

THE MANAGEMENT OF SOME SOUTH YORKSHIRE LANDED ESTATES  
IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES, LINKED  
WITH THE CENTRAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE AREA  
(1700-1850)

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## SYNOPSIS

### The Management of Some South Yorkshire Landed Estates in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, Linked with the Central Economic Development of the Area (1700-1850) PhD University of Sheffield

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Between 1700 and 1850 South Yorkshire contained some of the most valuable portions of a number of Britain's greatest landed estates. Industrialization brought increased population, mineral working, industrial and transport development, agricultural change and urbanization. This increased the values of property absolutely and in relation to holdings elsewhere.

This thesis examines the role of estates in these processes, assesses their contribution and gains, and seeks to establish the extent to which landowners were passive rent receivers and investors. 'Pure rent' receipts increased, but estate administrations also played a wide-ranging and positive role. Investments changed the relative value of land, generating increased rents from resources previously under utilized.

Reactions to opportunity were not uniform. The 'commercial ethos of economic individualism' penetrated in differing degrees, and material circumstances differed within this area.<sup>1</sup> The availability of alternative supplies of capital and enterprise, changes in family priorities among owners and changes in the economic climate, all influenced commitment. Urban growth was important with mining, transport and industry, and two of the largest estates let building land and provided market facilities until the nineteenth century. Elsewhere village building for smaller communities was more important.

Agriculture remained vital, but levels of landowner participation varied. Some invested heavily, with little apparent financial strain. Others were less liberal. Local markets for produce were buoyant for much of the period, though price fluctuations caused problems. Estate participation in these activities is assessed, and estimates are presented for comparison with practice elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

Consumption was the alternative to investment. An analysis of its extent and effects aids understanding of the large landowners' roles.<sup>3</sup>

The wealth and rentals of landowners grew astronomically in this period, as much the produce of a favourable environment and prior claim on resources as of astute administration. Large owners were active in South Yorkshire economic development, in varying degrees, but 'unearned' rental increments probably outweighed interest and profits. Professionalization of administration meanwhile served the end of consumption as much as development.

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- 1 H Newby, C Bill, D Rose and P Saunders Property, Paternalism and Power. Class and Control in Rural England (1978) pp15-41.
  - 2 E Richards "An Anatomy of the Sutherland Fortune. Income, Consumption, Investment and Returns, 1780-1880" Business History Vol 21, 1979 pp45-78.
  - 3 M Girouard Life in the English Country House (1978)pp2-10.



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## INTRODUCTION

### Landowners and Industrialisation in Britain

Though the importance of landed estates has been stressed in works on agrarian development, mineral exploitation and the development of transportation in Britain, doubts remain about the role of landed estates in the industrialisation process. One study of capital formation in the Industrial Revolution concluded

"as a matter of fact, little of the wealth which was concentrated into the landlord's hands was converted into industrial capital." 1

This view was expressed despite exploratory monographs which seemed to point to opposite conclusions. This may be because they do so in an unquantified way which prevented assessment of the precise contribution that specific landlords made at particular points or stages of development.<sup>2</sup>

It appears that the implications of the landed magnates' wealth and power is still misunderstood, but that Barrington Moore's contention that the English aristocracy

"acted as the advance guard for industrial capitalism" is substantially correct, though in need of more appraisal.<sup>3</sup>

The study began within the framework adopted by F M L Thompson, G E Mingay, H J Habakkuk and D Spring. They studied the economy and administration of estates, seeking a clearer understanding of their internal

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|---|------------------------------|---|
| 1 | F Crouzet                    | <u>Capital Formation in the Industrial Revolution</u> (1972) p58.             |
| 2 | G E Mingay                   | <u>English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century</u> (1963);               |
|   | F M L Thompson               | <u>English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century</u> (1963);               |
|   | D Spring                     | <u>The Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century: Its Administration</u> (1963) |
|   | J T Ward &<br>R G Wilson Eds | <u>Land and Industry</u> (1971).  |
| 3 | Barrington Moore<br>Jnr      | <u>Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy</u> (1966) p30                |

workings and impact upon economic development and English society. Such work has been further developed.<sup>4</sup>

Recent work has been more complex than at first appears. Individual estates, the fortunes of their owners and the workings of upper class institutions are better understood. At the same time the findings of students of upper class economic institutions have been re-wrought as underpinnings of differing historiographies of modern social history. As a result any venture into the study of the landed classes is more controversial in its choice of method and possible implications than was the case in the past.<sup>5</sup> This study is another building block in the study of particular great estates, but attempts to deal with material from several large estates in a single region. In this it is perhaps as much inspired by studies of different periods as by the recent studies of individual estates.<sup>6</sup> At the same time it attempts to ask and suggest answers to some important questions about industrial development within one area. In that sense the estates are a source of evidence and interpretation.

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4 eg T W Beastall A North Country Estate: The Lumley's and the Sandersons as Landowners 1700-1900 (1975); G V Beckett Coal and Tobacco. Sir James Lowther and the Development of West Cumbria (1981); D Cannadine Lords and Landlords. The Aristocracy and the Towns 1775-1967 (1980); D Cannadine (Ed) Patricians, Power and Politics in Nineteenth Century Towns (1982); F C Mather After the Canal Duke. A Study of the Industrial Estates Administered by the Trustees of the Third Duke of Bridgewater in the Age of Railway Building 1825-1872 (1970); G Mee Aristocratic Enterprise. The Fitzwilliam Industrial Undertakings 1795-1857 (1975); D J Olsen Town Planning in London. The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries (1964); R A C Parker Coke of Norfolk: A Financial and Agricultural Study 1707-1842 (1975); T J Raybould The Economic Emergence of the Black Country. A Study of the Dudley Estate (1973); E Richards The Leviathan of Wealth. The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution (1973); R W Sturgess Aristocrat in Business: the Third Marquis of Londonderry as Coal Owner and port Builder (1975); J R Wordie Estate Management in Eighteenth Century England. The Building of the Leveson-Gower Fortune (1982).

5 H Perkin The Evolution of Modern English Society (1969 Ed); E P Thompson Whigs and Hunters. The Origin of the Black Act (1975); "Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture," JSH Vol 3, No 4 1974, pp382-405; "Eighteenth Century English Society, Class Conflict without Class," SH Vol 3, No 2, May 1978, pp133-165. D Cannadine "The Theory and Practice of the English Leisure Classes" HJ Vol XXI, 1978, pp445-467.

6 G T Cliffe The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War (1969).

A local study which reveals more of the economics of large estates and the history of the developments within their influence during the period of industrialisation may help to break down the dichotomy which has been erected by historians between the study of the greater estates in industrializing areas and the study of industrial development. Often unconscious or chosen admiration for the industrial entrepreneur has relegated the large landowners to political, social, or agrarian history. Increased emphasis upon the wide sectoral base of British economic development and upon its wide geographical spread, dilutes the importance of areas with unusual characteristics like Lancashire, and emphasizes the wide availability of capital and general economic dynamism in pre-Industrial England; it leads towards a re-appraisal of the sources, and pre-requisites for industrial development. Therefore it is unwise to judge the contribution from great estate owners as unimportant on an a priori basis, and preferable to await the results of local studies before finalizing judgement. Much depends upon the criteria adopted in deciding what factors are most important in determining the direction of the industrialisation process. Landed capital may rarely flow directly into the circulating stocks or machines of the industrial capitalist but the conditions of his operations might not have existed without the massive outlays of landowners upon social overhead capital, agrarian improvement mining or urban development.<sup>7</sup>

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7 Crouzet is ready to accept the balanced growth thesis but seems less conscious of the implication of geographically widespread economic development. It appears to be a view more narrow than those of others working in the field. F Crouzet Ed Capital Formation in the Industrial Revolution (1972), pp220-222. For an up-to-date appraisal of pre-requisites. T H Devine and D Dickson (Ed) Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850. Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development 1600-1850 (1983) pp18-25.

D Cannadine

Lords and Landlords. The Aristocracy and the Towns 1775-1967 (1980) pp30-31.

In South Yorkshire the separation of industrial development and the landowning structure before and during the process of industrial development between 1700 and 1850 is unhelpful. Why did landowners invest? Universally they sought improved rentals, and for the most part were content to receive them without risking investment if this could be achieved. Increasingly in the eighteenth century the passive approach to "improvement" proved insufficient, and increasing percentages of estate income were ploughed back into agrarian, transport, mining or urban investments. This occurred on all the larger estates before 1790, whatever the character and motivations of individual owners. What they shared was what modern authorities have called "consociate wealth". They were the economic and social leaders of a patrician society, with a unique responsibility to use their resources to maintain its structure. This transcended narrow notions of "economic rationality" which would have damaged deference and political and social cohesion.<sup>8</sup> South Yorkshire evidence indicates that these aims remained of great importance until the mid-nineteenth century and that there are relatively few signs of a retreat from responsibility.<sup>9</sup>

This is not surprising, for the hierarchical system of relationships of the estate was strong yet capable of modification. The administrative machinery of the estate was complex and became more so during the period 1700-1850. While some independent minded tenants were discriminated against, there was little need for the great landowner to apply the full force of his economic power in most cases of dissidence. In the first period of industrialisation the estates' power may have increased with greater income and administration which took some steps towards professionalism. Patronage

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- 8 D R Denman & S Prodano Land Use, An Introduction to Proprietary Land Use Analysis (1972) pp57-73. p145 "consociate wealth is ... the wealth which in the hands of he who holds the proprietary land unit is capable of assimilation with the wealth of the unit."
- 9 H Newby, C Bell, D Rose & P Saunders Property, Paternalism and Power. Class and Control in Rural England (1978) pp15-41.

as a defender of deference seems to have weakened very little on the South Yorkshire estates until the 1830s. Between 1830 and 1850 political power was diminished and patronage weakened on the more urbanized Norfolk Sheffield estate but the economic importance of great estates continued to grow. The estate mesh of wealth and power seemed to weaken only after 1850 in its competition with local corporations, state action and the new county system of representation together with competition from a wealthier body of industrialists.

The Fitzwilliam, Norfolk and Leeds South Yorkshire estates provided ever growing money receipts to their owners in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In part these incomes represented a profitable return to investment in buildings, transport undertakings, enclosures, drainage and other agrarian improvements, industrial and mining enterprises and urban development. But investment provided only a portion of the growing wealth. Land values and site values rose dramatically in this period as a result of population pressure, increased demand for holdings and industrial and urban growth. Whatever the action of the landlord, surpluses would have accrued, unless land was sold. There was a 'surplus' or 'economic rent' element in the incomes of the great estates which acted as an insulation against periods of unsatisfactory returns. This was the basis for the supportive role which some landowners played for agrarian and industrial tenants during depressions until the late nineteenth century.

Such a perspective does not help in the definition of the 'land as nature' for which rent is in the Ricardian sense paid. In practical terms land was an investment, a given cluster of resources to which further resources could be added. Management was rendered more flexible according to the extent of consociate wealth. In this respect the landlord of the

great urban - industrial estate was fortunate. The great growth in income enjoyed allowed him to be more flexible than rural landowners in the disposition of resources. The wealth of these land owners enabled them not only to stave off long term economic decline but sometimes to enhance their positions politically and socially. In economic terms the great growth in receipts between 1770 and 1820, based upon profit and rent elements in classical economic terms, laid the basis for continuing economic and social hegemony during the period 1820-50. It was probably only in the economic expansion after 1850 that this power was threatened by combinations of new wealth owners and novel political arrangements.

That the unparalleled opportunities of these years did not lead to even greater concentration of economic power can perhaps be attributed in part to the slowness with which traditionalist institutions adapted to changing economic and social circumstances. Professionalisation came slowly to the management of great estates. It was inhibited as much by mixed motives on the part of incumbent life-tenants and by a distrust of overmighty servants as by indifference or inability. On the Fitzwilliam estates frank paternalist attitudes remained strong until late in the nineteenth century and seem to have permeated the whole administrative structure, delaying role-specialization and the installation of financial accountability. The Norfolk estates' administration modified more quickly for a variety of reasons, but perhaps became fragmented leaving overlap of responsibilities and neglect of some sectors of estate activity. Elsewhere changes were slower still.

Weaknesses in management conspired with the vast consumption of the great estate in preventing greater accumulation of wealth. Consumption was composed not only of the day to day maintenance of the aristocratic household



but of conspicuous 'investment' in houses and the opportunity costs of tying up land in parks devoted to leisure and sporting interests. Such consumption had a deadening effect upon the most severe accountant's professional susceptibilities.

The conclusions which emerge from this study amount to a denial that landowners were likely to 'rationally maximize their incomes' and a specific demonstration that upon these large estates economicism did not reign. Paradoxically this does not deny their importance as leading organizers of improved agriculture, providers of social overhead and industrial capital, and exponents of urban development. On the contrary it is demonstrated that they made a large contribution without which industrialisation would have been obstructed, but that their perspective was long term and permissive rather than entrepreneurial in general.

What of the motives of the landowners? On one of these great estates a form of paternalism remained powerful throughout this period. Management re-organisation was delayed, enterprises over which effective oversight was near impossible were undertaken and maintained, loans were made to firms which had long demonstrated their inability to prosper, charity was maintained and a variety of religious and educational initiatives sponsored. The aim appears to have been the desire to maintain social cohesion and a deference system which some historians have regarded as symptomatic of pre-industrial society. Outside the urban area the aim was achieved. Huge expenditures remained possible because returns upon capital invested in land were high and to these were added pure rent elements together with huge increments in the capital/sale value of land and coal. Together these advantages allowed landlords a margin of error in calculations about disposition of resources. The growth of earnings from non-agrarian sources

allowed not only re-investment there but also investment in improvements in the agrarian sector. Here was an excellent example of the way in which consociate wealth allowed flexibility to the holder of a particularly diverse type of proprietary land unit.

These landowning families were unlikely to be much conscious of any relative weakening of their position compared with other classes before 1830. Nor was their position threatened in the period studied. The new rich could not hope to overturn their position or wealth before 1850, though there were occasional challenges politically. In the longer-run industry and urban development separated them to a degree from other landowners in their interests and also weakened their hold over tenants. Administrative specialization made the aristocratic landlord more dependent upon his advisors, though a policy of divide and rule could be applied. Only the exceptionally able and hardworking landowner could hope to keep his finger on all aspects of the complex affairs of his estates. Usually he was neither. The result of this combined with mixed motives and the novelty of the situation led to a degree of confusion during the early nineteenth century. This was most likely on an estate with the advantages of incipient industry and urban land. There were incentives to sell some land or rights during the high prices of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and to retreat from entrepreneurship thereafter. The more urban the estate the easier the sale. On the less urbanized Fitzwilliam estates risk-taking in industry, mining and other enterprises persisted beyond 1850, alongside paternalistic interventionism. This weakened earlier, or never existed, on the Norfolk Sheffield estates, though interventions were sometimes essential. Basically it was probably the paternalistic landlord, conscious of the risks of commercial morality in the semi-industrialized countryside of the early nineteenth century, who suffered more loss to his pocket in maintaining the responsibilities inherent in his patrician world view.

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Rotherham Public Library (Pearson Mss)

Sheffield City Library (SCL)

Arundel Castle Manuscripts (Arundel Mss)

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Tibbits Manuscripts (TC)

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Wentworth Woodhouse Manuscripts (VWM)

Wharnccliffe Manuscripts (Wh/M)

South Yorkshire County Archive (SYCA)

Duke of Leeds Manuscripts (Leeds Mss)

Sheepscar Library Leeds (Sheepscar L)

Mexborough Manuscripts (M.X.)

West Riding County Library Wakefield (WRCL)

Registry of Deeds (R.D.)

Yorkshire Archaeological Society (Y.A.S.)

