted' stories that are associated with estate landscapes and promote the steward as another important voice in their development. First, however, it is necessary to provide a background to the role of the estate steward during the eighteenth century.

THE CONTEXT OF THE ESTATE STEWARD

By the mid-eighteenth century, it can be argued that estate stewards were inherently connected to the significance of landed estates and their improvement. Estates had always provided an economic and political foundation and a direct route into public affairs, most notably in local and national politics (English 1990, 126-46). By the 1750s, estates required more efficient administration, supervision of the tenantry and the overseeing of wide-ranging changes to the estate landscape. This was largely due to the importance of improvement and within certain quarters of the landed elite (Daniels & Seymour 1990, 487; Tarlow 2007). Such duties had increasingly been passed to a full-time, salaried steward, who became responsible for the direction of estate affairs (English 1984, 30; Thompson 1963, 152; Webster 2007, 48), and was often viewed as a 'surrogate landowner' (English 1984, 30) especially on estates where the landlord was frequently absent (Jones 2000).

The importance of the steward was not only derived from his ability to mediate his master's wishes, but also his capacity to administer the day-to-day running of the estate. This can be attributed to stewards across England during this period and is represented in the contemporary treatises on estate management. In 1768, for instance, Thomas Lovett, the estate steward for Chirk Castle, Denbigh, Wales, noted that 'a Steward ought to be well versed in 'country business' so as to carry out his primary duties that were to organise the layout of the land, oversee tenants and labourers, and to manage the estate's agricultural affairs (Lovett 1768, 7). These tasks were largely in response to a host of duties carried out by the steward including 'the maintenance of the house, gardens and park, of letting farms, collecting rents, surveying boundaries, drawing up accounts, handling industrial enterprises, and even acting as an electoral agent' (Beckett 1990, 57). Indeed, the sheer number of responsibilities meant stewards such as Samuel Popplewell had to understand in theory and practice, agriculture, aesthetics, accounts and law (Webster 2007). It was the combination of all of these aspects, including the regular contact with the groups who helped facilitate the growth within the estate - contractors, masons, tenants, artisans, solicitors and labourers - that defined the overall pace and direction of improvement.

Historians have placed great emphasis on the process of management by arguing that stewards, or 'land agents' (terms often used concurrently in the eighteenth century), became more professionalised. This is understood by authors to have occurred in response to a number of factors including the increasing significance of economic performance on the estate (Mingay 1963) and the progressive views of practical endeavour (Webster 2007). The chronology of professionalisation has been the subject of some dispute, with some arguing that it was a principally nineteenth-century phenomenon (Beckett 1990; Spring 1963; Thompson 1966; Spring 1963), while others believe its origins lay in the previous century (English 1990; Mingay 1963; Webster 2007). This chapter argues that the origins lay in the eighteenth-century when stewards such as Samuel Popplewell had the relevant expertise to carry out all of the duties expected of a nineteenth century agent. In most cases, the significance of the steward has been explored in terms of methods of management (e.g. Mingay 1963; Thompson 1966), the

relationship with the landlord (English 1990), and to a lesser extent, the biography of a particular individual (Wade Martins 2007, 67-73; Webster 2007). Rarely have authors explored these relationships at the local scale, in both social and spatial terms, in order to account for the complexity of estate life and the variability of experience.

The role of the steward is crucial to a key aspect of this thesis, which is to show that landscapes were defined by and helped create social practice (Finch 2007a). Samuel Popplewell mediated the philosophies of the landowner on a day-to-day, local basis, projecting the ideals of improvement at all levels of rural society whilst managing the material landscape and estate inhabitants. This relationship stands in opposition to Marxist models based on a landlord/tenant dialectic (e.g. Orser 1996), where social relations and understandings of the estate landscape are based on the landlord's power over his tenantry. Landlords such as Edwin Lascelles did indeed dictate grand schemes of improvement, but it was also the estate steward, providing a layer of administration between the tenants and the landlord, who negotiated roles and responsibilities with motivations other than power and status, such as family, morality and religion.

SAMUEL POPPLEWELL (1713-1780)

Samuel Popplewell arrived in the locality sometime between 1747-1750 to take up the position of Steward for the new Lord of Harewood and Gawthorpe. He was a gentleman, making him one of the principal inhabitants in the township (Brigg 1914, ii), and carried with him a certain level of respectability and rank. By the late-eighteenth century, stewards were increasingly well-educated men who showed versatility and knowledge in a variety of subjects including agriculture, architecture and geology (Spring 1963, 105; Thompson 1966, 162). Whether Popplewell had already accumulated such knowledge through education is not certain, but it is likely that he would have gained some level of understanding prior to his employment. However, experience was not necessarily a prerequisite before starting, after all, Edwin Lascelles had a predilection for employing talented individuals at the beginning of their career; Harewood served as one of the first commissions for men such as 'Capability' Brown (1758), Thomas White (1766-8), and the architects John Carr of York (1754-1807) and Robert Adam (1758-71). It is also

uncertain whether Popplewell had been formally approached for the position or if the former incumbent, Henry Whitaker, had relinquished his role. Whitaker had been Steward under Henry Lascelles' but this situation was altered when Edwin Lascelles became Lord of the Manor in 1747. Following the reorganisation of space in All Saints' church, it appears that Edwin also altered the house staff and this may have included the employment of Samuel Popplewell.

Samuel had brought a young family to Harewood, his wife, Sarah (1715-79) who was just two years his junior, and a young son, Samuel (1741-1811), who was just 6 years old when they arrived. Although the family may have been new to the Harewood district, they were unlikely to have been strangers to the broader region. Branches of the Popplewell family extended to Aberford, Birstall and Hartshead, small villages set at the heart of the textile districts of West Yorkshire, between Leeds, Bradford and Huddersfield. It is unclear where in the region Samuel and Sarah originated, but a working knowledge of the West Riding seems apparent. Samuel was a proud Yorkshireman and often spoke of local customs in his letters to Edwin Lascelles. In 1757 he wrote to his master suggesting that 'we have a proverb in Yorkshire Sir that new brooms sweep clean' (WYAS HAR/SC/2/1/60); he was referring to the spate of developments taking place on the Harewood landscape, but in doing so also referenced a deep-rooted association, identifying himself as a man of the county.

