

## CHAPTER 6

### I Landed Estates and Urban Development in Sheffield 1700-1850

Between 1700 and 1850 the West Riding of Yorkshire emerged as one of the most dynamic growth areas of the British economy. In town and country population began to expand from the early eighteenth century and urbanizing areas experienced a demographic explosion between 1750 and 1850.

The rates of natural increase of the population have been estimated as follows for the West Riding of Yorkshire as a whole.

Table 6.1 - Average Annual Rates of Natural Increase and Migration West Riding of Yorkshire 1701-1830 (per thousand)

	1701-50	1751-80	1781-80	1801-30
AV Ann Rate				
Natural Inc	8.1	14.6	12.6	15.9
AV Ann Rate				
Migration	-3.3	-0.8	-0.6	1.6

The West Riding was thus one of a number of northern counties with high rates of natural increase beginning early in the eighteenth century and accelerating after 1750, others being Cheshire, Cumberland, Derbyshire, Lancashire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Westmorland and the North Riding of Yorkshire.

Among these counties the demographic experience of the West Riding was exceptional before 1750. Between 1700 and 1750 the rate of natural increase of population in the area was only exceeded by Middlesex, Surrey and Rutland.<sup>2</sup>

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1. P Deane & W A Cole British Economic Growth 1688-1959 (1969 ed) pp114-115.
  2. Op cit pp114-115.

In the north and west of the area this was particularly the result of the rapid development of the wool, textile and attendant trades. Then, as later, South Yorkshire had a distinctive pattern of industrial development, but in demographic terms the area shared the general growth.<sup>3</sup>

Even among the towns of South Yorkshire Sheffield was unusual. Rotherham, Doncaster and Barnsley were market centres of ancient foundation while Sheffield was already in 1700 an industrial district. The site, close under the Pennines, made communications in all but the eastern direction difficult. The rural hinterland was neither especially wealthy nor extensive, for the town lay close to high and thinly populated moorlands in the west. Its geographical isolation has led at least one authority to consider its rapid growth as something of a mystery.<sup>4</sup> Although it was unfavoured agriculturally, local supplies of minerals and water power and fuel combined with the early development of high levels of specific and specialized metal working skills.<sup>5</sup>

By 1700 the town was already surrounded by industrial villages and was renowned as a centre for edge tool manufacture. Individual villages specialized in the production of high value products which overcame transport obstacles to enjoy wide markets. In the early eighteenth century transport facilities improved and to home sale was added the advantage of rapid expansion of colonial markets on an unprecedented scale.<sup>6</sup> Alongside ready labour supply the key variables in the development were local charcoal and later fossil fuel, ironstone, stone used in sharpening edge tools and readily available

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3. T Baines                    Yorkshire Past and Present (1875) pp84-5.  
H Heaton                    The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industry (1920)
4. C W Chalklin              The Provincial Towns of Georgian England. A Study of the Building Process 1740-1820 (1974) p23.
5. E J Buckatzsch            "Occupations in the Parish Registers of Sheffield 1655-1719" ECHR Vol 1 (1948), pp145-50.
6. D G Hey                    The Rural Metalworkers of the Sheffield region: a study of rural industry before the Industrial Revolution (1972). pp40-41; Packmen Carriers and Packhorse Roads. Trade and Communication in North Derbyshire and South Yorkshire, (1980) pp86-102, 134-149.



water supply. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the ready availability of high quality Swedish bar iron also aided the Sheffield trades in their exploitation of American and West Indian markets.

The population growth of Sheffield began early in the eighteenth century prior to more spectacular development after 1750. Hearth tax evidence of 1665 and poll tax enumeration in 1692 are consistent, the latter listing 1603 families in Sheffield township. Such a figure suggests a total population of perhaps 7200 persons.<sup>7</sup> Parish Register figures suggest further modest growth before 1720, with occasional years of high mortality in the first half of the eighteenth century. After 1750 births appear to exceed deaths in almost all years studied. By the 1780s the demographic revolution was already under way with effects for the development of the town and its hinterland.<sup>8</sup> This growth in numbers made enormous demands for housing of a range of standards and also required a wide variety of services.<sup>9</sup> The manner in which such demands were met in an area where urbanizing land was predominantly in the hands of large proprietors is the major focus of study together with an analysis of the benefits brought about by such growth to estate incomes.

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7. T Winder T' Heft and' Blades o' Shevviold. Dialect Stories and Antiquarian Papers (1907) pp111-113. The Estimate uses an inflator of 4.5 and makes no allowance for under-registration in these tax returns.
8. C Drury & T Hall (Eds) The Parish Register of Sheffield. 5 Vols (1921-9), also T Winder Op cit pp111-115.
9. G Calvert Holland The Vital Statistics of Sheffield (1843) p27.

TABLE 6.2

POPULATION IN THE TOWNSHIP AND PARISH OF SHEFFIELD IN THE EIGHTEENTH

CENTURY

1665-1692	1603 families +	7200 —	8015 persons
1700-1719 (1703)	1617 " +	7277 —	8085 "
1736	2247 " +	10121	
1763	Sheffield	3852	19210
	Ecclesall	805	4025
	Attercliffe	637	3185
	<u>5284</u> "	26420	
1775	Sheffield	4704	23520
	Ecclesall	1128	5640
	Attercliffe	768	3840
	<u>6600</u> "	33000	
1785	Sheffield	5256	26280
	Ecclesall	1140	5700
	Attercliffe	864	4320
	<u>7260</u> "	36300	

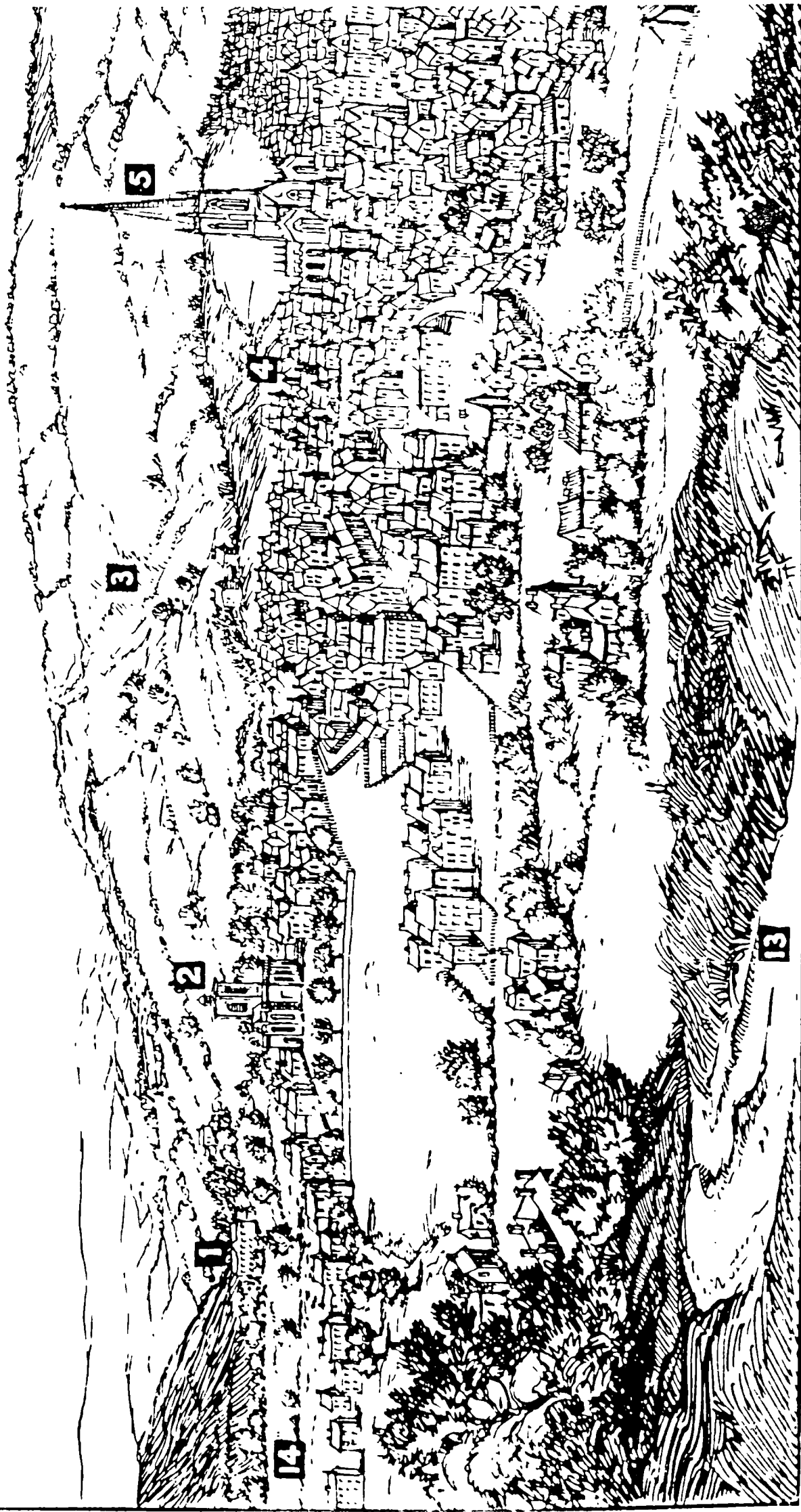
POPULATION GROWTH IN SHEFFIELD PARISH 1801-1841

	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841
Sheffield	31314	35840	42157	59011	69587
Brightside Bierlow	4030	4899	6615	8968	10089
Ecclesall Bierlow	5362	6569	99113	14279	19984
Nether Hallam	1974	2384	3200	4568	7275
Upper Hallam	797	866	10181	1035	1401
Attercliffe cum Darnall	2281	2673	3172	3741	4156
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>45758</b>	<b>53231</b>	<b>65275</b>	<b>91692</b>	<b>112492</b>

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10. Source of Table 6.2

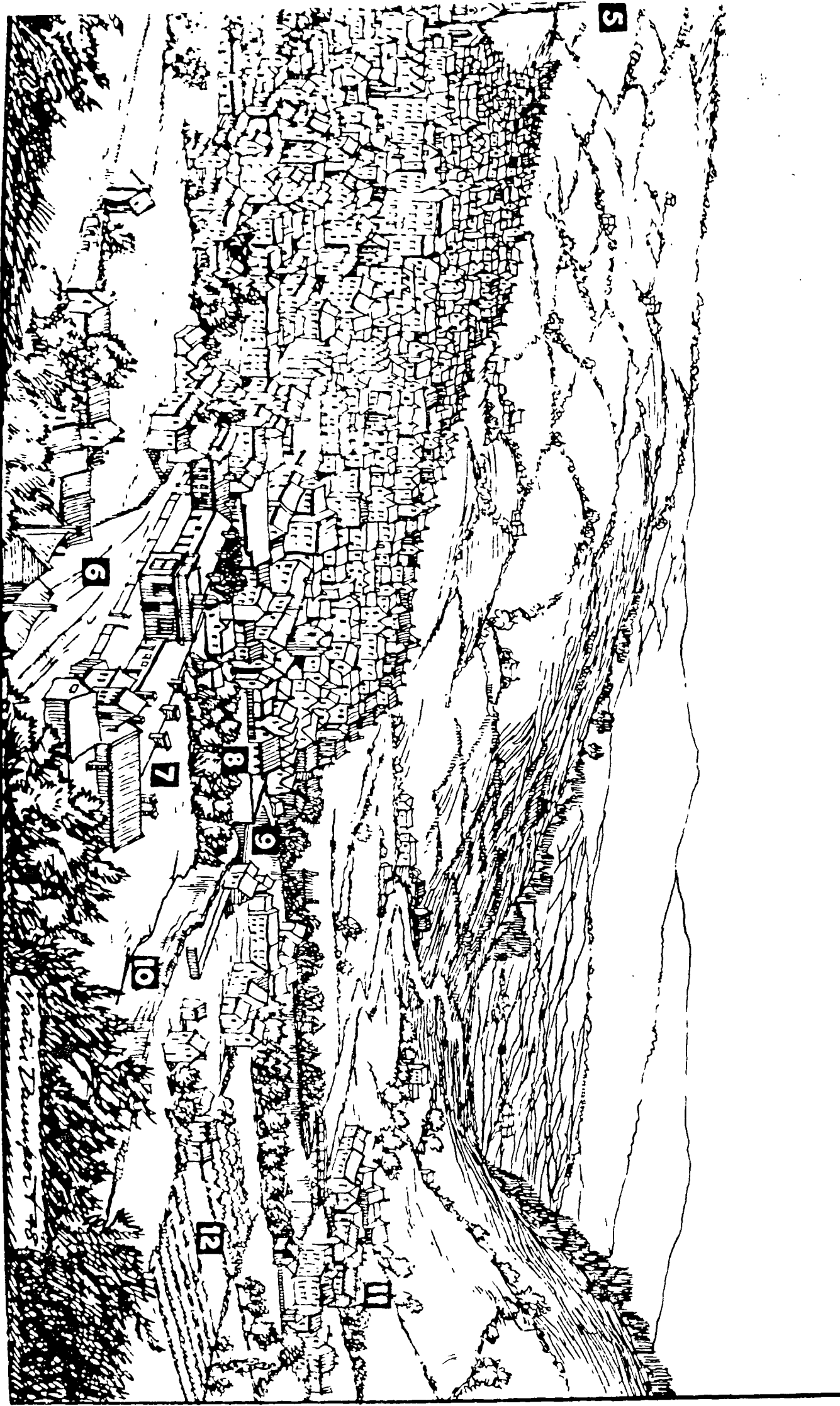
G Calvert Holland The Vital Statistics of Sheffield (1843) p27.  
 (figures 1801-1851)  
 1665 Hearth Tax Return; 1692 Poll Tax Return,  
 T Winder op cit (1907) pp111-113; 1700-1719 C Drury  
 and T Hall (Eds) The Parish Register of Sheffield  
 5 Vols (1921-9); 1736, 1763, 1775, 1785 T Winder  
 op cit, pp111-115. + = Sheffield Township only.



- 1 BROOMHALL
- 2 ST PAUL'S CHAPEL
- 3 ROAD TO MANCHESTER
- 4 THE TOWN HALL
- 5 TRINITY CHURCH CATHEDRAL
- 6 ROAD TO LONDON
- 7 HOSPITAL JOINED BY GLEBE
- 8 CASTLE GREEN BOWLING-GREEN

FIGURE 6. Sheffield around 1740. (continued overleaf).

6. NILDEN CHURCH. PART OF . . . 9. LADY'S BRIDGE. . . . . 12. DUKE OF NORFOLK'S NURSERY GARDENS



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## II Housing Development in Eighteenth Century Sheffield 1700-1815

Early in the eighteenth century the built-up area of the town occupied an area of 3436 within a total of 22,370 acres within the parish of Sheffield. This huge parish was subdivided into smaller townships, some of which were virtually uninhabited because of altitude and exposure. In 1736 these townships, Nether and Upper Hallam and Ecclesall Bierlow, in all an area of 14,968 acres, was estimated to have only 2352 inhabitants. To the east of the town in Brightside Bierlow and Attercliffe cum Darnall, an area of 4016 acres, lived only 2058 people. The town itself retained a relatively crowded urban core within which 9-10,000 people resided.<sup>11</sup>

The peculiar geography and a distinctive industrial pattern were not the only unusual features of the town. Landed property ownership was also exceptional in its concentration. After some sales of property the Norfolk estates in South Yorkshire exceeded 21,000 acres in 1815, this including 2402 acres in or near the urban area of Sheffield itself. There were also substantial holdings in Brightside (983 acres), Attercliffe (125 acres), Nether Hallam (81 acres), Upper Hallam (2438 acres) and outside the parish of Sheffield. They had been greater in extent throughout the eighteenth century. In Sheffield as elsewhere the shape of existing property units had long-lasting effects upon the pattern of development as the town grew.<sup>12</sup> Other smaller but important holdings in Sheffield were the properties of the Wentworth Estates and Church Burgesses

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11. G Calvert Holland Op cit, p27.

12. SCL, Arundel MSS S 443 Valuation of his grace the Duke of Norfolk's Estate Acts. 1802-5; 1810-1814. Extra parish but proximate property included in 1815.

Ecclesfield	2909 acres	For a comparative situation see M J Mortimore
Treeton	962 "	"Land Ownership and the Urban Growth in
Handsworth	481 "	Bradford and its Environs in the West Riding
Whiston	881 "	Conurbation 1850-1950". <u>Inst. Geog. No 46</u>
Bradfield	6981 "	<u>March 1969 pp105-119.</u>
	<u>12214</u>	

situated on important sites within and close to the existing urban area in the mid-eighteenth century.

In 1752 valuable property had been added to the Wentworth estates as the result of the marriage of Mary Bright to Charles, Second Marquis of Rockingham. This included 279 acres in Sheffield and 589 acres of land let in Ecclesall, as well as 367 acres of valuable woodland in that area, with other holdings of about 1000 acres in Ecclesall Bierlow. Of particular importance were parcels of land just west of the centre of the town which were available for development as the town expanded on to Little Sheffield Moor.<sup>13</sup> There were extensive holdings three miles to the north east of the town in Tinsley, and others in Brightside, Attercliffe cum Darnall and Pitsmoor.<sup>14</sup>

Together these big estates accounted for perhaps 30% of the land in an extensive parish, but more important was their relationship with the existing built-up area. The Norfolk estate virtually encircled the town and was further strengthened by the ownership of the Manor of Sheffield, with attendant control over market and judicial services. The Wentworth and Church Burgesses' estates were well placed for extension required by the growing population and prosperity of the town. Between 1736 and the 1760s the demand for house plots grew within the old town and in the surrounding area. The latter is reflected in the rise in cottage rentals and small encroachments in Sheffield, Upper and Nether Hallam and Ecclesall. The built-up area is believed to have doubled between 1736 and 1808, and the housing stock increased three-fold between 1755 and 1796.<sup>15</sup>

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13. SCL WWM D1552 Marriage Settlement 1752; D1852 Settlement 1807-8, SCL Bright Papers B 155 B 152 1752.
  14. SCL FB p56-71 "The Manor of Tinsley belonging to the Marquis of Rockingham". 1/2 4th 1771.
  15. P Aspinall "Thomas Sambourne: A Building Speculator in late eighteenth Century Sheffield". THAS Vol 10 (1979), p161. quoting Sheffield Local Register (1830) pp46, 80.

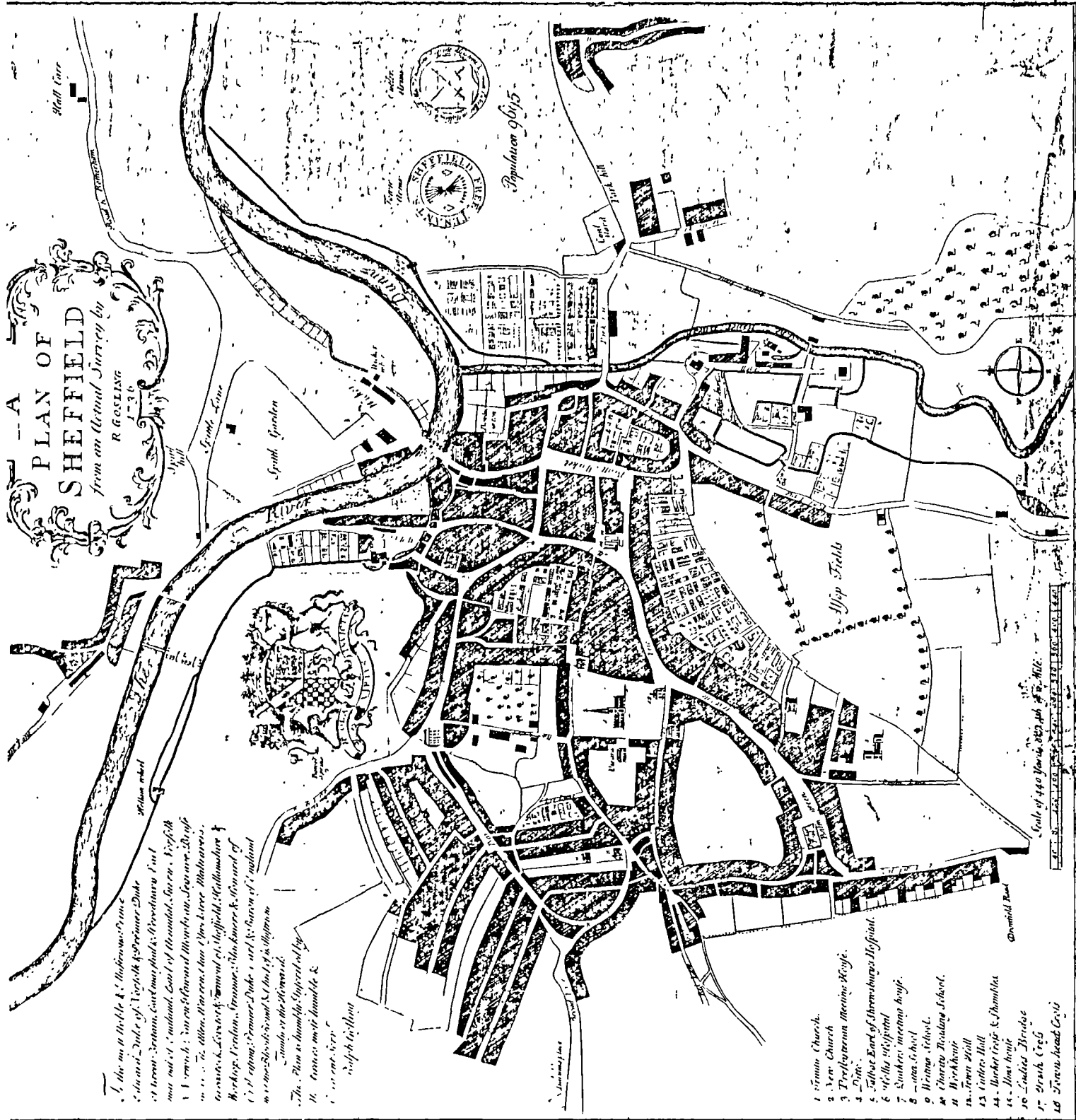


Figure 6.2 A Plan of Sheffield from an actual Survey by R Gosling. 1736

On the Norfolk estates building plots were frequently let as tenancies at will or 21 year leases. Characteristic is the following record of letting.

"27 July 1752

V Eyre Esquire and Darry Hurst of Sheffield Carpenter  
748 square yards - at will 24/- ... to build a good house or houses upon the same."

and another of the same year to Samuel Bates, letting 497 square yards in Colston Crofts on the same terms."<sup>16</sup>

Such developments continued apace remaining characteristic of the town's fringes far into the nineteenth century. Small parcels of land were fenced in and subsequently isolated houses and workshops erected, particularly in areas of waste and common.<sup>17</sup>

Much of the expansion of house and working accommodation occurred outside the built-up area, only to be overtaken in turn by later extensions. This is clear from the evidence material relating to 21 year leases between 1770 and 1785 on the Norfolk estate.

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Apart from 45 lessees classed as Gentlemen, Esquires and including the Rector, the largest group of 21-year lessees remained yeomen, husbandmen and gardeners together with a solitary farmer, totalling 141 lessees. This essentially rural element, with a single woodcutter, occupied land on the periphery of the town. Many worked in occupations which served local urban markets, notably perhaps the 25 gardeners listed, while the representatives of the middle element in society included a significant group of urban professionals:

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16. SCL Arundel MSS S378 p29.

17. SCL Arundel MSS S385 ie p122.

"All that cottage house I have lately erected at my own expense with the Garden and Appurtenances I have lately taken in off the Waste." (Hallam); p212 "Dwelling House I have lately built." 1762.

p229 "10 Houses Sheffield Park (Elizabeth Hague) 8/-".

p182 "... common or waste at the Wood End aforesaid about 2 years since to which I have given the name of Calf Croft and wherein I propose soon to build a workshop."

18. SCL Arundel MSS S382 Building Leases.



The other three hundred lessees of land were predominantly involved in industrial occupations or activities servicing them. The leasing list reads as a sample directory of the town and its dual-occupation hinterland. It emphasises the close connections between the growth of the town and the development of the surrounding neighbourhood.

Town expansion involved the gradual absorption of earlier tenements and small plots, most of which also housed people of a commercial orientation. The wealth created by cutlery, Sheffield plate, iron making and finishing and merchanting trades allowed both the extension of the town and further development of the isolated suburban tenements so characteristic of the region. The latter demand was usually still satisfied by tenancies at will, or by 21 year land leases until the late eighteenth century. In 1764 a lease to Richard Kent of six acres in Carver Fields agreed

"it shall be lawful for the Duke at any time during the said Term to take any part of the premises hereby agreed for and let out for Building".<sup>19</sup>

Such practices continued alongside urban development on land let on 99 year leases which were introduced on the Norfolk Estates in 1767 and by the Church Burgesses (1778) and the Wentworth Estates after 1790.<sup>20</sup> The latter estates before the 1780s had used 21 year leases and tenancies at will, as well as some long leases very advantageous to the lessee.<sup>21</sup>

Alongside such exterior piecemeal developments the Norfolk lease material supports other evidence indicating that Sheffield experienced a building boom in the 1780s and 1790s with a reduced level of activity after 1794. The

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19. SCL Arundel MSS S378 Lease 5 April 1764 p327.

20. SCL Arundel MSS S382-4. Agreements for Long Leases (99 years).

21. D Postles "The Residential Development of the Church Burgesses' Estates in Sheffield", THAS 10 (1979), p360. Several early eighteenth century leases on the Church Burgesses' estates were for 800 years.

peak of 91 leases attained in 1790 was not to be exceeded before 1836 on the Sheffield Norfolk estates (95 leases).

The number of leases in itself says little about the exact extent of the ground let, but its content gives some guidance. The character of leasing reflected the workshop employment in the town. 1200 leases were granted between 1775 and 1816, most of them 99 year leases for dwelling houses, workshops and smithies. 720,000 square yards were leased by the Norfolk estate in this period, 55% of these being in plots of under 500 square yards. Such plots were economically viable for small builders financed locally by businessmen attorneys or early Building Societies. In this period a detailed study claimed that 75% of leasees took one plot only and there was little of the larger scale speculative building so prevalent in towns such as Leeds. This was not an unmixed blessing.<sup>22</sup> Although ground land-ownership was concentrated, building activity remained fragmented, with only a modest degree of overall control on the part of estate owners and their local agents. Sheffield gained little of the grandeur of Bath, Liverpool or Bristol in her first building boom, instead developing in a piecemeal and unplanned manner akin to Manchester or Nottingham. The affluent elite was small and most houses were built by local architects and trades people, investing their money and borrowing relatively limited sums.<sup>23</sup> Many were built for occupation by craft

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22. P Aspinall      Op cit, pp161-2: C Treen, "Building and Estate Development in the Northern Out townships of Leeds 1781-1914". (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds 1977).
23. C W Chalklin    The Provincial Towns of Georgian England. A Study of the Building Process 1740-1820 (1974), pp157-187.  
J R Ward          "Speculative Building in Bristol and Clifton 1783-93". Business History Vol XX No 1 (1978), pp3-18.  
L Wilkes and  
G Dodds          Tyneside Classical. The Newcastle of Grainger Dobson and Clayton (1964), pp15-19.

masters requiring accompanying work space. This was the character of early long-leased land on the Norfolk estate after 1767. Before 1780 occasional plots were let at Crookesmoor (1767), for 10 houses, in Sheffield Park and on Little Sheffield Moor.<sup>24</sup> Also in 1777 1325 square yards were let at £5.5s per annum for the erection of a playhouse.<sup>25</sup> Generally, however, the amounts of land let before 1780 on long lease remained limited on this estate and were rare on the Church Burgesses' land in the core of the existing town; exceptions were two plots in Wades Orchard in 1778 and a few further leased plots in 1779. On this estate the concentration was upon better quality housing in Paradise Square.<sup>26</sup> Subsequently new streets were laid out such as West Bar, the Wicker and Pinstone Street, most of which were completed by 1795. A new market was also sought by prominent local citizens who used a treatise on local population to argue for such a facility in 1784.<sup>27</sup> This demand was satisfied by the rebuilding of the existing market, supervised by Vincent Eyre, the Duke of Norfolk's Agent. Other facilities involved the Tontine and an Infirmary erected at a cost of £18,000 in 1792.<sup>28</sup>

In the 1780s the pace of housing development accelerated, propelled by the demand of an expanding population and an upswing in trade which permitted easier credit. The banker Broadbent, who was involved in the development of Paradise Square, became bankrupt in 1780, but the pace of development remained

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24. SCL Arundel MSS S385 pp173; 249.

25. SCL Arundel MSS 385.

26. SCL CB 841 CB 989.

27. T Winder Op cit, pp111-2. Reverend Mr Goodwin's Report of Population in Sheffield, 1784.

28. SCL Arundel MSS S185. Rental 1786. Refers to New Market Place but without an entry for receipt or outgoings.  
 M H F Chaytor The Wilsons of Sharrow. The Snuffmakers of Sheffield (1962) p108. 33 subscribers raised £4000 in allotments of £100 each, the subscriber of each £100 having the right to nominate one life. Subscribers surviving and nominees shared the profits, the last living nominee inheriting all.

unimpeded in Sheffield for more than a decade. Sheffield experienced improved building on the lines successfully applied elsewhere, but it was not very successful. Upon the Norfolk estates one early experiment was made when a grid network of streets was planned by about 1770, including Norfolk, Arundel, Surrey, Howard and Eyre Streets. Facades were commissioned from the architects James Paine and Thomas Atkinson to enhance the planned terraces of the former Alsop Fields. In Sheffield, few developers exploited this opportunity and the plots of the scheme are among the large numbers earmarked for disposal and sold under Norfolk estate acts between 1802 and 1815.<sup>29</sup> Other Norfolk land was developed in a more modest fashion. In Carver Street, Garden Street and the Park land was let to a multitude of small developers. Over 600 leases were granted in the period 1780-89 and 463 in the subsequent decade. Though most appear to have been plots leased by one individual for the erection of one or a small number of dwellings, it was a substantial expansion overall.<sup>30</sup>

The leases were not strict by the standards of the time. Maintenance and tax payments and the costs of drawing up leases and counterpart leases were imposed upon the lessee. The landlord minimised his outlays while trying to ensure that the buildings were of sufficiently durable construction. There was relatively little insistence on uniformity as this was difficult to achieve in mixed residential-industrial districts.<sup>31</sup>

It was in this context, as the urban infilling began to become exhausted, that Thomas Sambourne, an independent speculator in building land and develop-

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29. SCL Arundel MSS S431 The Duke of Norfolk's Estate Acts 1802-5.  
D Olsen "House upon House. Estate Development in London and Sheffield." in H J Dyos and M Wolff The Victorian City. Images and Realities. Vol 2 Shapes on the Ground (1973), pp340-341.

30. SCL Arundel MSS S382.3 Leases granted 1770-1816.

31. C W Chalklin "Urban Housing Estates in the Eighteenth Century". Urban Studies V. 1968, pp67-83.

ment, appeared in Sheffield. He married into the Wheat (Retford) family, who were related to the Cockshutts of Cawthorne, and was Deputy Clerk of the Peace for a time.<sup>32</sup> Between March 1787 and March 1794 he was involved in 34 land transactions in his sole right, and a number of others jointly with his mother. He speculated in building land and buildings in Carver Street, Howard Street and the Alsop Fields and in buildings in the Brocklow area belonging to Hollis Hospital Trustees. In Brocklow Meadow 59 houses were erected including 39 in Sambourne Square off Solly Street. He went on to plan larger scale developments in an area of 15,639 square yards west of the Brocklow Hill Closes, but failed to erect properties in that area, surrendering his lease back to the Norfolk estate. By 1793, as the boom broke, freehold land in Sambourne's possession was advertised for sale and soon afterwards he departed for the New World.<sup>33</sup>

Such exceptional speculation required credit. Sambourne borrowed from local bankers Eyre and Stanley, Wakefield bankers Kennet and Ingram, Edward Benn of No 14 Surrey Street Blackfriars London, acceptance agents and merchants and gentlemen of the county, using existing property holdings as security for loans of several thousand pounds. Sambourne's activities do not compare in scale to those of the Leeds entrepreneur Richard Paley, who speculated in the sale of land for house building on a very extensive scale in this period, particularly in a considerable area of east Leeds. Correspondingly Sambourne's debts were smaller when he ceased such activities in 1793.<sup>34</sup> Many of the houses he built were small, catering for poorer artisans and masters and valued at less than £100. The result was a hotchpotch of buildings, with little uniformity and serving a variety of industrial needs

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32. R E Leader Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century, Sheffield (1905 ed), pp191-2.
33. P Aspinall Op Cit, pp162-5.
34. M W Beresford "The Back to Back House in Leeds. 1787-1937" in S Chapman (Ed) The History of Working Class Housing (1971), pp93-132.

A MAP OF THE

Alotments of Carl Fitzwilliam in

Little Sheffield, Moor,

Divided into Building Lots.

Explanations

- The lines which mark the streets & boundaries of the lots are to be observed.
- The numbers which are placed in the corners of the lots are to be observed.
- The lines which are placed in the corners of the lots are to be observed.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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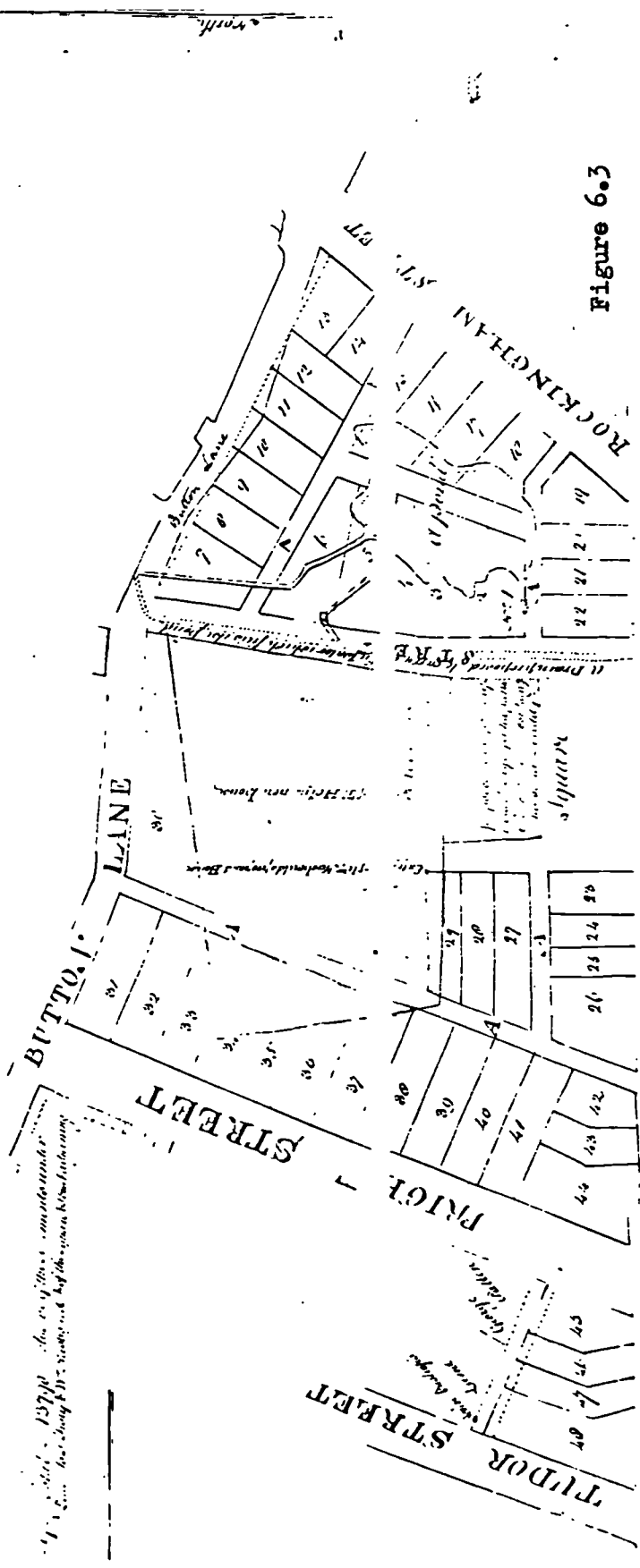


Figure 6.3

Fitzwilliam Land  
at Little Sheffield  
Moor in building  
plots 1792.

FIGURE 6.3. FITZWILLIAM LAND IN BUILDING PLOTS. (LITTLE SHELFIELD MOOR)

as well as providing housing. Sambourne appears to have been the major speculative builder on this scale in Sheffield, and one of relatively few in the West Riding towns. Close to these developments, many of which occurred on land owned by the Church Burgesses, the Reverend James Wilkinson was authorised to grant leases of 99 years in the Vicarage Croft in 1786, some 15,000 square yards of ground.<sup>35</sup>

Wentworth estate development of building ground on Little Sheffield Moor trailed behind that of the Norfolk Estate, where Alsop Fields had been planned since 1771. It was not until 1790 that Charles Bowns, Earl Fitzwilliam's Agent wrote,

"I am at a loss to know how the land at Sheffield Moor may let as the situation is a new one for building upon, but I hope we shall get from one penny to twopence a yard (which are square yards) and upon an average make 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> a yard which on 13,790 yards will produce £86.8.9. per annum." <sup>36</sup>

The estate owner with land so close to a populous town was forced into the capital outlay necessary to allow building by the uses to which the land had been put previously -

"Little Sheffield Moor, I don't see that it can be converted to any other purpose than building upon, the surface of the ground being much defaced by digging clay and making bricks and it is so in the vicinity of houses that are or are likely to be built that it cannot I apprehend be let to advantage for public gardens which where the situation and soil are proper let for four or five pounds an acre."<sup>37</sup>

Bowns explained that greater costs were involved in levelling, fencing round, and other activities necessary if the ground was to be used for gardens, and that by leasing for building the small area of ground concerned would raise an extra £20 per annum,

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35. P Aspinall "The Evolution of Urban Tenure Systems in Nineteenth Century Cities," CURS. Research Memorandum 63. (University of Birmingham), May 1978.
36. SCL WMM F121/10 Charles Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 25 Nov 1790.
37. SCL WMM F121/11-12 Charles Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 12 Jan 1792.

"I should think it would be equal to the expense of obtaining an Act of Parliament and preferable to letting the land in any other way, although the advantage would not be great for if the Act cost £300 the sum would not be repaid (at £86 pa) with interest in less than 14 years at the above additional rent."<sup>38</sup>

It had also been necessary in the planning for Bowns to explain to the Earl

"I beg leave to suggest to your Lordship that the builders upon these plots will of course expect a lease for a longer term than your Lordship as tenant for life has the power of granting, but I have no doubt of their accepting of a lease for 99 years under your Lordship's Covenant for peacable enjoyment."<sup>39</sup>

This was a medium scale development involving 48 building plots. It seems likely that it adequately repaid the outlay in subsequent years, though returns upon it have not been analysed. It might be compared with the larger neighbouring Norfolk estate where an estimate of returns upon such building investment can be made by comparing rents per square yard with amounts let. By 1816 the Norfolk estate had leased 720,000 square yards of building ground in Sheffield. Let at 1d per square yard this would yield £3,000 per annum, a sum consistent with an overall valuation of the Sheffield rental of £6,385 in 1815.<sup>40</sup>

All of these ground landlords had considerable numbers of unlet building plots on their hands in the mid-1790s, some of which remained so for a long period. The downturn began in 1793 as in many other towns with a weakening of credit, and a further sharp downward twist came in the crisis of 1797.<sup>41</sup> In that year only ten new Norfolk plots were let, and after a brief revival in 1798 things remained little better until 1816. Instead of letting plots the estate resorted to sales. Over 650 transactions are recorded between

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38. SCL WMM F121/11-12 Charles Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 12 Jan 1792.  
39. SCL WMM F131/9 Charles Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 15 Nov 1790.  
40. SCL Arunde1 MSS S443 Valuation of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk's Yorkshire Estate, 1815.  
41. SCL Arunde1 MSS S392-4.



1802 and 1812, of which the majority involved sums of less than £200 and only 10% exceeded £1,000. It seems likely from the prices involved and the listing of properties suitable for sale, that much of this was building land already leased.<sup>42</sup>

These sales indicate that despite experience of leasehold in London and an unusual insistence on medium term leasing (99 years) in Sheffield for most of the period studied, the Norfolk estate administrators were not averse to selling freeholds when conditions were particularly favourable. Such sales occurred between 1799 and 1813, and recurred in the late 1830s when freeholds were sold in Sheffield and Worksop. By the Acts of 1802, 1805 1810 and 1814, over 3,000 acres were freed for sale in Sheffield and Brightside, while there were further sales, many of them the freeholds of cottages, of property which could be used to redeem land tax. Altogether Norfolk estate sales under the 1799 Act realised perhaps £26,000 between 1799 and 1815 in Sheffield. The 1802 sales realised £140,000 between 1802 and January 1814 and thus in the war period Sheffield's experience was closer to that of other northern towns where sale for urban development was more usual.<sup>43</sup>

Much of the development of the 1780s and early 1790s provided an indication of future trends. Instead of the stately facades and bold streets of the elite residential areas of Georgian England, Sheffield was to have buildings of a mixed residential and industrial type, crowded together and developed piecemeal despite early estate plans to the contrary. Some planning there was, on the Alsop Fields, Little Sheffield Moor and on the Church Burgesses Estates which would eventually encompass Leavygreave, Wilkinson Street, Solly Street, Portobello, Broad Lane, Upper Allen Street, Leicester Street,

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42. SCL Arundel MSS S431 Norfolk Sales under the Act of 1802 (to 1812).

43. F M L Thompson English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (1963), p267.

See also: SCL Arundel MSS S423. Land Freed for Sale under Acts of 1802, 1805, 1810 and 1814. Also SCL Arundel MSS S424 425 426 427 429. For later (Worksop) sales see SCL Arundel MSS SP26 Miscellaneous Property Worksop, 1840.

Edward Street, Devonshire Street, Eldon Street and Trafalgar Street. But in these areas relatively little had been achieved by 1800. On their estates there were islands of fine buildings for the professionals and middle class market, but the 99 year leasing policy followed, despite restrictive covenants, could not guarantee the highest standards of uniformity and quality in building in a manufacturing town. Though the Church Burgesses succeeded against the odds with the detailed controls which were still enforced in the 1840s, there appears to be some contradiction between stipulations of strict control and the leasing of land to providers of mean housing.<sup>44</sup> Also there were important sales of building land for institutional purposes, of which the sale of about 4000 superficial square yards of land to the representatives of the Catholic congregation in Sheffield in May 1814 was a notable example. For £3045 they obtained the old mansion house at Norfolk Row which Vincent Eyre had used as land agent to the Duke until 1813, a building formerly occupied by the bank of Walter, Eyre and Stanley and another building occupied as a catholic chapel, and some outbuildings. Small parcels of land were sold, and upon the remainder a new catholic chapel was erected between 1814 and 1816. One original purchaser was John Curr(d 1823) one time coal viewer to the Duke, and important subscribers included the Duke of Norfolk (£300) Michael Ellison, John Bernard Furniss of Whirlow Hall, John Smilter and Richard Broomhead.<sup>45</sup>

Norfolk estate sales in Sheffield perhaps halved the income from urban ground rents gained by 1815 compared with the figure which would have been generated had sales not taken place. The local agents exercised considerable

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44. D Postles "The Residential Development of the Church Burgesses' Estates in Sheffield" THAS 10 (1979), pp361-3.
45. C Hadfield The History of St Marie's Mission and Church Sheffield (1889), pp32-6.

freedom in their running of the Sheffield estates between the early 1780s and 1813. They acted on the belief that the capital values realised by sale were worthwhile in comparison to ground rents set in the period before the highest rates of inflation of prices. Some evidence on the economic calculation underlying sales is extant, and the reasoning behind them can be deduced from the sale evidence itself and comments by the agents who succeeded them. This was a period when conversion to 99 year terminable leases was occurring widely in English towns. The calculations made by Vincent Eyre (d 1801) on the sums anticipated from the sales under the 1799 Act support this view, if, as seems likely the rents and estimates of value held good in the subsequent sales. In this case they did, as 140 subsequent sales in the County of York realized over £18000.

Table 6.3 - Vincent Eyres Estimated Value of Property to be Sold Under the Act of 1799

<u>Rent at which now let</u>			<u>Estimate of (sale) value</u>		
£	s	d	£	s	d
3	2	4	612	5	0
41	2	6	1636	15	0
12	16	0½	1875	16	11½
57	12	0¾	1613	15	0¼
71	7	10½	2897	6	4½
22	16	0	1497	19	0
17	10	0	98	0	0
40	4	0¼	1710	12	2
12	16	5½	898	8	5½
40	10	6¼	2071	14	7½
(no figure £345c)			2177	1	4
			<u>£17099</u>	-	-

This sum included the tithes of Ecclesfield, Darnall, Attercliffe, and Brightside, many cottage rents and large quantities of building land, as

did property released for sale under subsequent sale Acts. It remains unclear whether these Acts relate to totally discrete bodies of property, or whether they kept the possibility of sale open where property had not been sold under former Acts.<sup>46</sup> On conventional land sale criteria prices realized were high, representing near 50 years purchase. However, as entry fines remained on some of the property released, this is an exaggerated figure for the gains made by the estate. Land freed for sale under the 1802 Act had a rental of £4455.5.10½, of which £2000 was in Sussex.<sup>47</sup> The 1805 Act freed Yorkshire land of £2005.17s.6d together with property with a rental of £136 in Worksop and £610 in Sussex. In 1810 Brightside property valued annually at £301.3s was taken out of settlement, together with a large amount of building land. The complexity of the sales makes conclusions on the exact quantities sold difficult to calculate but the sales of large amounts of land possibly had several significant results. It soaked up a considerable amount of capital which might have been utilized in other forms of investment. Large amounts of land were sold, but that did not lead as quickly into rapid development as the more speculative purchasers anticipated, so that much of this land was not built upon for a long time even when close to the existing urban area. Symptomatic of this is a level of ground rents in most of the period 1815-50 no higher than that ruling in the 1760s.<sup>48</sup>

By 1813 local management of the Sheffield Norfolk estate was under fire. An extended critical commentary by Henry Howard, the estate auditor, examined many aspects of the work of the Eyres in the previous thirty years, and laid down strict regulations for the future. There were problems within the town

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46. SCL Arundel MSS S409 "A better copy of the Schedule and Estimates on the matter of redemption of the Land Tax."  
47. SCL Arundel MSS S423 Sale Act of 1802.  
48. SCL Arundel MSS S422 Sales for Land Tax Redemption.

and in the control of the building of small cottages and houses outside.

Demand for the latter had been lively since the 1760s, and land for that purpose was let on both 21 year leases and at will. The 'Order Book' of 1813 stipulated that cottage rents where the tenant held his tenement "at will" were to become the object of an inquiry by the new local agent, Mr Houseman, with a view to their proper regulation. Details of their sites, extent and direction were to be closely controlled and entered into the general plan in the local estate office, and buildings were not to be erected without permission, as had occurred in the past. Leased land was to be more carefully controlled. It was instructed that no leases of more than 14 years should be given on land and that longer leases required the Duke's own permission "on the particular merits of the case". There was concern about traffic in leases "for money" between tenants and some implication that past renewal fines on leases were too high. They were to be reduced to stamp cost, with a small fee to the local clerk employed in the estate office to fill in the printed forms used for that purpose. When these strictures are combined with others concerning industrial enterprises and coal mines, the latter of which were of great value to the estate, it begins to appear as a general condemnation of the work of Vincent (d 1801) and Vincent Henry Eyre's work during the war years, a condemnation which must in part have been fuelled by the relative decline in regular revenue caused by the estate sales of 1802-15.<sup>49</sup>

Although many cottages and tenements lay outside the town itself, large numbers of leases of 21 years and tenancies at will were providing residential accommodation for an industrial community which was changing and expanding. Outside as well as inside the town the estate was concerned with letting land

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49. SCL Arundel MSS S391      Sheffield Order Book of 1813.

for housing. Typical is an entry in Houseman's notebook of 1816.

June 25th 1816 (copy)

"The bearer Mr Rodgers' two cottages in the park, of which it is intended that he shall have a long lease, at a rent not exceeding 2d per yard and that any person handing him a sum of money not exceeding £150 shall be secured in the repayment."<sup>50</sup>

The estate administrators were by this stage involved in a struggle to retain control of development both within and outside the existing built-up area. On October 11th 1814 Henry Howard refused permission to a Mr Peach to sell a lease, in pursuance of the general policy of preventing this, and also instructed Houseman that - "Long leases may be given in the Park in proper situations, but not where such leases could interfere with any general plan of improvement."<sup>51</sup>

The re-organisation and attempt to tighten control over leases for building followed a period of low activity in the war years which contrasted markedly with the building boom of 1780-1795. Norfolk leasing evidence is lacking between 1816 and 1824, though it is evident that in 1815 some revival was anticipated. New detailed regulations for building leases were promulgated<sup>52</sup> by Howard in July of 1815. Stress was laid upon the need to encourage lessees by low fees, incentives to improve existing buildings and to remove defective structures, and a regularity in management was sought which would allow builders greater security in their search for the credit which most of them needed if they were to build.<sup>53</sup> Long leases were given to those who had already erected buildings without a formal leasing arrangement.

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50. SCL Arundel MSS S389 Agents Memoranda Book Concerning Leases 1813-1820.
51. SCL Arundel MSS S391 Sheffield Order Book. H Howard to Mr Houseman 11 October, 1814.
52. SCL Arundel MSS S382-4 Details of Long Leases 1774-1816, 1825-1850.
53. SCL Arundel MSS S391 Sheffield Order Book. H Howard to Mr Houseman 11 October, 1814. For a similar attempt at positive assertion of administrative control see J Davies "Aristocratic town-makers and the coal metropolis: the marquesses of Bute and the growth of Cardiff 1776 to 1947", in D Cannadine (Ed) Patricians, power and politics in nineteenth century towns. (1982), pp26-33.

"Thus a person who takes a plot without building on it shall have a term of 99 years; one who may have already enjoyed the building before erected for 30 years, shall have a lease of 69 years and so on ..." 54

Building land on long lease was now let at a minimum of 1½d per yard or £30 per acre<sup>55</sup> and there was a general attempt to push up ground rents and rents for market stalls in the later years of the war.<sup>56</sup> At the same time land occupied by buildings was still being sold under the Estate Acts of 1802 and 1805.<sup>57</sup>

The estate managers struggled to keep up with the pace of development on this large estate holding. Between 1814 and 1818 Houseman drew up a plan of the estate, but it was not fully maintained in subsequent years so that by 1837 Michael Ellison complained in response to the demand for an up to date plan.

"... the estate has undergone almost innumerable changes by sale and otherwise since the period of the survey, it will be a work of almost interminable labour to do what you require."<sup>58</sup>

Houseman and his successors appear to have failed to keep their plan fully referenced, which made their task all the more difficult as Sheffield's expansion continued.

By 1816 the Arundel estate in Sheffield had a rental of £26,348, Of this houses and land provided £15,000, at lease one-fifth of this being ground rents from land let on 99 year leases. Residential and industrial uses cannot be separated in these figures as so often the local trades combined both, but when it is allowed that substantial numbers of shorter leases also concerned

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54. SCL Arundel MSS S391      *ibid.* July 11/12 1815.  
55. SCL Arundel MSS S391      Henry Howard's Instructions 27 December 1813.  
56.                                      20 January 1814.  
57. SCL Arundel MSS S391      27 December 1814. "House and Appurtenances in Norfolk Street by Messrs Lun (sic) Smith and Furnace (viz) £3600. The money to be paid Ladyday next". See Ch 2, pp 96-97.  
58. SCL Arundel MSS S478      Ellison - Few. 28 December 1837.

housing, and that many cottages outside the town were let at will, the housing properties in the total figure must have been much larger than this conservative estimate suggests.<sup>59</sup>

### III Housing and Estate Property in Sheffield 1815-1850

Between 1811 and 1841 the population of Sheffield doubled, and from 1841 to 1860 it increased from 112,492 to about 180,000 persons.<sup>60</sup> The demands for accommodation which such an expansion generated are manifest, but within an overall upward trend there were marked short-run fluctuations in the demand for housing and in its availability. The latter required credit as well as an increase in numbers of people and in the town's prosperity.

Arundel estate evidence on leasing is weak for 1816 to 1824. Thereafter leases grew in numbers on the Sheffield property, with high peaks of building activity in 1836-8 and in the 1850s. However, there was also a less impressive boom in house building in the mid-1820s, for in 1825 more leases were granted than in any year later in that decade and contemporaries remained convinced that 1824/5 was a period of high activity in house building.<sup>61</sup> Conversely 1831/2 and 1841 appear to have been marked by troughs in house building activity and peaks in the numbers of houses standing empty, with 914 houses supposed empty in 1831 and no less than 3260 houses empty a decade later. Indeed in the 1840s leases granted remained few and it was not until after the 1850s that there was a marked recovery to a new high of 640 new 99 year leases granted between Michaelmas 1849 and 1859.<sup>62</sup> The conditions which favoured the expansion of housing are well known. Each boom was accompanied

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59. SCL Arundel MSS S391 Sheffield Order Book 1813-16. Henry Howard's Instructions to Houseman. Copy sent to A Piggott, 18 September, 1816, p202.
60. G Calvert Holland The Vital Statistics of Sheffield (London)(1843) p27  
also  
SCL Arundel MSS S483 Proposed Estate Act with comments on Estate Matters during the 15th Duke's minority. (Estimate of Sheffield Population in 1860).
61. G Calvert Holland Op cit, pp29-30.
62. SCL Arundel MSS S382-4 Leases applied for 1825-60.



by a growth of new workshops and factories, by relatively high wages and extensions of older establishments. In each boom there tended to be an extension of credit. In 1834-1836 five new joint stock banks competed in its provision. In such circumstances the output of manufactures increased until both home and foreign markets were saturated. In Sheffield the latter were particularly vital, and the weakness of overseas sales in the late 1830's made a major inroad into the town's prosperity which reverberated through into the crisis of 1843. By the early 1840s Sheffield was a town with an average of five persons per household and with less working-class overcrowding than was to be found in other large towns.<sup>63</sup>

That a considerable extension of housing occurred in the mid-1820s is indicated by piecemeal evidence. Communications into the town improved after 1815, with the new canal opened into the town by 1819 and a brisk demand for wharves and industrial sites close to its facilities.<sup>64</sup> Such developments were always at the forefront of the local agents and estate auditor's minds. Thus the new auditor appointed in June 1819, Edward Blount Esq of Bellamore, Staffordshire, was quickly advising Houseman that,

"On no account should we deter persons from embarking in these sorts of speculation by demanding too high a price for their accommodation as the main object to look to is the general improvement of the Duke's property by giving encouragement to persons of capital and respectability to bring their speculations to Sheffield and its vicinity."

In 1819 Houseman let land near Park Furnace as a wharf as was an acre of land at Attercliffe.<sup>65</sup>

Demand for land for such purposes was lively in the vicinity of the new extension to the canal, which passed through a large block of Norfolk property

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63. S D Chapman "Working Class Housing in Nottingham during the Industrial Revolution". S D Chapman (Ed), The History of Working Class Housing (1971), pp135-163.
64. SCL Arundel MSS S389 31 October 1815. List of applications for places on Canal Wharf.
65. SCL Arundel MSS S478 E Blount - Houseman, 10 August 1819.

in Attercliffe and Brightside as well as entering the town close to the Park and the Arundel Estate holdings in Sheffield itself.

Probably the demand for housing elsewhere in Sheffield parish was increased by the building of the Glossop-Sheffield and Sparrow Pit - Bannercross roads which passed through areas with considerable development potential west of the town. Calvert Holland noticed faster population growth in Ecclesall Bierlow and Nether Hallam, at 40% and 59% between 1831 and 1841, as compared with Attercliffe cum Darnall (11%) and Brightside Bierlow (12.5%).<sup>66</sup>

To some extent the weakness of the leasing series for the large Norfolk estate for 1816-24 is offset by Wentworth and Church Burgesses' evidence. Earl Fitzwilliam's solicitor-agent, William Newman, wrote in 1823,

"I have let about a thousand yards of land at Sheffield Moor upon building leases at a ground rent of £20 per annum and I have also got a tenant for the house that was built as a patten house. Since it has become occupied, I have had several other applications for lots to build on, and the parties proposed to spend from £6-800 on each lot. The applicants are merchants and traders who find it inconvenient to withdraw so much capital from their trade and they require me to ask if your Lordship would consent to advance them one half of the money expended upon the premises, upon mortgages at 5% allowing them to pay it off by instalments of £100 as they found they could redeem the debt." (endorsed "approved")<sup>67</sup>

In the mid-1820s demand for building land was brisk on the Fitzwilliam holdings closely adjacent to those of the larger Norfolk estates. As late as 1828 considerable outpayments continued for preparation of the ground in anticipation of building in this area.

"Mr Wm Bunting for making drains and sewers on the land on Sheffield Moor intended for building ground £53.6s".<sup>68</sup>

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66. G Calvert Holland            Op cit, p34. Figures 1831-1841 (Census).  
67. SCL WWM F107/143            W Newman, Earl Fitzwilliam, 2 April 1823.  
68. SCL WWM A350 1828.

Figure 6.5

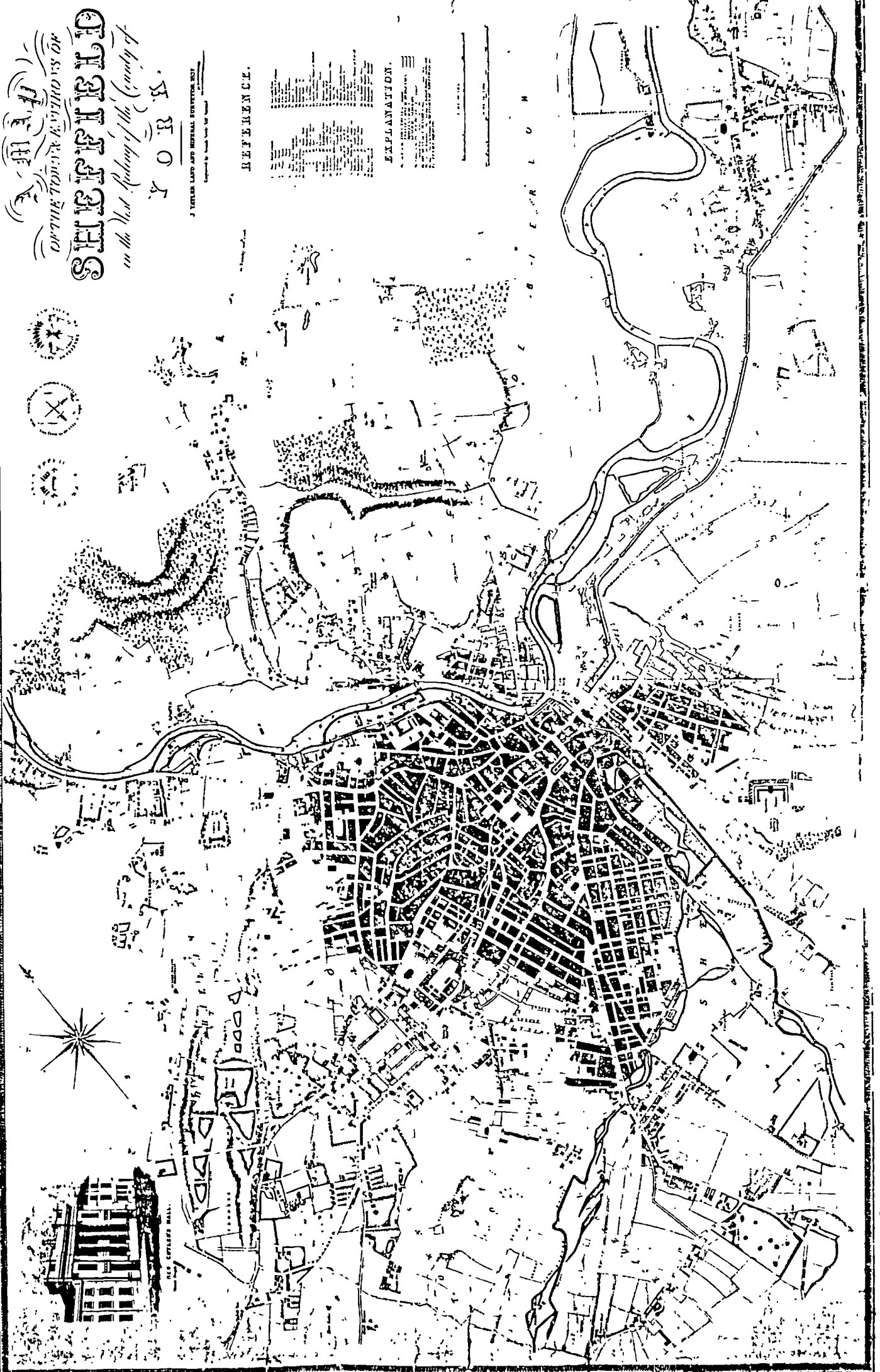


Figure 6.5 A Map of the Town and Environs of Sheffield • J Taylor 1832.

By 1832 Newman was able to report of Fitzwilliam land in one area of Ecclesall.

"The three leases aforementioned comprise all the land which remained unlet except that which is included in the new marker or bazaar." 69

More characteristic of Fitzwilliam estate problems outside Sheffield was the need to provide housing to attract a mining labour force. In 1838/9 Benjamin Byrom expended £4810.10.10 on house building, providing 28 houses at Elsecar, eight cottages at Parkgate, five cottages at Jump and a variety of other buildings to house the increase in the labour forces of a variety of collieries.<sup>70</sup>

On the Arundel estates 198 new 99 year leases were negotiated between 1825 and 1830, while further market improvements were also inaugurated in this period, following upon modest developments in 1816.<sup>71</sup> Housing provision remained one important aspect of the general extension of the town before 1830.

Housing was increasingly differentiated upon class lines. An earlier tendency for better-off citizens to move out of the built-up area into the attractive surrounding country side intensified after 1820. The demands of manufacture using water power had already ensured that well known industrialists lived in large detached residences near the river valleys to the west of the town. Typical were the residences of the Wilson family of Sharrow who specialized in snuff making. They prospered in the 1783-1800 period and sold Highfield in 1798, subsequently completing new houses at Westwood and Clifford in the Sharrow area, where they acquired additional property. The freehold of their mill, Tom Cross Farm and Dam Field were all purchased from the Norfolk

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69. SCL WWM 962 W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 4 February 1832.  
70. SCL WWM A375 1838/9 "Money expended by Mr Byrom in building homes etc at the different collieries."  
71. SCL Arundel MSS S389 p185 Details of lessees of Sheffield Market Stalls May 1816.

estate in 1798 and they bought further land on Brincliffe Edge, in Endcliffe, in Psalter Lane and Clifford and wheel rights on the Porter Brook.<sup>72</sup> After 1820 middle-class housing developments tended to encroach upon and surround existing residential and industrial settlements of this type.

Near the new Glossop Road, after its opening in 1821, Georgian style housing was still being completed, but on the neighbouring Broomhall Park estate, in Endcliffe and Broomhill, larger detached suburban middle class houses were being built after 1820. Success in business and the professions led to an increasing demand both for detached villas and for semi-detached property of the type pioneered by the Endcliffe Building Company after 1825.<sup>73</sup> The provision of Botanical Gardens in 1833 and the later development of the Kenwood Park Estate are indications of this same trend. Characteristic of such middle class developments was the desire to purchase land freehold unlike the residential and workshop developments within or close to the built-up area.<sup>74</sup> Not untypical of the upper range of such housing was Mr Worstenholme's house at Cherry Tree Hill Sheffield. It stood in twelve acres of land bought between 1836 and 1841, and by 1848 was valued with its stables and the improved value of the grounds at £4,100. A lodge valued at £300 and twelve acres at £200 per acre brought the total valuation to £7,000.<sup>75</sup>

In the mid-1830s there was a marked boom in house building in Sheffield, followed by a long recession in the 1840s. East of the river Sheaf in the

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72. M H F Chaytor                      The Wilsons of Sharrow. The Snuff Makers of Sheffield (1962) pp41-42, 53-55.
73. SCL Fairbank MSS                  Shed. 352L 1854; FB Shed 371S 1825.
74. V Doe                                    "Some Developments in Middle Class Housing in Sheffield, 1830-75". S Pollard and C Holmes (Eds) Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire (1976) pp174-186.
75. SCL Fairbank MSS                  CP50 (133) Marcus Smith's valuation, 10 April 1840.

Park area a "New Town" sprang up which included Granville Road, St Mary's Road, Suffolk and East Bank Roads as well as Bernard, Matilda and Maltravers Streets. Development in these areas was mixed, with both residential and workshop accommodation, this being particularly the case nearer to the valley. Inevitably the Norfolk estate benefited as the ground landlord. In the decade 1830-39, 589 new long leases were granted, the largest number since the 1780s. Most concerned house building, with a peak in demand in 1834-7. Typical leases were for small areas of building ground upon which small builders erected housing, ie

"1836 July 8 John Barnes

Applies for a lease of the three houses erecting in Bernard Street at 1½d per yard."

"1836 George Clayton

Applied for a plot of land at the top of South Street (Park) 17 houses built on this ground 1057 square yards. £7.00."

"William Hague. South Street Park. Mason 1837

To have a lease of a plot of ground in Granville Street in which he has erected eight houses 2½ clear rent 876 yards £9 pa."

"William David Barlow. Shoemaker July 11th 1837

To have a lease of part of the ground agreed to be leased to Joseph Booth on which six houses are built £2.6.0." 76

Large quantities of working class housing were erected east of the town.

Though most leases were to single builders, and they rarely held more than one plot, they were generally engaged in building a number of homes upon that land. Building was often completed prior to the lease being granted. Typically houses were valued after erection and the final lease agreed then. Five houses occupying 733 superficial square yards were valued as follows by

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76. SCL Arunde1 MSS S384

Leases Applied for 1825-1850. See also Sheet 82 Ordnance Survey Reprint. Revised Ed (1839).

It is stated by Dr J B Harley in a Cartographical note to the 1970 reprint that after 1840

"At Sheffield no systematic attempt was made to record and insert new suburban areas, although isolated developments have been added to the plots near the railways such as the engine sheds near the terminus of the Sheffield and Rotherham Railway and the new road and coal pit in St John's District."

Marcus Smith.

"I have valued the property in South Street (Park)  
to Joshua Rawlin and value the same at £500". 77

Local building societies contributed to this development as at least 12 were known to be in existence by the time of the Royal Commission of 1871 and there is spasmodic reference to earlier terminating societies.<sup>78</sup>

The evidence from the Norfolk estates does not support the view that detailed regulations of building was practised widely by ground landlords, though evidence from the Church Burgesses' estates for this period suggests that it was usual there. Small local builders invested in the building of new housing and workshops in the Burgesses' Chester Street, Lee Street, Leicester Street, Eldon Street, Trafalgar Street, Wellington Street and Devonshire Street developments. The partners Teasdale and Swales owned 29 units together by 1837. Swales was also owner of 37 other units. George Robinson, Thomas Reynolds and Samuel Brown invested substantial sums in housing, while the architect William Flockton who was active in middle-class house building west of the town invested £1,000 in housing in Devonshire and adjacent streets in the mid-1830s.<sup>79</sup> Between 1820 and 1850 no lessee held more than ten plots on the Norfolk Sheffield estate and small builders working on single plots prevailed. The more plots were held, the more likely they were to be mortgaged to solicitors who are believed to have provided

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77. SCL Fairbank MSS CP50 (121) Marcus Smith - Michael Ellison.  
19 May 1837.
78. J Parry Lewis Building Cycles and British Economic Growth (1965) pp70-71. (12 Societies were noted by the Royal Commission of 1854) and "Building Societies Directory and Almanac (1854). See also E J Cleary "The Building Society Movement (London) (1965)pp74-5. See also P H J H Gosden Self Help. Voluntary Associations in Nineteenth Century Britain (1973)pp143-151.
79. D Postles "The Residential Development of the Church Burgesses' Estates in Sheffield." THAS Vol 10 (1979) pp362-3.

the majority of such finance in this period.<sup>80</sup>

Overall applications for leases of Norfolk estates land in the area were as follows (between 1833-38):

1825-33	-	300c
1833-38	-	350
1839-50	-	350
Mid 1849-59	-	640

The boom in building associated with general economic prosperity in the mid-1830s was only slowly weakened, but by 1841 applications for 99 year leases fell to half the 1836-7 level, and by 1844 they were a mere 20% of the level of eight years earlier. In these depressed conditions Michael Ellison defended local leasing practices in relation to those elsewhere as being appropriate to their context, especially as trade had been depressed already for eighteen months and "things may be said to grow worse as money becomes more scarce".<sup>81</sup>

"The rule observed in such cases in London will not do for this place, the object being for the Lessor to exact the utmost amount without reference to any other consideration. Here we must take care not to destroy confidence, but on the contrary deal liberally with parties and hold out encouragement to others to embark capital in buildings in the Duke of Norfolk's land." <sup>82</sup>

Though recovery seemed possible, the subsequent half decade was a period of lower levels of application than at any time since the Napoleonic Wars, until the dramatic recovery in confidence among prospective lessees in 1850. This was the end of a decade in which the collapse of Parker Shore and Co in 1843 shook the town's industrial and commercial classes; it was the time when Birmingham businessmen strengthened their hold, taking over Parkgate Ironworks

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80. P Aspinall "The Size Structure of the House Building Industry in Victorian Sheffield." CURS University of Birmingham Working Paper 49 (March 1977) p19.

81. SCL Arundel MSS S478 (XV111) Ellison-Blount 14 March 1840.

82. SCL Arundel MSS S478 (XV111) Ellison-Blount 20 April 1840.



after failure both by local and Birmingham and Smethwick businessmen to overcome the persistent problems of the South Yorkshire iron industry. Finally it was the decade of the ultimate collapse and demise of the Old Sheffield Plate industry which had been one of the pillars of the town's economy for three generations,<sup>83</sup> a collapse which hit firms like that run by J Read driving him out of business in 1840.

By 1850 the leasing policy could have disadvantages. "Land in the Don Valley was becoming increasingly valuable and the Duke's representatives wished to develop it by making a number of new streets, one of which was planned to run right across the area of the works. However, the old mill's lease stood in the way. A new lease was therefore considered with a revision of boundaries, but it meant much disturbance and the amount claimed by Wilson for compensation for rebuilding kept increasing."<sup>84</sup>

By 1850 Ellison masterminded the Estate Act which allowed the granting of building leases on the 1840 acres of the Rotherham and Kimberworth estate belonging to the Trustees of the Earl of Effingham. The increased activity of the Don Valley was at its height. Increase of population was recognised as the most favourable factor in increasing land values.

"The lands and hereditaments situate in or near Sheffield and subject to the trusts of the Duke of Norfolk's family settlement of 1839 are of great and increasing value and the town of Sheffield is a large and improving town of which the trade and population have much increased for some years past -

1831	-	91,000	
1841	-	111,000	
1851	-	135,000	
1861	-	180,000	- supposed will - or doubled in 30 years."

(1860)<sup>85</sup>

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- 83 A Birch The Economic History of the British Iron and Steel Industry 1784-1879, (1968) p163-4. Parkgate apparently prospered by turning over to rail under Charles Geach.
- 84 R E Wilson Two Hundred Precious Metal Years. A History of the Sheffield Smelting Company Limited, 1760-1960, (1960) pp114-115.
- 85 SCL Arundel  
Mss S355 Replies to Charles Few questions to Marcus Smith. 4th June 1860. Rotherham PL. Parker Rhodes & Co, MSS 42.

Whether or not this had been clear to the landlord in the 1780-90 period, it was manifest by 1850. Unlike investments in coal mining or in iron works, unlike even the associated investments in the markets which accompanied the Norfolk switch from agrarian to urban investment, the capital required from the landlord for house or factory building was not great. New streets required an initial outlay and drainage sometimes had to be installed,<sup>86</sup> but almost all the capital investment in buildings came from the entrepreneur in industry and the house builder whether speculative or otherwise in housing.<sup>87</sup> Thus house and other ground rents provided the income to the landlord which approximated closely to "pure rent". Of the total rents on the South Yorkshire Arundel estates (excluding collieries and markets) in 1850 (£19,291) probably more than a quarter was ground rent for land for building purposes. Land was let in the 1850s on 640 new leases (1849/59) almost all of these for building purposes. Of great future significance were large scale developments in the Brightside area as the steel firms began their massive development east of the city.<sup>88</sup> The most pertinent of questions to the landlord, or indeed any land owner by the 1860s was - "How much land is ripe for building?".<sup>89</sup>

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86. SCL Arundel MSS S355 "Who pays the cost of Sewers and Pavements in New Streets - Tenant for life puts in the Sewers and Edge Stones but the lessors repay the cost of these. Pavements are done by the lessees." (Questions from Charles Few to Marcus Smith 1860).
87. 12 Building Societies are recorded in Sheffield in 1854. J Parry-Lewis Building Cycles and British Economic Growth (1965) p70-71.
88. "April 30th 1860. What is the extent of the Duke of Norfolk's estate on the north side of the Bridge in Brightside Bierlow Township. How much was then (1850) let and what was the rental of it? How much has since been let?" In 1853 1,450 acres let -
- |                          |               |      |
|--------------------------|---------------|------|
| 300 Bridge benefitted    |               | £    |
| Let in building leases   | 32 acres      | 1314 |
| Other agriculture @ 50/- | acre 55 acres | 1850 |
- Area near bridge in Sheffield-Attercliffe worth £2000 pa. See also J G Timmins "The Commercial Development of the Sheffield Crucible Steel Industry. (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Sheffield 1976) pp175-180.
89. SCL Arundel MSS S355 Charles Few to Marcus Smith, the Duke of Norfolk's under-Agent in Sheffield, who worked with Michael Ellison the Agent, to whom the questions were ultimately addressed, and from whom came the comment "too indefinite a question."

Table 6.4

ARUNDEL ESTATE INCOME 1850-59SHEFFIELDLand Rental of Sheffield (Exclusive of Minerals and Markets)

		<u>Market Income</u> (profit)	<u>Mineral Income</u>
	£	£	£
1850	19211	-	
1851	19562	-	
1852	20101	2949	
1853	20692	3962	
1854	21924	4218	
1855	23023	3453	
1856	23479	4120	
1857	23944	4393	
1858	24333	4691	
1859	24911	4432	
1860			

£10,390 fixed annual  
rent paid whether coal  
mined or not.

One quarter million tons  
taken 1860.  
(D of N Coal Report)  
(SCL S483)

and the answer of 300 acres, despite M Ellison's view that the question was too vague, must have brought some happiness to the young Duke's Trustees after the slow rise in rentals of the 1840s. In the overall increase in gross rents (excluding minerals and markets) between 1850 and 1860 from £19,291 in 1850 to £24,911 in 1860, urban development accounted for much of the increase in annual return, so that ground rent rose from about a third of the rental in 1849 to about a half ten years later.<sup>90</sup> After 1850 urban development on Ellison's plan went ahead quickly. Most rapid was the industrial development of Brightside and the building of a stock of housing to serve its labour force. By 1861 81 building plots had been let. Others

"remain now for letting as part of a previously carefully arranged plan design for disposing of this portion of the Duke's estate for building purposes, and can only be disposed of in the way now proposed with advantage to the property and so as to perfect the original design." 91

Among the streets developed were Effingham and Sutherland Roads, Catherine Brockley, Andover, Windsor, Princess and Gower Streets. Upon them were erected housing to serve the large new works of the Saville Street east area. On Effingham Road by 1861, 161 houses were built or near complete. Initially there were costs to the landowner

"The great cost of forming and repairing the newly laid out streets is a necessary evil which must attach to the estate until the lettings on either side of the streets are effected to such an extent as to justify the Board of Surveyors in adopting the streets as public highways to be maintained at the public cost." 92

In the Brightside and Attercliffe areas some land came to need urban development as

"the constant dense smokes of Sheffield"

and the fact that land

"... is much exposed to trespass in consequence of part being thrown open for building." 93

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90. SCL S355 Arundel MSS S 189 Annual Rental of all Estates (Sheffield) 1850-60.