Private Collections

Sandbeck-Lumley Saville Mss (LSMss)

Wentworth Woodhouse-Wentworth Manuscripts WWM (Wentworth)

ABBREVIATED JOURNAL TITLES

Ag.H.R.	Agricultural History Review.
Am.H.R.	American Historical Review.
Ann.Ass.Am.Geog.	Annals of the Association of American Geographers.
B.A.	Bradford Antiquary.
B.H.	Business History.
Canadian H.R.	Canadian Historical Review.
Durham.U.J.	Durham University Journal.
Ec.H.R.	Economic History Review.
E.J.	Economic Journal.
E.M.G.	East Midland Geographer.
Eng.H.R.	English Historical Review.
H.	History.
H.J.	Historical Journal.
I.H.S.	Irish Historical Studies.
J.Ag.H.	Journal of Agricultural History.
J.Ec.H.	Journal of Economic History.
J.H.G.	Journal of Historical Geography.
J.R.I.B.A.	Journal of Royal Institute of British Architects.
P & P.	Past and Present.
Population S.	Population Studies.
S.H.	Social History.
T.H.A.S.	Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society.
T.H.	Transport History.
T.Inst.Geog.	Transactions of the Institute of Geographers.
T.R.H.S.	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.
Y.A.J.	Yorkshire Archaeological Journal.
Y.B.S.E.R.	Yorkshire Bulletin of Social and Economic Research.

Other journal titles are given in full.

## CHAPTER 1

### The Origins of the Eighteenth Century Large Landed Estates in South Yorkshire

"Society", said Tallyrand, "is divisible into two classes: shearers and shorn". A search for origins of the landed estates of South Yorkshire reaches back through the centuries, but above all to the sixteenth century, that "golden age of the shearers, not to be paralleled until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when a combination of the new industrial capitalism with an age old smooth and perfected system of political plunder left the shorn with just enough on their backs to keep alive, and not always that."<sup>1</sup> Though seemingly distant from London and the metropolitan nexus, even in 1522 in Staincross Hundred "the social pyramid here rested upon a very broad base, and reached no great height. Only six people were worth £40 or more, out of a total of 1,635. It was a dismally poor part of England, yet even here the top 2 per cent of the population owned well over 40 per cent of the wealth."<sup>2</sup>

Acquisitiveness and accumulation of property did not begin with the Industrial Revolution. It characterised English society for many centuries, and the large estates of the eighteenth century were as typical of its working as any other major institution of the age. Indeed they represented the pinnacle of achievement within a grasping and competitive society. By the early eighteenth century the possessors of large landed estates could only represent two types of family. They were either the survivors of a tumultuous but opportunist age, or their wealth was recent, generated from the relatively favourable circumstances of the post-Restoration period. In either case there was reason to celebrate success and survival.<sup>3</sup>

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1 W G Hoskins The Age of Plunder, the England of Henry VIII 1500-1547 (1976)  
p29

2 ibid ... p43

3 J T Cliffe The Yorkshire Gentry. From the Reformation to the Civil War  
(1969) pp144-165.  
P Roebuck Yorkshire Baronets 1640-1760. Families, Estates and Fortunes  
(1980) pp63-73.

## I The Structure of Landownership

As a preliminary to the examination of later changes it is necessary to establish the structure of landownership in 1700. Landed estates are strange entities, involving land, minerals, manorial and other rights, advowsons, casual receipts and ultimately a bundle of sophisticated property rights many of which were being strengthened from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup> The claims of their possessors were not unchallenged in law and custom.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the machinery of law was becoming more predictable in the former cases, and more efficient in controlling the latter. This produced a clearer-cut hierarchy of landownership in the early eighteenth century than had existed before.<sup>6</sup>

That at least is how it appears when examining large estates. Whatever the original basis of owners' claims, eighteenth century aristocratic estates were to contemporaries a concrete and material reality upon the ground. Travellers and cartographers recorded their glories, as parks extended, landscape was shaped and the rebuilding of country houses produced some of the outstanding symbolism of the new Augustan age. As much an indication of relative power as of wealth, they reflected the size and rental of family properties.<sup>7</sup>

By the early eighteenth century South Yorkshire was as dominated by large landed proprietors as any other equivalent area in Britain. Contemporary maps, genealogists, glass painters and travellers confirm the contradictory image of an area already marked by manufacturing districts yet ruled

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|---|--------------|---|
| 4 | G E Aylmer   | "The Meaning and Definition of 'Property' in Seventeenth Century England." <u>P &amp; P 86, February 1980 pp 87-97.</u> |
| 5 | E P Thompson | <u>Whigs and Hunters. The Origin of the Black Act (1975) pp238-245.</u>   |
| 6 | G E Mingay   | <u>The Gentry, the Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class (1976) pp69-73.</u>  |
| 7 | M Girouard   | <u>Life in the English Country House (1978) pp181-212.</u>  |

by a territorial aristocracy and gentry as numerous and as powerful as elsewhere in England. Within the 342,000 acres of the old hundreds of Upper and Lower Strafforth and Staincross, an area more or less corresponding to modern South Yorkshire, there were seventy-six aristocratic and gentry seats, each surrounded and protected by an emparked area. The early stirrings of industrialization were no obstacle to the maintenance of this pattern of settlement, and of the concentration of landownership which supported it. In South Yorkshire as in nearby North Nottinghamshire, the changes of the period 1688-1750 seemed

"to widen the gap between the great landlords and the county gentry, to accentuate differences in wealth and therefore, as it happened, to widen differences in influence and political power,"

but did little to restrain the wealth and power enjoyed by the landowning upper class as a whole.<sup>8</sup>

Table 1.1 - Major Aristocratic Estates in South Yorkshire. Circa 1720<sup>9</sup>

	gross rental pa	Acreage	Date
Sheffield (Duke of Norfolk)	£4853	18000+	1724
Kiveton (Duke of Leeds)	£6968	10000	1719
Wentworth (Hon Wentworth)	£4500	9420	1723
Wentworth Castle (Earl of Strafford)	£600	3/4000	1713
Sandbeck (Earl of Scarborough)	£1092	4405	1724
Brodsworth (Earl of Kinnoul)	£671	3000	1723
Aston (Earl of Holderness)		950	1771
Edlington (Viscount Molesworth)		1800	1697
Holmes (Earl of Effingham)	£1819	2000	1783
Cowick (Viscount Downe)	£1200	2500	1767
Adwicke (Duke of Kingston)	£527	1057	1737
Swinton etc (Viscount Galway)		600+	1746
Hatfield (Lord Irwin)		522+	1693
Mexborough (Earl of Mexborough)		750	1731
Wortley (Wortley, later Lady Bute)	£2140	5303	1721
Hatfield (Earl of Halifax)-Montagu (+ other)		181+	1693
2. Egremont, Earl of.	unknown		
Earl of Huntingdon	"		

<sup>8</sup> G E Mingay The Gentry, op cit (1976) p69;

<sup>9</sup> See Figure 1.1.



In the old Hundreds of Upper and Lower Strafforth and Staincross there were 342000 acres. Before 1760 14 peerage estates have been identified as falling clearly into the 600-18000 acre category. Almost certainly other aristocratic owners held estates of that size, this being especially likely of Lord Irwin and the Earls of Halifax. Though some acreages and rentals have not been quantified, an overall pattern is clear. Three great estates of 9-18000 acres surpassed all others in size and rentals. A second layer comprised estates of 3-9000 acres, and a third residential or non-residential estates of smaller size. Variations in rental relative to acreage can in part be explained by the varied geography of the area, but it also reflects the extent of land kept in hand for home farming or emparkment.

Three very large estates included substantial holdings in this area by 1720, exceeding all others in size. These were the estates of the Duke of Norfolk in the extensive parish of Sheffield and its environs, the Wentworth-Woodhouse estate of the Wentworth family, and the Kiveton estate of the Marquis of Carmarthen. As with many other holdings in the area, they were a part of much larger agglomerations of landed property. But regionally too they were extensive. All exceeded 9,000 acres and together they account for about 8% of the whole land area.<sup>10</sup> In a geographically varied region they tended to encompass a topography which reflected that variety. Not untypically, the Norfolk estate stretched from the wild and infertile highlands of the East Moor and Bradfield west of Sheffield through the deep valleys to the east beyond the coal measures into the magnesian limestone parishes. Most larger estates included also a mix of urban and rural property, and a mix of proto-industrial and rural parishes.

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<sup>10</sup> See Chapter 2 for more detailed analysis of size and acreages of estates.

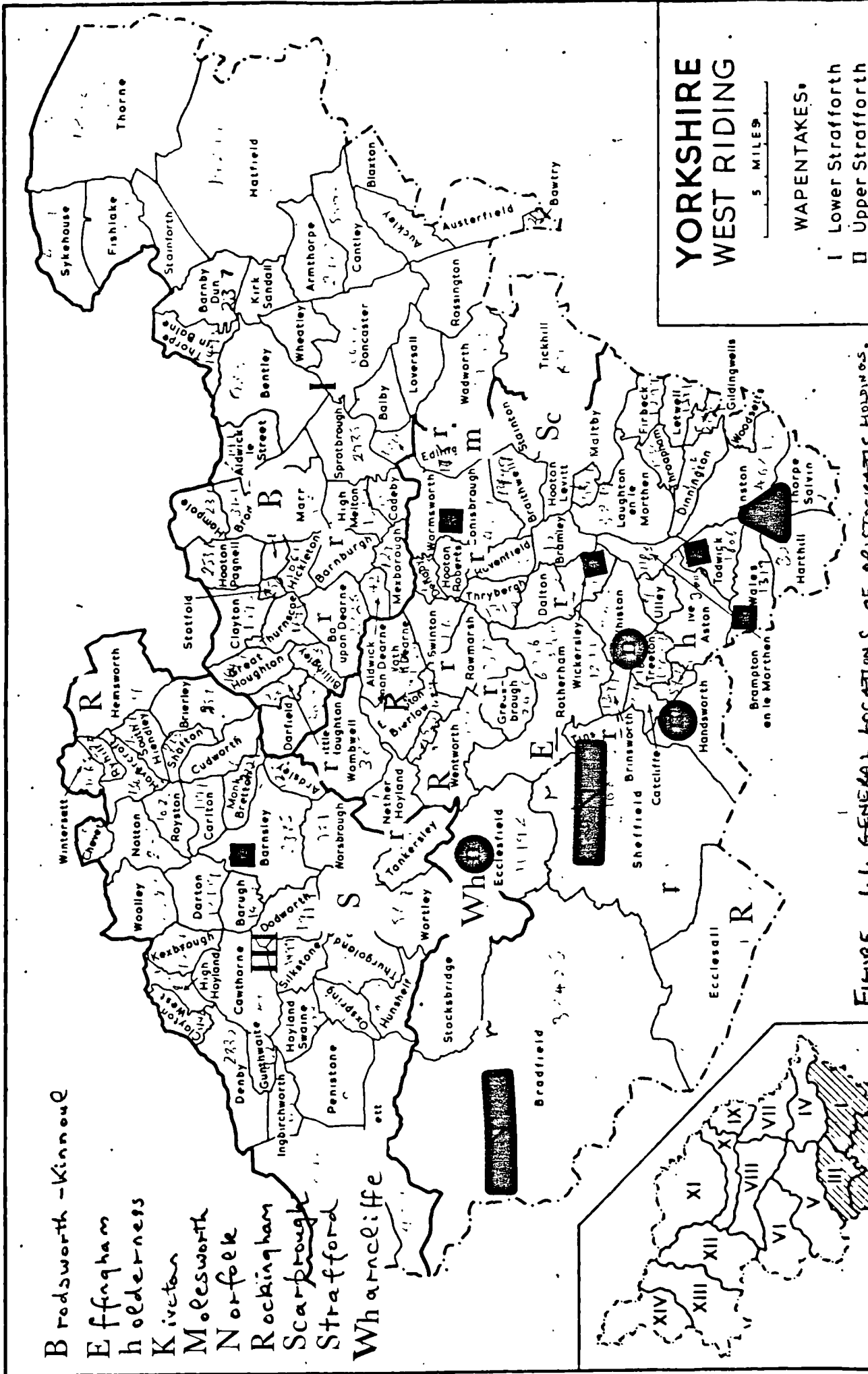


FIGURE 1.1. GENERAL LOCATIONS OF WAPENTAKES IN THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

Their very size, as well as the wealth and prestige of their owners, created an appearance of permanence in the distribution and control of landed resources as apparently immutable as the progress of the heavenly bodies. Individual families, or branches of them, may have grown more prominent or fallen upon difficult times economically or demographically, but the land-owning families as a whole retained an unwavering hegemony by the early eighteenth century. Hegemony, preserved by a whole range of political structures and ideological devices, which allowed the luxury of political conflict within the landed class, so long as it did not threaten its destruction.<sup>11</sup> Each 'grandee' estate generated income in excess of £3,000 in rents from this area alone. This was sufficient to support a minor peerage without the large holdings controlled elsewhere. In South Yorkshire they alone accounted for perhaps 40,000 acres, while another seven aristocratic holdings of between 2,000 and 4,500 acres each together encompassed another 20,000 acres in the area. There were at least four smaller holdings in aristocratic hands, of about 1,000 acres each, and a good number of substantial gentry estates.

The 3000-8000 acre category included the South Yorkshire property of the Earl of Strafford, the Brodsworth estate of the Earl of Kinnoul and the Earl of Scarbrough's Sandbeck property after the succession of 1723. These compared in size with the Wortley estate, which had a rental of £2117 and over 5000 acres in 1719. Strictly this did not become a peerage property until 1761, when it was inherited by Lady Bute. Smaller aristocratic holdings of under 3000 acres included the Earl of Holderness' Aston estate, the

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11 W A Speck

Stability and Strife. England 1714-1760 (1977)  
pp146-166.

Earl of Effingham's Holmes Hall estate near Rotherham, Viscount Molesworth's Edlington property. Each of these had a house and park in South Yorkshire, and all were part of larger estates. The Earl of Holderness owned Hornby and land elsewhere, Kinnoull Dupplin Castle south-west of Perth and Molesworth an estate at Breckdenston near Swords and urban property in Dublin itself. Smaller detached peerage estates without substantial mansions or parks included Lord Galway's land in Swinton and Rawmarsh, the Duke of Kingston's in Adwick, Lord Irwin's holdings in Hatfield and undoubtedly a large number of unidentified others of limited extent. They were minor parts of estates centred elsewhere.

Nevertheless some suggestions can be made about the extent and character of peerage holdings. Identified holdings in 1720 amounted to 59532 acres, or 17.5% of the land area. With unquantified holdings it is probable that peerage holdings exceed 20% of the whole, the figure surmised by G E Mingay as the average in England. It is probable that a numerous gentry owned much more, for their wealth and estates enabled them to vie with all but the biggest peerage owners throughout the period and in aggregate they owned more than the peerage as a group.<sup>12</sup>

This chapter contends that the preponderance of the larger estates in size was of relatively recent origin, and seeks to account for their emergence. That allows later growth to be placed in perspective in subsequent chapters.

Despite the long lineage of many of these families, some of which genuinely had ancestry which went back to William the Conqueror, the extraordinary size and high rental value of the 'grandee' estates of over 9,000



acres in South Yorkshire appears to have been of relatively recent origin, a point which was not lost among their eighteenth-century critics. In seminal articles H J Habakkuk stressed that easier mortgage credit, advantages in the marriage market, the possibility of better management and a wider range of resources allowed greater resilience to larger estates, when rents per acre rose relatively little and taxation ate into landowners' rental income.<sup>13</sup>

More appropriate in the study of South Yorkshire grandee estates is to account for the growth in acreage of the larger estates in the period from the Restoration to 1750, and to attempt an evaluation of the causes of that growth and its concomitant growth of rental income. But the rents, chief rents, fee farm rents, fines, coal royalties, manorial rights and other payments of one generation were the product of the land and other property acquisitions of their predecessors, and to ignore this factor, and the cause of such accumulation of private property by the early eighteenth century, is to truncate the economic history of the development of England.