One of the key aspects of Samuel Popplewell's life was his role as head of the family. As patriarch of an eighteenth-century household it was his responsibility to be the administrator and provider (Tadmoor 2001, 25). Initially, his job as steward is likely to have provided a house in Harewood village but by 1780 they also leased another for two and a half guineas per week in a town that is not revealed in the correspondence (WYAS HAR/SC/5 f238). It comprised a 'Parlour, Dinner Room, and Kitchen below the stairs, two good bed chambers, a closet with a small bed, and two good bed chambers in the attick' (WYAS HAR/SC/5 f238). This was significantly larger than houses at Harewood, where even the largest, which was at New Lays farm (Fig. 4.12), contained five rooms rather than eight. It was leased at the equivalent of around £110 per year, which in

comparison to Popplewell's salary of £50 (WYAS WYL/250/3/247 Cashbook Accounts) was a proportionally large sum. References in his correspondence suggest that he also maintained other commercial interests. Not only was he a farmer in his own right with a tenancy at Castle Park Farm (WYAS WYL 250/3/2 Estate Rentals), but he also had commercial interests in other parts of the country. This apparently came to a head in July 1772 when a banking crisis in Scotland threatened to affect his business had it not been for his: 'connections [that] lay in many hands and no large sum in any one hand' (WYAS HAR SC/7/51 f1r). The nature of his work remains unclear, although some sources suggest that he was involved in a tea import business (Karen Lynch pers. comm. 2009). Nevertheless, these other revenue streams probably supplemented his salary from the estate and provided a sizeable income allowing him to afford such a house. This helped to establish him and his family as members of the greater yeomen (Johansen-Salters 2010).

Popplewell also appears to have been conscious of his religious duty as head of the family, and the need to maintain piety. Members of his family regularly attended All Saints' church acting as witnesses for marriages and taking part in weekly services (Fig. 8.1) (Brigg 1914). It will be argued later in the chapter that this building became one of the key locales where Samuel reinforced his position in the estate, but here it represents his commitment to family values. His son's eulogy, recorded in the *Methodist Magazine* (1812), suggests that Popplewell (jnr) was: 'born of reputable parents, who…brought up their family in the observance of the moral duties of religion and gave them an education proper for their circumstances and prospects' (1812, 941). At that time, piety was accompanied by sobriety, devotion and diligence, aspects that were conveyed to his son by providing him with a role working as Popplewell's (snr) assistant on the estate (Johnson 1996, 107; WYAS WYL 250/3/247 Estate Cashbooks). In parallel, his objection to the Methodists would have been derived from an overt devotion to his own church, as well as the sermons delivered by the Rev. Jackson of All Saints' (Stables 1855, 35). Thus, when his son was in the process of converting to Methodism in 1772, Samuel showed parental concern as well as a commitment to his own faith:

> I have read your favor of the 15th of this month and will pay due regard to what you say relating to the Methodists. My son told me (after he knew that I

> had given William Pool [a Methodist] notice to quit his house and I had put up a publick notice upon the church doors) that he would write to you, but I am sorry to find after I said so much to him to the contrary that he has been so indiscreet. I am certain he must have been persuaded to it by their set. Nobody knows the concern he has given to me and his mother on this account (WYAS HAR SC/7/50).

Samuel Popplewell was perhaps most recognised for his role as the estate steward. The position meant that he acted as the representative of Edwin Lascelles and oversaw estate management and improvement. In addition to holding different, although not entirely independent roles in village society, Popplewell acted in a professional capacity to negotiate and work with neighbours, tenants, solicitors, agents and other gentlemen. His responsibility lay in the close day-to-day administration of the various functions of the estate, which included supervising the tenantry, receiving rents, selecting tenants, negotiating agreements, managing contractors, looking after the parks and gardens and finally, maintaining and improving the working apparatus of the landscape. He also held prominent positions in the manorial court where he oversaw estate agriculture and managed those who held farms alongside his own. Moreover, it was also his responsibility to form a dialogue with the inhabitants and promote 'improved' attitudes to society, agriculture and commerce, while also acting as the guardian of parochial morality by mediating any troubles within estate society. These responsibilities were no doubt influenced by his attitude to family and religion but also by the broader philosophies of Edwin Lascelles, who favoured industry and sobriety. Thus Popplewell occupied a position where his identities often varied, while his status was primarily determined by his role as the Harewood estate steward.

In order to draw out these different identities the rest of this chapter's structure will be based on three themes. These are borrowed from Edward Lawrence's *Duty of a Steward to his Lord* (1731), which acted as a manual for both the 'nobleman' and 'steward', one of the most popular treatises of the period and was copied by other stewards such as Thomas Lovett (1761) at Chirk Castle, Denbigh. For this purpose it acts as a benchmark against which we can compare Samuel Popplewell. It also provides an opportunity to explore different aspects of his life and reveal how his identity and position was structured by the materiality of the landscape.

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I. A STEWARD OUGHT TO BE WELL VERS'D IN COUNTRY BUSINESS AND IN ALL THE NEW ARTS OF IMPROVEMENT, BEFORE HE UNDERTAKES THAT OFFICE

The first theme is derived from Lawrence's (1731) suggestion that a steward should possess a sound knowledge of all 'country business before he undertakes that office' (1731, 34). In practice, this involved a working knowledge of overseeing, implementing and managing agrarian techniques. The most coveted ability, as attested by the amount of space devoted in contemporary manuals, was the art of husbandry (Lawrence 1731; Lovett 1767; Mordant 1761). In Lawrence's (1731), for example, twenty-nine of the thirty-six articles dealt directly with items of agriculture and husbandry. John Mardant, meanwhile, in *The Complete Steward* (1761) provided an alphabeticised guide to agriculture covering subjects from 'Bank-Fences' and 'Ox-Dung', to 'Saint-Foin' and 'Velling' (Mordant 1761). An important aspect of 'country business' also had a social side, where the steward was expected to converse, negotiate and manage estate tenants and other individuals. This played a crucial role in helping to reinforce Samuel Popplewell's role within the estate.

By the mid-1750s, Samuel Popplewell had become 'well vers'd' in such matters, having been charged with overseeing the great schemes of improvement demanded by Edwin Lascelles. He is likely to have gained experience over the course of his first few years in the position, a sign that his employer was forward thinking, and had long-term faith in his steward. Much of Popplewell's agricultural experience would have been accumulated through his management of the Home Farm from the 1750s until 1771, a period prior to the first bailiff, John Cowper, and one when he oversaw the establishment and management of the demesne lands. This involved the organisation of holdings across Harewood including the *Timber Garth* close to All Saints' church, as well as other fields that lay on Harewood common. The grassland laid down as a part of the ornamental landscape was also managed as it often formed convenient areas for pasturing livestock. As discussed in chapter five, this part of the landscape became a source of productive

enterprise with measurable income despite the often-overarching emphasis on aesthetic value and ornamental design. Popplewell managed these areas making certain that they were administered daily with relevant crops and well provisioned with livestock. He also kept regular correspondence with Edwin Lascelles, ensuring that Lascelles remained informed of developments especially during periods of extended absence that normally stretched from May to December. In his correspondence, a variety of events were recorded from recent weather conditions (WYAS HAR SC/5 f252) to crop failures (WYAS HAR SC/5 f164), and cultivation patterns (HAR SC/2/2/86) to the selection of new tenants (WYAS HAR SC/5 f98). His fastidious nature was characterised by in-depth descriptions and well-kept account books, which could be called upon by Edwin at any moment. With regular correspondence, Popplewell became the medium through which Lascelles' ideas were realised. He mediated the philosophies laid down by the landlord, resolving many of the decisions relating to the development of the Home Farm. Matched with his significant role as overseer of the ornamental landscape, Popplewell was able to facilitate changes at the local scale, impacting on the agricultural regimes of tenants and the physical appearance of the estate.