91. SCL Arundel MSS S109.1 Mr Fowler's 1st Report February 1861.

92. *ibid*

93. SCL Arundel MSS S109.8 Mr Fowler's 8th Report (Brightside) 1861.

made valuation for agriculture difficult by 1861. As Treen found in North Leeds there was probably an oversupply of land available for building and the Norfolk estate sought to ration its outlays as a developer to selected districts.<sup>94</sup> As Fowler's survey of 1861 concluded

"... any great effort to secure a more rapid letting by an expensive opening of new streets before a demand arises would be disappointing ..."<sup>95</sup>

This applied even to the environs of the large steel factories, and was certainly the case for prospective development more distant from employment. In 1873 when these developments were complete, rents from Sheffield town property were £26500, Sheffield markets netted £6400 and rents of general Yorkshire property £8500. Woods and residual Yorkshire property brought in £6500 and coal leases £2600. Thus the urban rental from Sheffield estate was about thrice that from the small but valuable Strand estate in London (£9000 per annum). Despite the fifteenth Duke's objection to the inconsistent basis of the "Return of Owners of Land", at 20 years purchase the Sheffield town property was worth £660000-£750000 in capital value.<sup>96</sup>

In 1850 ground rents of the Norfolk South Yorkshire estate came to account for about 33% of gross rental receipts, with little direct investment by the landlord compared with the competing investments in (direct) investment in coal, iron, transport undertakings or land improvements. These incre-

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94. C Treen Building and Estate Development in the Northern Out townships of Leeds, 1781-1914 (Unpublished PhD Thesis University of Leeds 1977).

95. SCL Arundel MSS S109.8 Mr Fowler's 8th Report. Attercliffe 1861.

96. SCL Arundel MSS S484(8) Lord Halifax - 15th Duke of Norfolk, 29 November 1875; Lord Calthorpe - Duke of Norfolk, 29 November 1875.

The lower figure capitalized urban rents and the value of the markets, but not of the costs of running markets. The higher figure capitalizes on the gross rentals. This could be justified in using the low figures generated by assuming only 20 years purchase - the median number of years could realistically be assumed to be much higher ie 30.

Norton, Trust and Gilbert "A Century of Land Values; England and Wales" Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, LIV (1891) Reprinted from the Times, 20 April (1889) and in E M Carus Wilson (Ed) Essays in Economic History Vol III (1962) p128-131.

ments in value cannot have escaped the eyes of business-minded contemporaries and were the empirical basis for condemnation of the landlord's rent as a surplus by the classical economists from Ricardo onwards, though he used purely rural examples. No amount of investment in transport, favoured rents for favoured institutions (like schools or churches) philanthropy or paternalism could offset the essential advantage which enabled the landlord with urban property in huge demand to survive economic depression, as long as he was wise enough to avoid such huge debts that sales became imperative. It was the long term insurance that this kind of land gave which provided the economic logic for Earl Fitzwilliam's "entire repugnance" to land sales in the 1840s. They made neither economic nor social sense in prosperous areas like South Yorkshire, particularly in temporary periods when the greatest price might not be realised. Recent work on the Fitzwilliam estate in the twentieth century is illustrative of the long run advantages thus gained.<sup>97</sup>

#### IV Markets

Another valuable asset within Sheffield's development which remained in Norfolk estate control until 1899 were the markets. As Lord of the Manor the Duke retained control until then, despite criticism of their monopoly from the early nineteenth century. A complaint of 1835 (20 July) typifies

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97. F M L Thompson

English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (1963) p290 - points out Earl Fitzwilliam's repugnance at the idea of sales to rid his estates of debt in the 1840s. His agents were well aware at this time of what they saw as a glut of land on the market, though sales on a limited scale were undertaken in the 1850s when conditions had improved from the vendors' point of view. (SCL WWM G49 W Newman-Fitzwilliam, 28 September 1847. "I am fearful that they will not be sold, as so much land is now in the market in those amongst many other counties." Late W Fullerton's Estates in Warwickshire and Kent.) See also: G Rowley "Landownership in the Spatial Growth of Towns: A Sheffield Example". E Mid. Geog. Vol 6 (1975), pp200-213.

local opposition which gradually built up into the acrimonious discussions over market provision between the Corporation and the Duke in the period after 1870, a war of attrition ended by the sale of 1899.

"The Manorial rights of the Duke is a bar to the interested part of the town to do this long needed measure by public subscriptions, but this alone no doubt will have some sway with his Grace who will take care that Sheffield keeps pace with other towns in this most indispensable accommodation." 98

The petitioners could not claim that the Lord of the Manor had ignored such provision, though the fruit market was one of the least adequate in the 1830s. By an act of 1784 Vincent Eyre had raised £4000 by sale of chief rents and enfranchisements towards improvements of the markets, and a further £11000 appears to have been raised subsequently by mortgage on the tolls of the market before 1801. By that time the market served some 45,000 people in Sheffield, Ecclesall, Brightside and Attercliffe cum Darnall, though there was also a renowned market in Rotherham. Further improvement Acts were necessary in 1826, 1847 and 1872.<sup>99</sup>

In 1790, after a considerable amount of the work under the Act of 1784 had been completed, the market accounts showed:

	£	s	d
Gross receipts	1205	18	6
Costs including:			
Poor rates			
Labour	198	2	11
Net profit	1007	15	7

- 
98. SCL Arundel MSS S346(4) An unsigned complaint about the Fruit Market, 20 July 1835.  
For a consideration of the factors influencing "Institutional location" in urbanisation see also, R Homan and G Rowley "The location of Institutions during the process of urban growth: A case study of churches and chapels in nineteenth century Sheffield". E Mid Geog Vol 7 (1978) pp137-152.
99. J Blackman "The Food Supply of an Industrial Town: A study of Sheffield's public Markets 1780-1900". Business History Vol V No 2 (1963) pp83-97.

and the figures for the subsequent year show similar costs and returns. By 1804-6 there had been increases both in rents payable by about fifty tenants and also increases in the costs of running the markets, while arrears appear to be much higher by this time.

	£ Gross Receipts	£ costs	£ arrears
1804	1346 pa	289 (half year)*	161
1805	1386	126 " "	294
1806	1386	106 " "	197

\*exceptional expenditure

One of the main items in increasing costs, the largest single increasing item indeed, was Poor Rate, though the property tax imposed in the war years increased costs also. There appears to be relatively little increase in the value of the Sheffield markets during the inflation between the mid-1790s and the death of Pitt in 1806. Rather, increased costs seem to have been eating into rather larger gross receipts and leaving overall returns to the owner stagnant. By 1814 rents were increased or taxes added to market traders' rents. The arrears suggest that high food prices were not good for the market trader either.<sup>100</sup>

There is little evidence to indicate the extent of maintenance and renewal between 1806 and the end of the wars, though the 1804 account includes large sums, perhaps 10% or more of gross receipts, for what appear to be renovation works, as might be expected when the markets had been in operation twenty years. By the end of the wars new expenditures were again undertaken.

"1817 Expenditure on New Markets 1817-20

Paid Mr Hawksley for the purchase of various houses and shops adjoining the old Gaol. £1800"

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100. SCL Arunde MSS S343.1.5.6.7.34.36.37. Norfolk Market Accounts.

Also  
A MSS S391 Sheffield Order Book, 20 January 1814.



"1818	R Cawtor for the purchase of land for the market.	£1000"
"1817	R Calver for building 16 new Butchers shops.	£634.6.0" <sup>101</sup>

Overall about £5-6,000 was expended on market provision in this short period before 1820. This involved purchases of adjacent property to "open the market to the other street", following plans for improvement dating back to 1815. Then the provision was as follows.

Table 6.5 The Plan to Improve Sheffield Market Facilities - May 1816

	£ Rental paid pa
53 Butchers shops	660
44 Butchers Stalls      £212)	255
12 Garden Stalls      £43)	
52 Outside Shops	327
33 Fruit Stalls (29 let) produce a rent of	27
42 Simicule (33 let) stands producing	37
15 Cellars	43
13 Chandle Houses	31
	<u>£1380. 8. 0.</u>

44 New Shops might be made to produce a rent of:

Butchers Shops	£10.10.0	to	£14.14.0	each
Butchers Stalls	3. 3.0	to	6. 6.0	"
Outside Shops	2.12.0	to	14.14.0	"
Garden Stalls			2.12.6	"
Fruit Stalls	0.15.0	to	1. 0.0	"
Simicule	1. 1.0	to	1.10.6	"
Cellars	4.14.6	to	1.10.6	"
Chandle Houses	1. 1.0	to	2. 2.0	"

66 other butchers shops exist in Sheffield town, "some of which are illegal, being detached buildings and not forming part of the house." Proposed improvements were to remove a number of butchers and garden stalls inside the market showing a rental of £246,15.0 per annum and to replace them with 40 good Butchers stalls yielding £804 per annum - this admits of an expense so as to pay 6% of £4,300.<sup>102</sup>

101. SCL Arundel MSS S346(1) Expenditure on New Markets 1817-20.

102. SCL Arundel MSS S478 A Piggott to Houseman, 13 May 1819.

An estimate of profits can be made as follows. £15000 in total was invested in market provision between 1784 and 1800, with most of the new work completed and the markets in operation by 1790, and net profit of £1000 per annum was made between 1790 and 1806. It can be assumed to continue at that level until 1810. Between 1810 and 1820 net profit was probably £1500 per annum, a figure confirmed by the evidence of the late 1820s. Overall £35000 profit was made over a 30 year period giving an annual percentage return of 8%.

Direct returns upon capital invested in market provision were not spectacular. The return upon the Eyre investments made before 1800 over 30 years could be calculated as giving a return of almost 8% per annum on capital, but this allows no further large investments apart from maintenance before 1820 and ignores the expenditures noted between 1817-20. Overall returns were probably lower than the 8% figure calculated upon this basis.<sup>103</sup> The agent calculated upon 6% as a respectable figure in 1816. Prior to revaluations market stalls yielded £1,254 per annum in 1815.<sup>104</sup>

By the early 1820s attempts were being made to systematize the market regulations, with a report from market Commissioners recommending closure on the Sabbath, strict hours of opening and closing, and the strong recommendations to "proceed against all parties who shall fail to observe them".<sup>105</sup>

It is evident that the Commissioners were concerned about the overcrowding of the market, the continued mixing of different kinds of goods for sale, the difficulties in regulating traders outside the market enclosures and the general sanitary conditions.

The more optimistic financial climate of the mid-1820s encouraged Michael Ellison, the Sheffield agent from 1819, to draw up a report proposing

- 
- |     |                         |   |
|-----|-------------------------|---|
| 103 | SCL Arundel MSS S343    | Norfolk Market Accounts.  |
| 104 | SCL Arundel MSS S443    | Valuation of his Grace the Duke of Norfolk's Yorkshire Estate 1815.         |
| 105 | SCL Arundel MSS S346(2) | Report of Commissioners on expediency of altering market regulations, 1821. |

large-scale changes in the market arrangements.

"The Improvements,

These will comprise the removal of the Corn and Hay Markets from the situation they at present respectively occupy, to the site of the old buildings hitherto used as the Hospital of Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury and the land immediately surrounding the same, and also the removal of the present Cattle Market from the Wicker to a place called the Castle Orchards, on the side of the River Don and contiguous to the Wharf of the Sheffield Canal Company ...

It is proposed to erect a Corn Exchange with offices and shops attached at the western end of the plot of land which will form the market, and on the eastern side of the same, a row of houses and shops, leaving the remainder for the disposal of the Hay and Straw."

Further proposals included the erection of a weighing machine and the building of a bridge to the markets from the Wicker, to pass through the Cattle Market to the Hay and Corn Market, in front of the Canal Warehouses. Meanwhile,

"The Fish, Poultry and Vegetable Market adjoining the Old Market which was made a few years ago requires both to be enlarged and improved, but it is not easy to suggest an improvement that would not risk an expenditure beyond the value of the object."

Ellison therefore proposed that house property near this market should be bought in anticipation of future improvement.

The expansion of population was already making the old markets crowded, and the advantages of a market nearer to new canal facilities are apparent. Ellison went on to offer estimates of expenditure likely to be incurred, estimates which were in fact optimistic about the likely cost of this large project.<sup>106</sup> Finally he offered more sceptical comments about potential revenue

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106.	SCL Arundel MSS S346(3)	Report of Michael Ellison re New Markets. Drawn up for the Duke 1826. Estimate			
		<u>Expenditures</u>		<u>Ways and Means</u>	
	Corn Exchange and Houses	Shops	5300	Sale of Tythe and Quit Rents	2250
	Bridge across Dun		3000	Contributions from Canal Co and others to Bridge	1000
	Cattle Market		1500	Sale of present Cattle Market to house owners near it	200
	Act of Parl. Surveys c			Mortgage of Rents Tolls of New Market	8550
	Architects Law		1200		
	Incidentals		1000		
			<u>£12000</u>		<u>£12000</u>
	(By 1827 over £900 raised for bridge S189(5) )				

from the project, which he saw as being somewhat difficult to forecast.

"Much will depend upon the success of the Cattle Market which when established will no doubt be a productive source of income. Taking this latter upon a very moderate scale the following income may be calculated upon.

	£
Rents of Houses	160
Counting Houses and Cellars	122
Profit of Weighing Machine	100
Grout Rents	120
Cattle Market	230
	<u>£732 (per annum)"</u>

Ellison recognised that some would regard a return of £732 per annum upon £11,000 as rather inadequate but pointed out the further advantage.

"In the improved value of that part of Sheffield Park adjoining the sites of the proposed markets, it being quite certain that the Establishment of these markets will necessarily draw the Town after them. Until very recently little has been done to induce persons to lay out their capital upon this part of the Duke of Norfolk's estate, and the consequence is that the buildings formerly erected here were very inferior to those erected in other parts of the Town. A considerable change has however been wrought since the contemplated establishment of the markets in this neighbourhood were first talked of, and there is now to be found on this once neglected part of the estate the most complete, substantial and elegant manufactory, that the Town of Sheffield can boast.

Sheffield, December 1st 1826."<sup>107</sup>

Here was the nub of the argument for expansion of the markets on this site. It was a conscious attempt to shift the centre of gravity of the town's development eastwards, beyond the Sheaf and along the Don Valley. Despite the miscalculations of Michael Ellison as to the capital investment required for the new markets, the move undertaken under the Act of 1826 and largely completed by 1835, was entirely successful from the Estate point of view. The urban development in the Park was greatly stimulated by the "Blonk

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107. SCL Arundel MSS S346 (3) Report Above.

Bridge" and the market developments. This carefully calculated move of the 1820s was the justification for the "New Town" developments in the Park. It also greatly eased the massive building boom in the Town and especially in its eastern areas through the 1830s, a shift to the eastward which was immensely valuable in its "pure rent" effects upon the Duke's land in eastern Sheffield, where indeed a large proportion of his holdings were situated stretching from Handsworth through the Park to Brinsworth and Attercliffe cum Darnall. The Duke sanctified the shift by making available land for St John's Church in 1830.<sup>108</sup>

Under the 1826 Market Act £24,000 was expended. £5,000 of this was raised by various sales, and the expenditure included purchase of some land or buying out of lessees. Nevertheless it was a considerable expenditure to undertake in less than 10 years and Ellison's estimate of costs was soon revealed as too low. Apart from the normal problems in raising larger amounts of money on mortgages than had been intended, the work of building "Blonk Bridge" was delayed by one Birkett who "having become a man of dissolute habits and the building of the said bridge proceeding slowly the work was taken out of his hands by your Grace's agent", which was greatly to the displeasure of the builder's guarantors, who lost £1263.16s.7½d. They were also troubled by water breaking in on their works at the bridge.<sup>109</sup>

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108. M Walton Sheffield Its Story and Its Achievements (1968), p166.

109. SCL Arunde1 MSS S346(5) Petition from guarantors  
 SCL Arunde1 MSS S346 S350 351 355 Market accounts etc.

1826/7	£1,700	market returns
1834	£2,000	" "
1848/9	£2,012	" "
1849/50	£1,934	Last three years of this market's existence.
1850/51	£2,016	

(The Old Markets) (S355 Charles Few to Marcus Smith, 1860)  
 (Some markets excluded)

Such problems did not make the enterprise unprofitable to the Duke. Despite the larger expenditure than planned, the returns were adequate from the markets themselves, apart from less quantifiable but profitable increments in land values near the markets. If the whole £24,000 capital is included in the calculation, market returns were of the order of 5.5% in the subsequent period, but more realistically excluding the land sold gives a percentage return of a little over 7% per annum between 1830-50. As the figures for 1848-51 are likely to be somewhat low, and exclude some of the markets, the overall return to the owner on his investments between 1828 and 1835 can safely be assumed to have been well in excess of 7% per annum between 1830 and 1850.<sup>110</sup>

A competing market built by Earl Fitzwilliam in Ecclesall in the same period was not successful. It was completed by late 1828 but soon closed down again.<sup>111</sup>

"I was in Sheffield about two days ago and am glad to find that there is a prospect of a reaction taking place with respect to the New Bazaar. The market lately erected by the Duke of Norfolk is found to be at a very inconvenient distance from many populous parts of Sheffield and I have strongly been urged to reopen the Ecclesall Bazaar. I am therefore making preparations for that purpose and I trust under more favourable auspices than before."<sup>112</sup>

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110. Costs of Markets 1826-35 Arundel MSS S189 1-7 1827-33.

Sheffield Market Accounts 1826-37		
£19,100 borrowed on security of tolls 1827-33		
Received towards erection of Blonk Bridge (1823)		£ s d
Corn Exchange and New Markets	1827-35	14,037.10.0
New Bridge	1826-31	4,318. 4.0
Solicitors, Architects etc	1827-35	1,886.17.0
Interest on Money	1827-37	2,825.18.0
Sundries		887.11.0
	TOTAL	<u>£23,956. 0.0</u>

111. SCL WWM F121/44.2 J Pritchett - Earl Fitzwilliam, November 19, 1828.

112. SCL WWM G62 W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, February 4, 1832.

In the conditions after 1832 it may have been more successful, but it could never enjoy the custom or ease of supply of the central facilities.

The point of confluence of the Sheaf and Don Valleys was becoming crowded by the late 1840s, as the railways converged into the narrow valley and competing railway stations were built. Indeed signs of overcrowding appear in the area as early as 1818/19, when Sir Arthur Piggott discouraged a scheme for a lime works backed by the local agent Houseman.<sup>113</sup> The great increase in population also made further increase in market facilities necessary by this time. An Act for the building of further Norfolk markets was passed in 1847. It offered advantages to the Duke as an individual, apart from developing his estate in Sheffield, for land sold under the terms of the Act was subject to the family settlement of 1839, undertaken after the sale of Worksop, while new assets acquired under the Act do not appear to have been subject to the Trustees of the Family Settlement. Railway Acts also allowed sales of land which was subject to the Family Settlement, which in the case of the Norfolk Sheffield Estate, appears to have become increasingly complex and difficult to operate in the face of the large numbers of Acts of Parliament allowing purchase by Railway Companies etc in the 1840s.<sup>114</sup>

By the Act of 1847 the old market was sold, "the first conveyance being settled by Counsel on the Duke's behalf because of the legal estate in the Old Market being vested in Trustees under the 1839 Settlement". All the property upon which the new market stood was conveyed to the Duke and his successors and assignees, not to the Trustees. This was of considerable importance as out of a total expenditure of £46,840, £21,645 was paid for land for the

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113. SCL Arundel MSS S478 A Piggott - Duke of Norfolk, 31 December, 1818.

114. SCL Arundel MSS S355 Charles Few Questions to Marcus Smith, 4 June 1860.

new market, some of it for freeholds, as was the case where land was bought from Hawksworth and Badger in Castle Folds, and some leasehold rights, as was another piece of land from the same partners and the Exchange Brewery. The tenants had to be bought out of their long lease for £3,000 and likewise "The proprietors of the Tontine Inn premises for the purchase of their leasehold interest determined by the award £7,720".

The building of the markets in the 1849-56 period was conducted in a much tighter urban framework. Large numbers of buildings had to be demolished, including properties mentioned above and others. Sales of building materials from demolition realised about £5,000 between 1848 and 1852. By 1849 it was possible for the contractors to move in.<sup>115</sup>

The work involved a remodelling of a considerable part of the lower area of Sheffield, near the junction of the Don and Sheaf. A new Post Office Building and the Victoria Station, (completed in 1851) together with railway works linked to it were constructed, and for the main market a large hall was constructed. Older markets in the meantime remained in existence so that in 1850 there were perhaps eight markets in operation, all under Norfolk surveillance.<sup>116</sup>

The Victoria Station, apart from necessitating the removal of the Tontine, also removed part of the old markets, and compensation for this was paid (June 9th 1851). The overall cost is made difficult to estimate because sales of land were also numerous during the reorganisation:-

"April 29, 1853	Land Sold to Robert Young King Street	£ 2,256
June 24, 1852	" " " " " "	9,755"

115. SCL Arundel MSS S189 6 New Markets 1848-58.

116. SCL Arundel MSS S189 6 Expenditure etc 1848-58 eg -  
 November, 30 1850 Craven and Cockayne amount of contract for excavating site for the Norfolk Market Hall, £457.16.  
 December, 7 1850 Wm Clarebrough balance for new Post Office building £248.8.9  
 December, 7 1850 Mary McCarrick the widow of the person killed at the Norfolk Market Hall. Donation to her - £5.0.0.  
 Also large amounts of legal business (Messrs Wake) 1852 £1,291.



Also land was sold to the solicitor Wake:-

"Land between Castle Street and King Street and Offices and to Thomas Parker ... land near King Street The Town Trustees of Sheffield (for improving streets)	£3,424 £1,116 £1,500"
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An attempt was made to sell about as much property and land as it had been necessary to purchase, the major difference being that the new land was outside the 1839 Settlement. It is interesting that rather more was spent on purchase than was gained by sales.<sup>117</sup>

In the process of rebuilding the markets the peak of day-labour bills was reached in 1851-2; thereafter activity and annual expenditure on the Market Hall projects slowed. Large amounts for work done at the Market Hall were settled in 1852, including ...

"January 17 Robert Tomlinson Carlisle - Work contracted to be done at the Norfolk Market Hall £11,224.6.11d."

An account was also settled for "The Norfolk Bridge over River Dunn £3,042" in 1856, and the latter stages of plumbing, glazing, flagging, pointing, ashphalting etc, were completed by 1857. Fish Halls, shops and dwelling houses were all constructed adjacent to the Post Office (£9,223) and the whole edifice of the main market hall was supported by cast iron columns and other ironwork.

Some of the money had to be raised on mortgage, as in the earlier market investments after 1784 and 1826. By 1860 £10,000 had been raised on the Duke's land,

"while £17,000 was paid out of monies in the hands of the agent of the late and present Duke of Norfolk in respect of purchases made by certain companies of parts of the Settled Estates ..."

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117. In fact somewhat more was bought than had been sold -

SCL Arunde1 MSS S483 Estate Matters during the Fifteenth Duke's  
Minority.

S355 "Although the land and premises sold are stated  
at £17,774 ..." (Land bought £21,000).

"By 1860 the Duke was liable for the whole of the £10,000, by taking on Bond liabilities of his father's" which not only preclude any benefit to him in respect of this residuary arrangement but more than exhausts the value of the furniture etc at Arundel Castle and Norfolk House specifically bequeathed to him by the late Duke." 118

Almost certainly the sums "in respect of purchases made by certain companies of parts of the Settled Estates" include those raised in 1851 by Ellison.

"1851 £10,672 applied to Market Hall purposes from the Norfolk Family Settlement Account -

Earning from Manchester Lincs Railway Co	£	
1854 South Yorkshire Railway	5,064	
July 1857 Sales	5,078	119
	529"	

The net cost to the Estate of rebuilding the market hall was £22,753.19.1. and with the overall cost including the Norfolk Bridge and subsidiary works like the Post Office, but discounting land in effect exchanged for other land of roughly equal value, £27,000 1848-58.<sup>120</sup>

This was a more profitable enterprise to the estate than the earlier markets, some of which continued in existence. In the 1850s market receipts increased dramatically, and profits likewise increased, almost doubling between 1852 and 1860.<sup>121</sup> A permanent or semi-permanent staff had to be

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118. SCL Arundel MSS S483 Estate Matters During the Fifteenth Duke's Minority.

119. SCL Arundel MSS S189(6).

120. SCL Arundel MSS S483 The Norfolk Bridge was 47 chains from the one nearer to Sheffield. It had useful effects upon land values in Brightside by connecting predominantly agricultural land there with Attercliffe and the good road into Sheffield.

121. SCL Arundel MSS S189(7) General Market Accounts, January 1852 - November 1860.

	Costs	Profit	Gross
1852/3	£ 772	£2,949	£3,722
1853/4	1,225	3,962	5,187
1854/5	1,253	4,218	5,471
1855/6	1,558	3,453	5,012
1856/7	1,581	4,120	5,701
1857/8	1,932	4,393	6,326
1858/9	1,823	4,691	6,514
1859/60	1,937	4,432	6,370

employed, including a superintendent, sweepers, other general labourers, and Eliza Stokes for cleaning water closets. The poor rate, Income Tax, water rate and bills for Constables and repairs all contributed towards the costs of running the market hall, which was accounted as producing about half of the total profit in 1860.

Of course the most significant factor in this expansion of market takings was the local expansion in population, which had continued through the 1830-50 period and the upturn in overall prosperity from 1850 onwards. The strategy of siting the market to the east of the old town had demonstrated its success by 1850, and there is no doubt that the building of the even more easterly Norfolk Bridge between Brightside and Attercliffe was specifically intended to have similar effects', as noted earlier, it had the effect of converting land in Brightside.

"formerly let for agricultural purposes at about 50s. an acre into valuable building land." 122

The ageing Michael Ellison had a clearer view of the long-run benefits which such developments would have for the Estates than did the London lawyer Charles Few, with whom Ellison seems to have avoided direct contact by the 1850s, Marcus Smith answering his questions on Ellison's behalf. In attempting to shift the emphasis eastwards yet again the agent did his employer perhaps the best service of his long agency. By the 1850s it was clear that the next great industrial and housing development in the Sheffield area was to be with the large works at the east end of the City, which was already beginning in the 1840s. 123

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122. SCL Arundel MSS S483 Problems of the Fifteenth Duke's Minority.

123. J G Timmins The Commercial Development of the Sheffield Crucible Steel Industry. (Sheffield University MA 1976) p174. "... the construction of the Cyclops Works portended fundamental changes in the Sheffield Steel Industry which were to be more apparent as the decades wore on." (1844-6)

## V The Markets After 1860

Later in the century the Norfolk estate met increasing claims by the Corporation to the Municipal right to manage the market monopoly. By 1870 the Mayor referred to the gas and water undertakings as the "two huge monopolies with which Sheffield is weighted". The monopoly of the market facilities in the centre of the city did not escape similar criticisms. In August 1874 negotiations were undertaken between the Agent and the Municipality, with £267,450 as the suggested price. When the Committee of the Council suggested that the purchase money should remain on mortgage at 3% with principal and interest repayable over 5 years, negotiations failed.

The Duke expended further large sums on market facilities in the 1870s and 1880s, but some measure of agreement appeared to have been reached when a Bill to acquire the markets was presented to Parliament in 1887. The Duke raised his price and the Bill was withdrawn. The Royal Commission on market rights (1888) was encouraged to examine this case, as Sheffield was the only town in excess of 100,000 people where the Lord retained such rights. A report on income was included after a local inquiry, and details were also given of recent capital expenditures, maintenance costs etc. Though no immediate action followed the ground was prepared for the eventual sale arranged between the Lord Mayor of 1898 and the Duke, himself the ex first Lord Mayor. By 1888 the markets had yielded income as follows, £121000 had been spent upon them between 1878 and 1888, more than doubling their yield from about £6000 per annum to £15700. Annual upkeep by 1889 cost £5386, and £60000 had been spent on a new Corn Exchange in 1881, after an Act of 1872. The markets yielded income of £18867 in 1898, when they were eventually sold to the Corporation for £526000.<sup>124</sup>

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124 H Keeble-Hawson Sheffield. The Growth of a City, 1893-1926 (1968) pp1-3; SCL Arundel Mss Wake Box 2. Royal Commission on Markets 1888. It was also noted the Earl Fitzwilliam's rights in Ecclesall were "in disuse and are not exercised at all".

## CHAPTER 7

### Estates and Agriculture 1700-1815

#### I Tenure and Tenants - Leases and Tenant Right

Agriculture was the central concern of most landed proprietors. Farm rent was the basis of their incomes, tenant farmers were key figures in the social hierarchy and in the nexus of local connections and owners had their own interests in home farming and agrarian improvement.

Superficially no part of estate administration was more traditional. Industrial urban or transport improvements were initiated by new men willing to try new ideas and techniques. In South Yorkshire farmers expected tenancies to continue throughout their lives and landowners were unwilling to evict any but the worst tenants from farms. Yet a period of substantial economic changes had many effects upon a vital but resistant area of estate administration, and in practice both agriculture and landowner-tenant relations changed immensely.

This chapter explores some important aspects of agrarian change, with an examination of relations between landowners and tenant farmers, farm size changes and efficiency of land use, landowners' investment in tenanted land and home farming, enclosure and land productivity in the period 1760-1820.

The first Marquis of Rockingham advised his son

"A good landlord ... ought to be a nursing father to all who have dependence upon him." 1

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1 SCL WWM A1272

Thomas, Marquis of Rockingham's Instructions to his son Charles. 1750 (Hereafter "Instructions".)

No category of dependent had greater claims than the tenant farmer, yet in the early eighteenth century rhetoric substituted for action on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate, and practices on the Duke of Norfolk's Sheffield estates were less supportive of tenant farmers.<sup>2</sup> In real life the language of paternalism was tempered by the practice of self interest. The well-being and rental income of the owning family took precedence and the underlying conflicts of interest were clearly recognized as

"tenants rarely love their landlord in their hearts."<sup>3</sup>

In the English tenant-landlord symbiosis it can be argued that the land-owner's perspective ought to be long, and in this he differed from tenants harassed by day-by-day anxieties of production. The owner framed the structure within which tenants farmed and ensured that there was adequate protection for present fertility and productive capacity and the preservation of the soil for future use.<sup>4</sup>

"Kindness and affection may develop as the appropriate definitions of mutual obligations are accepted."<sup>5</sup>

The system of bailiffs, stewards and agents has already been discussed.<sup>6</sup> One of their most critical tasks was the administration of relationships with tenant farmers. In agriculture a key question was hotly debated at the time and has remained controversial since, engendering a vast literature. It can be simply framed,

"To lease or not to lease."

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| 2 | SCL Arundel MSS S161                   | Rentals 1701-1771.   |
| 3 | SCL WWM A1272                          | "Instructions".  |
| 4 | E L Jones (Ed)<br>R Brenner            | <u>Agriculture and Economic Growth in England 1650-1815. (1967) p14;</u><br>"Agrarian Class Structure and the Economic Development of pre-industrial Europe." <u>PeP No 70 February 1976, pp30-75.</u> |
| 5 | H Newby, C Bell, D Rose,<br>P Saunders | <u>Property, Paternalism and Power. Class and Control in Rural England (1978), p29.</u>  |
| 6 | See Chapter 3                          | pp134-188.   |

Leases may not have been so important as contemporaries argued, but if they were not, they have generated an extra-ordinary amount of literature.<sup>7</sup> Without wishing to add unduly to that, it is essential to examine the area of the contractual relationship between landlord and tenant as one of a number of important factors influencing agrarian improvement or retardation. If Arthur Young's opinion that leases were vital is thought exaggerated, the generally well informed William Marshall might be taken more seriously. He thought leases could have considerable beneficial consequences on farm land, and the practices in South Yorkshire should be examined with that view in mind as it was an area he knew well.<sup>8</sup>

J D Chambers and G E Mingay made comments so qualified as to leave much room for doubt.

"Leases were far from being universally valuable in contemporary farming conditions, and when considered in the broader context their importance was small as compared with the growth of markets, the improvement of communications, discovery of new techniques and availability of capital." 9

In South Yorkshire one major landowner condemned them outright in the 1740s. The First Marquis of Rockingham wrote

"Let no tenant whatsoever have a lease, unless you be content to make him your master, or can allow him to join with your enemys ... again your tenant having leases may sue you, or any of your friends on an action of trespass ... I have known diverse leases letter upon payments or letter upon a certain sum of money to be void with covenants what to plough and what manure to put into the ground, when and but. But I like better to have men tenants at will for their houses and grounds. Let them be yearly viewed by your trusty servants. ... If you be a man of judgement your well deserving tenant will never be afraid to be cruelly removed ... In choice of your tenants ever prefer him that is of staid will and hath wealth and is like to create it." 10

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- 7 A Young Political Arithmetic (1774) p15; Lord Ernle English Farming Past and Present (6th Ed 1961) pp200-3. J D Chambers and G E Mingay The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880 (1966) pp46-8, 166.
- 8 W Marshall On Landed Property (1804) pp362-5
- 9 J D Chambers & G E Mingay The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880 (1966) pp166.
- 10 SCL WWM A1272 "Instructions".

Despite this, leases of 21 years had been usual on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate between 1723 and 1750. For farm properties leases were granted in at least eleven South Yorkshire townships. Until 1750 the estate followed the custom of the county as it applied on the Bright, Kingston-Adwick, Wortley or Scarbrough estates from the late seventeenth century. In Ireland the First Marquis himself adopted a vigorous policy of leasing, doubling rents on that basis between the 1740s and the 1780s. A critic of leases in England, he instituted leases with a great number of covenants from 1724, including provisions compelling tenants to plant trees, avoid subletting, and to remain in personal occupation, and to improve buildings. Some farms were subdivided to make sub-letting less likely.<sup>11</sup>

The dislike of leases in England reflected recent trends in 1750. In the 2nd Marquisate (1750-1782) there was a switch from 21 year leases to tenancies at will, though at the same time this damaged only the worst farmers. Young claimed that rents on the Wentworth estate were rents of favour around 1770, and it was to remain the case. By the 1820s,

"The known and established rules of succession were the boast and pride of the tenantry."<sup>12</sup>

On this estate at least leases seemed to be of slight consequence to the practice of farming, and the partial retreat from them was symptomatic of a desire to ensure political support from a docile tenantry as well as more frequent rent changes.

This does not mean that farming practices were ignored, but there could be long delay in improving them. In the late 1760s at Wentworth Woodhouse even farms 'in hand' had been farmed badly in the recent past despite their proximity to the Park and House. Even bad farmers were rarely

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11 SCL WWM A1273

Improvements in Rents in Ireland (1748).

12 SCL WWM F107k

W Allen to Earl Fitzwilliam, April 1823.



removed. Despite eulogy from Arthur Young, a farmer had remained at Street Farm until a great age and at Woodnook the land was badly managed, despite the fact that both were technically 'in hand' and subject to the direct intervention of the landowner's steward or agent.<sup>13</sup>

After 1750 there was a marked reaction against leases on the Wentworth estates. It resulted from a desire to shorten the period between landlord-tenant bargains and to enable improved practices to be encouraged more readily. There was also land re-organisation, either by re-allocating parts of the existing farms, which Young thought were small, or by parliamentary enclosure or enclosure by agreement. There is little doubt that the agents Richard Fenton and Charles Bowns could push hard to increase rents. Fenton wrote to Rockingham in 1769

"the farm at Ackworth Moor Top had been let to James Ward who deceased (at £62 per annum) ... not much above a year ago. I let at Candlemass 1768 to his nephew and executor George Goodfellow at £90 a year clear. Goodfellow, a single man, died about a month ago, and his sister entered into his effects and farm to whom I have now let the farm at £105 clear and have got the most undoubted security for the payment of the rent and due management of the lands with the power of taking any part from her at your Lordship's will and pleasure on order to exchange with or add to any of your other farms lying contiguous, if it should at any time thereafter be thought proper to lay out the estate more commodiously." <sup>14</sup>

Whereas the first Marquis' objections to leases in the late 1740s related most to preserving rights of entry and political influence over tenants, by the 1760s flexibility in the arrangement of holdings was a great incentive to refuse renewal of leases or to shorten their terms in years. Prices of produce had begun to rise locally and new opportunities prompted land re-organisation.<sup>15</sup> Subsequently Wentworth Woodhouse estate farms tended to

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13 A Young

Tour Vol. I (1769) pp303-4; SCL WWM R188 William Martin to Rockingham, 19 June 1771.

14 SCL WWM R187.27

Richard Fenton - Rockingham, 10 February 1769.

15 SCL WWM St (i)

2nd Marquis of Rockingham - B Hall, 2 April 1772  
"The prices of all articles being rose, makes it necessary that the price of labour should rise also."

increase in size. Purchases and internal organisation pursued this end before 1780 and after 1815 there were frequent small purchases serving the same purpose. At Greasbrough in 1730 Thomas Wentworth (then Earl of Malton) held something over 1000 acres. Tenants on his property holding more than 50 acres from him numbered only seven, of whom three had more than 100 acres. By 1871, of the 2250 Fitzwilliam acres in the township, 18 tenant farmers farmed 1100 acres of his land. This had been a township of fragmented field organisation and ownership early in the eighteenth century. Gradual accumulation of small parcels by purchase enabled the estate ownership to grow there, and enclosure and land re-organisation followed.<sup>16</sup> Home farms tended to be similarly enlarged. In the early 1770s the Street Farm which had been managed by a Kent farmer had 126 acres. To this was added 11½ acres 'Late White's' which was stated to be in very bad condition. Thereafter pressure for improvement upon home farming and tenants increased at Wentworth Woodhouse in a manner suggesting that Arthur Young's eulogy of 1769 was accepted as an agenda for subsequent change alongside the ideas of the owner and his advisers.

There was less immediate pressure for agricultural improvement upon the Duke of Norfolk's estates.

The Sheffield estates were usually let on 21 year leases to farm tenants in the early eighteenth century. Entry fines were large and leases for lives remained. In 1737 large farms in Sheffield, Brightside and Darnall were let at entry fines of five times the annual rental, and smaller acreages attracted bigger fines. Leases were granted as they fell in rather than being bunched together in particular years as sometimes occurred elsewhere, so that leasing activity went on every year. Covenants were

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16 SCL WWM A1264

Dickinson Survey 1730; Fairbank MSS Plan of the Township of Greasbrough chiefly the property of the Marquis of Rockingham, 1776; A valuation of the Farms at Greasbrough 1777; A 1613 Detailed Survey and valuation of Wentworth Woodhouse Estates, 11 May 1871; A314-406 Purchases and Sales.

well known, and were not repeated in every contract, it being enough to remind incoming tenants of the "usual covenants".<sup>17</sup>

Characteristic of these arrangements were the terms of a lease in 1712.

"... the said Rebecca Turner is not to plough any part of the said close within the last year of the term." 6 May 1712

"to clear taxes and repairs without allowances of wood." 9 September 1712

"to maintain the (wood) for the Lord's use" and "right of access to wood reserved." (Canklow-Hallam 1713)

"To keep fences in good order." 1713

"Not to plough above one half in any of the three last years." 24 September 1713. <sup>18</sup>

By 1720 a considerable number of Sheffield contracts were drawn up which let farms at rack rents without entry fines, and the number of tenancies at will grew rapidly on the Arundel estate from then on. These were usual for farms under 20 acres, land for houses, orchards, gardens and other incroachments, and for numerous quarries. On more substantial farms 21 year leases remained throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>19</sup>

This changed after 1814, after the letting of a great number of farms by Vincent Eyre on 21 year leases. Not untypical was that to John Appleyard of Sheffield Park, farmer, who took a messuage and 90 acres on March 21, 1810 for £105 per annum and three days boon work.<sup>20</sup>

The new order book of 1813 stated that there were to be no leases of more than 14 years for land,

"Longer leases required the Duke's own permission ... on the particular merits of the case. He is desirous on any resignation to chuse his tenant." <sup>21</sup>

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17 SCL WWM R188(2d) W Martin - Rockingham, 19 June 1771.

18 SCL Arundel Mss S376 1712-13.

19 Ibid

20 SCL Arundel Mss SD872/167 21 March 1810.

21 SCL S391 Duke of Norfolk's Instructions, 1813.

This, with the reduction of entry fines to the stamp cost, considerably altered a century-old pattern.

In this, the biggest estates were little different from many others. They tended to conform to local customs in order to attract good tenants until the great price rise underlined the over-whelming disadvantages of keeping farms at low or customary rents set long before. On the Duke of Norfolk's Worksop properties in North Nottinghamshire less than 20 miles from Sheffield, 21 year leases were usual for much of the seventeenth century but diminished in favour of 11 year leases after 1700. After 1780 a last large number of 21 year leases was granted to be largely displaced by 14 year leases for farms after 1802.<sup>22</sup> There the 14 year lease came earlier, but by the 1820s most Sheffield farm leases followed the same pattern.

"1817 14 years. Joseph Bennet of Sheffield, gardener. 10 October. Several gardens on Brightside £49.15s; Closes in Brightside £49.15s."<sup>23</sup>

The price rise of war between 1792 and 1815 was only one of several influences in the shortening of leases on the Arundel estates. Much of their land was in or close to the urbanizing districts. It might increase in value because of housing or other building demands, or be required for industrial, commercial or transport needs. Long leases became impolitic as tenants demanded and received compensation for unexpired benefits from them. Occupations of Norfolk lessees, even of farms, became increasingly varied in some townships. The predominant farmers and husbandmen of the early eighteenth century were augmented by gentlemen, silverplaters, razor-smiths, gardeners and the many other local trades by the first years of the nineteenth century. There was substantial demand for small holdings of land used to supplement other trades which were the occupiers' main livelihood.

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22 SCL Arundel Mss W/D 492. 443. 455. 415. Leases 1650-1750 Worksop; W/D 255, 20 October 1802.

23 SCL Arundel Mss SD 872/105, 1827.

This increased demand for small holdings combined with the general expansion of Sheffield, Rotherham and smaller villages to put pressure upon existing arrangements, pushing small holders outwards into competition with full time farmers for available acreage. As the historian of Wilsons, snuff makers of Sharrow, noted,

"To go into farming as a complementary activity to business was a logical step as it provided an insurance against hard times in trade. The small "master" who had land, even if it were only sufficient to feed his family, was often able to keep his head above water as the tempo of the Industrial Revolution increased." 24

It was a common pattern, and larger manufacturers often held larger farms. At Wortley Forge in 1847 the farm was so large that it was difficult to find a tenant with sufficient capital to do justice to both.<sup>25</sup> The result of such demand was a shortage of smaller farms and small holdings and pressure against the logic of farm consolidation in the environs of towns and smaller industrial villages. Those requiring such small farms or small holdings as insurance paid heavily to the landowners for it, in rents, boon work and requirements for taxation and repairs. On smaller holdings 1-3 days boon work was usual before 1811 on the Arundel estates, but 6 days were usual by the 1820s.<sup>26</sup> The other opportunity for new entrants came after inclosure. Here exceptions to general leasing policy might be granted especially on the high land west of the region.

"31 March 1807. John Greaves, Gentleman. Parcel of land on the High Moors in Upper Hallam allotted to the Duke (of Norfolk) 42 years.

£12 for 21 years  
£24 for the remainder, 2 days of boon work." 27

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- 24 M H F Chaytor The Wilsons of Sharrow. The snuffmakers of Sheffield (1962) p32.
- 25 SCL Wh/M 408/9 R Surtees - Lord Wharnccliffe, 6 March 1847; 15 March 1847.
- 26 SCL Arundel MSS S/D 867-877.
- 27 SCL Arundel MSS S/D 875/87 (1807).

Longer leases survived on Norfolk land in the highland townships west of Sheffield. In the late seventeenth century fines were generally smaller for tenants taking land in Upper and Nether Hallam than in the lower and more fertile land to the east. In the same townships 21 year leases were still being granted in the 1840s. It does not seem to have helped in the improvement of farming in that region. In Upper Hallam Fowler's survey of 1861 complained that a number of farms were in poor cultivation and buildings in bad repair. Several tenants were old and infirm, as in the case of Thomas Eyre

"... House and Buildings are in a delapidated state and should be repaired at the cost of the landlord, who should also pay the tenant who is a very old man for any equitable interest he may possess." 28

Other neighbours lived in similar conditions, but were men who had originally cleared the land at their own cost. Fowler emphasized that still there was a need for more of this and that

"... the Trustees to assist such parties by advancing part of the necessary outlay, under proper arrangement as to rent. There are few men of this class who have sufficient capital to clear the land and afterwards to stock and cultivate it." 29

Several of the farmers were over 80 years old and the Trustees of the Norfolk Trust of 1839 were unwilling to interfere with rents or management while they remained. At Hollow Meadows the Norfolk property was divided into

"... grants to the original tenants at 2/6 per acre and the lands have been fenced and brought into cultivation and the houses and buildings thereon have been erected at the cost of the tenants."

This had resulted in poor houses, dilapidated fencing and inferior agricultural buildings so that

"The tenants may principally be considered as squatters, struggling for a living at best but of a meagre character."

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28 SCL Arundel MSS S109.6 Upper Hallam, Mr Fowler's Survey, 1861.

29 Ibid.

It was recommended that their interests should be bought out, and that the landowner should put houses buildings and fences into a tenantable repair.<sup>30</sup>

From Norfolk estate evidence it appears that leases, whether of 14 or 21 years, were no guarantee of tenant improvements. It is doubtful if the reduction of the length of farming leases made much difference in itself to rental, for farmers who had agreed for 21 years before 1813 still sought and obtained rent reductions in the price fall after 1815. To the surveyor Fowler improvement depended more upon the level of landowner investment, which he claimed was deficient on all farms of the Arundel estate by 1861.<sup>31</sup>

The Wentworth Woodhouse estate also included high land in Bradfield and Upper Hallam, and land under town influence in Ecclesall, Brightside and near Rotherham. Outside those areas the tendency for farm size to be increased has been noticed. Generally the process was gradual, and caused little concern to existing tenants, as amalgamations of land were usual after tenants died. By the mid-nineteenth century tenant-right compensation was becoming the norm in much of South Yorkshire, as the Wortley agent noted in 1847

"The tenant at Well House Farm has taken another farm and is leaving. He gave me notice to value next Wednesday. The valuation will have to be paid to him immediately or upon the agreement of the two valuers. I suppose it will be upwards of £500." 32

The agents duty was to manage,

"the cultivation and cropping of each close of which as well as the state of the buildings thereupon, must be attended to every year." 33

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30 Ibid.

31 Ibid

p12.

32 SCL WhM/148/9

R Surtees - Lord Wharnccliffe, 15 March 1847.

33 SCL WWM F106

C Bowns - Salary claim, 1811.

Exceptionally this included eviction, as in 1814 when Bowns put out James Wood of Clayton for irregular payment of rent and for bringing

"the land into so poor and miserable a state."

12 of his acres were taken and added to Houghton Lodge Farm

"... to which it adjoins and the residue to an industrious labourer who resides in a house of your Lordships and which he erected the greater part, to enable him to keep a cow for his large family."

Such evictions were unusual at Wentworth Woodhouse. Bowns

"... wishes (it) might operate as an example to other tenants who are also bad managers ... to convince them ... that the proper attention to the management of their land is one of the requisites by your Lordship and that rent is not the only one. A similar case has just now occurred in Ecclesall, Clay who married Widow Glossop, who has long been under embarrassed circumstances now both have lost property for debt ... Let to Needham, bailiff of Sheffield." 34

The reaction against leasing on the estate heralded by the First Marquis of Rockingham came to fruition under his son between 1750 and 1782. Tenant right was also recognized, in some cases in the same period, as Richard Fenton recorded in 1758

"Paid Wm Bright in consideration of his quitting his claim to tenant right to his farm in Ecclesall. £30." 35

By 1810 leases again seemed usual, with the new high rents agreed by many farmers for 21 years. Though standard agreements were in force, tenants were confident that rent reduction would be allowed in a sustained price fall.

As the rental was pushed up

"The claims of the tenants for money expended by them in substantial repairs and new buildings exceed my expectations but as the rental is considerably increased by the value put upon such improvements I found it in most cases beneficial to make allowances in Money (rather) than abatements in Rents, but there are some cases where people have made erections more calculated to their own occupation than general

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34 SCL WWM F106a

C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 1814.

35 SCL WWM A1714

R Fenton's accounts with Earl Fitzwilliam, 1758.  
W Payne of Frickley thought the practice widespread in 1793. W Payne - Board of Agriculture, 30 November 1793  
in R Brown (Ed) A General View of the Agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire (1799) Appendix p57.



conveniences, in which instances I have promised leases for 21 years. The money already paid exceeds £1000 and there are a few other claims which I have not yet had an opportunity of viewing ..."

Bowns compared the rents of the Fitzwilliam land with others in the area in 1810, and argued

"I have concluded with many of the tenants in Brampton, Wath, Swinton, Hooton, Tinsley, Greasbrough, Tankersley, Hemsworth, Houghton and Billingley and the only person who has yet refused to take his farm is John Storrs of Hooper, although I believe there are a great many of your Lordship's tenants who will have great difficulty in raising the new rent, I have not any reason to think that the estate is too high valued. Mr Gee tells me that it is considerably under what property of other persons is generally let for in the same places." 36

The pace of the introduction of formal tenant right remains uncertain despite the early example quoted above. It was of great advantage to outgoing tenants, but could act as a disincentive to incomers. Though there is a scatter of references to tenant right between 1810 and the 1830s, the practice was near universal by 1850.

"On the southern and eastern sides of the West Riding, where the large arable farms are situated, leases are not very common but the farmers are sufficiently protected by the system of tenant right or compensation for unexhausted improvement which prevails." 37

Some parts of South Yorkshire had farming deficiencies because of the altitude and aspects of the farms. Surtees wrote of the Wortley area in 1847.

"I do not have a likely tenant for Wortley Mill and Farm. There are few good tenants that are able to take so large a farm with the Mill. I do think it would be the best plan to make the farm less so as to be able to get a tenant ... farmers with a good capital will not farm in this late district." 38

There a Cheshire farmer would not pay a tenant-right valuation to the outgoing tenant, perhaps because the custom was not established in his own area. Customs on arbitration were well established on most estates. At

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36 SCL WWM F106a

C Bowns - Fitzwilliam, 25 December 1810.

37 J Caird

English Agriculture in 1850 and 1851, (1852 Ed) p295.

38 SCL Wh/M 148/9

R Surtees - Lord Wharnccliffe, 15 March 1847.

Wentworth Woodhouse the owner chose one valuer and his tenant another, and agreed to let them arbitrate.

"As there must be the usual valuation between the off-going and the on coming tenant, would your Lordship be kind enough to ask Thomas (Vickers) if he is willing to let Firth or Francis Folding value on his behalf, or would he wish to appoint some other person." 39

When an incoming tenant was available this caused little difficulty, but as payments of tenant compensation could be large, they were a disincentive to taking farms in hand, for then the off-going tenant was compensated from the landowner's resources

"Mr Hall I find paid all the valuation of the Warren House Farm (upwards of £800) several weeks ago but not to the offgoing tenant. The payment was made to Mr Hodgkinson for heavy arrears of rent and to the assignees of the tenants for the benefit of the creditors." 40

Valuations could be used to reduce the debts of offgoing tenants unable to satisfy creditors, and it could also be reduced to pay for repairs and improvements which the valuer thought the tenant himself should have undertaken during the tenancy.

Caird opposed tenant right as a source of fraud, perpetuation of bad farming which stereotyped outmoded processes and absorption of the capital of the incoming tenant. It depressed rentals as a result so he preferred leases with liberal covenants. There is some evidence of such problems.

"I see Harrison was in arrear in 1848, just after the high prices of 1847 so it is no wonder that he was worse in 1849 and I doubt not he will be still worse in 1850. I am always very distrustful of those calculations - the manure I believe he has charged very high." 41

The surveyors of the Sandbeck estate of the Earls of Scarborough came to a similar conclusion in 1861 -

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| 39 | SCL WWM G49         | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, February 1814. |
| 40 | SCL WWM G49         | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 16 July 1847.  |
| 41 | SCL WWM Stw 19 (ii) | Earl Fitzwilliam - W Newman, 13 May 1850.   |

"The tenant claims for fallowing crops etc (although recognized in some measure by the custom of the country,) appear to us to be very exorbitant, and are very prejudicial both to the interests of the Landlord and the Tenant, and under the circumstances it will be a matter requiring your greatest consideration as to whether or not it will be prudent to require the tenants to enter into written agreements, which must of necessity establish and perpetuate their claims to the same." 42

Easy sale of produce in an industrializing district could encourage slovenly farming. Great competition for small farms was the norm as in South Lancashire

"For small farms, however, there is great competition and a prudent agent finds it necessary to guard himself against being misled by reckless offers. The highest offer is seldom accepted." 43

The only exception to the general security of tenure appears to have been the questions of political loyalty, insolvency or frank inability to farm. Widows were sometimes unable to continue, as when Mrs Woodcock gave up her farm in March 1848 to the Fitzwilliam estate. She was allowed to keep her home in half of the farm house, with three bedrooms and a good sitting room, while four bedrooms, two sitting rooms a large kitchen were made available for the new tenant.<sup>44</sup> In earlier times it was usually insolvency or incapacity which prevented widows from carrying on after the deaths of spouses, as Bowns recorded in January 1791,

"The late Wm Cook of Tinsley who rented a farm there of your Lordship at about £100 a year died insolvent and his effects have lately been sold up by one of his creditors under an Execution and his widow is at present in no prospect of being able to continue the Farm nor has she any relations of ability to succeed her." 45

In practice there were always some farmers in financial difficulty, but some periods saw large numbers requesting rent reduction. Then landowners were forced into concessions.<sup>46</sup> In the politically tense atmosphere of the 1790s

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42 Sandbeck-Lumley Saville Messrs Vessey's Survey, 1861.  
MSS EMS45

43 J Caird Op cit (1852 Ed) p273.

44 SCL WWM G49 W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 16 March 1848.

45 SCL WWM F121/82 C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 3 January 1791.

46 See Chapter 8 pp (FNS 1-44).

there was a notable exchange between John Payne, a farmer at Newhill, and Earl Fitzwilliam.

"I was informed on Wednesday last by your Agent that it was thy pleasure I should quit the farm I hold under thee and the reason given was 'your Lordship would countenance no man who was a member of the constitutional society of Sheffield'. Be it known to thee that it is false that I am or ever was a member of the Constitutional Society at Sheffield ... I sincerely hope that as a friend to thy country thou will advise the Duke of Norfolk to be tender in disturbing the families of any of his tenants on this account. Such measures can be of no service ... Thou hast it not in thy power materially to injure me, having farms of my own larger and better than this from which I am expelled.  
(John Payne)"

Subsequent correspondence revealed that Payne was a member of the London Society of Constitutional Information, and though he promised to

"... inquire more closely into their principles,"

his claim that

"... the Nation is groaning under the usurpation of an oligarchy more despicable than that of the thirty tyrants of Athens."

was unlikely to endear him to Fitzwilliam, and he appears to have lost the farm despite a reputation for good farming.<sup>47</sup>

The drive against leasing between 1750 and the end of the eighteenth century appears to have been based upon a desire for political control and legal advantage over tenants on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate. It was this which allowed peremptory action against Payne. Had he had a long lease the owner would have been forced to wait until the tenancy came up for renewal at the end of its term. On the Norfolk estates leases for farms generally continued, though with some shortening of the terms from 21 to 14 years after 1814. When leases were not granted, revaluations still seem to have occurred at 21 year intervals, and evictions were few and carefully considered. Family succession was usually sought by agent and tenant if

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47 SCL WWM F71.10,11,12,13 Correspondence J Payne of Newhill - Earl Fitzwilliam, April-May 1792.

possible on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate, but was perhaps less usual on the Sheffield estates of the Dukes of Norfolk. This perhaps reflected a more "paternalistic" outlook on the Wentworth estate as compared with the Dukes of Norfolk, who were great absentees from their increasingly industrialized and urban Sheffield property. While the 12th Duke of Norfolk was supportive of Church building, his agent Michael Ellison complained in November 1838

"The late Lord Fitzwilliam inconsiderately lavish in his donations to charity in this neighbourhood, but the present Lord is much more considerate." 48

By 1850 rents on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate were usually fixed at valuation according to the price of grain, and the 5th Earl Fitzwilliam became doubtful of the wisdom of enforcing the collection of rents set at too high a level. He wrote to his son in November

"The rent days are this week and I am afraid there will be a great deal of complaint of which I hear more in Nottinghamshire. Unfortunately I left matters here (upon the valuation 5 or 6 years ago) to Newman and Mr Bingley, and I find the basis taken was 6/8d - 53/4d per quarter instead of 46s, which by my instructions had been taken by Mr Bloodworth. It is clear to me that rents founded upon such a basis cannot stand ..." 49

Leases alone were insensitive to such issues and could never serve alone to regulate landowner-tenant relations.

## II Intricacies of Landowner - Tenant Relations

It appears that in South Yorkshire tenant behaviour in farming was not primarily determined by the legal form of tenancy. Instead this was one aspect of a more complex set of relationships. An exaggeration of the value of leases by "experts" from Young to Caird, and by historians, has obscured the deeper level of critical social and economic relations.<sup>50</sup>

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48 SCL Arundel MSS S478

M Ellison - E Blount, 17 November 1838.

49 SCL WWM T2

Earl Fitzwilliam - Viscount Malton, 11 November 1850.

50 J D Chambers and  
G E Mingay

The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880 (1966) p46.  
For a re-iteration of the earlier view see  
O R McGregor "Introduction to Lord Ernle English  
Farming Past and Present (6th Ed 1961) ppcxxviii-  
cxxxiv.

Most important were landowners' attitudes and the shifting boundary between tenant and landlord capital. Among concluding elements of this thesis are estimates attempting to establish the proportion of annual receipts ploughed back into further investment by estates.<sup>51</sup> In practice solid data on such questions are difficult to discover, and there are further problems in distinguishing new capital investment from routine maintenance except for itemized expenditures like Enclosures, or drainage where expense was high enough to justify separate accounting. Of equal importance were the outlays of the tenants which landowners sought to encourage.

The boundary between landowner and tenant investment was in persistent flux, shifting according to a whole range of pressures. Most vital were the levels of prices of agrarian produce. Whatever the attitude of the owner to tenant, placed as this was along a spectrum ranging from positive/paternalistic to rack renting, relations with tenants were inevitably influenced by the market prices of produce. The harshest of rack renting landowners could gain little by evicting tenants for non-payment of rent in a low price period like that of 1815-22, because low prices would prevent the re-letting of the farms except at low rents, and the likelihood was that the owner could find himself with farms in hand which implied the trouble and costs of management.<sup>52</sup> Thoughtful owners realized this, and others were forced into awareness by the economic pressures upon them as land became untenanted and rents fell as management costs rose.<sup>53</sup>

As average farm sizes grew, or at least the number of farms of over 100 acres increased in agrarian districts, supply of tenants of sufficient calibre and capital became deficient, and good tenants with capital were

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51 See Chapter 10 pp 608-611

52 SCL WVM 148 Estate Correspondence 1816-18. Henville - H Vernon, 18 November 1818; 1 February 1817; 19 February 1817.

53 SCL WVM Stw 19 W Micklethwaite - W Newman, 2 March 1849.

in demand even when prices of agrarian produce were bouyant. In low price periods they could be near-impossible to obtain - William Micklethwaite wrote to W Newman, Agent to Earl Fitzwilliam in 1849

"I must beg to decline taking the farm. The uncertainty of tenure, high rent and other things render it not desirable. I feel greatly obliged for your repeated offers and am very sorry I cannot accept." 54

There were a whole gamut of responsibilities which could be shifted between landowner and tenant including land tax, tithe and local taxation, and special tax impositions on land in wartime. In prosperity land tax was often shifted on to tenants, this applying especially to the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, when land tax was redeemed by owners who financed the redemptions by increasing rents. This applied to the Earl of Mexborough's redemption of land tax on a small farm at Arnold, Nottinghamshire. Annual tax of £1.9 shillings was redeemed by payment of £53.4.4d paid between 1799 and 1803, and subsequently the rental was increased.<sup>55</sup> Similar developments occurred on a larger scale in South Yorkshire.

Before the late eighteenth century the relative lightness of land taxation in this area as compared to the south and east of England meant that it was oppressive neither to landowner nor tenant. In the 1680s most tenants on the Thrybergh, Denaby and Hooton Roberts property of Sir John Reresby were paying their own taxes.<sup>56</sup>

On the Duke of Norfolk's estates the whole burden did not exceed £100 in any year before 1772. It took 4% of the rental in 1710 and declined as a real burden thereafter, being less in absolute amount in the decade 1761-71 on a land rental which had more than doubled.<sup>57</sup> This small burden was

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- 54 SCL WWM Stw 19 W Micklethwaite - W Newman, 2 March 1849.
- 55 Sheepscar Library Leeds Mexborough Mss MX 468. Land Tax redemption 1799.
- 56 Sheepscar Library Leeds MX290 Survey of Sir John Reresby's land 1680 for the administration of the tax see J R Ward, The English Land Tax in the 18th Century (1953) and C Brookes "Public Finance and Political Stability, the Administration of the Land Tax 1688-1720" H J xvii.2 (1974), pp281-300.
- 57 SCL Arunde1 MSS S161 Rentals, 1710-72.

not shifted on to tenants on the Sheffield estates. At Wentworth land tax became the responsibility of many tenants in 1739, a measure eased by similarly small payments. In practice it rarely exceeded 1-2% of annual rental on both large estates. An exception was the 'Great Aid' of 1723 when the Norfolk estate paid £824. On the Duke of Kingston's property at Adwick on Dearne tenants paid the land tax by 1789 and Church Poor and Constables' levies had been shifted on to the tenants in 1738.<sup>58</sup> Presumably such shifts were acceptable because the charges were light. Lady Fitzwilliam calculated that the Fitzwilliam land in Lincolnshire was taxed at 10% of the annual rental in the 1750s, yielding an annual sum greater than the sum total of Wentworth and Norfolk taxes in South Yorkshire.<sup>59</sup>

With the exception of the shifting of tax on to tenants in the 1730s, most occurred after 1790. Unprecedented tax demands in wartime generated new levels of concern. Land tax redemption by the owner, compensated by earnings from consols and higher rents in the long run, was Parliament and the landowners' solution.

In 1801-2 "General Taxes and Outpayments", including poor rate and also payments of canal dues and fee farm rents, amounted to £1178.15.2 on the Wentworth estates. About half of this was taxation, though land tax had already shifted on to the tenants. It amounted to about 3% of the land rental and a substantial outpayment when set against new investment and maintenance in agriculture of about 8% of gross rental.<sup>60</sup> At Adwick the Duke of Kingston's tenants of 1044 acres paid £50.17.4 land tax in 1789, a sum amounting to one twelfth of the rental value of their properties.<sup>61</sup>

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- 58 Nottingham University Manvers MSS Mas 178, 179. Surveys 1737, 1789.  
 59 SCL WWM F128/19-22; Net Yearly Produce of Earl Fitzwilliam's estates, 25-37 1769.  
 60 SCL WWM A335 W Newman's Account 1821/2 (£1000 tax on land rent £25000).  
 61 NUL Manvers MSS/Mas 179 Survey of Adwick 1789.



Taxation was becoming a serious matter and remained so for several decades. By 1821/2 general outpayments including the same categories exceeded £2000 and taxation still took about 4% of the land rent. Probably 1800-20 saw a peak of such burdens on the landowner and tenant farmer, with a shift from landlord to tenant as land tax was widely redeemed and reflected in increased rentals and poor rates hit tenant farmers harder than before.<sup>62</sup>

Nor was this the only burden. Alongside official taxation came the unofficial but pressing demand for voluntary subscriptions to relieve the poor. These were vital in the high price and famine years of the war. From landowners and tenant incomes bloated by inflation and high demand for food there were increased outgoings for wages, poor rates, charitable subscriptions and purchases of all kinds. Charles Bowns received the following letter from the Revd J Wilkinson of Broomhall in February 1795.

"... the very great severity and inclemency of this weather, the high price of provisions and the want of employment for many of our manufacturers and labourers have induced the principal inhabitants and owners of estates in Ecclesall to enter into a voluntary subscription. The inhabitants in almost every Town and village in this neighbourhood to enter into the like voluntary subscription for the relief of their poor."

Fitzwilliam subscribed £100. Wilkinson sought similar support from the Duke of Norfolk, who gave 500 loads of coal. The Vicar thought that Parliament ought to have done more to relieve the serious distress.<sup>63</sup>

Farmers and landowners could pay during the war years because of the high price of grains and animal produce. How otherwise in South Yorkshire could tenant farmers have paid the high rents widely agreed?<sup>64</sup> They were able to meet tax payments, and landowners succeeded in transferring much

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62 SCL WWM A293

Account, Charles Bownswith Earl Fitzwilliam 1801-2.

63 SCL WWM F121/12.1

J Wilkinson - Charles Bowns, 7 February 1795; BL Add MSS 27538.

64 G Hueckel

"Relative Prices and Supply Response in English Agriculture during the Napoleonic Wars." ECHR 2nd Series Vol XXIX No 3 August 1976 pp401-414; P K O'Brien "Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution" ECHR 2nd Series Vol XXX No 1 February 1977 pp166-181; S Macdonald "Agricultural Response to a Changing Market during the Napoleonic Wars", ECHR 2nd Series XXXIII, No 1, February 1980 pp59-71.

Table 7.1 - Proposed Poor Law Union, 1838c

Parishes or Townships Maintaining their Poor	Population 1831	Area (acres)	£ Average Expenditure
Ecclesfield	7911	9520	1717
Bradfield	5504	33730	1300
Tankersley	678	2500	165
Wortley	918	5550	348
Thurgoland	1147	2080	187
Oxspring	283	530	120
Hoylandswaine	748	2060	239
Ingbirchworth	371	820	66
Thurlstone	1599	7740	383
Penistone	703	1050	160
Langset	320	4370	103
Hunshelf	531	3120	184
	20775	73070	£4982

If Ecclesfield is not included in this Union it will stand

	20775	73070	4982
Deduct Ecclesfield	7911	9520	1717
	12864	63550	£3265
Rotherham is now	25881	53730	7822
If Ecclesfield is added	7911	9520	1717
	33792	63250	£9539

of that burden on to the tenants. It remained a burden, with £1400 payable from the Wentworth Woodhouse estate in 1850. At 4.2% of the gross rental, this represented a significant reduction for the owner.<sup>65</sup> Taxation and assessments peaked on the Wentworth Woodhouse estates in 1813, 1815, 1820 and 1821. In monetary terms they fell thereafter in line with general deflation of prices.<sup>66</sup>

Tithe was more contentious than land tax, and had long been so. In 1721 J Battie reported that Sheffield people had been converting closes of two, three and four acres to gardens

"planted ... with turnips, cabbages, potatoes, peas, carrots, collyflowers, onions and what they call garden stuff and the beginning of these is but about twenty years ago, yet they now call these closes gardens and say no more is due to the Vicar and Impropiator than the modus ... for each close one penny which they tender at Easter and refuse to pay tithes in kind."

In this way great tithes were being reduced by 1721 by about £5 per annum and "such new gardens are still multiplying lying near a Great Town much increasing in Inhabitants."

Farmers were refusing to pay small tithes and

"many sow the largest fields in the parish with turnips, and be acquitted of all tythes for the same by sending the customary garden penny."

Cumbersome and complex, tithe was often a motive for enclosure as at Whiston where between 1813 and 1815 enclosure was only perceived as desirable if tithe commutation was achieved, and<sup>67</sup> at Adwick, the Duke of Kingston's tenants were in dispute with Earl Fitzwilliam as impropiator. When letting this Charles Bowns thought them "... not generally speaking a pleasant property, the terms ought to be advantageous". Doubtless when added to poor rate such liabilities were a burden to tenants in the postwar years.<sup>69</sup>

### III Agriculture 1740-1820, An Age of Mounting Pressures

Distinctive geographical areas complicate the assessment of the effects of the landownership structure and landowners' administration upon farming practice. Sheepwalks of the moors in the west were

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|----|----------------------|---|
| 65 | SCL WWM A409         | Wentworth Accounts, 1850-1.   |
| 66 | SCL WWM A122         | Accounts 1801-31.   |
| 67 | BL Add MSS 27538 f34 | J Battie - 1721   |
|    | SCL Arundel MSS 463  | Whiston Inclosure 1813-16.  |
| 68 | SCL WWM F107         | F Maude Opinion, Wakefield, 9 October 1815.   |
|    | see also             |   |
|    | E J Evans            | <u>The Contentious Tithe: The Tithe Problem and English Agriculture 1750-1850 (1976).</u>   |
| 69 | J D Marshall         | <u>The Old Poor Law 1795-1834 (1968) pp20-21.</u>   |
|    | see also             |   |
|    | SCL WWM G83 273      | Proposed Unions for townships north of Sheffield and Rotherham with details of poor expenditure for both. For the populations of 1831 this was in excess of 5/- |
|    | Table 7.1            | per capita per annum average in the early 1830s.  |

increasingly used as hunting reserves after 1800. In the centre of the district, in the valley of the Don and its tributaries, mixed grain and livestock enterprises dominated, and to the east again on the limestone and coal measures lower rainfall and free draining soil encouraged the growth of corn. Within these broad types there were a multitude of local variations of soil, underlying geology, aspect and fertility. Adjacent to the high moors of the west were the densely wooded foothills of Ecclesall, Upper Hallam and parts of Bradfield Chapelry and Wortley. These areas sustained a valuable forestry economy which was usually run 'in hand' by landowners. This led to conflicts of interest between proprietors anxious to preserve their timber and to profit from orderly falls, and farmers and labourers who saw woods as a source of fuel, game and building and fencing materials. Many such areas had traditionally been regarded as common which sharpened disputes in the late 18th century like that between the Duke of Norfolk and Bradfield tenants who objected to his fencing off woods in Bradfield as he objected to their encroachments in April and May of 1807.<sup>70</sup>

There was little open field in the western highland parts of the district, several townships seemingly having none at all in 1600.<sup>71</sup> Piece-meal enclosure had been proceeding for centuries and probably accelerated in the eighteenth century. By then there was little or no formal regular redistribution of land, as might well be expected in an old enclosed area. In the Don Valley mixed farming region and the corn country to the east enclosure was less complete. On the Wentworth Woodhouse estate the fragmentation of holdings at Greasbrough has already been noted as has the

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70 SCL WWM F106 1a

C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam (several letters April, May 1807).

71 A Raistrick

Enclosure Landscapes in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire (1970) pp77-80 (10% had none at all).

gradual re-organisation of farm consolidation between 1700 and 1850.<sup>72</sup> At Wath and Swinton about 1/3 of the land was unenclosed in 1802, most of it common mixed between the townships and disputed, a large wood and other land used as a training ground by Earl Fitzwilliam. In other parishes and townships there had been earlier consolidation of ownership like that of Sir John Reresby in Thrybergh and Denaby in the 1660-87 period, and some re-organisation of farms and inclosure resulted.<sup>73</sup> In 1801 it was noted that in Swinton there had been some inclosures by freeholders in the fields since the survey by Dickinson in 1731.<sup>74</sup> At Adwick the Duke of Kingston's tenants farmed large open field arable farms organised in the fashion more usual in the corn country to the east. There arable open fields remained in use in the late eighteenth century, and it was more extensive relative to common or waste. Inclosures there by Act of Parliament came nearer to the pattern emphasized by the traditional history of Parliamentary Enclosure.<sup>75</sup> Mining and industrial development impinged slowly and some townships retained an overwhelmingly rural character in 1850. The major exception was the production of lime and coal and stone east of the Don and Rother Valleys. East of the Rother valley on the Nottinghamshire borders there were also extensive areas of waste which were later enclosed.<sup>76</sup> Alongside the growth of the acreage of the Wentworth Woodhouse, Leeds, Arundel and some smaller estates there is evidence of growth of farm size. Much of this was long term, with a spurt of re-organisation in the period of Parliamentary enclosures. It is suggested that larger farms became usual in the corn country and at a distance from the major towns, while smaller farms and small holding

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- 72 West Riding CRO Wakefield Registry of Deeds Y456/7/8 Greasbrough Common Rights surrendered to Sir Thomas Wentworth, 20 November 1727; see Chapter 2 p69.
- 73 SCL Acts of Parliament Relating to Inclosure, Vol 3. Brampton and Swinton Inclosure Act 1815.
- 74 Sheepscar Library Leeds MX 468 Survey. Swinton 1801.
- 75 Sheepscar Library Leeds Mexborough MSS MX 290, 1680 Survey.
- 76 J D Chambers Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century 2nd Ed (1966) pp144-158.

lettings seemed to grow in the proximity of urban development. The smaller units proliferated in the upland and mixed livestock and arable area but made little impact in the east. The establishment of farms of over 100 acres came early in some townships. At Adwick on the Duke of Kingston's land the distribution of farm sizes was near identical in 1738 and 1789, with 6 farms between 113 and 180 acres, 2 between 50 and 100 and a scatter of small tenancies.<sup>77</sup>

Elsewhere, in the high country west of Sheffield, larger sized farms were not usual by 1750 with the exception of the moorland sheepwalk. On Bright property there were no farms of more than 50 acres according to the Ecclesall Survey of 1752. Only 9 fell into the 20-50 acre category of which many were let to millers and cutlers. The surveyor took note of fields which might be convenient for other tenants and in two cases larger farms were being put together from property formerly let in smaller tenancies, giving Abraham Glossop the largest farm on the Bright property, of 57 acres and Jonathan Clark 55 acres.<sup>78</sup> This relatively good land let at 13/4d per acre. Much of the Bright property there comprised the 367 acre Ecclesall woods, which were exploited in regular falls. The changes in the size of holdings above accounted for a slight reduction in the number of tenancies overall between 1725 and 1752.<sup>79</sup> Bright Sheffield tenants included only 3 paying more than £30 in rent between 1730 and 1745, and in Topley the Bright estate included only one, Mr R Fisher (1738-47). This was different from the substantial tenants of Ackworth, Badsworth and Billingley, where much of the acreage was farmed by people paying more than £30 in rent, and some were paying rents of 3 to 4 times

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77 NUL Manvers MSS Mas 178; Mas 179. Surveys Adwick 1737 & 1789.

78 SCL Bright Mss B152 Ecclesall Survey 1752.

79 SCL Bright MSS B98,99 "A field book of particulars of the tenants of John Bright Esq within his manor of Ecclesall." 1725.

that sum around 1740, and adding extra fields to their tenancies.<sup>80</sup>

In the mixed farming region of the Don Valley substantial tenant farms usually included a mixture of enclosed and field land, late in the 17th century. At Thrybergh in 1680 William Smith rented several closes of meadow and pasture near the Don. He had nine acres of arable in the middle field, 19 in the South Town field and 16 in the Nether field. Other land was held in the demesne of Sir John Reresby and the Marsh Flatt, and he had some closes among the 50 acres of Hollins. In all he was tenant of 113 acres, paying £60 annually in rent, all taxes, 6 days boon work with draught animals, 8 hens and 8 capons. There were three other substantial tenants of Sir John Reresby in Thrybergh, each with a similar mixture of closes and field land, and at Denaby, Brinsford and Ickles and Hooton Roberts the pattern was repeated, though rents per acre were lower.<sup>81</sup> With the exceptions of these tenants of over 50 acres, most held tiny enclosed plots or miniscule acreage in the open fields which together were insufficient to maintain a farming family. In 1680 these looked vulnerable to incorporation in larger farming units unless sustained by non-agricultural activity or farm labour. Farm combination could be aided by joining tenancies of relatives, as when Daniel and John Smith's farms near Sheffield were combined in March 1707.<sup>82</sup>

It is likely that unadventurous farming in the South Yorkshire area reflected traditionalism among tenants bolstered rather than hindered by leasing covenants of a customary rather than innovative type. It was desirable to avoid the growing of successions of white crops and selling of .