Habakkuk's views are challenged and have been modified and refined yet an account of the growth of the South Yorkshire estates appears more nearly to fit his hypothesis of the advantages of large size in the growth and survival of estates than to refute it.<sup>14</sup> In particular such an account

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- 13 H J Habakkuk "English land ownership 1680-1740" EcHR X 1939-40 pp2-17. "Marriage Settlements in the Eighteenth Century" TRHS XXXII 1950 pp15-30.  
"The Long-Term Rate of Interest and the Rise of Landed Estates in the Seventeenth Century" EcHR 2 series V 1952-3 pp26-45.
- 14 J W Beckett "English Landownership in the Later Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: The Debate and the Problems." EcHR XXX, No 4, Nov 1977 pp567-581.
- See also: H J Habakkuk "The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families," TRHS 5th Series 29 1979 pp187-267; "The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families 1600-1800: II," TRHS, 5th Series 30 1980 pp199-221; "The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families 1600-1800. III," TRHS 5th Series 31 1981 pp195-217.

must of necessity stress that access to exterior sources of income appears to have been important or even crucial to the development of the largest estates of the area alongside more conventional means of accumulation. Of such sources none exceeded in importance the machinery of state itself, and access to office and privileges appears to have played an important part in the growth and consolidation of most larger holdings as well as allowing the development of new aristocratic estates in the region after 1660.

Between 1680 and 1740 the state apparatus itself grew enormously, and with such growth came new perspectives and opportunities. "Local Government, Parliament, the Church were the three bases upon which the pyramid of government rested. Their management and control absorbed most of the time and a great deal of the energy of all the ministers of state, yet without the forceful backing of the Crown, their time and energy would have been wasted."<sup>15</sup> The aristocracy and gentry were the ruling class, operating within an oligarchical framework of government. In such circumstances the political functions and economic power of the wealthiest families can be seen to complement one another, and studies of the benefits of office holding can present very contradictory conclusions. Thus, in the case of Thomas Pelham Holles, the Duke of Newcastle, it has been argued that,

"These offices although evidence of great local influence and sources of some small sinecures, were causes of expenditure rather than sources of much profit."

yet the same author concluded that

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- 15 J H Plumb "Robert Walpole's World, The Structure of Government" in D A Baugh (ed) Aristocratic Government and Society in Eighteenth Century England. The Foundations of Stability (1975) p145 (quote).
- See also G Holmes (ed) Britain after the Glorious Revolution 1689-1714 (1969) pp8-11.
- G Holmes Augustan England. Professions, State and Society 1680-1730 (1982) pp237-287.

"Beyond any doubt Newcastle's income from office was essential to supplement his landed income, for without it he could have maintained neither his style of life nor his full political influence especially after 1738." 16

Much depends in such analysis upon the focus chosen, for Newcastle enjoyed public office and its perquisites for over 50 years, drawing a state salary of over £5,000 per annum. If he remained "a Duke without money" it was the product of an extremely lavish lifestyle and heavy family commitments. Newcastle's predecessor, his uncle John Holles, had been granted the wardenship of Sherwood Forest by William of Orange.

"an office which the Duke transformed into virtual ownership. This claim on the use rights of the whole forest was a large addition to the huge landed base (from which) ... Thomas Pelham Holles purchased his dominating role as Whig political manager for four decades." 17

The route to territorial extension via high offices could be spectacular, but in practice was often complex. *Ministerial office and Court* favour ran together in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Very able, hardworking, ambitious or sometimes unscrupulous men could transform family fortunes within a generation. Apart from salaries, high offices carried patronage, gifts and invaluable insider knowledge, as well as weight in the legal process so vital in the determination of property problems which absorbed so much ingenuity, expense and time. The machinery of justice itself and military functions could generate great fortunes. Office involved patronage, dispensing posts and sinecures to dependents. A gambler's game had winners and losers. Though impeachment and execution had become rarer, the holders of high offices were obliged to take care to avoid

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16 R A Kelch

Newcastle. A Duke without Money. Thomas Pelham Holles (1974) p37; pp197-198.

17 E P Thompson

Whigs and Hunters (1975) p176.



vulnerability to their political opponents, and venality became a prime target of political rhetoric. Nevertheless the opportunities could be very great as a state with only limited obligations of a public nature concentrated much of its energy and power upon the satisfaction of a variety of private aims and obligations. The extent of this tension is well illustrated by the financial fortunes of Henry Fox and other public figures of the period.<sup>18</sup>

Of the titled families with substantial property holdings in South Yorkshire in 1750 most had benefited at some stage in the previous century from "political entrepreneurship". The Wentworth Woodhouse estate of the Honourable Thomas Wentworth (d 1723) had been the centre of the vast fortunes acquired by Thomas Wentworth, the first Earl of Strafford and Minister of Charles I (d 1641). His ancestors had expanded their landholding in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by

"the old fashioned, though effective, expedient of marrying an heiress"

Thus Strafford told Laud that he had £6,000 a year in good land in 1628. Subsequently he greatly expanded his income from a variety of sources even before taking ministerial office, but office had its rewards. As President of the Council of the North, collector of knighthood fines, speculator in the Alum farm and Lord Deputy of Ireland he was able by 1640 to spend

"at least £35,000 on land and possibly £22,000 on building."<sup>19</sup>

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18 L Sutherland and J Binney

"Henry Fox as Paymaster General of the Forces" in R Mitchison (ed) Essays on Eighteenth Century History (1966) pp231-259.

19 J P Cooper

"The Fortune of Thomas Wentworth Earl of Strafford." ECHR XI No 2 1957 p227; p242.

also

"Strafford and the Byrnes Country" IHS XV No 57 March 1966 pp14-20.

The latter office in particular allowed him to sell posts, make advantageous arrangements in the disposal of the tobacco and revenue farms and helped in his interests in the manufacture of glass and linen. By 1639 his annual income appears to have exceeded £20,000. The risks of office at that time were correspondingly high, and Strafford paid with his life for his attempts to bolster a weak absolutism as well as his personal fortunes. Perhaps his very ability to prosper in state service is indicative of the contradictions of early Stuart absolutism, for his gains were almost as much a matter of objection by Parliament as the supposed abuses of royal power for which he was the scapegoat.<sup>20</sup>

His son's inheritance was left in ruins. In 1659 the second Earl of Strafford told William Blundell that his father's paternal estate was good for £4,000 to £5,000 per annum, which he lived to double, but dying about £80,000 in debt, he himself had sold (one fifth part too cheap) about a moiety of the said estate to pay the aforesaid debts. £20,000 of this debt was incurred in being surety for the king, or by taking up the same sum for his Majesty at the beginning of the war in Yorkshire. Thus

"the Second Earl sold Harewood, Gawthorpe and Ledstone which in 1638 had produced a clear rental of over £2,460 a year. This was not far short of half the rental of Strafford's English lands. His Irish lands were relatively worthless in the 1650s, when these sales took place, and they remained to become a basis of a revival of the family fortunes."

After such rapid fluctuation in family fortunes the Second Earl of Strafford preferred

"the shades of private life and the gratification of private and social affectations." <sup>21</sup>

20

Ibid; p245.

21 J P Cooper

Op cit, p247 n4. Substantially the same core of land brought £6,450 in rents in 1727; £8,000 in 1748, according to J P Cooper. This view is not entirely correct as Thomas Wentworth, the elder, and the 1st Marquis of Rockingham expanded the acreage considerably between 1700 and 1750;

J Hunter

South Yorkshire (1829/31) p88 (William 2nd Earl of Strafford d 1695).

The experience of the First Earl of Strafford was less spectacularly mirrored by that of the Osborne family. The Osbornes had entered the Yorkshire gentry by purchasing the Kiveton estate late in the sixteenth century, utilizing liquid assets produced in the wool trade in London. Sir Edward Osborne served under Strafford as Vice President of the Council of the North from 1633 to 1641 and derived benefit from Wentworth's lease of the Alum farm.<sup>22</sup> Osborne sought to extend the acreage of his holdings and considered a large purchase of land at Hatfield level which would cost him the formidable sum of £12,278 and would have required borrowings of £4,930.

In the 1620s he was active in the process of enforcing the compounding of recusants, though the yield from this was not great in that period. Between 1630 and 1638 Wentworth and Osborne increased the efficiency of this exaction process.<sup>23</sup> By 1639 Osborne was appointed Deputy Lieutenant General to enable him to act in military matters without Strafford's signature,<sup>24</sup> but he was in some difficulty in maintaining authority among the wealthier gentry of the pre-Civil War period not least because he was both a "Deputy" and a man of considerably smaller estate than others in the West Riding at the time. He lost in the York election of 1640.<sup>25</sup> Inevitably, with Strafford's impeachment, he actively joined the Royalist cause in the Civil War. There he expended considerable sums and died in 1647 after financial losses. His wife became one of the female petitioners before the Committee for Compounding in 1649.<sup>26</sup> His personal estate was valued at £2,019 in 1647. Osborne had bought a mansion and the Sandford family estates in<sup>27</sup> Thorpe

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- 22 J Hunter South Yorkshire (1829-31) Vol 1, p139.  
23 J T Cliffe The Yorkshire Gentry. From the Reformation to the Civil War (1969) pp91-2  
24 J Hunter op cit (1829/31) pp142-143  
25 *ibid* p312 (Sir William Savile and Sir John Hotham in particular)  
26 J T Cliffe The Yorkshire Gentry. From the Reformation to the Civil War (1969) p324  
27 *ibid* p382; J Hunter South Yorkshire (1829/31) Vol 1 p143

Salvin in 1636 and had married twice, but the family fortunes, like those of Strafford, suffered in the 1640-60 period. Osborne's eldest son was killed by a falling chimney at York in 1638<sup>28</sup> and Sir Thomas Osborne (1631-1712), as elder of two surviving sons, succeeded to the bulk of the family property. By 1660 the estates yielded an income sufficient only to maintain a substantial gentry family.<sup>29</sup>

Osborne could not afford the quiescent life. He became high sheriff of Yorkshire in 1661 and MP for York between 1665 and 1673. He attained a post in the navy office, becoming one of those tough-minded young men who could be relied upon to say "No!" who were incorporated into Charles II's administration after the death of Southampton in 1667. The naval office was the nation's great spending department and an admirable training ground in administration and control.<sup>30</sup> The expenses and intention of the Dutch war were unpopular and when Crown revenue and expenditure remained inextricably confused, involved pressure upon all spending departments.

"The life of a virtuous officer in the navy is a continual war offensive, viz against the Ministers of State, and in particular the Lord Treasurers ... grudging every penny of money almost that is spent, and so keeping it short and postponing it to all other occasions." 31

Osborne developed the qualities of hard work, attention to detail and sheer toughness which were to ensure the subsequent rise to Joint Treasurer (1668-71) and the profitable place of Treasurer to the Navy from 1671-3. The

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- 28 J Hunter South Yorkshire (1829-31) Vol 2 p143.
- 29 The Complete Peerage (1929) p213. Sir Thomas Osborne (1632-1712) Earl of Danby, Marquis of Carmarthen (1689) Duke of Leeds.
- 30 H Roseveare The Treasury 1660-1870. The Foundations of Control (1973) pp19-20.  
also D Baugh British Naval Administration in the Age of Walpole (Princeton) (1965) esp pp452-493.
- 31 Samuel Pepys Navy Minutes. J R Turner (ed) Navy Records Society (1926) quoted in H Roseveare op cit (1973) p38 n61.

navy was the largest and most comprehensive of the country's industries and a vital organ of government. A substantial user and importer of raw materials, a large shipbuilder in its own right and a contractor, and purchaser of agricultural produce and clothing material, it expended huge sums. It had 5,000 men on the payroll in 1688 and controlled medical institutions. Administration was of equivalent complexity and sophistication. Of members of the Navy Board, the Treasurer was the best paid, with £3,000 pa in 1681, an office in Broad Street separate from the Navy Office itself, a personal barge and other perquisites. In 1660 the Treasurer received £2,000, and was allowed 3d on every payment made to him from the Exchequer. The Treasurer was responsible alone to the Lord Admiral for naval finance from 1662, while colleagues on the Navy Board had a right of countersignature of payments, but he held a veto. These powers were curtailed in 1671 but renewed in 1673 until 1686.<sup>32</sup> In 1672 on the basis of this experience Osborne was introduced into the Privy Council. In 1673 he was made Lord High Treasurer, an office retained until 1679.<sup>33</sup> Created Earl of Danby, he has been credited with a greater degree of improvement of Treasury control than can perhaps be supported by an analysis of the earlier reform at the Treasury after 1667, most of which is now attributed to the Treasury Commission of that year rather than to his later efforts. These early improvements were the system of registered orders and payment in course, Treasury Book keeping and above all increased Treasury Authority.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless

"the legacy had to be transmitted, and its machinery maintained." <sup>35</sup>

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32 J Ehrmann The Navy in the War of William III 1689-1697 Its State and Direction (1953) pp178-180.

33 J Hunter Op cit, p143.

34 H Roseveare Op cit, p40.

35 ibid p40-41.

Danby imposed "a skilful and toughminded settlement of the post"-Stop "debt and (an) equally impressive consolidation of revenue administration".<sup>36</sup>

In this Danby succeeded, while he consolidated Sir George Downing's work in bringing the Customs under closer control and enforcing the Navigation Acts in England and the Colonies.

Also significant is the increased political significance which became attached to the Lord Treasurer's Office in this period. In the study of state administration between 1660 and 1714, there is much to be said for the contemporary view of the perceptive Scot, A Cunningham,

"... these clamours against frauds and delinquents are, for the most part, raised by the commons with no other design than that they themselves may be bought off by the court, or bribed by the persons accused." 37

This is not to deny that men of principle existed, but rather that in relation to financial gifts, official salaries and Court pensions, principles were conditioned by confusion about the relative importance of loyalty to the Crown and issues concerned with parliamentary sovereignty, as well as by the balancing of personal advantage with public service.

Thus

"the 'honest administration', historically exceptional phenomenon as it is, emerged as part of the modern state only from the French Revolution, or, at any rate, as a result of the insights due to the Enlightenment." 38

Danby fell foul of the confusion of an earlier age.

"Other courtiers had been quick to discern that the growth of the Treasury's status after 1667 had made it infinitely more attractive as a post from which to command power."

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- 36 J Keith Horsefield "The Stop of the Exchequer Revisited," ECHR, 2nd Series XXXV, No 4 Nov 1982 pp511-528.
- 37 A Cunningham The History of Great Britain (London 1787 ed) p75.
- 38 J Van Klaveren "Fiscalism, Mercantilism and Corruption" in D C Coleman (ed) Revisions in Mercantilism (1969) p140.

Danby is uniquely identified with this growth of power, just as Strafford had been uniquely identified with the policy of "Thorough"

"The Treasury held its dangers, as Danby, Godolphin and Harley were later to learn. But it also conferred exceptional opportunities for self advancement. Danby was a second rank figure in June 1673; by early 1675 he was the Crown's principal minister, standing on a solid base of financial achievement." 39

Nor was this all, for Danby by asserting Treasury influence was responsible for the emergence of the organisation of a Court "party" both in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords, so that, paradoxically, a more powerful and wealthy

"revenue administration grew more and more heavily charged with pensions, sinecures and downright bribes,"

thereby providing the weaponry which was eventually to maintain an important base for

"the stable character of eighteenth century politics." 40

Danby's administrative legacy was ambivalent in its implications. There were areas of archaic practice which co-existed with professionalism.