It was also Popplewell's responsibility to ensure that the broader agricultural landscape was managed efficiently and with a tone of authority, acting as his lord's representative. Popplewell had to ensure that tenants did not stray from the bounds of their covenants, obeyed their leases, and in a time of agricultural development, began to introduce more advanced agricultural methods as a part of the Lascelles' improvements. Such duties were inherently tied to a detailed knowledge of the local area, an understanding of the intricacies of every farm and being informed of the most appropriate agricultural methods for particular parts of the estate and at specific times of the year. This was achieved by surveying the estate farms in order to gain an accurate understanding of the estate and its lands. In 1758, Edwin Lascelles wrote to Popplewell suggesting that he 'look over all their [tenants] grounds and make your remarks and acquaint me with what is done' (WYAS HAR SC/2/2/31). It was foreseen that the survey would contribute knowledge of the farms with the prospect for improvement.

The letter was also a response to an episode earlier in the year when a tenant had been caught breaking the terms of his lease while Popplewell was riding over the estate. James Ellis, a prominent farmer in the township, set about ploughing up established grassland on the new intakes to the north of Harewood Common (Fig. 8.2). Popplewell noted that 'on Tuesday I [saw] that he had just begun plowing the other grass field joining upon the New Barn…I ~~immediately went to him and~~ told him I was very sorry he was endeavouring to Quarrel with you…he answered in his usual smooth manner that he was not tied in his lease not to plow away of it [the field]' (WYAS HAR SC/2/2/28). Ploughing up grassland laid for more than ten years had been forbidden by lease as it related to the long-standing pastoral farming regimes of the area (WYAS WYL 250/3/179). Ellis was breaking the terms of his lease and thus acting, in the eyes of the landlord, against the general consensus of estate improvement.

The event casts light on the relationship between Popplewell and the landscape as well as his tenants, such as James Ellis. Interactions with tenants were largely based on encounters at a particular farm, assessing the condition of a holding and discussing the issues of the day. In the case of James Ellis, the dialogue was clearly defined by the status of the steward and characterised by a certain level of friction. James Ellis' response was far from ideal, as it showed a level of resistance characterised by his 'usual smooth manner'. Ellis was well-established in Harewood, with a farm of 379 acres, the largest on the estate at that time and is likely to have been self-sufficient, experienced and hardened in his approach to farming (Wade Martins 2007, 70; WYAS HAR SC/2/2/31). He may well have resented the directions issued by Popplewell, and thought better of acting on his own design. Popplewell had to be firm with tenants such as Ellis, so as to make the 'best of their farms' with the avoidance of 'forcing them beyond their power' (Lawrence 1731, 5), while at the same time appear formidable as an agent of the estate.

The relationship between steward and tenant was not only determined by Popplewell's status, but also through an expression of knowledge, a concept neatly associated with both the ideals of improvement and the role of the steward. Essentially, Popplewell had to articulate an understanding of agriculture and its relevance to Harewood in order to

persuade the tenant to adopt new practices. This also stemmed from a knowledge, which, unlike many of the tenants, lay beyond the confines of his region (Hainsworth 1992, 3). He was the beneficiary of a flow of intelligence from London, from his master and household, in addition to being a consumer of related literature (Wade Martins 2004, 130). His day-to-day contacts with tenants, neighbouring gentlemen, lawyers, agents during visits to markets, fairs and urban centres gave him a wider, more detailed knowledge of the district than even the landlord could posses (Hainsworth 1992, 3). Such an understanding was essential for the eighteenth-century steward who, as it has been shown, required knowledge in an array of subjects. In turn, negotiations with tenants became based on an expression of this knowledge, using it to assert his familiarity with agricultural principles, persuading tenants of his capability, which through success, enhanced his reputation.

Popplewell's general experience of the agricultural landscape, and in turn much of his working life was certainly similar to that described by Edward Lawrence (1731), though he may not initially have had the awareness of 'country business' when he first moved to the area. Popplewell's duties reflected the Marshallian idea that a steward was inherently linked to the field (Marshall 1804; Beckett 1990), leading to the building up of an inherent understanding of the locality and its practices, facets that were integral to managing the improvement of both farms and tenants alike. While working in the field, Popplewell was defined by his role as steward, encountering fields, farmsteads and tenants as a representative of Edwin Lascelles. It was this engagement both with people and the landscape that helped reinforce this identity. Once mapped and compared to other categories of inhabitant – the joiners, a farmer and the landlord - his movements reveal that Samuel Popplewell had a distinct pattern of experience defined by the ebb and flow of local short-distance trips in the field. He interacted with various levels of estate worker, and encountering spaces that might otherwise be restricted to other members of the estate, such as the formal approaches to Harewood House as well as many of the local farms (Marshall 1804) (Figs. 8.3, 8.4, 8.5 & 8.6). This privilege created a distinction between Popplewell and the rest of the estate inhabitants, and served to strengthen his position. Crucially, by exploring Popplewell's experience spatially, biography is

presented in a different way, showing how Samuel Popplewell's identity was formed as much by space and place, as it was through social experience.

II. HE SHOU'D ALSO MAKE HIMSELF MASTER OF ALL THE ANCIENT CUSTOMS WITHIN HIS LORD'S MANOR.

The second theme to be explored is Samuel Popplewell's role as an overseer of tradition and morality within the estate. Lawrence's (1731) article indicates that a steward should be 'well acquainted with all the ancient customs within his lord's manor' in order to 'keep them up and prevent their oblivion' (1731, 91). In this case, Lawrence was referring to those traditions that were of benefit to the landowner. For example, Laurence makes reference to tenants providing the lord with 'two fat capons or Turkeys' every year, or the responsibility of teams from the manor to 'leading home the hay and corn which comes off the demesne lands' (1731, 91-92). For sure, these traditions were maintained in some parts to perpetuate the unequal relationship between the lord and his tenants, but when viewed with a different perspective, the article provides an opportunity to explore the role of tradition further. In an estate where improvement was altering many other aspects of rural life, customs provided a basis for continuity. To a large extent, the management of these customs was the responsibility of stewards who saw themselves as guardians of parochial morality and took it as their duty to look into, and look after, the private lives of their tenants. This often involved traditional events such as annual dinners and ceremonies, while also watching for suspicious behaviour and immoral activities (Spring 1963, 120). This section is therefore used to explore Samuel Popplewell's role in upholding local traditions as well as being an overseer of local society.

Customs

Crucially, Samuel Popplewell was responsible for managing the improvement of the estate and striking the careful balance of modernisation without disturbing rural life. The dramatic transformation of the physical landscape and the decline of the medium and large-scale farmer (as described in chapters four and five) only served to underline the complexity of this responsibility (WYAS WYL 250/3/16 Estate Surveys). A number of authors have suggested that customs were the domain of the rural poor, and represented a

barrier to the improvements made by landowners and were, in some cases, eradicated to make way for more 'modern' practices (e.g. Malcolmson 1973, 116; Thompson 1991). However, it was in the interests of the landlord to actively maintain a certain number of traditions, agricultural or otherwise, as they provided a cultural link from the old patterns of rural life to the new, thus securing a certain degree of social contentment; Samuel Popplewell was key to this process.