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- 80 SCL Bright MSS B195      Rentals Ackworth, Badsworth, Billingley, Himsworth 1739-42.
- 81 Sheepscar Library Leeds      Mexborough MSS MX 290, 1680. BL Add MSS 27534 Survey of Manor of Hansworth, 1657.
- 82 SCL Arundel MSS S375      J Palmer's 2nd Contract Book.

hay and manure off the farm, but these covenants were commonplaces rather than incentives to new and higher levels of productivity before 1750. This was the reason for the First Marquis of Rockingham's perfunctory dismissal of the efficacy of leasing covenants.<sup>83</sup> There were other variables, Unlike some light soil regions in other counties, the soil, aspect, drainage, climate and market conditions, and local field conditions, availability of waste and common, were varied. Lime varied greatly in price across the district even in 1814, and the wages of agricultural labour seem to have been relatively high.<sup>84</sup> On the other hand there were advantageous local markets for produce in the market towns of Doncaster, Barnsley and Rotherham, in Sheffield and the growing manufacturing communities, which compensated for localized cost disadvantages.

The exact degree of landlord capital investment in the 18th century farm is impossible to measure. Support was given in too many different forms including materials supplied, cartage and other physical help and cash allowances. Tenants were usually expected to bear the costs of hedging, ditches and liming, all activities in which the owner would have shared the costs in the 19th century. Allowances for building improvements seem universal. Thus in 1709 Richard Billam contracted for the farm at Great Howden and the 3245 acre sheepwalk attached for 21 years annual rent £41, paying all taxes, and assessments. He was

"to put the housing, hedges, ditches ... in good commendable repair and so to maintain and uphold the same during the said tenure."

He was to

"... Have such wood as is within the said premises allowed him ... for the roofing repairs ... to be set out for the purpose by the Duke's (Norfolk's) officers, as likewise sufficient underwood for the repair of fences for the good and conveniency of the (farm) for the said tenure."(annotated "Noe Lime".) 85

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|----|-------------------------|---|
| 83 | SCL WWM A1272           | Thomas Marquis of Rockingham's Instructions to his son, c1750.  |
| 84 | SCL Fairbank MSS CP4(2) | Costs of Lime. Calver 6s per ton. South Anston 1s per ton. Tinsley 12/6 per ton (1814). A Young "Tour" 1769 p306. |
| 85 | SCL Arundel MSS S376    | 21 March 1709. John Shireburn's Contract Book.  |



On the Arundel Sheffield estates claims for allowances for buildings rose in periods of high arrears, both peaking in the 1740s, for the period 1710-70.<sup>86</sup> The lack of lime in the high lands of the west of the district is significant as it was needed there and expensive whether brought from Derbyshire or the magnesian district to the east, because of poor transport.

Most of the landowner's individual payments were small ...

"To Mr Joseph Banks ye remainder of his Grace's allowance out of his last Michael rent for his losses by ye burning of ye farms in allow Meadows as ye acquitt ... £4.06.00."

"Paid William Simpson ye mason in part for making ye new stone wall at ye bottom of ... farm adjoining to Little Sheffield Moor according to agreement when he took his last lease, ye tenant being to pay one shilling a pound ... of rent for ye charge of making ye said wall. £2.10.0 ... 7s 8d extra rent per annum." 87

Much landowner aid to tenants was provided in payments in kind, in materials, work done by estate employees or by third parties paid on a contract from the estate steward. Wood was particularly valued. On the Sheffield Norfolk estates woodward's outgoings were always a significant item, frequently exceeding £300 per annum in the early 18th century. Much of this cost was irrelevant to tenants, and later leases came to exclude provision of wood by the lessor, but some involved allowances of wood to tenants for building and fencing.<sup>88</sup>

On the Norfolk estates improvements usually involved an early rent increase, whereas at Wentworth Woodhouse general revaluation and rent increases as occurred in 1738-40 were favoured. On both estates outlays for repairs and improvements rose between 1740 and 1750, subsequent to considerable increase in rents. The peak in outlay upon repairs and improve-

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86 SCL Arundel MSS S161 Accounts 1710-70.

87 SCL Arundel MSS S160 Allowances to tenants, building, repairs etc 1709-11.

88 SCL Arundel MSS S184 Accounts - audit book; S376 Blackburn's Contract Book, 10 November 1729. "The allowance of wood excepted."

ments coincided with that of rent reductions and allowances in 1742-3, and both moved together from 1736-1758.<sup>89</sup> The landowner probably saw the two categories of 'aid to tenants' as alternatives and gross expenditures on both indicate a willingness to use either to try to stave off the weakening of rental receipts in the long run.<sup>90</sup> On the Wentworth estate in the 1740s there was an increase in maintenance and building expenditures on tenanted land, without immediate increases in rent.<sup>91</sup> Land on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate was revalued in 1738-40, giving an improved rental of "£8010, computed at 30 years purchase" according to the First Marquis of Rockingham. Most land let from 7-11 shillings per acre, with clustering around nine shillings. Small holders paid more, and boon labour and rent fowl persisted. As on the Sheffield estates arrears mounted in the 1740s, a possible result of too many abundant grain harvests and disease and loss of animals.<sup>92</sup> The Wentworth Woodhouse and Arundel estates bridged the farming areas, ranging from black infertile moor in the west to good and improveable arable on the edges of the eastern corn country, so that both were in a sense microcosms of the farming experience of the South Yorkshire area. In this they differed from the 10000 acres of the Dukes of Leeds, for they were spread from north to south, in a great block surrounding Kiveton east of the Rother and north to Conisbrough in the Don valley. Much of that land was situated on the coal measures, or in the sheltered mixed farming areas of the river valleys. Nor were the estates of the Wortley family in the west, or of Kinnoul, Molesworth and the Earls of Scarborough in the east so heterogeneous. Thus

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- 89 SCL Arundel MSS S161 Outlays.  
90 SCL WWM A698 Charlton's Accounts, 31 October 1749 (allowances - no rent increase.)  
91 SCL WWM A1266 Accounts.  
92 E L Jones Seasons and Prices (1964) pp139-140.  
"Agriculture, 1700-80", in R Floud and D McCloskey, Eds, The Economic History of Britain Since 1700, Vol 1, 1700-1860 (1981) p75.

changes in relative price levels had differing results upon the rentals in corn, mixed farming and upland townships. Rents did not rise much on the Wentworth Woodhouse and Bright Jointure property until after 1755. On Bright property administered by Matthew Walshaw at Ackworth, Badsworth, Billingley and Hemsworth there were substantial payments for repairs and improvements with no corresponding increase in rent in the 1750s. In 1758 Walshaw recorded

"repair to barn James Birket (1756) £5.6s."

"April 13th. Paid James Wood, brother and executor of George Wood in full an allowance granted to the said George Wood for and towards the expence of making several alterations and additions, and repairs to his farm house at Ackworth Moor Top. (1757) £50." 93

Arrears reduced in size after 1750, only Lord Viscount Irwin's remaining at Ackworth for a time. Though leases of 21 years prevented a quick rent increase on the Wentworth estate, there may have been a need to allow tenants to consolidate after a difficult period. At the same time rent reduction or cash allowances other than for improvements or maintenance became rare.

Purchases of small amounts of land could serve related purposes, allowing the consolidation of larger farms. These brought higher rents, or promised them in the future. This was the likely rationale for land purchased at Tinsley Common by the Wentworth Woodhouse estate in 1757. 49 acres newly inclosed and worth £30 per annum was let at 7/6d per acre. Exchanges between existing tenants could serve similar ends.

FIGURE 9.1  
 11 JAN 1971  
 (ABSOLUTE LEVELS AT CURRENT PRICES.) YEARLY NETS FOR MGMT.  
 NORFOLK SHEFFIELD ESTATE OUTLAYS, REPAIRS AND IMPROVEMENTS. 1710-70



KEY  
 \$856 \$12000

(A) YEARLY (00s) NET P.A. OUTLAYS UPON REPAIRS & IMPROVEMENTS.  
 1150 11000

(B) YEARLY (000s) NET RECEIPTS FROM LAND RENT.  
 600 9500

(C) 5 YEAR GROSS RENT REDUCTIONS & ALLOWANCES.  
 400 7500

(5161)  
 See Appendix 5a.

"Firth John, by consent turns over his ridding close to Mrs Cathe Lane (it being within her farm, qty 2 acres 1 rood) for all held by her in the great Ings 1 acres 3 roods 17 perches and for the above recited part of land qty 0.2.31 held by late Hinchcliffe in Cinderbridge Field and now set to ye said Firth as an equivalent to his ridding close." 94

Tenant exchanges on this small scale proceeded alongside more spectacular purchases and exchanges with other landowners and the process of inclosure by agreement and Act of Parliament in Greasbrough, Scholes and Thorpe, Hoyland and other townships on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate. The death of tenants was also an opportunity to distribute land to the advantage of their former neighbours ... as occurred in several cases in 1750-1.

Table 7.2 - The Reorganisation of a Farm 1751/2<sup>95</sup>

Anna Green's Farm surrendered up and let as follows

a	r	p				
1	3	24	Little Butcher Close			
2	1	37	Great Butcher Close			
	1		in Church Field	£	s	d
4	2	21	to Benj Gothard at 11/- an acre	2	10	0
	2		The backside			
	2	6	the orchard			
1	2	36	the croft			
	1	31	In Church Field			
3	0	33	To Jn Harrisons per annum	2	2	
4	1	31	Fat Pastures to William Smith			

94 SCL WWM A1272

Sales and exchanges, 1748 1750.

95 Ibid

1751-2.

These changes related to the issue of allowances to tenants as re-allocation of land itself required tenant or owner to incur expense. Inclosures and encroachments upon waste and common involved walling and fencing, as did the re-organisation of field land. They were often financed by rent abatement.

"Mr Thos Hill requested to be abated 3s per annum for a parcel of land new inclosed by him as by the difference of last years rental 3 shillings." 96

In South Yorkshire as elsewhere piecemeal encroachment on common and waste and enclosure of such land and of open field was a gradual process over a long period. Examples spread through the early eighteenth century. Some work was done clearly to separate leased holdings from nearby land, as when William Taylor promised to make quick-set fences and a good new stone wall to the common side of the Lower Buck Crofts of Sheffield in 1710, or the tenant of the 73 acres of Redmires Farm agreed to make a new wall above the farm within three years as a condition of a new lease of July 8 1735, thereby making a division between it and the common.<sup>97</sup> Substantial cash payments were usual when buildings had been erected;

"Beet James - a new dwelling house, and a new laith built at my Lord's expense cost £29.10.4 - see disbursements of building and repairs for tenants 1747 - advanced £5.14s."

"Daniel Birks in Greasbrough - same £37.10.6 paid." 98

Similar processes were continuing within field land as at Swinton where William Jackson, a tenant to Mr Simpson was

"to pay 6d per annum for liberty to set a fence upon a baulk, the property of the Marquis of Rockingham's, Lord of the said Manor by arbitration of 12 jurymen at an adjournment of a Court Baron held there on 12 June 1753." 99

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96 Ibid

97 SCL Arundel MSS S376

J Shireburn's Contract Book 1710; S377 Blackburn's Contract Book, 1735.

98 SCL WWM A1272

1752/3 Hoyland.

99 Ibid

1752/3.

Long before the spurts of Parliamentary enclosure after 1750 landowner capital investment was related to the piecemeal spread of enclosures of open field, common and waste which had gone far by 1700. About half of West Riding parishes retained some open field. In the remaining 200 parishes or townships little sign of open field remained or had ever existed. Landowner capital investment was influenced by such prior development between 1700 and 1750, and after that date open field was most usually found in townships enclosed by Parliamentary Act when they lay towards the eastern half of South Yorkshire.<sup>100</sup> Elsewhere in the area enclosure of common or waste was the prime purpose of Parliamentary enclosure.

After 1750 agrarian changes in South Yorkshire intensified established trends. Demand for land for agriculture, housing and industrial and commercial development grew, and demand for food as the population expanded. In commons and wastes there was an acceleration in encroachments and increased landowner awareness of the value of traditional rights. Rents of all forms of property increased.

Of farm land under town influence R Brown wrote in 1799

"The greater part of the land in the vicinity of manufacturing towns is occupied by persons who do not consider farming as a business but regard it only as a matter of convenience. The manufacturer has his enclosure, wherein he keeps milch cows for supporting his family, and horses for carrying his goods to market and bringing back raw materials. This will apply to the most part of the land adjoining the manufacturing towns, and although much ground is not in this case, kept under the plough, yet comparatively more corn is raised than in the district above described." 101

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100 W S Rodgers

The Distribution of Parliamentary Enclosures in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1729-1850. (Unpublished M Comm Thesis, University of Leeds 1952) p30.

's 101 R Brown (Ed)

A General View of the Agriculture of the West Riding (1799) p16.

Brown distinguished carefully between land directly under town influence and that devoted to farming and a little more distant from the urban centres. The contrasting character and administration of the Wentworth Woodhouse and Arundel Sheffield estates reflects to some degree this distinction, with the greater part of the Wentworth property at greater distance from town influence despite the mining and industrial concerns of the estate. The distinction is the more marked as the Wentworth estate included more land in the eastern corn area, in and east of the Don valley and just north-east of a line from Barnsley to Rotherham. Yet this was an intermediate region where

"... the occupier of a hundred acres is styled a great farmer." 102

On the Arundel Sheffield estates farms of this size were not usual even by 1851, with the exception of the large acreages of sheepwalk, and some farms in the parishes of Whiston and Treeton. Because of the mixture of activities on the Sheffield estates rent reductions were not as widespread for tenants in many years after 1815, whereas at Wentworth Woodhouse they became usual for agricultural tenants. By the 1760s many of the tenants on the Norfolk estates in the parishes of Sheffield and Ecclesfield were not full-time agriculturalists. Among holders of 21 year leases between 1770 and 1785 only one third were listed as following agricultural occupations

Table 7.3 <sup>103</sup> Arundel Sheffield Estates. Occupations of Lessees 1770-85

Agrarian Occupations		Other	
Yeoman	46	Gentleman	40 (some ironmasters
Husbandman	70	Industrial	170 Merchants etc)
Farmer	1	Services etc	73
Gardener	25		
Widow	19		
	161		283

102 R Brown (Ed) Op cit, p16.

103 SCL Arundel MSS S380 Occupations of Lessees on Sheffield Arundel Estate 1770-1785.



Among Norfolk estate tenancies "at will", non-agrarian occupation is even more common after 1750. Many of these were granted for encroachments on common or waste. Most involved little land and some were merely tenancies allowing the gathering of stone. Most encroachments between 1760 and 1780 occurred in Bradfield Chapelry, Sheffield, Ecclesfield and Whiston. Upon them new houses were erected, and elsewhere housing was being split into smaller dwellings, while rents for small landholdings increased after 1750. Of 157 recorded encroachments, over 50 were in the Ecclesfield and Sheffield parishes in the 1760-70 decade.<sup>104</sup> This was good for land-owners, as the variable conditions of pre-1750 were replaced by cautious optimism. It does not imply that prospective tenants were flush with capital to invest and many of the smaller holders of tenancies at will or annual tenancies probably kept most of their capital in activities other than the limited agriculture in which they engaged.

In farming proper as opposed to the smallholding of manufacturer, small scale merchant or chapman, there were local improvements in farming practice and some changes. Near Wentworth Woodhouse extensive liming was practiced in the 1760s. The owner paid for cartage of lime for tenants.<sup>105</sup> Brown suggested in 1799

"Lime husbandry was more practiced some time past than at present."

This and the use of bone dust and town manure probably allowed

"his indulgence in every variety of cropping with less chance of injury to the land." 106

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- 104 SCL Arundel MSS S385 Recorded encroachments Sheffield Arundel Estate. Tenancy at will or annual agreements. 176(2)-1780 (excluded building stone etc). Some encroachments were already of long standing, but the owner sought to protect his claims by formal recognition.
- 105 SCL WWM R222.2 Treatment of land in hand, 1768.
- 106 R Brown (Ed) A General View of the Agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire (1799 ed) p90; ibid p4, 72.

Landlord commitment to good farming among tenants may have weakened on the Norfolk estates as competition for land and a range of alternative uses increased. As non-agrarian receipts grew from the Sheffield estates farming was less critical for the income of the owner. The problems of urban land and mineral and industrial exploitation may have been sufficient to distract local agents from farm land management, while a local tradition of social turbulence especially in the high price war years from 1792 to 1815 erected obstacles to local agents and stewards. 21 year leases or longer where tenants cleared upland waste, and landowner aid in the erection of buildings, appear to have been regarded as sufficient incentive to tenant improvement in the late eighteenth century. Wood allowances to tenants were denied to tenant farmers on leases, and they usually came to include provisions denying landowner liability for tenant-right compensation to outgoing tenants. Despite apparently unfavourable terms there was no shortage of agrarian tenants. Few farms were large enough to require vast capital on the Norfolk estate, and there until 1813 21 year leases were granted.<sup>107</sup> Near to the town of Sheffield and manufacturing villages smaller encroachments continued and impinged upon the agricultural area so that it became inadvisable by the 1760s to let land close to Sheffield on long lease because of the possibility that it might be convertible to other uses. A lease with unexpired years could involve compensation to the tenant as well as difficulties of negotiation.<sup>108</sup>

Land near to towns tended to be kept in grass, with the proportion of arable increasing with distance from the built-up area, especially when soil type and climate conspired in the same direction east and north east of Sheffield. This applied to the Whiston and Treeton parts of the Norfolk

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107 SCL Arundel MSS S380 Leasing Contracts.

108 SCL Arundel MSS S378-388

estate, but even more to the magnesian limestone ridge. It had

"good light soil for arable culture and with manure produces good crops. From Nottingham to Boroughbridge this soil is profitably cultivated as arable land and produces good turnips, potatoes, barley and wheat." 109

A classic light soil area, it was susceptible to the kinds of improvement much favoured in the 18th century, and slowly there developed 4 and 6 course rotations, turnips, cabbage and carrot husbandry, and the possibility of an animal population capable of improving the fertility of the soil.<sup>110</sup>

The estates of the Dukes of Leeds near Kiveton contained large quantities of improveable coal measure land. Demesne land of 705 acres was kept in hand at Thorpe Salvin in 1742, yielding substantial crops of wheat (43 acres) Oats (54) Barley (37½) and blendcorn (30). Together these crops were valued at £292, while 445 acres of land in pasture were valued at 4 shillings per acre. 390 sheep were valued at 7s each, 8 mares at £6 each, 10 pigs at £1, a gelding at £12 and dung at £8. Much of this produce was consumed by the household at Kiveton, but in that year £73 was received for sales of mares, sheep, grass, beasts at straw and tallow off the estate. Substantial stores remained in stock for the subsequent year at Michaelmas, including 80 loads of wheat, 140 of blendcorn, 940 of barley, 160 of oats, 330 sheep and an unspecified amount of straw.<sup>111</sup>

This estate home-farming was not typical of the activities of tenants, but it clearly demonstrates the possibilities of the higher coal measure and light soils and the range of crops utilized, though it is only suggestive of the internal economy of the mix and usage of cropping and animal

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- 109 Morton Nature and Property of Soils (n.d.) 3rd Ed, p73, quoted by  
J H Charnock "On the Farming of the West Riding of Yorkshire",  
JRAS IX 1849, p290.
- 110 J D Chambers The Vale of Trent (1957) pp38-39.
- 111 YAS Leeds MSS DD5/32 Thorpe Demesne.

feeding. Tenant farming in this area is more clearly delineated in the pattern of holdings in later surveys.

Table 7.4 - Tenancies by Acreage: Kiveton Estate of Duke of Leeds 1806<sup>112</sup>

	100 plus acres	50-99	20-50	5-19	1-5
Harthill	8	5	4	12	19
Woodall	4	5	4	4	7
Wales	4	4	4	5	6
Waleswood	2	2	0	-	
Todwick	2	3	4	7	2
Thorpe Salvin	4	5	6	-	-
South Anston	3				
North Anston	4	1	-	-	-
Dinnington	1(267)	1	-	-	-
Conisbrough	4	-	-	-	-

In general on the Kiveton estate, farms of more than 50 acres predominated in the late eighteenth century. Some were much larger, as in the case of John Parkin's 267 acres at Dinnington and Mr John Sellar's and Mr John Spencer's holdings at Conisbrough. They paid almost £1 per acre for holdings on the light limestone soils of 277 and 378 acres respectively in 1805-6. Spencer grew oats and wheat on 86 acres there, left 19 acres fallow and 172 acres in pasture. Sellars grew oats, wheat turnips and beans on 106 acres, had an 18 acre meadow and pastured about 250 acres. At the same time farmers with medium holdings in that area sometimes kept almost all their land in pasture or meadow except for small amounts of arable remaining in the unenclosed High Field, Hallwall Field and Northcliffe Field.<sup>113</sup> The Conisbrough property was partially in the relatively lush Don valley with an agriculture more orientated towards pasture than was

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112 SYCA Leeds MSS Survey 5F2/4 Summary Valuation of Kiveton and Conisbrough 1806.

113 SYCA Leeds MSS ibid 5F2/1.

found on the Leeds property on the coal measures and magnesian ridge to the east. It appears that livestock production remained the favoured product there in the high price years of the Napoleonic Wars. Pasture was then valued from 13 shillings to as high as 26 shillings per acre per annum, meadow at 17 shillings, wheat at 18 shillings, clover at 18-24 shillings, oats at 14-16 shillings, beans at 15-17 shillings and turnips at 13-24 shillings. Some fallow was practiced in Conisbrough in Calvert's survey.<sup>114</sup>

Conditions differed on the parts of the estate close to Kiveton, much of which was either enclosed early or subjected to Parliamentary enclosure between 1760 and 1780, and the Conisbrough field land and meadow of 590 acres which was not enclosed until 1855.<sup>115</sup> The practice of farming a mixture of pasture and arable was of long standing in the Don valley, with a larger proportion of the land in grass, as at Thrybergh, Swinton and Mexborough.<sup>116</sup>

Such differences are illustrative of the widely varied land use areas of South Yorkshire. In the far west the high altitude moors could only be let for a few pence an acre per annum as sheepwalk in the late eighteenth century. At Bradfield the Duke of Norfolk's sheepwalk was let to three men in 1778. For £10.10 shillings Robert Hawke took as sheepwalk

"Upper Howden, to begin from the Great Heigh Nook following the water to the sheepfold and from thence following the water to the west side of the Lows and thence straight out of the top of the Edge or brisk of the Hill and also all that piece of inclosed land called the Close with one half of the sheep fold thereto belonging containing by survey 843 acres."

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|-----|-------------------------|--|
| 114 | SYCA Leeds MSS 5/f 2/1  | Calvert's Survey. Conisbrough, Conisbrough Park, Clifton and Bramley, 1805-6.  |
| 115 | 6 & 7 Victoria c118     | General Enclosure Act, 1845. W S Rodgers "thesis" (1952)p282   |
| 116 | Sheepscar Library Leeds | Mexborough MSS MX 290 Thrybergh; Denaby; Brinsford & Ickles. 1680. MX 468 Summary of the farms held of the Marquess of Rockingham in the Township of Swinton in the several parishes of Wath upon Dearne and Mexborough (1731 J Dickinson. Amended at a later date.) |

Thomas Eyre, yeoman, contracted for 3336 acres for £70 per annum and similar land near Hollow Meadows let for less than a shilling per acre per annum. Even land at lower altitude near Fulwood yielded rent of less than five shillings.<sup>117</sup> Much of the land west of Sheffield was of the type regarded by Brown in 1799 as

"... incapable of improvement except by planting." <sup>118</sup>

Landowner paternalism was to be long lived in the agricultural administration of the Wentworth Woodhouse estates. This may have reflected the personalities of the 2nd Marquis of Rockingham and his Fitzwilliam successors as much as peculiar characteristics of the estate. Neither rack-renting nor eviction were usual, great store was placed upon electoral success and local influence and after the low levels of investment in tenant agriculture before 1760 reduced interest rates, rising prices and increased prosperity may have stimulated a higher level of landowner participation in capital formation.

Certainly high interest rates were a disincentive in the Seven Years War. In 1759 it was reported that

"Exchange has been extremely high sometimes even at 12% ... Lord Rockingham has lost about £100 this year unavoidably." <sup>119</sup>

When investment was chiefly from current incomings, shortages of ready cash which troubled the Marquis until the mid-1760s prevented generous treatment of tenants. This might apply in years of tenant arrear which had traditionally been occasion for relief. In 1759 permission was granted to receive "diminished guineas" without regard to weight to prevent great arrear.<sup>120</sup>

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117 SCL Arundel MSS S380

118 R Brown (Ed) Ibid, p 131

119 SCL WWM R172.20 R Fenton-J Postlethwaite, 1759.

120 SCL WWM R172.21 R Fenton-J Postlethwaite, 1759. "Diminished guineas" may have been clipped or very worn coins.

In less straitened times landlord help to tenants still competed with the aim of paying off debts, land purchases, conspicuous consumption and building. Fenton, agent to the second Marquis, stressed that in 1765 his payments towards the upkeep of land not in hand had remained constant.<sup>121</sup>

The results of increased prosperity were ambiguous. Leases were diminished in numbers, tenant right was occasionally bought out and abolished and there were some piecemeal up-valuations.

"The How Holes part of John Abell's Farm valued to him at £3 p.a. are now taken from him and let to Wm Woodrow at £4 per annum ..."<sup>122</sup>

Much of the property had not been revalued since 1738-9 and the upsurge of the late 1760s offered opportunity for the first of a series of wholesale up-valuations. It was in these circumstances that extensive surveys and valuations began. It was an operation which would have earned the praise of William Marshall. The improver should start with a plan

"... promptly exhibiting the several farms and fields as they lie," to act as "a sea chart to a navigator."<sup>123</sup>

In 1770 surveys were undertaken in Barnbrough and Harlinton, Bolsterstone, Darrington, Edlington woods, Hooton Roberts, Hawfield, Roughbirchworth. In 1771 Hoyland, Tinsley and Wath, and in the subsequent few years all remaining property including Brampton, Scholes and Thorpe, Swinton, Tankersley, Wombwell and in 1778 tenanted and other property at Wentworth itself. Old surveys of the Mary Bright's jointure property were obtained and the land surveyed anew. It was a major task of planning, and re-organisation subsequently owed much to these efforts.<sup>124</sup>

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|-----|----------------|--|
| 121 | SCL WWM R171.5 | R Fenton - Marquis of Rockingham, 3 November 1765.                             |
| 122 | SCL WWM A708   | 1755.  |
| 123 | W Marshall     | <u>On the Landed Property of England</u> (1804) pp29-30.                       |
| 124 | SCL WWM D1497a | The Strafford, Wentworth and Rockingham Estates in the County of York (1784c). |

As population pressures grew the landowner was persuaded to redefine his rights. Open field was a small residue, but where it existed a cause of much deliberation.<sup>125</sup> Commons and waste were widespread, though subject to much encroachment and the growth of gentry parks, and woods were under increased pressure.<sup>126</sup> Owners spent increased sums on surveying and fencing woodlands, and gained steadily increasing income from timber products.<sup>127</sup>

In 1769 William Fairbank was employed to survey and map Ecclesall Woods, one of his many commissions for the Wentworth estate in the period. David Gregory was employed in fencing Brinsforth (Brinsworth) Wood in 1768. The survey and valuation was followed by widespread rent increases.

"1771 Thomas Hadfield and George Hobson now pay for their farm (late Joshua Swann) as at £25

J Swann paid only £18  
advance                      £7" 128

This was one among a host of examples as rents were raised throughout the estate. It was first done on the Bright property at Ecclesall, Westwell and Eckington, and at Badsworth, a detached property. Some increases were large

"10 February 1769. Patricks (dead) Badsworth - £1 an acre clear rent. No part to be ploughed up so that what was let to Patrick at £40.16.0 a year now nearly £80." 129

The more usual increase was about 30%. There were few tenant evictions, but the changes may have frightened off the less spirited. In one case a third of the land was taken in hand and added to estate home farms, and small amounts were added to the holdings of others. The farm house was

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|-----|------------------|--|
| 125 | A Raistrick      | <u>Enclosure Landscapes of the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire The Making of the English Landscape. New Series (1970) pp76-9.</u> |
| 126 | B E Coates       | "Park Landscapes of the East and West Ridings at the Time of Humphrey Repton." <u>YAJ XLI 1965</u> pp465-46                          |
| 127 | SCL WWM A723-741 | Payments for surveying, fencing and marking woods 1760-71.   |
| 128 | SCL WWM A741     | 1771.  |
| 129 | SCL WWM R189.27  | 10 February 1769.  |



split between two individuals.<sup>130</sup> Often landowners did not need to force the issue of land re-organisation if they could wait. Land previously let to

"Sir Geo Wentworth ... gent

a	r	p	
18	2	20	would fit Crabtree land in hand.
a	r	p	
11	2	10	Widow White's pasture (cannot fit in Pashley)
27	1	35	neither fit
13	2	26	" " " 131

Such changes did not inevitably lead to either larger or smaller farm sizes. There was a tendency to increase home farming in this period and to increase existing farm sizes by splitting farms given up among existing tenants rather than by taking on new ones.

By 1773/4 Fairbank had revalued at Ecclesall and Eckington, and the farmers had treated with the bailiff for their farms at an increased rent.<sup>132</sup> Despite beliefs about the correct relationship between owner and tenant the process continued. Paternalistic ideas did not prevent the rents of Greasbrough land owned by the Marquis of Rockingham from being increased by £239 in 1777.<sup>133</sup> At the same time exchanges of land with tenants occurred in 1771 and drainage was being undertaken on Greasbrough Common in 1771. Similar exchanges were taking place in the Cortworth Field at Wentworth, involving freeholders T Foljambe and J Freeman in 1773.<sup>134</sup>

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130	SCL WWM R189 21a	1769. John Crabtrees Farm given up. (50 acres).
131	SCL WWM R189 21b	1769.
132	SCL WWM A744	1773/4.
133	SCL WWM A263;	ibid R186/9 "draining on Greasbrough Common (Jon Swann). £3.7.6."
134	SCL Fairbank MSS 41	"Lands in Greasbrough exchanged with sundry persons, 1771."
	WWM MP 61b R	Copy of 1757 plan of lands belonging to the Marquis of Rockingham, T Foljambe and J Freeman. Scheme for exchange 1775."

Greasbrough had much field land in the south and south-east of the township. There were 40 holdings in Cinderbridge Field in 1776. It was not subjected to enclosure by Parliamentary Act, but re-organised in a drawn-out process, which intensified in the 1770s, with an enclosure by agreement in 1777.<sup>135</sup>

The re-organisation of Tinsley was of a different nature. Seven large tenants had over 70 acres each in 1771, though most of the land was let in smaller lots. There was much waste, including valuable woodlands and Tinsley Park, and a substantial common. The Marquis of Rockingham owned much of the land in the 1770s, but tenant holdings remained small into the early 19th century. There was no open field.<sup>136</sup>

#### IV Costs and Benefits of Parliamentary Enclosure 1760-c1820.

The paucity of open field in this district has already been indicated. Some had survived the long process of enclosure by agreement, but the area was small by 1770. A. Raistrick claimed that of the 386 awards available for the West Riding of Yorkshire, 20 dealt with open field only, and 250 with mixtures of open field, commons and waste and pasture.<sup>137</sup>

This view of the Riding as a whole is not contradicted by other work. Much of the area had no open field by 1600, and elsewhere there had never been much farming of that type.

Enclosure is studied here as an aspect of landowner investment. The aim is to ascertain costs of enclosures to the landowner and to estimate

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- 135 SCL Fairbank MSS ROT 20 L Plan of the Township of Greasbrough chiefly the property of the Marquis of Rockingham, 1776; FB MSS 48, 84, 85 Holdings in Greasbrough.
- 136 SCL Fairbank MSS ROT 92R Plan of the Manor of Tinsley, 1771.
- 137 A Raistrick "Enclosure Landscapes in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire," in WG Hoskins (Ed) The Making of the English Landscape NS (1970) p76; S Rodgers The Distribution of Parliamentary Enclosures in the West Riding of Yorkshire 1729-1850. University of Leeds, unpublished M Comm thesis 1952, pp273-277.
- See also J R Wordie "The Chronology of English Enclosure 1500-1914" EcHR 2nd series XXXVI, No 4 November 1983 pp483-505.

his gains. It can no longer be assumed that these were overwhelming.<sup>138</sup>

It is suggested that the parliamentary enclosure of common waste, common pasture and open field in South Yorkshire can be interpreted as a consequence of local population pressures, the consequent price rise and to some extent the extra-ordinary pressures of the wars between 1791 and 1815.

A chronology of parliamentary enclosures on the Norfolk, Wentworth and Leeds estates is suggestive of the importance of direct population pressures as one cause of enclosure. The first major spurt of parliamentary enclosures in the South Yorkshire area occurred as the pressures of population increase and commercial development heightened after 1759.

Table 7.5 - Enclosures by Private Act of Parliament 1759-1784

		(Mixed o/f common waste pasture of arable and meadow	Common Waste & Pasture acres
Thurnscoe	1729	500	.
Bolton upon Dearne	1759	650	150
Adwicke le Street	1760	550	350
Rotherham	1762	648	392
Wadworth	1765	1288	674
Masbrough & Kimberworth	1765	9	103
Aston and Wales	1766	200	630
North Anston & Todwick	1767	450	650
Laughton & Slade Hooton, & Hooton Slade in Laughton in Le Morthen	1769	800	360
Ackworth	1772	231	421
Snaith & Cowick	1773	1160	
Rawmarsh	1774	533	838
Barnsley in Silkstone	1777	296	486
Dinnington	1778	715	194

138 M Turner

"Sitting on the Fence of Parliamentary Enclosure: A Regressive Social Tax with Problematic Efficiency Gains" Papers presented to the Economic History Society Conference (1983) pp36-55. D McCloskey "Theses on Enclosure." Op cit pp56-72.

A high proportion of these mixed enclosures (involving both open field and common and waste) were of land under town influence, in the main line of the Don valley or the Dearne, or in the case of Todwick, Wales, Dinnington, Anston and Wales, close to the core of the Duke of Leeds' estate.<sup>139</sup> All had ready access to urban markets and sales in lesser centres of manufacture, including the Leeds property which was made more accessible by the Chesterfield Canal, opened in 1777. For the most part the areas of open field arable or pasture were large compared to the waste and pasture involved. The rump of open field land in the central area of South Yorkshire was of considerable importance in the first two decades of enclosure, though its absolute acreage was not great compared with the totality of common pasture and waste enclosed in the same period. With the exceptions of Wombwell and Ardsley all pre-1772 enclosure of common pasture and waste by parliamentary Act took place east of or in the Don valley, with some concentration on the light soils and higher land east of the Rother and Don, at Harthill, Brampton en le Morthen, Bramley and Braithwell.<sup>140</sup> Enclosures of land at Barnby Dun, Doncaster and Cantley and Austerfield conform to the pattern established by Rodgers of a concentration of early enclosures in the eastern part of the West Riding. Only in the late 1770s was enclosure activity extended to areas of Barnsley, Bolsterstone and Ecclesall, and most enclosure in the west of the district came later, with an inevitable concentration upon commons, wastes and pastures.

On the estates of the Duke of Norfolk and the Marquis of Rockingham many early parliamentary enclosures took place on land close to town influence. This applied also to the early enclosure of land close to Rotherham

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139 SCL NRA  
W S Rodgers List of Parliamentary Inclosure Acts for the West Riding. The Distribution of Parliamentary Enclosures in the West Riding of Yorkshire 1729-1850. Leeds M Comm 1952 pp273,277.

140 Sheffield Institute of Geological Sciences, Sheet 100 Solid and Drift Edition.

which belonged to the Earl of Effingham.<sup>141</sup> In the enclosure of Ecclesall near Sheffield, the Marquis of Rockingham was Lord of the Manor, but there were delays of almost a decade because of protracted disputes over the manorial boundaries with the Duke of Norfolk's manor of Sheffield. In Ecclesall there were approximately 806 acres of common, waste and open field according to the Act, though in fact there was hardly any of the latter. 3412 acres were old enclosed. The dispute involved land at Crookesmoor which was subject to a large number of encroachments, and it is clear that as demand for land had grown close to the town, the lords of the adjoining manors were anxious to establish their rights there. Until it was done it was difficult to enter binding agreements with occupiers, while much land remained unlet yet potentially highly valuable as building land in the future.

"In reply the respondents say that so little attention was formerly paid to the incroachment of cottages that they frequently erected without any leave whatsoever when they were afterwards noticed, they were too ready to admit a tenancy to those who first suggested the propriety of being booked." 142

The property included 13 cottages, coal pits, roads and a waterworks. The umpire appointed divided the disputed area, and the Manorial owners acquired about 25% of the land involved in the Ecclesall inclosure as compensation for manorial rights and tithe. As a result the Duke of Norfolk retained a holding in Ecclesall slightly larger than that of the Wentworth Woodhouse estate.

Manorial rights were not the only possible stumbling block to early parliamentary enclosure. An attempt to get a bill through Parliament to

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141 SCL NRA West Riding Enclosure Acts, Ecclesall, 1779.

142 SCL Arundel MSS S465 Case submitted to arbitrators. Ecclesall claim over Crookesmoor.

enclose property in Mexborough in 1768 foundered on the opposition of Dr E Pyle, who defended the archdeacon's interests in Mexborough. £103 had been spent of Mr Harmer's legal expenses to present the bill by November 1768. The Bill appears to have been thrown out through failure to get Dr Pyle's written consent as owner of the glebe. In 1774 he claimed that he was still not opposed to enclosure, but wished to see the chancel of Mexborough Church repaired first.<sup>143</sup> Thus his rights in 61 acres of land blocked a bill designed to enclose a considerable acreage of open field and common.

In Ecclesall enclosure encroachments of less than 40 years standing were included in the land to be divided as common or waste and the award gave land in compensation in the proportions of 75% for owners of the soil and 25% for house owners with rights of common. In this it differed from later enclosure Acts and Awards which progressively reduced the time period for recognition of encroachments and gave higher proportions of rights to house owners. Almost certainly this was the result of the difficulties in dealing with ever greater numbers of house encroachments and the pressures resultant upon demographic expansion and high prices during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.<sup>144</sup>

Other South Yorkshire townships with land enclosed before 1790 displayed parallel problems. Numerous encroachments, disputes over manorial rights and boundaries and tithe problems were important in the enclosures of Upper and Nether Hallam, Ecclesfield, Hoyland and Brightside. In Upper Hallam over 100 encroachments were recorded by the 1780s, in Nether Hallam 135 including

"several messuages divided into 5 dwellings in 1765."

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| 143 | SLL Leeds | Mexborough MSS MX691 R Parker - Col. Henry Wickham, 31 December 1768; MX 795. Dr Pyle - Mr Parker, 14 August 1774. |
| 144 | SCL NRA   | West Riding Enclosure Acts. Ecclesall, 1779.   |

In Stannington 71 encroachments were recorded and it was believed some had been missed. Cottagers at Ecclesfield refused to accept the allotments offered to them and legal opinion was taken upon the procedure to be followed,

"to proceed to the public sale of such allotments."

There was fear of people turning cottage rents into freehold rents and generally encroachments were valued as if no buildings or improvements had been made ...

"many of the parties are likely to be poor ... I think it would be right to give ym a further time before the Commissioners proceed to sell." 145

The signs indicate that widespread manufacture in South Yorkshire had created population pressures by 1770 and the large numbers of incroachments which this encouraged were themselves a reason for seeking an Enclosure Act. If there were disputes about borders and tithe then this added a further impetus. In townships close to town influence agricultural land was biased towards pasture and secondary occupation for non-farmers. Grazing for transport animals was a primary function, together with some dairy farming. It was a common pattern in the industrialising districts by the late eighteenth century, but not easy to manage by traditional methods of estate administration.<sup>146</sup>

After 1790 there were several different types of land enclosed by Parliamentary Act. In the livestock and arable belt of coal measure parishes between Rotherham and Barnsley at Wath, Wentworth, Brampton and

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145 SCL Arundel MSS S466(i) The Duke of Norfolk's claims to allotments in Upper Hallam, Nether Hallam, Stannington, Brightside, Handsworth, Ecclesfield etc.

146 D Hey The Rural Metalworkers of the Sheffield Region (1971) pp 40-41.

Swinton, some open field land was enclosed, but common and waste provided the prime reason for the Acts. They helped resolve complex legal problems, drainage and the consolidation of larger farm units. Some additional land was brought into cultivation, but the acreages were not great, improvement being through deeper investment and improved output from land already used agriculturally. In these parishes provision was made for the

"Commissioners to direct the course of Husbandry ... all Tillage and other lands lying in the said several Open Fields, Mesne Inclosures, Meadows and Ings, and leys shall be stocked with such cattle and shall be cropped and sown by the respective owners thereof with such sorts of Corn grain and seeds and in such proportions and shall be kept ordered and continued in such course of Husbandry as the said Commissioner shall by writing under his hand ... order ... any usage or custom of stocking with cattle, sowing, cropping or otherwise managing the said tillage or other lands notwithstanding." 147

One Commissioner only was appointed in several Acts in the area, drainage requirements were laid out in detail and stray animals or those allowed to damage neighbours' fences were to be impounded.

Several of these townships formed part of the Wentworth Woodhouse estate. Earl Fitzwilliam owned more than half the land in Wath, Brampton, Swinton and Wentworth itself, and was often Lord of the Manor and Impropiator of the Tithe. Between 1770 and 1820 1/16 was the usual compensation for the Lord of the Manor, with a standardization of that proportion towards the end of the Napoleonic Wars. At Whiston between 1813 and 1816 1/18 was refused by the Duke of Norfolk,<sup>148</sup> and Mr Middleton, who shared the manorial rights, though it had been accepted at Brightside in 1788. At Hoyland Earl Fitzwilliam accepted 1/20 in 1794, but the enclosure involved only an estimated 100 acres of open field and 200 of common. At Wentworth

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147 SCL NRA

West Riding Inclosure Acts, Vol 3.

148 Ibid

Ecclesall Enclosure 1779; Wentworth 1814; Brampton 1815; Swinton 1815, Wath 1810.



the 1814 enclosure act dealt with a similar small amount of land, 184 acres of open field and 80 of common.

In the west of the district acreages tended to be much larger, and generally comprised common waste and pasture land. At Ecclesall about 1000 acres had been involved in 1778. In 1784 an Act dealt with Ecclesfield land of 600 acres and after a lull in activity in the 1780s large acreages of common were the subject of Acts, including Ingbirchworth (580 acres common 1800), Thurlstone in Penistone (5001 acres common 1812), Thurgoland (400 acres common 1813), Midhope (3600 acres common-waste 1817) Silkstone, Hoylandswaine and Cawthorne (51 acres open field/1043 commons, wastes and pastures 1802). In Sheffield and Langsett vast acreages of common and waste were subject to Parliamentary Acts, but never fenced in (Sheffield 13526 acres common, 247 field land, 1811; Langsett 3041 and possibly some field land 1811). These Acts strengthened the hand of the landowner. He exchanged abstract rights for land allotted by 1800-1815. But there was a relaxation over encroachments. In the 1770s encroachments were regarded as old if beyond the memory of man but already this was being modified to 40 years. After 1780 it fell to 30 years, and from 1800-20 to 20, though Rogers found some opposite cases.<sup>149</sup>

In other respects the demands became tougher. The term within which fences had to be completed was shortened and legal procedures were streamlined with the professionalisation of surveying and the simplification of procedure. Three Commissioners were generally replaced by one in the later Acts, to save expense. The time taken to complete the re-allocation was shortened, from about 10 years between 1700-1780 to about 8 after 1800

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149 SCL NRA

West Riding Enclosure Acts, 1760-1820. See also J C Harvey "Common Field and Enclosure in the Lower Dearne Valley", YAJ, Vol 46, 1974 pp110-127.

(from Act to Award and then ring fencing). Stipulations in husbandry became usual and fencing was regulated with care. Six months was allowed to the owners to ring fence their holdings with quick sets and double rails and ditches on either side and good gates and stiles. Outside contractors were usually employed for this to speed the proceedings.<sup>150</sup>

"March 9th 1812 Paid James Alderson and Partners for ditching and planting quickwood in the allotments and also what they paid for quickwood for the same. £232.14.11.

March 14th 1812 Do for cutting a drain in Mr Tofields allotment £4.07.

20th June 1812 (ibid) for levelling the training course round the allotment in Wath Wood. £347.17.5.

18th August 1812 (ibid) levelling the training course on Wath Wood and in Sandygate field. £221.19.10."

Ecclesall Enclosure took 10 years to complete ring fencing (1779-1788). Other earlier Parliamentary enclosures at Upper and Nether Hallam, Ecclesfield and Brightside involved delay between Act and ring fencing, though Brightside (1788) involved only 150 acres of common. By comparison Wath, Brampton, Swinton or Thurlstone in Penistone Enclosure in the west were quickly done. At Wath expenses were spread from 1811-1818, with 3 to 7 years from first payments to the Commissioners and other payments for farming to the last recorded payments. Wentworth and Thorpe payments spread from 27th January 1815 to 1816 for a small acreage. Acts applying to the large areas of waste and common in the west of the district involved smaller expenditures per acre, and there is evidence of sales of land to finance enclosure costs, at Barnborough in March 1820 and elsewhere. Simultaneous was the 1819 enclosure of common or waste at Penistone.<sup>151</sup> By the end of the Wars the abbreviation of the process, reduction in number of Commissioners and streamlining of legal procedures had effects upon costs.

Evidence of the costs of enclosure exists in abundance in South Yorkshire estate material. It is rarely complete. Some

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150 SCL WWM A314-324 1811-1816 Payments on account of Wath Enclosure.  
151 SCL Arundel MSS S523 M Ellison diaries, 19 March 1820; B J Buchanan "The Financing of Parliamentary Waste Land Enclosure. Some evidence from North Somerset 1770-1830", AgHR Vol 30 pt II 1982 pp121-2.

estimates can be presented. They include direct costs, in obtaining an act and making payment to Commissioners, and indirect but substantial costs. Much hedging, ditching, fencing and levelling is unrecorded in official enclosure papers.

Ecclesall enclosure, involving 800 acres of common waste and open field land, cost the lord of the manor Earl Fitzwilliam at least £700 for his allotment of less than 100 acres. The first and second assessments came to £552 in 1787-8.<sup>152</sup> The Duke of Norfolk gained more land as majority owner of tithes.<sup>153</sup> There followed an advance in rent for Ecclesall, Wentworth property amounting to 1/12 of the pre-enclosure rental, yielding a 13% return upon capital invested by Earl Fitzwilliam.

The parliamentary enclosure at Hoyland between 1794 and 1799 involved about 500 acres of open arable or meadow and commons, wastes or pastures. 274 acres were allotted to Earl Fitzwilliam which amounted to about half the total enclosed. Half of Fitzwilliam's payments were made to the Commissioners, and half were incurred in fencing, planting, ditching and large bills for labour. Between 1794 and 1800 £2104 was expended, a figure which excludes early parliamentary costs.<sup>154</sup>

As at Ecclesall the enclosure involved land close to industrializing communities. Re-organisation followed or accompanied enclosure. There were numerous exchanges, and some changes of tenancies. Rents were advanced in 1795 and 1796, and tithe was commuted to money rent in that year, adding £160 per annum to the rental. Recorded costs exceeded £7 per acre, and this excludes earlier legal costs.

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152 SCL WWM A275-8 Ecclesall Enclosure Costs.

153 SCL Arundel MSS SD91 Award of Fairfax Fearnley, 15 November 1785.

154 SCL WWM A283-90 Accounts 1794-1800.

The exchanges took place among substantial freeholders. Earl Fitzwilliam exchanged land formerly owned by J Wigfield, Thomas Hoyland, the Reverend Samuel Phipps and Anne Reresby, taking their land which had adjoined old enclosed land in his hands, and providing in return land close to other pieces allotted to them.<sup>155</sup>

Pressures conducive to enclosure are well illustrated by the disputes in Bradfield at the height of the Napoleonic War. There were large commons out of which encroachments had been made and attached to most of the farms, some of which were the property of Earl Fitzwilliam and others

"of which his Grace the Duke of Norfolk till lately was the owner."<sup>156</sup>

Petitioners to Fitzwilliam claimed that these inclosures were of long standing and cultivated, but

"... your Lordship's tenant Mr John Bacon has lately with his own hands prostrated the fences of such incroachments annexed to our respective farms without any cause given him on our part for so injurious a procedure." <sup>157</sup>

Bowns claimed that both sides were equally to blame. The issue was complex, as the Duke of Norfolk was trying to sell some of this property, making sales which purchasers believed to include encroachments. Bacon destroyed the fences of the last 20 years of encroachment to prevent the Duke making good his title to land on sale. The Duke meanwhile had enclosed some woods where Bacon had cut wood before, so the latter took wood and in consequence an action was being taken by the Duke against him for trespass.

Fitzwilliam poured oil on troubled waters, trying to get the freeholders to use their influence with the Duke to get some material conces-

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155	SCL Hoyland	Enclosure Award, 1st and 3rd Schedules.
156	SCL WWM F106a	Bradfield Freeholder's Petition, 1 April 1807.
157	Ibid	

sion, while the Earl tried to get his tenant to desist from trespass and other actions. Bowns advised that

"Inclosure of as much of the Wastes as are worth it is the only means of preventing them (disputes at Bradfield)" 158

It was not to occur until the early 1820s.<sup>159</sup>

On the Wentworth Woodhouse estate there was no year between 1780 and 1820 when enclosures cost less than £500, and after 1790 it was usually much more. Non-parliamentary enclosure expenses totalled £800 per annum 1795-1800, while Acts probably cost at least the £200 each cited by Professor M W Beresford.<sup>160</sup> Later enclosures were not only more efficiently done, they provided firmer data. On the Wentworth Woodhouse estate aggregate costs of the several enclosures peaked in 1815 and 1817, with a rapid decline with deflation and less activity after 1820. After 1800 not all enclosures were favoured. At Darrington Fitzwilliam had no claims upon the waste except as a freeholder as Sotherton claimed to be Lord of the Manor. Fortunately the costs in the enclosure after 1812 were relatively small.<sup>161</sup> Wath enclosure was favoured after preparations over several years and petitions from freeholders of the township. They thought Fitzwilliam would favour enclosure

"From the truly respectable character your Lordship established in the county by your zeal in promoting and keeping afoot the yeomanry corps for its defence and your prompt attention to its interests in general and those of the poor in particular at the present crisis as on many other occasions." 162

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| 158 | SCL WWM F106A     | C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 16 April 1807.   |
| 159 | SCL WWM A338      | 1823.  |
| 160 | SCL WWM A268-A310 | Accounts; M W Beresford." Commissioners of Enclosure" ECHR, Vol XV12, 1946, pp130-140. |
| 161 | SCL WWM A314-A34  | Fitzwilliam Enclosure Expenses.  |
| 162 | SCL WWM F106(m)   | Petition Wath Freeholders' Meeting, 2 January 1801. 15 signatures.                     |

There were individual petitions from freeholders. These were prompted by the populous nature of the place, with a population of 3796 in 1801, which heightened the sense of crisis in the war years. 600 of these lived in the Wath township of whom 189 were on poor relief.<sup>163</sup>

"... everyone seemed anxious that the act if applied for should embrace the whole township and provide for the inclosure of both the fields and the commons." 164

It was claimed that there was

"... stocking by people who were not entitled to right of common"

and that it would be advantageous

"... if the commons and waste grounds were included, the field flatted and the mesne enclosures exchanged. The field lands and the mesne inclosures lying at present in very disadvantageous situations and places being distantly dispersed and very inconvenient to the occupier."

Of 1500 acres 500 were common or waste

"... and lye in an uncultivated and almost unproductive state, but the same is in general good land and capable of great improvement."

Almost a third of the crowded parish were on poor relief in the

"Calamities we all now so severely feel when the common necessities of life are beyond the reach of the industrious labourer. And others are becoming burthensome and are daily applying for that relief which they a little time ago afforded to others." 165

Fitzwilliam owned 346 acres from the total of 1053 in the old cultivated area. There were 527 acres of waste. As in Swinton and Brampton enclosures, they were

"to inclose, drain and improve the several open fields, mesne enclosures, the Low Common and part of Wath Wood."

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163 See p473.

164 SCL WWM F106(m) F Otter - Earl Fitzwilliam (nd 1800).

165 SCL WWM F106(m) Petition (ibid)

The Act, despite the emergency conditions of 1800-1802 and the special problems of a heavily populated township, was not approved by Parliament until 1810. The recurrence of high prices by that time should not be ignored, for there were no less than 24 Acts with effect in Lower Strafforth, Upper Strafforth, and Staincross Wapentakes in the years 1810-1815, a peak for the whole period of parliamentary enclosures.<sup>166</sup>

At Wath Earl Fitzwilliam gained 160 acres of common and waste, somewhat more than his share, paying in extra funds to the Commissioners for this. Most of the costs of enclosing his land fell between 1812 and 1818. £900 went on legal expenses, on a total area after enclosure of 500 acres (£1.16s per acre). Over £500 was spent on drainage, flattening and fencing, much of this at the training ground. Overall his costs exceeded £6 per acre acquired, excluding expenses in parliament, a gross bill of over £3000.<sup>167</sup>

Other late enclosures were of varying type and advantage. At Darrington the Lord of the Manor (Sotherton) sought to write in a clause excluding himself from his proportion of the expenses. Fitzwilliam's payments there were small. At Wentworth and Thorpe, 180 acres of open common fields and undivided enclosures and 80 of common or waste were enclosed by an Act of 1814. Chief and quit rents were extinguished on the new allotment and he gained 1/16 as Lord of the Manor. This cost about £1500, again just over £6 per acre, excluding parliamentary expenses. Brodsworth was another enclosure of 1815 involving 399 acres of field and 389 of common and waste in which Fitzwilliam had some interest, while Brampton Brierlow, remnants at Wath, and Swinton enclosures came in the same year.

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166 SCL NRA

West Riding Enclosure Acts, 1760-1820.

167 SCL WWM A314-A320

To these enclosures' expenses should be added the burdens incurred elsewhere. In Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire

"between 1790 and 1815 a dozen enclosures were undertaken, ten of them after 1801."

F M L Thompson thought these cost £37,658, and where they can be calculated average costs amounted to £8 an acre. Thompson thought this was financed out of income, though substantial additional borrowing was undertaken in the period.<sup>168</sup>

By the later years of the war enclosure expenses were added to heavy financial commitments elsewhere as a burden upon the estates. In 1808-10 family requirements led to a re-settlement, which among other changes allowed £106000 more borrowing to meet family needs.<sup>169</sup> The high interest rates of war and the fall in the prices of produce may have eroded the position of the owning family, while they were at the same time investing in a wide range of coal, other industrial and transport undertakings. When prices fell their capital had been sunk, and percentage returns diminished. They were able to finance enclosure, but there was an opportunity cost. Added indebtedness could not always be as quickly paid off as had been hoped in the high price years of the Napoleonic Wars, especially as investment in enclosure was only one of several major investments which brought slow or even negative income growth in the post-1815 years.<sup>170</sup> Charles Bowns had tried to make gains by the re-letting of much of the estate in 1809-10.<sup>171</sup> These rental increases were only to be

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| 168 | F M L Thompson                                      | <u>English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (1963) p224.</u>   |
| 169 | M Turner  | <u>"Cost, Finance and Parliamentary Enclosure" ECHR 2nd series Vol XXXIV, No 2, May 1981, pp236-248.</u>         |
| 170 | SCL WWM F107<br>SCL WWM D1557<br>D1852<br>D1571.2.3 | Family Settlement. 1807 see also Marriage Settlement, 2 July 1806;; Settlement 1807-8; Settlement, October 1808. |
| 171 | SCL WWM F106a                                       | C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 12 July 1810.  |



realized for a few years before the post-war price fall put pressure upon the rents which Bowns had fixed.<sup>172</sup> In some as yet unrestricted parts of the estate farming was not helped by industrial, mining or urban encroachment. In 1809 John Shirt, tenant of Tankersley Park Farm was

"... desirous of leaving it on account of its being so much reduced in quantity and the ironstone getters being such disagreeable neighbours. He says he cannot live longer amongst them but he desires your Lordship to provide him with another farm." 173

A complication in this period was that large loans required abstracts of title if they were to be based upon a mortgage of particular properties. So expensive could this be that borrowing on bond became necessary.

"Messrs Roper and Co offered to lend you a few thousand pounds if wanted and to recommend your Lordship to be provided with £5000 ... which I think is likely to be the case in order to get over the time between the next receipt of rents at Wentworth on the 26th inst and November next." 174

Subsequently property in Tinsley was mortgaged for £30000 and one Baldwin was persuaded to accept the Earl's bond, as an abstract of title would have gone back to 1716.

As enclosure expenses became a regular large and possibly undesirable feature of each year's expenditure pressure from smaller freeholders and tenants became the source of initiative. At Swinton and Brampton

"the inclosure was not a measure that your Lordship had any wish to carry otherwise than to comply with the request of the majority of the proprietors ... I was desirous them to understand that your Lordship was conferring a favour upon them by consenting to the Inclosure upon any terms." 175

It was a considerable and expensive project. At Brampton there were 520 acres of open common fields and undivided enclosures and 30 acres of common

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| 172 | SCL WWM F107    | Ibid 26.11.1815; 19.5.1816; 29.11.1816.       |
| 173 | SCL WWM F106(d) | C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 9 February 1808.  |
| 174 | SCL WWM F106(a) | C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 24 November 1813. |
| 175 | SCL WWM F106(m) | C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 8 January 1815.   |

and waste, and in Swinton 420 acres of open common fields and undivided enclosures and 420 of common and waste. Fitzwilliam as lord of the manor had second thoughts about the potential gains from capital expended as prices continued to fall. The Duke of Norfolk had shown a distinct coolness to Whiston enclosure between 1813 and 1816, perhaps for similar reasons.<sup>176</sup> Fitzwilliam had owned 710 acres in 1783 in Swinton and half the houses at the enclosure. With rights to half the common, plus a large holding of other land, it exceeded 1000 acres by the time of the award.<sup>177</sup> Much of the work of the Swinton enclosure was undertaken in 1816, and for that year alone Bowns recorded outgoings of £2500 for Brampton, Swinton and Wentworth enclosure expenses. This came at a time when tenant default was serious, so that the agent;

"... who must have passed a long life occupied in settling the relation of Landlord and Tenant." <sup>178</sup>

stated

"I intend to avoid taking compulsive measures in every instance I can." <sup>179</sup>

Easy gains through rental increases to tenants after enclosure were no longer available as tenants were already defaulting on the high rents of 1809/10. Bown's diffidence in acting against tenants in arrear where possible reflects a recognition that their difficulties were real, and that alternative tenants were not available should they be evicted.

The costs of re-organisation of the land amounted to a further £2500 above that for legal fees and the work of the Commissioners. This involved work in both Swinton and Brampton, and much drainage was undertaken here

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176 SCL Arundel MSS S463

177 Brampton and Swinton Inclosure Award.

178 SCL WWM F107

Earl Fitzwilliam - Mary Willis, 29 November 1816.

179 SCL WWM F107

C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 15 January 1817.

as well as in Wath.<sup>180</sup> Again costs exceeded £6 an acre.

Large landowners undoubtedly used the process of parliamentary enclosure to extend the physical acreage under their own control. However they paid for land in excess of that allocated as freeholders and owners of manorial and tithe rights. At Wath Earl Fitzwilliam paid compensation and at Darfield he paid Henry Saville £161.14.6 in April 1810

"on account of money due to him on equality of exchange." 181

Similar extensions of Fitzwilliam acreage with cash compensation occurred at Brightside, Wentworth and possibly elsewhere. Advantage was more likely to be gained by large owners in their choice of area of enclosed allotments, as they frequently owned a high proportion of the land and the sole Commissioners of late parliamentary enclosure were usually surveyors or land agents themselves. In this Fitzwilliam may have been more scrupulous than smaller owners with fewer resources, like Sotherton at Darrington. Perhaps reputation and electoral influence were also of less importance to smaller owners.

How much did 60 years of enclosure activity by Parliamentary Act cost? At least 17 Acts affected the Wentworth Woodhouse estate. Several individual Acts and their subsequent land re-organisation cost more than £2000 and some twice that amount. Between July 1815 and March 1816 £3845 was expended on several enclosures. Over the whole period from 1760-1820 evidence is patchy, but it is unlikely that the estate spent less than £35000 on parliamentary enclosures. In practice such a figure is less significant than the uneven incidence of the costs, peaking late in the Napoleonic

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180 SCL WWM A320-A336 1815-22. Expenses of Wath and Brampton Enclosure.

181 SCL Darfield Enclosure Award 1810.

Wars and overshooting into the post-war period. £15434 was expended directly between 1812 and 1823, with final payments for Wentworth and Thorpe, Darrington and Badsworth in 1817-18.<sup>182</sup> This investment formed an important part of the wider movement as parliamentary enclosure, inaugurated in the West Riding on the better soils before 1765, spread through the coal measure parishes westwards. By 1820 the high cold areas of the Pennine district had been encompassed in so far as this was at all commercial. In 1849 Charnock

"estimated that 100000 acres of new arable land had been created since the 1790s and that moorland and waste had been reduced from 400000 acres to about half that area." <sup>183</sup>

The long term value of these enclosure investments is difficult to quantify. In the agrarian parts of the Wentworth Woodhouse estates rents increased after enclosure, and land enclosed in the 1770s probably yielded a high return for a long period. Much of the land had been upvalued between 1771 and 1778, as a response to the high grain prices of 1760-1772, and the capital costs of enclosure in that period. It was upvalued again in 1809-10. After 1815 some farmers were unable to pay, and temporary remission of rent became common. It was recognized that enclosure and other investment might prevent rents falling in a period of deflation of agrarian prices. In essence investment could become an alternative to rent reduction again after 1815 as in the 1740s.

Parliamentary enclosures, like enclosures by agreement, served no single end to landowners, or the smaller freeholder. They brought wastes into more productive uses, allowed drainage of waste, common and field land, prevented overstocking of common pastures. They allowed changes in size and

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182 SCL WWM A326

1818; A314-A338 Accounts 1812-23.

183 J Charnock

"On the Farming of the West Riding of Yorkshire",  
JRAGS Vol IX 1849, pp284-311.

shape of fields and in the arrangement of tenant holdings. Sometimes they allowed the large owner to winkle out a small freeholder, or small freehold which blocked consolidation. They encouraged some sales of land, and that aided mining, forestry and other activities as well as farming. Irksome legal burdens were rationalised, by some tithe commutation and the settling of old problems over manorial jurisdictions. Most important to the landowner was the increase of rent which they allowed, or at least its maintenance in the price fall. The Wentworth South Yorkshire rental grew from just over £9000 per annum in the 1780s to £25000 per annum between 1823 and 1826, and held up at higher levels than that thereafter.<sup>184</sup> The organisation of land effected by enclosure was only a means to an end, the increase of the landowner's rent consequent upon the increased productivity of the soil. This appeared to increase between the 1760s and 1815.

#### V The Influence of Estate Home Farming 1760-1815

Arthur Young was correct in his belief that the 2nd Marquis of Rockingham was a spirited improving landlord who encouraged tenants to do likewise by a policy of exhortation and example. What is more doubtful is to what extent his policy had much effect. Young made the mistake of confusing the image of activity and improvement with the reality of efficiency at Wentworth Woodhouse itself, and if example was to work through diffusion it had to be based upon good practice in home farming as well as effective means of diffusion to the tenants, and indeed to other farmers in the district.<sup>185</sup> The home farms are of some interest as a guide to what was thought to be advanced practice in this region, which was not among the

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184 SCL WMM A255-406

185 A Young

A Six Months Tour of the North of England (1769)  
Vol I, pp303-316. "Wentworth is in the centre of an immense tract of many counties that never hoed a bean". (p134) Young stresses the benefits of this for wheat cultivation.

most "advanced" in the sense of the usual accounts of the "agricultural revolution" nor among the most backward. In all areas methods had to be adapted to local conditions, and the Wentworth-Woodhouse estate is an interesting example of attempts at adaptation.<sup>186</sup>

The large home farm enterprises at Wentworth Woodhouse were a laboratory between 1750 and 1780. Young contended that about 2000 acres were kept in hand, that effective drainage had been undertaken where needed, and that in a great number of areas the estate acted as an example. The acreage and the practice of drainage is substantially correct. Nevertheless in 1771 many of the ideas proposed had hardly begun to take effect and home farming was openly admitted to be in an unsatisfactory state.

"Wellard ... will not have a bit of land in the farm fit to bring a crop of anything. Its value decreases every year considerably and whenever he quits it, the greater part of it must be fallowed immediately. The fences are most wretchedly managed as I ever saw anywhere, and in short, the face of the whole farm looks like as if it was in the hand of a bad tenant in his last year. The land is exceeding good it would never have held out till now in producing such crops as it has ... he has gone as far as he can both in the farm and in his credit." <sup>187</sup>

This was the culmination of a series of damning reports on the state of the Woodnook farm, in a year when a bad or middling crop was expected on this farm when others in the area expected good despite national trends where

"wheat was hardly to be seen." <sup>188</sup>

A second 100 acre Street Farm had reached a similar condition a few years earlier until West, the old tenant retired. A 'Kentish Farmer' Kedman replaced him. He remained for about 20 years, improving the farm but

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- 186 M Overton "An Agricultural Revolution 1650-1750" in Papers Presented to the Economic History Society Conference 1983 pp1-18.
- 187 SCL WWM R188.4a William Martin - 2nd Marquis of Rockingham, 22 July 1772.
- 188 E L Jones Seasons and Prices (1964), p144.

incurring great expense, though West had at least paid attention to fallows. In 1771 it was reported

"Street Farm ... Kedman runs at very great expense, but seems to clean the land exceeding well as far as he goes. In a few years he will give it quite a new face, and greatly increase its value, though at the same time it will be at a monstrous expense... The Kentish methods of agriculture ... will not answer in that farm, particularly drilling small grain. However what this man is doing will most certainly have a good effect compared with the management of the last ... Whereas the other ran your Lordship to more expense than the crop produced and the farm at the same time growing worse and worse every year." 189

In 1772 a Hertfordshire farmer took on the Woodnook Farm, utilizing methods requiring little fallow but before the late 1760s two major home farms were run badly, and they required considerable expense to recover thereafter.<sup>190</sup>

Half of the 2000 acres kept in hand was deer park, and there was much woodland. Young obscures that to emphasize the scale of Wentworth farming. The economy of deer and wood had also possibilities of gain, but their political and social symbolism was more important. Of the 1252 acres in hand in 1767 only 500 acres was arable. Most was pasture or used as mowing ground for hay to feed the large horse and other animal population on an estate with a large racing string.<sup>191</sup>

These comments put Arthur Young's remarks in perspective. In claiming that Rockingham "began by drainage" he refers to interesting ideas and experiments which were nevertheless applied on a limited scale. In 1752 some drainage was under way. In 1764 Thomas Paine sent plans giving details of brick soughs and in 1765 Platt of Rotherham made claims that

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- 189 SCL WWM R188.2a William Martin - 2nd Marquis of Rockingham, 19 June 1771.
- ICE 190 SCL WWM A6-8 Steward's Accounts 1779-1774; WWM A1493. Farm Accounts 1767-78.
- y 191 SCL WWM R222c 1767.

Thomas Reeves in Hertfordshire had established that draining

"may be done for 3d a perch, one common spade depth and one of a narrow spade depth, the stones to be got and laid ready for the undertaker at the side of the drain." 192

By then further drainage operations were progressing.

"drain at the Fat Pasture	92	
drain at fryer house	5½	
drain at Horse Close	1½	
drain at fallows	<u>64½</u>	
	<u>163</u>	acres"

and in the Windmill Field drainage was in progress, while a tilery was developed,<sup>193</sup> apparently combined with limekilns on a plan copied from the Duke of Bridgewater. Much of this was intended to improve grass but within a limited acreage of less than 300 acres in 1770, whereas Young created the impression of larger scale works.<sup>194</sup>

Pasture management and hay mowing were of great importance in this mixed farming coal-measure district. 700-800 tons of hay were taken from land in hand in the early 1770s. In the best years for this crop, and with tithe hay added, the demands for the home farms and other animals at Wentworth Woodhouse greatly exceeded available estate supply. More than 100 tons per annum were bought in, with disturbing effects upon local prices. About 500 acres of land in hand, at Wentworth Park, Badsworth and Tankersley were mown for hay.<sup>195</sup>

Among other crops clover had been known at Wentworth Woodhouse for about 40 years in 1769, and Young noted that it was often sown in a mix with barley. It was used in a range of rotations but acreages were small.

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192 A Young 'Tour' (1769) pp273-7.

193 SCL WWM R222a,b,c,d Draining; R174(2) Gilbert's Communication re Lime.

194 A Young 'Tour' (1769) p277.

195 SCL WWM R187,189 Hay from land in hand.



Sainfoin had been used in earlier experiments, but was little evidenced in detailed accounts of the 1770s.<sup>196</sup> The combination of mixed grass and new ploughing methods made it possible to improve grassland as Young believed, but it had probably only just been introduced on home farming when he wrote. In 1774

"Chapel Field to be laid down-now in turnips"

Its 36 acres were

"to be laid down by the Kentish ploughs so as not to leave any furrough mark."

The cost in hayseeds, white clover (from London), and oats was in excess of £50.<sup>197</sup> Turnip husbandry was well established in home farms. In 1769 West proposed for the Street Farm

"a sowing of wheat followed by pairing and burning, then turnips and barley. Recommends after beans then peas and oats."

He hoed carefully, it was claimed, never harrowed and used sheep manure in a system of hand tillage.<sup>198</sup> The practice did not spread quickly. Hoeing seems to have been unusual among local farmers at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>199</sup> Some turnips were grown each year at Street and Woodnook and probably kept the ground clear of weeds and fed sheep. Less successful were experiments with cabbage, which were discontinued after 1773, though vetches were continued throughout the 1770s. This may have been a function of an overheavy soil and too damp a climate.<sup>200</sup>

Alongside experimental and not so new crops, staples remained: wheat

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196	SCL WWM A1493	Miscellaneous Account of Land, 1767-78.
197	SCL WWM R222	P Miller - Rockingham, 2 June 1753. He stated that sainfoin had been sent too late to sow. That land should be fallowed one year and sainfoin sowed one month before (May) Land should afterwards be ploughed and harrowed to keep it clear of weeds. Lucerne maybe replaced it later.
198	SCL WWM R222	B Hall Memo, January 1774.
199	SCL WWM R176-40 R186/12	West - Rockingham, 28 September 1769; Turnip seed for Street Farm, 17 shillings.
200	R Brown (Ed)	<u>A General View of the Agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire</u> (1799 Ed) p4.

barley, oats, beans, rye and peas. About  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Woodnook was under wheat in 1769 and similarly at Woodnook, though the proportion later declined, and barley increased here and on the Tankersley arable.<sup>201</sup>

In grain crops like barley there were a large number of experiments with manure. Liming was well known and the risks of excessive use recognized. J Payne of Newhill, a well known local improver, wrote to Rockingham to advise on the comparative merits of Knottingley and local lime after carrying out experiments in 1764

"3 doz of our own on 1 acre and two of the other on other acre. Greater quantity known to be prejudicial of ours. Laid on previous to second fallowing."

This fallow was the one prior to turnips in his rotation. As he and Rockingham were well aware, Knottingley lime cost almost twice as much as local lime.<sup>202</sup> The lime was applied after wheat crops

"Note - any lime laid on close Woodnook Farm where Wheat and clover was sown last year." <sup>203</sup>

Lime was also used on grassland.

In 1764 Rockingham organised experiments comparing foul salt, Hooton lime, Knottingley lime, dung, tan bark and burnt clay, most of which were used subsequently as manures. To these manures was added bone and horn dust bought in Sheffield at William Martin's instigation, and after the Marquis' death a bone-mill remained in operation near Wentworth.<sup>204</sup> This long pre-dated their widespread commercial use. Evidently Loudon's 1835 Encyclopaedia of Agriculture which states that they were first introduced

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201 SCL WWM A1493-1767-78 Crops on Home Farms, 8 November 1765.

202 SCL WWM R187.41 J Payne - Rockingham 1764 (nd).

203 SCL WWM R222 a Land in hand 1768.

204 R Brown (Ed) "A General View of the Agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire" (1799 ed).  
Appendix. Letter from W Payne, 30 November 1793 p56.

into Lincolnshire and Yorkshire about 1800 by a bone merchant of Hull is incorrect, not least because large supplies were available as a by-product of the cutlery handle trade, and were probably imported for that purpose in the eighteenth century.<sup>205</sup>

The Marquis made detailed personal calculations about relative costs of manure. Costs ranged from 7 shillings and 6d to £4.10 shillings per acre if dung was used, with carriage forming a large part of the expense. Best practice on the estate was probably represented by the senior estate farmer Brown's plans for Tankersley,

"September 18 1768. Oak Close No 2 Late John Rawlin's. Half fallow, half wheat stubble whole fallowed this winter and sown with turnips in the spring. Plough in the eight chaldron of lime as soon as you can. About 6 wain load of rotten dung per acre in the spring - 1. Turnips; 2. Barley or clover; 3. Clover; 4. wheat." 206

Among other manuring experiments were

"170 bushels Pidgeon dung for 8 acres 2 rood of Nether Gt Sheffield. 270 bushels soot - Upper Great Burfield. 9 acres 1 rood." 207

and the use of

"Mud out of Monkey Pond mixed with lime and laid between the Pond and the Plantation. 11/6 an acre exclusive of trouble and expense of mixing and spreading." 208

The experiments were costed, though with a tendency to omit labour from the calculations. Transportation was in all cases costly, but the proximity of coal reduced one major expense, making it feasible to burn lime on the estate. Many of the experimental dungs cost more than £1 per acre

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205	J C Loudon	<u>The Encyclopaedia of Agriculture</u> (1835 ed), p807.
206	SCL WWM R138 222	Tankersley, 18 September 1768.
207	SCL WWM R222	Tankersley, 18 September 1768.
208	SCL WWM R174	Calculations, 1764.

to apply, which despite Young's view that this might be feasible for ordinary farmers, would have been a considerable expense to them. When land was taken in hand from dead or outgoing tenants it usually required fallowing as well as manure to revitalize the soil, and clover was frequently inserted into the rotation.<sup>209</sup> The rationale for the new crops is well known.