"An attitude of indifference and even hostility towards the principles of the reform of tenure"

allowed many of the offices to fall back into the hands of life - interests and reversions, some unextinguished until the Hanoverians. 41

What were the rewards for administrative activism in later Stuart England? How was it translated into grandee status?

"The Treasurer had £8,000 a year for his pains,"

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39 H Roseveare Op cit, p41.

40 ibid, p42.

See also G Holmes British Politics in the Age of Anne (1967) pp382-403.

41 J Sainty "A Reform in the Tenure of Offices during the Reign of Charles II", Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research (1968) pp150-71.

and other sources of income including New Year's gifts from the King alone worth one thousand guineas, presents from other members of the royal family and from all the offices. Lower exchequer officers clubbed together to give two hundred guineas to the Treasurer and twenty-five to the Clerk of the Treasury.<sup>42</sup> Danby estimated the place to be worth £20,000 a year, and probably it was, for a single cash account was running at £15,000 a year between 1674 and 1676<sup>43</sup> and there were probably others.

"There was also imprested to Sir Thomas Osborne ... and Sir John Littleton, as Joint Treasurers of the Navy between the 6 November 1668 and 14 October 1671 several great sums of money, amounting to £1,235,252 11s 9½d."

Osborne was discharged by letters patent from liability, though there were inadequate accounts of this sum. Nor do these include all the proceeds from payments by office seekers and colleagues.<sup>44</sup> There were other opportunities.

"... there were accusations that the Treasurer did not scruple to buy up desperate debts at a great discount and then pay them at par,"

and a Treasurer could look forward to a large pension, though Danby's promised £5,000 a year was blocked by the Commons upon impeachment in 1679.<sup>45</sup>

In mid-life Danby was one of the most successful political entrepreneurs of the seventeenth century, responsible for the maintenance and bequest of a system of financial administration which provided the basis for equilibrium between the Crown and aristocratic oligarchy in the early eighteenth century despite the upheaval of 1688-9 and the arguably greater

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42 S B Baxter

The Development of the Treasury 1660-1702  
(1957) pp17-18; pp182-4.

43

ibid, pp182-4.

44 HMC Vol 17

House of Lords Mss 1690-3 pp420-1.

45 S B Baxter

ibid pp182-4.

Danby was responsible for secret service money and sums paid to Charles II by the French Government.



strains of the wars.

Conventionally success was reflected in purchases of landed estate.

"Harthill was sold in 1674, by Grace Viscountess Chaworth, relict of Patrick the last lord, to Thomas Earl of Danby,"

and

"About the same time he or his son had a grant of the right of preservation of Harthill from King Charles II. In 1677 he bought Todwick an adjoining Manor. In 1700 he purchased the Manor of Wakefield ... and in 1701 he added to what he possessed in the neighbourhood of Kiveton in the parishes of North and South Anston." 46

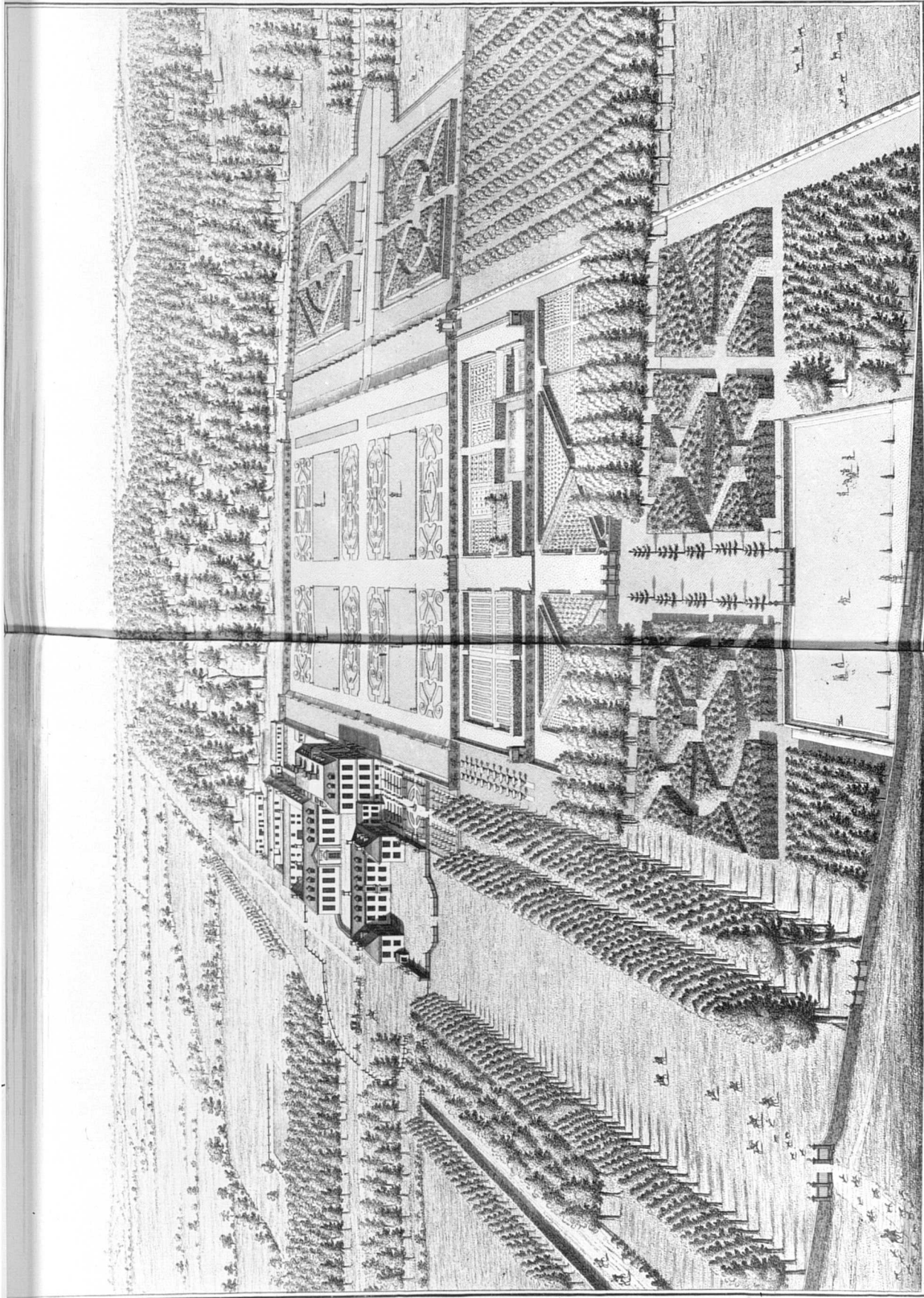
Rapid advancement excited envy, fear and reprisal, against which royal favour could not be guaranteed. After Danby's fall in 1679 there followed impeachment, long incarceration in the Tower of London, the stopping of pensions and other indignities. Danby survived, to re-emerge as a key figure in the Revolution of 1688-9. Thereafter came a second phase of a public prominence, another cycle of political high risks and rewards. Danby, with Lord Lumley, seized York for William of Orange and removed Sir John Reresby of Thryberg as Governor. He chaired the committee of Peers who declared the throne vacant. His reward was Lord Presidency of the Council from 1689-99, a pension on the secret list which made his overall pension £5,000 a year, and advancement in the Peerage to the Marquisate of Carmarthen.<sup>47</sup> Danby's acceptance of office in 1689 eased the acceptance of William III and his new ministry. He is supposed to have persuaded the aristocratic plotters of 1688-9 to avoid silencing Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham, who had been involved in the plot but had problems of con-

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46 J Hunter South Yorkshire (1829-31) pp139-42. For detailed analysis of estate growth see Ch 2, pp

47 J Hunter Op cit, Vol II p144, S B Baxter op cit, p187. HMC 17 House of Lords MSS 1690-3 pp369, 399.

FIGURE 1.3  
KIVETON.  
1698c.



*The South Prospect of the House, Gardens, & Park, of Kiveton, in the South part of YORKSHIRE, the Seat of the most Noble THOMAS OSBORNE VISCOUNT Latimer & Dumbain, BARRY Osborne of Kiveton, & Baronet.*

science as a leading defender of the Anglican church. With Halifax he shared credit for avoiding a potentially dangerous outbreak of church based factionalism. He also supported the offer of the crown to both William and Mary.<sup>48</sup> With considerable difficulty he is thought to have prevailed upon William III to cancel a general mandate issued for a wholesale massacre of Highland Scots families who had not responded to an indemnity offer, and to be satisfied with a military operation on a small scale in Glencoe. By May of 1694 Osborne was made Duke of Leeds after a second period of five years of vast income, social advancement and political success. He was one of only nine peers who subscribed to the Bank of England, with a relatively large sum of £4,000.<sup>49</sup>

Then a second political disgrace occurred

"... the sensational tale of the East India Company's corruption of officials and politicians was uncovered by the Houses in the spring of 1695. The new scandal virtually ushered Leeds from the political scene, but it redounded to Nottingham's credit. Both he and Portland, it was revealed had spurned large bribes offered by the old company." 50

It was claimed that Leeds had received £5,000 from the Company. It was the end of his political career, but not of benefits derived from it. When Lord Treasurer he had obtained the reversion of the Auditorship of the Receipt for his son Peregrine, Marquis of Carmarthen, from 1694.

48 H Horwitz Revolution Politics. The Career of Daniel Finch, Second Earl of Nottingham 1647-1730 (Cambridge 1968) pp52-3, 73, 75, 77; Complete Peerage Vol VII (1929) p510.

49 P G M Dickson The Financial Revolution in England. A Study in the Development of Public Credit 1688-1756 (1967) p258.

Of the Peers only Devonshire, Godolphin and Portland subscribed more.

See also

The Complete Peerage (undated) p212.  
20 April 1689 Marquis of Carmarthen;  
4 May 1694 Duke of Leeds

50 H Horwitz op cit (1968) p154.

In an attempt to clip his wings the Treasury ignored this patent of Charles II and after the death of Sir Robert Howard in 1698 appointed Christopher Montagu, the brother of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Lords of the Treasury rubbed salt in the wound by claiming that Howard had been appointed by Peregrine's father when Treasurer. In fact the place had been secured by a patent of reversion. The Duke of Leeds hoped that this manoeuvre would be overturned because of lack of consultation with the King, but the latter was persuaded to accept it, though it cost Peregrine £4,000 a year. Leeds then attacked the Montagu family in the courts, and in the Commons Christopher Montagu was attacked for sitting while a placeman. This drove out other MPs but failed to displace the real target.<sup>51</sup> Meanwhile Peregrine was adequately established, making a career in the navy. In 1690 he had been involved in a bizarre dispute with his father when he sought to equip a privateer which ended in his incarceration in the Tower, but in 1702-3 he was appointed Vice Admiral of the Red.<sup>52</sup> This brought a regular salary and half pay on retirement, and a variety of perquisites, one of which was greatly enhanced with the termination of the Crown Share of prize money in

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51 A Browning Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, Duke of Leeds 1632-1712 (Glasgow 1951). The Montagu family built an enormous fortune on offices. In 1883, Andrew Montagu owned one of 9 estates valued over £2 million.

See W D Rubinstein Men of Property (1981) pp201-202

"Born Andrew Fountayne Wilson, Montagu was a descendent in the female line of Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, Finance Minister to William III and a great placeman." He was the commoner with the largest rent rolls in 1883 (with the Weld-Blundells of Liverpool). Both he, and the other extremely wealthy commoner Wentworth B Beaumont, created Baron Allendale in 1906, had large South Yorkshire holdings.

52 J Hunter Op cit, p143.  
 YAS Leeds Mss Fragment of Complete Peerage (undated) p213.  
 Peregrine Osborne died in 1729, the Hon Charles Steward became Vice Admiral of the Red in that year. (D Baugh op cit p132). Retired admirals received half pay ie £1.05s per day 1727 Chamberlayne Magnae Notitiae Book III (1728/9).

By 1703 the Duke played little direct part in ministerial politics, though he was Chief Justice in Eyre north of the Trent from 1711 until 1712. In Yorkshire the great house at Kiveton neared completion.<sup>54</sup> The family's position on church issues had distanced them from the ministerial whigs, but their support for the post-1688/9 "settlement" remained consistent with a steady Tory position on most issues. This extended to the financial institutions of the new system, so that by 1750 the Fourth Duke of Leeds and Henry Furnese held £22,627 in the stocks as part of a trust arrangement, which was one of the six largest holdings of stocks by the aristocracy at that date.<sup>55</sup> Significantly even at that time, the holdings of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough (both deceased) and Francis Earl of Godolphin dwarfed all other aristocratic stockholding in 1750, amounting to 0.33% of the total or about 0.66% of the whole stock debt of £47.5m. By a process of intermarriage meanwhile, the Marlborough, Godolphin and Osborne families had maintained concentration in the ownership of their financial fortune in the state debt. This connection plainly aligned their interest with the London bourgeoisie who had pre-eminently supported the public credit of the post 1688/9 political structure.<sup>56</sup>

Marriage remained a key institution in linking the ruling families of this period. Peregrine Hyde, 3rd Duke of Leeds (1729-31) married Elizabeth Harley daughter of the Earl of Oxford. His son Thomas married Mary Godolphin

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| 53 | D Baugh<br>R D Merriman<br>R Pares | Op cit, pp109-13.<br><u>Queen Anne's Navy (1961).</u><br>"The Manning of the Navy in the West Indies 1702-63" <u>TRHS 4th Series XX (1937) pp</u>   |
| 54 | See                                | <u>Complete Peerage (1929) Ch 8 p508.</u>   |
| 55 | P G M Dickson                      | Op cit (1967).  |
| 56 | N Rogers<br><br>W A Speck          | "Money, land and Lineage. The Bourgeoisie of Hanoverian London" <u>SH Vol 4 No 3 October 1979 pp437-454.</u><br>"Conflict in Society" in G Holmes (ed) <u>Britain after the Glorious Revolution 1689-1714 (1969) pp136-138.</u> |

whose sister married Thomas Pelham Holles the Duke of Newcastle.<sup>57</sup> The Godolphin family remained central in the nexus of aristocratic families, not least as creditor of Thomas Duke of Leeds and of Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle.<sup>58</sup>

In 1703 the estates of the first Duke of Leeds yielded a gross rental of £10,342.17.2½ and included "Manors, Lordships, Lords, tenements and hereditaments" in the counties of York, Nottinghamshire, Surrey, Buckinghamshire and elsewhere, timber valued in excess of £20,000 and considerable sums in fee farm rents and manorial rights. The house at Kiveton was valued at £12,000 and another in Surrey at £10,000. The family, whose fortunes had been parlous 40 years earlier, was established with a ducal income, high status and connections and the possibility of future growth of income. By far the greater part of this pre-eminence in wealth and income was the product of the previous four decades.<sup>59</sup> Subsequent Dukes of Leeds also profited from office and perquisites. Least successful was the Second Duke who persisted in his post of Rear Admiral, was Colonel of the City of London Dragoons and of the First Regiment of the Marines.