It seems that Popplewell maintained a number of local customs for the benefit of the estate and its workers. One example can be found in the letters of early 1756 when in February the walls were completed in the construction of the new stables adjacent to Gawthorpe Hall. Popplewell informed Edwin Lascelles that 'it is usual at this time to give the workmen some money to drink at what they call the *rearing*' (HAR SC/1/3/32). Traditionally, the raising of the roof had been marked by what is now commonly known as 'topping out'; a ceremony that celebrated the completion of a structure. By hosting such an occasion, the landlord was able to convey his appreciation to the workforce while also avoiding discontentment within their ranks. As it was Samuel Popplwell rather than Edwin Lascelles who raised the subject of the 'rearing', it seems that he was the main influence behind the occasion. It is likely that he would have been aware of its value to the workforce, as well as the productivity of the project. Moreover, by helping to organise such an affair, Popplewell stood to win favour among the craftsmen and labourers who he managed on a regular basis, and in turn, engendering another layer of respectability.

Another custom, the tenants' dinner and audit, was carried out twice a year on Lady Day (25th March) and Michaelmas (29th September). A classic illustration of the event was seen on the Deene estate, Northamptonshire, in 1728, where William Elmshall, the steward, directed proceedings:

> Two tables had been set ready with pens, ink and paper and a clerk sat at each. Elmshall presided at one table with the rental for Kirksall before him, and his son at the other with the rental for the rest of the estate. There was a 'prodigious throng' and the entering up of the particulars of books, the making out of receipts, settling queries by reference to the bundles of leases

> which had been brought from Deene for the purpose…according to the invariable custom on landed estates, the business of the day was surely followed by a dinner for the tenants (Wake 1953, 242-3)

At Harewood, the rent days are not described and only the receipts for the dinner remain in cashbooks (WYAS WYL 2503/244, 247 Estate Cashbooks). As a result, it is unclear where the audit took place. However, a room in the basement storey of Harewood House called the *The Tenants' Room* (Fig. 8.7) was a possible location. It was positioned close to the western entrance, next to the stairs leading up to Edwin Lascelles' dressing room and was within easy reach of Popplewell's office. The tenants would have visited the house, and similar to the description above, settled their rent with the steward. This was an occasion where the difference in status between Popplewell and the tenants would have been all too apparent, and was most vividly defined by the table that divided them. The day brought trepidation for some tenants while others were more fortunate: 'If [the tenant] had the cash to pay, he could sit back and enjoy the rent dinner…if, by contrast, he had to approach the landlord or his agent with the sad news that he could not pay…he must have viewed the day with apprehension' (Turner, Beckett & Afton 2004, 6). Much like their meetings at the farms on the estate, the relationship between Popplewell and the tenants was defined by the steward's role as well as his overall knowledge of estate matters as exhibited while discussing covenants with James Ellis. Following the audit, the custom of a dinner hosted by the landlord provided a reward for the tenants and their efforts through the year; it was partly a gesture of goodwill, while also a way to maintaining social cohesion. Crucially, Popplewell, as the estate steward, played a significant role throughout the day, acting as the representative of the estate. Moreover, when this occasion is placed alongside others for rents collected at Northallerton, Pontefract as well as other estates in Yorkshire (WYAS HAR SC 1/3/114), we see that the custom of rent day provided an opportunity where Samuel Popplewell could reinforce his position and reputation both at Harewood and in areas that lay further afield.

Contradiction and Harewood Common

Although not directly linked to the types of 'custom' Lawrence (1731) was referring to, the changing patterns of rural life that accompanied improvement were also of

significance. It was argued in chapters four and five that the social impact of landscape transformation was felt as early as the 1750s, when enclosures on Harewood common and consolidation of fields impacted on the way agriculture was carried out. Samuel Popplewell managed a great deal of these improvements, regularly reporting on the ditching and draining taking place at Hollin Hall farm, as well as other schemes of development carried out on the common (e.g. WYAS HAR SC/3/2/99). He was therefore privy to much of the landscape philosophy that supported agricultural improvement, and with a keen knowledge of husbandry, is likely to have understood the significance of enclosure.

In 1760, however, an important event took place that casts light on Popplewell. As it was noted in chapter four, by 1760, Harewood common had been reduced to a stray of approximately thirty acres lying adjacent to East Keswick (WYL 779 Acc. 1967). By August of the same year, however, East Keswick common was overstocked with as many as 1063 sheep being recorded at one time. Crucially, of the 487 that belonged to tenants of Harewood, fifty-four could be attributed to Samuel Popplewell, albeit with two other farmers, John Kitchingman and Abraham Barrett (WYL 779 Acc. 1967). This was the second largest figure for an individual and represented an important statement showing that local tenants of Harewood, even after enclosure, continued to graze their sheep 'in common' and follow a method traditionally associated with open-field agriculture (Williamson 2002, 2). As Samuel Popplewell was also part of this episode, it appears that he did not necessarily follow the same 'improved' farming methods on his own farm that he had promoted to tenants in leases and in the local manorial court (WYAS WYL 250/2 Manorial Court Rolls).

The contradiction in Popplewell's own methods of farming and those he encouraged can be read as a conflict between two forms of identity. On the one hand, he was the estate steward who was responsible for promoting improvement within the landscape. This can be viewed as a duty passed down from Edwin Lascelles in his attempt to dictate landscape development. In parallel, Popplewell also had concerns for his family. As stated above, he had a wife and son, and relied, to a certain extent, on sources other than

his salary to provide his income. One of these was his farm and although there is no way of telling how much it contributed, the sheer numbers of livestock recorded on the common, suggest that it would not have been small. Moreover, his overstocking of the neighbouring common suggests that he, and many of the other tenants, were still coming to terms with 'improved' techniques. It is a possibility that traditional methods continued to support livelihoods until advanced techniques became more advantageous. Such a pattern is also found in the farm buildings where older barns, farmsteads more generally, were gradually altered as tenants adapted to new practices. In this case, overstocking the common provides an example of where Samuel Popplewell had to balance the role of steward while acting as a family patriarch and local farmer. His motivation in this case may well have been guided by his livelihood, rather than his status among the estate inhabitants.

Morality

Adding to his obligation as an overseer of agricultural practice, Popplewell also acted as a defender of morality within the estate (Spring 1963, 120). He monitored the behaviour of estate inhabitants, judging them for their idleness, aspirations, sobriety and self-conscious respectability, all of which formed aspects of a moral code of living (Gibson 2001, 169). This would have been linked to his own commitment to religion and piety, an important part of his own life, and one that he maintained in his own household. Most frequently in his correspondence, Popplewell commented on a lack of decorum within the village, with some labourers viewed as 'idle, drunken people running in debt' (WYAS HAR/SC/5 f117). One particular episode involved the new ribbon factory, which was completed in 1764 and provided employment in the local textile industry. It spite of its benefits, the factory quickly attracted apprentices who were neither well-managed, nor well-behaved:

> It was…the disorderly behaviour of the apprentices that I quarrelled greatly with Mr Bickenhout [the manager] about a month agoe. I told him that if he or Mr Taylor would not rule them better I would certainly inform you of it, which seemed to affront him much (WYAS HAR SC/5 f117).