"Grafted on to an agriculture which was already being modified by the creeping consolidation of holdings, they forced open the bottleneck of too little fodder with which to over-winter a large stock of farm animals. The fodder crops and the forced grass of the water meadows had the same kind of impact: by increasing the supply of feed they enabled more stock to be kept and better fed, giving more dung per acre ... Heavier applications of manure would raise the yields of both cereal and fodder crops, more feed would permit still heavier stocking, and the whole slowly expanding circle would unfold once more." 210

The Payne and Rockingham manure experiments were addressed towards this problem, but at different levels. Payne was a successful commercial farmer, owning one farm and leasing another from the Marquis of Rockingham and his successor at Newhill. He was celebrated by Young for experiments in drilling beans, harrowing, rolling and hoeing turnips.<sup>211</sup> Rockingham's estate farming served different ends. He did not have to make the individual home farms pay. The major rationale for the new crops was their use in feeding animals and revitalizing the soil for future cropping. Home farming served as an adjunct to the large area of parkland and the maintenance of the large animal population which fed, transported and entertained the household at Wentworth Woodhouse. A herd of about 100 scots cattle

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- 209 SCL WWM R222 Tankersley. Late Rawlin's land, 1768,  
210 E L Jones "Agriculture and Economic Growth in England 1660-1750; Agricultural Change," reprinted in E L Jones (Ed) Agriculture and Economic Growth in England 1650-1815 (1967) pp155-6.  
211 A Young 'Tour' (1769) pp312-313.

were kept. Bought each year from drovers like John Macadam they were fattened and used to supply the household. There was a substantial stock of working animals including the dairy cattle of the third home farm, Upper Farm, which was essentially a dairy enterprise serving the house. In 1759 500 sheep, including 90 already fattened were maintained, and about 100 pigs.<sup>212</sup> Newly bought lean cattle were put on straw in winter and fattening animals fed on oats, beans and barley.<sup>213</sup>

Though feeding the household was the priority, sales off the estate of animals and produce occurred. Estate stewards were aware of price, and profits.

"January - July 1772 Feeding up two oxen and old cow

cost	£19.12.9	
sold	<u>£38.18.0</u>	
profit	<u>£19.5.3</u>	"214

In the high prices of 1769-72 William Martin sold a good number of animals. Recommending this to Rockingham

"Mutton being very scarce they would sell exceeding well just now."<sup>215</sup>

The Welsh sheep were sold for about 15 shillings each. Sales were predominantly the disposal of surplus or old stock, but were also more frequent in high price periods. Animals were bought in from Wakefield cattle market and (for sheep) Wighton, with Welsh sheep replacing the Penistone variety by the early 1770s.<sup>216</sup>

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- 212 SCL WWM R171 6b "To John Macadam for 60 heifers and bullocks at £5 each £300." 1760s. Scots cattle had been bought since the 1730s.
- 213 SCL WWM R222a "True account of horses, beasts and sheep, 13 December 1759."
- 214 SCL WWM R189b January - July 1772.
- 215 SCL WWM R1883a Martin - Rockingham, 4 June 1771.
- 216 SCL WWM R188.7 Stock of Cattle and sheep, 29 June 1771.

The much praised home farming at Woodnook, Street and the Upper Farm together involved less than 300 acres of land. They were reformed in the 1770s. The 80 acres of Woodnook was farmed by Kentish methods, and the 120 of the Street Farm by the turnip hoeing husbandry of the Hertfordshire farmer.<sup>217</sup> These were medium to large farms for this district, though smaller than the large farms of eastern arable regions. Probably Payne of Newhill controlled as much. In addition to these "experimental" enterprises William Brown controlled the large acreages of Wentworth and Tankersley Parks and farms taken 'in hand' between lettings to tenants. The rolling acres of mowing grass and pasture, feeding cattle, sheep and deer, provided useful produce but were scarcely models which ordinary farmers could seek to imitate. Upon occasions sections of this land were put in tillage, yielding crops before being returned to grass. Ordinary farmers must have found it difficult to take the experimental practices of big estate farming seriously. So many resources were consumed in conspicuous consumption that experiment appeared another luxurious fad when uncontrolled by the need to make a profit. Yet detailed calculations in the 2nd Marquis' own hand about many aspects of farming indicate that his was more than a dilettante interest intended merely to impress London and County Society at a superficial level. He spoke the same technical language as Payne of Newhill and could put a well argued and quantified case for the advantages of preferred techniques or methods.<sup>218</sup> Within his own properties persuasion could be backed by inducement. Rockingham encouraged tenants by an increased level of spending on buildings after 1760, and tenants enjoyed security of tenure and favourable rents until about 1770. Then ideas of efficiency pushed for widespread upvaluation and higher rents, which despite favourable prices of produce in this region,

217 SCL WWM Stw 1.(i)

Rockingham - B Hall, 2 March 1773.

218 SCL WWM R187.41

J Payne - Rockingham (nd) 1770c; A Young "Tour" Vol 1 pp335-6, 340-1. Young argued conscious imitation of the Marquis' methods at Farrer's farm at Barnborough Grange and by Hewett of Bilham. W Payne (son of J Payne) of Frickley thought this influence important 30 years later. See R Brown op cit (1799 ed) Appendix p56. Parkinson of Doncaster was more doubtful. (ibid Appendix, p72).

may have eroded tenant capital. Tithe evidence from the early 1770s supports a conservative view of tenant farming close to Wentworth Woodhouse. At Greasbrough wheat and barley predominated, blend corn (with clover) and oats followed. Animals provided only £11 in value out of a total of £254, though in part this may reflect the inequalities of assessment. In Tankersley oats were of greater importance, and in Hoyland. Though both were more exposed and marginally wetter townships than Greasbrough, little barley was grown, but wheat was. Beasts always formed a small part of the return. Even pigs seem few, despite their value in a pasture district. Some farmers fattened Scots cattle. Overall the impression is that the economy was still grain biased in 1770, despite a natural suitability for animal husbandry.<sup>219</sup> One possible view of the manure experiments at Wentworth Woodhouse is to see them as a search for alternatives to animal manure which was deficient in supply in local farming generally despite the availability of town dung. Short distance transport of the latter remained very expensive.<sup>220</sup>

Rockingham calculated that a team of horses and a waggon or large cart of about 60 cubic feet (52 bushels) capacity cost £75 per annum to keep. If they worked 250 out of 365 days it was necessary for them to earn 6 shillings each day to cover their costs, most of which were expended in horse food.<sup>221</sup> As 45 wains and waggons were in use at Wentworth such expenses were a considerable item of estate expenditure, dwarfing the £350 per annum in gross outgoings for the Street and Woodnook Farms, between 1771 and 1774. On home farms a tightening of administration was

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219 SCL WWM R189 William Martin's Tithe Return, 1770-74.  
 220 SCL WWM R174.4 2nd Marquis's memo re costs of waggon journey to  
 R222 Kilnhurst, 1764;  
 Note re Manure experiments, 1768.  
 221 SCL WWM R222e Notes on waggons and carthorses, 3 August 1768.

attempted in the early 1770s by the new steward Benjamin Hall. There was an attempt to prevent maladministration at every level, with an evaluation and new survey of tenanted land, a tightening of home farming practice and accounting and new farmers at the Street and Woodhook. In the house itself staff changes were accomplished in an attempt to enforce some economy and a drive against dishonesty. The Housekeeper, her husband, who had been in charge of the gardens, and some lesser servants were replaced, as was the steward Martin who had been critical of house servants. In agricultural practice on land in hand this was reflected in the Marquis' instructions to the new steward.

"There ought not to be too many women in a field, they should be divided into small companies and then they would make the hay and not loiter in talking etc. ... always was too many haymaking women and children." 222

The second Marquis of Rockingham was remarkably assiduous in the calculation of relative advantages of a variety of practical alternatives. Between 1770 and 1771 there was a price increase for all grains of about 20% in this district and this may have made him more sensitive to costs than was usual, while harvests from land in hand varied, that of 1771 being considerably lighter than the previous year.<sup>223</sup> They were circumstances suggestive of both opportunities and risks. With the considerable limits imposed by poor health and a busy public life the Marquis made positive efforts to minimize the latter and to profit from the former in home farming and in policy towards tenants after 1770.<sup>224</sup>

Of what long-run significance was this home farming? Thus far the question has been posed in terms of the likely spread of new methods tested by experiment to tenant farmers elsewhere upon the estate, and in the

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222 SCL WWM Stw 1

Rockingham - B Hall, 15 July 1772.

223 SCL WWM R189

Tithe Returns 1770-74.

224 F O'Gorman

The Rise of Party in England. The Rockingham Whigs 1760-82 (1975) pp219-293.



transmission of information at least to the most literate and spirited members of the farming community like Payne of Newhill. But to a degree this pre-judged the issue of what there was to diffuse. Was output per acre higher, or were other methods used on the estate better than those commonly applied outside? Did experiment pay in any way appealing to farmers? Was it anything more than fashion and fad grafted on to notions of social and moral superiority?

To answer these questions definitively would require a closer analysis of the detailed home farming accounts and of the productivity of agriculture outside than is possible in this context. Nevertheless some suggestions can be made. It has already been suggested that tenant farmers may have possessed rather too few animals for the virtuous cycle proposed by E L Jones to have operated successfully before the late 18th century in this district. On the Wentworth Woodhouse estate the animal population grew from the 1750s to the Napoleonic wars. Sheep numbers at Wentworth and Tankersley increased from 473 in 1759 to 924 in 1791-2, and 875 sheep in 1835. In the decade 1759-69 about 150 cattle were usually kept whereas sales of cattle by Joshua Biram between 1807 and 1814 indicate a larger stock. By 1851 235 cattle were sold off the estate, seemingly without impairing the stock. Also in 1835 about 500 deer lived at Wentworth and Tankersley Parks, compared to 450 in the 1770s.<sup>225</sup> For long periods a substantial part of the produce of the estate was used to maintain the race horse string, necessitating purchases of hay and oats from outside tenant farmers and merchants.

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225 SCL WWM R222

Accounts 1760s; A1498 Account of cash received for sundries sold 1807-14; A1492 Sheep marked 1791-2; A1492-A1499; A1327-9 deer 1833.

It is suggested that the new crops were largely successful in providing food for a larger sheep population, and that more cattle were kept within approximately the same acreage in the 1790s than had been usual between 1759-69. This suggests that productivity rises were achieved within estate agriculture, at least in terms of animal output per acre. Output of arable crops seems also to have increased. Wheat output at the Wentworth home farms and estate arable was usually about 7 loads per acre in the 1760s.<sup>226</sup> Taking the contemporary views that 3 bushels = 1 load, outputs already exceeded recent estimates of output for 1794-1801 in the 1760s on Wentworth Woodhouse estate home farms for wheat and presumably for other products. By 1815 these levels of output had increased to 10 loads per acre a much higher figure than that generally thought to apply in this region, even at Adwick, which was a detached portion of the Kingston estates.<sup>227</sup> This last figure approximates for those tenant farms to the levels generally considered usual after 1840. By 1815 an output of 10 loads was assumed as the tithe norm for wheat at Adwick. The barley norm was 5 quarters, oats 6 quarters, beans 7 quarters and hay 1½-2½ tons per acre.<sup>228</sup> If this could be assumed for a whole township, even in a sheltered and fertile district, it is likely that outputs on carefully tended land at Wentworth were at least as high.

The crop returns of 1801 appear to indicate that Brown underestimated the amounts of wheat grown in South Yorkshire, and he probably underestimated animal populations. Though the estate farming at Wentworth Woodhouse cannot simply be equated with the generality of common farming practice in

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- 226 SCL R222 Accounts of land in hand, Woodnook, Street, Tankersley arable, 1769-71.
- 227 M Turner "Agricultural Productivity in England in the Eighteenth Century: Evidence from Crop Yields." ECHR, 2nd Series XXXVI, No 4, November 1982 p504.
- 228 SCL WWM F107a Adwick Tithe valuation 1815: Productivity is of course notoriously difficult to measure. See D B Grigg The Dynamics of Agricultural Change (1982) pp167-176; A Young thought the usual oats yield 5 quarters in 1769, but allowed the possibility of 7, 8 or even 9. "Tour" Vol 1 (1769) p115; barley he considered 3½ quarters normal and wheat 22 bushels medium.

the area, similarities of soil and aspect maintained similarities. At Wentworth the animal population grew fast from 1760-1800, and then more or less stabilized. Increased supplies of animal manure were added to the bizarre selection of inputs tested by the 2nd Marquis. Some of the experimental fertilizers including bone dust came to be used more widely to such a degree that it has been claimed that wartime disruption of the import of bones was a problem of agriculture in some areas in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.<sup>229</sup> Within the area improved road transport and the opening of river and canal navigations probably widened the availability of town manure with the possibility by the war years of arable cultivation of former pasture or waste. A comparison of Tinsley township farming between 1771 and 1833 indicates more switches to arable than from it to pasture or mowing grasses.<sup>220</sup> At the same time comparison of the 1801 Crop Returns and the 1815 tithe assessment for Adwick on Dearne indicated much the same proportions of arable devoted to wheat in 1815 as in 1801.<sup>231</sup> This amounted to about 50% of the arable. If there was any switch of land use there it was towards wheat in this relatively sheltered and easterly coal-measure township.

Table 7.6 - Adwick Land Use 1815

Acres		% of arable plus mowing ground
202	hay	29.0
263	wheat/clover	38.0
54	barley	8.0
81	oats	12.0
00	potatoes	0
0	peas	0
52	beans	8.0
35	turnips/rape	5.0
0	rye	0
687	TOTAL	100

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229 A H John "Farming in Wartime," in E L Jones and G E Mingay Eds, Land Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution, Essays presented to J D Chambers. (1966) p36.

230 SCL Fairbank MSS MB 385 1833; Rot 92R 1771.

231 D Hey "The 1801 Crop Returns for South Yorkshire". YAJ Vol 42, 1967-70, pp455-464.

In this region Dr Hey's comments based upon the 1801 Crop Returns remain cautious about the possibility of any switch towards arable in the 1792-1801 period, and advisedly so. The high prices of war time may have led to some increase in grain outputs, with improved methods based on greater use of fertiliser and some increases in efficiency consequent upon land re-organisation through enclosure. Any increase in arable acreage was more likely to come via enclosure of common or waste than from conversion of old pasture. Increased animal populations seem to have been at least as significant a response in estate agriculture, and to have spilled over into tenant farming practices of ordinary farmers. This conforms to findings elsewhere

"The data from the few existing manuscript accounts clearly support the view held by many contemporaries that the production decisions of English farmers during the Napoleonic period responded to price changes in such a way as significantly to increase the output of meat and dairy products." 232

In these circumstances mowing land was likely to remain dedicated to this purpose because demand for animal products and prices were high and such land tended to be relatively unsuitable for growing grain crops. This was especially true of the productive but damp grasslands of the Don and other river valleys. In the Pennine foothills there were some extensions of cultivation up the hills towards the moory wastes to the west, but here too the predominant intention was probably that of improving pasturage. In the Bradfield Enclosure of 1811 14000 acres remained unenclosed in the Chapelry, including some open field and open or mesne woodlands. Most was uncultivable waste where conventional fencing in of allotments was uneconomic. The Commissioners were allowed discretion as to where fences were necessary,

and were allowed to sell common, moor or waste to defray part of the expenses where they were deemed obligatory. The Duke of Norfolk as Lord of the Manor and tithe impropiator was guaranteed in his latter role compensatory land in the green rather than black wastes. Dispute over common rights was more important here than switches of product, for much of this land was to remain rough moorland sheepwalk let at no more than a shilling per acre per annum before and after parliamentary enclosure. Tenant responses to the high prices of war probably varied in their long run efficacy according to their knowledge, security of tenure and availability of capital. Richard Bramah, tenant at Wentworth Castle, was only allowed to plough out the Long Ing near Wortley when he had first layed down the Broad Ing to grass.<sup>233</sup> In Tickhill in the east of the district the experienced surveyor Thomas Gee complained to the Earl of Scarbrough about his tenants in 1813.

"The farm called Spittle Hill in the occupation of Joseph Sellars is very much under managed owing in a great degree to his having too much under the plough, if he had studied his own interest he would have had the whole of his low lands containing 74.3.21 in permanent grass, which would set him at liberty to work the High Common Land containing 161.1.27 which in its present state is very much undermanaged and probably for want of capital his system of management on the High Common is very improper viz 1/5 fallow 2/5 seeds, 2/5 corn."

The complaint was repeated elsewhere - Folds Farm in Tickhill was also being impoverished by having too much land under the plough. Several of the farms were large but lacked adequate buildings. The tenants in occupation had insufficient capital to make improvements and presumably to stock them fully with animals. Gee concluded

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233 SCL VWM 122

J Birks - Leveson - Vernon, 1 December 1815.

"to see them neglected ... for want of capital and particularly when there are men of capital waiting, who would be gratified to have the offer of either of those farms and would raise from them double their present produce and this is no small consideration if viewed from a National point and must (from the past and present high price of produce arising from Land) make proprietors of estates feel a little anxious as to the future management of their property." 234

By this time it was clearly realized that the productivity of land could be raised substantially and that tenant enterprise and capital could play a major part in the process. The exact means varied according to the local conditions, but whereas Payne of Newhill seemed to be somewhat exceptional in his improving attitudes in the 1760s, Gee considered that men of that ability and capital were likely to be forthcoming by the end of the Napoleonic Wars. In turn in this region animal husbandry as well as improvements of arable organisation and husbandry played a part in the process which was critical. The increased livestock populations, increased output per acre and experimental approach of the large Home Farming estate enterprises played a part in popularizing a more capital intensive approach, even when tenant or freehold farmers lacked the capital or willingness to imitate. The high price years of the wars made this feasible, and some farmers took the steps which led to the generally higher grain yields and greater animal outputs of the first decades of the 19th century. High prices also provoked some landowners to disempark, letting land formerly in hand to tenants. This occurred with the large Kiveton and Thorpe demesne of the 6th Duke of Leeds in 1810-11, and was recommended by the expert R Legard to the Earl of Scarborough in March 1800. It was too much for Lumley-Saville of Rufford even to save his brother from excessive expense, and Legard's evangelism against waste stopped short.

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234 Sandbeck Lumley-Saville MSS EMC 124 (1) T Gee - Earl of Scarborough,  
5 January 1813.

"I have no doubt my Brother Scarbrough will object to this total dismantling the Park, as Mr Foljambe, who I saw yesterday, agrees with me in my sentiments about it - I agree the total disparking would be a great saving, but still as I think there are material objections and I feel sure my Brother will feel sore at the idea, why not attempt a saving but not a total extinction in this part of the Establishment." 235

In truth this negative view of estate parks and home farming illustrates that in general they were less productive in a utilitarian sense than the commercial farmer. Nevertheless it was the flexibility of the cushioned estate economy which allowed experiment which could be set against the "down to earth experience" of farmers of the calibre of Payne. Through such an interaction was generated new understanding which spread to others over a long timespan.

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235 Sandbeck Lumley-Saville MSS EMC/26/25 Lumley-Saville - R Legard, 20 April 1800.

## CHAPTER 8

### Agricultural Evolution 1815-1860

#### I Changes in Agriculture in the Post-1815 Price Fall

William Marshall believed

"no country entirely mountainous, nor one which is disturbed by manufacture can be a fit subject for rural knowledge and the Western Division of the county falls chiefly under one or other of these descriptions." 1

Possibilities of confusion in such study are evident. Yet much of the economy of the area remained essentially agrarian, and there is ample evidence that adjustments to the post-war world were as difficult for agriculturalists as they were for the business and working classes in this region.

Evidence of diminished farming profits appeared in 1815, and persisted into the early 1820s. Bowns, agent to Earl Fitzwilliam, knew that rents had been set high in 1809-10, and even at the high prices of that period some tenants would have difficulty in paying. The aim was to push tenants into greater efforts. In deflation good tenants would usually survive, but the weak stood little chance. After the Michaelmas rent day of 1815 Bowns wrote

"... not many new defaulters amongst the tenants but the old ones were very deficient so much so that I must send a bailiff to distraint upon a few of them as there is no prospect of their recovering while the Grain sells at so low a rate when they could not keep even in good times." 2

At first the problem was seen as primarily damaging the incautious tenant or poor manager. Things were similar on other estates. In March 1816

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1 W Marshall The Rural Economy of Yorkshire (1788) p10.

2 SCL WWM F107a C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 26 November 1815.



Houseman, the Duke of Norfolk's agent in Sheffield

"Agreed with Mr Geo Glossop to continue his farm from year to year, and in consideration of the reduced price of produce and the uncertainty of his continuing have agreed after the present year to take a rent of £150, total quantity 114.0.31 Mr Glossop to be subject to the covenants and conditions inserted usually in the Duke's leases and to leave everything on the premises without any allowance." 3

Surrenders of leases, through death, default or inability to pay because of low prices were recognized by the Agent. Despite their difficulties the estate used the weakness of tenants to undermine tenant-right where possible, which cannot have been popular. The penalty of a rent fixed according to the changing price of grain was less security and cancellation of compensation for unexhausted improvements.

"1816 April 9. Agreed with Joseph Girdler as follows, 'to pay a rent of £335 for the year ending at Ladyday last, the final fixing of which was suspended till the present time on account of the uncertainty of the time. Mr Girdler holds at will for the present and leaves the present year's rent to be fixed by me, which if the price of corn advance will also be advanced prior to his having a lease.'" 4

At Wentworth Woodhouse by 1816 Bowns was preparing himself for petitions for abatements, though there were no short payments. Bowns and Houseman began as stern defenders of the owners' interests. Houseman made strident re-iterations of the terms of the Duke of Norfolk's leases. Yardley, a tenant in Heeley, was

"not to plough any old meadow nor pasture land, nor to take off and dispose of any manure, nor other produce and straw in time of quitting." 5

Owner and tenant feared the uncertainty of new arrangements and hoped to keep as close to old ones as possible. Yardley was allowed a reduction of rent for his farm from £62 to £52 per annum.

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3 SCL Arundel Mss S388 March 1816.

4 SCL Arundel Mss S388.

5 Ibid.

In 1816 Bowns thought there was no case for general reduction. One

"Trippett of Tankersley Park who say'd that he expected an Abatement of 20% but he paid the whole of his rent."

Bowns thought there were

"... no good real grounds for requiring a general reduction in your Lordship's rents in this unsettled period." 6

but was intending to pay the property tax rather than ask tenants to advance it. Some tenants were served notices by Bowns between the spring and the Autumn rent days, and responded with claims for unexhausted improvements. When Bowns did not respond sympathetically these were directed to Earl Fitzwilliam himself. He sent them back to Bowns

"Because I was incompetent." 7

Mary Willis claimed

"I sent your steward a statement of the money we have expended on this Farm (about £734) which sum is considerably less than what we have laid out"

but

"as no accommodation would be made us",

they contacted Fitzwilliam. Willis claimed that Bowns had replied that

"The money we had laid out was for our own accommodation and we had reaped the benefit of it. In 1807 both the House and Land were in a state of utter ruin and desolation and had Mr Bowns only received the Profits of the land for eight years past I fancy he would not have had any reason to speak of the benefit reaped." 8

The Earl had to trust in the long experience of his Agent, but the latter was growing more cautious as the price fall persisted.

"I intend to avoid taking compulsive measures in every instance I can." 9

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6 SCL WWM F107a C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 29 November 1816; January 1817.

7 SCL WWM F107a Correspondence. Bowns - Fitzwilliam, November-January 1816-1817.

8 SCL WWM F107a Mary Willis - Earl Fitzwilliam, 29 November 1816.

9 SCL WWM F107a Charles Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, January 1817.

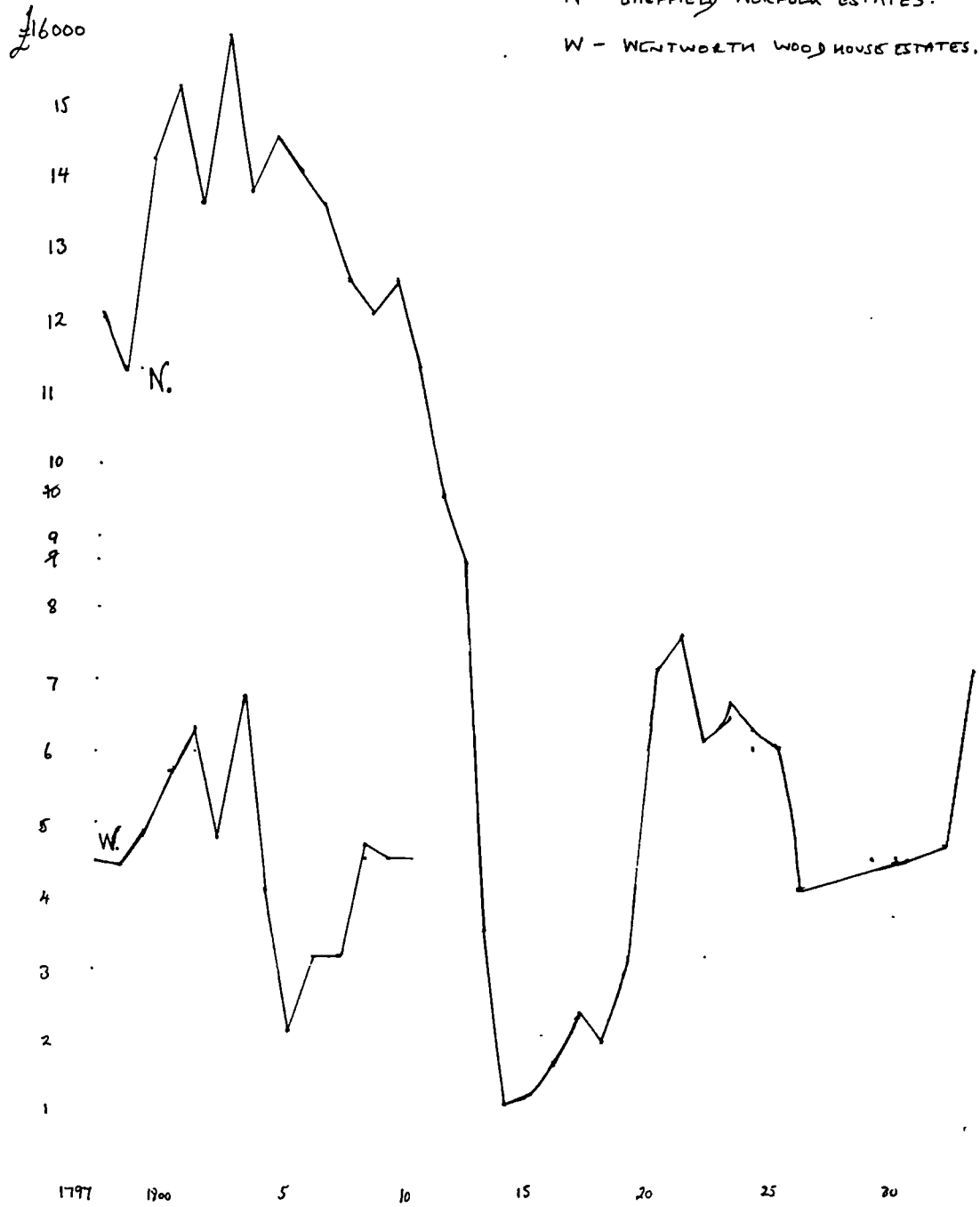
FIGURE 8.1

RENTAL ARREARS.

1797- 1833.

N - SHEFFIELD NORFOLK ESTATES.

W - WENTWORTH WOOD HOUSE ESTATES.



To have done otherwise would have cut against long traditions of estate administration, and made little sense when tenants with ready capital were not easily available. Early in 1817 nine tenants were regarded as in desperate straits. A fall of timber was delayed because of low prices and in May 1817 12 tenants were verging on bankruptcy. The

"List of Arrears is the longest in number of tenants and of the largest amount that I have before known ... Last years crop of Grain having been so much impaired by the wet and late season. Cattle also having been at a low rate ... (and farmers) much oppressed by the increase of the Poor Rate." 10

The story was similar everywhere. Rent days were poorly attended at Wentworth Castle in early February 1817, with barely £500 received.<sup>11</sup> The winters of 1816-17 and 1817-18 appear to have been severe so that provisions were in short supply, but harvests were poor locally, giving farmers little opportunity to gain. In particular the winter of 1817-18 began very early

"... with very white frosts in the mornings and the harvest is very backward indeed I suppose nothing like half done about this neighbourhood." 12

Non-attendance at rent days was not confined to the post-war depression, for the Earl of Scarbrough had been forced to threaten tenants with discharges in November 1809 because

"the system of irregularity with regard to payments of Rents which has prevailed for so many years at Sandbeck and the rest of the Yorkshire Estates is still going on." 13

Then it had been possible to threaten tenants because there was a long list of new ones to choose from. At least one tenant, Collings, about whom all reports were unfavourable, was intended to be evicted on Lady day 1810. The post war years were different.

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10 SCL WWM F107a/40      *ibid*, 22 May 1817.

11 SCL VWM 148              Hensley - H Vernon, 1 February 1817.

12 SCL VWM                  Hensley - H Vernon, 1 October 1817.

13 Sandbeck Lumley Saville Mss EMC/14/7 Earl of Scarbrough to Tenants, 22 November 1809.

1818 offered a brief respite. By June William Newman the new agent at Wentworth Woodhouse reported to Earl Fitzwilliam

"I have the satisfaction of informing your Lordship that the receipts at the Wentworth Rent days fully answered my Expectations." 14

Industrial rents had already been reduced, but as yet those for agricultural land had not. Newman was able to remit £6000 to Messrs Snow, the Earl's London banker, after the Ladyday rent day, and arrears at the end of 1818 were £1100 less than in 1817

"... hence I infer that the Tenantry feel the beneficial effects of the present state of the markets." 15

Prosperity was to be short lived. Industrial depression was soon renewed, and dragged down food prices. By early 1819 tenants of land at Rawmarsh bought from Mr Kent were quickly informed that the same rents should continue

"... lest they should contemplate in a change of landlord a reduction of rent." 16

The new auditor of the Wentworth estate, the Wakefield barrister Francis Maude, wrote

"I am sorry to say our trade is in a most distressed state. I never knew our Riding at so low an ebb." 17

For a time rents of farms remained better than expected

"... from the depressed state of the markets," 18

for the mixed blessing of a good harvest at least gave farmers produce to sell. It was not until 1820 that the farming tenants reflected the indus-

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14 SCL WWM F107 W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 8 June 1818.

15 Ibid F107/96 8 December 1818.

16 Ibid F107/103 23 April 1819.

17 SCL WWM F107/104 F Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 25 April 1819.

18 SCL WWM F107/105 W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 24 May 1819.

trial and trading crisis in their inability to pay rents, and arrears mounted to over £5000, with over £1000 returned to tenants at the second rent day.<sup>19</sup>

"Your Lordships Tenants certainly have advantages which many do not possess yet even with them, the pressure of low prices for the produce and increasing Poor's Rates is very sensibly felt." <sup>20</sup>

The payment of tithes in cash was also a problem after 1815, and the system of letting tithe collection at a fixed rent made it worse as prices fell. This led to a reversion to collection of the tithe in kind at Wath after 1815 which was

"prejudicial both to the farmer and the Tythe owner." <sup>21</sup>

Let in 1812 for £720 and £845 in 1813, in 1820 it had been offered for £590 and had found no takers. The unpopularity of tithes is well known. When further tithe property was offered to Fitzwilliam Newman wrote

"... as tythes are not generally speaking a pleasant form of property the terms ought to be advantageous." <sup>22</sup>

In some places by the end of the war it had become near impossible to collect them. In Adwick tenants would not pay as they thought the tithe too high in 1815. Bowns argued that Adwick Poor Rate and Brampton Highway Rates were unequal relative to the tithe. It was

"Not a question of law, ... (a) question of expediency ... the quantum and proportions of a Poor Rate are peculiarly within the jurisdiction of the Magistrates ... If as Your Lordship observes, the Rent paid is the proper criterion of value, it must be as good for the tithes as the land, but no, say the occupiers of the land, we will assess the tithe owner to the uppermost farthing or nearly so of the value of the tithes but the rent shall be taken as the value of the land; that is the landlord's portion of the value. Our profit they say shall not be taken into account."

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19 SCL WWM A332

20 SCL WWM F107/115 W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 23 May 1820.

21 SCL WWM F107/115 27 April, 1820.

22 SCL WWM F107/122 Ibid, 21 April 1821.

In the crisis of 1819-20 such issues excited acrimony. The JPs of Sheffield could not be trusted to protect tithe owners. Francis Maude had sought to direct the Adwick tithe case to Pontefract or Doncaster in October 1815,

"where the Justices will be more numerous and many of them come to the question quite new and free from bias." 23

Tenant farmers disliked all taxes, but when the poor rates reached their peak much of the aggression was shifted on to the contentious tithe in the decade after 1815. This was the reason for doubts about the acquisition of more tithe property and for difficulties in finding someone to collect it when the terms were made more favourable.

On the Norfolk estate administrative difficulty conspired with depression to confuse the regulation of farming. Many medium and small tenancies were turned over to annual tenancies or (formally) tenancies at will in 1816-17, and the process continued thereafter. The regularization of this process was complicated by the illness of Agent Houseman in 1818, from which he eventually died. The new agent Michael Ellison and the new auditor Edward Blount discovered that great numbers of agreements had expired without re-negotiation.

"... some are out of lease without any positive agreement respecting future rent having been entered into at the time of his decease." 24

As the general auditor and agent died within a few months it took time to regularize the administration. It was complicated by price fluctuations and the great complexity of the Norfolk Sheffield property. Tenants were not anxious to rush into new agreements as prices fell, and only gradually in 1819-20 did Ellison re-organise the leases, primarily in 14 year agree-

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23 SCL WWM F107 F Maude's opinion, 9 October 1815.

24 SCL Arundel Mss S478 E Blount - M Ellison, 7 November 1819.

ments for farms. As an interim measure a good number of agreements were made like that following which was similar to at least 10 other tenant-farming agreements in Attercliffe and Brightside in 1819.

"Agreed with William Bamford for the farm he now occupies near Attercliffe to hold from year to year on the conditions of the old lease." 25

There had also been a large arrear.<sup>26</sup>

By 1821 a general rent reduction for all farming tenants seemed inevitable at Wentworth Woodhouse.

"On the subject of the great depression in the Farming Interests, I can truly say that it is very severely felt by the Farmers of this part of the country ... the Petition was presented to your Lordship at the last rent day from the Badsworth tenants. I recommended the postponement of the consideration till nearer the period of another rent day in the hope that a Revival might take place in prices, but I have anxiously watched the markets and perceive no indication of a return to that steady price of from 9/- to 11/- the bushel (of wheat) which alone can repay the Grower under his present burden of Poor Rates and Taxes ... He is in fact losing 3/- on every Bushel of wheat which he grows and so in proportion on other Grains." 27

Arrears for the whole South Yorkshire estate exceeded £10000, and £2100 was returned in a half year to tenants.<sup>28</sup> Still no absolute reduction was thought essential though it appears that the re-valuation of 1809-10 proved too ambitious. Undoubtedly farmers were in difficulty

"In the absence of legislative Relief, the Farmer naturally throws himself upon the Indulgence of his landlord as his only hope and the question then becomes what should be the quantum of that relief and in what ways should it be afforded."

Instead of a general rent reduction a present of part of the rent back to farmers was made. It was to be

"... gratuitously made ... to be continued or discontinued as future circumstances require."

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25 SCL Arundel Mss S478

▲ Piggott - J Houseman, 6 March 1818.

26 See Figure 8.1 p462.

27 SCL WWM F107/121

W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 31 March 1821.

28 SCL WWM A333-4.



It was to be irrespective of other sources of livelihood, like leading ironstone and coals, small shops, nailmaking etc. Newman noted that the trading interests of what he called the commercial townships, like Tankersley, Hoyland, Thorpe, Brightside and Ecclesall were also at a low ebb.

"Nor would I except the Labourer who occupies a cottage only from participating and the small sum to be returned to them would be received with more than proportionate thankfulness." 29

Warning that a 15% rebate was to be made was publicized before the Spring rent days, with the explicit intention of preventing possible sales of essential stock.<sup>30</sup> Subsequently only about £4000 was sent to the London Bankers out of the half year's farm rental of £12000. By 1821 it was realized that season in itself was insufficient to explain the fluctuations.

"The causes of the low prices and of agricultural distress are too deeply seated to be affected by any Fluctuation of the season except in a very trifling way indeed. 31

Not all landowners took such an indulgent view. The Earl of Scarbrough confronted similar problems in 1822, and instructed

"... a Difference should be made according to the Actual situation of the Tenant himself and his farm, I will not point out to you, the Plan on which the Duke of Devonshire, Marquis of Stafford, Earl of Bridgewater and many other great Landlords (to whom thousands are of less consequence than Hundreds are to me) are acting, and if your regard for your Employer is as great as I have reason to suppose it and your Head is clear ... you will strictly obey my instructions at Lumley Castle and Lincolnshire observing at all times that what I allow is not to be an absolute diminution of rent but a voluntary gift from me for the present half year ..."

Scarbrough distinguished three classes of tenant. Tenants of first class

"whose income in any way is competent should bear the burden."

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|----|------------------|---|
| 29 | SCL WWM F107/121 | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 31 March 1821. |
| 30 | SCL WWM F107/122 | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 21 April 1821. |
| 31 | SCL WWM F107/132 | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 22 July 1822.  |

These were tenants whom he believed had done well in the past and who should have saved a surplus against bad times. A second class of tenants had good farms but because of the low price of corn could not make a sufficient profit. At Lumley Castle they were to receive

"Three and a half % in addition to the Seven and one half percent (total Ten per cent which) I gave in 1817 when many other Landlords did not reduce at all."

The third class of farmers were those with bad farms, or those who had suffered losses of crops or cattle. They were to be given  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$  return addition to the earlier  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$  of 1817, a total of 15%.

Scarborough had limited patience with the pleas of farmers. He believed that there would be a recovery for the agricultural interests, as there had been for most manufacturing concerns by late 1822, and tenants should bear some of the burdens of depression. He noted that Lord Middleton had claimed to give no reduction at all and that his rents had been well paid up. There is more than a hint of resentment at tenant behaviour.

"Nor shall I fail to mark those who evince a contrary disposition when better times for the agricultural interest arrive ... I can compare the present procedure of Farmers in general only to that of the Advocates of Catholic Emancipation. No sooner is one step or Boon granted then Another is urged."

Scarborough considered that he was being held to ransom, and was unhappy about tenant farmer solidarities emerging in petitions, for rent reduction. Control was as important as the actual amounts of rent reduction allowed, though at the same time he claimed to have made a  $16\frac{1}{2}\%$  rent reduction in 1815-16 and was prepared to abandon the classing approach for an overall 10% reduction if it would work. Criticized perhaps for not taking earlier action he believed

"I am now but one per cent short of whatever others are doing." <sup>32</sup>

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32 Sandbeck Lumley Saville Earl of Scarborough - Thomas Dungworth,  
Mss EMC/14 18a October 1822.

Another response of landowners in these circumstances was to review their commitment to providing tenant capital. Again responses were unlikely to be uniform. Scarbrough thought on the question of estate aid for repairs

"... these are not times for Landlords to do more than is absolutely necessary, ... do what is absolutely necessary in as economic way as you can - repairs of a house on Mr Stobart's Farm." 33

This was seige mentality rather than the philosophy of high farming.

The revival of confidence began in Autumn 1822. At Wentworth Woodhouse rents were £2500 below the 1820 level for each half year. Some tenants

"... whose arrears were such as to call for Notices to quit have come forward and paid a part as I may hope the others may do the like before the 1 January (when notices to quit expire)." 34

Notices to quit were issued to tenants who failed to reduce arrears below two years rent. Seven Wentworth Woodhouse tenants remained under notices in January 1823, while others had reduced arrears below the requisite amount.<sup>35</sup> Newman was instructed

"... to proceed in the cases of Woodhead, Mawson and Rotherham, to write to (others) to give notice that if by the last day of February half a years rent is not paid you will proceed against them." 36

In February 1823 higher prices were experienced.

"A very considerable advance has taken place in the price of fat-stock at Rotherham." 37

and subsequently grain prices also rose through the summer and autumn.

"The markets at Rotherham and Doncaster are still on the advance - I fear however that the generality of the smaller farmers have but little Corn left to avail themselves of the change." 38

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|----|-------------------------|--|
| 33 | Sandbeck Lumley Saville | Scarbrough - Thomas Dungworth, 24 April 1822.<br>Mss EMC/14/19 |
| 34 | SCL WWM F107/134        | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 19 November 1822.                 |
| 35 | SCL WWM F107/139        | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 17 January 1823                   |
| 36 | Ibid F107/140           | 3 February 1823  |
| 37 | Ibid F107/142           | 11 November 1823.  |
| 38 | Ibid F107/150           | 17 May 1824.   |

With transparent relief Newman recorded in May 1824 that the rent days had passed satisfactorily, with £5000 remitted to Fitzwilliam's London Banker. Subsequent reports continued in the same vein, but the decade of low prices had taken their toll of landowner profits, tenant standard of living and the wealth of smaller landowners and semi-independent farmers. The boom of 1825, when

"... prices are beyond all sober calculation" 39  
came too late for some.

"James Rotherham, Masborough occupies between 40 and 50 acres belonging to your Lordship, but to which there is no farm House; attached. His arrear in rent is upwards of £200 and he has no way of paying it except by selling the House in which he now resides and about 4 acres of land. He offers it to your Lordship at such price as Mr Fairbank on his part and Mr Bingley on the part of your Lordship shall agree upon ... it would furnish a homestead of your Lordship's own to a farm which is at present without one, it would ensure the payment of the arrear-rent and give an old tenant a chance of redeeming himself - I should think the whole value would be about £550." (endorsed agreed.) 40

In fact he was paid £350 in 1825 for his house and croft.<sup>41</sup>

There were a number of similar transactions in this period, as in the purchase of property in November of 1819 from Mr Steel. It comprised only two acres, and a little land in Greasbrough, right in the centre of Earl Fitzwilliam's property. Steel had never been willing to sell before and so Newman made a quick agreement with him before waiting for Fitzwilliam's assent.<sup>42</sup> Steel was paid £270 for land near Morley Pond and at Greasbrough in May 1820.<sup>43</sup> The massive borrowing power of the estate proprietor could

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| 39 | Ibid F107/154    | 2 March 1825.                                  |
| 40 | Ibid F107/151    | 17 December 1824.                              |
| 41 | SCL WWM A340     | 18 May 1825.                                   |
| 42 | SCL WWM F107/109 | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 22 November 1819. |
| 43 | SCL WWM A330     | Purchases of Estates, 1820.                    |

swallow up the freeholds of smaller fry, whether farmers, small gentry, owners of houses or occupiers of industrial premises and mines. Between 1818 and 1827, as the expenses of enclosures diminished, the Wentworth Woodhouse estate bought more property than was sold.<sup>44</sup> Some of this followed enclosure, as in the examples of J Bagshaw from whom a small quantity of land was bought on Bradfield Moor for £94.10 in December 1820, and Thomas Brameld who sold Bradfield allotments to the Wentworth Woodhouse Estate in February 1825 for £1250.<sup>45</sup> Other property ranged from individual houses and small lots to major investments in coal bearing land like the purchase of Kent's property in Raw marsh and Haugh for £27000 in February 1820.<sup>46</sup>

## II Mixed Farming, Demographic Growth and Demand 1825-50

The two decades from the mid-1820s recovery to the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 included a further series of sharp fluctuations in the trade cycle, with dire consequences in manufacture and trade in 1839 and 1841-2.<sup>47</sup> Unemployment among the working classes and a squeeze on the profits of manufacture and trade had inevitable consequences for the agricultural interests. But the mixed farming of the area was more capable of withstanding these vagaries than more specialized agricultures, and there are few signs of economic difficulties for farmers equivalent to those of 1815-1822. Low prices of grains were troublesome in the early 1830s, and arrears mounted, but animal prices fell less than grains and bolstered overall farm income so that there was little question of reductions of rents until the late 1840s.

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|----|----------------------|---|
| 44 | SCL WWM A326-A346    | 1818-1828.                                  |
| 45 | SCL WWM A332<br>A340 | December 1820;<br>11 February 1825.         |
| 46 | SCL WWM A330.        |   |
| 47 | SCL WWM G50          | F Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 8 January 1842. |

Table B.1 - Increase in South Yorkshire Populations 1801-1841

<u>Staincross</u>	1801	1841	%+
Cawthorne	1055	1437	36.2
Darfield (pt)	1340	5805	333.2
Darton	1699	3583	110.9
Felkirk	1034	1186	14.70
Hemsworth	803	1005	25.16
High Hoyland	1689	3579	111.9
Penistone	3681	5907	60.47
Royston	2490	4103	64.77
Silkstone	6474	17952	177.2
Tankersley	1228	1802	42.30
Wragby (pt)	275	337	32.16
<u>Strafforth &amp; Tickhill-North</u>			
Adwick 1e Street	375	554	47.7
Adwick upon Dearne	142	180	26.76
Barnbrough	446	508	13.90
Bentley w Arksey	980	1056	7.75
Blyth pt Austerfield	232	314	35.34
Bolton on Dearne	547	671	22.67
Brodsworth	302	467	54.64
Clayton in Frickley	302	316	4.63
Darfield (pt)	1618	2493	54.09
Ecclesfield	9216	15150	64.39
Hickleton	174	157	-
Hooton Pagnell	405	423	4.70
Hampall	-	23	-
Marr	165	206	24.85
High Melton	165	115	-
Rawmarsh	1011	2068	104.6
Rotherham (pt of)	4492	6689	48.91
Brightside Bierlow	4030	10089	150.3
Sprotbrough	405	534	31.85
Thurnscoe	192	197	2.604
Watr on Dearne	3796	8911	134.8
<u>S &amp; T South</u>			
	1801	1841	%
Anston	748	1102	47.33
Armthorpe	273	449	64.46
Aston	586	678	15.70
Barnby	471	629	54.78
Blyth (pt of Fawtry)	796	1083	35.72
Braithwell	569	800	40.60
Cantley	500	651	30.00
Conisbrough	843	1445	71.42
Dinnington	162	279	72.33
Edlington	127	127	-
Firbeck	161	191	18.63
Fishlake	1188	1257	5.819
Handsworth	1424	2862	100.9
Harthill	660	709	7.425
Hatfield	1773	2939	65.57
Hooton Roberts	158	175	10.76
Kirk Sandall	156	187	19.87
Laughton	465	742	59.57
Maltby	600	839	39.83
Mexborough	545	1425	161.4
Ravenfield	172	241	40.12
Rotherham (pt)	3926	6850	71.91
Sheffield (pt)	41725	101002	142.1
Stainton	151	226	49.67
Stotfold	8	9	12.50
Thorne	2655	3507	32.09
Thorpe Salvir	180	340	88.88
Throaphar	216	289	33.79
Thrybergh	247	214	-
Tickhill	1150	2040	77.36
Towthorpe	177	214	20.90
Treeton	628	746	18.79
Wadworth	446	681	52.70
Wales	229	351	53.28
Warmsworth	254	358	40.95
Whiston	672	1103	64.13
Wickersley	270	652	141.5

After 1825 it was assumed that tenants who defaulted on rent payments were inadequate managers, unless there were serious reasons for concessions.<sup>48</sup> Landowner expenditure on permanent improvements including buildings, fences and drainage increased with enclosure and to some extent continued thereafter on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate, though this did not always occur elsewhere. With more capital, tenants were to a degree insured against low returns. They had local supplies of manure, markets close at hand and a ready supply of local labour. Improved transportation opened up markets, increased competition, but allowed easier and cheaper movement of lime and other fertilizers. Small scale farming was bolstered by alternative forms of employment in manufacture, trade or transport.

A key determinant of farmers' prosperity was the growth of local populations (see Table 8.1).

The pattern of demographic growth was highly differentiated, with 35 townships growing by less than 40% in the period, and 31 by higher percentages. Of the latter most had larger populations at the outset, these including the urbanising districts. But also the latter included those districts which William Newman referred to as 'commercial townships', like Tankersley, Hoyland, Thorpe, Brightside, and Ecclesall.<sup>49</sup> Ecclesfield, Handsworth and Mexborough were of similar character. They accounted for a disproportionate amount of the South Yorkshire population in 1801 and for a much larger than average increase between 1801 and 1841. In contrast Adwick on Dearne\*, Barnbrough\*, Bentley in Arksey, Blyth in Austerfield\*, Bolton on Dearne, Clayton in Frickley\*, Hickleton\*, Hooton Pagnell\*, Marr\*, High Melton\*, Sprotbrough\*, Thurnscoe\*, Aston, Cantley, Firbeck\*, Edlington\*,

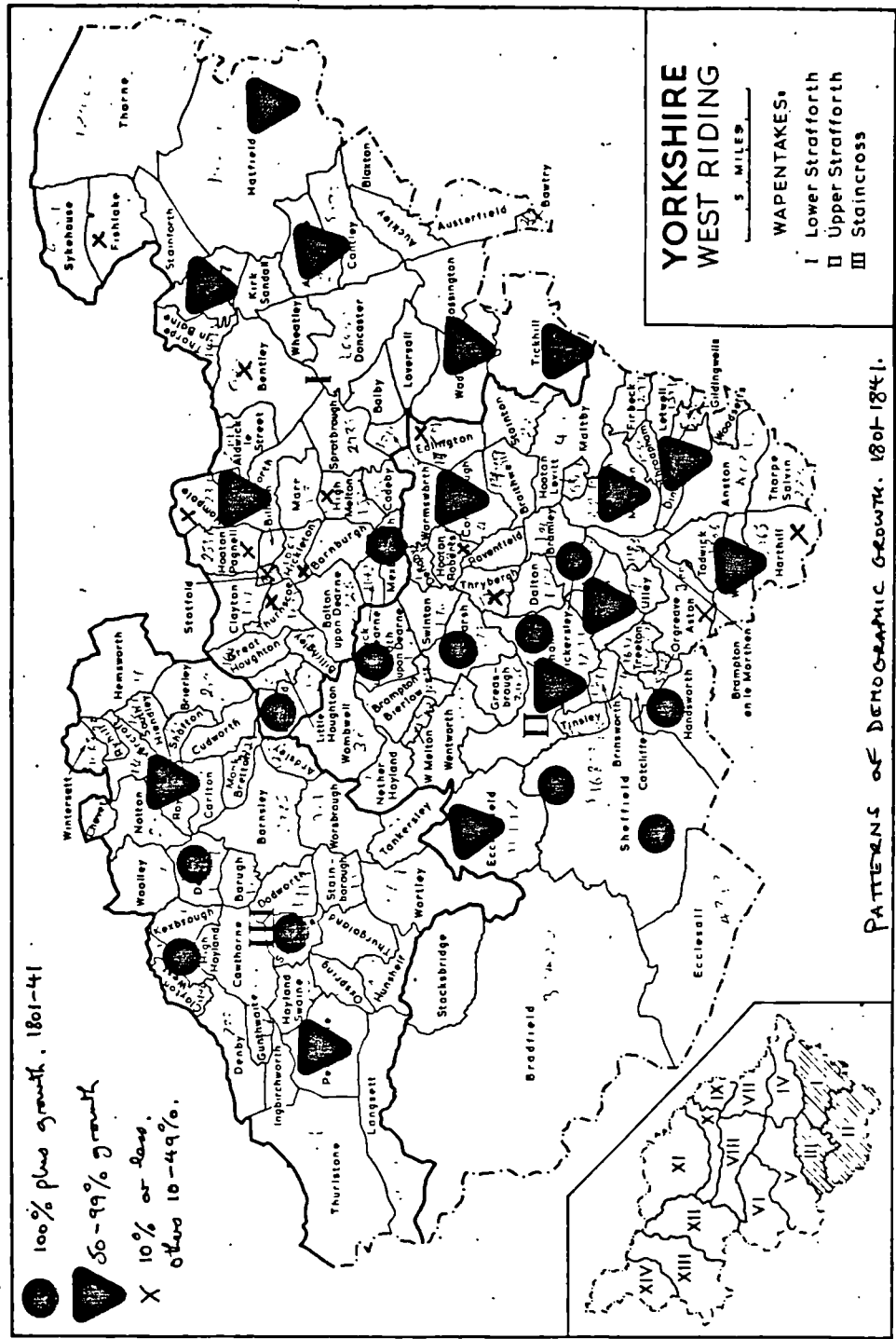
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49 SCL WWM F107/122

W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 21 April 1821.

FIGURE 8.2.

● 100% plus growth, 1801-41  
 ▲ 50-99% growth  
 X 10% or less  
 ○ 0 plus 10-49%



**YORKSHIRE  
WEST RIDING**  
 5 MILES  
**WAPENTAKES:**  
 I Lower Strafforth  
 II Upper Strafforth  
 III Staincross

PATTERNS OF DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH, 1801-1841.



Hooton Roberts\*, Fishlake, Harthill, Kirk Sandall\*, Stotfold\*, and Throapham\*, Todwick\*, Thrybergh\* and Treeton come close to the model of the 'closed village', with population growing by less than 40% in these four decades, generally rather small populations and a social structure and structure of estate power inimical to further growth.<sup>50</sup> This was a development or maintenance of the 'closed village' system delineated by Francis Howell's report on the neighbouring county of Nottinghamshire.<sup>51</sup> It is recognized that the concept is essentially a problem in itself, but it appears the best way of categorizing the settlements listed.

Some other predominantly rural townships grew faster than the 40% growth posited, but were of similar essential character, with relatively small populations and similar social structure, including Brodsworth, Ravenfield, Stainton, Thorpe-Salvin, Wales, Warmsworth, Wickersley and Wadworth. A third category of larger agricultural communities exceeded 500 persons in 1801, but grew slowly, including Felkirk, Hemsworth, Bolton on Dearne, Aston, Braithwell, Cantley, Harthill and Treeton and Fishlake. In the central axis of South Yorkshire from Hampole to Harthill estate agriculture kept a tight grip not only on property but upon population growth. There demographic change alone could account for very little increase in local demand.<sup>52</sup> Essentially these were townships producing agrarian surplus while restraining local demographic growth and almost certainly importing labour at times of peak need. The increases in demand for food in growing urban and industrial districts were considerable, not only in Sheffield and Brightside, but in Rawmarsh, Wath on Dearne, Darfield, Silkstone, High Hoyland, Darton, Handsworth and Mexborough. In all of

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50 Under 500 inhabitants in 1801(\*).

51 B Holderness " 'Open' and 'Close' Parishes in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries". Ag HR Vol 20 Pt II 1972, pp126-139.

52 D R Mills "The Geographical Effects of the Laws of Settlement in Nottinghamshire . An Analysis of Francis Howell's report in 1848." in D R Mills (ED) English Rural Communities. The Impact of a Specialised Economy (1973) pp182-191.

these townships demographic growth exceeded 100 per cent between 1801 and 1841, and growth in absolute numbers was great in some parishes where percentage increase was less than 100%, as in Ecclesfield (9216 < 15150), both parts of Rotherham (Strafforth and Tickhill North 4492 < 6689; Strafforth and Tickhill South 3926 < 6850), or even smaller growing places like Thorne, Wickersley and Tickhill.

### III Tenants and Landowners 1825-50

It was possible to promote a sense of internal social cohesion as tenant farmers increased their capitals and their interests were perceived as remaining close to those of the landowners. Probably the erosion of the position of smaller farming tenants left a more homogeneous tenantry after the 1820s. It was in that situation that there was an attempt to maintain the tenant-owner symbiosis on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate which seems to have been successful between the Napoleonic Wars and mid-century despite variations in the prices of produce.

There was continued insistence upon regular payment of farm rents at Wentworth. Good payers were lauded.

"Richard Sailes of Swinton having attended his 100th Rent day and on no occasion either from illness or inability has he omitted a single time." 53

The marked contrast between this pattern and the inability to pay of industrial tenants who rented farms was a constant source of comment in the 1830s, when Messrs Graham were notable defaulters.<sup>54</sup> After 1830 about £5000 per annum was being ploughed back in maintenance and improvements on the South Yorkshire Fitzwilliam estates, this representing 17% of gross receipts. This was much higher than occurred in the eighteenth century,

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53 SCL WWM G49 W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 24 November 1830.

54 SCL WWM G49 Ibid, 27 July 1835.

or indeed in the Revolutionary Wars. In some years of high arrears in the 1830s it was greatly exceeded, as tenant claims for improvement expenditures grew. The early 1830s and the period 1840-7 were notable for high estate spending for permanent repairs and improvements, which suggests a conscious attempt to stave off arrear problems or rental default.<sup>55</sup>

Another factor aiding farmers was increased farm size, especially in those townships which remained predominantly agricultural. By 1871 larger farms were more usual than had been the case in the late 18th century. The fragmentation of late 18th Century Greasbrough tenancies was greatly reduced. By 1871 8 tenants farmed consolidated holdings of more than 80 acres there, and 5 of these had more than 130 acres each. At Brampton 14 tenants occupied most of the 1709 acres let in 1871, in large consolidated holdings carved out after the parliamentary enclosure of 1815. Elsewhere on the Wentworth Woodhouse estates, outside direct town influence, this was the general tendency.<sup>56</sup> Not so clear was the pattern near Sheffield. In Ecclesall Fitzwilliam land continued in 1871 to be let in lots of under 40 acres. Much land here and in Bradfield was devoted to plantations, or increasingly as with the Duke of Norfolk's land there, to game, let to the Sheffield Game Society or kept for family use.<sup>57</sup> In part increased farm size ensured the triumph of the controversial tenant-right procedures despite estate attempts to resist them.<sup>58</sup> Large farms required substantial capital, reduced the uncertainties of collection of rent and enabled tenants to follow more balanced farming practices, but gave tenants more bargaining power. At Wentworth Woodhouse of supports given to tenants, expenditure on buildings and repairs remained the biggest single component of landlord

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55 SCL WWM A350-A380.

56 SCL WWM A1613 Detailed Survey and Valuation of Wentworth-Fitzwilliam Estates, 4 July 1871.

57 SCL WWM A1613 Detailed Survey and Valuation of Wentworth-Fitzwilliam Estates, 4 July 1871.

58 J R Fisher "Landowners and English Tenant Right 1845-52," AgHR Vol 31 Pt 1 1983, pp15-25.

investment until the 1840s, but drainage expenditures grew from the 1820s. In the low price year of 1831 £355 was allocated. Thereafter drainage remained a small item until the 1840s. From 1839-40 it increased, with landlord and tenant sharing the costs equally except for tiles which were supplied by Fitzwilliam. Practice gradually standardized. From 1842 the estate was spending in excess of £2000 per annum on drainage. On the Duke of Norfolk's Sheffield property this came later, following a pattern established on Lord Wharnccliffe's Wortley property. He drained at his own expense and made subsequent additions to tenant rentals after a two year honeymoon period without charge.<sup>59</sup> Between 1854 and 1860 £7688 was expended on Norfolk farms in the Sheffield area, at Sheffield, Handsworth, Treeton, Ecclesfield and Brightside Bierlow.<sup>60</sup> Drainage rentals were based upon a 6% return upon the owners' investment. Between 1854 and 1857 labour cost £3321 and pipes £1588.<sup>61</sup> This suggests that in that period over 1500 acres were drained at £5 per acre. Wharnccliffe undoubtedly used the drainage investments to strengthen hold upon tenants. He set out in 1849 to drain all the land that needed it, requiring the tenants to carry the drainage pipes into position, but executing the drainage with estate employed labour or contractors. The cost was to be restricted to £5 per acre, so that the tenant was expected to pay 6% per annum upon £5 per acre (100s) or 6/- per acre additional to existing rent. By draining the tenant farmer needed an increase of production of no more than one bushel per acre, at a price of 18 shillings a load, or in turnips half a ton at 12s a ton, to compensate for the higher rent. If the improvement was followed up Wharnccliffe believed that there was no land in need of drainage which would not yield more than this. It was this logic which informed the Earl of

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59 SCL Arundel Mss S317 Terms and conditions upon which drainage is executed upon Lord Wharnccliffe's Wortley estate, 3 October 1849.

60 SCL Arundel Mss S326 Expenditure on drainage 1854-60.

61 SCL Arundel Mss S318 Costs of drainage 1854-7.

Wharnccliffe's drainage of Wortley land, and which was later applied on the Norfolk estates. Basically the advantages were that it fitted land to grow produce which it could not otherwise support; it enabled it to grow larger quantities of produce; it allowed it to benefit more from manures which without drainage would be largely wasted; it was claimed that subsoil remained a few degrees warmer giving earlier crops; it restricted the effects of frost and cold air on the surface; and it allowed the farmer greater flexibility in working time, avoiding the need for him to restrict his efforts to dry weather.

Wharnccliffe sought compensation from tenants in the form of their understanding that he had to pay interest on the government loan regularly, so that they should do likewise both with the drainage and the ordinary rental. They were expected to keep outfalls clear, and Wharnccliffe insisted that if they did not he would be entitled to charge them for the damage done.<sup>62</sup> This was a real problem as subsequent surveys of the Norfolk estates revealed in 1861.

It has been indicated that at Wentworth Woodhouse drainage work had been undertaken since the early 1830s.

Table 8.2 - Wentworth Woodhouse Drainage Expenditure 1830-1/1847-8<sup>63</sup>

	£		£
1830-1	226	1840-1	918
1831-2	355	1841-2	828
1832-3	258	1842-3	1989
1833-4	117	1843-4	2418
1834-5	108	1844-5	2368
1835-6	187	1845-6	2450
1867-7	135	1846-7	1617
1837-8	257	1847-8	1816
1838-9	359		
1839-40	1098		

62 SCL Arunde1 Mss S317 Terms and conditions upon which draining is executed upon Lord Wharnccliffe's Wortley estate, 3 October 1849.

63 SCL WWM A377-A401.

These sums represent only approximately half the cost of drainage as tenants paid equivalent sums. It is evident that in these years major effort at draining wet parts of the estates was under way, as the accounts reveal that the work was being undertaken in most townships where Earl Fitzwilliam had land, with a great number of tenants participating in the scheme. Some tenants could not raise their half of the cost, and there were cases of tenants paying percentages, added to the subsequent rental, but this was unusual.<sup>64</sup> The implication is that overall by 1847-8 Fitzwilliam had invested £17504 in drainage, and tenant farmers perhaps two thirds of that amount, giving a total joint investment of around £30000. At Wharnccliffe's £5 an acre this would amount to the drainage of more than 5000 acres of land before the impact of Corn Law Repeal and the drainage loans could really have been felt. Thus Fitzwilliam not only believed in Corn Law Repeal from an early date, he invested to help tenants prepare for it.<sup>65</sup> The liquidity crisis on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate led to pressures to reduce spending under all heads from 1847 to 1852. Some tenants were sufficiently convinced of the advantages of drainage to be prepared to borrow to undertake it themselves, but Fitzwilliam opposed that as providing a disincentive for the payment of rents. Nevertheless Benjamin Biram enquired, in February 1849, with arrears mounting and estate receipts of all kind falling

"If it is your Lordship's pleasure that draining shall be discontinued for the present and I will give orders to that effect." 66

When income revived early in the 1850s so too did drainage spending until it tailed off by about 1857. By then the land that needed draining was

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- |    |              |   |
|----|--------------|---|
| 64 | SCL WWM A386 | 17 May 1843 "Paid John Machon the whole cost of draining ... for which he is to pay a percentage". £16. |
| 65 | D Spring     | <u>"Earl Fitzwilliam and the Corn Laws" American Historical Review LIX (1954), pp287-304.</u>           |
| 66 | SCL WWM G40  | B Biram - Earl Fitzwilliam, 10 February 1849.   |

Figure 8.3.

Duke of Norfolk's (Arms) Sheffield Estates 1797-1850.

Arrears.

T.A. Total  
 NM Non-Mineral  
 M. Mineral



Figure 8.3. Arrears Norfolk Sheffield Estates 1797-1850

probably done, allowing that there was much free-draining, highland and urbanising land included in the South Yorkshire estate. The tenants in effect gave a vote of confidence to their landlord in their direct participation and (tenant) investment in drainage, which evidently had to be cajoled elsewhere.

It has been seen that matters moved more slowly elsewhere. William Downe's survey of the 4450 acre Sandbeck estate in 1845 took the view ...

"Defects. The great defect upon this property is that of water, portions of the land being wet (in some places the term drowned might almost be applied) and requiring underdrainage not so much from springs as from 'surface waters' and without that remedy it is vain that exertions are made to get good crops." 67

Downes believed that the management of the estate as a whole had been neglected for many years, and that considerable outlays were needed if it was to be put into a satisfactory state. Nor were the estates of the Duke of Leeds as advanced in their management as the Wentworth Woodhouse estate. In 1839 the Duke of Leeds South Yorkshire property was re-let, with a rental increase of £600 a year. G Wharton, the Duke's agent concluded

"This increase of £600 a year will for a time be required to be expended in repairs and improvements of the lands by draining etc. This I feel most anxious about, because it is only by so doing that the present rents can be maintained in case Grain falls in price, either by alteration of the Corn Laws or from any other cause." 68

The prevalence of subletting and other such practices and the failure to employ a resident Yorkshire agent, which Wharton deplored, indicate that this estate of 11000 acres and £10000' per annum had not been closely administered for a long period. The long delayed enclosure of some parts

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67 Sandbeck Lumley-Saville William Downe's Survey 1845.  
Mss EMS/41/1

68 YAS Leeds Mss DD5 G B Wharton - Duke of Leeds, 20 November 1839.



of the estate may be indicative of similar problems of under-management and lack of landowner investment.<sup>69</sup>

Competent tenant farmers with capital enjoyed a sellers' market in this vicinity in the 1840s, though there were evidently more available than half a century before. The local recognition of tenant right preserved their capital in the form of compensation for un-exhausted improvements but could be an obstacle when farmers sought to move in from districts where the custom did not apply. Once in a tenancy good farmers were a valuable asset which wise landowners sought to preserve. In agriculture this justified the 'paternalism' which in industrial matters perhaps led to unwise commitments. For owners the price was that as time passed tenant farmers redefined the concessions and protections granted 'freely' by the landowner and turned them into 'rights' of which compensation for unexhausted improvements was one critical example. It allowed tenants a mobility which the more conservative minded landowners feared. In practice on different estates these matters were handled differently, with a high investment and more 'paternalist' policy at Wentworth Woodhouse or perhaps Wortley and a less expensive but more laissez-faire approach on the Duke of Norfolk's Sheffield estate or the Kiveton and Sandbeck estates.

Drainage was by no means the only landowner investment. It was a new and large commitment alongside older ones to building, fencing, manure allowances and the like. Manure tanks were coming into use in the 1840s, and new piggeries merited a landowner investment of half the initial cost on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate.<sup>70</sup> By the 1850s, when on other estates the tendency was for increased owner investment to be concentrated upon

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69 Thus some land at Conisbrough was not enclosed until 1855.

70 SCL WWM G40  
A420-A421

B Biram - Earl Fitzwilliam, 1 March 1844;  
"Half the cost of a new manure tank; "New  
Piggery and other improvements. £39.9.11.  
H Hemingway.

FIGURE 8.4.

WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE ESTATE. 1840-50

£ 10,000

OUTPAYMENTS - TOTAL RE.  
T. FARM BUILDINGS, FENCING,  
RIVER BANKING, ENCLOSURE,  
RECLAIMING SPOIL, ETC.

D. - DRAINAGE.  
( WWH  
A379-406 ).

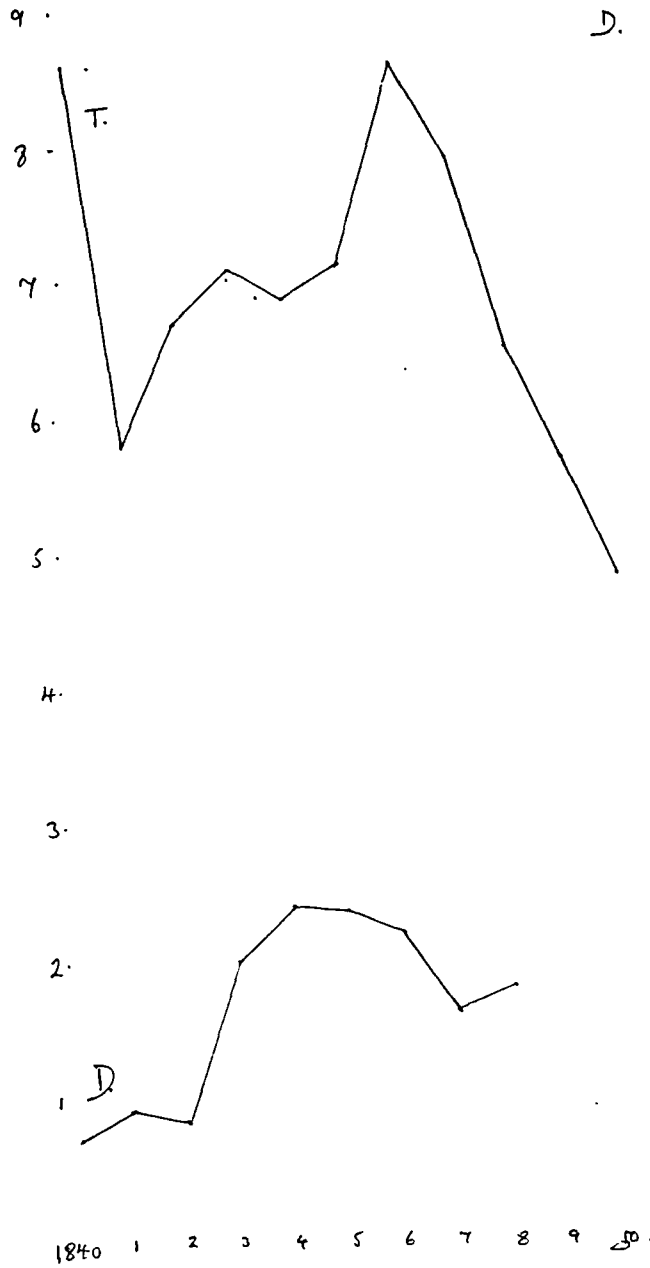


Figure 8.4 Outpayments, Wentworth Woodhouse Estate 1840-50

drainage, the Wentworth Woodhouse estate switched back towards new buildings.

In this context the need to reduce rents in the early 1850s for the first time since the post-war decade seems to have been as much the result of a confused calculation as a result of the absolute depression of prices. This was the view of Earl Fitzwilliam himself. He claimed that the

"Duke of Bedford's basis of 6/- a bushel is a fair one, which assuming that the basis of Mr Bingley's valuation was 6/8 would be an abatement of 10% on the present rental." 71

Bingley had valued the farms in 1842 on the Wentworth estate, using the measure of wheat price stated, based on the previous 21 years experience, and it was claimed that price had on average been maintained throughout the period 1842-1849. Farmers in this area continued to think in terms of a sliding scale relationship between wheat prices and rent as follows.

Table 8.3 - Wheat Price - Rent Sliding Scale, 1850.<sup>72</sup>

Shillings	present rents	
53/4 quarter wheat	£	reduction
48	10 per	100
46	13.5s	" "
44	17.10s	" "
42	21.5s	" "
40	25.0	" "

At one level this is illustrative of the way in which the idea of concessions freely given which had been prevalent in the post 1815 period was re-interpreted by an increasingly confident and pressing tenantry.

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- 71 SCL WWM STW19 Fitzwilliam - Newman, 23 October 1850.  
 72 SCL (inside A407) "Observations on re-adjusting the Rents on Earl Fitzwilliams Estates in 1850." Hereafter "Observations."  
 73 Ibid

The concession freely given had become a legitimate right like tenant-right or nearly so. In fact rental reduction was delayed.

"I do not at present see any reason for an alteration of rent at the present moment, that if prices are low now, they were high in 1847, that looking to a series of years (the only true way of looking at the arrangements between Landlords and Tenants) there is no reason to think the basis taken is much too high." 74

In this region there were other considerations. Much of the land was in grass

"it should be considered that a dairy or a pasture farm is very differently circumstanced from an arable farm, inasmuch as the labour and expenses of cultivation and management are considerably less - and that the prices of cattle and sheep have not fallen to the same extent as corn." 75

This is one of the keys to understanding the relative prosperity of the mixed farming of this district. In the post 1825 period despite years of commercial depression local farmers with capital were supported at least upon some estates by more landlord capital investment than before. They could switch more readily from grains to meat and enjoyed a growing and easily accessible market, and generally meat prices held up better in hard times than grains. The tying of rents to wheat prices was to their advantage, and while corn counties faced real difficulties, in South Yorkshire they were marginal. As the valuer Bright noted in 1841 in assessing how rack rents might be established as the basis for Parish Rates.

"As population increases so the quantum of accommodation land required is increased and as the quantity of cultivated soil does not increase in proportion to the population and consequent demand for land to rent must necessarily increase, and this increase of rent is or should be made up of the increased industry of the cultivator. Rack rents in a thickly populated county should be established not by a calculation of the balance between the expense of producing and the amount of the produce, but by what (the land) it is worth in the market .. what will a man give for it?" 76

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74 SCL WWM Stw 19 Fitzwilliam - Newman, 13 May 1850.

75 SCL WWM (Inside A407) 'Observations'

76 SCL WWM G83.305 Paul Bright - Earl Fitzwilliam, 9 September 1841.

There were good reasons for the Earl's unwillingness to make rent reductions. He had invested in capital expenditure to a greater degree than some other landowners, and could expect tenants to take the rough with the smooth. He was aware that the grass and pasture farmers were less in difficulty than those producing more grains, and was aware that tenants were better protected by tenant right than in the past should they seek to move. At the same time his own finances were weakened by a host of other outgoings, not least of which was the high cost of industrial investment and the administrative problems of keeping the expenses of Wentworth Woodhouse in check. Loan capital had been expensive and difficult to raise since 1847 and the Earl was under pressure to reduce overdrafts at Temple Bar, Strahan Paul and Bates London Bank and Walkers' Rotherham Bank.<sup>77</sup>

Nevertheless at the Autumn rent days of 1850 rents were reduced at a cost of £2500. Fortunately the wheat price slump proved short. In the early summer of 1850 the South Yorkshire remittances had been £12000. For the full year 1852/53 they exceeded £27000, and they reached almost £40000 in 1858-9.<sup>78</sup> Much of this gain was the result of a surge in mineral, timber and other non-farming income, spring woods alone bringing in nearly £10000 per annum in the late 1850s. The rental fell for a few years below the peak of 1846-7 (£49077) but in 1852-3 reached £48692 gross and by 1855-6 almost reached £56000. Within these totals farm rents played their part, underpinning what had been relatively insecure if sometimes high yielding mineral and industrial/urban rents.

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77 SCL WWM Stw 19

Fitzwilliam - Newman, 5 October 1850. (April 1850 Rotherham-Sheffield Bank Account overdrawn £1700; had been £12000 in March. £500 was transferred from Temple Bar to South Yorkshire to tide this over. An account at the Doncaster Bank was opened and overdrawn £22474 in 1852, falling to £15709 in 1853).

78 SCL WWM A404-420

By this time home farming was undoubtedly expensive, involving repeated and largely ineffective bursts of spleen from Daniel Maude.

"The farming account at Wentworth is a perfect scandal to all your Yorkshire Agents: really an end ought to be put to the Extravagance somehow or other." 80

It was not, and the huge establishment rumbled on to trouble subsequent generations of agents and owners. Tenant farming nevertheless was sounder on this estate, and upon the Wharnccliffe estates at Wortley, than was the case on many farms within other large estates in the area. Large parts of the Duke of Norfolk's estates were not models of efficient or up to date farming in this period. Fowler's survey and valuation of 1861 found that generally tenants on the Norfolk estate were expected to carry out their own building and repairs at their own expense. At Treeton, a township with good mixed farming potential, there were several medium or large farms upon which unfavourable reports were made. At the 115 acre Flatts Farm tenanted by William Cooper

"We would have been glad to have seen a more spirited management of the farm and more care exercised in keeping open the ditches and drains generally." 81

New gates and posts were needed and there was a need for considerable expenditure on the farm and other buildings. Likewise Mary Earnshaw's house was in a bad state of repair and William Jackson, an old tenant and good farmer, needed his house rebuilding, barns and sheds taking down and the whole replacing. Jackson kept his 141 acres in reasonable order, taking care of fences and keeping arable clean. Another 100 acre farm, let to Martha Rodgers, needed new buildings. A result of the lack of landowner investment was the claim by tenants of equitable interests in their farms

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80 SCL WWM G50 D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 5 September 1857.