The Second Duke was disinherited, the bulk of the family property passing to Peregrine Hyde Osborne (1691-1731), the second and only surviving son. The Second Duke was at odds with his father on several occasions. On 25 April 1682 he married Bridget, only daughter of Sir Thomas Hyde, without parental consent. She had been married at the age of 12 to a cousin and there was

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- 57 J Hunter South Yorkshire Vol 2 (1821-31) p143 Marriage of Peregrine Hyde Osborne to Elizabeth Harley daughter of Robert Earl of Oxford (3rd Duke of Leeds 1729-31).
- 58 BL State Paper Room "An Act for sale of Part of the Estates of Thomas Duke of Leeds" BL Ref 2 269. Draft Bill. 19 Geo II c12. Cites Marriage Settlement 6/7 June 1740. Sir Tresham Lever Bt. Godolphin. His Life and Times (1952) p267-258 n63. Newcastle. A Duke Without Money (1974). p75.
- R Kelch
- 59 YAS Leeds Mss Box 23 No 13 "A General Account of ye yearly land rents and profits" 8 April 1703.
- Also The Complete Peerage (nd) p214.

dispute over its annulment. Ever "very rakish and extravagant in his manner of living, otherwise he would have risen quicker" he fought at least two duels, impetuously tried to set out on a privateering venture with which his father disagreed in 1690, but had supported his father's position in the Revolution. Later he appears to have regretted this, and he received a commission as Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Jacobite Fleet in 1716. By then the disinheritance was complete, his wife claimed destitution and he lived on an annuity and his military income if it was paid. The Commission was returned to the Pretender at Lucca in 1722, and he died in needy circumstances, transferring his annuity to James Osborne, a natural son, who was a midshipman.

Peregrine Hyde, Third Duke of Leeds (1691-1731) married Elizabeth Harley. When she died in childbed in 1713 he married twice more. After his short enjoyment of the Dukedom in 1729-31 Juliana, his third wife, remarried to Charles Colyear, 2nd Earl of Portmore. She outlived her first husband for sixty three years, receiving £3000 per annum jointure and thereby imposing a total cost of about £190000 on the estate during her widowhood, prior to her death in November 1794.<sup>60</sup>

The Fourth Duke, Thomas Osborne (1713-1789) married in 1740 Lady Mary, the younger of Francis Godolphin's two daughters and, compelled by heavy incumbrances, acquired a whole range of offices and perquisites.

"On the twelfth of November AD 1748 his grace was appointed warden and chief justice in eyre of his majesty's forests, Inces etc South of the Trent. On the twenty second of June AD 1749 he was elected of the most noble order of the garter and installed at Windsor on the 12th of July AD 1750. On the fourth day of January AD 1750 he was appointed cofferer of his majesty's household and afterwards was sworn of the privy council, and on the twentyninth of May AD 1761 he was appointed chief justice in eyre of his majesty's forests north of the Trent,"

an office retained until 1774. All of these offices carried substantial perquisites. Nevertheless property had to be sold in the 1745/6 period.

Some other notable fortunes had grown with that of Sir Thomas Osborne, including that of the Finch family (Earls of Nottingham) and Charles Bertie, son of Montagu, Earl of Lindsay.

"In January 1674-5 Bertie was given the office of Treasurer of the Ordinance in reversion, a place which he did not finally lose until 1705. He was also granted a lease of the Manors of Marwarden in Herefordshire and Barnsley cum Dodworth in Yorkshire with all royalties and mines except gold and silver."

His half-sister was married to Danby, and he was made Secretary to the Treasury when Danby became Treasurer in 1673.<sup>61</sup> Some contemporaries went so far as to blame Osborne's wife for his vulnerability to corruption.

In contrast to the meteoric rise of Sir Thomas Osborne, the holdings of the Dukes of Norfolk in South Yorkshire were of longstanding. The Earls of Arundel and Surrey had secured possession of extensive Talbot estates in the parish of Sheffield and its environs and in North Nottinghamshire in the late sixteenth century. So large were these estates, that the fortunes of at least one local gentry family were erected upon their administration in the seventeenth century, as was that of the Eyres in the eighteenth. As their historian has stressed

"As a result of both their efforts (Stephen Bright - d 1641 and Sir John his son) the family rose within less than a century ... from the ranks of the yeomanry to that part of society where gentry mingle freely with aristocracy."<sup>62</sup>

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- 61 H Horwitz op cit (1960) pp10-12.  
S B Baxter op cit (1967) p181, pp189-90 Another such case was Henry Guy MP, Secretary to the Treasury for fourteen years, speculator in Wine Act, Farmer of Yorkshire Excise in 1667. Courtier. Groom of the bedchamber £500 pa 1675. Grant of Manor of Westminster and Neotts Court 1675-8. Receiver General of Corn fee farm rents arrears 1677. Treasurer to Navy and Payments to forces. He left an estate worth £150,000 despite imprisonment in 1694 and did not return to H of C until 1702. Ibid p192.
- 62 P Roebuck Four Yorkshire Landowning Families 1640-1760. An Economic History Vol I PhD Thesis, University of Hull (1969) p368.



The Arundel estates were far-flung, and in some respects may typify the type of aristocratic holding which was difficult to manage and subject to a degree of pressure in the pre-Civil War period.<sup>63</sup> Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Earl Marshall of England led the Royal troops against the Scots in 1639.<sup>64</sup> The office of Earl Marshall still carried residual functions in the exercise of military discipline at that time, though these fell into disuse later in the seventeenth century. The Earl Marshall also had ceremonial responsibilities which carried substantial perquisites. For each knighthood granted he received £3.3.04 and there were equivalent sums for advances into the baronetcy and into and within the peerage. The office remained hereditary within the Howard family, as was that of Deputy Earl Marshall.<sup>65</sup> Thus the family was in a position to profit greatly from the expansion of the knighthoods, baronetage and peerage after 1660, both in the late Stuart period and in the great mass of advancements between 1639 and 1715. Chamberlayne's perhaps doubtful evidence suggests that from the creation of the baronetage in 1611, to 1727, there were more than 1,000 creations within that order alone.<sup>66</sup> Thus, although a firm estimate of the net gains from these offices had not been attempted, there can be little doubt that they were profitable, and increasingly so in the 1660-1715 period. In 1688/9 the seventh Duke of Norfolk, a protestant, received a pension of £3,000 a year from William of Orange for carrying out official duties in the coronation of William and Mary. Apparently only £1,500 of this pension had been paid in May 1712, eleven years after his death, and arrears of £28,500 were

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63 Lawrence Stone The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641 (1965) pp188-190.

64 R E Scouller The Armies of Queen Anne (Oxford 1966) p388.

65 J Chamberlayne Magnae Britanniae Notitiae or The Present State of Great Britain 1716/15 1729/28 Overall knighthood cost almost £90.

66 *ibid* pp36-50.

claimed at that time by the Earl of Carlisle, his executor. A payment of £1500 was noted in the House of Lords enquiry of 1691.<sup>67</sup>

This illustrates one major difficulty in quantifying real gains from office holding in this period, which is to discern how much was actually received as compared with the formal grants, pensions, patents or salaries.

As leading peers, the Dukes of Norfolk carried out a wide range of national and local functions. Thus Henry, the seventh Duke, was Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk at the time of his death in 1701, a key position in time of war.<sup>68</sup> Yet it was dependents of the Howard family who were pushed forward by James II in his attempts to oust the protestant gentry from the Commission of the Peace in 1688.

"among others John Eyre of Sheffield Park, Mr Ratcliffe and Co. The first can neither write nor read, the second is a bailiff to the Duchesse Dowagere of Norfolk's rents, and neither of them have one foot of freehold land in England."<sup>69</sup>

A degree of political ambivalence was a necessary condition for survival in a turbulent age. Despite the catholicism of some branches of the Howard family, the seventh Duke was of proven loyalty, and maintained his electoral as well as official role in favour of the Revolution Settlement, although he did retreat somewhat in Norfolk by selling Castle Rising to Thomas Howard of Ashted Surrey, a relative and staunch Tory in 1695. As a result some poli-

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67 S C L Arundel MSS DD 136; HMC 17. House of Lords MSS, p381. Henry Howard. 6. 11 January. 1654/5. Confessed and publicly took sacrament April 1679. Steward Hon. Artillery Co. 2 April 1682; Constable Windsor Castle and Captain of Foot Company there December 1682. Lord Lieutenant Berkshire and Surrey December 1682, and of Norfolk 1683 to his death in 1701. High Steward of Lynn and of Norwich Cathedral 1684-death; Chief Butler - Coronation James II. Colonel of 12th Foot Regiment 1685-6; 22nd Foot Regiment, March-September 1689. K G July 1685. Marshalls Courts held under him 1687 and 1689. Uncommitted 1688/9, Captain General Artillery in King's absence June 1690. Commissioner of Appeal for King's prizes of war 1694 and Admiralty cases 1697. Ranger of Windsor Forest 1700-1.

68 J H Plumb quoted in D A Baugh (ed) Aristocratic Government and Society in C18 England (1975) pp121-2

69 A Browning (ed) Memoirs of Sir John Reresby (1936) p584.

tical influence there was lost to Captain Walpole, Robert Walpole's father.<sup>70</sup>  
In the state apparatus itself Robert Howard MP (d1698) was Secretary of the Treasury and Auditor of the Receipt from 1673. Despite the deep enmity of Danby and powerful attacks, he remained

"Holding this key position in life tenure until 1698, Howard contributed more than most to the degeneration in the late seventeenth century Exchequer. He not only neglected his official responsibilities to check on the propriety of transactions in the Lower Exchequer, he actively connived at misappropriation."

Despite discovery of these problems in 1677 by Danby, Howard remained unscathed until 1697.<sup>71</sup> He was the son of Thomas, Earl of Berkshire, and obtained the office in 1673. His father and he shared the farm of the Post fines which was worth £1,500 net even after the abolition of the Court of Wards. He had also been co-Treasurer of the Navy which was worth at least as much again. His place at the Treasury was a promotion and when he retired to the receipt in 1673 he went to an office of even greater value than that of the Treasury Secretary. He drew perhaps £4,000 a year for thirty-five years.<sup>72</sup>

To some extent the Dukes of Norfolk, the Howards, suffered from the accidents of demography in trying to maintain a relatively consolidated holding of land in Yorkshire. In the 1690's the 2,000 - acre Rotherham estate was cut off in favour of Jane Bickerton, second wife of the sixth Duke of Norfolk. It included the house at Holme which was to remain the South Yorkshire seat of the Effingham-Howard family until 1777. The succession in this branch failed with the deaths of Lord George Howard and his brother Francis H Howard in 1721 and 1726, and the bulk of this estate passed to Francis Lord Howard, who was created Earl of Effingham in 1731.<sup>73</sup> Earlier,

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70 D Baugh op cit pp133-5.

71 H Roseveare The Treasury 1660-1870 (1973) p50-51.

72 S B Baxter op cit pp65, 164-7.

73. J Hunter South Yorkshire Vol II (1829-31) p10.

Howard of Effingham was dependent upon a court pension throughout Queen Anne's reign, and a well known "Court Whig", a characteristic shared with the Earl of Scarborough between 1710 and 1713.<sup>74</sup> The alignment of this branch of the Howard family was already clear in 1693-4 when Francis, Lord Howard of Effingham, contributed £800 towards the Tontine loan, and was one of only two peers to do so.<sup>75</sup>

Impecunious throughout the early eighteenth century in terms of rental income, the family enjoyed advancement as a result of the Court and military success of the first and second Earls, Francis Howard (1683-1743) and Thomas Howard (1714-1763), both of whom were 8th and 9th Deputy Earls Marshal of England. The catholicism of the Dukes of Norfolk, and consequent estrangement from Walpole's regime, allowed the Earls of Effingham to act as Earl Marshal from 1731 until 1763.<sup>76</sup> Privileged access to the state apparatus and court favour thus favoured less wealthy branches of the Howard family as well as the main Ducal line, and helped to preserve its fortunes despite the recurrent taint of catholicism. Unlike the Osborne family, or the Wentworths, the Dukes of Norfolk had long held large land holdings in South Yorkshire, and yet remained grandee absentees at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

If a landed family chose to neglect the political game or lost in the gamble of political alignments, it was unlikely that it would achieve spectacular advantage in fortune in the late seventeenth century. For a time this was the case for the successors of the first Earl of Strafford. In the post Restoration period the second Earl of Strafford recovered his fortunes very slowly. He had married the daughter of the second Earl of Derby in 1654,

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74 G Holmes British Politics in the Age of Anne (1967) p227.

75 PG M Dickson op cit p258.

76 Complete Peerage (1926) Vol V pp11-13.

HMC Carlisle MSS (1897) p96 Lady Irwin - Lord Carlisle, 16 January 1733; p187 Col William Douglas - Lord Carlisle, 24 September 1737; Lady Irwin - Lord Carlisle, 11 October 1737.

but seems to have had little financial benefit from the match, and lamented his ill-fortune for much of his life. Of the countess he stated in his memorial

"She had in the most eminent degree, largeness of heart, wisdom, and piety, worthy of a far better fortune than, by the sufferings of her husband and both their families, she found."<sup>77</sup>

The relatively stagnant economic conditions were not favourable to rapid increase in rental income after 1660. Attempts that were made to increase the yield of the remaining estates were slow to bear fruit.

"Consider both of the demesnes and part of the Friar House Farm, and Richard Martialls, to be taken in if need be for the keeping of such necessary stock as we should have against we coming to Woodhouse ... I desire you will doe me the favour to make as good a bargaine as you can in letting my cole pitts and you will acquaint me with your opinion about some petitions upon my father's inclosing at Tankersley. I have appointed Bower to send you them."<sup>78</sup>

The Earl's complaints of debt continued for much of his life, though the exact criteria by which he established the diminution of fortune are not obvious. Thus, in beseeching help from Danby at the height of his power in 1675 he wrote "I was left with a debt of above a hundred thousand pounds." and in the following year he continued to complain of excessive debt burdens.<sup>79</sup> Yet at the time of his death in 1695 the core of his property remained substantial. As he was childless "Old Woodhouse" and all the other estates passed to the issue of the sister of the second Earl, who had married Edward Watson, the second Baron of Rockingham. This included land in Yorkshire, Nottingham and Ireland, estates which in total were yielding over £10,000 per annum in 1727. Though Thomas Wentworth, the third son of Lady Rockingham, had no title, he

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77 J Hunter op cit p88 (memorial 1689).

78 William second Earl of Strafford - Sir Thomas Wentworth of Bretton 29.10 1663 (quoted in J Hunter op cit p88) Even very vigorous landlords found it difficult to "improve" rentals in this region in that period. See P Roebuck (thesis 1969) pp250-2; p404.

79 Earl of Strafford to Earl of Danby. 1675 and 1676 referred to in HMC 22 MSS of the Dukes of Leeds W Dunn Macroy (ed) (1888) p10.

was as wealthy as many great magnates.<sup>80</sup> Thus upon succeeding to the estates in 1723 Watson-Wentworth's son Thomas was able to re-enter the political arena with a substantial base of landed property. As a loyal ally of Walpole, he built the fortune of the family to new levels by 1750, establishing a whig dynasty and a platform from which his son in turn attained the Lord Treasurer's ministerial office between 1750 and 1783. Thus, after a hiatus of several generations in which the Watson-Wentworth family displayed unflinching loyalty to William of Orange and the Hanoverians, they re-inserted themselves into that

"group of great families clearly distinguished in point of wealth and influence from other landowning families ... their origins were miscellaneous, but a high proportion were founded on fortunes made in government service ..."<sup>81</sup>

The direction of this thrust was apparent in the marriage of Thomas Wentworth (d1750) to Lady Mary Finch in 1716, which brought a marriage portion of £5,000 and an alliance with one of the leading political families of the age.<sup>82</sup> Characteristically the "honourable Wentworth" did not overreach himself financially in this match, for the second Earl of Nottingham was not exceptionally wealthy among peers, though he was exceptionally active in

- 80 Thomas Watson Wentworth, 4 August 1665 - 6 October 1723. Lady Rockingham was the eldest daughter of the daughter of the first Earl of Strafford.
- 81 H J Habbakuk "England's Nobility" in A Goodwin (ed). The European Nobility. Studies of the Nobilities of the Major European States in the Pre-Reform Era. (1967) pp1-21.
- 82 SCL WWMD 1523A Marriage Settlement. Thomas Wentworth the Younger and Lady Mary Finch 20 October 1716  
see also  
C Clay "Marriage, Inheritance and the Rise of the Large Estates in England 1660-1815" ECHR 2 Series Vol 21 1968 pp503-518  
and  
D Horwitz Revolution Politicks. The Career of Daniel Finch. Second Earl of Nottingham 1647-1730 Cambridge (1968) pp266-7.

politics.<sup>83</sup> The portion was relatively modest by the standards of the peerage, but generous considering Finch's resources. The match was attractive, not least because of the pro-church stance of the second Earl. Watson-Wentworth himself eschewed a leading role in national politics, but attempted to improve the lot of the inferior clergy, encouraged chapel repair and charity schools in South Yorkshire. His political role was largely confined to sitting as MP for Bossiny, Malton, and Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire.<sup>84</sup> In turn his son sat for Malton from 1715, and was succeeded by a member of the Finch family in 1728.