Stories of drunken tenants were similarly frowned upon, especially men such as Mr Taconet who regularly visited the local alehouse and who once 'had been at the freemason meeting at the Bridge and lay all night in the fields and indeed next day was far from being cool' (WYAS HAR SC/5 f174). Idleness and disorderliness such as this were not accepted, and where disorder occurred, not only was the individual who had behaved 'licentiously' to be 'sent out of this town', but the event would be charged to the neglect of those 'who [were] instructed with the management of [Edwin Lascelles'] affairs' (WYAS HAR SC/7/54). This was, more often than not, Samuel Popplewell, and thus it became the steward's duty to monitor and maintain social order.

Popplewell was not only involved in the general behaviour of tenants, but he was also called upon to help particular families. In 1756, he was advised by a neighbour that Edwin Lascelles' bailiff was to marry the daughter of one the tenants, described as a 'young girl about 18'. The correspondence indicates that Popplewell visited the man in question and then remarked: 'when I found that speeches would not do, I used threats and told him he should leave his farm if he married her' (WYAS HAR SC/1/3/123). Similarly in 1762, John Collett, a local tenant, requested that his wife be admitted to hospital on account of her illness. At that time hospitals required a subscription and in such cases required the landlord to admit the patient. Popplewell wrote to Edwin Lascelles noting: 'the poor man is almost out of his wits about sending her…he perhaps cannot hereafter get her into the hospital and what conclusion will come to I know not' (HAR/SC/5 f27). Such an attitude towards the tenants speaks volumes about his active approach to morality and guardianship. While offering guidance to some and helping others, he portrayed an expression of trustworthiness and respectability, two qualities that would be inviting for those in need and which also contributed to his general reputation. These were aspects derived from his family values and religious views but heavily influenced by his duty as estate steward.

III. EVERY PERSON OUGHT TO LIVE BY HIS PROCESSION, AND A STEWARD SHOU'D LIVE WITH REPUTATION AND CREDIT, RATHER ABOVE THE COMMON RANK FOR THE SAKE OF PRESENTING A BECOMING AUTHORITY IN HIS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

The identity and experience of Samuel Popplewell has so far been assessed in terms of his responsibilities and the wide-ranging impact on estate life. In this section, the focus moves onto his interaction with the built environment. As it was shown in the joiners' workshop, the organisation of space and layout of buildings helped to structure the lives of its inhabitants, and influence their identity. As the article above suggests, the steward 'shou'd live with reputation and credit…for the sake of presenting a becoming authority in his neighbourhood' (Laurence 1761, 13). Indeed, a number of places in the landscape helped reinforce this position. These spanned from his large house, which may have been located away from the estate, and his farm at Castle Park, to his more general experience of the Harewood landscape incorporating spaces otherwise restricted to those who were not in a position of authority. This section moves on from these ideas to the particularity of Harewood House and All Saints' church, two places that featured regularly in his biography, and which reinforced his place in society.

Harewood House

The country house formed a particular form of locale, where different groups from contrasting social classes engaged with one another on a daily basis. This was where Popplewell spent a large proportion of his working life. By the mid-eighteenth century, country seats such as Harewood House had become 'social houses' where polite society entertained visitors in their homes, while hospitality was provided for tenants and others who arrived on business (Girourard 1980, 189). Supporting the elite were servants who worked in a suite of service rooms sustaining the house, its family and their lifestyle. The house came to embody social relations between these two distinct, but interlinked groups (West 1999, 104), acting as a microcosm for estate society. They were adapted to embrace the movement of both the family and their servants, leading to rooms being experienced in different ways by a variety of individuals. Alternatively, areas of the house became physically accessible, but were restricted according to status, rank and occupation. A network of corridors and stairs led from the service areas to the principal

floor, concealing servants and producing a hierarchy of space determined by status, role and gender. This reflected a similar spatial pattern experienced in the broader landscape where particular groups were permitted access to areas of the estate depending on factors such as status and role within the workforce.

The spatial layout of Harewood House reveals how the steward's experience and identity was structured by his material surroundings. By using house plans dating from 1771, which were originally printed in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1771) it is possible to gain an accurate impression of how the house was accessed in the second half of the eighteenth century (Fig. 8.7). The fashionable principal storey consisted of two circuits with a central hall and saloon linking the private apartments, including the bed and dressing rooms in the east, with the more public rooms in the west, such as the dining areas and gallery. Adding to the character of the floor was an array of Robert Adam interiors and fine Chippendale furniture, the pinnacle of contemporary taste, conveying lavish expense and the wealth of the Lascelles family. In contrast, the basement storey was built with practical concerns with just a handful of rooms receiving aesthetic attention. Across the northern front, were the service rooms including the kitchens, boot room, dressing room, bakehouse and servants' hall. To the south meanwhile, the western half contained the steward's room, house-keeper's room, and the butler's cupboard. To the west lay the recreational rooms as well as the laundry in the south-east corner. For the most part this layout was reorganised during Sir Charles Barry's refurbishment of the 1840s and as a result, is no longer visible today.

Of particular importance was the steward, head of the estate workers, and one of the few who regularly negotiated the divide between the household and those who resided 'below stairs' (Girouard 1980, 206). Samuel Popplewell was not an exception to this rule. His position was reflected by a salary, £50 per annum by 1771, which was double that of the home-farm bailiff (WYAS WYL 250/3/39) and almost three times the amount paid to his son, who by that time was acting as his assistant (WYAS WYL 250/3/247). It was a normal figure to be paid to a steward of that period, though by the end of the century it had increased to £250, a sum that reflected the broad range of responsibilities. This was a

figure in keeping with other estates such as Raby, County Durham, where the steward received £150, Longleat, Somerset, £300 and Wentworth, South Yorkshire, where the figure was closer to £400 (Thompson 1966, 161). Other than the cook few other received salaries approaching that of the steward. Apart from Popplewell, the influential house servants included the butler, house steward and the cook, the latter rising in prominence within household from the beginning of the century (Girouard 1980, 140). The remainder of the staff included bailiffs, footmen, porters, coachmen, grooms, game-keepers, ladies' maids and valets.

Another servant at Harewood, who regularly appeared at other country houses including Audley End, Essex (Gray 2009), was the 'Steward's Room Boy', a young male who was at the service of Samuel Popplewell 'cleaning boots and shoes and brush the steward's clothes…clean knives, forks, plate, furniture…[and] wait at table in the steward's room' (Pierce 1856, 237). The steward's room was placed at the north-east of the basement storey and was a space highly valued by landowners owing to the 'absolute indispensable necessity of a land-steward' (Girouard 1980, 206). Popplewell was the only member of the servants to have his own attendant. Although this may have been a reflection of the sheer number of duties he had to carry out, it also emphasised the contemporary value placed on his position. The steward's boy was a conspicuous marker of Popplewell's stature, distinguishing him from other servants within the community.