81 SCL Arundel Mss Mr Fowler's Reports 1861-2.  
S109(1-9)

as they had spent their own capital upon them. Rents tended to be correspondingly low, but Fowler would have preferred to see tenants equitable interests bought out and fair rent charged. There were good farmers and bad but the estate system was claimed to do little to encourage best practice. Often land was well cultivated, or at least fairly so, but farm buildings were defective even on farms of more than 100 acres. This applied to a long list of farmers with 78-225 acre holdings in Sheffield parish. Their capital tended to be absorbed, which perhaps limited their ability to invest in working capital to the degree needed. Examples were Lawton Staniforth and William West, both of whom held farms of over 100 acres, and both of whom had invested heavily in drainage and other improvements from personal resources. Added to these problems were those of town influence. Some farms, like John White's in Sheffield of 85 acres, let for £140 per annum rent

"parts of the farm are much trespassed upon by workmen from the adjoining colliery."

There were also some reports of farms damaged by smoke emission in the Don Valley. At the other extreme in the upland west, in Upper and Nether Hallam, there were tenants on extra long leases. These had been granted to encourage the clearing of land and some tenants had grown old in their tenancy, so that the list of occupiers included a high proportion of very old people. At Hollowmeadows and elsewhere this had brought more land into cultivation within the last four decades, but there was a need to reconsider how best to improve upon landlord capital. Some farmers there expended their own resources, but others were either too old or (at Hollowmeadows)

"The Tenants may principally be considered as squatters, struggling for a living but of a meagre character."

Everywhere the story was re-iterated. Ecclesfield suffered from similar deficiencies. Farming rents were low, but this allowed inferior practice especially when the market was easy. There was capable farming but widespread deficiency of the capital input from the owner. Nor did smaller cottages escape attention, and in Ecclesfield and some other areas their quality and maintenance was roundly condemned.

Such problems were not confined to the 20000 acres of the Duke of Norfolk's Sheffield Estates. They were perhaps greater there because the emphasis of the estate and the concerns of the local agents were increasingly urban. Michael Ellison was agent for other land owners, and the same laissez-faire policy may have applied there, on the Effingham property in and near Rotherham for example. William Downes thought the Sandbeck estate contained a mixture of capabilities amongst its farmers in 1845. In that year William Bainbridge left his 100 acre farm in Tickhill in a shameful state. Thomas Gardy in Braithwell farmed 69 acres with

"20 pieces scattered over almost every part of the parish so that without the aid of a horse, the tenant could scarcely see them all in a day." 82

Such tenants could not be blamed if their outputs and ability to pay an adequate rent were lower than on consolidated holdings. There were some good tenants but others

"without capital or skill and such as should be removed therefrom when opportunities arise."

Even the land near to Sandbeck was not as well kept as could be expected.  
167 acres of

"lands south of the Mansion (were) run out with bad farming ... It is hoped the present tenant who has recently taken possession will re-instate them ... if he has sufficient money with spirit to expend it. The former is thought questionable."

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82 Sandbeck Lumley-Saville William Downe's Survey Sandbeck 1845.  
Mss EMS/41/1



At the same time land in the tenancy of George Nicholson was

"highly cultivated, perfectly clean and in such condition as to afford the most gratifying return to so good a tenant."

#### IV Conclusions

In South Yorkshire the pace and spread of agrarian evolution was extremely varied. By the 1850s South Yorkshire agriculture had been modified by changes in land organisation, techniques and injections of landlord and tenant capital. Though enclosures, by agreement and by Parliamentary Act, represented an important aspect of land re-organisation and absorbed much landowner capital, they largely occurred under conditions of high demand generated by population pressure. When price levels of grains and to a lesser degree of animals weakened, so did the willingness of landowners to bear the cost, even though the larger owners were in a stronger position than others to do so and to gain in the aftermath. Population pressure also nibbled away at the land available for agriculture, as settlement, industry and mining spread in some townships. This factor was only hazily perceived on some estates, as administration persisted in seeing the estate in agrarian terms.

Farm sizes tended to grow, but in different degrees in different types of area. Near town influence there was continued demand for small holdings and growth of them at least until the post-1815 depression. Landowners sometimes invested more heavily in the post-enclosure period than they had before 1780 (relative to gross incomes), but not always. There were marked differences between the Wentworth Woodhouse and Wortley high investment policies and that of laissez-faire, relying mostly upon tenant investment, as most notably occurred on the Duke of Norfolk's Sheffield estates. Even here there was considerable drainage expenditure, but too little on build-

ings, gates and fences, which was probably directly damaging to animal and arable husbandry, made it more difficult for tenants to build an adequate stock for manuring or other purposes, and for them to join in the new husbandry of fertilizers, feed and mixed farming epitomized as "High farming".<sup>83</sup> Calculations of the level of investment in farming proper are difficult to extract from accounts which lump expenditures on buildings and improvements into an overall category, without distinguishing between agricultural and other buildings. This is the value of fairly complete drainage figures. They, and earlier figures on Enclosure expenses, are manifestly agricultural investment and a genuine input by the landowner in pursuit of higher agricultural productivity. These figures, and the positive or negative commentaries of surveyors, indicate that some owners were investing more than before in the first half of the nineteenth century, and others were reluctant to do so. The more interventionist owners (Fitzwilliam (1857); the Earl of Wharnccliffe (d1855)) seem to have promoted a more efficient and ultimately more resilient agriculture, while levels of practice and ultimately rents per acre grew more slowly elsewhere, both on land close to town influence (The Duke of Norfolk's Sheffield estates), and at Kiveton and Sandbeck. In part this was a matter of confidence. On the Wentworth Woodhouse estate there was a recovery of landowner investment after a lull in the late 1820s, in the teeth of the arrears of the early 1830s. Large scale drainage began from 1839, an inauspicious year. In the same period the Norfolk estate administrators were pre-occupied by issues like family settlement, debt and the land sales associated with it, and in the 1840s with urban and transport issues rather than farming. That was left to lesser functionaries like Marcus Smith in

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83 FML Thompson

"The Second Agricultural Revolution, 1815-1880"  
EcHR 2nd Series XXI No 1 April 1968, pp62-77.

Sheffield, and the legacy was not encouraging.

At a more technical level, animal populations seem to have grown, and to have been better managed on farms which were in good hands. There was a considerable increase in outputs per acre between the 1760s and about 1830, and then an extension of improvement to the considerable acreages of wet land. This was important in the coal measures, and had gone far on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate before 1850, though elsewhere it was only just beginning. Growing supplies of town manure and increased availability of transport helped, and much of the owners' contribution should be seen as operating at that level. Lime and other fertilizers were certainly more freely available in the post 1820 period than before.

As to capital, tenant-right strengthened the position of tenants, and modified the prerogatives of landowners, who had to use all the weight of the law to enforce their claims as 'concessions' supposedly given freely, were transformed by tenant farmers into custom and then rights. To take farms into hand became extremely expensive, and that in itself strengthened tenants' hands.

"June 11 1851. Paid J Roberts the valuation of Tenant Right, Tillages stock, implements of husbandry and household furniture as by valuation made by Messrs Dyson and Wood. £1350.6.4."

Do. the valuation of tenant right, tillages etc in the land given up by him belonging to the Poor of Brampton as by Do. £211.8.8." 84

The landowner's ability to borrow made great sums available to him, but there were costs, and by the 1830s and 1840s there was a tendency to try to reduce mortgage borrowing. The fortunate owners of minerals and urbanising land made great gains from the exploitation of these resources,

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84 SCL WWM A409.

enabling them to maintain their consumption and to invest more in farming. Not all did both. Some took the high farming path of high capital investment in search of higher returns in farming and other activities. Others chose not to do so, as tenant-right weakened social ties and ideas of dependence on those estates where the landowners had long been remote, if indeed such ties had ever existed there. About that there remains considerable doubt.<sup>85</sup>

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85 E P Thompson

"Eighteenth Century English Society: class struggle without class?" Social History, May 1978, pp133-165.

## CHAPTER 9

### Estate Consumption and the Regional Economy 1700-1850

#### I The Extent of Estates

This study has investigated the growth of large estates, their administration, and role in investing in a variety of local and regional economic developments. The estate has been treated as a unit of production with a variety of activities akin to those of a modern business corporation. This distorts the socio-economic functions of landed estates, which remained units of consumption despite the shift towards greater investment between 1770 and 1850.

For the upper classes

"... the incentive to diligence and thrift is not absent, but its action is so greatly qualified by the secondary demands of pecuniary emulation, that any inclination in this direction is practically overborn and any incentive to diligence tends to be of no effect." <sup>1</sup>

The honour, status and cultural hegemony of the landed aristocracy in the eighteenth century depended upon the building and maintenance of the great house, the extension and elaboration of its emparked grounds and enjoyment of these facilities at leisure bolstered by an opulent level of personal consumption. A large household was maintained in support of the lordly lifestyle at a relatively high standard of living, carrying out service functions marginal to the major processes of productive enterprise.<sup>2</sup>

Industrialization brought capital and income gains to the landed classes, a proportion of which were ploughed back into investment. They rarely exceeded 10% of gross income in the eighteenth century. Since

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1 T Veblen The Theory of the Leisure Class (1925 Ed) p36.

2 E Richards "An Anatomy of the Sutherland Fortune: Income, Consumption, Investments and Returns." Business History Vol 21 1979 pp45-78. L Stone and J C Fawtier Stone. An open Elite? England. 1540-1880 (Oxford 1984), pp10-16.

the rest was consumed there is justification for examining the economic consequences of aristocratic and great estate consumption for the locality. Whatever the inequalities of a skewed system of income and wealth distribution, local consumption brought greater regional benefit than was the case when upper class incomes were consumed elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> This chapter balances an account which has investigated investment by estates by examining the effects of consumption within a sample of estates, and attempting evaluation of the effects upon the area. Consumption was an index not only of wealth but of power.<sup>4</sup>

South Yorkshire contained more aristocratic seats in relation to its area than Yorkshire as a whole. F M L Thompson recorded one aristocratic seat per 258000 acres for Yorkshire.<sup>5</sup> In South Yorkshire there were seven in 350000 acres, making the area as 'aristocratic' in terms of upper class residence as any county in England with the exception of Rutland. Absentee aristocratic landownership enhanced the concentration with estates owned by the Dukes of Norfolk and Kingston, the Earl of Egmont and Viscount Galway among others. After 1750 the increasing wealth of resident gentry families with country houses and parks enabled them to obtain titles, including the Wortleys and the Wentworths of Bretton, while absentees gained titles (the Marquis of Crewe). Including non-aristocratic estates over 5000 acres, there were 15 "great estates"

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- 3 C Ó Gráda "The Investment Behaviour of Irish Landlords 1850-75. Some Preliminary Findings." AgHR Vol 23 1975 pt II pp139-155.
- 4 M Girouard Life in the English Country House. A Social and Architectural History. (1978) pp2-3.
- 5 F M L Thompson English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (1963) pp30-31

in the mid-nineteenth century, though not all had seats within the county.<sup>6</sup>

At the economic level entitlements are less important than the assessment of the total numbers of estates and seats in South Yorkshire the analysis of the increase in their numbers and in emparkment, and the assessment of the impact of this phenomenon upon the area.

Dickinson's map of 1750c listed about 95 important houses but 20 of these fall outside modern South Yorkshire. There remained 75 country houses listed at that date.<sup>7</sup> In comparison 22 parks were marked on

Table 9.1 - Seats of Peers and Baronets. South Yorkshire 1750c<sup>8</sup>

Aston	Earl of Holderness
Brearley	Sir William Wentworth Bart
Bretton	Sir William Wentworth Bt
Brodsworth	The Earl of Kinnoul
*Cowick	Lord Viscount Downe
Edlington	Lady Molesworth
*Heath	Sir Charles Saville Bt
*Holmath	Lord Effingham Howard (and the Grange, Rotherham)
*Kippax	Sir J Bland Bt
Kiveton	The Duke of Leeds
Nostell	Sir Rowland Winn Bt
Sandbeck	The Earl of Scarborough
Wentworth Castle	Earl of Strafford
Wentworth	
Woodhouse	Marquis of Rockingham
Wheatley	Sir Geo Cooke Bt
Woolley	Sir Godfrey Wentworth Bt

\*Excluded by definition of the area- Wapentakes of Staincross and Upper and Lower Strafforth

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- |   |             |   |
|---|-------------|---|
| 6 | J Bateman   | <u>The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland (1971 Ed).</u> |
| 7 | J Dickinson | <u>Map of South Yorkshire, 1750c.</u>                               |
| 8 | J Dickinson | ibid  |

Tuke's map of Yorkshire in this area together with 54 'seats' or "Noted Houses".<sup>9</sup> Approximately 2½% of the land area was marked as emparked according to his map in 1787, while considerable quantities of emparked land remained unmarked together with other preserves like Wharnccliffe Chase.<sup>10</sup> Thus an industrializing area of Northern England with extensive wastes on its west flanks in the Pennines and in the low lying parishes east of Doncaster was also in the industrialising phase densely settled with aristocratic and smaller gentry estates. On average there were only some 4500 acres of land available per seat on the Dickinson map. Considering the very large size of some land holdings and the populous areas in the district the density of country house development is remarkable. It is not surprising that some families ceased to use houses in their possession for considerable periods as marriage alliances and inheritance concentrated landed wealth in a relatively smaller number of families. At Badsworth, Aston, Kiveton, Tankersley and elsewhere old family houses ceased to be used by owners in the period 1750-1850.<sup>11</sup>

The growth of emparked areas in Yorkshire has been studied as had the park landscaping process between 1760 and 1820.<sup>12</sup> There were also

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- 9 J Tuke - Map of Yorkshire 1787 (reprint 1816).
- 10 B Coates "Park Landscapes of the East and West Riding in the Time of Humphrey Repton." YAJ CLXIII 1965 Part 163, Vol XLI p468.
- 11 Adwicke Hall was used as a Ladies' Boarding School in the 1820-49 period. Tankersley Hall fell into disrepair in the Eighteenth Century. Badsworth was let in the late eighteenth century and eventually sold by Earl Fitzwilliam (1857).
- 12 B Coates "Park Landscapes of the East and West Riding in the time of Humphrey Repton." YAJ CLXLII 1965 Part 163 Vol XLI p465-480. See also  
 B Coates The Development and Distribution of the Landscape Parks in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire. (Unpublished PhD thesis University of Leeds 1960) Ch 5.



growth in the numbers of medium sized country houses in South Yorkshire, many of them constructed in the same period. After 1770 the aggregate expenditure upon such houses and their environs probably came to exceed that of the small numbers of great proprietors who dominated country house building and emparkment up to that time.

Table 9.2 Costs of House Building - Country Houses South Yorkshire  
1700-1800

(sample of 30 out of 76, 1750; perhaps 100 houses - 1800)

	£	
1700-10	24000	(5 projects)
1710-20	56000	(3 " )
1720-30	30000 (excludes Wentworth Castle)	(2 " )
1730-40	56000 " " "	(2 " )
1740-50	35800	(5 " )
1750-60	26000	(4 " )
1760-70	115500	(5 " )
1770-80	114000	(6 " )
1780-1800	117000	(15 " )
TOTAL	<u>£633000</u>	

Seven other country houses have been identified as being either substantially rebuilt or erected in the eighteenth century but they cannot be dated or costed.

On the assumption that many other houses cost less it is estimated that the building of country houses in the eighteenth century involved a total expenditure of over £400,000 by 1750 (76 seats) and exceeded £1 million by a considerable margin by 1800 (90-100 country houses). This may usefully be compared with the insurance values of 15 Leeds cotton mills between 1787 and 1805. In aggregate their initial valuations seem not to have exceeded £60,000, although some greatly increased their value subsequently.<sup>13</sup>

13 See Appendix 6 for Sources of Table 9.2. S.D Chapman. "Fixed Capital Formation in the British Cotton Industry," 1770-1815. ECHR 2nd Series. XXIII, No2, August 1970, 259.

The following section considers the size of consumption expenditures on the Wentworth Woodhouse Estates in South Yorkshire in relation to other aspects of that estate's activities. This is subsequently used as a basis for a broader consideration of the role of the conspicuous consumption of the landowners of the area in relation to economic development.

The mansion and park was the focal point of country society in the eighteenth century and the prime object of conspicuous consumption. Assessment of the costs involved in conspicuous consumption in South Yorkshire requires limiting assumptions about the financial flows from local rents to recipients outside the area like London bankers. For the Wentworth Woodhouse estates before 1750 an assumption of a direct relationship between South Yorkshire rentals and local income and consumption is reasonable as Wentworth Woodhouse was the home of Thomas Watson Wentworth and the 1st Marquis of Rockingham and little locally raised money was remitted to London as compared with regular remittances of a large part of the rental of Dukes of Norfolk, Leeds or Kingston in the early eighteenth century.

To make analytical distinctions, a division is made between 'fixed capital costs' and 'running costs'.<sup>14</sup> This distinction is not easy to apply to labour inputs which included maintenance, but helps the analysis of one of the largest areas of pre-Industrial Revolution capital expenditure.<sup>15</sup>

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14 'Fixed Capital Costs' - country house building costs, durable finishing, furnishing, erecting subsidiary buildings, extension of park area and ornamentation.

'Running Costs' - Household domestic servants wages, expenses, food, liveries and for example, the costs of purchase of animals for fattening and household consumption. Payments to persons within the patronage of estates which range in function from the maintenance of desirable services to park gate charity.

15 F Crouzet Capital Formation in the Industrial Revolution.  
Editor's Introduction (1972) p55. Also  
M Flinn The Origins of the Industrial Revolution  
(1967 Ed) p48.

Recently novel methods have been applied to these problems by L Stone and J C Fowtier Stone. An Open Elite, England 1540-1880? (1984)

By 1780 Wentworth Woodhouse was to be notable as the largest house in England set within the largest emparked area in South Yorkshire.<sup>16</sup> Gargantuan size was matched by the scale of surrounding gardens and subsidiary buildings, and ornamentation of the grounds. Large expenditures there continued long after the mansion's structure was completed. By 1790 the main works on the house, its buildings and gardens and in the park were completed except for a South Wing built only in the nineteenth century. There was little further extension of the park area after 1760.<sup>17</sup> By then the house was so large as to be considered 'disproportionate' by Humphrey Repton.

It cost a huge sum in building as well as being extremely expensive to run. Social competition early in the eighteenth century led to extravagant building, with a high level of fixed and variable costs. It provides a useful comparison and contrast upon which to base an assessment of conspicuous consumption's impact on the area. In the next section 'fixed capital costs' are estimated and related to phases of development and the changing fortunes of the family. The 'fixed capital costs' and the 'running costs' are examined for the whole period of active building 1720-90. Then a number of tentative conclusions on the scale of conspicuous consumption in the area are drawn.

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16 M Girouard Life in the English Country House (1978) pp158-9.

17 B Coates "Park Landscapes of the East and West Ridings in the Time of Humphrey Repton." YAJ Vol CLXII Part 163 Vol XLI. 1965, pp297-306. See also Chapter 2, p74.

## II Building the Great Country Houses - Wentworth Castle and Wentworth Woodhouse Before 1750 - The Fixed Capital Costs of Estate Consumption

Before examining the development of conspicuous consumption at Wentworth Woodhouse of which building forms such a significant part in the eighteenth century, it is instructive to briefly examine the context within which this lavish expenditure was engendered.

In the late seventeenth century a deep division arose in the Wentworth family between the beneficiaries of the will of the Second Earl of Strafford (October 1695). The bulk of the Strafford inheritance passed to Thomas Watson who assumed the name of Wentworth. In 1696 Lady Wentworth and her son Lord Raby opposed this development which they sought to contest unsuccessfully in England.

"I have received a letter from my cousin John Wentworth and he tells me that the witnesses sined it in my Ids presence so that all hopes on that account is over and I don't tho my Lord was mad. I shall find it a hard business to prove him so. I have nothing now to hope for out of the Entale and the Law in Ireland." 18

There followed years of inter-family bickering and recourse to the law over the inheritance of the Irish estates in which Lord Raby retained an interest. Between 1696 and 1702 he was dogged by shortages of money of which he complained bitterly to his Yorkshire steward Bromley. He held poor Lincolnshire estate and other scattered areas of land at this time. It was a situation which a man said by Dean Swift to be of

"some life and spirit but infinitely proud and wholly illiterate" strove by every means available to escape.<sup>19</sup> Large cash sums were wrung from Ireland in the long battle of the Strafford inheritance.<sup>20</sup>

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- 18 SCL VWM 77 Thomas Wentworth (Lord Raby) - J Bromley, 11.3.1696  
19 J Swift Journal to Stella, 20 November 1711. (Quoted A Booth "The Architects of Wentworth Castle and Wentworth Woodhouse." JRIBA 41, 3rd Series No 2 1933)pp61-73.  
20 SCL VWM 77 Thomas Wentworth (Lord Raby) - J Bromley, 25.n.d. 1702.

Office and military service provided a channel for advancement. Raby obtained a colonelcy in the dragoons valued at £10000 per annum and income from the post fines of £2000 per annum.<sup>21</sup> By royal favour he became ambassador to Berlin in 1706-1711 and subsequently at the Hague. By 1705 he enquired about reviving the Earldom of Strafford, but was denied for lack of land.<sup>22</sup> His rival's property and mansions were already large in 1700, and Raby resolved to assert himself in Yorkshire society. In 1707 he had enquired after other estates with the intention of purchasing, seeking to persuade Lord Huntingdon to sell Ledston. In 1708 he bought Stainborough (Wentworth Castle) in Yorkshire for £14000 from the Cutler family.<sup>23</sup> From then on he sought to enlarge South Yorkshire holdings, though he also purchased land in 1707 at Boughton in Northamptonshire from Lord Ashburton for £11150 which included a mansion and pleasure grounds. Bromley, his South Yorkshire steward, constantly advised him on the availability of small parcels in the area and also had the task of looking out for useful purchases elsewhere.<sup>24</sup>

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21 J Cartwright                      The Wentworth Papers 1705-39 (1883) pp30-33

22 Ibid British Library. Add: MSS 22229.

23 British Library                      Add Mss 22238 (8) Strafford Papers. J Bromley - Lord Raby, 7 June 1708 (price of £14500 then negotiating).

24 J Cartwright                      Op Cit (1883) p33.

Raby married Anne Johnson of Bradenham, Buckinghamshire, the daughter of a successful shipbuilder who had himself married the daughter of Lord Lovelace, Martha, from the Cleveland branch of the Wentworth family. Raby's bride became Baroness Wentworth in her own right and brought a large dowry. Swift claimed this amounted to £60000. The dowry was used by her husband to justify further land purchases.

"As for the land pray keep it in your eye, for I am to buy £20000 of my wife's fortune and as much of my own in land so ... I may buy that in Yorkshire if you can keep it so long." 25

Lord Raby did not conceal his reasons for wishing to purchase land in Yorkshire. Within a few months of his acquisition of Stainborough he began building an east wing.

"of almost megalomaniac magnificence." 26

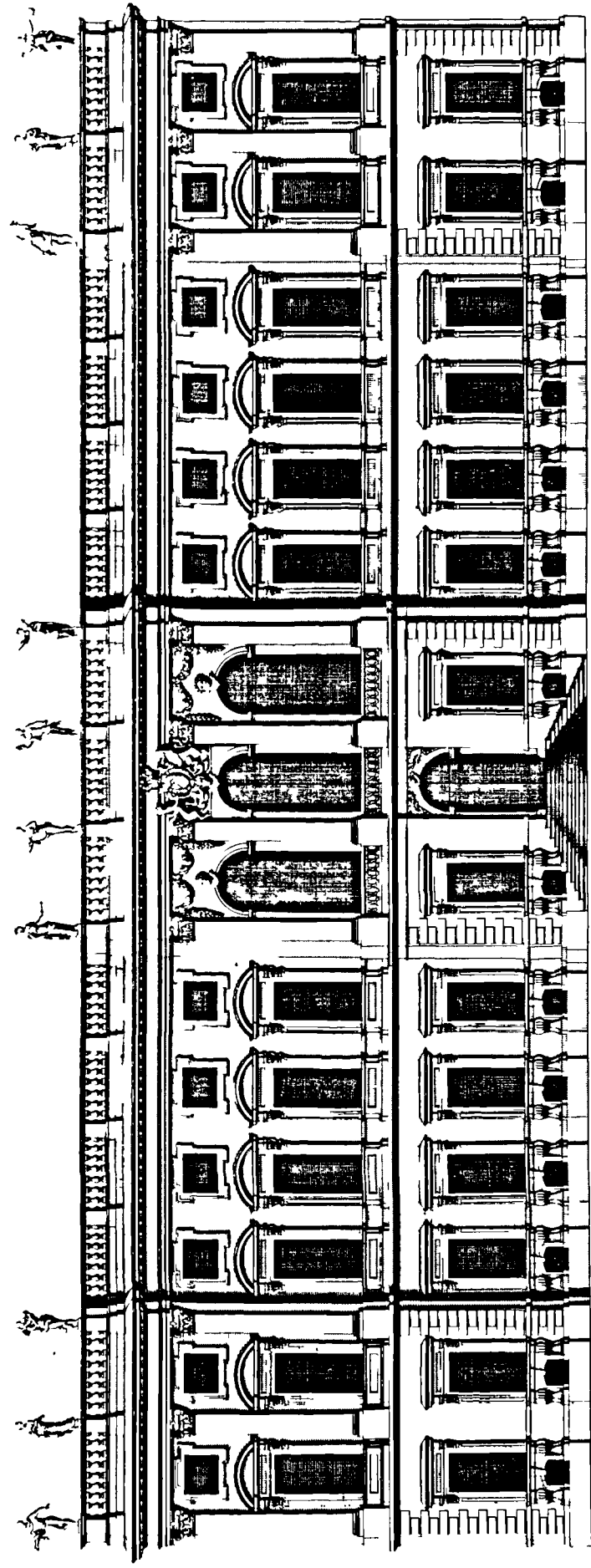
In 1709 his brother Peter Wentworth wrote

"I had heard of people that thought they had been pretty nice in these affairs found themselves drawn into double what they first thought of ... we wish you money enough to finish such another wing and long to enjoy it, tho for some years shou'd it have no more than one, it might overlook little London in its stateliness, and make his Great Honour (His Honour Wentworth) burst with envy and his Little Honour (Lord Malton) pine and die." 27

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- 25 BL Add Mss 22238(68) Lord Strafford - J Bromley, 7 November 1711  
26 N Peysner Yorkshire. The West Riding (1967 Ed) p547.  
27 P Wentworth - Lord Raby, 15 March 1709. (J Cartwright. The Wentworth Papers (1883) p79.)

F. 23

F. 24



40 Feet ————— Extends 180

The Elevation of Stanborough in Yorkshire the Seat of the R. Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Earl of Strafford &c. Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter to whom this Plate is most humbly Inscribed

Elevation du Château de Stanborough dans la Comté de York

à Campbell Delin

Figure 0.1 De B t's es'gn . t. c . autl .

Between 1709 and 1725 building operations were near continuous at Wentworth Castle. The main fabric of the building was accomplished by 1715, but expensive and lengthy works inside went on until the 1720's. Before 1711 an architect was not employed to overlook the work on a regular basis. The initial plan seems to have been by the Huguenot French architect Jean de Bodt (1670-1745), chief architect in Berlin during Raby's embassy. There was also an unused outline by William Talman (1650-1719).<sup>28</sup> The steward Bromley made frequent requests for detailed instructions as to the best way to proceed. The exterior was made from great stone obtained from an estate quarry, requiring four thousand tons by 1713.<sup>29</sup> In each spring and summer there was a flurry of activity followed by the stockpiling and dressing of stone and the acquisition of materials in the winter periods.

"I am going on as hard as I can with my building and am at last persuaded to make it of brick and stone as Hampton Court is, and which I am assured will look better than all stone ... so the new front will be something like that of the Duke of Leeds at Keton (Kiveton) in our country." 30

Kiveton was of more than stylistic significance. It had been designed by William Talman (1650-1719) at the height of his influence in 1697 and was

"a large new mansion house well built with all conveniences and aggrandisements fit for any nobleman's habitation, it hath been the paternall seat pulled down and improved."

It was valued (house alone) at £12000 in 1703 while the park was valued at £1500 per annum. This appears to have been the scale of housing which Lord Raby thought appropriate for himself. It was little rivalled in the

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- 28 A Riches "Wentworth Castle" Archeol J, Vol 137 (1980) pp447-8;  
H M Colvin (Ed) A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1660-1840. (1954 Ed) p86; p593
- 29 BL Add Mss 22238(20) (Strafford papers) J Bromley. - Earl of Strafford 27 July 1713. Moving stone in wet weather had made the roads impassible.
- 30 J Cartwright The Wentworth Papers, 1705-39. (1883) Lord Raby - Sir William Wentworth (Bretton) 25 February 1710.



immediate vicinity, but could be compared with works at Thoresby (1683) and elsewhere in Nottinghamshire, or with Bramham Park which Lord Bingley was building at this time.<sup>31</sup>

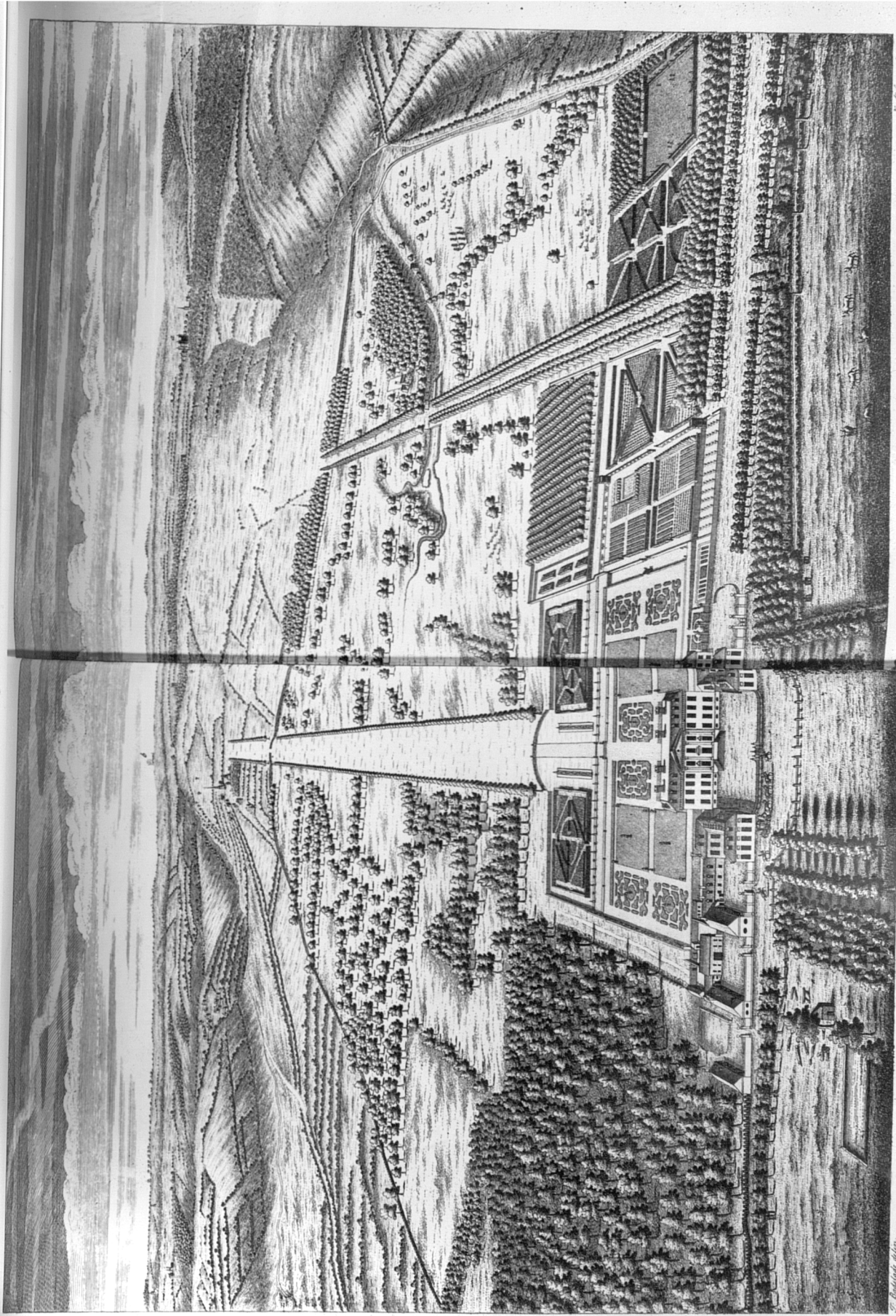
The expenses of building mounted in the years 1709-11 and the steward was unable to meet outgoings from the £1000 per annum rental of the Stainborough and Wakefield estates. Arrears to contractors mounted so that there remained a number of creditors from the peak of building of the exterior in 1717.<sup>32</sup> Peter Wentworth warned Lord Raby

"When I was at the Duke of Shrewsbury's my Lord Scarborough was there and he was talking of his building, and they did agree there was no building without a Surveyor, .. wch agrees with the advice of Mr Benson is always desiring to send you word, you must be at an expense wch in the main will be money saved, for a blunder in the building is not to be repaired without a great expense and loss of time and labour." 33

Such advice and the rising expenses led the owner to call in Edward Reeves, but expenditures continued to mount.<sup>34</sup> There were awkward problems in linking the new East wing to the old house and a variety of works went on in the park and gardens as well as in building in this period. Until 1711 most of the work at the house involved extensive excavations and the building of cellars and foundations but in that year the above ground building went ahead quickly, continuing in the subsequent two years.<sup>35</sup> At the end of 1712 the two men in charge of masonry work had received payments of £753 and required £150 more for that year. 340000 bricks and 700

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- 31 YAS Leeds Mss DD5 Box 23, No 13 Valuation of Kiveton, 1703.
- 32 N Pevsner Nottinghamshire (1951) p183. Yorkshire. The West Riding (1967 Ed) p141.
- 33 J Cartwright The Wentworth Papers. 1705-1739. (1883) pp199 - 200. P Wentworth - Lord Raby. n.d.
- 34 Ibid
- 35 BL Add Mss 22238(20) J Bromley - Lord Raby, 27 March 1710 (23) J Bromley - Lord Raby, 3 April 1710 (short of money) the park was walled 1709-1710. Approximately half of this cost £185.17s to December 1710. (12); 37 - 19 October 1710 also 41-4 January-April 1711.

FIGURE 9.2  
KIVETON.



*The West Prospect of KIVETON HOUSE Gardens & Park in the South part of Yorkshire The Seat of the most Noble THOMAS OSBORNE, Duke of LEEDS, Marquis of Carmarthen, Earl of Danby, Viscount of Latimer & Dumbarton, Baron Osborne of Kiveton and Barmet.*

*W. P. Smith del.*

*W. P. Smith del.*

*The Duke of Leeds*

tons of great stone stood ready for spring use, half of the lead needed for the roof had been acquired (total cost estimated £600) panels and banisters had been estimated as costing £300 and purchase of marble and glass for windows were required. Bromley found himself short of money. The spring rents of the Yorkshire estates were all consumed by early August 1712 and a further £400 was owed by August 27 of that year. Bromley was forced in August of 1712

"to take up money in his own name and agree for lead before it rise up and house may be covered before winter if possible and that you will pay interest till it can be saved in rents or sent." 36

At this crucial period 20 labourers were employed by Bullock which

"costs about £9 ye week and ye brick laying, masons, carpenters, gardiners, lymer and timber." 37

Though a lead roof was more expensive than slate more timber was required for the latter.<sup>38</sup> Apart from the labour already mentioned a large force of carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, brickmakers and a quarryman together with his employees, a limer and men working on the carriage of materials were employed. The total labour force appears to have totalled about 40 or 50 building workers in summer and fewer in the winter months.

By 1714 the main fabric of the exterior was completed. The cost was greater than the owner had anticipated and material costs alone were considerable.

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36 BL Add Mss 22238 (90) J Bromley - Lord Strafford, 6 August 1712.

37 Ibid (90)

38 BL Add Mss 22238 (91) J Bromley - Lord Strafford, 26 August 1712.

Table 9.3 - Some Costs of Building Wentworth Castle 1709-15

Recorded Outpayments £

1709	379
1710	337 (stone brickmaking, leading and lime)
1711	670 (excludes park walling second half - £200)
1711	512 (bills, July 1711)
	<u>1382</u>
1712	645
	100 (paid or owing Bullock)
1713	769 (debts owed workmen, December 1713)
1714	2780
1717	309 (owed to Culforthay - there are others but not giving sum owed)
	<u>8684</u>

Table 9.4 - Some materials

		£
Great Stone from Estate Quarry	4000 tons 1713 (July 27)	
18/6 ton plus 6/- leading		4000
Bricks - in excess of two millions	@ 18/6 making p 1000 plus coals, digging clay etc	2000
Timber	unknown	—
Lead	50 FFoder @ £5 plus 40/- per F plumber Bromley estimated £600 total - presumably used 100 FFoder(tons) as bought in two lots 1712/13	800
Wainscotting	4000 yards	300
Panels and Bannisters		—
Other - Marble, Plaster, Painting Glass	(14 lower windows 12 higher windows Low windows)	
Other works	Kitchen garden	200
	Park walling 1709-12	500
	Pond work (1709)	
	1713 - fish pond,	60
Demolition, 1709-10		
	Estimate	<u>£9-10,000</u>

The incomplete accounts and letters from the steward record or imply a minimum cost of £20,000 by 1714. Interior works continued with a long gallery (James Gibbs 1724), works of ornamentation, and levelling in the grounds. Iron gates cost £200 in 1716 and levelling and laying of a Bowling Green were undertaken in 1717-18. Interior painting and carving went on in the early 1720s and in February 1725 flagging, wall building the laying of lead in gutters, mending of the old house and the building of bridges to Dodworth and near Rockley Old Furnace were proceeding and a Menagerie had just begun.<sup>39</sup> In the gardens a rationalisation of workers had at last occurred in 1724. A labour force of 10/15 had been employed by the Gardener at that time which was reduced to five. Five labourers were turned off but others

"... that have worked with me all along & should be employed about the Husbandry work or other ways as Bower thinks fitt in fencing, hedging and ditching."

Even this reduced workforce in the gardens was to cost £88.8 shillings per annum.<sup>40</sup>

Throughout Thomas Wentworth's life he remained in intense competition with his cousins at Wentworth-Woodhouse. In 1710 prior to obtaining the Embassy to the Hague, his mother Lady Wentworth had written

"I was told that Watson-Wentworth was endeavouring to bye the Earldom of Strafford, sure her majesty will not grant it to any but you."

and pressed Lord Raby almost a year later, in January 1711

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39 B L Add Mss 22241 (Strafford papers) (7-17) Bills 1716-25.

40 BL Add Mss 22241 (Strafford papers) (18) Instructions for the garden, 1724. See also J Campbell Vitruvius Britannicus Vol 1 (1972 ed.) p7.

"to gett somebody to speak to the Queen to make you Earl of Strafford; I would have it to hinder Watson from it - God forgive me." 41

In 1711 Raby succeeded in this long nurtured ambition and thereby blocked the most obvious route to title for the Honourable Watson Wentworth.

The intensity of this rivalry spilled over into most of the Earl's projects.

"I have great credit by my pictures and find I have not thrown my money away. They are all designed for Yorkshire and I hope to have a better collection there than Mr Watson." 42

In a rivalry so intense the temptations towards ostentation were enormous. The gallery which extended the full length of the East wing was 180 feet long, 24 feet wide and 30 feet high and was completed in October 1725.<sup>43</sup> The building of cascades, temples, obelisks, including one in memory of Queen Anne in 1734, and the folly Stainborough Castle, together with the menagerie already mentioned, continued for the remainder of the Earl's life (d 1739).<sup>44</sup> It was the external aspect of the place which impressed later visitors more than the complex and confusing house.<sup>45</sup> The ageing Earl continued to require reports of celebrations at Wentworth Woodhouse and to agonise to no avail over means of attracting royal visits in the last years of his life.

South and West ranges were added to Wentworth Castle in the period between 1759-68. This cost £200 per annum in architect's fees and considerable sums in labour

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|----|------------------------|---|
| 41 | J Cartwright           | <u>The Wentworth Papers. 1705-39 (1883) Lady Wentworth - Lord Raby, 1 February 1710; 16 January 1711.</u> |
| 42 | Ibid                   | Lord Raby - Sir William Wentworth, July 1710.   |
| 43 | BL Add Mss 22241 (18)  | Also - J Cartwright <u>The Wentworth Papers 1705-39 (1883) p64.</u>                                       |
| 44 | BL Add Mss 22241 (149) | Expenses for alterations at Wentworth Castle 1760-85.   |
| 45 | A Young                | <u>A Six Months Tour Through the North of England, Vol I (1769) p127.</u>                                 |

and materials. After 1768 alterations and improvements rarely cost more than £200-300 per annum at Wentworth Castle. This new work was smaller in scale than that at Wentworth Woodhouse and it appears that building competition was less intense by this time between the Wentworth family branches.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless it is unlikely that the new wing cost much less than £10000 if the value of estate materials and labour used is included. It thus appears likely that by about 1770 building of the House at Wentworth Castle in the eighteenth century, extension and walling of the park, levelling and embellishment of the grounds and cultivation of the gardens had involved a cost of between £40 and £50000 as well as the initial purchase price of £14000 and additional sums paid for small parcels of land. Ironically the Strafford estate was plunged into a complex problem of succession yet again after the death of the Fifth Earl in 1799. The estates were burdened with a tangled web of successors and the satisfaction of their claims and those of Lady Strafford, led after the death of the Earl's immediate successor Mr Conolly, to a situation in which Henry Vernon had to mortgage his Hilton Estates (Wolverhampton) in order to redeem much of the internal furnishing from other claimants in 1804.<sup>47</sup> Timber felling and the running of a large house with a small staff were among the expedients adopted in attempting to cut the running expenses of this mansion in the 15 years after 1804.<sup>48</sup> The house fell into disrepair and involved large expenditures at a time when economic depression was making serious inroads into most estate incomes after 1815.<sup>49</sup>

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46 SCL VWM 112

Correspondence subsequent to the death of (5) Earl of Strafford, 1799.

47 Strafford Papers BL Add/  
Mss 22241 137-8

The second and third Earls' of Strafford of the second creation lent considerable sums on mortgage to the 2nd Marquis of Rockingham.

48 SCL VWM 148

A Kaye - H Vernon, 6 October 1799; 19 March 1800; J Beevers - H Vernon, 6 May 1803; 26 July 1803; 6 August 1803; 13 February 1804; 8 March 1804.

49 SCL VWM 114  
VWM 122

Estate correspondence 1816-18 Accounts 1803;1804; also  
J Birks - Mrs Vernon. 16 November 1814.

The expansion of the Wentworth Woodhouse establishment after the death of Thomas Watson Wentworth in 1723 must be seen as a reaction to the aggressive attack upon the Yorkshire status of the family by the Earl of Strafford. Emotionally, materially and politically no quarter was given between Lord Malton and Strafford before the latter's death in 1739. Despite Strafford's early success the Watson-Wentworth branch were ultimately more successful in the early eighteenth century race for status. By careful cultivation of Walpole and loyal service in the Rebellion of 1745 and other occasions, Malton acquired local political power and prepared the ground for the political career of his son. He was fortunate to ensure the continuation of his family's economic position by the marriage of his daughter to Earl Fitzwilliam in 1744. As a result the death of his son without issue in 1782 led to estate consolidation in Yorkshire and elsewhere rather than fragmentation which befell the Strafford estate after 1799.

Symbolic of the rise of the Wentworth Woodhouse branch of the family was the rebuilding of the house after 1723. The mansion at Wentworth Woodhouse was not planned by a single architect. The west front involved a remodelling of the earlier house on this site and was more or less complete by 1734.<sup>50</sup> It preserved much of the former building within new outer-walls.

The work was already well underway in 1724. A library wing was under construction in that year and its interior was being fitted out two years later. Kitchen offices, building in an area north of the garden front and a large amount of work in the park were undertaken in this period. By 1730 the main east front of the house was being commissioned, folds and water

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50 N Peysner  
J Allan

The Buildings of England. Yorkshire the West Riding. New Ed (1967) p539. See also "Wentworth Woodhouse" Archaeol J Vol 137 (1980) pp393-396.



engines were installed and the Marquis calculated that between 1722 and 1733 (Ladyday) he had expended £27000 at Wentworth Woodhouse on building and emparkment.<sup>51</sup> A large permanent workforce was employed on these projects. Joiners, masons and carpenters were permanently at work on the house, helped by variable numbers of labourers from 1724-32. This was a labour force of 50/60 men, of whom 20 were labourers. There were also 20 day labourers in the park and 25 at work in the gardens under the supervision of servants employed on an annual basis. Plasterers and painters were employed in a contract basis when required and a separate team of men were walling in Tankersley Park. Additional to this was quarrying, carrying, brickmaking and glazing employment. This labour force received wage payments of £462 between June 28, 1724 and January 2/9 1725, of which £81 was paid for masonry work. Materials purchased cost £82c of which £21.10.6 was paid for iron to Mr Whittaker on 30 October 1724, but by far the majority of supplies came from estate woods, quarries or brick kilns.<sup>52</sup> Clay was provided for 550000 bricks between July 1724 and February 1725. It is likely that the overall payment for the half-year of £545 was a considerable underestimate of the real total for that period. From the accounts it appears that the levels of employment in late 1724 remained about the norm, with some seasonal fluctuations, until the late 1730s.<sup>53</sup>

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51 SCL WWM A1273

Inserted Document (costs included "Lead, Iron, Timber, Stone, Lime, Locks, Deal, Plaster, Furniture, Keepers Lodge, Greenhouse, Sand, Obelisk in Lee Wood, Park wall.")

52 SCL WWM A1251

Cashbook of William Clauston, Steward 1725-32.

53 SCL WWM A1251

Cashbook of William Clauston, Steward 1724-32. Labourers were paid 6d per day, or £3.12 if employed for six months. Other workers were paid more so that average payment per person to all forms of labour amounted to £81.10s in this six month period. Much of this included payment for materials, as in carrying bills for stone and other building raw material.

The steward's accounts uphold the general figure which Thomas Wentworth estimated as the cost of building between 1722-33.

In September 1732 a fire near Clifford's room came near to destroying it all ...

'... two hundred people were on hand to help and two water engines. ... Praise God for this deliverance from fire. 18 September 1732.' 54

By 1733 levelling was proceeding and the chapel built, this being finished in 1734 together with

'a great part of the front ... five windows in length was erected. Mr Tunnickliffe was in charge of the building of the house front until his death in April 1736.<sup>55</sup>

It was in this period that expert opinion was sought on the progress of the building, with recognition of the unsatisfactory nature of the work done by that time.

"It is with pleasure my Lord I hear from Sir Wm Wentworth that you take Kent down with you next summer, who will be able to rectify any mistakes that may have happened in your Buildings, if there should be any as also to prevent any for the future." 56

According to Pevsner the plans for the East front were submitted to Lord Burlington, high priest of English Palladianism" and were designed by Henry Flitcroft.<sup>57</sup> Part of the work done by Tunnickliffe collapsed.<sup>58</sup>

"In the years 1735 and 1736 the Terrass was made, the ice-house built, the Tempiatto built, some low rooms finished, the Drawing Room, Dining Room in the Front Wing and a great deal of levelling in the Court was done and on Sunday 28 June 1736 Prayers were said in the Chappel for the first time."

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|----|---------------|--|
| 54 | SCL WWM A1273 | Inserted Document 1748.  |
| 55 | SCL WWM A1273 | Ibid; H M Colvin op cit (1954) p843.   |
| 56 | N Pevsner     | <u>Yorkshire. The West Riding</u> (1967 Ed) p541.  |
| 57 | Ibid          |  |
| 58 | A Booth       | "The Architects of Wentworth Woodhouse and Wentworth Castle." <u>JRIBA 41, 3rd Series No 2 1933</u> pp61-71. |

By May 23, 1736 the total outpayment since Ladyday 1722 was calculated as £36484.4.3.<sup>59</sup>

In 1736 the new parlour and drawing room were finished, the great hall and portico begun, cellars and a "rustick story" completed together with the great hall to the height of the first window.<sup>60</sup>

"I counte the expenses of these nineteen months to New Years day 1737 including carriage, materials and furniture to have amounted to five thousand pounds."

In the park a Serpentine was constructed, a new menagerie begun, hedges removed in the gardens. The running total of expenses was £41500.<sup>61</sup>

There followed a number of years when building activity reached a peak for the period 1722-50. In 1738 the great hall was built and covered in, the supping room finished, the place for the staircase erected, a pavilion and greenhouse at the upper end of the menagerie built and a considerable amount of walling done near the house, together with levelling where the old buildings stood, terraces and a bowling green, with expenditures for the year of £4500. In 1739 the great portico was the most notable of a wide range of activities and by the end of that year he calculated his total expenses since 1722 at £56000.<sup>62</sup>

In 1740

"Two windows joyning the great hall northward were built,"

the supping room was first used, and the rooms above were wainscotted and ornaments were carved. With carriage and materials this cost £3500. In 1741 the old gallery was rebuilt, a north wing built from the ground and addition made to the great ponds, an octagon was erected and much carving

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59 M Girouard

Life in the English Country House (1978) p158.

60 SCL WWM MI 137

C Moysers - Earl of Malton, 10 February 1734 (copy).

61 SCL WWM A1273

Inserted Document 1748.

62 SCL WWM A1273

Inserted Document.

done in the great hall, dining room and portico. There was also plastering work and a lead purchase for the covering of the whole North wing. By the end of 1742 the total stood at £66300. Further works in fitting the new gallery and "the whole house" with mahogany together with ornamentation, paving works and improvements at the farm brought total expenditure by New Year 1744 to £70,000. In these years £2700 was spent on works at Grosvenor Square. In 1744 the pavements were extended, the temple was built on the hill and the covering of the main roof with Westmoreland and Cumberland slate begun, to be completed in 1745. In that year there was more paving in the house and work on bedchambers and servants' quarters. In the gardens

"Fruit walls of modern contrivance with stoves and glass frames" were set up.

Expenses on new building at the house were smaller after 1745 and the sum expended fell to £2000 in 1746. It covered new pantries and ceilings and some marble chimney pieces. Work was proceeding in the grounds upon the Pyramid constructed in honour of George II. as a response to the acquisition of a Marquisate and on the forest plantations in the park. By January 1749 Wentworth considered the masonry work completed

"nothing but finishing furnishing and levelling being what I further intend."

The total cost was calculated as exceeding £83000 in 28 years. If one ignores the £2700 spent at Grosvenor Square it appears that the building of Wentworth Woodhouse and ornamentation of its grounds between 1722 and 1750 cost £80000. This sum was equivalent to that required to build a township of 2000 houses at £40 each, or a place of about 10000 population in the middle of the eighteenth century.

At this point it is necessary to recall that this building enterprise was conducted alongside a major extension of landownership,<sup>63</sup> and that it occurred alongside the growth of Wentworth Park itself. Indeed a considerable proportion of the expenditures of these years went into walling both Wentworth and Tankersley Parks and ornaments within the grounds. The park was being extended in the 1720s and walled, and similar work in walling was going on at Tankersley.<sup>64</sup> The park at Wentworth was extended considerably in the 1720-40 period and stood by 1740 at a perimeter of six miles 1722 yards. The road was diverted and Bower's Ground enclosed to make the walled area seven and a quarter miles in perimeter in early 1743, with a further half mile extension in that year. In 1744 it was

"taken round/Street Farm to Hooper Hills and down by Flint Wood into the Old Falls and thence quite round Scholes Wood as above the whole circumference exceeds nine miles." <sup>65</sup>

Defoe scarcely mentioned the Wentworth estates in his visits to the district ...

"From Rotherham we turned NW to Wentworth, on purpose to see the old seat at Tankersley, and the Park, where I saw the largest Red Deer that, I believe, are in this part of Europe ... This was antiently the dwelling of the great Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, beheaded in Charles the First's time ... the body lies interred in Wentworth Church." <sup>66</sup>

This may be accidental or the result of Defoe's admitted preference for description of the main centres and their manufactures in this region. Such an omission became unthinkable among the touring memorialists after 1750

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63 See Ch 2 of this thesis, pp 64-71.

64 SCL WWM A1251 Cashbook of William Clauston Steward 1724-32. ("To the stone leaders from Hooton and John Rawlin to the Park Wall by Bill £150.16.11½." 24 October 1731). There are smaller but similar entries in the 1720s for both Wentworth and Tankersley.

65 SCL WWM A1273 Inserted document, 1748 (Dated but it contains information on 1749). An estimate for the value of this land has not been included in the total "Fixed Capital Cost".

66 D Defoe A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain Vol 2, (1727) p92.

with the growth in the scale of the house and its park and the increased political power of the Second Marquis.

It is reasonable to accept the First Marquis's assessment of his expenditures on Wentworth Woodhouse in the period 1722-50, though they were doubtless intended to impress his family. At their peak in the later 1730s and early 1740s these 'fixed capital costs' exceeded £4000 per annum, and they averaged over £3000 per annum for the whole period. This expenditure accompanied 'running costs' on an onerous scale and as a preliminary to relating conspicuous consumption to estate income from this area or in aggregate it is necessary to consider such expenditures.<sup>67</sup>

### III Building Costs and Conspicuous Consumption 1725-50.

The 'running costs' element in the conspicuous consumption of spending at Wentworth Woodhouse has been split for purposes of analysis into a set of subsidiary categories.

- (a) It is considered to be necessary to treat the wages and salaries of the permanent household as a separate category, as indeed was done at the time. Most of the household were hired annually and had a different relationship with their masters from contract workers or day labourers.
- (b) Costs of feeding the household and of maintaining the stock of animals and crops which were primarily intended for the feeding and maintenance of the great house. This category can be treated as a set of payments outside the estate, or one can attempt a broader definition of these costs to include internal resources used.

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67 SCL WWM A1273

1745 was the year of least expenditure for these purposes from 1730-50. There were instead expenses of royal entertaining and "the rebellion the latter end of last year was an expense of some thousand pounds to me." See also C Collier "Yorkshire and the 'forty-five'". YAJ Vol 38 1952, pp71-95.

(c) Other external payments from the estate eg. regular salaries, charity, election expenses, payments for day labour not included in fixed capital costs.

Of these the latter two categories are the more difficult to analyse, while the first is relatively straightforward as it was of direct concern to the landlord.

Payments of wages and salaries to the household remained relatively static between the 1720s and the 1750s when there began inflationary trends which operated in varying degrees until the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The stewards' accounts indicate that the lowest level of servants were often employed on a day-to-day basis between 1720 and 1750, and this variable pool of labour has to be remembered when the regularity of the payments to servants paid on a six-monthly basis is indicated. The regular servants received about £300 in wages per annum throughout this period.<sup>68</sup> But at Lady day and Michaelmas and during celebrations of birthdays or occasional balls considerable additional labour had to be employed. Such events were a regular feature of the annual calendar and their cost in labour in a full year was considerable. In comparison day labour at Kiveton was costing £9.16 per fortnight between 1718 and 1725 or about £600 per annum.<sup>69</sup> Garden labour and improvements cost £1827 between 1744 and 1751 or £260 per annum, a slight reduction from the £309.2.0½d in such costs paid in 1725.<sup>70</sup> Between 1724 and 1732 William Clauston disbursed about £2000 per annum at

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- 68 SCL WWM A1251 Cashbook of William Clauston Steward 1724-32 eg Michaelmas wages 1729 £166.18.3. This presumably excluded extensive prerequisites.
- 69 YAS Leeds Mss DD5 Box XXIV No 3 James Carter's cashbook for the Marquis of Carmarthen commencing 17 February 1718/19.
- 70 YAS Leeds Mss DD5 Box No 32 William Leeson's Account 1744-51; DD5 Box XXIV No 3 (above).

Wentworth Woodhouse, of which £300 were 'household' wages and about £500 were other wages paid to the workers on building and to workers in the gardens and parks. Some tasks in the house were always done by someone from outside the household.<sup>71</sup> At the time of the death of the First Marquis in 1750 the list of servants who received legacies numbered 54 categories of people, most of them individuals but some merely classes of servant. There were usually 70 to 80 servants within the house.<sup>72</sup> Thus the expenditures under this first category are fairly clear at an average of £300 per annum plus the cost of additional day labour in the house between the 1720s and the early 1750s. The total is likely to have been of the order of £450 per annum. This sum cannot include board wages or perquisites. The former often almost equalled regular salary.<sup>73</sup>

Far more difficult to analyse in the pre 1750 period is the cost of maintaining this 'Family' and of those aspects of estate activities which directly contributed to its upkeep. It seems likely that the servants of an aristocratic landlord lived well. The systems of control over the consumption of servants were detailed but did not always work. They aimed at the prevention of gross misapplication of money or resources, including careful quantitative controls. Thus an examination of meat consumption at Wentworth Woodhouse indicates that there were generally about 120/30 scots cattle, some english, and about 400 sheep kept for consumption on the South Yorkshire parkland or home farms. When the owner was in residence two scots cattle and an english ox were slaughtered each week in the 1730s, a

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- 71 SCL WLM A1251 William Clauston's Cashbook 1724-32 "March 17 (1725) J Froggatt, Sweeping 23 chimneys 0.3.10."
- 72 SCL WWM R186-46,47 List of Servants with wages 1753. List of Servants with distribution of money 1753. The categories include 'maidservant' etc where there were obviously several employees. 1735-1741.
- 73 J Hecht The Domestic Servant Class in the Eighteenth Century (1956) p p164-7.



total of 100 stones of beef a week. In his absence one scots cow was usually killed. Large numbers of sheep were also killed.<sup>74</sup>

Table 9.5 - Weight of Beef used at Wentworth Woodhouse 1735-41<sup>75</sup>

	stones
1735	1755
1736	1716
1737	2524
1738	2192
1739	2319
1740	2251
1741	1828

These quantities fed a household of about 100 people, and numerous visitors.

In the 1741-9 period the same pattern of consumption of meat was maintained with 5/6 scots cattle killed per month on average.<sup>76</sup> The household diet was meat-orientated, whether for master and visitors, superior or inferior servants, or workmen, the main distinction being between the repetitious beef and pudding of the lower servants and the greater use of lighter meats, game, fowl and fish in the aristocratic diet. Venison was in ready supply from estate resources, and the dairy maintained an adequate milk supply though butter was purchased from outside suppliers in the 1720s.<sup>77</sup>

A subsidiary task for the housekeeper was the collection and accounting of rent fowl where these were due between 1730 and 1750, with 70 of these coming from Wentworth tenants alone in 1737.<sup>78</sup>

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74 This is comparable to figures in L Stone The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641 (1967 Ed) pp254-5.

75 SCL WWM A1374 Miscellaneous Household Accounts 1733-37 - 1000 person months (50 persons 4 months, 100 persons 8 months) Av 2 stone+ a month of beef plus other meats, per person.

76 SCL WWM A1451 & 2 Meat killed 1743-9.

77 SCL WWM A1251 William Clauston's Cashbook 1724-31.

78 SCL WWM A1374

Consumption of these products varied according to whether or not the Earl of Malton was in residence. The numbers of people dining at Wentworth as guests were few when the family were absent, and they were usually close friends, relatives, or senior estate functionaries.<sup>79</sup> This contrasted sharply with the lavish displays when the owner was "at home" and there were occasional immense extravaganzas as on the occasion of Thomas Wentworth's birthday in 1733, when more than 1000 guests were entertained.<sup>80</sup>

Vital to the household consumption were supplies of malt, barley, white and red wheat, peas, beans and oats which came from the estate home farms, and the large areas of mowing grass and estate produced straw. Such produce fed horses, cattle, sheep, pigs and fowl, produced corn for milling and the raw material for the brewing of five types of beer by the estate brewer. Tithe payments in kind were an addition to estate resources in the early eighteenth century and later.<sup>81</sup> For meat consumption the great estate came near to supplying itself, though a bad year might require purchases on the open market. Some of the necessary resources to feed the House always required purchase. Cattle for fattening, and sheep, were bought lean from Scotland and at Chester Fair by the 1750s. In 1725 Clauston recorded (15 October 1725)

"To Robert Boys of Appleton who brought the sheep and Scotch Beasts from Scotland 0.8.0."

Large estates provided an unusually large and relatively dependable market. Such purchases of stock for fattening must have cost between £200 and £300 per annum between 1720 and 1750 given the size of the stock and current and

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|----|-------------------------------|---|
| 79 | SCL WWM A1243                 | Household Accounts 1733-7.  |
| 80 | SCL WWM A1273<br>J Cartwright | Inserted Document. See also<br><u>The Wentworth Papers 1705-39 (1883)</u> Phipps - The<br>Third Earl of Strafford |
| 81 | SCL WWM A1243<br>R189.5       | Household Accounts. Wentworth 1733-7.<br>Greasbrook Tithe 1770. Tankersley Tithe 1770.                            |

later well-documented prices.<sup>82</sup> The evidence for the 1750-82 period indicates that large purchases of hay, straw, seed and implements were needed prior to 1750, though it is likely that such needs expanded with the building of the new stables in the post 1750 period and their occupation by the Rockingham racing string.

Another category of payments were those for purchases of food and household goods from trades people. Groceries, wine and spirits, liveries, linen, other cloth, soap and tools and implements were regular and necessary items. In the 1720s regular external purchases of food cost between £200 and £300 per annum, with a peak in the summer of £8-£9 per week and levels as low as £2.10 shillings per week when the family was away. In such periods the French cook was usually absent in London. Visitors were frequent though not always numerous at the master's table but the numbers of workmen fed before 1750 in the servants hall tended to be greater than later when the practice was increasingly discouraged.<sup>83</sup> Between 1730 and 1750 external food purchases remained fairly stable at approximately £300/£400 per annum. Purchases of wine and spirits were a large addition despite the practice of buying from several merchants in great bulk.<sup>84</sup> It has unfortunately not been possible to construct an overall estimate of these expenditures, but it is unlikely that they were less than £150 per annum.<sup>85</sup> Other expensive

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82 SCL WWM A1374 A1451 & 2.

83 SCL WWM A1251 William Clauston's Cashbook 1724-32.  
SCL WWM A1243 Household Accounts Wentworth 1733-37.  
SCL WWM Stw 3 (i) Earl Fitzwilliam to Benjamin Hall, 20 January 1784.  
"... When any gilders or other workmen come to work at the house never give them either bed or board. I do not mean in case of a job of two or three days, but when the business is to be lasting, for such indulgence slackens the progress of the work in great degree."

84 SCL WWM A1243 Household Accounts 1732-7.

85 Thus a pipe of madeira was likely to cost £30-£40 and the Household consumed more than one pipe per annum. Large stocks of Claret, red and white wine and spirits were maintained.

items were liveries which changed bi-annually, bed linen and other individual items like the carriage bill between Wentworth and London, which was large, not only at times of family removal each year, but on a fairly regular basis as London purchases were ferried north and Wentworth produce was ferried to Grosvenor Square.<sup>86</sup>

A second major category of 'running costs' in the pre-1750 period appears to be roughly as follows -

Table 9.6 - Estimate of External Supply Costs at Wentworth Woodhouse

1730-40 (per annum)

	£
Beef (Lean cattle)	200
Sheep (Lean)	50
Grains	100
Hay and Straw	100
Groceries	350
Wines etc	150
Liveries, linen, household	150
	<u>1150</u>

Estimates of Value of Estate Produce Consumed 1730-40

Beef (Fat cattle)	400
Sheep (Fat)	100
Grains	600
Hay and Straw	400
Venison	?
Dairy and Fowl	100
Coal (Swallowwood)	?
	<u>£1600+</u>

86 SCL WWM A1251

As overleaf eg "8 April 1725 Jn Green for 50 stone of Sope delivered at Wentworth. £14.11.0."

In terms of spending cash from estate resources it appears that the household required a sum in excess of £1000 per annum in the 1730s. It is likely that this is a gross underestimate as the estimates for some items are low as it is not certain how large such purchases were prior to 1750. After that all expenditures grew and it is this category of spending within the variable running costs of maintaining the household which increased most rapidly throughout the period 1750-80. The second set of data relate to the likely value of main items of estate produce consumed. It is unlikely that the total value was less than £2000 per annum in the 1730s.<sup>87</sup>

The third major item of variable expenditure includes a very wide range of payments from the estates, notable among them being clergymen's stipends, teachers' salaries, doctors' fees or direct services, charity payments of many different types, election expenses and payments which maintained important services in local society, exercised a degree of local social control on behalf of the ruling elite and attempted to hide the exercise of power.

A number of stipends may have been paid by the rent collectors direct to clergymen but the payment of Mr Steer at Tankersley Church came direct from the steward (£100 per annum) in 1723 and a similar payment was probably made at Wentworth. Clauston was responsible for the payments to at least five teachers of charity children, two in Wath and three elsewhere.

"February 27 1724 Mr Burdyn for teaching poor children at Wath  
one Q 0.15.0  
Edward Tinsley for the same 0.18.9."

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87 For the sources of these figures see the discussion of the individual items. These figures cannot be added together to form a total as they include animals purchased in both. It is necessary to subtract the purchase price of lean animals from the second total to allow aggregation. There may be an overestimate in values of estate produce given the low prices of the 1730s.

The largest single payment between 1724/5 for teaching purposes was that to

"Mr Richardson for teaching Charity children one Q £4.17.7."

The total expenditure for this purpose was less than £40 per annum. A similar payment was that made for eight apprenticeships at Michaelmas 1724. These payments, totalling about £30 per annum, were a regular feature of early eighteenth century aristocratic charity, bridging the gap between provision of services and charity. Later in the century the provision of medical care was also frequent for estate employees including colliers, though evidence of this has not been found prior to 1750.<sup>88</sup>

Direct gifts of goods and money to the poor was institutionalized through the support of Wentworth hospitaliers (£36 per annum) and through Charities like that of Dr Spence in Wath and Wentworth which appears to have given five "fit persons" £10 in total each year. At Christmas about 300 poor people were given beef and possibly an entertainment, and charity children were provided with coats and 58 pairs of charity shoes in 1724. There were some spontaneous payments of tiny sums to "a poor woman 6d" (26 December 1724) or "gave to two seamen 6d". Public appearances of the aristocratic family were almost always an occasion for donations. Thus during a visit by Lady Malton to Rotherham on 2 April 1725, there was a ten shilling payment to the poor and wine, ale and sack for more prosperous citizens and payments to bellringers.<sup>89</sup> These were commonplaces of

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88 SCL WWM Stw 6(i)

N Barnforth reference, 10 January 1777.

89 SCL WWM A1251

William Clauston's Cashbook 1724-32.

eighteenth century social life, but these appearances could be achieved with relatively little effect upon estate finances except in those areas like the stipends of the moulders of local opinion who were vital to the aristocrat's interests. An analysis (for nine months) of the steward's payments for charitable purposes, teachers' and clergymen's salaries indicates that the total probably stood at less than £400 per annum, if one assumes that the clergyman at Wentworth received the same as at Tankersley - £100. Of this total less than £150 per annum was used for direct payments to charities or individuals. The owner would dispense more himself as would his family, but despite appearances in relation to other expenses this item was small. There were other local benefits, including the giving of spare supplies monthly to the poor later in the century. Some other owners seemed less charitable, with only £42 donated to bounties and charities at Kiveton in 1765.<sup>90</sup>

Election expenses and other related payments in relation to the maintenance of the militia were costly. No systematic study of these large items has been undertaken but the near permanent employment of election agents, the payment of travel expenses and the costs of elections like those of 1733 and 1741 were considerable. These items rather than more mundane household affairs excited concern to the estate owner in the 1730s and 1740s, especially as the First Marquis was a key local supporter of the Settlement of 1688/9 and worked assiduously for Walpole in search of favour.<sup>91</sup>

A suspicion of great expense runs through the close scrutiny given to election agents' expenses after the post 1733 election freeholders scrutiny campaign in which Malton played a central role.

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90 SYCA Leeds Mss 5/F1/1 Mr Macdonald's 5th Account.

91 SCL WWM MI 134

Correspondence of the First Marquis of Rockingham  
eg Mr Griffith - Lord Malton, 21 October 1733  
Wm Buck - Lord Malton, 24 January 1734

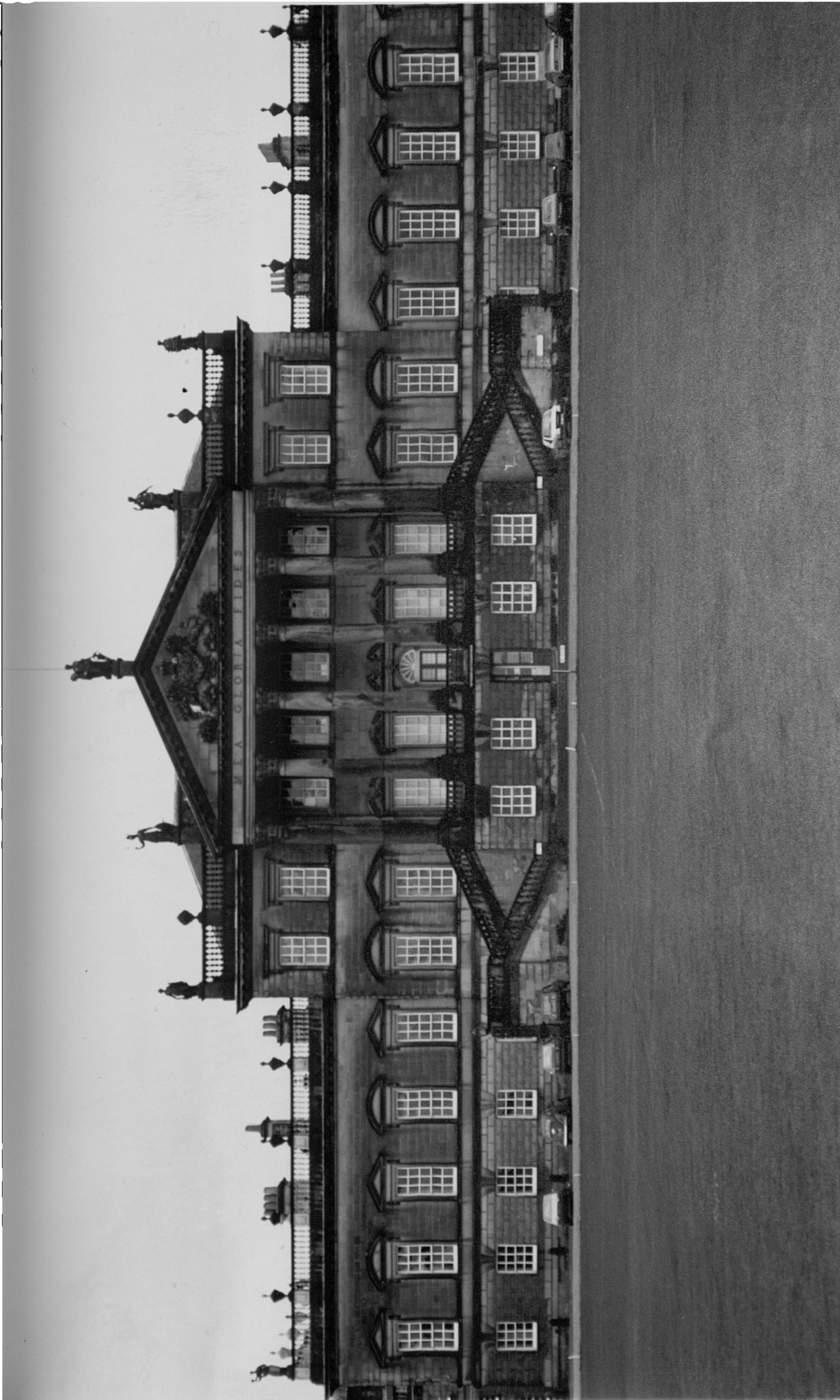
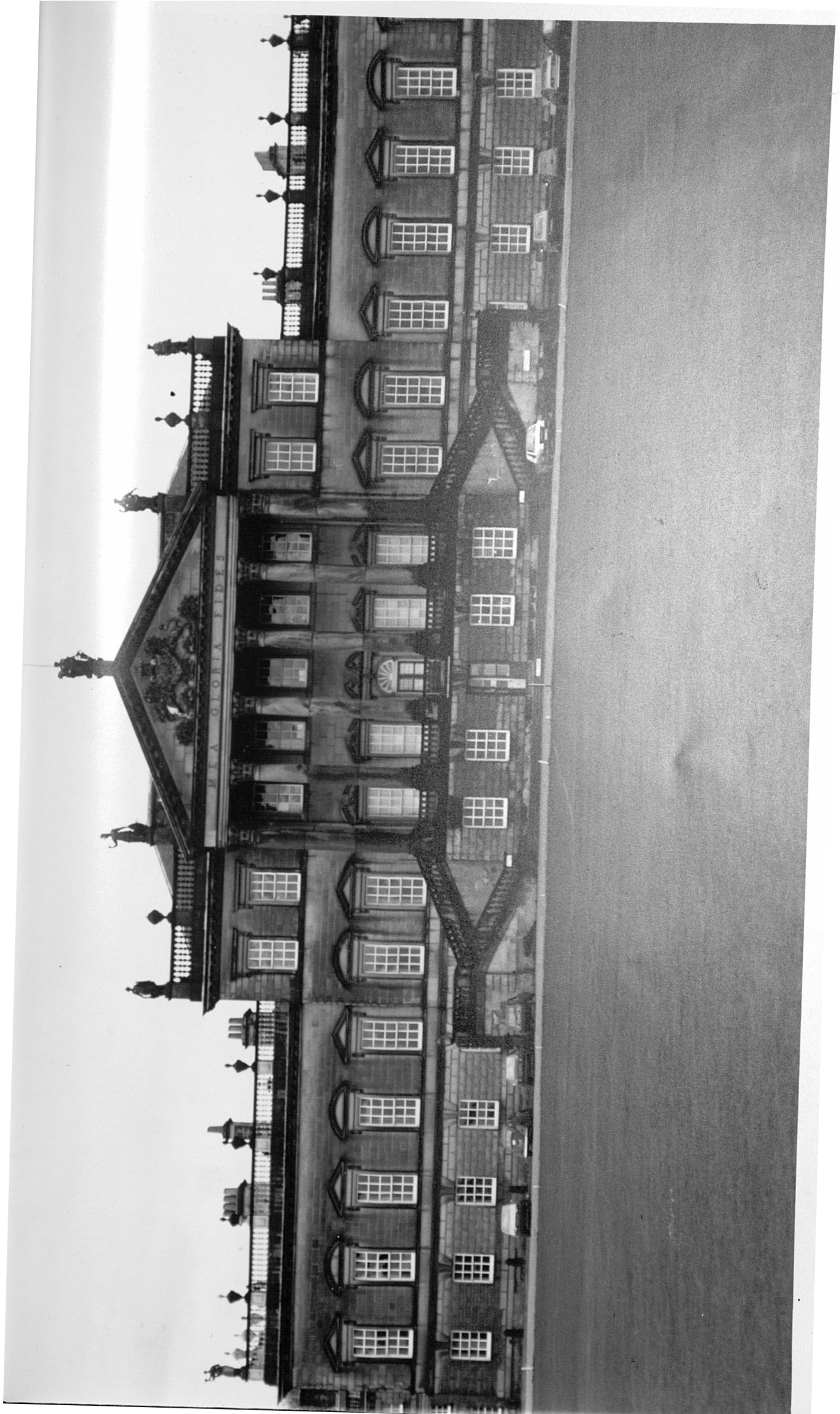


Figure 9.3 Wentworth Woodhouse East Front. Central Block and Portico.