Direct contributions to the Wentworth family fortunes from office remained slight between 1641 and 1723. By that time the acquisitions of the first Earl which remained to the family were changing in relative importance economically. English land, though depleted by the sales to pay debts, was valuable and capable of gradual improvement and extension. It contained rich and improveable farmland, valuable timber resources, minerals and other profitable assets. The appropriation of such assets had been a risky business in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it became increasingly easy to maintain hold on such resources and to extract from them greater yields. It was aided by legal change.

"As property became increasingly saleable absolute rights to things, the distinction between right and thing was easily blurred, more easily so because, with these changes, the state became more and more an engine for guaranteeing the full right of the individual to the disposal as well as the use of things."<sup>85</sup>

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- 83 J Cooper "Patterns of Inheritance and Settlement of Great Land-owners" Paper delivered to the "Past and Present" Annual Conference 1974. Published proceedings pp57-75. Cooper claims that this was one of the smallest marriage portions proposed by Peers 1675-1729. Ibid. Table 1.
- 84 J Hunter op cit p90.
- 85 C B MacPherson "Capitalism and the changing concept of Property". E Kamenka and R S Neale (eds) Feudalism, Capitalism and Beyond (1975) p111.
- G E Aylmer "The Meaning and Definition of "Property" in Seventeenth Century England" PeP86 8 Feb 1980 p96/7.

Such changes, in which land marks were the abolition of the Court of Wards in 1660, the recognition of mortgage equity and the growth and sophistication of a variety of settlement practices, re-inforced the powers of the possessors of property to enforce their rights vis-a-vis the state and those who might contest them.<sup>86</sup> Of course sharp contests over property frequently divided landed families themselves, particularly in successions, but they were increasingly secure from arbitrary exactions by the state, though gentry found occasion to rail endlessly against "excessive" taxation especially in wartime.<sup>87</sup>

Despite their recent emergence and continued expansion in acreage in most cases, the Wentworth Woodhouse, Kiveton and Arundel Estates in South Yorkshire, together with some smaller holdings like that of the Earl's of Holderness at Aston, or the Earls of Scarborough, seemed relatively stable parts of the geography and economy of the region by 1720. They were each a part of the territorial base of the rentals of families which in greater or lesser degree participated in the political hegemony of the great Whig lords, and their preponderant size in South Yorkshire reflected that domination. This was a matter of concern, comment and sometimes frustration among smaller gentry property owners in this area as elsewhere. For a time the Dukes of Norfolk were the exception among the grandees, with larger established estates in South Yorkshire, less growth, and in the specified period between 1700 and about 1740 little royal and ministerial favour until the 9th Duke made his peace with Walpole.

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- 86 G E Mingay The Gentry (1976) p68.  
E P Thompson Whigs and Hunters. The Origin of the Black Act (1975) p197.
- 87 P Mathias "Taxation and Industrialization in Britain 1700-1870" in P Mathias. The Transformation of England. Essays in the economic and social history of England in the eighteenth century (1979) pp116-130.



## II The "New" estates in South Yorkshire 1690-1750

Alongside the seeming stability of the three largest estates by 1720, there emerged at least three "parvenu" large land holdings in South Yorkshire in this period. All of them were the product of the special conditions and financial turmoil of 1688-1711. Lord Dupplin, a Scot's peer, Robert, Viscount Molesworth, and Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby and third Earl of Strafford all purchased estates and introduced new aristocratic holdings into the area between 1708 and 1715, thereby together creating a greater change in the upper ranks of landownership than was to occur at any time in the subsequent one hundred and fifty years. In each case political connection and the opportunities of war played a significant though varying role. They provide a useful example of the way in which large fortunes were derived from the development of London real estate, the profits of office, and investments in government loans after 1694.<sup>88</sup> Of the sixteen peers elected to represent the Scottish nobility subsequent to the Act of Union in 1707, only one was in any way affluent by contemporary English standards. Many had incomes under £3,000 per annum, which was less than many English gentry, and far below the £4,000 per annum considered necessary to support an English peerage.<sup>89</sup> In consequence they were renowned for both penury and servility to the Court. Between 1708 and 1714 Thomas Hay, Viscount Dupplin and Earl of Kinnoull (1711) married his son to a daughter of the Harley family. Subsequently the son assumed leadership of the Tory faction of the Scots Tory contingent in the House of Commons. As a result his father received regular Court pensions during the Harley administration of 1710-1714. Lord Dupplin sat as MP for the English borough of Fowey between 1710 and

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88 J R Jones County and Court. England 1658-1714 (1978) p83.

89 G Holmes British Politics in the Age of Anne (1967) p338,393-4.  
Ibid p337.

1713 and rapidly attached himself to the central nexus of high Tory peers. The family remained, limpet like, throughout most of the eighteenth century. The seventh Earl of Kinnoull was a close associate of Thomas Pelham Holles, between at least 1740 and the death of the fourth Duke of Newcastle in 1768, and relationships also developed with the Godolphin-Osborne family.<sup>90</sup> It was this connection which helped Robert Hay Drummond, brother of the seventh Earl of Kinnoull, to succeed to the Archbishopric of York in 1761-76. It was under the conditions of his will that the sale of Brodsworth to Lord Downe in 1787 for £60,000 was contemplated.<sup>91</sup> The Hay family owned estates in Perthshire, but income from those is unlikely to have been large by English aristocratic standards in the early eighteenth century. Yet Thomas Harley, who was anxious to marry his children well, was satisfied with the connection.

"And here also his efforts met with much success. In 1709 he succeeded in netting George Hay, Viscount Dupplin, for his younger daughter Abigail, while his favourite child Elizabeth, landed an even bigger fish. On 12 December Elizabeth took in marriage Peregrine Hyde Osborne, Marquise of Carmarthen, the grandson of Charles' II's Danby ... For Edward the Treasurer secured the greatest prize of all - the beautiful redheaded Henrietta Cavendish Holles, only child of the fabulously wealthy John Holles Earl of Newcastle."<sup>92</sup>

Thus the marriage connections were forged between a newcomer to the English aristocratic scene and some of the country's most powerful and wealthy families. It was more of a coup for the Earl of Kinnoull. The purchase of the Brodsworth estate in South Yorkshire set seal upon this connection and signalled the arrival of the Hay family. Between 1714 and 1723 a compact

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90 R Kelch Newcastle. A Duke without Money. Thomas Pelham Holles 1693-1768 (1974) p180.

See also BL BS Ref 2.269 Draft Bill 19 Geo 21 C12 (1745). An Act for Sale of Part of the Estate of Thomas, Duke of Leeds (1743). Thomas Hay Lord Dupplin, later seventh Earl of Kinnoull was a party in this and several other settlements relating to Osborne-Godolphin family affairs.

91 YAS Leeds MSS DD 132 1/2/10. 17 April 1764. Declaration of Trust and Counterpart of Mortgage. (Duke of Leeds Trustee).

92 A McInnes Robert Harley, Puritan Politician. (1970) pp177-8.  
YAS Theilsson Papers

estate was built up in several purchases in Brodsworth, Marr Hampole and Pigburn, amounting in all to about 3,000 acres. The sellers were another branch of the Wentworth family in July 1715, when the bulk of the Brodsworth and Pigburn lands were leased prior to sale to Lord Dupplin. In the following eight years at least eight more transactions took place, of which the largest was the purchase of the Manor of Marr from Lord Scarsdale in August 1721 for £10,389. Other purchases were of smaller amounts of property, including the vicarage, purchased from John Mason at Brodsworth in 1717.<sup>93</sup>

The reasons for a Yorkshire purchase are nowhere stated, but the estate was compact and close to Kiveton, where Viscountess Dupplin's sister was Marchioness of Carmarthen. Nor was the estate far distant from those of the Viscountess' sister in law, who held in her own right extensive properties in Staffordshire, Yorkshire and Northumberland after the death of her father in 1711.<sup>94</sup> In this case political and economic connection was not a recipe for marital content. Eventually Viscountess Dupplin deserted her husband and took refuge with her brother, the second Earl of Oxford, while the Marchioness of Carmarthen died in childbed in 1713.<sup>95</sup> Despite family disagreements, ruptures and death, the political and religious connections survived, and the Hay family rapidly naturalized into the upper stratum of the English aristocracy. Probably the most likely explanation of the purchase of Brodsworth is that it was a guarantee of jointure under the marriage settlement of Abigail Harley and Dupplin in 1709.<sup>96</sup>

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93 YAS DD 132/2/10. "A List of Deeds carried by the Archbishop of York from Brodsworth. 19 November 1762; *ibid* "Breakdown of the Price Paid to the Earl of Scarsdale by Lord Bingley and the Earl of Kinnoull for the Estates sold in August 1721" *ibid* "26 February 1717. Articles of Agreement between the Earl of Kinnoull and John Mason concerning the sale of the said Mason's House at Brodsworth." (See also Chapter 2 pp

94 R Kelch *op cit* p29.

95 HMC Portland MSS VII. J Swift to Oxford. 21.11.1713 and Swift correspondence Vol VI p31. "Erasmus Lewis - J Swift. 30.6.1737."

96 F Elrington Ball (ed) Harleian Manuscripts, Journal to Stella, (1910-14).

The Hay family no longer benefited in this spectacular way from the public (crown) purse in Walpole's ascendancy, but took care to avoid identification with Jacobitism. Kinnoul was not seen as a likely supporter by the prominent Jacobites in 1721 despite the fact that several supporters of the Pretender were near neighbours.<sup>97</sup> Others, including the Duke of Norfolk, the third Earl of Strafford, the second Earl of Oxford and Lords Landsdowne and Bingley were suspect to the Duke of Wharton in 1725. Norfolk even suffered a period of incarceration in the Tower from October 1722 - 15 May 1723.

"The summer and autumn of 1723 brought Walpole some strange visitors ... Kinnoul, a tory, who was willing to pledge his friends as well as himself, a pledge which, to Townshend's great relief, Walpole declined."<sup>98</sup>

Kinnoul was well known for his cunning, and though as tories there was little chance of advancement and few plums to be plucked in the years of Whig ascendancy, the Hay family still made what steps they could. Lord William Hay was a Brigadier General in 1715 and remained first major in the third regiment of foot and in 1728 Sir Robert Hay became Lieutenant General of Dragoons. It is unlikely that members of a suspect family would have attained these posts.<sup>99</sup> When it is considered that the Marquis of Carmarthen serving as Ambassador to Venice in 1725 was suspect, along with Oxford and other relatives, the care with which suspicion was deflected is illustrative of the opportunism and survival instincts of the Hay family.

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97 P S Fritz The English Ministers and Jacobitism between the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745 (1975) p155 (quoting "A State of England" from the Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle. R A Stuart 65/16 1721).

98 J H Plumb Sir Robert Walpole the King's Minister (1960) p61.  
also G V Bennett "Jacobitism and the Rise of Walpole," in N McKendrick (ed) Historical Perspectives. Studies in English thought and society in Honour of J H Plumb (1974) pp79-80

99 J Chamberlayne Magnae Britanniae Notitiae or the Present State of Great Britain (1716/15 and 1729/28) p81.

Other parvenus to South Yorkshire were of different political complexion. The Molesworth family owned estates in Ireland and bought land from Lord Wharton at Edlington in Yorkshire.<sup>100</sup>

Robert Molesworth (1656-1725) was a member of a talented Irish protestant family with estates at Breckdenston near Swords and in Dublin town. For a short time his estate of £2,825 a year was sequestrated by the Parliament of James II in 1688. He served as an MP in the English and Irish Parliaments for thirty years, and was rewarded for service as a diplomat and for resolute support for the Whigs with an Irish peerage in 1716. A strong supporter of William of Orange, he cultivated Daniel Finch Earl of Nottingham, and later Godolphin and the Duke of Newcastle.

The family was able and imaginative, and Molesworth and his son John served in the diplomatic service. In 1690 Robert became ambassador to Denmark, and he published a political account of the country in 1694. He was paid £5,591 for his Danish Embassy in 1691.<sup>101</sup> In 1697 he purchased Yorkshire land at Edlington, paying £5,350 for 1,800 acres, and moved his family to escape the problems of Ireland in wartime.

"the cutting down of our trees displeases me much more than if they had burnt all our houses ... My Lord Nottingham will get your money for you if you dun him, he seems to be much my friend and is a man of power."<sup>102</sup>

In wartime

"Ireland is a most desolate place and not a penny of money to be hoped for out of it this great while."<sup>103</sup>

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100 C Robbins The Eighteenth Century Commonwealth Man (1959) p91.

101 "An account of Denmark, as it was in the year 1692." (London 1694); HMC/7 House of Lords MSS. 1690-93 p369.

102 HMC 15th Report. MSS in Various Collections Vol 8 55. Robert Molesworth to Hon Mrs Molesworth. March 25 1690 also WWM (Deeds) Wentworth. Box 15, 7a. Conveyance. 26/27 March 1697.

103 HMC ibid p220 Isobel Lady Montrath to Hon Mrs Molesworth October 11 1690.

The purchase of the Edlington estate from his friend Lord Wharton gave Molesworth extensive woodlands, and an eminently improvable property, and he seems to have rejoiced in the move. By 1700 Molesworth could write.

"they have had a very rainy season in Ireland ... which makes me bless that piece of good fortune, which procured us an English seat in a dry country. I am here most kindly and friendly used."<sup>104</sup>

Molesworth always claimed that he found little fault with Breckdenston, except that it was in a distressed country, and he attempted to make Edlington a haven of improvement and peaceful family life. There were initial problems, with signs that local society did not easily assimilate complete strangers. Thus his younger son Richard wrote to his mother

"I am sorry to hear by your letter to my father that your neighbours are so very troublesome to you. It is really past enduring, and I hope, when we go down, we may prevail upon them to be civiller ... my father designs to go to Edlington, and we both intend to wait on him which, I hope, will put a stop to the rudeness of your hunting gentlemen."<sup>105</sup>

As a new entrant into local society Molesworth trod carefully, even when it came to borrowing money for stocking purposes on land which he held could maintain 2,000 to 3,000 sheep and 300 to 400 head of cattle.

"I am loth to expose our wants so far as to borrow from any other than Mr Banks ... especially being a stranger and envied in the country for having purchased so sweet a bit as Edlington, which everybody, both gentle and simple, takes as a wrong done to himself ... I am vexed to hear, as I do every day, that the envious gentlemen in our neighbourhood are pleasing themselves in their discourses among each other over their cups that we are not likely to thrive. It would break their hearts to see that we are able to stock the land ourselves."<sup>106</sup>

The estate included also extensive woodlands, valued between £18,000 and £20,000, a very large sum, in 1729.<sup>107</sup>

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104 HMC (ibid) pp222-3 R Molesworth to Hon Mrs Molesworth 26 August 1700.