At Harewood, the steward's room was not only viewed conceptually in a different way from the other spaces, it was also physically distinctive, through aesthetic appearance and visual impact. Decoration and furnishings played a large part providing visual cues for onlookers to assess the status of the area. By the end of the century, two oak dining tables were placed in the eastern half, accompanied by a 'copper plate warmer' perhaps placed on one of the two oak side-boards and used by the steward's boy when serving meals. Valuable mahogany tea and card tables showed signs of hospitality, seemingly used when the steward entertained guests. A hearth was placed in the west of the room accompanied by a grate fender, tongs and a hearth brush, adding to a professional tone that was already heightened by twenty chairs placed carefully among the tables, likely to have been occupied during meetings and at meal time. An 'oval pier glass', meanwhile, embodied

more practical concerns, reflecting light into the room and illuminating the space between the dining area and the steward's working desk. Meanwhile the landscape Samuel Popplewell administered could be viewed from two hung-sash windows in the south, with the panorama framed by draped 'moreen' curtains, not the most lavish of materials, yet suitable for this station (WYAS WYL/250/HAR Add. 1795 Inventory). The inventory reflects a planned space, conspicuously organised, and designed for social encounters focused around meals, meetings, work and hospitality. It fitted the status of the steward otherwise defined by his demeanour about the estate, his interaction with others, and his overall air of authority.

The spatial layout of the basement storey also allowed Popplewell to reinforce his position as head of the estate staff (Fig. 8.8). When regularly going to discuss matters with Edwin Lascelles, a meeting most likely to take place in the men's dressing room on the principal floor, Popplewell had to travel through the corridor outside his office, the main staircase and corridor below the main hall/saloon area, and climb the servant's stairs outside of the tenants' room. This brought him into the service area north of the dressing room, providing direct access to Edwin Lascelles. The progression was relatively isolated, though practical and convenient, withdrawing the steward from a hive of activity around the kitchens and separating him from unnecessary social encounters. Indeed, the journey may have been taken regularly; examples might include the arrival of tenants to either discuss agricultural concerns or on the great occasion when they came to deliver their rent. They were led from the west door to the tenants' room, an appropriately placed office next to the service stair below the men's dressing room, and within easy access of the landlord himself. In fact it was not uncommon for the landlord to join the occassion, at some houses a specially built business room was placed in the basement storey (Girouard 1980, 206). Consequently, the architecture of the house shaped the movement of the steward as he negotiated the various areas of the floor. In turn, this affected how Popplewell experienced the space and how others perceived him. His office, location and repeated pattern of movements through the house would have been understood by others and recognised. Such a visual, conceptual and physical response to the space and to Samuel Popplewell helped to reinforce the status of the steward even further, actively shaping his identity.

Other activities, such as taking meals, only enhanced his status further, as the strict hierarchy below stairs governed that Popplewell took dinner in the steward's dining room with the other principle servants (WYAS HAR SC/11/18). Others, meanwhile, were expected to eat in the servant's hall among the rest of the household staff including the footmen, maids, coachmen, gardeners, stable boys, grooms and coachmen (Girouard 1980, 140). Even the tableware contrasted, with the steward and his colleagues eating from the family's higher status dinner service cast offs, while the lower staff continued with unmarked lower status tableware (Gray 2009). By the nineteenth century, this custom had entrenched even further with the Lascelles' coat of arms printed on earthenware plates used by the upper servants (Gray pers. comm. 2010). The precision of this form of etiquette was illustrated in the early-1780s when William Day, the bailiff, took a meal in the wrong room leading to Edwin Lascelles personally noting that 'he had no business to be in the Stewards Room. The Servant's Hall is the place where he is to get his meals' (WYAS HAR SC/4/4/23 f2r). As the incident took place after Samuel Popplewell's death it is unclear whether such an event would have been allowed under his stewardship. Nevertheless, the strict hierarchy was clearly dictated by Edwin Lascelles and provides an example of his influence. To summarise, the traditional gradation of the servant community, which was supported by custom and social etiquette, served to reinforce the reputation and position of the steward and emphasise his status above others.

All Saints Church

A similar account can be found in the local parish church where every Sunday the estate community gathered for the weekly service. Popplewell entered with the Lascelles, through the west door, approaching from Harewood House. The rest of the congregation entered through the porch in the south façade, having walked from the village and filtered into the churchyard from the lane by the turnpike. Inside, the pews were strictly organised, with a hierarchy of seating organised by rank, property and the geographic location. In 1747 the interior had been reorganised with the servants placed prominently at the forefront of the lay congregation close to the chancel, 'for the hearing of the Divine

Service…in the pew on the North side of the middle isle' (Brigg 1914, ii). The Lascelles sat at the front of the congregation, in the first three pews in the south of the nave, with a fine view of the pulpit and chancel (Fig. 8.9). Directly behind, in the fourth pew of the same row, were Samuel Popplewell and his family, in close proximity to his master. The house servants, meanwhile, being distinguished in their employment, were distributed among the aisle pews to the north and south. Elsewhere, the rest of the tenantry were organised by property: 'A peiw or seat does not beelong to a person or to land, butt to an house, therefore if a man remove from an house to dwell in another, hee shall not retaine the seat' (Hay 1981, 77). Through this order the church became a microcosm of local society with the landlord, steward and close acquaintances lying at the pinnacle of estate business, close to the chancel, with the house and estate staff positioned behind; Samuel Popplewell's position was therefore conspicuous, reflecting his role within the estate, and his status among his peers.

Even in death, Samuel Popplewell retained his position as a respected member of estate society (Fig. 8.10). His memorial was placed below the tower, at the west end of the nave. This location within the church put him in company with the previous landlords of Harewood and Gawthorpe as well as those members of the gentry who were significant enough to be commemorated on the interior walls. In contrast, the rest of the congregation jostled for position taking plots in the southern portion of the churchyard, outside of the nave. As a result, the church formed another place that reflected Popplewell's identity. The position of his brass added a further marker of status, again referencing his role as estate steward, but also importantly, his other duty as a husband to his wife:

Here lie the remains of Mr Samuel
and Mrs Sarah Popplewell late of Harewood
He continued above thirty years in the capacity
Of steward to Edwin Lascelles Esq which office
He executed with great integrity and distinguished abilities
In him was happily united the loving husband
The kind father the good neighbour and the upright man
In her the kind mistress the tender mother
The dutiful wife and the good woman

He Died September 23rd 1780, Aged 67 Years
She Died September 24th 1779, Aged 64 Years

CONCLUSION

This case study has presented Samuel Popplewell as an important player within the development of Harewood; this has been the crux of the chapter, the importance of the individual within our interpretation of the past. By using creative methods that include the use of archaeological, architectural and historical evidence it is possible to raise questions about our taken-for-granted understanding of contexts such as country house estates. In particular, the focus has been placed on the estate steward, an individual whose role within estate life has proven to be complex, fluid and moulded by his social and political identities. It was shown at the beginning of the chapter that stewards have been identified as playing a key role in estates, but largely from the perspective of management, improvement and professionalisation. Here, we have seen that these aspects of estate life formed only certain aspects of the steward and his role on an estate; his identity, role and perception of the world was as much guided by the material world as it was the people with whom he interacted.