Yorkshire revenues were insufficient to finance the burdens of conspicuous consumption and land purchase despite the valuable nature of South Yorkshire property. It was for this reason that the first Marquis was forced to borrow on mortgage despite a considerable income from property in a number of areas which was producing a growing rental.

#### IV The Second Phase of Building at Wentworth-Woodhouse

The conditions of relative price stability which existed in the early eighteenth century had made the prediction of the burdens imposed by a great establishment a relatively simple matter in its essentials. The short-run fluctuations in price in the 1720-50 period seem to have been of little concern to Thomas Wentworth. The ownership of a vast property in an industrializing district, and rental income from elsewhere, gave him the confidence to build the great house, to expand the emparked area, to perform an expanding political role and to buy large quantities of land. In the short term he was insulated from price fluctuations by dependence on rent not production itself, and by the fact that a fall in prices could be of benefit to a consuming household which did not depend directly upon sales of produce to finance consumption. In low price periods the great house provisioned itself cheaply while in an area of economic growth rents did not fall so readily as in purely agrarian districts. On the other hand failures in the markets of the industrial produce of the region probably had little effect upon Wentworth finances before 1750.

After 1750 price conditions fluctuated more, creating uncertainty. For aristocrats this could be a problem, even in a region where the opportunities for expansion of wealth were enormous. Careful balancing of the expectations of rising rental income with levels of consumption planned were required. Developments at Wentworth-Woodhouse between 1750 and 1790 indicate the difficulties and advantages of economic growth for the aristocratic proprietor,

and where possible that will be compared with other experience. For ease of comparison and analysis the earlier distinction between 'capital' and 'running costs' is again adopted.

Expenditure on building, decoration and furnishing of the house and upon the alteration and ornamentation of the grounds remained large during the lifetime of Charles, the Second Marquis of Rockingham and for most of the period before the Revolutionary Wars.

When Arthur Young visited the district he noted that

"His Lordship is building a most magnificent pile of stabling. It is to form a large quadrangle enclosing a square, with a very elegant front to the Park. There are to be 84 stalls with numerous apartments for the servants attending, and spacious rooms for hay, corn etc dispersed in such a manner as to render the whole perfectly convenient. 93

This could fit Chatsworth exactly, and Sandbeck too on smaller scale.

The stables were the most expensive of the Second Marquis's many capital projects. They were built to house the racing string which was the pride and joy of their owner. Work continued on their erection from the mid-1760s until 1785/6.

Table 9.8 - Expenses building New Stables 1765-74 (Wentworth-Woodhouse)

	£	s	d
Midsummer 1765/6	1071	14	7½
to end of 1767	639	18	8½
1768	783	12	4
1769	810	12	8
1770	1089	6	8
1771	1157	0	0
1772	1413	0	0
1773	892	0	0
1774	810	0	0

These figures indicate the labour costs of the enterprise.<sup>94</sup> The joint cost of estate and other raw materials used was enormous for the 20 year period of their construction. The architect was John Carr, who remained responsible for the design of the enterprise from 1763 until 1788 despite illness in the late 1770s.<sup>95</sup> He was simultaneously involved in other projects scattered across northern England and was chairman of the Rockingham Club in York, his home town.<sup>96</sup>

The building of the stables was a large enterprise, comparable in terms of the masons employed to the building of the house itself, although ultimately less expensive than the latter. Annual labour bills typically appeared as follows:-

Table 9.9 Labour on the New Stables 1765/6<sup>97</sup>

	£	s	d
Labourers under Metcalf	295	12	4
Joiners	174	1	9½
Masons	125	2	10
Carpenters	280	0	1
Blacksmiths	86	19	0½
Brickmakers	109	8	6½
	<u>1071</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>7½</u>

There were difficulties in co-ordinating this labour force and a seasonal element was characteristic of employment, especially of labourers. The steward William Martin recommended that the craftsmen should be retained on

94 SCL WWM R187 (34.36)

William Martin's Accounts with the Marquis of Rockingham. A1-8 Stewards Accounts

95 SCL WWM Stw 6(ii)

J Carr-B Hall (20.1.79) (29.4.80)  
"I hope in a fortnight or three weeks to see you for I am very anxious to see the work which I have directed to be begun at Buxton." Carr was paid £84 per annum. (SCL WWM R187 (34) ).

96 H. Colvin

A Biographical dictionary of English Architects 1660-1840 (1954) pp122-125.

97 SCL WWM A5

Steward's Accounts 1771

an annual basis in 1771, but this does not seem to have occurred.<sup>98</sup> By mid-summer 1771 the west side of the stables was ready for covering, and Carr sought authorisation to begin work on the stable frontage as the masons would be out of work in a month if this was not done.<sup>99</sup> It was built of Ardsley stone and substantially complete by 1776, when the architect instructed the steward Hall that

"... his Lordship and me determined to have a glass ball upon the top of the stable cupola of the same size the wood one is put up, which glass ball must be silvered within, which I imagine may be blown at Rotherham of a good substance." 100

The stable yard was also complete with two new walls, and two towers were under construction.<sup>101</sup>

By 1779 old stable buildings were being removed, but the work was still incomplete

"Fenton brings us an agreeable account of the appearance of that corner where the stables are pulled down. I long to see it but it will only make one more eager for the removal of the whole." 102

There was an uncharacteristic urgency about his commands in January 1782.

"I shall be much disappointed if the buildings in the back court of the new stables is not accelerated. ... It will be disagreeable if the first two are not completed by the time Lady Rockingham and I may get to Wentworth in the summer, and which may perhaps be much earlier than we have been for some years." 103

The sense of urgency was understandable, for when the Marquis died in June 1782 many of the works remained incomplete. Subsidiary works, including the laying of a causeway from the stables to the House were still under way in 1785.<sup>104</sup>

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98 SCL WWM R187 (38)	W Martin-Marquis of Rockingham 27.4.71
99 SCL WWM R188 (3a)	W Martin-Marquis of Rockingham 4.6.71
100 SCL WWM Stw 6 (1)	J Carr - B Hall 25.1.76
101 SCL WWM Stw 6 (1)	G Smith's Bill 15.8.76 (wells)
102 SCL WWM Stw 2	Lady Rockingham-B Hall 24.1.79
103 SCL WWM Stw 6 (1)	Marquis of Rockingham - B Hall 24.1.82
104 SCL WWM Stw 3 (ii)	Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall 15.1.85

Labour costs for this project exceeded £1000 per annum for perhaps twenty years (1767-85). This figure excludes the architect's fees of perhaps £1680 and does not include the salaries of the various supervisors of Works which amounted to at least £3000, thus providing a total labour expenditure of £23000. Unfortunately a separate calculation of raw material costs has not been possible, but an assumption that purchased and estate raw materials used cost at least as much as labour seems moderate. On this basis one could regard the total cost of the stables as falling between £40/£50000 in twenty years.

Another major project was the internal fitting out of Wentworth House itself. New domestic apartments were built, the gallery built in the 1740s was substantially refitted and the great hall constructed in the same period was floored and sumptuously decorated. There were also many lesser projects going on between 1760 and 1790.

In the 1760s the gallery and the building of new apartments commanded most attention.

"I wrote to my Lady about the gallery. The work is at a stand for want of her answer relating to the frieze and Architrave coming down.

The joiners have almost worked themselves out of employ. They will soon want some new works setting out. Might they be going forward with the new apartments." 105

The gallery was one of the larger rooms of its type in the area being

"138 feet by 18 feet hung with India paper." 106

Its fitting and decoration was one of the major internal projects in the early 1770s. A London painter was employed in the Gallery, and one Clerici worked

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105 SCL WWM R186

W Martin-Marquis of Rockingham 9.1.66, 4.2.66 .

106 A Young

A Six Month Tour through the North Of England  
Volume 1 (1769) pp251-2

on ornate plaster work and surrounds throughout the 1770s until his dismissal by Earl Fitzwilliam in 1783.<sup>107</sup> A host of gilders, painters, plasterers, an upholsterer, glaziers and other specialists were employed. These specialists could be difficult to control.

"Leger the upholsterer is in Town, I find my Lord knows he is, for his Lordship asked me a day or two ago how he came to leave Wentworth House. I told his Lordship that you had never told me anything particular, only I had often heard you say the wages was too much and it might be done for less." 108

It seems likely that it was this large number of skilled and relatively well paid employees which helped to make the House steward's task a difficult one in this period, for unlike household servants they were not always dependent upon a single employer.

Internal fittings were purchased from a widerange of sources. Door furniture and locks came direct from Birmingham or via Sheffield dealers from the same source, glass from France and from London via Hull, "New invented tin-bordering for rooms" came from Mr Inman of Wolverhampton and fireplaces from London and Italy.<sup>109</sup> The latter were very expensive. At Sandbeck a marble fireplace cost £143.9.1d and £12.16.9½d for carriage and fitting in the bow windowed dining room. The costs of such items were large throughout the period 1760-90 and they merge into the costs of furniture and works of art without the possibility of differentiation.<sup>110</sup> Inside the house there was much fitting of other rooms, and in the gardens a peachery was under construction and a conservatory room was being prepared in the mid-1770s.<sup>111</sup> New works

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- |     |                                       |  |
|-----|---------------------------------------|--|
| 107 | SCL WWM Stw 3 (1)                     | Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall (4.9.82) (7.9.83)<br>"Lord Rockingham intended to give Clerici a guinea a week." |
| 108 | SCL WWM Stw 6 (1)                     | I Charlton - B Hall, 4 March 1775.   |
| 109 | SCL WWM Stw 6 (1)                     | J Carr - B Hall, 5 September 1773.   |
| 110 | Sandbeck Lumley-Saville MSS<br>EMC/39 | James Paine Fireplace Bill, 1768.  |
| 111 | SCL WWM Stw (2)                       | Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 23 February 1778;<br>4 June 1778.  |

did not cease with the death of the Second Marquis. In December 1783 the Earl wrote

"Mr Carr likewise says that there will be a necessity of taking in an additional number of masons in Feby ... to get the kitchen wing finished in due time." 112

Work continued in the great hall and in the drawing room, where the floor was being laid in January of 1783. In 1784 preparations were underway for building offices and in the Spring of 1785 the offices were under rapid construction.<sup>113</sup> In the same period gilding was undertaken in the drawing room and Fitzwilliam instructed

"when the gilders or other workmen come to work at the House never give them either bed or board. I do not mean in case of a job of two or three days, but when the business is to be lasting. For such indulgence not only enhances the expenses but slackens the progress of the work in great degree."

At a more mundane level the attic storeys were still being floored in 1786.<sup>114</sup>

A documented evaluation of the costs and merits of these numerous works is outside the scope of this study, but they were enormous. A considerable labour force was employed in these projects as well as at the new stables. In total there were 44 skilled artisan or specialized workers in January 1772 and 70 labourers of whom 18 were employed under the Surveyor of Works, Saintforth Wroe. This was a low point in annual employment at Wentworth though there were a total of 120 artisans and labourers at the house, stables or in the park or home farms.<sup>115</sup>

Outside the house and stables there was a further range of changes. The park was re-landscaped by the removal of a large part of a hill to the east of the house.

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- 112 SCL WWM Stw 3(i) Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall. 13 December 1783; 15 January 1785.
- 113 SCL WWM Stw 3(ii) Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall. 17 May 1785.
- 114 SCL WWM Stw 3(i) Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 20 January 1784;  
SCL WWM Stw 3(ii) Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 20 October 1786.
- 115 SCL WWM A1380 B Hall's Memorandum Book, 1772-84.



"a part of this design was the cutting away a large part of that hill which projected too much before the front of the house, a vast design but not yet completed, although his Lordship has already moved from it upwards of one hundred and forty thousand square yards of earth." 116

Table 9.10 - Costs of Levelling Temple Hill (Selected years)

	£
June 1765-66	70
December 1767-68	262
1769	373
1770	327 (estimate)

The work was incomplete by that date, for levelling work was still going on in 1780. Some of the stone which was removed was used in building the new road from Rotherham and for the alterations to the turnpike near to the farm.<sup>117</sup> Both of these projects proceeded simultaneously with the removal of the hill. A new porters' lodge was constructed at the Rotherham entrance and there was new walling and road improvement along the route from Thorpe to Wentworth village. Within the grounds a vast amount of decorative work was undertaken. An obelisk at the South West corner of Scholes Spring was erected in the early 1770s.<sup>118</sup> It was estimated that masonry work for the base alone would cost almost £100, utilizing stone from Lord Effingham's Quarry.<sup>119</sup> Later in the decade the column in memory of the acquittal of Admiral Keppel was erected. The mausoleum for the second Marquis was not to be completed until

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116	A Young	<u>A Six Month Tour Through the North of England</u> <u>Volume 1 (1769) p265</u>
117	SCL WWM AI	Stewards Accounts 1765-70 Estimate R176 There had been work on this project before 1765 also according to Richard Fenton the Yorkshire Agent. R171 (4) 14.11.65 Fenton - Marquis of Rockingham
118	SCL WWM Stw 1	Marquis of Rockingham - B Hall n.d.
119	SCL WWM A1380	B Hall's Memorandum Book 1772-82

five years after his death.

"An outstandingly fine and noble structure, surrounded by a terrace with four diagonally placed obelisks. The Mausoleum is three storeyed. Square rusticated ground floor. Doorways with attached columns and pediments." 120

During this period there were also works upon the ponds in the park to compliment the view which the removal of Temple Hill revealed. Morley Pond was deepened and extended. Work begun there in the mid-1770s was incomplete a decade later.

"I hope Warburton has been able to make a complete job of Morley Pond and to finish the island in front of the head according to directions." 121

A reservoir had also been constructed in this period, and a menagerie was built in the late 1770s and dungyards in the subsequent decade. These were lengthy and expensive projects employing further large numbers of labourers and skilled craftsmen.<sup>122</sup>

Subsequently the parkland grounds were landscaped by Repton who considered the very size of the place a major disadvantage.

"... considered as a whole, there is want of connection and harmony in composition, because parts, in themselves large, if disjoined, lose their importance." 123

The range of projects made extensive demands upon local and national markets for raw materials and decorative or furnishing materials. Stone was plentiful in this area of South Yorkshire, but by the 1770s it was necessary to buy from off the estates for some purposes. Sometimes this was because a specific stone was not available on estate land, but on occasions it was believed that it would be less costly to buy stone off the estate than to carry it a greater distance from the estate quarries. Oaks Quarry and Hooper

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- 120 N Pevsner The buildings of England Yorkshire, the West Riding (1967 ed) p545
- 121 SCL WWM Stw 3 (i) Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall 13.12.83
- 122 SCL WWM Stw (i) Marquis of Rockingham - B Hall, 20 April 1780.
- 123 J Nolen (Ed) The Art of Landscape Gardening by Humphrey Repton Esq (1907) p81.

Quarry were estate quarries, the latter being opened in the later 1760s. In the 1770s stone was required for the stables, menagerie, garden and other walls including several ornamental archways, for the porters' lodge, obelisk and Keppel's Column and for a variety of road building and improvement schemes. Apart from the extensive use of internal supplies, including the stone made available in the removal of Temple Hill, enquiries were made about supplies from Lord Effingham's Quarry in 1773,<sup>124</sup> from Steetly Quarry near Anston in 1777<sup>125</sup> and from Lord Scarbrough's Roche Abbey Quarry in the same year. Some suppliers seem to have attempted to exploit a situation of strong demand.

"Mr Knight has behaved in a very ungentlemanlike manner about his stone as I know he has more Flags now at his own house than he will ever make use of as long as he lives." 126

The multitude of projects, together with considerable building activity elsewhere in the region in the 1760-90 period, created a situation where shortages of stone threatened to delay the progress of building projects.

"there will be great difficulty to get stones at the Hill fast enough for the works proposed ..... The low wall on which the iron rails are to be at the Tower end ... must be of stone. It would by no means be suitable to make it of brick ... the only work where brick may be used instead of stone is the new stable which is building at the Friar House." 127

By the 1780s it had become usual to try to build up supplies during the winter.

"both the Masons and the Carpenters should be preparing as much as possible during the winter for the rebuilding of the offices. The stone may be faced and got ready for laying which will expedite the business in the spring." 128

Estate quarries were used in the building of the road from Thorpe to Wentworth in 1786.

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124	SCL WWM Stw (i)	Marquis of Rockingham - B Hall 18.5.73; 12.3.73
125	SCL WWM Stw 6 (i)	W Battersby - B Hall 23.3.77
126	SCL WWM Stw 6 (i)	J Carr - B Hall 2.9.77
127	SCL WWM Stw (i)	Marquis of Rockingham - B Hall 24.1.82 (also "the road to the new stables will require much stone and should be done.")
128	SCL WWM Stw 3 (i)	Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall 9.11.84

"I suppose you will take stone for these roads out of the Quarry, as it will be so handy." 129

Despite a professed preference for the noble qualities of stone, bricks were manufactured in large quantities on the estates throughout the period 1720-90. New kilns supplemented the old in the 1760s, one being built in 1763.<sup>130</sup> In 1764 the Marquis calculated that bricks could be made at Wentworth for 5 shillings and 6 pence per thousand. Pan tiles for agricultural purposes would be fixed with them. Prices in South Yorkshire were then compared with those at Higham Ferrars (Northamptonshire), showing advantage for the Yorkshire product. It seems that the advantages were lasting, for Earl Fitzwilliam was transporting tiles from Swinton to Northamptonshire in the 1780s.<sup>131</sup> Typical brick production for the Marquis of Rockingham between 1765 and 1782 was as follows:

Table 9.11 - Bricks to be made in 1775 by Thomas Cobb<sup>132</sup>

20,000	pan tiles
2,000	squares
100,000	stockbricks
30,000	common bricks
50,000	road bricks

These products were used at Wentworth itself and in building cottages, works at coalmines and elsewhere within the estate. Few appear to have been sold in this period.

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129	SCL WWM Stw 3 (ii)	Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall 9.11.84
130	SCL WWM Stw 6 (i)	Agreement H Woods - J Carr 18.8.63 to build a new brick kiln
131	SCL WWM R174 (i)	Miscellaneous calculations of the Marquis of Rockingham. Stw 3 (i) Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall 19.12.84
132	SCL WWM A1380	B Hall's Memorandum Book 27.10.74 also R 189.9 1772 These levels of brick production may be compared with those in the 1720s - A1251 W Clauston's Cashbook July 1724/5 Clay turned for 300,000 bricks, 250,000 burned. The annual brickmaking bill was about £80 in the late 1760s (SCL WWM R186 (25) 25.11.67)

Another major raw material used was slate. Early in the century local stone was used, but by the 1760s the superior Westmoreland and Cumberland slate was used widely at Wentworth. Roofing on the new stables and of smaller buildings was completed in this material, including that of a new building in Tankersley Park.<sup>133</sup> Payments to Messrs Rigge and Company could be awkward. In 1772 John Carr wrote

"He says he cannot by any means negotiate a draught on you in the County he lives in." 134

A draft on London was eventually provided for the slate merchant who had been pressing for payment for some time. Tiles were still in use for some purposes, but are not referred to in the building of any of the major works, though they were manufactured in large quantities.

Lead supply was less of a problem, being readily available through Sheffield merchants from North Derbyshire. It was used for gutters, cornice tops and the valleys in huge quantities, several deliveries being usual each year, at a total cost of between £50 and £100 per annum.<sup>135</sup> The major supplier Messrs Clay and Company was also a purchaser of estate timber near Ecclesall, in 1766 and 1772.<sup>136</sup>

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133	SCL WWM Stw 6 (i)	Agreement J Platt - J Carr 19.8.63 (Platt to supply slate)
134	SCL WWM Stw 6 (i)	J Carr and B Hall 2.12.72
135	SCL WWM Stw 6 (i)	Clay - B Hall 30.4.72 (16 pieces) 14.9.72 (2 waggon loads) 25.12.74 (50 cwt) 16.11.74 (74) 17.5.75 (10 sheets mild lead, cut pieces pig 16/fig 3 tons 7 cwt 13 lbs) 19.3.77 (2 Fodders) 24.6.76 Request for bill payment £106. A bill on London the same as cash.
136	SCL WWM A 730	1766.A 1380, £560 paid to Marquis of Rockingham for timber (17.10.72)

Though small-sized timber was being sold to Fell and Company, Clay and Company and Messrs Young throughout this period in sufficient quantities to yield an income to the estate in excess of £500 per annum, local timber was not suitable for the major works of building. The timber bill for these purposes was one of the larger items of raw material cost between 1760 and 1790. In 1765 Wetherill of Hull was paid his bill of £567 by a London bill and in most subsequent years large quantities were purchased.<sup>137</sup> In 1769 a Joiner visiting Hull to purchase timber spent double the sum allowed, while in subsequent years an average of £200 per annum was spent upon timber at Hull timber merchants.<sup>138</sup> Sometimes the grandiose scale of Wentworth building activities taxed the resources of the merchants as in 1779 when Portus and Sindrott reported that out of their stock of 3000 loads they

"cannot supply sufficient timber of 49 foot"

14 such beams were sought in a total order of three thousand feet of timber.<sup>139</sup> Stocks were sometimes purchased while still aboard ship. Timber was required for the structural work itself, for scaffolding and laddering and for internal flooring, fitting and furnishing. Large purchases were needed for basic structural work and flooring etc in the 1780s. By far the largest part of such purchases of timber appear to have been used at the house, stables, home farms or in the ornamentation of the grounds, rather than in deliveries to the coal mines or cottage building on the estate in general.<sup>140</sup>

Plaster and glass were two other raw materials in heavy demand. Supplies of the former were obtained from a merchant near Doncaster, and the major part

137 SCL WWM R 186 (5)

1766 A 1380

138 SCL WWM A 1380

B Hall's Memorandum Book 1772-82 Messrs Marquis of Rockingham's order at Hull (Dixon and Moxon)  
 1772 £200  
 1773 £166  
 1774 £288 (for the new stable roof £125)  
 later 1770s £160

SCL WWM R 187 Wm Martins Accounts No 14 24.5.70  
 (authorized to spend £58, spent £117.18)

139 SCL WWM Stw 6 (ii)

Portus-Sindrott (Hull) B Hall 13.3.79

140 SCL WWM A1380

B Hall's Memorandum Book 11.1.72 (30 tons of Riga timber at forty-five shillings "if it should suit his Lordship's purpose in erecting New Stables.")

of the expenses was probably the labour employed both in ordinary and ornate plaster work.<sup>141</sup> Glass was expensive to buy and had to be transported long distances. A Hull merchant in 1772 sent French glass on to Wentworth without opening it, and there was a joint opening at the House to ensure that it was intact.<sup>142</sup> There were over 400 windows assessed under the window tax in the 1770s at Wentworth and it was necessary to take steps to prevent unnecessary damage to these by clearing the gutters and watertables of snow in winter.<sup>143</sup>

Other major purchases involving great expense were marble, marble fire places and chimney pieces, and iron work which was used for many purposes inside the house, at the stables and in the park. Ironwork provided local employment, as well as coming from Birmingham. Individual items were often expensive.<sup>144</sup>

A detailed study of all aspects of the costs involved in the building and decorative projects has not been possible. Instead a selection of the major items of expenditure of a capital nature have been examined in order to establish broad levels of spending as far as is possible in the 1760-90 period. On the basis of this study fixed capital expenditures at Wentworth appear to break down in the following manner:

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141	SCL WWM Stw 6 (i)	J Colbeck - B Hall 26.4.74 ; 11.9.74
142	SCL WWM Stw 6 (i)	J Carthie (Hull) - B Hall 26.9.72 (Duty alone on two sheets of French glass was £47.7.8½ ibid 26.11.72)
143	SCL WWM A1380	1772 "Small shovels to be made use of in clearing the snow from all the water tables and gutters upon Wentworth House as also the New Stables, which is to be particularly attended to after a fall of snow the Workmen and Labourers for that purpose to ascend by ladders and not to be suffered to go out at any of the windows."
144	SCL WWM A1380	Messrs Swallow £121 (late 1770s) Messrs Walker £80

Table 9.12 - Capital Type Expenditures Wentworth-Woodhouse 1760-90

	Labour £	Materials, Carriage etc £	Total per annum £
The New Stables	1,000	1,000	2,000
Wentworth House (fittings and extensions)	500	600	1,100
In the Park (Hill, Ornamental building, walls, gates Lodge, Ponds)			
Hill	300	150	450
Other	350	150	500
			£4,050

Such a notional figure would seem to be applicable especially to the years 1765-85 when the stables were being built. By implication total capital type expenditures for the period 1760-90 would appear to fall between £100,000 and £120,000. As there are elements excluded and there is reason to believe that some items are underestimates, the application of this mean annual figure to the whole thirty years as an indication of the long run use of resources for this purpose is reasonable.

For the intermediate period 1750-60 there is less clear evidence of the level of activity. There was some concern about debts and the organisation of the estate after the First Marquis's death took a considerable period of time. Yet given the frenetic activity of later years it is likely that some expenditure of a fixed capital type was going on.<sup>146</sup> It appears that in

145 Notes on the Table

The salary of the architect is not included in the figures for the stables or elsewhere (£84 1763-88). The figure of materials and carriage in Hill removal assumes the use of 6 horses for most of the year and includes the calculated cost of maintaining them. The materials cost for the House is very low, if it is intended to include marbles etc, and certainly could not cover works of art. The figure for labour at the House may be too high.

146 SCL WWM R 171  
(13.17.18)

Marquis of Rockingham - J Postlethwaite (1750s).



general war periods were less conducive to building and capital works of conspicuous display at Wentworth in the eighteenth century, not only because they were periods of higher taxation and higher rates of interest on loans, but because they deflected the aristocrat's attention from this particular form of activity. The period 1776-82 might be considered an exception to this generalization, for in old age and illness the Second Marquis appears to have wanted to speed up his building programme. Nor did his successor greatly reduce this spending in the short run. Despite repeated calls for economy, new building projects were instituted in the 1780s. It was the war after 1792 which was the watershed in the allocation of estate resources, for more annual revenue flowed into productive investment and taxation rather than into the expenditures which characterized the eighteenth century. Nevertheless a south wing required expenditures of over £2000 in 1803-5.<sup>147</sup>

#### V Conspicuous Consumption in the Age of Inflation

An inflationary period created difficulties in the control of the expenditures which were needed to keep country houses running. It is not surprising that the 'variable' elements of conspicuous consumption expenditure showed a persistent tendency to grow alarmingly between 1760 and 1790.

There were elements within this area of expenditure which were exceptionally stable. The size of the servant household changed little from the mid-eighteenth century to the 1820s, and though the household salaries bill increased, it did so gradually and lagged in relation to price fluctuations. In 1751/2 the household servants at Wentworth were paid £500 in aggregate salaries, this including some arrears.<sup>148</sup> Leading servants enjoyed a 50%

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147 SCL WWM A 122

Receipts and Disbursements 1801-34

148 SCL WWM R186(40,41)

Payments to Servants, 1753.

increase between 1751/2 and 1765, this being greater than any recorded in the inflationary years late in the century. After 1765 the salaries bills were as follows.

Table 9.13 - Household Salaries at Wentworth Woodhouse 1766-74<sup>149</sup>

		£
June	1764-65	422
Dec	1767-68	564
	1769	1036
	1770	1165
	1771	540 (This appears incomplete)
	1772	578 ( " " " )
	1773	1061
	1774	1037

This compares with 19 male and 14 female servants at Sandbeck, paid £410.12s per annum in 1773. Remarkable stability in servant numbers was displayed there also, for 18 men and at least 9 women were employed in 1810 despite an economy campaign in 1800 and the high prices of war. They were paid £744.11s in wages in 1810.<sup>150</sup> At Wentworth Castle 16 servants were listed in an account of 1733, with annual wages of £169.12s, and only 13 in 1759, with wages of £144.6s, but this excluded labourers and others outside the regular household.<sup>151</sup> One result of the escalation in the overall size of wages bills from the 1760s was the increase in the frequency of long arrears in payments of servants' salaries at Wentworth Woodhouse. This phenomenon

149 SCL WWM R186 (35b)

Wages due to Yearly Servants, 24 June 1768.

150 SCL WWM A1-8

William Martin's Accounts 1764/72.

Benjamin Hall's Accounts 1772-74.

These figures exclude payments to workers in the new stables, under the Surveyor of Works, in the gardens, farms and park. They include large arrears in some years.

151 Sandbeck Lumley-Saville  
MSS

HMA 115/1773 Account of Servants; HMA/26 1810.

was part of a larger arrears problem which emerged in the years after the Seven Years War, and it probably co-incided with the suppression of vails which necessitated higher wage payments.

"... there is scarce a day passes but some of them are applying for their money and the labourers and other workmen are really many of them in great distress." 152

At Wentworth Woodhouse on 1 January 1767 £700 was owed in servants' wages and on 28 June 1768 yearly servants were owed £592. As has been stated these were payments to a household of fairly stable size in the late eighteenth century, for about 70 servants lived at the house and dined there when the Marquis was in residence and about 50 during his long periods of residence in London.<sup>153</sup> Economy campaigns do not seem to have been aimed at servant numbers but rather at the expense of their maintenance. The professed aim of economy in the late 1760s accompanied mounting consumption rather than its reduction. In the 1770s there were savings in household expenses but there was no reduction in size of household. The death of the Second Marquis in 1782 was perhaps the major opportunity for change, but in practice despite a desire to reduce household spending there was little reduction in household size. Throughout the period 1772-90 the overall household salary bill for each six month period was about £400 plus £100 for the steward.<sup>154</sup>

How was it possible for regular servants' wages to grow so little in an inflationary period? First the maintenance of servants by their master should be stressed. Much of the expense of higher prices was met by the

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- 152 SCL WWM R186 (10) . William Martin - Marquis of Rockingham, 22 June 1766. On vails  
J Hecht The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth Century England (1956) pp164-7.
- 153 SCL WWM R186 (19) Family at Wentworth Woodhouse, 22 March 1766.  
(35b) Wages due to Yearly Servants, 24 June 1768.  
(42) Outstanding Debts, 1 January 1767.
- 154 SCL WWM A1380 B Hall's Memorandum Book 1772-82 "A return of the Household 15 January 1772." "A list of Servants Victualled at Wentworth House March 1773". Lists relating to Tax upon servants 1777 (1780 and 82).
- 155 J Hecht (As above) (1956) p153-168.

landowner's provision of food and other perquisites for his servants'. The latter were numerous and strenuously defended. Moreover the employment was secure and that in itself was a great advantage for the employee. An examination of servants' salaries in the subsequent period displays similar trends with only a slow increase in salaries in the high price years of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and no sign of a decrease thereafter.<sup>156</sup> The usual long arrears in payment indicate that servants could survive with little personal cash. Often individuals were years in arrear. In 1777 Matthew Bower was leaving service

(He)... "has been a little slippery now and then, I cannot well take his word, he tells me he was to have 5 pounds a year for near three years past and has but rec'd three guineas of you in the time." <sup>157</sup>

Since the senior servants were paid a salary, fed, housed and clothed, paid travel expenses and able to exercise a degree of patronage themselves, there were plenty of applicants. Their suitability was a question requiring careful correspondence and vetting. There was an informal but clearly defined network of communication for this purpose. In the appointment of a steward or a housekeeper the owner himself or his wife would consult relatives, senior churchmen or trusted female friends of equal status. Other posts which required careful choice were left to the steward in consultation with the housekeeper. Benjamin Hall would consult old military associates, his relatives in Huddersfield, attorneys or clergymen, or local magistrates or Poor Law Officials.<sup>158</sup> Thus the removal of an unsatisfactory housekeeper at Wentworth in 1772-3 was a major issue involving long and detailed investigation by Hall after his initial appointment in January 1772 and frequent

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156 SCL WWM A122

157 SCL WWM Stw 6(1)

158 SCL WWM A1380

Servants Wages 1801-34. See Appendix 1c.

I Charlton - B Hall, 19 April 1777.

Copy of letters B Hall - A Hall and A Grimshaw  
16 January 1772.

correspondence from Wentworth to London. Mrs Broughton, the Housekeeper, married the Surveyor Townley without informing her mistress, but was also accused of being unwilling to co-operate with the new steward in a campaign of economy, unwilling to censure maidservants who required dismissal and with her husband of fostering an atmosphere of insubordination. Nevertheless their removal took more than a year and was a delicate and unpleasant business, culminating in a magisterial visit from the ageing agent Richard Fenton.

"Mr Fenton being to set out for Yorkshire tomorrow, Lady R and I have thought that it might be as well if he took upon him to settle all affairs of wages etc and to inform the Townleys that we meant to part with them."

"Lady R has fixed upon a person for a Housekeeper and proposes to send her down if possible next week. The Dean of York recommended a gardener to me who now lives at L Holderness's at Aston. I have desired Mr Fenton to enquire whether he is now at liberty, and if he is that he should be sent for as soon as he could ... I should think neither a new gardener nor a new housekeeper will reap much benefit from having much intercourse with the Townleys." 159

This dismissal followed the resignation of William Martin which ended his stewardship in December 1771. Despite claims to the contrary he appears to have been afflicted by the extravagance at Wentworth. A salary of £200 was high but after his resignation he was slow to remove himself from the house and shrill in petitions for more payments thereafter.

"the main point is the getting him out." 160

Maladministration in stewardship and housekeeping seem likely prior to the dismissal of the Townleys in 1773 and it is unsurprising that significant improvements in the running of the household were sought thereafter.<sup>161</sup> This

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159 SCL WWM Stw 1

Marquess of Rockingham - B Hall, 29 June 1773.

160 SCL WWM R187 (31)

W Martin - Marquess of Rockingham, 31 August 1771 (Resignation), 13 May 1772 Petition, 13 January 1773 Petition.

161 SCL WWM Stw 6(i)

Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 1 May 1772.

included greater household economy, better behaviour from the servants and

"clearing the House and environs of the daily intruders that used to swarm about them." 162

Such a situation when combined with the large numbers of people with legitimate reasons to work at the house, stables, gardens and park made great difficulties for the steward. A number of thefts are recorded from the house and given the existing evidence of laxity, dishonesty and waste it seems likely that there were others. In one case the thefts seem to have been systematic and were committed by one of the painters employed at the house.<sup>163</sup> Additional to these problems were those of defining which servants were eligible for meals and drink and the difficulties in preventing servants from removing food and goods from the house for the use of their own families.

However the dismissal of the housekeeper and surveyor did not solve these problems. Only gradually could the appointment of Mrs Crofts aid Hall in his onerous task of reform. She was

"... prodigiously ordinary and vulgar in her way of talking ... (but)... Trusty and clever in what she sets herself about ... a good servant a little of the old fashioned stamp." 164

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162 SCL WWM Stw 1

Marquess of Rockingham - B Hall, 10 March 1772.  
"I was much rejoiced at Lady Rockingham's account of how very ably and assiduously you exert yourself in regulating all matters now under your direction at Wentworth. It is no small difficulty to bring so many persons as are now under your directions into a more regular course of attention to their respective employments than they have been used to ..."

163 SCL WWM R186 (26,27)

W Martin - Marquess of Rockingham, 27 February 1768.

(James Bradshaw's wife attempted to sell two gold picture frames to a jew in Doncaster. He reported this. Lot Fawcett the painter had stolen these with 2 paintings. A box was found in Bradshaw's possession with - 2 gold picture frames, Minatures, 14 other small pictures and frames, 32 copper meddles, printed books, 2 manuscript books, silver medal.) Also

SCL WWM Stw 6(ii)

22 May 1780 Sir Josiah Beckwith - B Hall. Widow wood of Greasbrough has distress for rent imposed.

("a carpet has been distrained upon which it is said belongs to the Lady ".)

164 SCL WWM Stw (2)

Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 26 July 1773.

Throughout the 1770s there was rearguard action and complaints by Wentworth servants against servants who came with the Marquis during his visits to the house and attempts to weaken Hall's authority. It was established by his persistent diligence as steward and most of all by the trust and support which he received from his employers. Above all his decisions in the dismissal of servants were never countermanded, while accusations against those servants whom he judged adequate were largely ignored.<sup>165</sup> Hall maintained close friendship and correspondence with Isaac Charlton, the Butler at the Rockingham House in Grosvenor Square London, and their correspondence was used as an alternative means of keeping the Wentworth steward informed of his Master and Mistress's wishes. Charlton had a particularly low opinion of the Wentworth staff

"... it appears to me as if they was all a vat of poisonous asps, but your great cause will support you against them all..."

"a pack of villains they all live too well and much deserves a severe check." <sup>166</sup>

At least none of the Wentworth staff appear to have attempted to frustrate his intentions as a retaliation.<sup>167</sup> Yet dismissal unless a criminal offence was involved could be reluctant. As Lumley-Saville of Rufford stated to R Legard in 1800, it was desirable even with idle servants to give them an annuity if they were dismissed on account of their families.<sup>168</sup> This followed eighteen years in which

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| 165 | SCL WWM STw 2<br>SCL WWM Stw 6(1)          | Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 22 May 1773<br>E Aubert - B Hall, London 29-77 Anonymous Letters 1775. 1 January 1773. |
| 166 | SCL WWM Stw 6(1)                           | I Charlton - B Hall, 4 March 1775, 8 May 1775.   |
| 167 | SCL WWM Stw 6(1)                           | I Charlton - B Hall, 8 January 1778.   |
| 168 | Sandbeck - Lumley-Saville<br>MSS EMC/26/25 | Lumley-Saville - R Legard, 20 April 1800.  |

"... abuses which prevail to a great degree at Sandbeck and which appear to me to be annually increasing, I do not know precisely how far so large an expense is countenanced by you, but from what your Lordship has told me I am inclined to think there is an expenditure of £1000 per annum more than is necessary for the house and place ...

I have great difficulty reconciling the appearance of what is going on there with the expense ...

The expense of last year was upwards of £1300 and which I think need not be more than £300 for the future allowing something extra for the first year's practice of economy as it must be imperfectly done where it appears to be so great a novelty." 169

Legard identified causes of loss in home farming, keeping 50 horses of which 34 could be disposed of, keeping too many deer with two keepers and feed costs, keeping up an expensive garden establishment and "overpayment" of labour.

"all servants have fire and candle, milk and malt liquor, pepper and salt over their board wages besides the use of the garden and I think the wages are 6s a week."

He recommended that they be given money instead of perquisites (3s per week) that the horses should be auctioned at Doncaster and that the kennels should cease being the keepers' perquisite.<sup>170</sup> It was not to be.

"Scarborough has no resolution - artful people would get hold of him the moment he arrived at Sandbeck when you were not at his elbow and undo as much of your good work as they could, all of it I flatter myself they could not overturn, and if your plan is only so far pursued, as to save my brother £500 a year instead of £1000 (were all your regulations adopted) it would be something gained." 171

The running of Wentworth Castle in the reduced circumstances of absentee ownership after 1799 illustrates the near inestimable costs of large country houses. 14 servants were employed in 1803-4, with salaries and board wages

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169 Sandbeck - Lumley-Saville R Legard - Lord Scarbrough, 3 March 1800.  
MSS EMC/26/18

170 Sandbeck - Lumley-Saville R Legard - Scarbrough,, 7 April 1800.  
MSS EMC/26/20

171 Sandbeck - Lumley-Saville Lumley-Saville - R Legard, 13 April 1800.  
MSS EMC/26/22



of £450. Tax on male servants, as well as other taxes added to the cost, which was confined to the household excluding labourers.<sup>172</sup> A similar sized establishment at Methley or Sandbeck employed about 25 servants, at Methley 15 females and 11 males in 1795. Wages and salaries were £190.15.6 including clothing. Eating and drinking would have cost £394.4 in boardwages, but in fact their eating and drinking cost £184.12s extra, so that total expenditure on this household exceeded £1040 in that year.<sup>173</sup>

Servant ingratitude was a commonplace theme in eighteenth century England but perhaps price inflation moved some servants to be more mobile in search of higher wages. This was most likely among younger servants. Young males sought posts with an affluent young master, while maidservants married or occasionally possessed more commonsense and skill than the average.<sup>174</sup> In large households there was a premium on ability to control large quantities of food, linen or other supplies and upon baking, washing and other skills. Servants who were incapable of the work were often recommended for employment in smaller households.<sup>175</sup> There was a tendency to recruit servants in London for Wentworth and to use Yorkshire servants in London. Lady Rockingham or the steward received requests for help and advice in supplying servants to other aristocratic families.<sup>176</sup>

It has been suggested that Hall was successful in establishing and maintaining his authority as steward at Wentworth. He remained in office until

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172	SCL WWM 112	Account, 29 October 1803-- 25 April 1804.
173	Sheepscar L Mexborough MSS MX 510	Servants wages and clothes in the year ending 31 March 1795.
174	SCL WWM Stw 6(i)	Captain Buck - B Hall, 8 January 1778.
175	SCL WWM Stw 2	Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 2 March 1772, July 1775, 7 June 1776 and 5 June 1773.
176	SCL WWM Stw 2	Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 20 March 1774 (Housekeeper for Lady Ducie).

his death in 1805 and was succeeded by his nephew. His task included the running of the household of domestic servants, regulation of the works surrounding the house and the stables, gardens, farms and park, and of the preparation of accounts for these enterprises. It was a formidable task. The taxation of male servants in the war of 1776-83 provides an accurate view of the distinction between household and other employees which is similar to that employed in this discussion.

Table 9.14 - List of (male) servants taxed under the Act of the 17 year of his Present Majesty, 4 May 1782.<sup>177</sup>

Wentworth	17
Swinton	23 (race horse training ground)
London	23 (Grosvenor Square)
Badsworth	1
Wimbledon	1
	<u>65 males</u>

"... a tax laid upon servants it has passed the house a few days ago ... the Act don't touch the people employed in husbandry nor the mechanics, nor day labourers, the gardener is included and his Lordship also desires a list from Swinton stables." 178

To these numbers can be added 30 to 40 female servants at Wentworth, a pattern which remained into the early nineteenth century. Additional day labour was taken on in busy periods and the totals were larger during periods when the owner was in residence, but this size of household remained the norm in the 1820s,<sup>179</sup> while the wage bill grew only slowly.<sup>180</sup> One advantage of service

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177 SCL WWM A1380 B Hall's Memorandum Book 1782.  
 178 SCL WWM Stw 6(i) I Charlton - B Hall, 29 May 1777.  
 179 SCL WWM A1389 Staff instructions at Wentworth (marked 1827).  
 180 SCL WWM A122 Servants' Wages 1801-34 (eg 1801 £586c, 1811 £658c, 1821 £675).

was the likelihood of large rewards if a servant remained with his master for many years. The death of the proprietor usually brought a legacy. The miser Edward Wortley left bequests in 1755.<sup>181</sup>

If salaries as an element in the costs of running Wentworth House did not grow quickly what were the results of the late eighteenth century price rise in relation to the other elements of spending. It is to be expected that the price rises would have obvious effects here.

The Second Marquis of Rockingham was an inveterate calculator. Lacking for a time in the 1760s at Wentworth Woodhouse and between 1782 and 1800 at Sandbeck was adequate machinery to transform calculations into achieved results among the many enterprises of the estates.<sup>182</sup> This is not to claim that there was no progress in regulation and accountancy of the many interests which were pursued. By the 1770s, for example, materials delivered to the coal mines were set against calculations of profit which were attempted for them.<sup>183</sup> But the house was in its material function and in a symbolic sense a centre of massive and supposedly tasteful consumption, and for that reason was difficult to regulate. Established customs assumed lavish spending by the owner.

What were the material levels of consumption and to what extent did they depend upon resources purchased from non-estate sources? As in the earlier period a number of items of consumption are considered and the results are considered in aggregate.

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- 181 SCL WWM D1527 Thomas Wentworth's Will 1750 (Upper Domestic £10 each, Lower Domestic £5 each). D1553 Order in Chancery. Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2nd Marquis of Rockingham 7 May 1804 (£50 per annum J Andrew Thesinger and wife. Matt Harrison and present wife, rent charge equal to what they now receive. 3 years wages. Servants over 21 years 2 years over 14 years. Smaller sums for the rest;
- SCL Wh/Mss D609 Will 22/23 May 1755.
- 182 SCL WWM R174 176 70 Documents of detailed calculations. Numerous other similar examples exist on the pre 1772 period.
- 183 SCL WWM R222 Folio of calculations. Beef 1761.

In 1760 the Marquis made calculations which involved not only recent beef consumption but which also compared these levels with that of 1735-41. He believed that scots animals were of greater value for fattening at Wentworth than english oxen and by this date meat killed for use of the house had increased above the levels usual in the 1730s. Thereafter meat consumption moved as follows.

Table 9.15 - Meat killed Wentworth - Selected Years 1760-70.<sup>184</sup>

	<u>Stones</u>	<u>lbs</u>
1763	4240	11
1764	4249	7
1765	4126	6
1766	4652	7
1770	3591	11

The meat was provided from a varied stock kept in the parks at Wentworth and at Tankersley and at the home farms. The consumption in 1770 was fairly typical.

Table 9.16 - Meat Killed 1770 Wentworth Woodhouse<sup>185</sup>

	<u>Stones</u>	<u>lbs</u>
2 english beeves	196	
74 scotch	2026	
283 sheep	947	8
28 parkits	142	9
22 calves	86	6
22 lambs	57	2
	<u>3455</u>	<u>11</u>
2 bulls St Thomas' day	136	
	<u>3591</u>	<u>11</u>

184 SCL WWM R186 (15)

185 SCL WWM R187 (37)

List of Cattle slaughtered 1770.

The weight of meat killed was not much greater in this year than in the 1735-41 period, though in the mid-1760s the amount of meat killed was substantially larger than in this year and exceeded that for earlier periods where there is a clear record.<sup>186</sup> This can be compared with 1017 stones of meat slaughtered at Methley in 1794-5 (March) for a household of 30.<sup>187</sup>

Animals were fattened on estate land, but lean stock was purchased annually, the sheep being bought in part from Chester fair and the scots cattle being purchased regularly from John Macadam in the 1760s and early 1770s. He did regular trade not only with the Wentworth estate but with other neighbouring landowners.<sup>188</sup> The annual cost of purchases of these animals requires a calculation of the annual purchase and stocking on the estates.

9.17 - Scotch Cattle bought and in stock 1767-77<sup>189</sup>

	<u>Stock</u>	<u>Bought</u>
1767		52
1768		-
1769		52
1770	133	83
1771	-	70
1772	78	86
1773 (30 Oct)	118	68
1774 (28 Oct)	155	68
1775 (18 Oct)	192	14
1776 (1 Nov)	118	
1777 (31 Oct)		101
	<u>Sheep Penistone</u>	<u>Welch</u>
1771 (5 June)	79	283
1772 (4 May)	16	151
1773 (June)	176	154

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- 186 SCL WWM A1451 2.3.4. Meat killing accounts.
- 187 Sheepscar Library Mexborough MSS MX619 Weight of Cattle slaughtered March 1794-1795.
- 188 SCL WWM R222 (12) Leatham wants money for Chester Fair (1760s). Given £100  
SCL WWM A1 (Evan Evans Account 1751) 26 June 1751 Welch sheep 140 at 6s £42, 29 June 1751 Jsh Scholey with sheep from Chester £3.1s.
- 189 SCL WWM R171 (6a 6b) J Macadam - R Fenton. 60 heifers and bullocks at £5-£300, payment by London draft. Also A1380 B Hall's Memo book 18 October 1775 of J Macadam 145 scots.

The seasonal pattern of usage was much the same as in the earlier period with heavy killing in the periods of aristocratic residence and less when the 'family' was smaller, particularly in the late winter and early spring. In one month (Sept 17 - Oct 22) in 1768 12 scots cattle were slaughtered. At current market prices one month's beef at this rate of consumption was worth £60. This was the peak season for consumption at the house and lean months compensated for peak usage. This applied also to mutton and lamb. Two sheep a day were killed in the summer, autumn and early winter but this total was greatly reduced from January to early May, when there were often only 50 servants and a handful of visitors dining in the house, particularly after 1772.<sup>190</sup>

Lean stock to maintain this level of consumption generally cost between £400 and £500 per annum between 1760 and 1780. It provided the possibility of per capita meat consumption of over nine pounds of butchers' meat per week for those dining at Wentworth.<sup>191</sup> Such a figure compares favourably with the houses of the aristocracy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England, nor does it differ significantly

"... from the 8½lb per head per week that the 1st Duke of Chandos was allowing to his servants at Cannons in the early eighteenth century." <sup>192</sup>

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190 SCL WWM R222a      Miscellaneous calculations. Marquis of Rockingham. 1761 Butchers meat 3/6 stone. Hides 2/6 (scotch) 3/6 (english) Lean scot 25 stone. Fat 50 stone. Sales of tallow and skins could almost cover the cost of the purchase of a lean animal. (SCL WWM R189, 19 October 1772). For number of visitors. SCL WWM A1530. Dining Lists.

191 These figures assume 4000 stones butchers meat, 100 visitors dining per day. The latter figure is high as for 3/4 months it could be half that level, but it is assumed that feasts, use of meat for servants not dining in the servants hall, charity etc, compensated for the periods when servants were few.

192 L Stone      The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641 (1967 Ed) pp254-5.

The market value of this produce was of the order of £700-£800 for the beef and other meat alone. The costs to the estate were to some extent offset by sales of tallow, hides and some animals (particularly sheep).<sup>193</sup> The years around 1770 experienced relatively high beef prices in this area, with a fall again by about 1774.<sup>194</sup> Feed costs were high also and there was reduction in the quantities of butcher's meat consumed.

Venison and game fowls were an important item of consumption, but no adequate assessment of annual consumption of these items has been made. A regular stock of about 400 deer was usual in the Park at Wentworth in this period, and it seems likely that about 15-20% of these would be killed each year.<sup>195</sup> Some of these animals were distributed to key political personages, clergy and JPs, militia officers and the officials of the more influential charities and there was a regular flow of venison to Grosvenor Square when the Second Marquis resided there.<sup>196</sup> Similar practices occurred in the use of game fowl, in which the estate does not seem to have been self-sufficient. Poaching was always a difficulty in an estate close to village communities which were densely populated ...

"shooting in the woods, even in the park, would increase the quantity as it would make the pheasants more wild, consequently more difficult to be got at by the poachers." <sup>197</sup>

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|-----|------------------------------------|---|
| 193 | SCL WWM A1380                      | B Hall's Memorandum Book 1772-82. Sales off the estate 1774 - Hall received a total of £175 for sheep sold.   |
| 194 | SCL WWM A1380                      | As above. Beef calculated at 3/6 stone 1774. Estate data and A Young Tour Vol 4 (1769) pp274-90 agree on higher meat prices 1770c (4/- per stone).  |
| 195 | SCL WWM A1380<br>SCL WWM Stw 3 (2) | B Hall's Memorandum Book (1781) 92 bucks, 210 does in the park, 150/160 young bucks and does.<br>Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 4 July 1786. Venison is sent to the 'stewards of the charity for the relief of poor clergymen's widows' but Fitzwilliam prefers that it go to Public Feasts. More typically it was sent to the Lord Mayors of Hull and York for the Mayor's Feasts and to Trinity House Hull; Stw 2 Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 3.5. (undated) Venison for review dinner. |
| 196 | SCL WWM Stw 3 (1)                  | Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 21 November 1782.  |
| 197 | SCL WWM Stw 3 (1)                  | Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 11 December 1784.  |

Probably 'infringements' were more serious in areas which were even closer to towns. Tinsley woods seem to have been particularly difficult to police. Freeholders could be resistant to attempts to maintain game exclusively for the Lord of the Manor

"Your answer to Mr Payne was very proper. As yet I have heard nothing from him - Langley must continue to warn him off the manors, wherever and whenever he sees him, whether upon my land or upon that of other persons, and as he will not attend to such warning, he must continue to hunt behind him and disturb his sport as much as possible, but at the same time let him be cautious to say nothing to him after having warned him off." 198

Apparently the intention was to compel Mr Payne of Newhill to make a formal request for permission to shoot. When the request was made it was granted.<sup>199</sup> It is hardly surprising that less prominent people followed Payne's example, when possible.

Fishing in the park was also difficult to preserve without appearing churlish, "faint approbation" was given to requests from Lord Effingham and Mr Foljambe, while Mr Thomas Fenton

"did not judge very well even to think of such a thing."<sup>200</sup>

These were widespread problems. At Wentworth Castle in 1818 the steward wrote to Henry Vernon

"Jos Woodcock who was taken by Rowland in the act of Poaching and who I laid an information against, was last Friday convicted in the penalty of £5 by Mr Wortley. I have to inform you Sir that Naylor never looks out at all for the poachers, nor does he do anything but shoot." 201

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198 SCL WWM Stw 3 (1) Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 15 January 1785.

199 SCL WWM Stw 3(ii) Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 6 June 1783.

200 SCL WWM 148 Henville - Henry Vernon, 21 November 1818.

201 SCL WWM 148 Henville - Henry Vernon, 30 August 1817.



The steward Henville came into direct conflict with the gamekeeper when the latter's horse kicked another with shoes which Henville had ordered him to remove three months before.

"... he told me he did not believe me, and that it was a darned lie and that I was a darned mean spiteful fellow that it was my doings that Hattersley was discharged. He then followed me into the Housekeeper's room and abused me. Shameful to relate, he told me in plain terms that the shoes should not be taken off for me nor any such darned fool as I was." 202

It was the culmination of a long dispute in which Henville had claimed

"the keeper is certainly very high in his situation and I ... think he thinks as much of himself as if he was master instead of servant."

He had been ordering wine at the house without the steward's knowledge and taking game home, and likewise had placed personal orders with tradespeople at his master's expense.<sup>203</sup>

To some extent these were the special problems of a large house run by servants for an absentee owner. Game preservation could often be ensured by different means as when Mr Flower of Maltby was given business at Sandbeck in December 1727 on condition

"that he shall from this day lay aside his gun and any shooting dogs." 204

In the period 1750-80 the larger part of the produce of the home farms and of the park was consumed on the estate and unlike the early nineteenth century sales of dairy produce animals and animal products did little to compensate for the vast expense of running the agrarian parts of the

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- 202 SCL VWM 148 Henville - Henry Vernon, 18 December 1816  
203 SCL VWM 148 Ibid.  
204 Sandbeck Lumley- Lord Scarbrough - Ellison, 27 December 1828.  
Saville MSS  
EMC/14/22

estate. The inputs to estate agriculture can be regarded as consumption costs for the most part, as they ultimately contributed to the maintenance of the household.

Purchases of corn, hay and straw were among the larger burdens of keeping the estate animals, including the race horses at the stables, in operation.

Table 9.18 - Purchases of Corn, Hay and Straw in Selected Years<sup>205</sup>

<u>Wentworth Woodhouse</u>						
	Corn £	Hay & Straw £		Hay & Straw (Quantities got or bought)		
				Hay (got)	(bought)	Straw bought
1765-6	1453	529	1754	615 tons		
1768	959	68	1763	827	286	1535 score
1769	1153	157	1764	616	136	1426 batts
1770	1215		1767	930	457	
1771	1630		1768	618		
			1770	746		
			1771	896		
1783	881		1772	834	101	358 (£46)
1784	1558		1773	425		
1785	1135		1774	752		
1786	1427		1775	429		

Purchases were necessary despite large scale production of the products on the estate. Some corn always had to be purchased in this period and purchases of hay and straw were usual though variable in size and cost. The hay-producing capacity of the park, Tankersley park, Badsworth park and three home farms together with additions from land in hand and Greasbrough Common and tithes from four townships were insufficient to keep the house, the animals at the stables and in the grounds, and the working horses fed.

205 SCL WWM

Steward's Accounts A1-8. Also A1407 1751; 1061 Family consumption at Wentworth 1783-6.

SCL WWM R186.5

William Martin - Marquis of Rockingham, 4 October 1765. Bolton and Doncaster.

in the early 1770s. The additional needs of the house were so great that prices could be altered by its demands.

"If it was thought that 100 or 150 tons was or would be wanted the price in the neighbourhood would immediately rise." 206

This was prevented by buying at low price periods in the year and by buying in small quantities. Many of those selling to the estate were tenant farmers, though merchants had to be used also to satisfy the estate demands.

Table 9.19 - An Account of Corn Bought, Grown and Consumed at Wentworth

	Malt	Oats	Beans	Wheat	Marlin	Barley
	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q
Total	211.6	953.4½	203.10	368.6	61.2	103.0
Bought	-	757.2	131	41.8	4.8	27.6
Malt balance 137						
Consumed	123.4	917.4½	175.5	327.4	29.0	101.1

(Q - quarters                      b - bushels)

The estate appears to have been deficient in supply of all the main grains and in beans, but possibly produced surpluses of malt.

Purchases of corn, hay and straw varied a good deal from year to year both in size and cost, but in most years expenditures exceeded £1400 in total between 1760-90. Within such figures it is worth noting that there were occasionally surpluses of wheat available for sale, but oats always had to be purchased in vast quantities.<sup>207</sup> Barley too was often deficient.<sup>208</sup>

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- 206 SCL WWM Stw 1 Marquess of Rockingham - B Hall, 20 May 1780.  
 207 SCL WWM Stw 3 (i) Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 17 August 1782.  
 208 SCL WWM A1380 B Hall's Memorandum Book. Over 1000 loads of wheat in Wentworth granaries and at sundry farms 1775, 31 March. Also  
 SCL WWM Stw 1 Marquess of Rockingham - B Hall, 7 July 1772, 12 March 1773.  
 SCL WWM Stw 1 Marquess of Rockingham - B Hall, 15 July 1772 "You may order Lyall to lay out £200 in oats".

Other purchases include animals for fattening and a wide variety of seeds and fertilizers and implements for use on the estates. These cannot all be isolated from estate accounts but they accounted for a considerable proportion of the 'sundries' and 'incidents' which loom so large in them. Together this miscellany often accounted for expenditures in excess of £1000 per annum, while farming expenses exclusive of labour frequently reached half that sum.<sup>209</sup> Before the 1790s sales of animals, tallow, hides and wheat were unlikely to significantly offset these general expenses. The major purchases mentioned above remained a clear cost to the estate.

The estate was not self supporting in other respects. Groceries, linen, furniture, liveries, wines and spirits were but a few of the items of consumption which had to be bought. It was the prices of these external purchases which rose most dramatically in the period 1760-90 and which made housekeeping loom so large in the minds of the owners.

Table 9.20 - Cost of some selected purchases off the Wentworth Estates  
1765-74 and 1783-6<sup>210</sup>

June	Housekeeping £	Furniture	Liveries	Cellars
1765-6	662	73	199	167
1768	966	338	212	222
1769	824	568	431	306
1770	1037	573	287	
1771	1396	840	405	
1772	486	379	206	
1773	1844	914	420	
1774	1395	-	-	

Household Expenses (goods bought)

1783	2114
1784	2339
1785	1724
1786	1643

209 SCL WWM A1-8 Steward's Accounts 1764-74.

210 SCL WWM A1-8 Steward's Accounts 1764-74, 106L Family Consumption 1783-86.

By comparison Kiveton steward Aneas Macdonald kept expenses low between 1765 and 1781, spending in 1765 only £44.5.7½ on repairs to Kiveton House, £133 on payments, husbandry and woods, £124.5.11½ on necessaries for the house and £654.4.3 on miscellaneous payments including presumably the wages of servants. Gardens by then cost only £182, repairs to the Park wall £19.9.6 and salaries for the steward and two assistants for the year £200. He was thus able to remit over £3000 to Mr Jackson, the Duke of Leeds' agent in London and kept the establishment running at an overall cost of under £1900, or £2000 if parliamentary taxes and parish levies are included. This was less than half of the overall spending at Wentworth Woodhouse.<sup>211</sup> Sandbeck provides a good example of the next "rash" of spending, with about £1000 per annum in "current" expenditure in 1773-1780.<sup>212</sup>

The table overleaf covers a difficult period in the development of household expenditures at Wentworth, beginning with the stewardship of William Martin in 1764 and ending after the death of the Second Marquis and an economy campaign between 1783-86. In the later 1760s all forms of expenditure appear to be growing despite the complaints by the steward about longstanding debts. He failed to prevent the household spending more and more upon its own maintenance off the estates. His resignation followed and with it the campaign to remove the housekeeper which has been discussed. There were reasons for doing so apart from disapproval of her disloyalty and unwillingness to maintain discipline among the female servants. By January (1773) Lady Rockingham was demanding that the lists of stores should all be submitted to her. There were at least three of these,

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211 SYAC Leeds MSS S/F1/1-3

Aneas Macdonald's Accounts 1765; 1769; 1781.

212 Sandbeck Lumley-Saville  
MSS HMA/16

Sandbeck outpayments, 1773-80.

including a Doncaster list and a Chesterfield list, and goods including groceries were also purchased in Rotherham. It is evident that Lady Rockingham had progressed a good deal since the previous year

"You did not mention whether you thought Broughton's demands in regard to the stores were pretty reasonable for I am no judge of those things." 213

"... Broughton reckoned that what she then sent for would not do more than three months consumption but really she must calculate and frame a sort of limitation in the use of the stores, and see how near she can keep to it, for without some caution of that kind there is no way of knowing when a reasonable or an unreasonable quantity is expended." 214

In the early years of the 1770s household costs reached levels unprecedented in the eighteenth century. It was stabilization of these costs for a time after 1773 which was regarded as Hall's major success. There was considerable disarray when he took office

"8 December 1771

No labourers to have beer after today except as follows (6 names). NB The people who help the brewer to have beer in the brewhouse as usual but must not come into the Servants' Hall." 215

This was one of Hall's earliest instructions to the staff. He also found that the stock in the wine cellars could not be determined

"by reason the key has been in several hands"

and there is a massive gap in the meticulously detailed wine accounts in the period 1770-72, with signs of a significant reduction in stocks.<sup>216</sup>

It was probably for this reason that the porter's keys were subsequently confiscated.<sup>217</sup>

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213	SCL WWM Stw 2	Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 22 July 1772.
214	SCL WWM Stw 2	Lady Rockingham - B Hall 2.1.(undated-1773).
215	SCL WWM A1386	B Hall's Memorandum Book, 28 December 1773.
216	SCL WWM A1386	<i>Wines in Stock and consumed daily 1764-1809.</i>
217	SCL WWM Stw 2	Lady Rockingham - B Hall 13 May(undated-1773).

It was for such reasons also that a particularly careful inventory of linens, stores etc was sought at the time of Mrs Townley's dismissal in early July 1773.<sup>218</sup> By then Hall was achieving a stabilisation in the consumption at the house, had dismissed a number of the least satisfactory servants and discovered dishonesty at most levels in the household, in the farms and at the dairy.<sup>219</sup>

In the years 1773-82 it became usual for Lady Rockingham to check personally whether or not the stores lists were significantly different from one three month period to the next, and to question the Steward and the housekeeper in cases of discrepancy. Scrutiny relaxed towards the end of the life of the Second Marquis but became vigorous after the succession of Earl Fitzwilliam. His own kitchen clerk from Milton was sent to take charge of the kitchen accounts.<sup>220</sup> The Earl questioned large numbers of items and omissions in the accounts and frequently sent them back to the steward for alteration or correction between 1782 and 1786.

"I return you the abstract of the half years account, because I do not see any charge for Boardwages, besides I do not understand whether the £328.0.5½ marked as the value of meat, corn etc got from the farm is in addition to other charges or whether it makes part of any of them, moreover it takes no account of beasts bought in, perhaps there were none in that period. Scaife's account for the racehorses is not charged." 221

He also complained about the scale of wine consumption at Wentworth on a number of occasions, but was nevertheless able to write in 1786

"I am much pleased to find the amount of the last years expenses so much less than that of the preceding year." 222

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218	SCL WWM Stw 1	Marquis of Rockingham - B Hall, 29 June 1773.
219	SCL WWM Stw 2	Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 15 June 1773. Lady Rockingham was surprised at dishonesty in Betty Dixon (Dairy dame) and still wished to make her comfortable in old age in 1778. The offence is undisclosed (Stw 2 11.5.78).
220	SCL WWM Stw 3 (i)	Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 4 September 1782.
221	SCL WWM Stw 3 (i)	Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 11 January 1784.
222	SCL WWM Stw 3 (ii)	Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 27 March 1786 (see Table 9.23).

The increasingly business-like control over household spending could not have been more timely, for the price rises of this period were persistent and would have eroded the rental gains of the price rise had cuts in the external spending of the estate not been instituted. From the later 1780s began the upswing in the sales of estate produce which were to be a valuable contribution to the maintenance of the estate after 1800. By 1801-11 sundry sales from the estate (mainly farm produce) averaged £1400 per annum while the farms were providing the house with produce valued at £2500 approximately each year. In part the figures merely reflect the price inflation of the period, but it appears likely that the basis for the valuations in the second figure were conservative rather than reflecting the wild price oscillations of the war years, while the regularity of receipts from external sales reveal a more persistent and dependable contribution from this source by this time than had been usual before 1790.<sup>223</sup>

Table 9.21 - Variable Costs (b) Costs of Maintaining the Household at

Wentworth Woodhouse 1760-90 Average annual cost of external

Purchases

	£	
Lean beef and sheep	500	(purchase price)
Corn, Hay and Straw	1500	(purchased)
Household Expenses (inc housekeeping, Furniture, liveries & cellars)	2000	
Sundries & Incidents	1000	
	£5000	per annum

These statistics are intended to reflect the costs of maintaining the household for the period as a whole. In practice there is a growth of such expenditure until the early 1770s followed by stabilization or even decline thereafter. Thus in 1771 household expenses were £2641 excluding an unrecorded cellar bill (£200-£300) and in 1773 they reached £3178 again excluding the cellar bill. By the mid 1780s household expenses were much reduced from these levels



Additional to these visible costs were the costs imposed by the household via its consumption of estate resources. This was a vast hidden expense.

Table 9.22 - Estimates of the Value of Estate Produce Consumed 1770-80

	£	
Beef - fat cattle	700	(butchers meat)
Sheep - fat		
Grains etc	1000	£500 plus tythe grains £500c 1771
Hay & Straw	1050	(700 tons pa @ £1.10s)
Venison	100	(fattening value of whole stock pa)
Dairy and Fowl	150	
Coal		
	£3000	minimum

These figures generally use the lower valuations of the produce available. Thus in 1772 between January 1 and 30 August following 101 tons of hay cost £318.8.9. but this was presumably purchasing carried on at the most expensive time of the year. Likewise to take the fattening value of the venison alone is to minimize the value of the venison consumed. The tithe included produce not listed here - straw, dung, pigs etc. It was an important source of oats. 224 In the 1780s the quantities consumed from estate resources remained similar.

The figures in Table 9.22 may be reduced by the sum of £500 per annum which derived from the average sales of estate produce in this period but despite this and any consideration of profits from timber sales or the collieries the consumption orientation of this large estate remains obvious. The large acreages of parkland, home farms and outlying satellites at Tankersley and Badsworth were insufficient. The mansion was far from feeding itself

224 SCL WWM R189 (1,2,3)

Tithe Accounts of Hoyland, Greasbrough and Tankersley 1771.

Sources - Tables

Table 9.21 Price data

SCL WWM R222 Miscellaneous calculations (c 1770) R187.6 Account of Corn from the arable land at Tankersley 1769 R187.4.5 Accounts of Woodnook and Street farms 1768. Also A Young 'Tour' (1769) Vol 4 pp274-290.

and the large animal population had to be supported by purchases of animal food. Probably the park at Wentworth was over-stocked with animals. At the beginning of the period there were 34 working horses, 12 working oxen, 143 cattle, 383 sheep, 90 pigs at the house and 36 at the Upper Farm, 400-450 deer and large numbers of game and esoteric birds at Wentworth. These numbers were allowed to grow between 1760 and 1770 as capital works expanded horse-requirements.<sup>225</sup> There was complaint that the breeding of many animals was being spoiled in the 1770s and an outbreak of distemper among deer which enforced removal of the remainder to Tankersley in 1785 for over a year.<sup>226</sup> The growth of the racing string as the stables were built and the needs of the young race horses kept at the training ground at Swinton increased the demand for feedstuffs to levels beyond the possibility of estate supply. Probably it was for this reason that Earl Fitzwilliam determined

"It is my intention to part with the running horses immediately - I desire you will give Scaife notice of it immediately that he may be looking out for some other service for himself." 227

This strongly-worded decision remained unfulfilled, for Scaife remained in employment for many years and so did some of the horses. Racing was costing several thousand pounds per annum throughout the period 1801-31.<sup>228</sup> It was one of the economies intended by Earl Fitzwilliam which became less necessary as receipts of all kinds expanded in the last decade. The third major element of variable costs of conspicuous consumption include the salaries of necessary key functionaries off the estate and especially clergymen and teachers, charitable payments of all kinds in money and in kind and

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|-----|--------------------|--|
| 225 | SCL WWM R222       | "True Account of Horses, Beasts, Sheep, Swine",<br>13 December 1759.                               |
| 226 | SCL WWM R188 (7)   | Stock of Cattle and Sheep, 29 June 1771 (220 Horses,<br>223 Horned Cattle, 421 Sheep).             |
| 227 | SCL WWM Stw 3 (ii) | Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 19 April 1785. Also<br>Stw 2 Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 25 January 1780. |
| 228 | SCL WWM A122       | Racing Disbursements, 1801-31.   |

other payments intended to promote patron-client relations between the landowner and the people of the area. One would expect late eighteenth century developments to put much pressure upon old ideas about charity and there are signs that this was the case. On the one hand money payments specified as charitable fall in absolute size after 1770.

Table 9.23 - Sums Paid to Specified Charitable Purposes 1765-74<sup>229</sup>

(Wentworth Woodhouse)	
	£
June 1765-66	295
1768	291
1769	311
1770	212
1771	293
1772	51
1773	118
1774	117

The fall indicates a tendency to distinguish between the different purposes for which payments made to charity had been devoted. Clergymen's salaries were no longer seen as a charitable enterprise and continued to be paid separately. In the period 1750-90 specific payments to Charity became in effect payments to support a number of Charity Schools. Thus in 1751 Evan Evans paid sums to Barrow School, Greasbook and Hooton School.<sup>230</sup> By the 1770s a large part of the category 'charity' was occupied by bills related to Charity Schools.

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229 SCL WWM A1-9 Steward's Accounts 1765-74.

230 SCL WWM A1407 Evan Evan's Account 1750-51.

Table 9.24 - A List of the Annual Charities given by the Most Honourable  
the Marquis of Rockingham, 1774.

Barrow School  
Barrow Hospital  
Greastro' School  
Swinton School  
Hooton School  
Wath School  
Hoyland School

(Annuitants - £155.1.3½)

The children in these schools were provided with charity clothes and shoes as had been the case earlier in the century.<sup>231</sup>

The other major category of people who received regular payments were the retired servants who were paid annuities. It was usual to do this only for ex-members of the household, with occasional exceptions. Annuitants received £150 per annum in aggregate in the 1760-90 period. There remained some relatively spontaneous giving, but it reduced as compared with the earlier part of the century. Even a distressed clergyman had to be recommended by Miss Finch before he received £10.<sup>232</sup>

The other main forms of charity was the giving of benefits in kind to the poor and here a range of practices progressed from giving of food on St Thomas' day to a large number of poor people or the giving of excess food at other times, to the feasts which were provided for farmers at rent days or, at a lower social level, to harvest workers and mowers. Even in 1827 the house steward was expected

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231 SCL WWM A1380

B Hall's Memorandum Book, 1772-82.

232 SCL WWM A1380

B Hall's Memorandum Book, 1772-82 (undated 1772-4).

"to give orders and occasionally to superintend the proper distribution of the broken Victuals amongst the neighbouring poor and for the supply of such necessary articles of support for the sick as the Family Surgeon may recommend and for such other persons as are the objects of charity and are respectably recommended." 233

By the 1770s there was doubt about the usefulness of open charity of the type frequently recorded in earlier periods, and a tendency to be more demanding of respectability and even dependence in the recipients.

"With regard to Burgon's wife, I cannot take upon myself the charge of her but I would have give him five guineas from me to assist him in any method he takes of placing her properly ... you know it would be endless if I was to undertake any such affair for that family." 234

Another service provided under conditions of patronage to an increasing degree in the late eighteenth century was medical care. Personal hypochondria and a continued concern for the medical welfare of people on the estates was an overwhelming characteristic of Lady Rockingham's correspondence in the last ten years of her husband's life. The house surgeon treated a number of people outside the household and other doctors were called in to treat the sick and accident victims in the area. In 1778 Lady Rockingham enquired on behalf of her husband about collier Mitchel of Hooper whom the surgeon William Bourne

"had almost recovered in a surprising manner from a dreadful accident in summer." 235

Doctors like tradesmen occasionally overcharged, while posts in the region seem to have been as much a matter of aristocratic patronage as clerical livings.

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|-----|---------------|---|
| 233 | SCL WWM A1389 | Staff Instructions. The Steward (watermark 1827).                   |
| 234 | SCL WWM Stw 2 | Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 29 February 1782 (also 20 February 1782). |
| 235 | SCL WWM Stw 2 | Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 1 January 1778.                           |

"I am desired to assist Dr Freer who is going to settle there (Sheffield). Col Dundas ... tells me he owes his life to the Doctor's skill when he was in America where the Doctor attended the army for five years ... I should be glad if through any friends you could make his character known at Sheffield." 236

Total charity expenditures from the estates in South Yorkshire showed little tendency to grow in the late eighteenth century prior to the war years. Direct payments of money to the poor, and the provision of education, charity clothes or selective medical help cannot ever have cost more than £300-400 pounds per annum, a sum diminishing in real terms. Benefits in kind were of increasing real value but were fixed by traditional practice. The usefulness of charity was questioned as population grew and with it there developed a multitude of problems insoluble from the estate point of view. In 1782 Earl Fitzwilliam voiced strong misgivings

"the two balls shall be given as usual and the donation of 6d apiece to the poor on St Thomas' day continued, but the Charity has been abused and if you can find any method to stop such abuse, it will certainly give me satisfaction." 237

Charity and self-interest took on a convergent course in the late eighteenth century, with a tendency to give to one's own servants and dependents, but to sacrifice the ever more numerous anonymous poor. It merged with other activities which were more obviously self interested, including the giving of services and annuities to dependable household servants and others noted for their loyalty. The medical treatment of servants was an obsession in 1770s at Wentworth Woodhouse, a new emphasis alongside the older landowner practices involving easing the burdens of life and death for dependents. Exceptional employees outside the household could be favoured especially

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- 236 SCL WWM Stw 2 Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 2 June (7s undated) overcharging.  
Stw 3 (ii) Lord Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 15 January 1785.  
237 SCL WWM Stw 3 (i) Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 17 December 1782.

by the provision of funeral expenses. Tom Scot had carried on a variety of functions including tithing and care of horses at Tankersley

"as he was not a servant in the house, perhaps it is not usual for me to be at the expense of his funeral etc, yet as it will be a mark of the good opinion I had of him and the regard I had of him, I would have his funeral at my expense..." 238

Servant funerals were sometimes grand and formal affairs in the late eighteenth century, involving compulsory participation by their fellows and ceremonial which imitated that of their masters.<sup>239</sup>

The harvest and rent day festivals did not involve vast cash expenditures off the estate as most of the meat and ale was provided direct from estate resources. Consumption was large -

"Memo - harvest supper (1771 circa)

Ice getting	40	
Two rent days	30	
Sheepwash and shearings	8 pipes	
Fishers	100	Ale
Rearings	60	
	1 pipe	
	100 gallons "	240

Despite possibilities of confusion in this account the quantities were large. The exception to estate provision for such purposes was the purchase of large quantities of wine.

"a sufficient provision of white wine must be made for the rents days but I am surprised our stock of Lisbon is so low." 241

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- 238 SCL WWM Stw 1 Marquis of Rockingham - B Hall, 8 July 1773.  
239 SCL WWM Stw 2 Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 7 June 1771.  
240 SCL WWM A1380  
241 SCL WWM Stw 3 (ii) Earl Fitzwilliam - B Hall, 25 April 1785.