105 HMC (ibid) p220. John Molesworth to his mother, Hon Mrs Molesworth. February 15 (nd 1699).

106 HMC (ibid) p224 Robert Molesworth to Hon Mrs Molesworth 5 July 1701.

107 HMC (ibid) p405 Coote Molesworth to Viscount Molesworth 29 July (nd 1728/9).

The fortunes of the Molesworth family illustrate well the difficulty of securing and enjoying economic advancement in this period. They were close, and Robert sought to advance the fortunes of his sons John and Richard. John became a government envoy, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany at Florence in 1710, and again to the Court of Sardinia at Turin from 1715 until 1725. Godolphin appears to have helped Richard Molesworth's advancement in the army in 1708, and was being pressed to show favour to Robert and the elder son John, which culminated in the appointment in Italy. The change of ministry in 1710 caused the family acute financial embarrassment when the government refused to pay John's salary and expenses for a long period, so that the family had to borrow in order to maintain him in his position until the arrears were met. Already the sons had cost the family dear.

"I verily believe those two sons of ours have spent between them £10,000 within these last seven or eight years, for their debts are far from being paid off with this last £1,000."<sup>108</sup>

By 1713 John Molesworth's arrears exceeded two years pay and expenses, and were not met until 1713 despite numerous promises. Thereafter he became a mainstay of the post-1714 government's intelligence system in Italy, charged

"to attend closely to the movements and design of the Pretender." with agents at all the Italian courts including the mysterious secret agent "Le Connu".<sup>109</sup> He succeeded to his father's estate and title in 1725, but died within nine months.

Richard Molesworth (1680-1758) also made his way in government service, beginning a military career under Marlborough and serving at Ramillies and in Spain. He raised a regiment of dragoons against the rebels in 1715, but then spent long periods on half pay, so that he was compelled to resort to a variety of schemes to maintain his interests and his fortune. These

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108 HMC (ibid) p241 Robert Molesworth to Hon Mrs Molesworth November 6 1710.

109 Ibid. He was still a captain in 1728.

included plans to go abroad as a soldier of fortune, a scheme to supply water to London consumers from the Thames, a time piece which it was claimed could calculate longitude, and a biography of Marlborough, which was opposed by the Duchess. Only after his father's and brother's deaths did he prosper, attaining command of a regiment, the title (3rd Viscount) and the task of Master General of the Irish Ordnance and Commander in Chief of Ireland. A friend of Lord Ligonier he became a Field Marshal in 1757 (30 November) and died the following year.<sup>110</sup> It appears that the Newcastle connection continued to favour his star, as indeed it did that of Ligonier, against the Earl of Holderness.<sup>111</sup> It is nevertheless noticeable that his advancement was quite slow despite his useful connections.

The Edlington estate cost £5,350 in 1697. It initially comprised 1,800 acres and included valuable woodlands.<sup>112</sup> There were probably other purchases later. Robert Molesworth was intensely interested in estate management and improvement, his flowers and his family. Among Molesworth's experiments was the employment of Huguenots in Yorkshire, and he supported Godolphin's general naturalization bill in 1708. The family was intensely anti-catholic in Ireland, but appear to have become less so in England by the 1720's.

Office was always a mixed blessing for family members who did not enjoy good health and were frequently subjected to large delays in salary and expense payments. As envoy to Turin, Florence, Venice and Genoa until 1725, John Molesworth complained that he had not been paid for at least one

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110 R Whitworth Field Marshal Lord Ligonier. A story of the British Army 1720-1770 (1958) p57;233.

111 G Holmes Augustan England, Professions, State and Society 1680-1730 (1982) p267. A Commander in Chief is purported to have received £10 per day as well as sums for colonelcies or commanderships of companies, various allowances and perquisites.

112 WWM (Muniment Room) Box 15 7a. Conveyance 26/27 March 1697.  
Wentworth



such embassy, and family financial problems were compounded by substantial losses for Viscount Robert Molesworth and both his sons in the South Sea Bubble.

Both Robert and his elder son John died in 1725 and Richard succeeded. He had served against the Scots in 1715, did so again in 1745 and was eventually given the rank of Field Marshal in 1757 a year before his death. Lady Molesworth, formerly Mary Middleton of Stanstead Hall Essex, had married John (the Second Viscount) in 1718. She continued to live at Edlington for a long period and died in Hanover Square, London on 12 August 1766.

Robert Molesworth's widow Lettice lived out her old age at Breckdenston to which they had moved back in 1721. Ireland remained a troubled country.

"There is no leaving this place to itself. It is all I can do with all my care to keep things from being run away with by wholesale. The very lead pipes and that of the cistern would be carried off if my folks were not constantly stirring one way or another. Mr Forster had his house stripped at top this winter, because he lives in town in that season and had no family then in his house in the country."

By then the family were considering disposing of Breckdenston.<sup>113</sup> The losses of the South Sea Bubble hit the Molesworth family hard, and caused some land sales in South Yorkshire and urban Dublin. The losses and issues of principle made Robert Molesworth a bitter critic of the South Sea Company. At least land was selling at a high price at this time in Yorkshire.

"The landlord at Houghton where we appointed to meet, told us of a person that being at his house last week that offerred 40 years purchase for any good rental estate of land to the tune of £5,000 in the whole which thing elevates land sellers to such a degree that I must confess I have no judgement in these matters."<sup>114</sup>

This does not seem to have much comforted Molesworth.

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113 HMC (ibid) p400 Lettice L Molesworth to Richard Molesworth (her son) (29 March 1729).

114 YAS DD 132.2.10 J Dickinson - Lord Kinnoul 9 August 1720.

"the following year (1721) saw the publication of Molesworth's essay on the principles of an independent whig, an effective restatement of the opposition to standing armies and Court domination which had been formulated by Molesworth and his friend John Toland among others of his circle as early as 1695-8."<sup>115</sup>

Though John Molesworth continued his embassies in Italy, the family gained less from office than many, and Robert adopted a principled stance of denunciation stating that

"statesmen and senators of the body politic assembled in Parliament were becoming mere lackeys of men from the City".<sup>116</sup>

Molesworth could hope for little from Walpole after his attack upon his "screen" of the South Sea Bubble Directors in 1720, though one of his associates, Robert Gordon, was bought off by Walpole with the commission of wine licences, a post which he kept until 1751 during which time he became an ardent defender of the Court. Molesworth and Trevelard continued their attack, arguing that

"Public expenses should be contracted, pensions cut off, exorbitant salaries ended."

As late as 1724 Molesworth continued to be associated with the denunciation of

"the monied companies (which) ... were new, unshapely and monstrous members of the state. A project was afoot in Exchange Alley to deliver the Nation to the South Sea Company, the Bank of England and the East India Company."

Such a position led him and associates so far as to denounce not only the companies and credit, but charity schools and other innovations which brought havoc to the social chain of being.

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115 Quentin Skinner "The Principles and Practice of Opposition. The case of Bolingbroke versus Walpole" in N McKendrick Ed. op cit (1974) p115.

116 I Kramnick Bolingbroke and his circle (1968) p46. John Trevelard and Robert Gordon made regular contributions to the anti-Walpole "London Journal". It was "bought over" by Walpole in 1722 (ibid p116).

"the men of parts and quality, the nobility and gentry, were being made the tools and instruments of knaves, who took over their estates, turned on their natural superiors and usurped their rightful function of governing."<sup>117</sup>

As "the most widely quoted and probably the most influential among the liberal Whigs", he was deeply concerned that the concentration of property in few hands would result in tyranny and the destruction of the equilibrium of a gentry commonwealth. He was also, with Toland, deeply fearful of "the fate of a mixed constitution at the hands of widespread parliamentary corruption."<sup>118</sup>

Molesworth's principles could not readily be bought off. A keen and perceptive analyst of the current polity, and past author on the means whereby royal absolutism had triumphed in Denmark, the intellectual impact of his circle was considerable.<sup>119</sup> When he was elected Rector of Glasgow University, the authorities set aside the vote. Under Walpole such principle did not pay, and there were few further extensions of Molesworth estate in Yorkshire. Robert Molesworth was little helped in later life by his association with Thomas Parker Earl of Macclesfield, who was impeached in 1724 as part of Walpole's campaign against Sunderland's former associates. The successors of Robert and John Molesworth followed the military career successfully followed by the third Viscount, serving in the home army and in the Empire, with only one exception until 1875.

The contemporary observer of South Yorkshire did not need to look far for pertinent examples of the process which Molesworth described so accurately. For the rise of the third new entrant into South Yorkshire aristocratic society was as fine an example of the problems in the current body politic as the

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117                                    *ibid* pp246-7.

118 R Molesworth                    Principles of a Real Whig, in the Preface to Franco Gallia (1721 Edition) p viii.

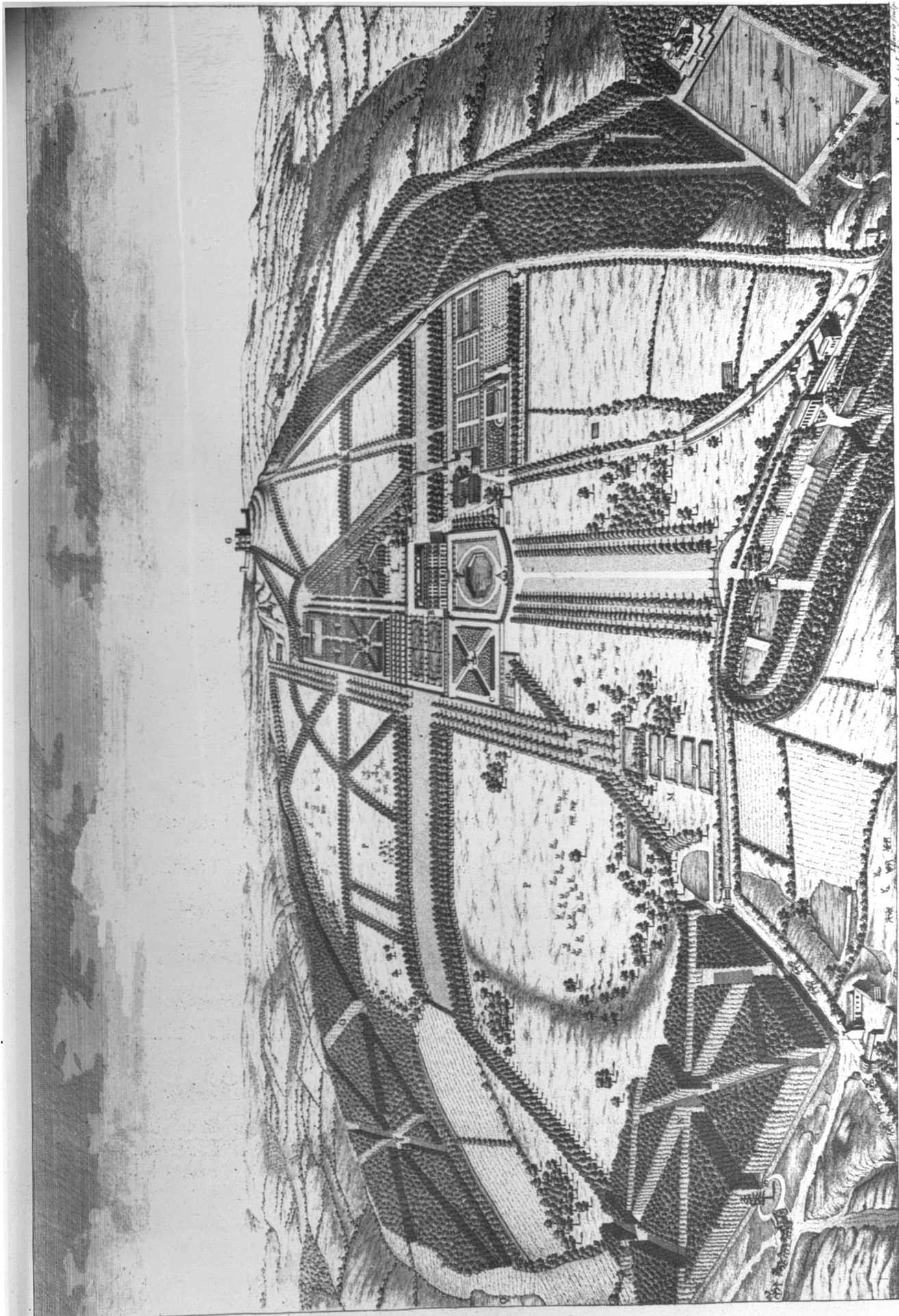
119 R Molesworth                    An Account of Denmark as it was in 1692 (London 1694), Complete Peerage Vol XII pt I (1953) p329.

wealth and extravagances of the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim or William Earl of Cadogan at Caversham. Thomas Wentworth was the nephew of the second Earl of Strafford. He received little in his uncle's will in 1695, which was contested, and though he had land near Wakefield, in Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire he became the "poor cousin" of the Watson Wentworth family, who had gained most from the second Earl of Strafford's will in England and Ireland.<sup>120</sup> He had the singular advantage of a forceful mother with connections. A page of Honour to the Queen Consort in 1687, he was appointed a Cornet in Lord Colchester's regiment by the Prince of Orange on 31 December 1688, serving in Flanders as did three other brothers who died there. From 1695 he was appointed a groom of the bedchamber, a lucrative post and a sign of royal favour. It involved salary, board wages and numerous perquisites, including homage fees due to the King's servants from all corporate towns through which he passed, fees upon the creation of each level of noblemen, fees upon the creation of a Prince of Wales etc.<sup>121</sup> After his brothers' deaths he became Major of the first troop of guards in October 1693 and received his title of Lord Raby in November 1695. In 1697 he became Commander of the Royal Regiment of Dragoons and went with Lord Portland on his Embassy to Paris in 1698. In this period he acquired a cluster of lucrative appointments, places and sinecures which became the basis of a substantial financial fortune by King William's death in 1702. Though he then lost some offices, he retained the Colonelcy of Dragoons and became special envoy to the King of Prussia in 1705. Throughout the wars he was a persistent supplicant for office, keeping his military positions and eventually becoming a Brigadier

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120 Thomas Wentworth 17 September 1672-1739. First surviving son of Sir William Wentworth of Northgate Head, Wakefield.

121 J Chamberlayne Magnae Notitiae or the Present State of Great Britain (1716/15) p111. The salary of a groom of the bedchamber £966.13.4d pa £20 was payable to the groom on creation of a Duke etc.



- T. Lawn Temple & Lake.
- K. The Inn.
- L. Menagerie house & Cage.
- M. Fifth pond & House.
- N. Pine wood 500 Acres.
- O. Downy ground 800 Acres.
- P. Park.
- Q. Rockly Lake.

WENTWORTH CASTLE, in the County  
*Honourable Thomas Earl of Strarford,*  
*Woodhouse, and of Mairborough, Baron of*  
*of the most Noble Order of the Garter*



*A Prospect of STAINBOROUGH and*  
**YORK, one of the Seats of the Right**  
*Viscount Centworth of Wentworth;*  
*Rady, Newmarket, and Overley, and height*

- A. High Court.
- B. Pigeon-house.
- C. Fruit Garden.
- D. Ever-green & Flower garden.
- E. Kitchen garden.
- F. Orangerie & Garden.
- G. Woodstock Castle.
- H. Lawn-Hood 100 Acres.

FIGURE 1.4

General, seeking but failing to get the Governorship of Jamaica, and enjoying the Receivership of the Post Fines granted by William of Orange until 1714. Ever impatient, he wearied of ambassadorial service and persistently demanded an active military role, bitterly resenting Marlborough's restraint both upon this and his litany of demands for the Earldom of Strafford.