Biography has been used here to provide a productive approach to understanding estates and providing further insight into how they functioned. This chapter has been an exercise in attempting to piece together a way of life connecting broad scales of analysis, placing improvement and enclosure, alongside the houses, workspaces, communities and their possessions. What really emerges is the importance of using a multi-scalar approach to provide broader context for the actions of individuals and the progression of society and landscape, yet still highlights how people were key players in that process. In this way, this chapter sits alongside the previous biographies of the joiner's workshop and Sandygate Farm by showing how a single life, or biography, was influenced by a variety of places, yet also helped influence how they were developed. Perhaps, most crucially, archaeology, in tandem with the historical record, allows us to add another voice alongside those of the landowning family and estate workers to repopulate Harewood and reintroduce the humanity of the subject matter.

9. CONCLUSION

We must never forget that in all we do, however mundane or tedious,
we are trying to write human histories
(JOHNSON 1996, 212)

This study has shown that from 1738, Harewood developed into a fashionable landscape, complete with Palladian house, ornamental gardens, service buildings and host of agrarian properties that connected the Lascelles family with land around them. During this process, the landscape underwent a profound change and the inhabitants of the estate had to react to these new material surroundings. But crucially, this thesis has been a study of these changes, articulating their context, purpose and impact, not only on the physical landscape but also on the communities, groups and individuals who occupied the estate. Edwin Lascelles, John Wood, Samuel Popplewell, William Stables, John Muschamp, John Bickerdike, James Ellis, Elizabeth Stables, William Scott, Lancelot Dickenson – are all individuals who have been featured in this thesis. These human histories represent a biographical approach that has aimed to reintroduce the humanity of the subject matter, offering alternative 'voices' that add colour and contradiction to the established histories of the Harewood estate.

AIMS AND ANSWERS

The main contribution of this work has been to offer a new perspective on post-medieval estate landscapes that links the high-resolution of people's lives with the landscape they inhabited. In chapter one it was stated that the three main aims were to: 1) provide an analysis that works on a variety of scales, linking the local fleeting lives of estate inhabitants with the long-term cultural developments of landscape; 2) reintroduce new 'voices' or multivocality into the Harewood landscape, resulting in a more rounded account of the estate; 3) to use biography as a method of conciliating different scales of analysis and link the materiality of the estate with its inhabitants. These aims were part of the three broader themes of scale, multivocality and biography, which have formed the main crux of this research. Each theme will now be revisited in order to highlight how each one has made a significant and unique contribution to the outcome of this thesis.

Biography

The strongest contribution of this study has been the use of a biographical approach to link the local, lived experience with the materiality of the landscape. The concept of 'biographies of people and place' have helped to provide a multi-scalar view of the estate, showing how broader themes had an impact on the local built environment, and in turn, on its inhabitants. In many ways, this mirrors more recent work in historical archaeology where this very literal meaning of biography, the 'life-history' of an individual, has been used to repopulate historic landscapes and reintroduce the humanity of the subject matter by finding 'voices' for the 'voiceless' (Beaudry 1998; Deetz 1998; Joyce 2002; Praetzellis & Praetzellis 1998). By using the material evidence and constructing biographies of people like the joiners, masons, tenant-farmers and estate steward, we have glimpsed their perspectives of the world, the processes influencing their lives and the context in which they lived from day to day. Biography in this sense provides multivocality where multiple and often contrasting experiences were associated with the same landscape.

In particular, the case studies were used to articulate different perspectives and the link between specific individuals and the broader context. In the joiners' workshop it was shown how the development of the wider estate and building campaigns across the landscape impacted not only on the jobs undertaken by the craftsmen, but also on the fabric of the building itself. For example, new entrances were added to the workshop in order to provide better access to the interior space. Elsewhere, the Stables family had to react to the changing local environment by firstly leaving their ancestral home in Stank as Edwin Lascelles planned for the estate offices and second, reacting to local agricultural trends through the second half of the eighteenth century and updating their new farmstead. The biographical approach provided the means to reach the high resolution of these groups, showing how they reacted as individuals yet were still buffeted by the wider context and broader processes of which they had no means of controlling. With three distinct case studies it was possible to provide contrasting experiences of the same period and landscape showing how contemporary perceptions of estates were far from homogeneous.

Moreover, biography has not only been concerned with the plotting the lives of particular individuals, it has also articulated the relationship between people and material culture. This has been a particularly valuable concept as it has provided a unique approach to estates that links the materiality of the estate with the local inhabitants. Throughout this thesis, it has been noted that social practice is spatially contingent as the material world plays an active role in forming and transforming wider society. This has been illustrated by showing how the built environment helped to define the lives of its inhabitants. For example, by working regularly in Harewood House, attending All Saints' church and visiting farmsteads across the estate, Samuel Popplewell reinforced a number of social identities such as his role in local society, his position in his family, his rank and status, his age, sex as well as his reputation. These were all built around his experience of the Harewood landscape at the local scale, in his office, at home or at church. Popplewell's biography has shown, that life on the estate was complicated and diverse, and equally influenced by the histories of both people and place. It is these histories that form biographies of landscape.

The final strength of the biographical approach has been that it has provided a way of being creative in our approaches to the past. This does not mean that the narrative of this thesis has jettisoned a more factual account of the landscape for a more serviceable history (Lowenthal 1985, 228), but instead to use material culture in new ways that challenge our established narratives about the past. By taking an approach like biography, we are able to articulate how historical archaeology is not as 'familiar' as some would lead us to believe, and that its subject – the farms, fields, buildings, landscapes, and even people – require as much a critical engagement as those of pre-history or the non-Western world. Reflexive accounts such as the biography of Samuel Popplewell, and structures such as workshops and farm buildings, which have otherwise been underplayed within estate studies, have been used to present Harewood in a new and original way; as a socially integrated landscape where the lives of individuals are given shape and meaning through the materiality of the estate.

Scale

Another theme of this thesis has been scale, which has been an issue that has been conciliated by using biography as an overall approach. Nevertheless, the scale and scope of the research has been managed in response to the ways estates landscapes have been studied in the past. There has been a tradition within the disciplines of history, archaeology and geography of studying estates in their component parts: the designed landscape (e.g. Mowl 2000; Williamson 1995), the country house and its collections (e.g. Girourard 1980; West 1999), or the surrounding agricultural buildings and farmland (e.g. Robinson 1992; Wade Martins 2004). One of the implications of these studies has been to view the central 'core' of the country house and gardens as being isolated from the surrounding landscape (Clemenson 1982). However, this study has shown that great houses like Harewood, were both the hub, and product of, a working estate as the constant flow of people, capital and ideas created a much broader, thriving and connected landscape. Although much of the content of this thesis has focused on the agricultural landscape, it has taken a broader view presenting Harewood as being part of a large structure where the biographies of individuals were bound up in the different elements of the estate. Samuel Popplewell, for example, was involved with agriculture, the ornamental gardens and was an influential figure in both Harewood village and the parish. In this sense, scale relates to the spatial extent of the estate, and its local connections.