External expenditures which have not been calculated for this period but which were great continued to be those relating to elections, and the organisation, equipment and training of the militia.<sup>242</sup> If such cost is excluded it seems likely that external spending of a charitable kind together with some expenditures for services which were deemed necessary to enhance local patronage and help in the business of social control were neither large nor growing quickly in the late eighteenth century on the Wentworth Woodhouse estates. There was a switch of emphasis towards education and medical welfare, but in terms of resources allocated this is of minor importance. It illustrates a change of attitude on the part of one major land proprietor that resources were increasingly devoted to the estate dependents while the futility of giving of small donations to supplicants at the gates and of casual charity became evident.

A tentative estimate of the scale and character of the conspicuous consumption at Wentworth Woodhouse between 1760 and 1790 is now suggested.

Table 9.25 - Estimates of Annual Average Conspicuous Consumption  
Wentworth Woodhouse 1760-90

	£
Fixed Costs (Capital projects)	4050 per annum
Variable Costs (a) Salaries (2)	500
(b) Household Expenses	7500
(c) Charities and External Payments	500
	12500 (1)

- (1) Costs of lean cattle are subtracted - cost included in total value of cattle consumed.
- (2) Salaries do not include perquisites of servant or legacies - these could be large for servants of long standing (3 years salary for servants of long standing in 1782 (over 21 years). SCL WWM D1553

242 F M L Thompson

"Whigs and Liberals in the West Riding 1830-1860",  
Eng Hist Rev LXXIV (1959), pp214-39. re later  
election expenses.



These figures are not intended as a direct indication of the sums spent in a particular year but are seen as an estimate of the long-term burden which conspicuous consumption placed upon the rental receipts of the estates. They are also intended to allow comparison with figures for investment purposes (see chapter 10) in the same period. All the figures given are in current prices.

A vast proportion of the income generated by rents in the eighteenth century was consumed on these estates. In the 1760s and 1770s rents and other receipts from the Yorkshire estates were insufficient to meet the expenses undertaken. This is the real implication of the agent's statement in 1765

"when the bills now due are discharged, which most certainly would be only right to have done immediately, I should think that the common disbursements including what I pay for interest money would not exceed the receipts here." 243

Rents received from the South Yorkshire estates including the former Bright estates were around £10000 per annum between 1760 and 1765. Recorded disbursements always exceeded this and the gap between them and receipts kept on growing. It was not just that Fenton was forced to spend a large proportion of receipts on interest. Capital works plus the growing costs of maintaining a household without adequate checks on spending meant that there were always both large "common disbursements" and considerable exceptional bills. This remained the case for the subsequent thirty years, despite more adequate control of some aspects of expenditure, after 1772 and in the 1782-6 period. It was only after 1782 and more particularly after 1790 that receipts from rising rentals boomed, new investment opportunities opened up and were exploited, and conspicuous consumption ceased to dominate in the allocation of estate resources. It remained large, but was allowed to swallow a diminishing proportion of each year's income.<sup>244</sup>

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243 SCL WWM R174 (4)

R Fenton - Marquis of Rockingham, 14 November 1765.

244 SCL WWM A122

Receipts and Disbursements 1801-34.

## VI Changing Priorities After 1790

In the short run conspicuous consumption had a number of other effects. It contributed with land purchases to the extend of indebtedness in the late eighteenth century. Both Marquise's of Rockingham left a large burden of debts at their deaths, in legacies, portions and unliquidated mortgages.

Table 9.26 - Debts and Legacies. Wentworth Woodhouse Estate 1750-1800<sup>245</sup>

		owed (1783)	unpaid (1795)
Thomas	Marquis of Rockingham	£114660	£108000
Charles	Marquis of Rockingham	£151730	£145000
			<u>£253000</u>

The sums owed in 1783 were sums outstanding under the wills of Thomas and Chalres 1st and 2nd Marquis' of Rockingham in that year. By 1795 these outstanding sums had been reduced only at the margin. This was a large sum compared to many of the examples of debt quoted in recent study of aristocratic indebtedness in the nineteenth century, though it was to be dwarfed later by Fitzwilliam borrowings and by the debts of many large landed estates after 1850.<sup>246</sup> Nevertheless Fitzwilliam income was extremely large after 1783, and interest payments upon these debts were large but not crippling even before the rapid increase in receipts from non-agrarian sources. Sums outstanding to the Marquis of Rockingham's estate were derisory. Though this burden of debt was not overwhelming for an estate with gross receipts from this area of £15000 per annum and further rents from Northamptonshire and Ireland, it was not trivial, and might have become

245 SCL WWM A1215

The Debts of the First and Second Marquises of Rockingham.

246 D Cannadine

"Aristocratic Indebtedness in the Nineteenth Century. The Case Re-opened." ECHR 2nd Series Vol XXX, No 4, November 1977 p632.

a serious embarrassment but for the tremendous upsurge in receipts during and after the wars.<sup>247</sup> A major insulation was the land held in Ireland in the late eighteenth century. In 1770 over 10,000 acres of Irish land in Bathnagar, Wicklow, Rothdrum and Newcastle was placed under mortgage to Tooker of Rotherham and Buck of Lincoln's Inn as security for a loan of £150,000.<sup>248</sup> This loan along with large sums on mortgage from the Earl of Strafford allowed the continued high levels of consumption in all its aspects and staved off the various legatees and other creditors of the First and Second Marquises. By 1797 the Irish estates were yielding a gross rental of £21,941 of which £19,574 was transmitted to the owner in England. In the late eighteenth century relatively little of the receipts of the South Yorkshire estates was remitted to London and the net flow was occasionally in the opposite direction.<sup>249</sup> The only source of the surplus from which these regular remittances came would appear to be the relatively *small sums received from office and agricultural rents from the other English estates, and large sums from Ireland. There is little evidence of money being remitted to Ireland before 1800 as occurred sometimes between 1840 and 1860.*<sup>250</sup> The strongest possibility thus appears to be that the Irish estates were actively subsidizing conspicuous consumption before 1800 and the investment which came afterwards.

After 1790 more estate resources were invested. In particular investment in coal grew, and there were numerous other projects involving investment before 1830 (see Appendix I Colliery receipts and disbursements 1801-1831).

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247	SCL WWM D1546	Mortgage 1770.
248	D Large	"The Wealth of the Greater Irish Landowners, 1750-1815", <u>Irish Historical Studies</u> , Vol XV No 57, March 1966 p22.
249	SCL WWM R186	William Martin's correspondence with the Marquis of Rockingham 1765-72.
	Stw II	Lady Rockingham - B Hall, 1772-1782.
250	SCL WWM A122	Biram's Receipts and Disbursements 1801-30.

The dynamic of the Wentworth Woodhouse estate became centred around commercial and industrial matters rather than conspicuous consumption as it had been in the eighteenth century, though much of that remained in the form of the racing string (£1-4000 per annum 1801-31) and the other accoutrements of the great house. Major new building was restricted to a South Wing costing £2028 between 1803 and 1805, a Grecian Lodge (£763) between 1814 and 1815, a vault at Wentworth in 1823 (£812) and relatively minor works. Among payments, minerals, the Coal Tarworks, Elsecar iron works and old Colliery figures cost far more. The ironworks cost more than £22400 in "promiscuous payments" between 1827 and 1830.<sup>251</sup>

Nevertheless the country house was essentially a unit of consumption. Its "paternalism" became for a time the norm in the regulation of industrial communities as well as agrarian affairs. Large quantities of estate and regional produce were swallowed by the house, servants and estate livestock, and the extravagance of great house consumerism spilled over into the mining and industrial activities of the estate. This was detrimental to the owner's income but beneficial to the community as a whole. Total disbursements from Wentworth Woodhouse more than doubled between 1801 and 1825, and were inflated further by the large ironworks and colliery outgoings after that date, reaching about three times the 1801 figure in 1828. By 1830 total disbursements by the steward in a 30 year period exceeded £1,029,000.<sup>252</sup> A large proportion of this spending took the form of wages and salaries which were pumped into the local economy.

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251 SCL WWM A122

Household accounts.

252 Ibid

Table 9.27 - Wentworth Woodhouse Wages and Salary Outgoings - Selected

	<u>Years 1801-30</u>			
	1801	1811	1821	1830
	£	£	£	£
Joiners	123	183	146	308
Carpenters	403	859	419	1048
Masons	129	2016	323	1431
Blacksmiths	90	172	187	236
Labourers	409	336	99	109
Husbandry Labourers	968	1027	1657	1713
<i>Servants Wages</i>	586	661	673	775
Assistant Servants Wages	62	62	118	152
Total	<u>£2770</u>	<u>£5315</u>	<u>£3622</u>	<u>£5772</u>
% of total dis- bursement of that year	11%	15.50%	10.00%	12.00%

Estate outgoings on wages and salaries varied according to the general price levels, and according to the extent to which major building work was taking place at the house and park. These figures exclude expenditure on horse-racing, gamekeeping, collieries and iron and tar works, all of which were rising fast and which included a large labour component. The series on disbursements shows some tendency towards a reduction in estate spending between 1815 and 1823, but thereafter spending on wages and salaries (above) and on collieries, iron works and household expenditures are all high and increasing, and can be taken to have a positive effect upon demand within the regional economy which outlasted the boom of the mid-1820s. Estate expenditures tended to be "sticky", and to be reduced relatively

slowly in price fall periods so that their effects appear counter-cyclical or at least lagged behind general falls in prices. Purchases also were unresponsive to price falls. In the 1801-1814 period cattle bought cost from £400-£870 per annum, and between 1815 and 1830 between £365 and £870 per annum.

The mean level of spending on cattle bought was marginally higher in the war years, but did not fall as fast as prices after 1815. Similarly buying in of corn, hay and straw was less responsive to price fall than might have been anticipated, which suggests increased consumption in the post-war depression and maintenance of the incomes of merchants and farmers who made profits from sales. The estate also maintained a positive role in supporting a substantial weight of taxation payable locally and to central government. Tax and other assessments only once fell below £1500 per annum in the first 30 years of the nineteenth century, and peaked at near double that figure in 1815 and 1820.

Thus the complaints of extravagance by estate officials must be set against the positive advantages to a region's economy when a large part of a great estate's income was either consumed in the district, paid in wages and salaries to local people or paid to traders, farmers, merchants, bankers, teachers, lawyers, doctors or clergymen for their services and goods, or invested in agriculture, industry or social-overhead capital. This was of greater advantage to a region's economy than the "drain" of income into expenditure at a distance which characterized the Duke of Norfolk's Sheffield estates. That does not mean that it was characterized by "efficiency" in a modern business sense, but there were pressures in that direction in each generation, and they mounted at Wentworth Woodhouse by the 1850s.

By 1855 the stables and adjoining buildings

"... is in such a state that I fear longer neglect of it will only render the ultimate expense greater than it now is..."

yet

"If two extra men are added to the present staff it may not be so easy to get rid of them." 253

Nor were other aspects of life there greatly changed

"The short commons you met with at Wentworth is a very good sign. The body corporate there has long laboured under plethora, that spare diet was the only chance for a healthy state." 254

The great country house contained within itself a persistent tendency towards expanding consumption, not so much by the wish of the master who ultimately had to foot the bills, but in its ethos and in the difficulties of control of the administrative machinery and its servants. Their containment required systems of control of unusual efficacy with a stress upon penny pinching alien to most landed proprietors.

The huge scale of building and consumption at Wentworth Woodhouse dwarfed the activities of the neighbouring gentry and that at Wentworth Castle later in the eighteenth century. There were more than twice the number of domestic servants, a larger park area and a bigger acreage of tenanted land to support it. Petty European princes existed on sparser income and establishment.<sup>255</sup> But the perspectives of the aristocracy were wider than the region. The comparison made at the time was national. Wentworth Woodhouse was compared with Wentworth Castle, the great houses which lay in close formation in North Nottinghamshire, Welbeck Abbey,

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253 SCL WWM A122

Receipts and Disbursements 1801-34.

254 NCRO Fitzwilliam MSS

D Maude - Mr Fitzwilliam, 3 March 1858.

255 R Carr

Spain 1808-1975 2nd Ed (1982) pp39-45.

Clumber Park, Thoresby and Worksop Manor, or with Chatsworth in Derbyshire, one of the most splendid oligarchical houses. They required servant retinues comparable with Wentworth and were major seats for the richer members of the late-eighteenth century aristocracy.<sup>256</sup> They were the visible evidence of an income which not only exceeded £10,000 per annum, but which approached the peak of aristocratic affluence. £10,000 had a special significance, for it was widely regarded as the respectable minimum for the maintenance of ducal title. An income which slipped below involved the need for economies of a kind inappropriate to a Dukedom. This was an undercurrent in the acrimonious dispute between the Duke of Leeds and his son the Marquis of Carmarthen when resettling their estates in 1830. The Marquis claimed that his disposable income would fail to reach £10,000 per annum under the proposed settlement, a sum which he considered inadequate to maintain the title. The Earl of Wharnccliffe was unprepared to accept the figures presented by Carmarthen in his attempt at arbitration, but appeared to agree that £10,000 per annum was the sum needed to maintain the title.<sup>257</sup>

## VII The Impact of Building of Country Houses in a Wider Context

Comparable with Wentworth Woodhouse among the larger aristocratic building activities of the eighteenth century was the rebuilding of Worksop Manor in the years after 1761 when it was destroyed by fire. For a time in the mid-eighteenth century Worksop was the local and major seat of the

256 A S Turberville  
G E Mingay

Welbeck Abbey and its Owners (1939)  
English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century  
(1963) p160. (Thoresby rebuilding cost over £30,000 for the new house and new stables and kennels cost nearly £4,000, together with expenditures extending the park and building cascades and a 65 acre lake) The 4th Duke of Devonshire spent over £40,000 on rebuilding Chatsworth.

257 SCL Wharnccliffe MSS 440

Wharnccliffe - Marquis of Carmarthen, 19 October 1830. Expenditure of about £6,000 per annum was already the usual figure for the better off peerage in the late eighteenth century. (G E Mingay - *ibid* p161)



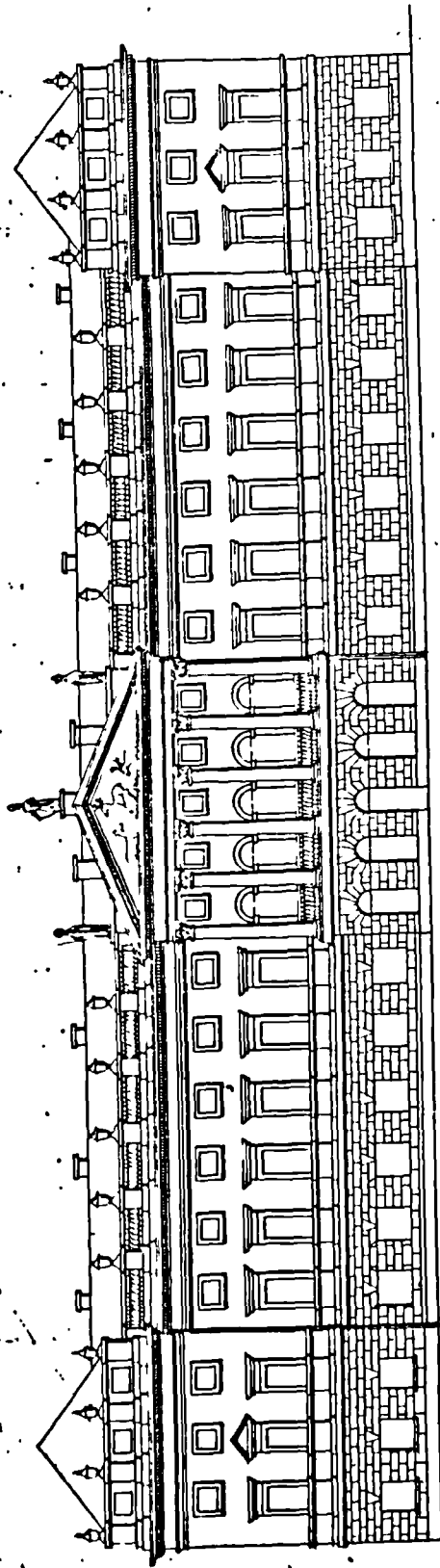
9th Duke of Norfolk whose estates in Sheffield are a major object of study. The house at Worksop was set in fine woodland and there was an area of about 9000 acres of Nottinghamshire land in its vicinity yielding about £3,000 per annum in rents and £1,000 per annum in other incomes in 1786-7. Much of the income for the rebuilding of this establishment came from Sheffield estate 18 miles away. Worksop Manor was in many respects as closely linked to the evolution of the South Yorkshire economy as the houses at Wentworth Woodhouse or Wentworth Castle.<sup>258</sup> A growing income was financing a plethora of building and emparkment schemes at Arundel, Norfolk House in London which was rebuilt between 1738 and 1756, Norwich and in Sheffield. Worksop Manor was primarily the brain child of Elizabeth (née Blount) formidable wife of the 9th Duke of Norfolk.<sup>259</sup>

The plans for Worksop Manor were rapidly executed after the fire of October 1761 by James Paine, who was also active as the architect for the major works which were going on at the smaller house at Sandbeck a few miles to the north, presenting a bill for architectural plans and other expenses of £388.2.0 in 1778.<sup>260</sup> At Worksop the architect's plans were grandiose in the extreme, involving the building of four fronts of which the south front was to be the principal. As James Paine explained

"These plates show the present north front of this magnificent house, and is the only complete front hitherto erected."

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|-----|--|--|
| 258 | SCL Arundel MSS S157                               | Worksop Manor Rentals 31 September 1786 - 31 December 1787.  |
| 259 | M Girouard<br>J M Robinson                         | <u>Life in the English Country House</u> (1978) pp195-8;<br><u>The Dukes of Norfolk A Quincentennial History</u> (1982) pp159-185. |
| 260 | Sandbeck Lumley-<br>Saville MSS 2719<br>T Beastall | EMBA/9 1757-1778. See also<br><u>A North Country Estate. The Lumleys and Sandersons as Landowners 1600-1900</u> (1975) pp84-85.    |

FIGURE 9.4



ELEVATION OF WORKSHOP MANOR HOUSE, THE PROPERTY OF

*His Grace the Duke of Newcastle.*

*Which will be sold by Auction by*

**M<sup>r</sup> GEO. ROBINS.**

*At the Auction Mart, London.*

**ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 6<sup>TH</sup> 1840.**

**at 12 o'Clock,**

**IN ONE LOT.**

*Monday, 20th & Friday*

FIGURE 9.4.

This was joined to the large courts to the north side of the house, one by Duke Thomas, brother to the late Duke

"containing stabling and large offices for every domestic purpose." 261

There was also a series of home farm buildings built on a vast scale which Arthur Young later described,

"The farm yard at Worksop ... is a quadrangular range of buildings surrounding a square of 60 yards." 262

"He claimed that these buildings alone, despite technical deficiencies for their purpose, had cost £7000."

Worksop Manor was an

"edifice celebrated not only for its beauty, but for the surprising expedition used in raising it..." 263

"If finished upon so large a scale as begun it would be ... the largest house in England for the part done is only a fifth of the design." 264

The exact cost of this building, which Paine claimed was built from laying the foundation stone on the 25 March 1763 to the finished roofing in before July 1764, remains obscure. The front was 318 feet in length built of Steetley stone and supported by six corinthian columns, and decorated with thirty sculpted vases. The known quantities of materials used are impressive.

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- |     |            |   |
|-----|------------|---|
| 261 | J Paine    | <u>Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses 1767-83, Vol 2 (1773); A North Country Estate. The Lumley's and Sandersons as Landowners 1600-1900 (1975) pp84-85.</u> |
|     | T Beastall |   |
| 262 | J Paine    | Ibid.   |
| 263 | A Young    | 'Tour' Vol 1, (1769) p328.  |
| 264 | A Young    | Ibid p328.  |

Table 9.28 - A Sample of Materials Used in the Construction of Worksop

Manor 1763-6

30000 ft	oak flooring, plus joists and sleepers.
100	folding mahogany doors, massive brass hinges, gilt furniture
126	deal six panel doors, mouldings, linings and architraves.
200	plate glass windows, oak sashes and frames
40	rare sculpted chimney pieces (valued £10,000 1840) Carvings, enrichments, mouldings and plinths. Ionic columns and entablatures. Gold mouldings, bells, springs. Marble grand staircase and entrance hall and blinds.
250 tons	lead (over £2,000 to buy and lay 1760s)
16000 ft	superficial Westmoreland slating (roof total cost £20,000 - valued 1840) Roof and other timbers.

The claim was made by the auctioneers to the Duke of Newcastle in 1840 that the original building had cost over £300,000.<sup>265</sup> It is little wonder that Paine's original scheme was not carried through. Even allowing for valuer's exaggeration in the 1840 auction, the original cost of this house was probably as great as that at Wentworth Woodhouse, and the building was concentrated into a short period of time. Had Paine's full scheme been completed the total cost would have approached £1,000,000, a figure greater than that known for any of the great mansions built in the eighteenth century. Building stopped in 1767

"but alas! the calamitous deaths of the Honourable Thomas Howard and of the Honourable Edward Howard, son of the Honourable Philip Howard brother to the late Duke, and the then advanced age of the Duke, could not fail to shock the usual and almost invincible fortitude of the good Duchess, she visibly declined." 266

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265	SCL	Particulars and Conditions of Sale of Worksop Manor House (October 1840).
266	J Paine	<u>Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses 1767-83, Vol 2 (1773).</u>

James Paine regretted the failure to continue the building of Worksop Manor, and well he might, for had it continued it would most likely have proved among the most profitable of architectural commissions in an age of extra-ordinary lavishness.<sup>267</sup>

More modest in cost of building and in maintenance were the houses of the less wealthy aristocracy and upper gentry in South Yorkshire. Dickinson's map of 1750 indicates that such families were well represented in the area. Though Kiveton Park (the Duke of Leeds) was one of the bigger new houses of the early eighteenth century it was closer to Wentworth Castle in its initial costs and size than to the larger establishment at Wentworth Woodhouse. The estates of this family yielded annual rents of £10,342.17.2½ in 1703 this being part of a series of estates in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Surrey and Buckinghamshire and Cornwall. The wealth of the family was perhaps at its relative peak in the later years of the life of the first Duke of Leeds but the building of a new house at Kiveton absorbed 12 years of Yorkshire rents and required major efforts to provide funds by the steward Robinett and Mr Vernon, including large timber sales.<sup>268</sup> Expenditures on materials and some labour exceeded £20,500 between 1694 and 1706.<sup>269</sup>

"To ye park above named and adjoining is a large new mansion house well built with all conveniences and aggrandisements fitt for any nobleman's habitation, it hath been ye paternall seat pulled down and improved."

The house alone was valued at £12000 and the produce per annum of the park at £1500. Timber in the Lordship of Woodhall was valued at £6,500. The Duke of Leeds also owned a house in Surrey valued at £10,000 in 1703 and

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267 H Colvin

A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects.  
1660-1840 (1954) p14.

268 YAS Leeds MSS DD5 Box 1 Letters re Kiveton Building, 1702/3.

269 YAS Leeds MSS DD5 Box 33 Building Accounts 1694-1706.

overall the family was among the wealthier group in South Yorkshire at the time.<sup>270</sup> Work on the surroundings of the house continued long after this rebuilding. Work on the gardens cost £309.2.0½ in 1725, of which £241 was labourers' wages and in 1737 a new garden was under construction. The gardens continued to cost about £300 per annum until about 1750, with only a slight reduction in 1745-6.<sup>271</sup> Whether there were further extensions of the house prior to Young's visit is uncertain, but his account appears to indicate a house of similar size to Wentworth Castle but lacking some of its giant features. The gallery in particular was a modest sized room unlike the vast promenades built at both Wentworth Woodhouse and Wentworth Castle.<sup>272</sup>

At Aston the Earl of Holderness kept a smaller establishment which was destroyed by fire in 1767. It was replaced by a seven-bayed house in the 1772-4 period and let to Mr Verelst by the Earl who appears never to have lived in the house, residing instead at his main seat at Hornby, North Yorkshire and in London.

"because it is too near the ducal seat at Kiveton."

Instead he

"let it to Mr Verelst, the Nabob."

The latter was a relative of Mason, the rector at Aston, and had been Governor of Bengal until 1770. He commissioned interior work by John Carr, which was carried out between 1776 (October) and 1777 (May).<sup>273</sup>

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270 YAS Duke of Leeds MSS DD5 Box 23 No 13 Valuation 1703.

271 YAS Duke of Leeds MSS DD5 32 Leeson's Account. 1744-48 (to 1752).

272 A Young A Six Months Tour Through the North of England, Vol 4 (1770) p437.

273 (Walpole Correspondence)  
J D Potts Mason - Horace Walpole, June 1773.  
Also Platt of Rotherham; in H M Colvin (Ed) A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1660-1840 (1954) p460.

Verelst is believed to have purchased the house and Verelst family trustees were still administering it in 1860. It had a history of letting in the early nineteenth century, for it was advertised for this purpose in 1817 and had already been let for a time to Mrs Foljambe at that date.<sup>274</sup>

There appears to be little concrete evidence on the costs of building this house but a comparison of the activities in building Wortley Hall and Cannon Hall may be used as an indication of the likely costs involved in the erection of houses for the better off gentry, or the less rich or more parsimonious members of the aristocracy. In South Yorkshire in the late eighteenth century a good number of the richer gentry considerably exceeded the £3000-£4000 per annum which was usual among the wealthy gentry who were accumulating wealth at sufficient speed to qualify for aristocratic status in the post-1815 period.<sup>275</sup> Comparisons between the Wortley and Spencer Families indicate a divergence here, for while the former acquired the Earldom of Wharnccliffe in 1822 the latter remained in the ranks of the better-off gentry in 1870.<sup>276</sup> Both had large coal interests and must be counted among the landlords for whom the process of industrialisation brought great benefits.

The house at Cannon Hall had originally been built in the late seventeenth century. Between 1698-1711 there were continuous alterations taking place at the house, though it is not possible to estimate the costs involved. The sums were probably large with over £300 expended between December 1698 and September 1699 alone.<sup>277</sup>

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- 274 SCL Sale Catalogue 3 Mrs Foljambe's Property 1817. (photocopy); Sheffield Mercury, 20 December 1817. Vol XI No 561; SCL Sale Catalogue 4, 22 December 1860 and 1858. Mr Verelst's Trustees.
- 275 G E. Mingay English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century (1963), p21.
- 276 J Bateman The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland (1883) 1971 Ed pp420-3.
- 277 SCL Spencer Stanhope MSS Building Accounts. 60674. Cannon Hall. 1698-1712; Complete Peerage, Vol XII (1953), p590.

For the later eighteenth century the evidence is more concrete. Between 1756 and 1772 almost £12000 was expended in buildings and improvement at the house.<sup>278</sup> Three-bay wings were added to either side of a five-bay house, these being built between 1765 and 1768 during which period most of the above expenditure was incurred. By 1768 Spencer accompanied the architect (J Carr) in a visit to

"Cobbs, Chippendales and several other of the most eminent cabinetmakers for the order of proper furniture for my drawing room." 279

Work was done on the interiors of the house after 1778, including the provision of additional bedroom space. In the 1790s new stables were built at considerable expense, the work beginning in 1794 and being complete by 1799, and an attic storey was added in 1804-5. By that time building costs over a 50 year period of about £14000 are recorded and on the most modest assumptions the costs in some of the interim periods amounted to several thousand pounds in excess of this total. Nevertheless the Sun Fire Insurance Company insured the house for £10,000 early in the nineteenth century and its contents for £2,000.<sup>280</sup> Such an establishment was perhaps fairly typical for the area's more prosperous gentry.

At Wortley the sequence was different. Edward Wortley accumulated a large fortune, living to the age of 82 (d1761).

"Old Wortley Montague lives on the very spot where the dragon of Wortley did, only I believe the latter was better lodged ..."

wrote Horace Walpole. He was said to be living in a house

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- 278 SCL Spencer Stanhope MSS Buildings and Improvements at Cannon Hall. 60686 25 (e) 1756-72.  
279 *ibid* 60674. Spencer-Stanhope- J.Hardy. n.d.  
280 See attached Table 9.29



Table 9.29 - Cannon Hall Building Costs Recorded in the Eighteenth Century

	£	
1699 (Dec 98 - Sept 99)	314	
1700	70	(partial)
1701	42	"
1702	15	"
1703	112	"
1711	<u>30</u>	"
		(1)
1756	106	
1757	446	
1758	307	
1759	102	(some park works)
1760	545	"
1761	1224	"
1762	1262	"
1763	808	
1764	1149	
1765	1450	
1766	1360	
1767	549	
1768	896	
1769	664	
1770	171	
1771	346	
1772	<u>274</u>	
	11665	(2)
1782	202	
1783	120	
1784	465	
1785	217	
1786	235	
1787	214	
1788	213	
1789	<u>121</u>	(incomplete)
3 year gap	1787	
1793	125	(incomplete)
1794	142	( " - new stables begun
May 1794-5	<u>318</u>	
5 year gap	585	
Nov 30 1799 - May 17 1800	274	Finished 1799
		(3)

Sources

- (1) SCL Spencer Stanhope MSS, Building Accounts 60674. Building and Joinery at Cannon Hall 1698-1712.
- (2) SCL Spencer Stanhope MSS, Buildings and Improvements at Cannon Hall 60686 25(e) 1756-72.
- (3) SCL Spencer Stanhope MSS, 60657 (2,3,4) Building Entries in Accounts 1783-1800. Also

SCL Sp St MSS 60687 Walter Spencer Stanhope - John Hardy correspondence 1711-1795 and Sp St MSS Vouchers 25(e).

SCL Sp St MSS Sun Fire Office Insurance Policy No 762077 (bound in bundle with 60674(b)) Papers 1800-5. House and Offices £10,000; Household Goods, Furniture etc £2,000; Farming Stock £300 - Total £12,300.

Further Storey (Attic) added 1804-5 (N Pevsner - The West Riding p156.)

"lean unpainted, and half its nakedness barely shaded with  
harateen stretched till it cracks..."

"the miser hoards health and money, his only two objects - and  
battens on tokay, his single indulgence, as he has heard it is  
particularly salutary." 281

Edward Wortley accumulated huge wealth, but Walpole's account appears  
to neglect what must have been apparent. New building had been started at  
Wortley Hall in 1743, with building work undertaken by the ubiquitous Platt  
of Rotherham. A seven-bayed east front was erected between that date and  
the early 1750s. A further wing was added between 1757 and the death of  
Edward Wortley in 1761, at a cost of about £2,000 and a further sum was  
left as a bequest to Lady Bute to complete the remaining wing.<sup>282</sup>

Whether this wing was built soon after, or forms part of the additions  
of the late eighteenth century, remains uncertain. In the 1786-9 period  
over £1,000 was expended in erecting kitchens, a bakehouse, additional bed-  
rooms and a west wing of offices, which remained incomplete at that time.  
In the 1790s park works were proceeding and in 1797 estimates for work at  
the Hall, offices, stables and farm amounted to £16056.<sup>283</sup> The total expen-  
diture in the work at Wortley Hall between 1743 and 1805 are estimated as  
follows -

- 
- |     |                                    |   |
|-----|------------------------------------|---|
| 281 | J Curling                          | Edward Wortley Montague (1954) p74. Quoting Horace Walpole. Edward Wortley is believed to have left £1,340,000. The estate passed to his daughter Lady Bute M to John Bute who inherited the Duke of Argyll's estates and influence. (Minister to George III.) Edward Wortley Montague was virtually disinherited for infamous conduct (SCL Wh/M D609. 22/23.5.1755 Will and Codicils of Edward Wortley Esq (Copy). |
| 282 | SCL Wh/MSS D609<br>H M Colvin (Ed) | 22/23.5.1755 Will and Codicils of Edward Wortley Esq 755. Also<br>"Platt of Rotherham" in<br><u>A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1660-1840</u> (1954) p460. The dating appears confused by Wh/MSS 58/49 1743 "Rough drafts of Upright of Wortley.  |
| 283 | SCL Wh/MSS 142-44                  | Costs on Account of Wortley Hall 1757-61.   |

Table 9.30 - Summary of Costs of Building and Park Improvement at Wortley 284

<u>Hall, 1743-1805<sup>284</sup></u>		
1743-8(?)	East Front (7 bays)	£7000-10000
1757-61	Wing	1660 (recorded but incomplete)
	Lady Bute Wing	2000 (bequested)
1786-9	(kitchen, bakehouse, bedchamber, dressing room over drawing room west wing of offices - est £861	1214 (recorded, incomplete record and unfinished 1789)
1797	Estimates - new additions to Hall	11340
	Offices	
	Stables	2796
	Farm	1920
		<u>£16056</u>
	Likely Total Cost excluding works not recorded (using lower figure for original building)	<u>£25-30,000</u>

It seems likely that the colourful Walpole account indicates an anti-tory prejudice of its author and the likelihood that the works at Wortley Hall were by no means complete at the time of his visit.

The two houses which have been studied appear to be reasonably indicative of the cost of housing the wealthier gentry or of smaller aristocratic houses in this area and also of the considerable period over which such expenditures were likely to be spread. Complete rebuilding occurred either in the remodelling of old houses, after fires as at Thoresby (1745) and Worksop Manor (1761) in Nottinghamshire, and Aston (1767), or on occasions when new houses were erected from scratch as was fairly usual in this region in the late eighteenth century. The most usual practice with existing houses was the periodic addition of wings, new fronts, stable blocks and home farm buildings of ever growing size, with a tendency for each owner to wish to leave symbols of his occupancy to his successors. Few

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284 SCL Wh/MSS 58 21.22 (4. 31. 45-48).

Table 9.31 (Source) - Wortley Hall Building Costs Recorded in the Eighteenth Century

House begun in the 1740s with wings added 1757-63 and 1797-1805. Other building 1785-97.

1743-1755 (no data) built East Front J Platt of Rotherham 7 bays. -

1757	489		(1)
1758	253		
1759	770		
1760	227		
1761	<u>25</u>	(1 wing added)	(2)
	1660		
1786	294	(kitchen, bakehouse etc)	
1787	114	(bedchamber, dressing room over drawing room etc)	
1787/8	(200)	(estimates for West wing of offices £861)	
1788	806	Paid Platt for above	
1789	<u>200</u>	Unfinished	
1797	<u>1614</u>	Park Works	

Estimates - New additions to Hall, Offices etc	11340
Stables	2796
Farm	<u>1920</u>
Estimate Feb 1798	<u>£16056</u>

At work 1798-1805 at least.

(3)

Sources - A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1660-1840. (1954)

- (1) H M Colvin Entries. George Platt (1700-43) John Platt 1728-1810. Hall begun 1743 for Edward Wortley Montague. Completed after his death (1761) by Countess of Bute. Also SCL Wh/MSS D609 Will and Codicils of Edward Wortley Esq (copy) 22/3 May 1755 £2000 bequethes for finishing and furnishing Wortley Hall. Wh/M 58/49 Plans 1743 'Rough draught of upright of Wortley'.
- (2) SCL Wh/M 142-144 Costs on Account of Wortley Hall 1757-71 (incomplete).
- (3) SCL Wh/M 58 (21.22 - 4.31. 45-8).

Likely Total Costs Estimated as Follows

1743-55	10 years at £500 pa	1743-53	
	2 " at £300 pa	1753-5	<u>£5,600</u>
1755-61	2 years at £300 pa	1755-7	600
	Recorded figures		1,660
		+ £300(omissions)	<u>300</u>
			<u>£2,560</u>
1786-97	Likely Expenditure £10,000	1789-97	5,600
1786-9	+ recorded £1,200c		2,560
			2,200
1797-1805	(say estimated figure) <u>£16056</u>		<u>16,056</u>
			<u>£26,416</u>

Omitting period 1761-86 Early figures biased on low side.  
 No allowances for free material or boon work. 693 loads  
 of stone brought to Hall 1759-60 by booners (Wh/MSS 144).

families resisted the fashions, lesser gentry building also.<sup>286</sup>

Broader trends appear from the plethora of country house building activities in the eighteenth century. The large mansions symbolically dominate early eighteenth century activity. Individually they were vastly expensive compared with the work done on smaller houses, and the numbers of houses built for the main body of the gentry would appear to be too few to equal the costs incurred at Wentworth Woodhouse, Wentworth Castle, Kiveton or Worksop Manor. In this area the aggregate cost of very large houses was probably great enough to exceed that of the smaller houses which were either rebuilt or erected in the period before 1750. The work at Warmsworth Hall, Womersley Hall, Skelbrooke and other smaller houses prior to 1740 and at Cusworth, Wortley and even smaller houses like that built by James Carr at Huthwaite in Thurgoland was almost certainly insufficient in aggregate cost to equal the expense of the great houses and their surroundings. Though there were between 60 and 70 gentlemen's houses listed on Dickinson's map (c1750) many of them were small and the area covered by the map includes much of the Bridge and Osgoldcross Wapentakes to the north which fall outside the region of study. A figure of approximately 50 gentry country houses is appropriate for the mid-eighteenth century in South Yorkshire.<sup>287</sup> This figure includes a large number of houses which survived into the period from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while there is rather little evidence of very widespread rebuilding of houses for the middle and lesser gentry in this area between 1710 and 1740. In the area of Yorkshire to the north a similar pattern appears to prevail.

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286 G E Wentworth

"The Wentworth's of Woolley" YAJ Vol 12, 1893,  
pp191-2.

287 J Dickinson

Map of South Yorkshire (c1750).

The early part of the eighteenth century appears to be much dominated by the building of Nostell for Sir Rowland Winn or Bramham Park, both of which were very large establishments. It was only after about 1740 that the numbers of smaller houses begun or remodelled appears to accelerate, though in the Wakefield area the smaller house built at Heath in the 1740s is much overlooked in the 1750s by the much larger Heath Hall.

Rather few large projects were begun in South Yorkshire in the 1750s or at least prior to 1759. There were, however, a considerable number of gentry houses erected in this decade, including Dinnington Hall, Bramley Grange, Frickley Hall, High Melton Hall, Campsall Hall (1760) Campsmount (1750) and Wadworth Hall.<sup>288</sup> At the end of that decade there was a further upswing in the building of large houses, with works at Sandbeck, Wortley Hall, Cannon Hall but perhaps more notably among the larger aristocratic houses at Wentworth Castle, Wentworth Woodhouse, to the north at Stapleton Park and in North Nottinghamshire at Clumber, Welbeck and Worksop. James Paine, one of the most active of the architects of large houses, understood very well the likely impact of such works upon the employment of an area, though his self-interest in the matter is evident. He wrote

"... whilst he (the Duke of Devonshire) was rendering Chatsworth one of the finest seats in England, he was giving the means of subsistence to some hundreds of families, many of whom, if they had not been thus employed, would probably have become miserable, and consequently burthensome to others." 289

The near simultaneous building of substantial additions or alterations to most of the larger country houses in one district employed a significant proportion of the skilled and unskilled employment in the area. The ten

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- 288 N Pevsner                      Yorkshire, the West Riding. (Revised Ed 1967)pp144, 180, 215, 265, 526-7. Also  
J Paine                              Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen and  
   Gentlemen's Houses 1767-83 (1773) (Vols 1 and 2).
- 289 J Paine                              Ibid, Vol 1 (1767).

larger projects of this period (1760-70) would seem likely to generate employment on the lines indicated below (Table 9.15).

Table 9.32 - Estimated Direct Employment Effects of Larger House Building  
1760-70 South Yorkshire

Wentworth Castle	24 skilled	16 unskilled
Wentworth Woodhouse	40 "	20 "
*Wortley Hall (1756-61)	15 "	10 "
Cannon Hall (1759-68)	15 "	10 "
Sandbeck Park (1758-74)	20 "	15 "
Stapleton Park	20 "	15 "
Worksop Manor (1762-6)	60 "	30 "
Clumber Park (1767-	50 "	30 "
Welbeck Abbey	35 "	15 "
Cowick (1752-6)	20 "	15 "
Heath Hall (1750s)	15 "	10 "
Hickleton (1730)	50 "	75 "
	<u>314</u>	<u>186</u>

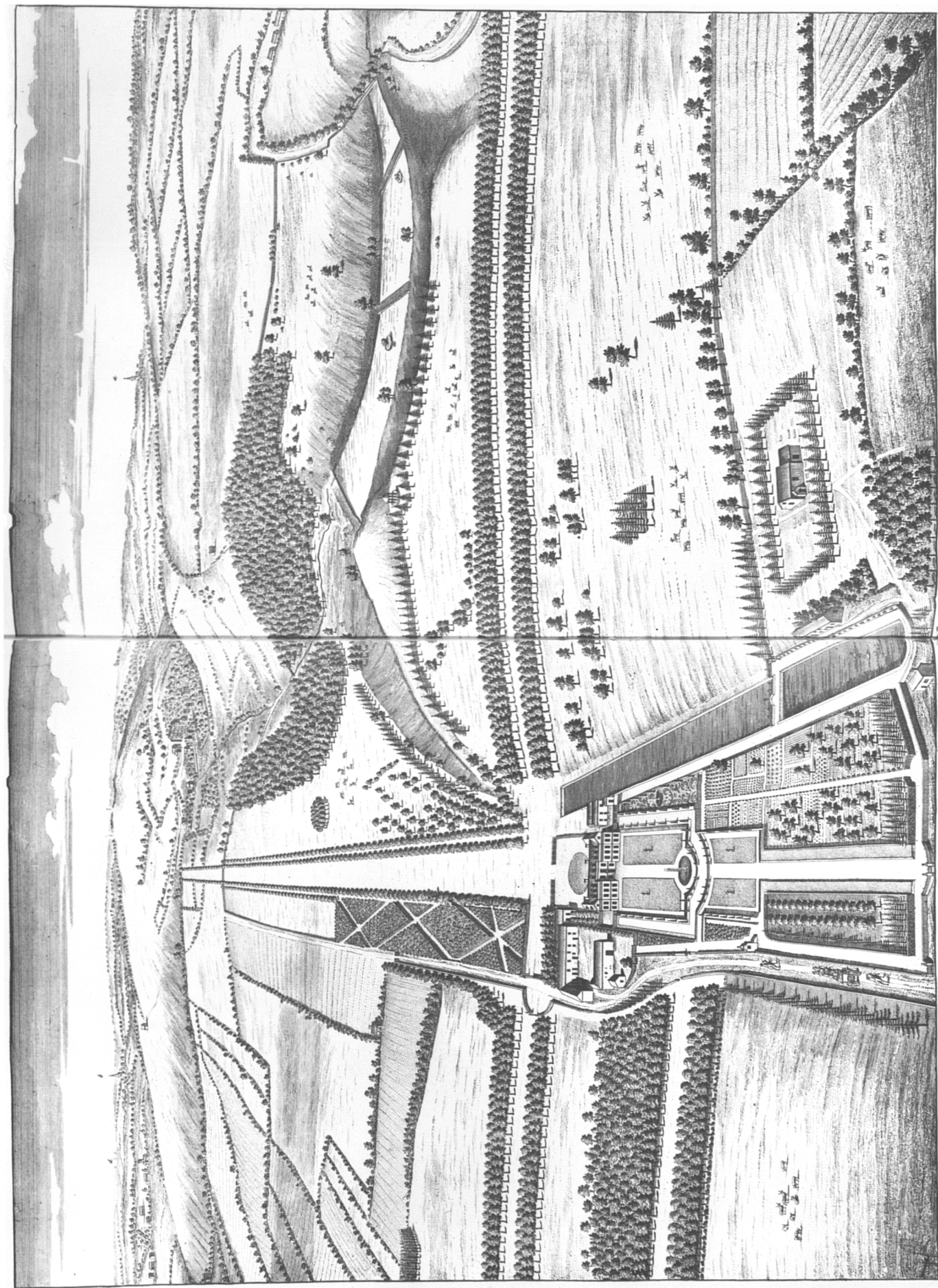
(\*43 at feast, 17 June 1758 - Wh/m 142)

At Worksop the scale of building and its speed required (it is claimed) about 500 workmen in the mid-1760s. Works were also proceeding at Aston (1770-4) Woolley Hall (1772), Renishaw Hall (Derbyshire), and at a number of other smaller houses by the end of this decade while in a good number of cases the works begun at the larger houses were incomplete by 1770.<sup>290</sup> Though several of these houses were outside the immediate vicinity, they were all large and made demands for labour which must have affected a wider area than South Yorkshire alone. This is particularly the case when it is

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290 ie Wentworth Woodhouse, see p533 . Sandbeck Park - T Beastall A North Country Estate. The Lumleys and the Sandersons as Landowners (1975) p85-6.





*The Seat of George Westby Esq. Figure 9.5.*

RAVENFIELD near DONCASTER in YORK SHIRE the SEAT of WARDELL GEORGE WESTBY Esq. FIGURE 9.5.

*W. & A. Nichol, London.*

*The Donkey's Tail*

understood that most of the country houses employed a permanent building and gardening labour force. In some cases the labour here referred to was additional to the normal employment of a number of masons, carpenters, joiners and labourers. This was especially likely at the largest houses, where tradesmen were always needed for maintenance and renewal. At Wentworth Woodhouse renewal and maintenance work never cost less than £1000 per annum between 1801 and 1834, this excluding payments to labourers.<sup>291</sup> The dire consequences of failing to maintain these vast houses is well illustrated by the problems which arose after only a few years of neglect at Wentworth Castle after the death of the 5th Earl of Strafford in 1799.<sup>292</sup> These figures make no allowance for indirect employment effects in transport, commerce, quarrying, lead mining or iron working.

After 1770 a larger number of smaller houses were being built than at any time previously in the eighteenth century. They include Aston, Woolley and Renishaw mentioned above, Thundercliffe Grange (1777), Cantley (1786) Thurnscoe Hall, Bawtry Hall (1780), Ackworth Grange and extensions and alterations at Wortley Hall, Cannon Hall, Ravenfield, Dinnington Hall and Wheatley. A good number of other smaller houses appear to be of late eighteenth century origin or were substantially altered at that time. They are the material evidence of some revival in the fortunes of a middle and lower gentry which by this time was receiving substantial additions to its membership from families successful in trade, state service or the professions. Established gentry improved their fortunes by a range of such activities, as was the case with the Spencer family at Cannon Hall, or the

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291 SCL WWM A122

Receipts and Disbursements 1801-34.

292 SCL WWM 114

Estate Correspondence 1816-18.

Fentons of Underbank who had large coal interests in the late eighteenth century. Also a number of families in Rotherham increased their fortunes sufficiently to build substantial town houses or smaller country houses in the late eighteenth century.<sup>293</sup> Later houses had relatively small emparked areas though some larger emparked areas were still being created between 1770-1815.<sup>294</sup> The smaller seven-bayed two or two-and-a-half storey houses probably cost about £4000-£5000 but the average cost of the 15 to 20 gentry houses built in South Yorkshire, or very substantially rebuilt or added to, was greater, with a mean cost of perhaps £10000 for much of this period (1770-1800). Thus even at this time the addition of 20 smaller mansions to the total cost less than the amount spent on the building of one of the great ducal palaces in North Nottinghamshire, or than the expenditure upon the Wentworth Woodhouse complex over 50 years building (1723-1783).

There has already been some attempt to establish the broad outline of the direct employment created by building country houses in South Yorkshire in the eighteenth century. The great rebuilding of aristocratic houses seems likely to have kept well over 500 men in work at the houses themselves additional to the existing building labour forces in such places. Seasonal factors played a part, for labourers were laid off in winter and skilled men were also likely to be under-employed at that time. The labour force working on the great houses was predominantly skilled, and relatively highly paid. They also enjoyed supplements to income through being allowed to take meals in the servants' hall.

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293 H M Colvin (Ed)

"Platts of Rotherham" in A Biographical History of English Architects. 1660-1840 (1954) pp640-642. See also J D Potts, Platt of Rotherham Mason Architects. 1700-1810 (1959).

294 B Coates

"Park Landscapes of the East and West Ridings in the time of Humphrey Repton." YAJ CLXLII 1965, Part 163, Vol XLI, pp465-80.

The general impression created by the contemporary accounts of surveyors and architects is that reliable and skilled building workers were scarce - which appears unsurprising when the numbers and scale of projects are considered. The simultaneous works of the 1760s at so many large houses together with the retention of permanent labour forces of masons, carpenters, joiners and other such workers at the large houses made considerable demands upon the supply of labour in the region. Similar large scale works were inaugurated by landowners elsewhere, urban development accelerated in that decade building schemes absorbed skilled labour.<sup>295</sup> In these circumstances it was necessary to seek to obtain all the skilled workers that could be found in order to erect these large buildings.<sup>296</sup>

Other specialized skills were bought in a truly national market. The architects recommended London painters, gilders or whitesmiths and furniture even for the less grand establishments was usually sought from the metropolis rather than local sources. Vital ingredients were usually purchased in Italy or France, including marble chimney pieces and statuary, plate glass until after 1770 and large collections of paintings avidly sought in Italy. In some respects this area was probably an easier place to build than many, for it had large supplies of stone and a variety of types which could be used, and from Derbyshire marble of a reasonable quality for some purposes and lead for roofing. The quantities of the

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295 The pattern of Country House building elsewhere has not been studied, but it is unlikely that the trend in this region towards heavy building in the 1760s and towards aristocratic building on a monumental scale earlier in the century would be a totally isolated phenomenon. For urban development - see Chapter 6 esp pp332-362. On other construction activities it is worth recalling that the first generation of canals must have made very large demands upon some skilled building labour supply in this decade. For a relatively mobile labour force (ie masons) canal building in South Lancashire or on the Trent and Mersey canal would pose a possible alternative employment (Survey Pevsner on Nottinghamshire).

296 J Paine Elevations and Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses 1767-83. Vol I (1767).

latter product used seem to have been so great that often the whole of a merchants available supply could be absorbed by a single project. This applied also to the timber imported from the Baltic area, for the sizes of timber sought were sometimes so large that the amply stocked merchant failed to satisfy his customer.<sup>297</sup> Early in the century timber of large size, and deal, was purchased from Hull merchants. Westmorland slate appears to have become more popular as the century progressed. Quantities used were immense and the journey long and complex for a bulky and fragile product. By the 1760s sea and river travel to Manchester was the established route to the western part of the area, but it is likely too that material was brought to the east coast and up the river systems to avoid the land journey from Manchester.<sup>298</sup> Meanwhile the industry of the Birmingham area prospered in part in satisfying the demand for door furniture and other fixtures which houses absorbed in large quantities.<sup>299</sup> Obviously it was not only the manufacturer who was supported in this activity. A host of merchants and carriers subsisted in transporting these products alongside their general business. At the local level employment was created for quarries, like those near Hooton Roberts and elsewhere in the Doncaster region, for carriers of this product and for local building contractors like Culforthay or Platt who were able to gain considerable experience and to develop sophisticated skills. Building on a contract system aimed to remove some of the direct problem of managing building operations from the

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- 297 SCL Wh/MSS 58 31 "15 oak beams 29 feet in length; 20 beams for roof, 2000 feet of timber for lintels and other timbers of oak; 1500 feet of good fir timber for joists over best rooms". (Wortley Hall 1797). 49 feet beams had been difficult to obtain for Wentworth Woodhouse in the 1770s from Hull (see p545 above).
- 298 SCL Wh/MSS 142 Wortley Hall Payments 29 September 1760. 241 cwt of Westmorland Slate via Warrington and Manchester.
- 299 SCL Sp St/MSS 60657 J Howson's Account with Walter Spencer Stanhope, 1788-94. "1794 Feb 1st Mess, Slome, New tilings - £20.17.8½."

owner. Men like Culforthay (Wentworth Castle 1717 and Wentworth Woodhouse 1724), the Platts of Rotherham (father and son) and John Eastwood gained considerable experience and worked with their men on a variety of projects.<sup>300</sup> They were skills which could readily be applied to alternative purposes, and in their exercise it was possible to gain capital which could be mobilized as the opportunities of industrialisation presented themselves.

Not untypical were the Platts, who were descended from a family of mason-architects. John Platt (d 1770) worked at Lyme Park near Disley, and worked with Ralph Tunnicliffe (1688-1736) in designing and building St Paul's church Sheffield in 1720-1; a project completed by his nephew John Platt II (1728-1810) in 1769-70. George Platt (1700-43) left Lyme Park about 1730 and settled in Rotherham. He rebuilt in part churches at Chapel-en-le-Firth and Hathersage, and like his son John Platt II owned around a quarry. (Thrybergh). He worked at Cusworth Hall (1740-41) and died at Hotwells, Bristol in 1743. His widow kept the business until John Platt II was able to continue. He came to own block marble quarries at Ashford, grey marble near Monyash and was at one time a partner in a pottery near Rotherham which was sold to Samuel Walker. He worked on most of the major country houses of South Yorkshire, including Wentworth Woodhouse, Wentworth Castle, Aston Hall and Clifton and designed a number of utilitarian buildings including a market hall. He married Anne Fitzgerald, an illegitimate daughter of the Rotherham Buck family. This appears to have preceded social mobility, and his surviving sons

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300 SCL VWM 78 Robert Culforthay's Bill, 7 April 1717 (£309.3.9):  
 SCL VWM A1251 Robert Culforthay for Putty and Glazing £13.9.0,  
 12 June 1725;  
 H M Colvin (Ed) "Platt of Rotherham". A Biographical Dictionary  
 of British Architects. 1660-1840 (1954) pp640-642.  
 SCL VWM 60657.4 Payments to Eastwood and Partners, 1799-1800.

pursued military careers seemingly contrary to the father's initial inclinations.<sup>301</sup>

#### VIII Consumption and the Regional Economy - Some Tentative Conclusions

An estimate of the annual average conspicuous consumption of Wentworth Woodhouse has already been presented.<sup>302</sup> For the period 1760-90 this was the most elaborate and expensive country house in South Yorkshire. If its combined capital projects and variable costs really cost £12,500 per annum for that period, it might be reasonable to suggest an estimate of the impact of country house building as a whole in the area. Moreover there is a means of checking the estimates, or at least of some control. Expenditures might occasionally overrun rental and other aristocratic or gentry incomes, but were unlikely to do so in the long run, for persistent borrowing eventually exacted the price of inability to meet annual repayments of interest or capital.

Thus for Wentworth Woodhouse the figure can be checked from household steward's accounts, and extended into the later period. Between 1801 and 1830, the steward at Wentworth Woodhouse only once received less than £20,000 in receipts of rents, from sundries sold, and from the collieries. Of these sums, only once did receipts from the Earls Fitzwilliam exceed £2,000 before 1829, while receipts from local sources grew immensely. The whole of these receipts were expended within South Yorkshire or its adjacent areas, with the exception of purchases of goods from far afield, like timber or wine at Hull or London purchases, and taxation, and some of the expenses of travelling and racing. In total these "outside expenditures" appear rarely to have exceeded £5,000 in all, and probably were less. Thus the

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301 H M Colvin  
302

op cit, pp640-642.  
p579.

estate economy's consumption was essentially regional in its impact, and by 1801-30 a considerable proportion was payments to labour, which amounted to over £2,900 in direct payments to Joiners, Carpenters, Masons, Blacksmiths, Saddlers, Labourers in general and Labourers in Husbandry in 1801, and £3,525 in 1830. These payments exclude those to collieries and payments to home farms, racing, travel, servants and assistant servants' wages, building costs and many incidental costs which must have included labour as a component. The implication is that estate spending tended to employ very large amounts of labour, as it was either service orientated or labour intensive (collieries and building).<sup>303</sup>

The point can be generalized. Most residential estates had a similar employment effect. Servants, building, emparkment and patterns of consumption varied only slightly in relative importance within overall estate expenditure. Thus most gentry and aristocratic estates which included a major residence consumed most rental receipts and other income from their vicinity, perhaps invested more between 1780 and 1850 than was usual earlier, but expended most of their rental. A gentleman on £2,000 per annum would possibly invest a different proportion of this rental than a landed magnate but his his consumption pattern might well be similar; at least that is what the household accounts and suggestions of reform at larger and smaller land owning households suggests. In consequence, a sub-region like South Yorkshire, with a high concentration of aristocratic estates and many gentry houses was likely to be an area where demands for labour were maintained at relatively high levels by the spending of the country houses as well as stimulated by their marginal shift towards higher investment. The good fortune of landowners with coal probably added to the effect, for the rapid rise in receipts from that source proved a windfall even though the landowners had been familiar with modest receipts



on that account in the past, and now had to invest more to retain its advantages.

It would probably be spurious to give an estimated total figure indicative of the aggregate consumption of the whole group of 50-75 country houses, but the evidence appears sufficient to support the view that it was exceedingly large in size and had a major impact upon the South Yorkshire economy, with little adverse effect in terms of employment or leakages of income and investment elsewhere when a major seat was maintained. When it was not, as occurred with the Arundel Sheffield estate, the opposite tended to be the case, and investment relative to total receipts became more important as an indicator of the positive or negative effects of the land owners' allocation upon regional development. In Sheffield the Arundel estate was not a vigorous investor, though investment was not absent. As a recent economic development there was probably less rapid than might otherwise have been the case, a reality which was only masked by the dynamism of the local economy. That was the implication of the "laissez-faire" approach on their 20,000 or more acres, and at Kiveton after 1811. It was in sharp contrast to Rockingham-Fitzwilliam administrative policies.

## CHAPTER 10

### Conclusions

Throughout this thesis a distinction has been made between Ricardian 'rent' as a surplus and the increases in rentals and wealth which can be related to investment outlays.

"We have the landowner first, who is always becoming richer, that is if he does not spend too much, his land is always becoming more valuable. You find him living in a better house with more gorgeous fittings, with a more splendid equipage and following more expensive amusements." 1

Although Ricardian 'rent' as an abstraction is difficult to measure empirically there is justice in his critique of landownership in England. So peculiar an institution requires careful examination of its effects if a balanced judgement of its costs and benefits is ever to be achieved. One may not be able to measure 'rent' in the Ricardian sense, but it is possible to ask the question how much was invested in order to judge whether or not some later "rental receipts" can be regarded as profits. That part of the landowners' returns cannot be regarded as "rent".

Agriculture in England has been eulogised. Its success in feeding a growing population in the pre-industrial period and between 1780 and 1860 was impressive and high praise has seemed appropriate to many historians. Yet contemporary doubts linger.

"... there appears to be something like a consensus among agrarian historians that as a class British landowners did well for the long-run development of the British economy - that the agricultural surplus that passed through their hands was, on the whole, efficiently deployed." 2

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- 1 J E Thorold Rogers (Ed) Speeches on Questions of Public Policy, J Bright MP Vol 2 (1864) p340.
- 2 P K O'Brien "Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution," ECHR 2nd Series Vol XXX No 1 February 1977, p178.

Yet despite much research, doubts remain about the extent to which they saved and invested, as do questions about the effects of their large expenditures. Though the landowners invested, did they invest wisely? Though the English tenurial system appears to have encouraged industrial development, did it achieve this in an optimal way? These are questions which are not of themselves answered by asking

"What if England had been a land of small independent freeholders with no large magnates to concentrate capital into fewer hands and then to re-direct it? Would the level of investment in either agriculture or industry under these circumstances have been as high as in fact it was? Probably not." 3

Indeed another student of the Leveson-Gower estates has concluded for the nineteenth century that the deployment of investment was both substantial and inefficient.<sup>4</sup>

Nor do comparative approaches answer the same question. As Robert Brenner has argued in a recent re-statement of his views on the agrarian roots of European capitalism

"... the sort of landlord-tenant symbiosis to which I referred had a good economic rationale and tended to condition a dynamic agricultural development. Cooper is in the end forced to acknowledge that its existence has been verified again and again for the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." 5

The elements of circularity in Brenner's argument based on class conflict do not concern us here, for the approach has been different. Throughout, the role of large landowners and their estates has been discussed in the light of the questions raised about the efficiency of their use of their huge incomes and wealth. The relationship between rent and net return upon

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- 3 J R Wordie Estate Management in Eighteenth Century England. The Building of the Leveson-Gower Fortune (1982) p277.
- 4 E Richards "An Anatomy of the Sutherland Fortune: Income, Consumption, Investment and Returns 1780-1880." BH, Vol 21 1979, pp70-71.
- 5 R Brenner "The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism" P & P Vol 97 November 1982, p103.

investment has wide implications. This study has tried to evaluate the impact of large estates upon the economic development of South Yorkshire. This required a study of their growth, size and importance, analysis of their administration and rentals, interpretation of their impact upon transport facilities, industrial growth, urban expansion, and agriculture. It also required an attempt to place their consumption within the framework of the development of the local economy.

Such an approach is limited by the uneven nature of evidence and by difficulties of method of both a historical and economic nature. Only large estates have been studied in depth, and their experience was probably unusual in relation to that of the gentry estates which occupied a greater geographical area. At the same time there are major data problems. Essentially the measurement of rent receipts, investments and consumption requires the manipulation of large bodies of quantitative evidence in the light of questions raised "a priori" or by the other sources. Much of the evidence was prepared for different purposes, and there is a need for care in attempting to force too much from a large body of "slanted" data. Already agricultural historians have done much of this. Existing studies have excavated through vast quantities of estate papers. Most usually these have been dipped into, sampled and utilized selectively to support particular views. Series over long periods of years on rentals or other aspects of estate administration are not usual.<sup>6</sup> The arguments presented here are supported by such series, forming a statistical skeleton covering 150 years for two major estates and cross checked from a variety of sources, and supplemented by evidence from other estates in the region.

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6 D Cannadine

Lords and Landlords: the aristocracy and the towns 1774-1967 Leicester UP (1980) pp124-135

The main questions which have been asked are straightforward in formulation. What were the origins of the large landed estates, and what conditioned growth, survival or shrinkage? How were they administered and what impact did they have upon the regional economy via transport, industrial growth and urban development? How did they influence agriculture in an industrializing region? What proportion of rising gross rental receipts were ploughed back in investment or maintenance expenditures? Did this proportion change over time and what were the reasons for such change? What relationships existed between such investment flows and future aggregate receipts? What was the relationship between the urban and rural areas of the estates as fields for investment and what returns did they yield? Finally what proportion of the rise in money receipts can be attributed to investment policies, what to the autonomous rise in land values resultant upon the industrialisation and the increase in population? If such questions can come near to being answered for South Yorkshire a better assessment of the economic contribution of aristocratic landowners to industrialisation and to the feeding of the population through more productive agriculture might be possible.

Such analysis remains sparse in historical treatments of agriculture and is even more so in the study of landed estates with a mix of urban and rural property before 1850. The difficulties of distinguishing fixed from variable capital or indeed in distinguishing capital investment from other expenditures are formidable. Yet the question remains - how much did landowners invest in their property?<sup>7</sup> The answer at least allows

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7 B Holderness

"Capital Formation in Agriculture", in J P P Higgins and S Pollard (Eds) Aspects of Capital Investment in Great Britain 1750-1850. A Preliminary Survey. (1971) pp159-195.

some tentative suggestions about the extent to which subsequent rental increases were profits upon these investments.

Study of the estates of South Yorkshire reveal comparable but in some respects contrasting practices. None of the biggest estates invested a large proportion of each year's gross rental before 1760, nor does this appear to have been usual on smaller aristocratic holdings. If such things happened elsewhere before that date, they were unusual in South Yorkshire.<sup>8</sup> The Wentworth Woodhouse, Kiveton and Norfolk estates were unresponsive to the demands of tenants for new capital outlays before the 1730s and resistant thereafter. On the Norfolk estates expenditure on buildings and repairs can be isolated (1711-71). Such figures cannot be regarded as new capital expenditures but set limits upon them, the figures being composed of joint landlord maintenance and new investment.

Table 10.1 - Expenditure on Buildings and Repairs. Arundel Sheffield

	<u>Estates 1711-71</u> <sup>9</sup>	
	1	2
	Average % of Gross Rental per annum expended, repairs buildings and extensions.	Average % of Gross Rental per annum expended on estate maintenance (Inc of column 1) (inc running costs, salaries, tax etc)
1711-21	3	10
1721-31	5.5	14
1731-41	7	12
1741-51	5	10
1751-61	6	10
1761-71	7	12.5
1786	8.7	20.0 whole estates

8 R A C Parker "Coke of Norfolk and the Agrarian Revolution" reprinted in E M Carus Wilson (Ed) Essays in Economic History Vol 2 (1962) pp335-6; B English "On the Eve of the Great Depression. The Economy of the Sledmere Estate 1869-1878" BH Vol 24 1982, pp24-47.

9 SCL Arundel Muniments S161 1711-71. Notes. Column 2 includes Tax, Building and Repairs, Salaries, Fee Fm Rents and other sundry expenses. Column 1 includes building work and fencing done by the woodward. Casual receipts are excluded from the gross rental figure, making investment/maintenance appear greater than a comparison with a higher gross figure. See Appendix 5a.

Upon the extensive Norfolk holdings in South Yorkshire pre-Industrial Revolution investment levels were low relative to receipts from these estates, comparing ill with investment by the same estate of 20% in Norfolk. Large proportions of the receipts were forwarded to the Dukes in London, or to Worksop for personal use, or perhaps channelled into investment elsewhere, especially before 1730. Local expenditures were minimised. Maintenance costs were trimmed by cuts in the salaries paid to local agents after the death of John Shireburn in 1726. Nor did high rent arrears in the decade 1711-21 encourage increases in investment as they were to on the same estate in the 1730s and on others later as an alternative to rent reductions.<sup>10</sup> These percentages fix parameters within which investment levels fell. Nevertheless they indicate that on this large estate of 20,000 acres and upon the nearby Wentworth Woodhouse estates there was a tendency prior to 1730 to leave tenants to carry out most improvements and almost all maintenance, while the landlords concentrated upon extension of acreages owned, rent extraction, and upon shifting the burden of obligations on the tenants when possible, including that of taxation.<sup>11</sup>

Agrarian historians have in recent years linked the investment issue to the problem of whether or not the decade 1731-41 constituted a depression for agrarian interests and to questions about landlord reactions to that phenomenon.

"The evidence of depressed conditions in this period is remarkably widespread and included light and heavy land, enclosed and open field farms, and pasture as well as arable. Landlords complained of unpaid rents and bankrupt tenants from areas as diverse as Denbighshire, Cheshire, and Gloucestershire in the west, Yorkshire, East Anglia and Lincolnshire in the north and east, down through Derbyshire,

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10 After the Napoleonic Wars on the Wentworth Estates and in the 1730s on the Norfolk Estates.

11 For slightly later example see SCL WWM A1272, "yearly allowances and taxes which during the last leases were a charge upon the rents but now liquidated or born by the tenants." 1738/9.

Nottinghamshire, Rutland, Staffordshire, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex and Essex and as far south as Kent, Sussex and Hampshire ..." 12

Detailed analysis of the estate accounts of three great estates and particularly the relationships between arrears and expenditures on maintenance and investment shed more light upon this phenomenon. In the early 1730s the generalized picture of cash shortages, mounting formal arrears, and increasing landlord support to embarrassed tenants in agrarian areas appears to be borne out, though in a sharply differentiated manner. Between 1730 and 1735 arrears reached unprecedented heights on the Arundel lands in South Yorkshire, attaining levels about 50% higher than those usual in the previous decade. Landlord expenditures rose in an attempt to counter this (see Table 10.1). Expenditures were concentrated as far as possible in the investment and maintenance area, while administrative costs were reduced. The key to the problem lies in the comparison between the Arundel Sheffield estates and the Worksop estate owned by the same family. Arrears were much higher at Worksop as a percentage of gross rental, and farmers' problems there appear greater. It was the predominantly agrarian character of the Worksop estates which made tenants more vulnerable to low agrarian prices than the Sheffield estates. If this was a genuine depression it was a farming depression, and in South Yorkshire farming arrears predominated with fewer cash problems among numerous lessees of forges, furnaces, quarries or town properties. Farmers in South Yorkshire were helped by a concentration upon animal husbandry greater than their North Nottinghamshire Worksop counterparts and by an active local market.<sup>13</sup>

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12 J D Chambers & G E Mingay The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880 (1966) p41.

Other discussions of relevance - G E Mingay, English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century pp54-6; G E Mingay, The Agricultural Depression 1730-1750 Ec HR 2 Ser VIII No 3 1956 Reprinted in E M Carus Wilson (Ed) Essays in Economic History Vol 2 (1962) pp309-326. See also J R Wordie, Estate Management in Eighteenth Century England (1982) pp164-173.

13 D Hey "A Dual Economy in South Yorkshire" Ag Hist Rev XVII 2 1969 pp108-123.  
A C Pickersgill "The Agricultural Revolution in Bassetlaw, Nottinghamshire 1750-1873" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Nottingham) 1979.



South Yorkshire industrialization had effects upon the fortunes of all members of the community. Craft industries were strongly established. In many village communities a mixture of agrarian and 'industrial' activity was usual. Farming was diversifying, with a tendency to develop mixed farming close to its markets. This was less vulnerable than the farming of purely agricultural counties. South Yorkshire's insulation was not unlike that revealed in the similar Vale of Trent.<sup>14</sup>

"For example arrears were light on the rich pastures bordering the Trent and in the mixed farming area of east Derbyshire, but the Lincolnshire Wold villages with their sheep and corn economy were seriously distressed."

The key features were agriculture's proximity to markets in Sheffield, Doncaster, Rotherham, Barnsley and a multitude of smaller settlements and the diversification forced by geography and climate with greater concentration upon animal husbandry compared with the corn enterprises to the east. From the estates' point of view the depression of the 1730s was softened in its effects by the continued buoyancy of non-agrarian receipts. These had already begun the upward climb which was to be so advantageous to the great urban or coal owning landowner between 1750 and 1850. In an area in which large scale industry arrived late it is interesting to find early insulation against agrarian alarms. The insulation might have been less for urban dwellers in periods of high agrarian prices than it was for farmers near to growing urban markets in those of low prices.<sup>15</sup>

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14 J D Chambers

The Vale of Trent (1957) pp27-37.

15 G E Mingay

"The Agricultural Depression 1730-50" Ec HR 2 Ser VIII No 3 1956, p134.  
quoted in E M Carus Wilson (Ed) Essays in Economic History Vol 2 (1962). See also D E C Eversley, "The Home Market and Economic Growth in England 1750-1780" in E L Jones and G E Mingay, Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution: Essays presented to J D Chambers (1967) pp206-259. For local examples BL Add MSS 275 38.34. Tithe dispute. 1720/21.

Nevertheless allowances to tenants grew on the Arundel Sheffield Estates in the 1730s, with increase of landlord expenditures, and rent reductions at the peak of the build-up of arrears in the 1733-5 period. Between 1731 and 1741 possibly half the money necessary to keep the Norfolk Sheffield estates running went into new work or maintenance expenditures, including building of a Shambles in Sheffield town costing £51, work on weirs and Pond Mill. Wood management also involved considerable investment outlays in this period. This high proportion was possible while remittances outside the district remained large as no great house was maintained in South Yorkshire. At Worksop, the Duke of Norfolk's Nottinghamshire seat, anticipated returns upon new investment were lower and allowances to tenants few despite heavy arrears reaching a peak in 1734. The average expenditure upon that estate grew to late 1734, then shrank away again. As the figures include outlays upon the country house improvements and its grounds precise relationships with arrears or rents cannot be established.<sup>16</sup>

The conditions of the early 1730s did not extend to the latter half of that decade. Leasing was undertaken on the Arundel and Wentworth Woodhouse estates in 1738/9. It was an opportune time with prices high for the period 1730-50. On the Norfolk estates rents demanded rose by about 10%.

On the Norfolk Sheffield estates most of the farm leases were of 21 years duration and the fixing of the leases during a temporary revival of price levels in 1738/9 was advantageous to the landowner. Farm rent

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16 SCL Arundel Muniments S184 See graph of arrears Figure 3.2 while Sheffield arrears 1733/5 were 50% above average 1720/30. Worksop arrears 1733/5 were 100% above average 1720/30.

arrears fell again to the 1739 levels during the subsequent two decades. In the period 1740-60 rental receipts rose slowly, but this was more a response to a slightly increased acreage on the Norfolk estates than as a result of rapid increases in rents per acre. The Wentworth evidence for 1739 is more clear-cut. Whatever difficulties there might have been for farmers in the early 1730s (and on these estates arrears were high then also) a substantial increase in rents was inaugurated in 1739.

"the value of these improvements computed at 30 years purchase amounts to £8,010." 17

Again farm tenants accepted 21 year leases at increased rents.

The burden of land tax was partially shifted onto the tenants in 1739, a phenomenon noted elsewhere in the same period.<sup>18</sup>

Despite the problems experienced in the 1730s, both these estates benefited from recovery from 1735 and probably fixed new rents to give an adequate return upon new investments undertaken in the 1730s. Thereafter it was possible to reduce capital and maintenance expenditure as a proportion of gross receipts and to enjoy a larger net income per annum in the 1740-50 decade, though rental calculations may have been over-sanguine as persistent high levels of farmers' rent arrears appear on both estates in the 1740-50 period and reductions of rent appear in greater

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- 17 SCL WWM A1272 Increase in the value of the (Wentworth) estate after releasing 1738/9. Details of arrears - fall from peak 1734/5 - 25% of level for that year 1739.
- 18 See G E Mingay "The Agricultural Depression 1730-50" Ec HR 2 Series VIII No 3 1955 pp318-19, in E M Carus Wilson (Ed), Essays in Economic History Vol 2 (1962).

"The payment of land tax in respect of the Duke of Kingston's estates has been carefully investigated and it is interesting to find that contrary, apparently, to the general practice there was a tendency in the late 1720s for the landlord to shift the burden of the tax onto the shoulders of the tenantry, and this was done usually without his making any compensatory reduction of rent."

amounts than before on the Norfolk and Wentworth lands.<sup>19</sup>

There was little increase in the receipts from the agrarian parts of these estates in the 1740s, while receipts from the non-agrarian activities grew. In these non-agrarian areas there is little evidence of activity on the part of the owners and managers of the estates to actively force the pace of development, though occasional expenses on buildings or coal mining were incurred on the estates of the Dukes of Norfolk and Leeds. On the Norfolk estate there was a percentage decline in outlays upon buildings and repairs relative to total receipts discounting the placing of the most rapidly growing receipts under 'casuals'. Such receipts, despite their regularity, were treated as windfall gains, though they included regular estate income from coal, timber sales and quarry rents. These receipts pushed up aggregate estate receipts while farmers found difficulty in paying rent in bad years like 1749 despite previous heavy investments in their holdings.<sup>20</sup> Considering landowners' failure to accept a wide ranging responsibility to contribute much long term capital to farming on these estates and remembering the concern to increase acreage owned at Wentworth, it is not surprising to find evidence of tenant unwillingness to plough back capital into farming.

It was recognised that non-agrarian economic activities grew or withered without excessive commitments by the landlord, who was usually content to receive rent, except in the case of the Duke of Norfolk's investments in markets and mills. A safe formula for Investment and

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19 SCL Arundel MSS S161 and Rentals (see arrears graph 3.5) (£10-20 pa allowed rent reduction 1730s - £60 pa allowed rent reduction 1740s - Norfolk Estates); WWM A1272.

20 SCL WWM A1272 Wentworth arrears high 1748-52. Arundel S184 Arrears high 1749/50.

Maintenance seems to have evolved on the Norfolk lands, allowing about 10% of rental receipts to be swallowed in the 1740-60 period.<sup>21</sup> Overall outlays and maintenance were higher at Wentworth.