There is no doubt that the broader context did have a profound effect on the local scale. In particular the mercantile and colonial connections of the Lascelles family helped mould the materiality of the estate. This is a strand of research that could be built upon, and to a certain extent has already begun with research into the economic history of the Lascelles family (Smith 2008). Nevertheless, this thesis has shown how capital flowing from the Caribbean made a significant contribution to the financing of landscape improvement. Similarly, materials such as mahogany and flora were exported to Harewood and formed part of the conspicuous consumption by the Lascelles in the new house as doors, furniture and produce within the dining room. This was perhaps most

vividly seen in the planting of the Sugar Hills near Lofthouse, referencing the Lascelles' mercantile connections.

Part two of the thesis highlighted the growth of the estate closer to Harewood, through land purchases and inheritance revealing how the Lascelles' estates expanded into North Yorkshire, Lancashire and Essex. Neighbouring holdings at Gouldsbrough and Plompton provided further seats connected by the works to the stables and houses by John Carr of York. Harewood House stood at the centre of this network of capital investment that was not only used as an opportunity to seek profit, but also to assert political influence and convey the Lascelles' status among their peers.

At a finer scale, the biographies of people and places highlighted subtleties and nuances that might not be accounted for in more general studies of estate. In particular, these were highlighted in the construction and adoption of farm buildings as a part of the improvement of the Harewood estate. It was shown that barns, in particular, were altered in response to a variety of reasons including the economic climate, local farming traditions, the introduction of new agricultural techniques and the needs of the tenant. The archaeological evidence contrasted with the overall improvement agenda revealing how vernacular features continued to be used by local tenants well into the second half of the eighteenth century. Such findings stand in contrast to the narratives of landscape change, which in many cases for other estates, has been written from the perspective of the landlord. This research has shown that once we take account of the finer scales of analysis and other contemporary experiences of landscape, we can challenge established histories of country house estates.

By taking a multi-scalar approach to historic landscapes and building the 'thick description' of their inhabitants, it is possible to break down the taken-for-granted stories of historical archaeology. Within historical archaeology there has been great debate regarding the value of general perspectives and those concerned with the fine-grained accounts at the local scale. 'Totalising' studies, such as those advocated by Marxists, have been more concerned with the issue of capitalism and its manifestation on

materiality and society (Delle 1999; Leone 2005; McGuire 2006; Orser 1996). Others, however, have focused on the particularity of objects, buildings and sites and believe that the value of the local context derives from its diversity of experience, where emotions, meanings, and identities are highly contextual, horizontal rather than vertical, and unique (Beaudry 2003, 290; Kealhofer 1999; Tarlow 1999a, 469; 2007, 110). The approach taken through this thesis has sided largely with the latter. The aim has been to balance the differences between each scale and situate the particularity of the local within broader discourses, but without reducing the experience of the individual to a single set of social, economic or cultural ideas.

It has been at the local scale, then, that the variety and the general richness of the Harewood estate have been brought to the fore. These have included aspects of social life such as the relationship between the landlord and tenant, which has proven to be far more complex and nuanced than previously articulated. While Edwin Lascelles was shown to have had fundamental influence over the development of the estate, men such as Samuel Popplewell mediated the broader philosophies at the local scale, through agricultural practices and the guardianship of local morality and 'improved' social cohesion and in turn affected both the pace and direction of estate development. Similarly, the local tenants remained on their farms for long periods, some over the course of a number of generations, slowing the extension of the designed landscape. It is at this scale that we see how the day-to-day management of tenants and estate inhabitants were not simply defined by the power of the landlord and their wish to convey their status, but instead by personal relationships, patriarchal values and philosophies that did not always derive from class struggle and contention. The rebuilding of Harewood village is a good example of this idea, and was not undertaken solely to support the status of landowning family, but was also undertaken to house the workforce in sanitary conditions and modern houses in order to promote efficiency and contemporary improvement philosophy. In short, this thesis has tried to move away from simplified ideas of estate society, to a more complicated and nuanced idea where the roles and relationship of different groups were often complicated, fluid and rarely the same.

Multivocality

The issue of scale has also led to the use and introduction of multivocality into the estate landscape. This approach has been part of a broader trend within the post-processual paradigm of archaeology, where authors have presented reflexive accounts that promote multivocality (Beaudry 1998; Cook 1998; De Cunzo 1998; Joyce 2005; Joyce & Tringham 2007; Praetzellis & Praetzellis 1998). With the exception of a few studies (Finch 2008), these approaches have rarely been applied to estate landscapes. Landed estates have too often been viewed in terms of the landowning family in a 'top down', mono-narrative revolving around their sole influence on the landscape. This thesis has provided an account where people who have only been known to the local historian have been reintroduced to the account, given 'voices', and been viewed as individuals who played an important role in the development of the Harewood landscape. These people not only included the more famous names such as 'Capability' Brown and Humphry Repton, but also those who never left their names like the labourers and tenants who helped mow the parklands or build the park walls, but were never significant enough to be mentioned in the cashbooks. These narratives provide more insight into the many people who played a part in estate life.

Through biography it has been possible to provide significant insights into a number of groups and individuals. These have included the landlord, joiners, masons, tenant farmers, the steward and estate workers who each experienced Harewood in different and contrasting ways. The strength of this approach, and where it can make a broader contribution to historical archaeology, is the way in which it places contrasting experiences of the same landscape alongside one another. We no longer see Harewood as a landscape dominated by the Lascelles, but rather shared by the likes of John Wood, Samuel Popplewell and William Stables who each played their own part in the formation of the landscape that we find today.

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By articulating several new perspectives of an estate, and understanding how people played a significant part in the formation of landscape, we are able to contribute further to our general understanding of historical archaeology. We begin to piece together not only how people inhabited their surrounding environment, but also interacted with it, were shaped by it, by working and living everyday, within the materiality of the landscape. In this way, the Harewood estate has been shown to be more than an economic entity, an architectural showpiece or the home of the Lascelles family; it is a place where thousands of people have lived their lives, contributing meaningfully to the unique character that makes Harewood what it is today.

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Abbreviations

BIHR	Borthwick Institute for Historical Research
HHMP	Harewood House Management Plan
NA	National Archives, Kew, London
NMP	National Mapping Programme: Lower Wharfedale Mapping Project
NMR	National Monuments Record, Swindon
NYRO	North Yorkshire Record Office
WYAS	West Yorkshire Archive Service
WYHER	West Yorkshire Historic Environment Record
YASA	Yorkshire Archaeology Society Archives

Harewood Estate Archive

WYAS WYL 250/1	Deeds
WYAS WYL 250/2	Estate (Manorial)
WYAS WYL 250/3	Estate Accounts, Maps & Surveys
WYAS WYL 250/4	Estate (Buildings)
WYAS HAR\SC	Steward's Correspondence
WYAS 779	East Keswick Township Papers

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