After 1760 distinct changes appeared in the relationships between receipts and outlays on these estates. Despite adverse developments including higher taxation than hitherto, in the decade 1760-70 expenditures on buildings and repairs amounted to an average of 7% of the rising gross receipts. Overall expenditures on maintaining the South Yorkshire Arundel Estates exceeded 12.5% of receipts and new works appeared.<sup>22</sup> A plethora of new schemes involving capital expenditures began on the Rockingham Wentworth lands and there too expenditures on new projects and maintenance mounted.<sup>23</sup> The distinguishing features of these activities are explained in earlier chapters. Road and water transport schemes, coal developments, increases in house market and workshop building, these were important in absorbing investment and as a basis for rising rents. By the time of the death of Edward, the 9th Duke of Norfolk, in 1777, aggregate outgoings for the South Yorkshire estates excluding salaries and taxes amounted to 17% of gross receipts. Including salaries and tax they amounted to 25% of the aggregate rental.<sup>24</sup> Divergent trends in the development of the Wentworth and Norfolk Sheffield Estates became more marked from the period

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21 SCL Arundel Rentals S158 1700-1850. A reading of WWM 1272 gives very clear indications of Rockingham priorities, favouring extensions of acreage and a degree of conspicuous consumption under the first Marquis of Rockingham.

22 SCL Arundel MSS S184 as above.

23 SCL WWM Law Wood and Elsecar Mines in production - coal sent to London as experiment (to own house). (WWM R171 An Account of Mines 1765). Turnpiking Activity level high - Sheffield - Wakefield (WWM R171 1765) "The taking away of the hill and the Turnpike Wave has been expensive" (Fenton-Rockingham 1765) Tile and Brick Works in operation (WWM 174.1764). See Ch 5

24 SCL Arundel MSS. Abstract of one years accounts for the Duke of Norfolk's several estates in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Middlesex and Sussex. 1777 (Death of Edward Duke of Norfolk). Note that this figure is for the estates in South Yorkshire and for all other holdings.

when industrialization speeded up, for Norfolk investment tended to remain a smaller proportion of gross receipts than was the case on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate.

Despite investment in coal mining and markets the autonomous rise in land values on the Arundel estates in Sheffield was used to provide a basis for the buying of land elsewhere, building and high levels of consumption expenditure, from the 1780s until 1850.

In the early nineteenth century estimates have been constructed of the proportion of gross annual receipts which were being invested under specific headings and used for maintenance on the large estates in South Yorkshire. In some periods it is possible to analyse the expenditures upon enclosure or upon drainage, and one can also relate these figures to evidence of general-improvement expenditure or estimates from partial evidence of this. Such calculations have been made here, extracting the evidence from general detailed accounts of improvements and relating these results to gross rental receipts and where possible to acreages.

In the 1811-24 period it is possible to calculate the average expenditure per annum under the general heading of 'Inclosures' for the Wentworth estates.

The improvement figures in Table 10.2 include legal expenses, commissioners fees and some expenditure on roads, fencing and the like, associated with the inclosures themselves, but they give no indication of the normal maintenance expenditures by the landlord on other areas or purposes on the estate. They represent an average outlay over the period of 8.7% per annum of (mean) gross rental receipts, or about 2/- per acre per annum for the

Table 10.2 - Wentworth Woodhouse Estate. Inclosure Expenses Accounts

1811-24<sup>25</sup>

	<u>Rents (£)</u>	<u>Improvements (£)</u>
1811	17,896 (excluding coal etc) on miscellaneous receipts	1,588
1812	17,637	1,000c
1813	18,610	
1814	18,902	816
1815	19,349	3,845
1816	20,610	635
1817	19,718	2,931
1818	19,852	1,542
1819	22,165	1,277
1820	22,861	630
1821	24,190	600
1822	-	289
1823	25,286	39
1824	25,374	-

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25 SCL WWM A314-346

Detailed accounts of "Improvements".

estate as a whole (over 14,000 acres).<sup>26</sup>

On this estate the latter figure has little significance as acreage included 2,000 acres of parkland and urban property. The total expenditure both on Inclosure and other improvements were not less than 20% of gross rental receipts. Even on mixed rural and urban estate it could well have exceeded that percentage.

The figures pose a further problem in the use of a mean for gross receipts and expenditures in a period when both fluctuated. In 1815 inclosure expenditure reached 20% of gross rental receipts and in a second peak year, 1817, it reached 16%. An average reflects the long term burden taken on by the landlord and allows for overlap of entries in the accounts.<sup>27</sup> In or near the peak years either ordinary maintenance was skimped, other liquidity reducing activities were eschewed, money was pumped in from non-agrarian receipts, or considerable borrowing was necessary. In the case of land purchases, there was a lull after 1815, with a revival of land buying as inclosure diminished in the 1820s, by which time land prices had fallen and stabilized.<sup>28</sup> The other distortion through the use of figures from high rent years when the inclosure burden was fading away also limits the importance of the 8.7% figure, but establishes it as a minimum, adding to the argument that for a short period, between 1810 and 1818, a high proportion of land rental receipts were being ploughed back in investment and maintenance, agriculture in effect being subsidised from rapid increases in receipts, especially from coal.

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26 Inclosure taking place in Wath, Darrington, Wentworth and Thorpe, Brodsworth, Brampton, Swinton, Badsworth, Bradfield, Edlington, Barn Borough. Much new inclosure from waste in some parishes, especially Bradfield, where the Duke of Norfolk held 7,000 acres (see Chapter 8).

27 WWM A377-406 Outlays upon Farm Buildings, Fencing, River Banking, Inclosure, reclaiming spoil areas and, separately, drainage.

28 Norton-Trist & Gilbert "A Century of Land Values" JRSS LIV (1891) In E M Carus Wilson (Ed) Essays in Economic History Vol III (1962) p130, Mean Price 1810-20 £37 per acre 1821-6 £33 per acre.



Similarly examination of the Fitzwilliam estate accounts in the 1840s reveals a distinct pattern of relationships between outgoings on 'drainage', total outgoings on 'improvements', which by then appear to coincide fairly well with new investment, and a third category, 'maintenance'. (see pp479-481). Drainage was absorbing about 6-7% of gross estate receipts on average 1840-48 (with colliery receipts excluded from gross rent). Total outlay can now be identified as about 20% of gross rental receipts. This may appear low to the agrarian historian, but when one considers the large urban or semi-urban element intermingled with the farming or smallholding properties this should be considered a high proportion.<sup>29</sup> Most of the outlays are clearly earmarked as relating to agrarian as opposed to 'urban' improvement, where more of the burden of maintenance was habitually left to tenants except in exceptional times or with exceptional tenants.<sup>30</sup>

On the Norfolk estates in South Yorkshire the picture emerging over the same period is similar. General outgoings in the 1780s were lower than subsequently relative to money income. On a rental (gross) of £14,600c inclosure and attendant expenses absorbed about 8% of rental receipts in 1786, this including legal expenses. It was not an exceptional amount, with interest in mortgages already taking more. Total outgoings, including taxes, were almost 20% at that stage.<sup>31</sup> Total outgoings, allowing for omissions were £3,000 in 1786 on an estate where relatively little was absorbed by the keeping of a large house or park directly from the

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29 SCL WWM A377-A406 as above.

30 For one such exceptional tenant, see A Eaglestone and T A Lockett The Rockingham Pottery. Published by Rotherham Municipal Libraries and Museum Committee (1964). On the Bramelds pottery works at Swinton. Note that the figures for the rental receipts exclude coal, which by this time was equivalent to half of farm rents (see figures in Appendix 1c).

31 SCL Arundel MSS S1787 Vincent Eyre's Accounts. Inclosures £40. £838. £108. £285. £2. - New Market £564, Taxes £85, Petty £42, Woodward £394, Rental Receipts £14,617 (Sheffield) Figures exclude Coal Receipts.

rental receipts. This level of outgoings was lower (in this area) as a proportion of (gross) rental receipts than it was to become later despite the spectacular climb of money rents.<sup>32</sup> Evidence from the 1850s for the Norfolk estates shows a situation where about 5% of gross rental receipts were being absorbed in drainage expenditure in the Sheffield area (1854-60). Despite the sales of 1802-15, which disposed of predominantly urban land, the Norfolk holdings remained substantially more urban in character than the Wentworth Woodhouse, Leeds, Wortley, Sandbeck or Vernon Wentworth estates. As far as rent and improvement in output were concerned the acquisition of large acreages of semi-waste in Bradfield after the Enclosure Act of 1811 should be discounted as it had little economic value. Drainage began late on the Norfolk South Yorkshire estates, and the Earl of Wharnccliffe's example was followed. It was observed that the gains to the landlord were not immediate, and it is likely that the full benefits came slowly to the owner if they ever materialized before the price fell.<sup>33</sup>

"It will be perceived that by the above terms he forgoes all present direct advantage to himself from draining." 34

By 1860-1 the cost of maintenance and administration upon the Norfolk Sheffield estates, woods, tithes, taxes and general maintenance, was about £2,000 per annum, this excluding drainage and including many elements not included in the 1850s figures.<sup>35</sup> Drainage expenditure in the 1850s doubled

32 See Rentals.

33 A D M Phillips "The Development of Underdraining on a Yorkshire estate during the Nineteenth Century." YAJ Vol 44 1972 pp195-206.

34 SCL Arundel MSS S317 Rather more than 20% of farm rental. "Terms and conditions upon which drainage is executed upon Lord Wharnccliffe's Wortley Estate." See Appendix 3a.

35 SCL Arundel MSS See Ch 8 Norfolk Drainage Expenditure 1854-60 £7,688. £1,300 overall pa from farm rental of approx £27,000 (parishes of Sheffield, Brightside Bierlow, Handsworth, Catcliffe, Treeton, Ecclesfield).

SCL Arundel Muniments 1860 Volume. Accounts of M Ellison.  
S190

annual expenditures inclusive of maintenance in agriculture even on the dubious assumption that no other work of a capital nature was undertaken. The total cost of maintenance and new capital projects inclusive of drainage then exceeded £4,000 per annum on average, and may well have exceeded £5,000 per annum between 1854 and 1863.

Evidence from the smaller Wharnccliffe estates in South Yorkshire fits this overall picture. In the 1790s outlays upon both maintenance and investment were probably in excess of £1,000 per annum, this representing about 20% of gross rental receipts excluding (large) coal receipts from them.<sup>36</sup> By the 1860s the picture for agricultural land is not very different, though non-agrarian income was enormous by that time. About £2,000 per annum was expended on maintenance plus new capital investment, including drainage and excluding salaries. On a South Yorkshire land rental of £10,000 it again gives the overall impression of about 20% of land receipts being used for maintenance and new investment, with drainage taking about 30% of this outlay each year at that time.<sup>37</sup> On the Wharnccliffe estate, unlike that of the Norfolk estate but similar to the Wentworth Woodhouse estate, there was a house and park to maintain out of this outlay, which changes the implications of the figures per acre. The progress of drainage expenditures showing the concentration of such investment on particular parts of the estates under examination is dealt with elsewhere.<sup>38</sup> For the present it is sufficient to note that an overall figure relating gross expenditure on maintenance plus new investment to gross receipts is of limited explanatory value.

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- 36 SCL Wh/M S/33, 34, 35 Outlay upon buildings repairs etc. Salary of agent (Charles Bowns 1797 £603) - this and other outlays make the estimate of 20% a minimum figure.
- 37 SCL Wh/M S/36 1863. Rents received, arrears, minerals, woods and miscellaneous receipts.
- 38 See Chapter 8 pp480-483

The overall impression emerging from these examples of landlord investment and maintenance in agriculture in the early and mid-nineteenth century is that about 20% of gross rental receipts from land rents might have been the usual figure overall in South Yorkshire after 1800, with a likelihood of the proportion being higher in the periods of heavy inclosure activity and at the peak of the drainage schemes in the 1850s. Then other outlays might well have been affected by the extent of commitment. The proportion of gross receipts used for new investment and maintenance would appear statistically low as a result of the inflation in earning power of the non-agrarian parts of the estates, where the contribution of the landlord to maintenance and new investment was usually relatively smaller; Appendix 5a. This rise in value was to a degree independent of landlords' efforts, boosting the aggregate receipts of the estates much more than would be expected from the extent of landlord investment. The agrarian sectors of these estates received varying capital investment. On the Wentworth Woodhouse estate landowner's expenditure on maintenance and new capital investment appears relatively high in proportion to truly agrarian receipts after 1780. <sup>39</sup> Surveyor's evidence of 1861 suggests that the Norfolk estate agriculture received little landowner encouragement or capital, and that this led to unsatisfactory farming on many estate properties by 1861, and there were similar complaints elsewhere, at Sandbeck and on the Leeds and Vernon-Wentworth properties.

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39 Note that coal receipts are usually excluded from Gross Rental Receipts as the Accounts available make this possible. Other non-agrarian receipts may well be included as much activity in this area continued to be a mixture of craftwork and agriculture on small farms. However, on the Fitzwilliam Estates study of coal enterprises run direct by the estate indicate considerable expenditures on capital investment which can be regarded as offsetting this argument for unearned increments of income from rent. See J T Ward, "The Earls Fitzwilliam and the Wentworth Woodhouse Estate," YBE SR Vol 12, March 1960, pp21-25.

Studies in the history of regional economic development have often used evidence from estate records and the importance of landed estates has been stressed in studies of agrarian change, urban development and transportation. Nevertheless the importance to economic development of the immense financial social and political power of the great estate owners has only occasionally been studied in detail, though the need for their co-operation in many aspects of industrialization is usually recognized.

A balanced view of their role has been obscured by conscious or unconscious interest in the 'emergent capitalist' and by an overready willingness to accept contemporary radical criticisms of the aristocratic order. It is evident that individual owners of great estates in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did more than merely co-operate in the industrialization process. Instead they took an active though changing role. Symptomatic of this was the fact that many landowners modified their views of what was respectable and acceptable within their social order as much according to changes in values external to that order as by norms fixed within the elite. The result was that within the aristocracy the norms influencing economic behaviour and management participation changed, in part as a result of external criteria of gentility being applied within the aristocracy and in part through the direct impact of developments in communications. These weakened the local power of the landowner in every respect after the middle of the nineteenth century in a manner which had already occurred in industrial areas of dense population.<sup>40</sup>

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40 D Cannadine

Lords and Landlords: the aristocracy and the towns 1774-1967 Leicester (1980) p416.

Given the importance of that land as a form of wealth and the basis of influence, the usual separation of the study of localized economic development from the context of the landed estates within which it frequently occurred is regrettable and is remedied here for South Yorkshire. The assumption of the pre-eminent importance of the industrial entrepreneur once relegated the landowners to the background in the early stages of rapid industrialisation. This relegation may have had byproducts including the past tendency for political historians to overstate the impact of Parliamentary Reform before 1867.<sup>41</sup>

Between 1700 and 1850 large landowners in South Yorkshire encouraged a multitude of economic activities, ranging from agriculture through local transport developments to urban development of housing, markets and attendant facilities to coal and ironstone mines, ironworks, pottery and other industrial activities. The Rockingham-Fitzwilliam estates went through a phase of deep involvement with industry, while the Duke's of Norfolk committed large sums to urban development and coal mining. Neither estate was managed in a passive way which would have restricted the economic role of the landowner solely to that of the receiver of 'pure' rent. Yet on both estates the landowners were forced to act because they could not be neutral when new development was proposed - they could either acquiesce or damn the schemes.

A further factor reinforced their relatively optimistic view of industrialization. If some estate enterprises were unsuccessful and risk led to entrepreneurial losses, unlike the landless capitalist dependent upon

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41 A Brundage

"The Landed Interest and the New Poor Law. A Re-Appraisal of the Revolution in Government."  
Eng H R LXXXVII 1972 pp27-48

stock in trade the great landlord had his rent, wealth and borrowing power. Generally industrialization and population pressure pushed up rents to such a degree in this area that an element of 'pure rent' more than insured the landlord against loss. In this Ricardo is upheld, except that his theoretical exposition did not go far enough and neglected the growing value of urban industrializing land and town influenced demand for small holdings. The landowners of South Yorkshire prospered both as investors and as rent receivers. Apart from the direct increases in land values through changes in use, agrarian returns benefited from proximity to new transport undertakings and the large demands created by industrial villages and towns.

The great landlords' annual incomes rose more quickly here than was likely in the most productive and well organised agrarian areas. The rise came from profit and interest upon capital invested and from a basic increase in the value of land unrelated to such investments. The growth in value of the South Yorkshire estates eventually persuaded some of the landowners to re-invest, though the types of re-investment differed between the biggest estates, as did the quantitative relationship between receipts from the area and investment in it. On large estates there were transfers of resources from South Yorkshire, the most urbanized and industrialized sectors of the estates, to other areas and other uses. In the case of the Norfolk estates, South Yorkshire property was sold to pay debts and to invest in more land and land improvement elsewhere, to rebuild houses and to embark on other parts of the estates. In the Fitzwilliam case transfers occurred into land improvement and industrial investment at first on the estate and later through companies. So buoyant were long term prospects between 1770 and 1860 that with the exception of unusually depressed periods

(especially 1817-22 and 1837-50) such transfers had little effect upon the rental or earning power of South Yorkshire property. At the same time other owners behaved differently. There is evidence of periods of neglect on the extensive Kiveton estate of the Duke of Leeds in the 1830s, and farm land on the Norfolk estate was not always well managed and administered in the nineteenth century.

The eventual weakening of the aristocratic position has prevented historians recognizing that those landowners who were well placed became economically relatively better off and more powerful politically and socially before they found their position weakened by the tripartite attack of plutocracy, municipal corporative bodies and the state in the late nineteenth century. The Dukes of Norfolk and Earls Fitzwilliam remained among the wealthiest fifteen aristocratic families in Britain in the early nineteenth century in part because of their unusual resources, and a decline in relative wealth would inevitably have effected their influence socially and politically, as happened to the Dukes of Leeds. It is hard to see how many of their family problems could have been solved without exceptional wealth, while the administrative changes necessary to survive and maintain their position were sufficiently slow to create problems even for these estate owners with their great advantages.

The spirit in which administration was undertaken in itself played a part in perpetuating traditional interests and was slow to change. The traditional social exclusiveness of the estate was little weakened in the early stages of industrialization, when these estates benefited from wood, coal, ironstone and urban receipts. As industrialisation proceeded, cultural and social vestiges of patronage, paternalism and deference weakened



further, but rising economic power compensated the landlord for this for long afterwards. The estate net of economic power and social and political influence began to break before 1850. It did not only through the counter influences already mentioned but, more importantly, because of an abdication and diversification of economic interests on the part of the landowners. Such an abdication may have come earlier in many districts, as in Sheffield itself, as argued by H Perkin. There can be little doubt of the continued responsibility and respect for paternalistic forms and practices of the Earls Fitzwilliam on their South Yorkshire and other estates. There are many reasons for this, and these owners may have been exceptional, but one factor above all seems likely in allowing the Earls Fitzwilliam to retain the paraphernalia, vestiges and the reality of power of the eighteenth century aristocracy until a late date - they could afford the economic inefficiencies which paternalist social control required, abhorring the extremes of the Manchester School as they abhorred religious cant and fanaticism. Serious doubts as to the viability of current investments and consumption levels, were usually produced by hardtimes and temporarily weakened rentals, as in the late 1840s. Then the fifth earl was temporarily anxious about financial problems but confidence recovered with prosperity, though administrative reform was in the wind by the 1850s. If any decline in paternalist practice and ideology had occurred on the Fitzwilliam estates before 1850, it was of an almost imperceptible kind.

If aristocratic living was to be maintained it required a sufficient annual outlay. They lived sumptuously, but the Dukes of Norfolk were quicker to retreat from this region and maintained fewer large establishments by the mid-nineteenth century, compensating by lavish spending else-

where. Signs of such thinking are rare on the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam estates before 1850, a situation which seems to reinforce the view that they were slower to accept parsimony as an aid towards the ideal of economic maximisation than the Dukes of Norfolk. This is an illusion. In fact the 12th and 13th Dukes of Norfolk were notably extravagant, but spent most of their incomes elsewhere. Anyway both were barely making an attempt at economy by 1850.

The great South Yorkshire estates supply little evidence of the view that 'aristocrats rationally maximized their incomes'. They were prevented from doing so by the impediments and commitments of strict settlement, and by the values which strict settlement perpetuated, the need to preserve and enhance the aristocratic estate in the name of the family, the need to retain the loyalty of the estate's dependents and others within its many faceted influence, the need for estate administrators to bear such factors in mind and to always act in a manner fitting for servants of England's greatest magnates.<sup>42</sup> This in turn involved a gamut of responsibilities and liabilities which few capitalists dared face even at their most generous. A more relevant question than (to ask) "why aristocrats did not maximise their incomes," might be to enquire into the degree to which they were able to balance the need for income on the one hand and the problems of prestige maximization on the other. One cannot but conclude that for much of this period the latter retained a preponderant importance, while the former aim served only as handmaiden to that goal.

Few of the new commercial or industrial rich could challenge the aristocrat's wealth and position before 1850 on an individual basis. In some ways industrialization and the growth of commerce gradually separated

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42 B English & J Saville Strict Settlement. A Guide for Historians.  
(1983)

urban industrial landlords' interests from those of purely agrarian landowners.<sup>43</sup> It also weakened their hold over their tenants and the growth of non-agrarian enterprise introduced specialized administration or gave more power to leasing entrepreneurs. As a result the landowners lost the direct hold which had been the basis for active intervention in earlier periods and passed the decisions to expert subordinates or others. An active landlord like the fifth Earl Fitzwilliam kept a finger in his affairs but had to hand over much work to professionals. To a degree he compensated by giving much responsibility to his heir (in Ireland) and by involvement in companies and House of Lords specialist committees, though some of these were more vexatious than profitable to him. The co-ordination of policy remained personal as did balance sheets until his death in 1857. Thereafter there was a change both in landlord and in administrative staff, and a tendency despite high returns overall to retreat from too broad a spread of investments, while counter-pressures upon paternalism strengthened, and justifications for its continuation in estate management weakened even before the problems of the price-fall after 1873.

Neither administrative specialisation nor high returns upon investments in coal or urban and industrial land could prevent symptoms of fundamental administrative weakness appearing before 1870. Professional aid meant greater dependence upon employees and more leisure and expense. As the range of activities undertaken continued to widen to 1850 on these South Yorkshire estates increased vigilance and less conspicuous consumption were desirable if the owner was to maintain his position relative to the new rich. Neither was usual before 1850. The result was debt and in

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43 D Rubinstein

"New Men of Wealth and the Purchase of Land in Nineteenth Century England" P&P Vol 92 August 1981 pp125-147.

some cases a general weakening of the landlord's grasp over affairs.

When this followed the long period of low land prices and relatively low returns between 1815 and 1840 there was a tendency to sell land if suitable buyers and an improved market situation arose.

"... The true policy is always to incumber what you mean to keep and to keep free the estates with which to deal."<sup>44</sup>

Sales occurred from the Fitzwilliam estates in the 1850s, on the Arundel estates in 1839 and 1843 and elsewhere. This was more than a response to short-run cyclical conditions. It marked a partial retreat by landlords from the all-embracing role which estates had earlier undertaken in regional affairs. In the long run this necessitated central state and municipal interventions in which they could exercise influence without financial risk. Yet it was not the end of land owner investment in urban development or coal mines, which occurred between 1850 and 1880 on both the largest estates.

The vacuum which the abdication of the estates left in many areas is merely a final negative validation of this attempt to re-examine their great importance in the English industrialisation. As economic institutions, as sources of investment, as a fundamental part of the local administrative structure and as local symbols of the great importance of their owners in a society involved in the rapid changes of the nineteenth century, their development did much to create a new society which could only grow out of their demise. At the same time they doubted the outcome.

"... our mercantile morality is at a very low ebb - from which class and speculative attornies most of our managing directors are recruited."<sup>45</sup>

All this occurred in the long run. Mid-Victorian England provided great opportunities for estate owners - high returns allowed a narrowing

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44 SCL WWM T2 Earl Fitzwilliam - Lord Milton, 8 August 1855.

45 SCL WWM G52 Earl Fitzwilliam - Lord Milton, 4 July 1857.

down of investment risks to be accompanied by high levels of consumption without discomfort. Old burdens of debt were liquidated and on these estates investment in agriculture was possible with only occasional strain upon available resources. It is possible to regard the period 1850-73 as a peak of the relative prosperity of the magnates, a peak which allowed continued accumulations of wealth even as political pressures began to emerge which would eventually shake their easy and informal domination within society.

(Bright Property, Mary Bright Jointure 1752 No 3-9)

£	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Without Collieries	Ecclesall	Sheffield	Westwell	Badsworth	Ackworth	Himsworth	Billingley
£		£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1714			294	189	..		199	332	
5			295	"	..			552	
6			296	"	..	553		"	
7			302	191	..		206	325	
8			"	..	114	542	"	327	
9			"	..	..	389	188	345	
1720			"	..	..	380	190	..	
1			"	..	..	426			
2			"	..	..				
3	4448		"	..	..				
4			306	..	..	500			
5			345	..	..				
6			344	210	..				
7			348	..	..	534			
8			337	..	..				
9			"	..	..				
1730			327	..	..				
1			"	..	144	527			
2			"	..	..	529			
3			329	..	..	538			
4			"	..	..				
5	3353		"	..	..				
6	3328		"	..	..				
7	3337		"	..	..				
8	3348		330	..	..				
9	3555	Revision	335	213	..	698	196	194	266

£	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Without Collieries	Ecclesall	Sheffield	Westwell	Badsworth	Ackworth	Himsworth	Billingley
1740	3561	(Farm rents and free- holders' tithe)	"	..	..		196	"	..
1	3577		"	..	..		..	..	..
2	3596		330	218	..		195	..	..
3	3551		330	..	..				
4	3502		330	..	..				
5	3570		331	..	..				
6			"	..	..				
7	3526		"	..	..				
8	3678		319	..	..				
9	3790		335	..	..				
1750	3876		336	..	..				
1	5374		"	..	..	763	177	282	326
2	5383		335	Timber 218	..	763	177	282	326
3	5408		"	Sales	145	..			
4	5445		336	£	..	..			
5	5425		337	..	..	764			
6	5439	462**	"	660	..	..			
7	5608		340	350	..	..			
8	6091		..	300	..	..			
9	6010		340	500	..	..			
1760	6353		..	..	..	..			
1	6392		..	..	..	..			
2			..	300	..	..			
3	6414		..	290	..	..			
4	6465		..	250	..	..			
5	6081		359	..	..	..			
6			..	..	..	..			
7			..	..	223	..			
8	6096		..	480	..	..			
9	6145		363	530	..	..			

\*\* Coal rents only. 1756 WMM A229.

£		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
			<u>Without Collieries</u>	<u>Ecclesall</u>	<u>Sheffield</u>	<u>Westwell</u>	<u>Badsworth</u>	<u>Ackworth</u>	<u>Himsworth</u>	<u>Billingley</u>
			(Farm rents and free holders' tithe)	<u>Timber Sales</u>						
1770	6173									
1	6407			260	..					
2	6827	0 0 Survey and revision		680	..					
3	7131		6700	273						
4			6835							
5			7338	454	299	210	1188		439	541
6			7727							
7			8257							
8			8784							
9			8820							
1780	10526		8950	455	301	217	1137		689	543
1	10593		9539						..	..
2	10778	Coal Receipt							..	..
3										
4	11143		9264							..
5	11138	1834	9318	512	301	220	1132		..	..
6	11135	1661*	9444		1159				..	..
7	11153	1620	9180		1203				..	..
8	11193	2364	9581		1152				..	..
9	11142	1819	9557	531	327	242	1211		..	..
1790	11124	2113								
1	11172	2023								
2	11141	1936								
3	11172	1937								
4	11246	1642								
5	11303	2384								

1736 \* Colliery rents due £2,925 (Colliery Arrears £4,330) A275.

£		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
			<u>Without Collieries</u>	<u>Ecclesall</u>	<u>Sheffield</u>	<u>Westwell</u>	<u>Badsworth</u>	<u>Ackworth</u>	<u>Himsworth</u>	<u>Billingley</u>
		<u>Coal Receipt</u>								
1796	12655	3540								
7	13472	2470								
8	13883	3762								
9	13186	4673								
1800	12640	9051								
1	16967	7429								
2	17224	8179								
3	16913	8999								
4	16937	8603								
5	16585	11138								
6	16368	9274								
7	16632									
8	16696									
9										
1810	16696			5121	New Survey. 0					
1	17896			7580						
2	17637			8200						
3	18610			8207						
4	18902			8257						
5	19349	12112		8305						
6	20612	14382		8303						
7	19718	8660		8408						
8	19852	10145		8400						
9	22165	13501		8808						
1820	22861	14801		8840						
1	24190	8714		8840						
2			25286							
3			13680							
4			15585							
5			13252							
6			15145							
7			12111							
8			16839							
9			26625							
			28741							

	1	2			
	<u>Coal</u>	<u>Without</u>			
	<u>Receipt</u>	<u>Collieries</u>			
	£	£	£	£	£
1830		28864			
1		29006			
2		29048			
3		29282			
4		29170			
5		26623	Wentworth Woodhouse		
6		28395			
7		29420	Timber Receipts		
8		29523			
9	42366	30886	<u>Profit</u>	<u>Receipts</u>	<u>Outpayments</u>
1840	43539	30962	3218	4871	1659
1	43489	31468	2520	3970	1450
2	44725	32536	2263	3825	1562
3	43600	31084	2107	3920	1813
4	45996	34537	2179	3780	1602
5	46525	35909	2526	3986	1459
6	48941	35116	6900	8564	1663
7	48883	34960	3979	5559	1580
8	49077	35294	3621	5371	1749
9	47418	35363	2225	3672	1447
1850	44357	33249	2966	4629	1663
1852	40907	1			
1853	45272	1			
1871		*135168			

NOTES

- A) <sup>Ø</sup> Rental Revision.  
<sup>Ø</sup> Change of accounting procedure not allowed for in estimates.  
<sup>Ø</sup> Survey.
- B) From 1780 all colliery income excluded from rentals. Included in general in earlier calculations but less important then.
- C) Source, Wentworth Woodhouse Miniments. WMM. A255-406.
- \* Elsecar sales above .188 and 192,000 tons. (Not colliery rents from other mines). (Gross receipt)
- ‡ SCL WMM A1613. Survey and valuation, 4 July 1871 for 18,938 acres in South Yorkshire.

RENTALS

1a (WENTWORTH) FITZWILLIAM

The figure for 1723 is the sum of the amounts collected by the agents Wharam and Charlton.

The 1739-50 figures are for the Wharam collection and thus underestimate the real rental income, which must have remained of the order of 4500-5300 pounds per annum throughout this period.

1751-73. Consolidated figures which only exclude the Bright land. (Separate figures given).

1773-89. Farm rent without colliery income (includes freeholders tythe).

1780-1821. Gross income without exclusion of coal.

1821-50. Farm rents, now including the Bright land.



Rents

	1735 f (pa)	173F	1739	1744
Tinsley	574	480	482	494
Tankersley	606	414	418	441
Math	993	873	998	1037
Greasbrough	693	612	640	577
Wentworth	894	406*(4767)	427*(817)	748
Tinsley Tithe	6	5	10	8
Arrears	463			
Due	3766			

Barnbro & Harlington	23	23	23
Settlebeck & Lytle Houghton	65	65	63
Birchworth, Hallifield Bolsterstone	102	102	104
	3348	3554	3504

An Account of Several Estates Not Valued in the Foregoing Rentals	pa
House gardens, park and demesnes at Wentworth Woodhouse	400
House and park at Tankersley	200
House and gardens at Malton	20
House gardens and Park Great Harrowden	300
Irthlingbarrow (late with R's Mother with above house)	36
About 45 acres spring woods may be taken down each year one with other	500
House at Carrhouse	14
About 60 acres may be taken down in the coppices of Ireland each year	500
Timber in England and Ireland worth at least £25000, 1727 not valued	1970
Wharam's Collection about Yorkshire	2928
Malton Collection	2020
Charlton's Collection, Swinton etc (some selling)	1520
Nichol's Northants	1550
Pashley's (pt sold 1738)	1500
Hickson's	4146
Ortor's	2300
Tidmington (sold 1734)	400
Overall (per annum)	£16334

1st Marquis Rentals - 1735

AT260	1st Marquis Rentals - 1735	f	s	d
Tinsley	£ yr Rent	239	5	4½
	Christmas	241	9	8
		480	15	0½
Tankersley		256	17	8
		259	-	10
		515	18	6
Math		416	9	5½
		716	19	5½
		833	4	1½
Greasbro		280	7	5
		305	17	5
		586	3	10
Wentworth		424	14	6½
		412	4	4
		836	18	10½
		3253	1	1½

+ Tinsley Tithes £13

Rental total of above 1735 (need Malton 1735 to be comparable + Charlton Collector)

Note 1748 Since this several estates have been bought in Yorkshire, some houses in Higham and in this year 1748 Edlington Wood in Yorkshire called 350 acres. Selling in Northants etc small parcels of land ie. Tidmington Northants Mr Marder and Mr Eelcher; Woolaston and Dodington etc. Other larger parts sold 1726-32 to Earl of Westmoreland

Advances in rental valuation 1739

"Advanced more by yearly allowances and taxes which during the last leases were a charge on the rents, but now liquidated or born by the tenants. £14.18.10".

"Advanced more by land taken in hand for paddocks or to be enclosed for spring woods. Wentworth, Hoyland Tankersley (£ 10/- acre) 33 a.l.r.38p. £16.15.0. The value of the improvements computed at thirty years purchase amounts to £8010."

\*1735 figure includes Scholes and Thorpe and Hoyland, 2nd Wentworth alone. (Bracketed figure includes Scholes and Thorpe.)

Sales		Buying		Date	
		Math £366pa at 30yr Purchase	Carrhouse		11000
		1729 - Bought with 2/3 of Tithe	Greasbro with Tithes	1729	39000
			Freeholds - Wentworth Thorpe, Scholes, Mr Kerte		3150
			Malton + Navigation		3250
			Edlington wood	1746	2200
			At or about Higham	1733	3000
			House at Grosvenor Sq		5500
			Limited right or some of Duke of Norfolk's Advowsons		500
					£54100
					-----
			Galway Hoyland Estate	1750	7500
					£61600
					-----

1st Marquis A1276 - Leases

	Commencement	No of Years	Acres			Rent per Acre	
			A	r	p	£	s
<b>Bolsterstone</b>							
I Chadderton	1730	21	8			11	3
Hodgkinson Mrs	1747	21	12	2	.18	10	9
Smith Joseph	1747	21	28	3	0	14	3½
+ also Rent Fowls, Lab Boon etc.							
<b>Broughton</b>							
17 Farmers	except 2 1747	21	32-182			6/8 - 9/8	
11 over 80 acres	1745	2				(unusually large farms)	
+ 2 others at different date							
inc Colliery "This put to the Colliery"							
+ also rent fowls, Boon Lab etc.							
<b>Greasborough</b>							
6 farms	1738	all 21	50 acre +			7/11 - 18/11½	
1 "	1740		2.60 acre +			(smallholding)	
1 "	1745		1.70 acre +			of 11 acres	
1 "	1746		1.90 acre			Most 10 or 11/	
1 "	1733					1.100	
						1.120	
						1.140	
						1.160	
+ also rent fowl, boon work							
<b>Hoyland</b>							
8	1738	all 21				1.100	
2	1747					1.90	8/- - 9/-
						1.70	
						1.50	
						2.40	
						1.25	
						1.17	
						1.10	
<b>Hooton</b>							
1	1744	all 21	55			7/3	
1	1747		104			8/11	
1	1746		119			8/-	
<b>Rough Birchworth</b>							
Eliz Pearson	1740	21	94			6/6	

Scholes & Thorpe	1738	all 21	1.103	8/1 - 11/6
	1747		1.70	(11/6)
			2.20	
			1.31	17/-
			2 - less than 13/11	5
<b>Tankersley</b>				
5 men	1739	20	1.150	7/- - 11/-
3 "	1738	20 & 21	1.75	(most under 9/-)
1 man	1746	21	1.67	
1 man	1751	21	4.50+	
			1.32	
			1.29	
<b>Tinsley</b>				
18 men	1738	all 21	1.150+	
1 man	1746		3.100+	Most 11/- - 13/- one 7/5½ (103 acres)
			3.90	
			1.68	
			1.40+	
			others 20 or less	
			2 acres	14/11 etc
<b>Wath</b>				
8 men	1738	all 21	1.70+	about 9/- (close)
			3.60 approx	
			1.47	
			2.30 "	
			1.18	
<b>Wentworth</b>				
11 men	1738	all 21	1.95	7/10 - 11/9
1 man	1742		1.74	(mostly small areas large rents per acre)
			2.56	
			1.49	
			1.32	
			2.28 approx	
			2.12 "	11/9 & 10/5 (Highest)

Rent Fowl and Boon Labour valuation on top of rent in final sums.

- (a) Small holdings pay much more per acre. Depends what happens on them.
- (b) Commence either Martinmas or Candlemas.

**Collieries**

Fearney W & Chadderton	1740	21	£10 rent - (Tinsley)
Jackson John	1738	21	£31 (see Brampton)

Account No.	Dr.	Cr.	Balance	Dr.	Cr.	Balance	Dr.	Cr.	Balance	Dr.	Cr.	Balance
301	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
302	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
303	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
304	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
305	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
306	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
307	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
308	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
309	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
310	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
311	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
312	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
313	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
314	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
315	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
316	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
317	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
318	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
319	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
320	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
321	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
322	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
323	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
324	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
325	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
326	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
327	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
328	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
329	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
330	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
331	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
332	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
333	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
334	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
335	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
336	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
337	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
338	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
339	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
340	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
341	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
342	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
343	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
344	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
345	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
346	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
347	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
348	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
349	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000
350	1000		1000			1000			1000			1000

# BIRD RECORD

Year	Month	Day	Time	Location	Species	Count	Notes
1908	10	10	10:00	Field	Starling	10	
1908	10	11	10:30	Field	Starling	15	
1908	10	12	11:00	Field	Starling	20	
1908	10	13	11:30	Field	Starling	25	
1908	10	14	12:00	Field	Starling	30	
1908	10	15	12:30	Field	Starling	35	
1908	10	16	13:00	Field	Starling	40	
1908	10	17	13:30	Field	Starling	45	
1908	10	18	14:00	Field	Starling	50	
1908	10	19	14:30	Field	Starling	55	
1908	10	20	15:00	Field	Starling	60	
1908	10	21	15:30	Field	Starling	65	
1908	10	22	16:00	Field	Starling	70	
1908	10	23	16:30	Field	Starling	75	
1908	10	24	17:00	Field	Starling	80	
1908	10	25	17:30	Field	Starling	85	
1908	10	26	18:00	Field	Starling	90	
1908	10	27	18:30	Field	Starling	95	
1908	10	28	19:00	Field	Starling	100	
1908	10	29	19:30	Field	Starling	105	
1908	10	30	20:00	Field	Starling	110	
1908	10	31	20:30	Field	Starling	115	
1908	11	1	21:00	Field	Starling	120	
1908	11	2	21:30	Field	Starling	125	
1908	11	3	22:00	Field	Starling	130	
1908	11	4	22:30	Field	Starling	135	
1908	11	5	23:00	Field	Starling	140	
1908	11	6	23:30	Field	Starling	145	
1908	11	7	24:00	Field	Starling	150	
1908	11	8	24:30	Field	Starling	155	
1908	11	9	25:00	Field	Starling	160	
1908	11	10	25:30	Field	Starling	165	
1908	11	11	26:00	Field	Starling	170	
1908	11	12	26:30	Field	Starling	175	
1908	11	13	27:00	Field	Starling	180	
1908	11	14	27:30	Field	Starling	185	
1908	11	15	28:00	Field	Starling	190	
1908	11	16	28:30	Field	Starling	195	
1908	11	17	29:00	Field	Starling	200	
1908	11	18	29:30	Field	Starling	205	
1908	11	19	30:00	Field	Starling	210	
1908	11	20	30:30	Field	Starling	215	
1908	11	21	31:00	Field	Starling	220	
1908	11	22	31:30	Field	Starling	225	
1908	11	23	32:00	Field	Starling	230	
1908	11	24	32:30	Field	Starling	235	
1908	11	25	33:00	Field	Starling	240	
1908	11	26	33:30	Field	Starling	245	
1908	11	27	34:00	Field	Starling	250	
1908	11	28	34:30	Field	Starling	255	
1908	11	29	35:00	Field	Starling	260	
1908	11	30	35:30	Field	Starling	265	
1908	12	1	36:00	Field	Starling	270	
1908	12	2	36:30	Field	Starling	275	
1908	12	3	37:00	Field	Starling	280	
1908	12	4	37:30	Field	Starling	285	
1908	12	5	38:00	Field	Starling	290	
1908	12	6	38:30	Field	Starling	295	
1908	12	7	39:00	Field	Starling	300	
1908	12	8	39:30	Field	Starling	305	
1908	12	9	40:00	Field	Starling	310	
1908	12	10	40:30	Field	Starling	315	
1908	12	11	41:00	Field	Starling	320	
1908	12	12	41:30	Field	Starling	325	
1908	12	13	42:00	Field	Starling	330	
1908	12	14	42:30	Field	Starling	335	
1908	12	15	43:00	Field	Starling	340	
1908	12	16	43:30	Field	Starling	345	
1908	12	17	44:00	Field	Starling	350	
1908	12	18	44:30	Field	Starling	355	
1908	12	19	45:00	Field	Starling	360	
1908	12	20	45:30	Field	Starling	365	
1908	12	21	46:00	Field	Starling	370	
1908	12	22	46:30	Field	Starling	375	
1908	12	23	47:00	Field	Starling	380	
1908	12	24	47:30	Field	Starling	385	
1908	12	25	48:00	Field	Starling	390	
1908	12	26	48:30	Field	Starling	395	
1908	12	27	49:00	Field	Starling	400	
1908	12	28	49:30	Field	Starling	405	
1908	12	29	50:00	Field	Starling	410	
1908	12	30	50:30	Field	Starling	415	
1908	12	31	51:00	Field	Starling	420	

Order	Housekeeping	Boarding money	Services	Tenants	Amending	Articles	Repairs	Stables	Provision	Other Deductions								
306	2/4	1333	6/1/4	2566	3/5	50	3/4	257	7/4	388	10	62	7/4	7911	3/4	2311	10/7	501
316	1/4	2333	10/6	2610	10/4	254	14/3	579	7/3	72	5/6	72	5/6	723161		20970	2/2	502
326	1/4	2240	6/6	3623		269	3/4	588	10/4	69	11/2	69	11/2	7613	11/4	26656	10/1	805
336	1/4	3168	9/4	368		374	3/7	612	16/2	67	1/4	67	1/4	54311	1/4	2887	6/3	1804
346	1/4	3745	0/1/4	314		414	2/6	620	12/1	69	18	69	18	2822	6/4	23360	11/2	1805
356	1/4	3219	2/1	05		414	2/6	621	12/1	82	7/4	82	7/4	3562	6/4	23300	11/2	805
366	1/4	3353	11/4	43		533	12/8	621	16/2	172	1/4	172	1/4	408	3/4	2302	11/2	807
376	1/4	2654	2/4	07		273	11/4	627	10/2	10	12	3/4	653	14/6	2097	11/2	508	
386	1/4	228	8/5	22		365	12/7	638	0	83	6	1/4	630	1/4	26650	19/7	509	
396	1/4	2588	1/4	7		310	11/2	644	6	84			711	10	26650	19/7	810	
406	1/4	2635	2/5	23		64	17/5	658	3	64			663	2/4	3392	1/11	811	
416	1/4	216	6/2	124		17	5	658	3	64			713	2/5	3192	7/6	812	
426	1/4	2597	8	287		570		652	2	10			61	7/11	189	1/4	815	
436	1/4	289	10/11	4		659	0	57	12	2/4			107	0	355	7/16	1814	
446	1/4	289	10/11	4		659	0	57	12	2/4			107	0	355	7/16	1814	
456	1/4	289	10/11	4		659	0	57	12	2/4			107	0	355	7/16	1814	
466	1/4	289	10/11	4		659	0	57	12	2/4			107	0	355	7/16	1814	
476	1/4	289	10/11	4		659	0	57	12	2/4			107	0	355	7/16	1814	
486	1/4	289	10/11	4		659	0	57	12	2/4			107	0	355	7/16	1814	
496	1/4	289	10/11	4		659	0	57	12	2/4			107	0	355	7/16	1814	
506	1/4	289	10/11	4		659	0	57	12	2/4			107	0	355	7/16	1814	

Order	Housekeeping	Boarding money	Services	Tenants	Amending	Articles	Repairs	Stables	Provision	Other Deductions
1000	1	10/1	1/4	178						
711	1	11/2	189	8						
2035	3	1/4	279	3						
1212	11	1/4	223	4						
925	3	10/11	13							
393	6	1/4	107							
453	0	0	105	2						
220	8	8	82	19						
481	4	11/4	26	5						
1020	1	2	39	2						
1790	18	2	3	25	8					
134	0	6	1	82	3					
182	16	5	1	84	0					
1768	16	2	1	7	10					
580	19	1	1	11						
1009	16	11	1	3	2					
193	12	6	1	8	1					
1026	10	7	1	1	8					
1123	14	1	1	15	2					
680	11	8	1	1	6					
108	1	2	1	8	1					
1228	1	2	1	10	1					
623	3	7	1	3	1					
685	13	7	1	3	1					
711	16	3	1	2	1					
1022	9	9	1	1	3					
98	1	3	1	1	5					
270	6	3	1	1	1					
54	2	1	1	1	1					
11	3	1	1	1	1					

Appendix 19 Wentworth Woodhouse Steward's accounts 1801-30, sheet 3. (page 640)

Bedlam's Dr. Account Decr 31 1801 366 0 1/4 251

## APPENDIX 1d

## Wentworth Woodhouse Survey and Valuation 4 July 1871

	<u>A R P</u>			<u>Annual Rental £s</u>		
				£	s	d
Attercliffe and Darnall	28	0	19	142	6	0
Brampton	2409	0	32	3775	0	6
Brightside	178	1	01	1239	0	6
Darrington and Pontefract	218	3	28	275	0	0
Edlington	373	3	04	9	10	
Hoyland	1215	1	39	5208	4	1
Milnhouse in Darfield	109	1	11	284		
Rawmarsh	645	1	24	1390	16	4
Swinton	946	2	03	2101	6	3
Tinsley	1363	1	22	2198	18	8
Westwell and Mosbrough	296	2	18	512		
Wath	533	3	35	957	13	0
	<u>8318</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>18093</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>4</u>
Ecclesall	1005	0	18	2105	5	3
Greasbrough	2205	1	01	5168	9	10
Hooton Roberts	968	3	01	1588	9	
Tankersley	1735	—	21	1644	16	10
Wentworth	2115	3	0	5283	7	5
Barnborough and Harlington	29	2	12	76	—	—
Hawfield in Bradfield	1754	—	11	105	9	—
Kimberworth	465	—	35	676	6	—
Wombwell	295	2	16	427	1	—
	<u>10619</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>17075</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>

(Source WWM A1613)

Sheffield Rental of Dukes of Norfolk 1700-1850

1701	2756	
1702		
1703		
1704	3000	(not inc ...
1705	4611	(Inc Duches Dowager of N
1706		Jointure Lands)
1707		
1708		
1709		
1710	4728	
1711	4720	
1712	4762	+ 2482.12.09 +
1713	4747	+ 2271 12.02) Ladyday 2475.06.0 M
1714	4837	
1715	4853	
1716	4856	
1717	4861	
1718	4861	
1719	4854	
1720	-	
1721	-	
1722	-	
1723	-	
1724	4853	
1725	4899	
1726	5012	
1727	4823	+ Ladyday 1727 2411.12.1)
1728	5079	Michaelmas 2756. 1.9
1729	-	
1730	5112	+ Ladyday 1730 2561.7.2
1731	5341	
1732	5349	
1733	5352	
1734	-	
1735	-	
1736	5448	
1737	5456	
1738	5904	
1739	5954	
1740	-	
1741	5966	
1742	-	
1743	6054	
1744	6011	+ Ladyday 2523.7.9)
1745	6053	Michaelmas 3086.5.0.
1746	6060	
1747	-	+ Ladyday 2925 17.2
1748	6217	Michaelmas 3152.19.4
1749	6247	
1750	6257	
1751	6300	
1752	6341	
1753	6250	
1754	6362	
1755	6476	
1756	6453	
1757	6467	
1758	6646	
1759	-	
1760	7582	
1761	7725	+ 3745.13.8 Ladyday
1762	8096	3975.10.9 Michaelmas
1763	8173	
1764	8652	
1765	8782	
1766	9047	
1767	9237	
1768	9570	
1769	10336	
1770	10806	
1771	11065	
1772	11230	
1773	11331	
1774	11363	
1775	11614	
1776	11886	
1777	120 1	
1778	12314	
1779	12624	
1780	12672	
1781	13070	
1782	13565	
1783	13778	
1784	13961	
1785	14542	
1786	14616	
1787	14666	
1788	14972	
1789	14521	
1790	14650	
1791	14590	
1792	15236	
1793	-	
1794	-	
1795	16054	
1796	16247	
1797	16411	
1798	16700	
1799	16872	
1800	16989	
1801	17262	
1802	17612	
1803	17445	
1804	17622	
1805	17203	
1806	17000	
1807	17000	
1808	16127	
1809	16127	
1810	16340	
1811	15688	
1812	15500	
1813	15600	
1814	15611	
1815	15600	
1816	15400	
1817	15400	
1818	15400	
1819	15400	
1820	15400	

1821	22790
1822	22541
1823	22279
1824	22346
1825	22401
1826	22666
1827	22703
1828	22307
1829	22436
1830	22582
1831	22877
1832	23150
1833	23814
1834	23849
1835	24126
1836	24205
1837	25422
1838	24577
1839	25435
1840	25545
1841	25566
1842	25659
1843	25663
1844	25445
1845	25432
1846	25690
1847	25942
1848	26185
1849	26120
1850	25926

Sources ARUNDEL RENTALS Sheffield City Library

- Estimates have been made which specifically exclude:-
- (a) Timber Sales (usually identifiable, very variable).
  - (b) Tithe Receipts (excluded in an attempt to approach more closely the rental value of the acreages and buildings etc. as such - generally identifiable.
  - (c) The category 'Forges and Furnaces'. (To more readily identify the rapidly rising income from this area.)
  - (d) Fines.
  - (e) In the period 1811-20 inclusive. Minerals and Coal receipts. These cannot always be completely separated in order to specify their precise impact upon estate receipts.

The resulting figures come nearer to reflecting the income from land and buildings than could a pure gross figure aggregating all the components of estate income. They also reflect the growth of rental from the less variable areas within estate wealth, areas showing less fluctuation in earnings. These are also the areas of relatively guaranteed income but of lower average returns. The 'once for all' elements inherent in quarry and coal income are not totally excluded as the material does not allow it. Separation of this area throughout would nevertheless be ideally desirable.

Such receipts form the basis of estate income, though such totals make no immediate allowance for the administrative expense involved. Even in 1725 purely administrative expenses on the Norfolk South Yorkshire lands amounted to £500-000 (Total £480)

Source Documents - Arundel Rentals 1515 1700-1850  
For 1786 1865 55. 5156

APPENDIX 2b

Summary of Abstract of One Year's Accounts for the Duke of Norfolk's  
Several Estates in Yorkshire, Notts, Norfolk, Suffolk, Middlesex and  
Sussex

	£		£
Arrears in last account	13138	Taxes for several estates	1531
Years Rents	26956+	Chief Rents	138
Casual Receipts	5839+	Interest money and annuities	
Balances due to accountants	4433	from Sheffield estates	2268
Rents for Sheffield estates		Buildings and Repairs	1114
due LD 1787 (half year)	1018	Salaries paid	1135
		Expenses of wood management	651
		Ordinary expenses houses, gardens farms	2387
		Extra-inclosure law etc	1426
		Cash paid to Duke of Norfolk or his order	25143
		Arrears returned	13711
Aggregate Receipt 1787 (rents & casual receipt)	£32795		

Abstract of Vincent Eyres Accounts for Sheffield Estate 24 June 1786-1787

<u>Charge</u>		<u>Discharge</u>	
Farm rent arrears due Mich 1785 unpaid 24 June 1786	4618	Sum charged in last account from mid-summer 1785-6 to have received in rents due Ladyday 1786	938
What accountant took credit for 24 June 1786 as due & in arrear for sale of wood of fall of 1785 & former years	4606	By arrears of farm rents due Mich 1786 unpaid to this day	5712
For fall of cordwood etc 1785 & former years	807	Remaining in arrear for fall of 1786 and sale of wood for former years	4247
Bark arrear 1785	124	For sale of cordwood 1786 & former years, still due	694
Years rents due Mich 1786 as per rental	14617	Interest on Duke Edward's mortgages	1495
By cash-in part of rent LD 1787	1018	do. paid on several mortgages on account new market place	564
By Tithes	47	By annuities	229
Woodfall 1786	1425	Taxes	85
Bark	490	Fee farm and chief rents	69
Cordwood	148	Building and Repairs	2
Casual Receipts	255	Ecclesall inclosure	40
		Ecclesfield inclosure	838
		Loxley	108
		Law proceedings	285
		Game	16
		Salaries	706
Balance due to accountant & carried to separate account with Duke of Norfolk	£2417	Petty managing charges	42
	£32325	Allowance to woodward	394
		An allowance to a tenant	2
		Benevolences	36
		Paid Duke of Norfolk	£32325

Peter Richard's Account - Arundel

	£
Casual Estate Profits	536
(woods	159
tithe	161
courts)	194
Littlehampton Estate 1 year	295
½ year Arundel estate due Mich 1786	1416
½ year Arundel and Littlehampton LD 1787	1536

(Source SCL AMSS S55)



Letter - Paul Bright to Earl Fitzwilliam (5th) 9 September 1841.

(SCL MM 683 305)

"Your Lordship was afraid that the practice was for the valuer to enquire how much such & such adjoining parishes were valued at and not to make strict calculations as to the cost of raising the products of the soil, through the different rotations of the crops with the fair farmer's profit upon the capital then take the average price and time employed, and deducting one from the other would leave the farmers rent." In Rotherham "None of the rates of the different townships in that Union would stand a scrutiny" ..... for parochial rates the Legislature has defined how that shall be done, namely by ascertaining the rack rents. How is that to be done? Not in this thickly populated country by a calculation of the balance between the expense of producing and the amount of the produce but by what it is worth in the market ... what will a man give for it? This knowledge can only be acquired through experience, and by going along with and carefully watching the times ... As population increases so the quantum of accommodation land is increased and as the quantity of cultivated land does not increase in proportion to the population and consequent demand for land to rent must necessarily increase, and this increase of rent is or should be made up of the increased industry and intelligence of the cultivator."

## APPENDIX 4b

## General Observations on re-adjusting the Rents of Earl Fitzwilliams

## Estates in 1850

(SCL MM A407)

When the several farms of these estates were valued and the rents fixed in 1842 the following circumstances were taken into consideration.

The nature of the soil - whether arable or grass-strong or light-wet or dry-drained or required to be drained - calculated to grow wheat, Red Clover or Beans - or Turnips Barley and Seeds - the distance from the markets - the state of the roads - the facility or otherwise of obtaining manure - Railway or water communication - the parochial rates - whether the particular locality was purely agricultural or mining and manufacturing - whether the occupier was a farmer only - or had with his land some trade or profession.

The same considerations influence the present re-adjustment of the rents. In 1842 (so far as the price of wheat affected the question of Rent) 6/8 a bushel or 53/4 a quarter was taken as the basis. It was then assumed that such would be the probable average price for the prospective period of 21 years.

The average price for the antecedent 21 years had been 7/3½ a quarter or 58/5½ per quarter.

From 1842 to 1849 (both inclusive) the average price was 6/8½ per bushel or 53/6 per quarter, thus verifying the calculation made in 1842 and such (or nearly so) would in all probability the average have continued for the entire period of 21 years had it not been for the unforeseen legislative enactments, which have so materially reduced the price of corn.

The tenant farmer in applying to his Landlord for the reduction of Rent is apt to consider that his Rent should be reduced in the ratio of the reduction on the price of wheat - for instance if his present rent (as in the case of the Wentworth estates) was fixed upon the average price of 53/4 per quarter if such average fell to 48/- per quarter that his rent should be reduced 10% per cent.

If to 46/- per quarter	13/5d
" " 44/- " "	17/10d
" " 42/- " "	21/5d
" " 40/- " "	25/-

It ought to be considered however that rent and the price of corn do not vary in the same ratio - nor ought the price of corn to be considered as the sole basis for fixing or re-adjusting rents.

Besides the considerations before enumerated, as to the nature and quality of the land, its particular locality - and its advantages and disadvantages - it should be considered that a dairy or a pasture farm is very differently circumstanced from an arable farm, inasmuch as the labour and expenses of cultivation and management are considerably less - and that the prices of cattle and sheep have not fallen to the same extent as Corn.

It ought also to be considered, that while the recent legislative enactments have greatly reduced the price of corn and also (though in a less degree) the price of stock, all other articles for general use or consumption, such as woollen, linen and cotton goods, tea, sugar, coffee, rice soap, candles etc. Implements of husbandry - oilcake and other food for cattle - manures of every description - and also excisable articles have also been much reduced in price - labour also is, or ought to be reduced: inasmuch as the labourer now pays 1/8 or 1/10 per stone of flour, for which he formerly paid 2/6 or 2/10.

The advantage arising from the reduction in the price of articles used or consumed in the House and farm cannot be estimated at less than £10 for every £100 of rent paid.

When, therefore, the landlord reduces the rent of grass land 10 per cent, and of arable land 12-15 or 17½ per cent (which according to the circumstances of each farm is the case on the Wentworth Estates) the tenant is virtually relieved to the extent of 20, 22½, 25 or 27½ per cent.

It is also to be remarked that upon the Wentworth Estates under the Tithe Commutation Act, the Landlord took upon himself the payment of all rent charges in lieu of tithes, so that virtually the farms are Tithe free."

(complete document)

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## Terms and Conditions upon which Draining is Executed upon Lord Wharnclyffe's Wortley Estate

(3 October 1849 SCL Arundel MSS S317)

Lord Wharnclyffe is desirous that all his tenants who have any land that requires draining should distinctly understand the terms and conditions on which he intends that it should be executed; and he therefore recommends to their attention the following explanations.

Lord Wharnclyffe hopes gradually to drain all the land which he considers to require it, only taking it for that purpose at the times likely to be least inconvenient to the tenant who will be required to carry the draining pipes from the tile yard to the land in his occupation.

Lord Wharnclyffe engages that he will drain it effectually, at a cost as much below five pounds an acre as possible and that, so far as the expense to the tenant is concerned it shall not exceed that sum.

He will then leave the land to the tenant without any charge on account of the draining for two rent days after it is completed in each case.

After two rent days the tenant will be expected to pay six per cent on the cost of the work, limited as above to not more than five pounds per acre.

The tenant will observe that by these terms the highest sum with which he can be charged for the improvement effected by draining will be six per cent per annum on £5: or 100 shillings, or, in other words, 6s per acre yearly: that is a half yearly payment of 3s per acre: and whenever it can be executed for a less sum than £5, the half yearly payment will of course be proportionately less. It will be seen that by this arrangement an increase in produce of no more, in the case of wheat, than one bushel per acre, at the price of 18s per load; or in that of turnips, than half a ton at 12s per ton, will be enough to protect the tenant entirely from loss, even at the highest rate of cost, and so of other crops in proportion.

Lord Wharnclyffe speaks with the utmost confidence when he states that there is no land upon which thorough draining is needed which will not return far more than this in value to the tenant, provided only that he uses proper exertion to follow up the improvement.

The tenant will recollect that the principal advantages of draining are proved by extensive experience to be that

- 1 It fits the land to grow produce which it could not otherwise support.
- 2 It enables it to grow larger quantities of the produce which it bore previously.
- 3 It qualifies it to derive full benefit from any tillage that may be applied to it, which before it was drained would have been in great measure thrown away upon it.
- 4 It keeps the subsoil permanently several degrees warmer, and thereby renders the crops earlier.
- 5 It prevents much of the effects of cold vapour and of frosts upon the surface which contributes to the same result; and
- 6 It enables the farmer to work upon the land nearly at all times whenever it may be most convenient to him instead of his being prevented from doing so except when dry weather will allow of it.

And besides these there are numberless other practical advantages derived from drying the soil, which cannot be here enumerated, but which the tenant will not fail to meet with in the proper management of his land.

These considerations alone are amply sufficient to show that the terms above mentioned are liberal and must be highly favourable to the occupier but similar arrangements have been made elsewhere by those best acquainted with the subject and Lord Wharnclyffe has had many opportunities of satisfying himself by the experience of such persons, that they have been found abundantly profitable, where the tenant performs his part of the task properly by applying his industry to complete the improvement of the land.

Lord Wharnclyffe therefore expects this from those tenants of his whose land he drains, and on the other hand he requires, and is entitled to expect that they will not fail, after the first two rent days, as above explained, punctually to pay him the percentage of six per cent, upon the cost of their draining. The government which has advanced money for this purpose, will not allow him to withhold the payment of the interest upon that which he receives; and he therefore cannot permit his tenants to fail in paying him their share of the expenditure from which they will be enjoying the benefit.

But he has a right also to expect that they will be punctual in paying him their ordinary rent. It will be perceived that by the above terms he forgoes all present direct advantage to himself from the draining, while on the other hand he has to pay a half per cent additional to the government, above the six per cent which he charges to the occupiers, besides incurring the risk of any extra cost. He is therefore entitled to look for some compensation in the greater regularity of their payments, as well as in the improved cultivation of the land; and he wishes his tenants to understand that he does expect this compensation.

Finally the draining of their land does impose upon them one more duty, and that is the keeping of the outfalls clear. It is their business as well as their interest to see that this is done, and he must warn them that when he finds this neglected and the drains injured by such neglect he will think himself entitled to charge them with the cost of any repair that may be necessary.

Wortley, 3 October 1849.

Sheffield Estate Payments 1711-1771		Norfolk Estate			
Rent Reduction	Salaries	Date	Tax	Building & Repairs	Fee Farm Rent
£	£		£	£	£
13	195	1711-12	48	433	79
2	207	12-13	38	66	69
4	209	13-14	37	77	71
2	215	14-15	43	169	69
6	205	15-16	44	54	37
2	216	16-17	83	41	74
4	205	17-18	50	36/+89	69
2	206	18-19	38	26/+144	111
3	216	19-20	38	10/+172	72
36 colliery	210	20-21	38	36/+29	68
6	237	21-22	47	78/+212	72
24	236	22-23	37	4/+261	73
15	238	23-24	37 + 'gt Aid 824	27	71
7	231	24-25	39	5/+77	72
11	241	25-26	35	16/72	85
6	88	26-27	27	15/310	98
5	390	27-28	39	/297	98
5	168	28-29	36	3/206	78
28	305	29-30	8	26/585/97.n.House	75
10	237	30-31	22	393	75
19	235	31-32	25	10/306	80
11		32-33	27	20+332+163	78
8		33-34	26	101+180	40
11		34-35	31	50+147	3
61	190	35-36	29	125	76
26	280	36-37	38	12+17+/364+86*	115
8	169	37-38	20	4+12/309+41	80
6	168	38-39	19	8+651+13/115+44	4
13	166	39-40	19	43+20/205+34	157
43	167	40-41	22	#23/241+265+360	79
17	166	41-42	28	25/218	79
72	167	42-43	28	72/423	79
36	166	43-44	29	40/200	79
180	196	44-45	16	32/246	81
13	198	45-46	29	7/395	79
115	197	46-47	19	7/324	79
95	198	47-48	18	13/350	3
9	195	48-49	23	/257	85
28	195	49-50	15	50/190	79
15	197	50-51	15	1/211	77
16	196	51-52	19	16/289	106
18	196	52-53	18	25/240	120
91	195	53-54	18	/361	78
8	195	54-55	20	/300	78
136	195	55-56	22	28/342	78
10	195	56-57	31	9/280	82
66	195	57-58	38	/360	83
9	195	58-59	23	58/374+388 c	79
11	205	59-60	41	/399	78
9	240	60-61	33	19/532	82
43	210	61-62	28	14/603	78
17	413	62-63	33	273(?)	83
5	351	63-64	24	400/49/551	79
5	380	64-65	28	238/675	82
22	385	65-66	31	99+27+8/464	78
6	385	66-67	34	131+25+65+35/	79
19	390	67-68	41	199+64+/491	82
5	395	68-69	56	213+/388	79
5	383	69-70	54	88+89+/529	84
75	396	70-71	50	70+77/468	68
22	380	71-72	57	41/498	82

\* Shambles  
c Coal outpayment  
# Pond Mill Weir. Repair  
/ wood expenses

Rental Arrears Farm and Other rents (not chief rents) Sheffield Arundel  
Estates 1711-71

	Arrear	£s
1709	Ladyday	563
1710	Michaelmas	807
1711		612
1712		437
1713		467
1714		497
1715		738
1716		660
1717		773
1718		910
1719		723
1720		456
1721		577
1722		329
1723		527
1724		392
1725		538
1726		537
1727		526
1728		432
1729		470
1730		652
1731		560
1732		637
1733		660
1734		429
1735		1125
1736		535
1737		664
1738		742
1739		663
1740		796
1741		963
1742		1504
1743		1580
1744		1190
1745		1855
1746		1998
1747		1669
1748		1558
1749		1851
1750		1550
1751		1638
1752		1191
1753		1158
1754		1396
1755		1313
1756		1298
1757		1334
1758		1462
1759		1566
1760		2152
1761		2157
1762		1912
1763		1894
1764		2089
1765		2207
1766		2307
1767		2657
1768		2491
1769		3159
1770		2444
1771		2823

## Audit for Sheffield Accounts 1725-35 (June-June 1884)

	Rents	Farm Arrears	Payments
1725	5067	392	548
1726	5003	539	568
1727	5142	536	680
1728	5167	526	967
1729	5300	210	615
1730	5289	470	1686
1731	5335	652	862
1732	5341	560	1069
1733	5347	637	1010
1734	5392	660	790
1735	5428	429	801

Latter figure includes, taxes, repairs, court fees, Sheffield annuities, management expenses; large items are wood, woodwards expenses, salaries. Compare with breakdown for 1711-71 in Appendix 5a.

## Audit for Worksop Accounts 1725-35 (S184)

	£	£	£	£
	Rents	Casuals	Arrears	to tenants
1725	1088		321	£5
1726	1073		309	
1727	1096		321	£2/18s
1728	1218	300	344	2000+
1729	1267	382	395	1508
1730	1280	139	536	1336
1731	1324	138	652	895
1732	1327	165	652	2201
1733	1331	740	652	2037
1734	1330	528	800	1699
1735	1337	333	796	1416

At Worksop arrears more than double the 1720s levels in the 1730s. At Sheffield they are perhaps half as high again as in the 1720s.

APPENDIX 6a

Costs of Countryhouse Building in South Yorkshire 1700-1800

Sources and Bases for the Estimates of Table 9.2

Wentworth Castle

SCL VWM MSS 77. Thomas Wentworth Lord Raby and Earl of Strafford - J Bromley 1696-1718; VWM 112 Correspondence after death of Earl of Strafford 1799. VWM 114. Estate correspondence 1816-18. Accounts 1803-4. VWM 122, 148 correspondence 1799-1804. BL Add Mss 22238; 22241 Strafford Mss complements above and it partially reproduced in J Cartwright The Wentworth Papers 1705-39. (1883) see also H M Colvin (op cit) (1954 ed) p86; N Pevsner op cit (1967 ed) p141; A Booth op cit (1933) pp161-171; J Campbell ed (op cit) (1972 ed) p7; A Riches op cit (1980) pp7-8.

Wentworth Woodhouse

SCL WWM A1273, 1748. inserted document, expenditures 1724-48. WWM A1251. William Clauston cashbook. 1725-32. WWM M1 correspondence. 1724-48. WWM R186, 187, 188. William Martin's correspondence 1765-71. WWM A1-A8 Stewards' Accounts. WWM Stw 1-6. B Hall's Correspondence 1771-86. WWM A1380 B Hall's Memorandum Book 1772-84. WWM R171 2nd Marquis of Rockingham's Correspondence 1750s; 1765 (R Fenton). R174 Miscellaneous calculations. WWM A122 Receipts and disbursements 1801-30, see also H Colvin op cit pp122-125. Pevsner op cit (1967 ed) p545, 541. J Nolan op cit (1907) p81. A Young 'Tour' (1769) pp251-2, 259. D Defoe 'Tour' (1727) p92. M Girouard op cit (1978) p158. A Booth op cit (1933), pp61-71. P Brenan and D Addis Guide to Vitruvius Britannicus. Annotated and Analytical Index to the Plates (1972) pp115-116. J Allan. Wentworth Woodhouse' Archaeol J 137 1980 pp393-396.

### Kiveton

YAS Leeds Mss DD5 Box 23 no 13. Valuation of Kiveton 1703; DD5 box 1 Letter re-building. Box 33 Building Accounts 1694-1706. Box 32 Leeson's Account 1744-52.

South Yorkshire Archives. Leeds Mss Fl-5 Macdonald's Accounts 1765, 1769, 1780c and account for 1810-11. See also Vitruvius Britannicus (1972 ed) Vol 1.

### Sandbeck Park

Lumley Saville Mss EMC 25, 26 Lumley Saville - R Legard 1800. EMBA/9 1757-1778 Building Accounts. See also J Paine op cit (1773). T Beastall op cit (1975) pp84-85. P Leach 'Sandbeck Park' Archaeol J Vol 137, 1980 pp422-423.

### Cannon Hall (see table 9.29, p596).

SCL Spencer Stanhope Mss 60674, 1698-1712. 60686, 1756-72, 60657 1783-1800. Also 60687 Correspondence 1711-1795. Vouchers 25c 60674(b) Sun Fire Insurance Policy 1800-1805c). See also N Pevsner op cit p156.

### Wortley Hall (see pages 597-599)

Also R Howlings "Wortley Hall", Archaeol J Vol 137 1980, pp397-400.  
SCL Wh/M 58 building accounts; Wh/M 142 costs 1757-71.

### Woolley Hall

See G E Wentworth "The History of the Wentworths of Woolley", YAJ Vol 12 1893 pp191-2. Ravenfield See Vitruvius Britannicus (1972 ed).

### Worksop Manor

J Paine Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemens' and Gentlemens' Houses Vol 2 (1783) pp1-5. See also A Young 'Tour' (1769) p367. J Robinson op cit (1982) p160-165 and Table 9.30 and FNs 265-7. SCL Sale Catalogue 1840.

N Pevsner gives indications of numbers of bays per house which can be used as a rough index of size when checked where possible from architectural publications or observations.

This suggests a "league-table" by size.

	<u>1700-1800</u>	<u>Pevsner</u>	<u>Estimated Building Costs</u> £
Wentworth Woodhouse	1723-50 1760-1786	19 bays west & east fronts	£80000
Wentworth Castle	1708-25 1759-68	15 bays	£40-50000
(Worksop Manor)	1761-7	(300 feet) plus	claimed £300000 (1840)
Ravenfield		12 bays	£30000
Bretton Hall	1720	9 bays	£20000
Cowick	1752-6 Italian Style	9 bays	£20000
Hickleton	1730c 1775	7 bays	£30000
Frickley Hall	1750-1	7 bays	£35000
Sandbeck	1758-68	7 bays	£30000
Brodsworth			
Edlington			
Firbeck	Early & late 18c	8 bays	£35000
Kiveton Park	1690-1720	10 bays x 5 + wings (more later)	£12000 by 1705
Aston	1772 (new house)	7 bays	£25000
Cannon Hall	1690-1712 1750-70 1780s	5 bays + 2 wings	£10-12000
Wortley Hall	1730s, 1740-50 1750-70s, 1780s	7 bays	£35000

For Warmsworth, Womersley, Skelbrooke, Cusworth, Huthwaite and Thundercliffe Grange, see pp500-604 and FNs

Country House building in South Yorkshire 1700-1800  
 A summary of activity. Estimates at current prices.

Scale of project

2-3 Cannon Hall major building 1698-1713 1700-10 date. Cost. £4000  
 1 Wentworth Castle " " 1709-16 £4000 (by 1710)

Followed by extensive internal works and landscaping.

3 Warrmsworth rebuilding 1702 £2000  
 2/3 2 Womersley 'early C18'. ? £2000  
 1 Kiveton Park major building of large house £12000  
 (actual valuation work done 1694-1702) maybe more after

1710-20 decade total £24000  
 1 Bretton (Pitt) 9 bay 2 1/2 storey £20000  
 2 Firbeck (early C18th Pevsner) late C18 additions. £10000  
 1 Wentworth Castle continued major building interior and landscape work etc. £26000

1720-30 decade total £56000  
 2 Hockleton 7 bays new house £10000  
 1 Wentworth Woodhouse South Range very large scale works £20000  
 (Lindholme Hall (3) and Wentworth Castle later works) 1727  
 decade total £30000

1730-40 decade total £20000  
 1 Mostell 1733-45/50. J Paine. £20000  
 1 Wentworth Woodhouse East Front major works £36000  
 decade total £56000

1740-50 decade total £2000  
 3 Bretton Park Chapel 1744 (Paine) £2000  
 3 Cusworth Hall (Platt & Paine) £2-3000  
 3 Hickleton Stables 1750 ?  
 2 Wortley Hall (Platt) first phase 1743-61 £6000  
 4 Huthwaite Thurgoland (Carr 1748) £800  
 1 Wentworth Woodhouse continued large scale outside and interior works. £24000  
 decade total £35800

1750-60 decade total £35800  
 3 Frickley 7 bay, 3 Bay pediment 2 storey 1750 £5000  
 3 Dinnington Hall East front. 1756 £3000  
 4 Bramley Grange 5 bay 2 storey 1756 £1500  
 2 Ravenfield £4000

scale of project house nature of project date cost  
 2 High Melton Cowlock major rebuilding (Paine) 1752-6). £3000  
 undated but mid C18th. Wadworth, Campsall, Campmount, Arkey, Marr Halls. estimated total £26000  
 Crookhill Hatfield House.

1760-70  
 2 Sandbeck major building (Paine 1760s). £25000  
 2/3 Cannon Hall 1765-72 (J. Carr) £10000  
 1 Wentworth Castle WestSouth Range 1758-68 £30000  
 1 Wentworth Woodhouse £40500  
 1 Wentworth Woodhouse 'revised' estimated total £115,500

1770-80  
 2/3 Agton 1767-72 (J. Carr) 7 bays, later South wing. £18/20000  
 3 Rendshaw (Derbys) 1777 £3480  
 2/3 Woolley 1772 £10000  
 2/3 Thundercliff Grange 1777 7 bays 2 storey £10000  
 1 Wentworth Woodhouse -interiors added, stables £40500  
 etc revised estimated total £78980

1780-90  
 2 Frlston front rebuilt £5000  
 2 The Grange (Thundercliff above) East wing 1782 Platt £5000  
 2 Wortley West wing begun 1788/9 £7000  
 1 Wentworth Woodhouse £30000  
 revised estimated total £47000

1790-1800  
 3 Burghwallis (1797) substantial rebuild. £47000  
 3 Dinnington Hall S front Carr Interior  
 2 Cantley (1790) 7 bays 3 storeys.  
 2 Wheatley 7 bays 2 storeys  
 2 Campsall 7 bays 2 1/2 storeys  
 2/3 Thrybergh Park 7 bays alterations (Carr 1790-1805)  
 2/3 Ravenfield Ackworth Grange additional storey  
 3/4 Cannon Hall Wortley Hall extensions and stables  
 2 Wortley Hall extensions. 3 bay pediment 2 storeys  
 2 Owston 2 storeys  
 2/3 Bawtry Hall 2 storey 7 bays.  
 perhaps  
 Wentworth Woodhouse -some work.  
 Revised total. £120000

1 - Large projects 2 medium 3 modest 4 small. (u £1500) 650

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    Spencer Stanhope MSS

    Tibbits MSS

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    Wentworth Woodhouse MSS

    Wharnccliffe MSS

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1787 South Yorkshire, J Tuke.  
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1832 A Map of the Town and Environs of Sheffield, J Taylor.  
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