"the Dukes only objection formerly was that I had not estate to support it, and that I have now £1,000 a year of my own, I think this is no more an objection. Nay I have bought a pretty estate very nigh him who the late Lord Strafford made his heir, which with what I had before in that county, I have almost as much land in Yorkshire as he has, nor can I think that the consideration of him can be any bar to me, since he can have no pretensions like mine, and is one that has been and ever will be against the court and the ministry, let them do what they can for him."<sup>122</sup>

Marlborough continued to deny such demands, though Raby saw the cynicism in Cadogan's claim; following a request for the Commission of Trade that

"his Grace declines, as much as he could, meddling in any domestic matters, or disposal of civil employments."<sup>123</sup>

It was this block on further promotion in the peerage and perhaps elsewhere which persuaded Raby to desert to the Harley Tory group in 1710-11. From Harley came the Earldom so persistently pursued by Raby and his mother,<sup>124</sup> and a transfer from the Berlin embassy to the more prestigious post of Ambassador to the Hague in February 1711. Raby was as voracious a soldier of fortune as any of those exalted in the period 1689-1714. After taking office and preferments under Godolphin and Marlborough to the limit, he

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122 J J Cartwright (ed) The Wentworth Papers 1705-39 (1883) p22 Lord Raby - Lord Cadogan. Berlin 16.2.1709.

123 J J Cartwright Ibid p25 Lord Cadogan - Lord Raby 12 March 1709.

124 Ibid p28-9 Lady Isabella Wentworth - Lord Raby. 18.9.1705  
"... I wish you may often have such and better, till you are as ritch (sic) as the Duke of Mulberry whoe is building the fynest house at Woodstock that ever was seen, ... It is believed furniture and al cannot less than three hundred thousand pounds, the house will cost above a hundred thousand pounds why should you not be as fortunate as he ...?"

deserted them for the Tories and underwrote his progress by an advantageous marriage to Anne, only daughter and heiress of Sir Henry Johnson of Bradenham, Buckinghamshire

"a city knight who had amassed considerable property as a shipbuilder." Swift claimed that she brought a fortune of £60000, and even allowing for the exaggeration of a critic she brought valuable estates

"including Freston in Suffolk and the borough of Aldborough in that County, which had been represented by the Johnson's for many years."<sup>125</sup> In fact, though Raby's liquid assets were large, his wealth in land remained less than that of Thomas Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse. The Cutler estate at Stainborough in Yorkshire, together with property near Wakefield and in Lincolnshire generated about £1,500 per annum in 1711, while the Wentworth-Woodhouse estate was worth twice that sum each year in rent. Nevertheless he had a considerable sum in liquid assets.

Table 1.2 The 3rd Earl of Strafford's Fortune in 1711 (Marriage Settlement)

Wakefield and Stainborough Rents	}	£ 1,500 pa
Ashley Puerarum, Greetham, Wainfleet,		
Lincs Rents		
House at Twickenham		
Post Fines		2,000
In the Fund of 99 year		500
Ready Money		14,700
Colonelcy of Dragoons valued at		10,000
Certain Investments		10,000
Plate and Jewels		12,000

He had liquid assets amounting to about £50,000 at this time in all, and a substantial annual income, most of which came from offices and places. When he was recalled as ambassador to the Hague in December 1714 he claimed

"I have lost already £8,000 a year by the Queen's death."<sup>126</sup>

Even allowing for exaggeration this is probably near correct. By that time he had enjoyed about twenty years of income from a wide variety of state sources, but now faced the threat of impeachment with Harley and his associates.

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125 Ibid p28-29.

126 J J Cartwright op cit p33.

Strafford, for all his complaints can be counted with the Duke of Newcastle, Marlborough or Cadogan among the "true victors of Marlborough's wars".<sup>127</sup>

By February 1714 Strafford was also First Lord of the Admiralty, a post usually attracting a salary of at least £1,000 per annum as well as perquisites.<sup>128</sup>

In 1708 the Cutler estate at Stainborough was purchased for £14,500. Upon it the existing Cutler house was remodelled at great expense, and the surrounding parkland was extended.<sup>129</sup> Marriage in 1711 brought a large portion and the need to purchase more land, in Northampton and Yorkshire. Strafford wrote to Bromley in November 1711

"As for the land pray keep it in your eye, for I am to buy £20,000 of my wife's fortune and as much of my own so towards the spring I may buy that in Yorkshire if you can keep it so long."<sup>130</sup>

Sir J Bland was offering him land in 1711, and he was considering purchases near Wakefield as well as

"an estate of about 200 pd near Stainborough. It is mortgaged to Mr Grettson who now presses him for ye money to be paid him. He offers to sell it to your Lordship."<sup>131</sup>

Piecemeal purchases continued for a number of years in the South Yorkshire area and in Northamptonshire, but the potential for the continuation of this process of territorial aggrandizement was limited by his alienation from the Whig hierarchy after 1714. With Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormonde, he was impeached in 1715, and with Harcourt excluded from the general amnesty of

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- 127 E P Thompson Whigs and Hunters. The Origin of the Black Act (1975) p176 (referring to the Duke of Newcastle and Sherwood Forest) - N.U.L. PW2 612-36 and 6/171/167 Papers relating to Sherwood Forest pp100-101 (referring to Cadogan and the new deer park at Cowersham or Caversham near Reading, p202-3).
- 128 G Holmes British Politics in the Age of Anne (1967) p437. This gave him the gift of "The Place and Offices belonging to the Admiralty Court".
- 129 BL Add MSS 22238 fo 8, Thomas Bromley - Lord Raby. 7 June 1708. For building details see chapter 8.
- 130 BL Add MSS 22238 fo 68 Lord Strafford to J Bromley 7.11.1711.
- 131 BL Add MSS 22238 fo 62. T Bromley - Lord Strafford 29.10.1711.



that year, while his brother Peter Wentworth was forced to wait for promotion despite support from Shrewsbury and George Ist's confidante, the powerful F W Von Gaitz. Indeed Peter Wentworth did not rise above the status of equerry until the reign of George II. Strafford humbled himself and denied drinking the health of Ormonde in 1715, but was never trusted and with good reason. He was sufficiently involved in Jacobite plotting to be awarded a Jacobite Dukedom in 1721 and a Jacobite commission and he was regarded as the leading Jacobite landowner in Northamptonshire. In November 1722 it was arranged that "Strafford was to rouse the gentry of the north as Danby had done in 1688."<sup>132</sup>

"Sunderland's initiative with the Jacobites had produced a strange effect which perhaps he had not for seen. It had propelled them into a rash and dangerous venture."<sup>133</sup>

As a leading adventurer and opportunist of the war period Strafford failed to settle easily into civilian society. Relatively unprincipled as he was, he switched from war and diplomacy to sedition in a continued attempt to enhance his own position, failing to recognize that the context had changed. He was the archetype of the military adventurers whom Robert Molesworth denounced. Yet he survived the destruction of Atterbury and the persecution of other Jacobites relatively unscathed, perhaps protecting others who had sailed even closer to the wind politically than himself, including Colonel Cecil, the only son of Anne Cecil of Northgate Head Wakefield, who had held a commission in Raby's regiment in 1703 and became Colonel and Equerry to George I. He was accused of being a Jacobite agent in 1744, but nothing

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- 132 Marquis of Ruvigny Jacobite Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage and Grants of Honour (Edinburgh) (1904)
- 133 G V Bennett "Jacobitism and the Rise of Walpole" in N McKendrick (ed) Historical Perspectives, Studies in English Thought and Society (1974) pp79-80.
- See also R A Stuart 65/16 "A State of England", 83/89 Wharton's List 1725.
- P Fritz op cit p147.

could be proven.<sup>134</sup> After 1723 Thomas Wentworth, Lord Malton of Wentworth Woodhouse appears to have been actively cultivated by Walpole to offset any influence which Strafford and other Tories might have exercised in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Strafford now lacked the Court contacts and incomes which had rebuilt his position, and frequently expressed frustration and anger at the rise of his cousin. Meanwhile his land purchases became more modest. Without office and favour local influence and territorial expansion became less easy, for always liquid assets were required to finance aggrandisement. As rents were not yet buoyant, and as receipts grew only slowly, land purchase was essentially a long term investment yielding only a modest rate of return and not conducive to further expansion of acreage. Strafford was still writing to the Pretender in 1739.<sup>135</sup>

More briefly, the experience of the remaining aristocratic and larger gentry holdings in South Yorkshire does little to contradict the foregoing account. The D'Arcy family (Earls of Holderness, Aston) possessed large holdings outside this area, though their acreage in South Yorkshire was limited. Robert D'Arcy, Third Earl of Holderness (1681-1719) was First Lord of the Council of Trade and Plantations between 31 January 1718 and 11 May 1719, with a salary of £1,000 per annum. It was a post which later attracted an additional salary from the secret service fund (between 1737-48) though it is not known if this was the case earlier. Holderness was a Colonel of Dragoons, Baliff of the Franchise and Liberty of Richmond and Steward of that Liberty, Steward of the Forest of Richmond and Master Keeper and Constable of Middleton Castle in the 1720's.<sup>136</sup> His relative, Sir Conyers Darcy was Master of the Horse in 1715 and Master of the Household in 1728/29,

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134 J J Cartwright The Wentworth Papers (1883) pp544-5. He was a regular correspondent of Strafford's.

135 G H Jones The Mainstream of Jacobitism (1954) p205.

136 J Sainty The Council of Trade and Plantations (1974) p30,101.

so that he retained close connections at the Courts of George I and II.<sup>137</sup> The Earl's successor, Robert Darcy 4th Earl of Holderness, (1712-1778) became secretary of state for the Southern Department from 21 June 1751 until March 1754 and secretary of state for the North from March 1754 until he was forced out of office in March 1761, receiving a salary of £5,680 annually.<sup>138</sup> On retirement he received a gift of 1,000 ounces of white plate from the Jewel Office "the reversion of the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports and a pension of £4,000 in the meantime."<sup>139</sup> Prior to his death in 1778 he was tutor to the sons of George III.<sup>140</sup>

Though they had long held land in the area, the Lumley family also gained from the instabilities after 1660. Richard Viscount Lumley was Master of the Horse for Queen Catherine from about 1672.<sup>141</sup> He was a close associate of Danby's in securing the North for William of Orange in 1688/9, and received a Viscountcy and subsequently the Earldom of Scarborough (April 1690). A Lieutenant-Colonel of the first Troop of the Kings Horse Guards and Commissioner to examine charities and hospitals in the King's Visitation, he had a share in other perquisites in the King's grant. Before the Revolution he had built the great mansion at Stanstead. Under Queen Anne he was a Privy Counsellor, kept his military and civil offices and was a member of the Commission which treated with the Scots on Union. Favouring the Hanoverian Succession in 1714 he was rewarded with the Chancellorship

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- 137 J Chamberlayne The Present State (1729/8) Pt II p66 pt II Books 3 p175,570.
- 138 J Sainty Office Holders in Modern Britain. The Treasury 1660-1870 (1972) p83.
- 139 H J Habakkuk "Englands Nobility" in D Baugh (ed) Aristocratic Government and Society in England (1975) p102.
- 140 Though they were not descendents of Prince Rupprecht, the Third Earl of Holderness married a Dutch woman and the fourth a German. Complete Peerage. Vol 6 (1926) p535.
- 141 T Beastall A North Country Estate. The Lumleys and the Saundersons as Landowners 1600-1900 (1975) pp2-3.

of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1714-17 and the Vice Treasury and office of Receiver General and Paymaster of his Majesty's Revenue in Ireland until his death in 1721. Though not all were paid such a conglomeration of offices must have been lucrative, the latter in particular yielding an annual income of at least £2,000.<sup>142</sup> His successors and relatives occupied a variety of Court and Military posts between 1714 and 1740. The Earl was also Lord Lieutenant of Durham and Northumberland in 1715, and a Privy Councillor. Henry Lord Lumley, was Vice Admiral of the Bishopric of Durham, a General in HM Forces and Colonel of the First Troop of Grenadier Guards.<sup>143</sup> Though "an officer's pay little exceeded the interest on the price of his commission"<sup>144</sup> these were prestigious commissions with the right of sale of lesser commissions and the possibility of valuable contract payments by suppliers. By 1728 Richard, second Earl of Scarborough was a Privy Councillor, Knight of the Garter, Lord Lieutenant of Northumberland and Newcastle, Colonel of the Coldstream Guards and Master of the Horse of the Royal Household (at a salary of £1,266.13.4).<sup>145</sup> Charles Lumley was a colonel of footguards and Groom of the Bedchamber with Sir Charles Hotham, (1693-1738) another family with Yorkshire connections who were to profit from Court Office in the subsequent decade.<sup>146</sup> The Honourable Thomas Lumley assumed the name of Sanderson and became the 3rd Earl of Scarborough in 1739/40. The Sandbeck estates in South Yorkshire had been acquired by the Sanderson family in the

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- 142 T Beastall op cit pp3-4; 9-10 (the estimate of income is based upon J Chamberlayne's figure for similar posts in 1715/16).
- 143 Henry Lumley 1660-1722 Brother of the First Earl of Scarborough was MP for Sussex 1701-2 and Arundel 1715.
- 144 R E Scouller The Armies of Queen Anne (1966) p71. A colonel might receive £300-500 pa wages and board wages, but at least 2/3 times more in perquisites.
- 145 J Chamberlayne The Present State 1729/8 Pt II Book III p90.
- 146 P Roebuck Yorkshire Baronets 1640-1760 Families, Estates and Fortunes (1980) pp84-85.

early seventeenth century, when Sir Nicholas Sanderson had been a notable newcomer, consolidating his family's hold upon estates around which "the smaller freeholder had largely been swept away before 1650."<sup>147</sup> Thomas Lumley (1691?-1752 3rd Earl of Scarbrough d1740) was ambassador to Lisbon in 1723, when he inherited the estates of bachelor Viscount Castleton. In paying off outstanding debt of £23000 from his embassy he was aided by a succession of offices including Equerry (£300 pa); Chief Clerk of the Duchy of Lancaster (unknown); and eventually the position of Treasurer of the Household of Frederick, Prince of Wales from 1737-52 and Commissioner on fees and poundage.

"with £1,000 assured income in 1738. This was later increased to £1,600 in 1742. To his existing property his succession to the Earldom of Scarborough brought extensive additions in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Durham." 148

His wife received £1,000 per annum as a lady of the bedchamber. Thus the local landownership pattern in many ways reflected both in income and geographically the national structure of power. Much the same process is illustrated by a brief examination of estates which grew less, and had periods when their owners were less able to mobilize the resources of state. Robert Viscount Molesworth, increasingly a critic of Walpole in the 1720s, gained less from office as a result. The Third Earl of Strafford was near totally excluded after 1714, and from then until his death in 1739 his major gains in acreage involved either the investment of liquid assets acquired before that date, or relatively minor extensions of acreage or control, though it appears that he continued to enjoy income from the Post Fines at least until 1729. More striking is the example of Edward Wortley Montagu MP, an independent and frequent critic of the Court and its Ministers. He introduced the General Naturalization bill of 1709 and

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147 B A Holderness "The English Land Market in the Eighteenth Century. The Case of Lincolnshire," EcHR XXVIII, No 4 November 1974 p569.

148 T Beastall Op cit pp78-80 (Yorkshire estate had an acreage of 4,405 acres and was valued at £1,092 per annum in 1724. The Castleton estate had an overall rental claimed as £8000 per annum in 1726. Complete Peerage pp511-512.

"promoted no fewer than four Place bills in the teeth of opposition from both Whig and Tory ministers between 1710 and 1713 (but) nevertheless served as a Commissioner of the Treasury from 1714 to 1715 and later as Ambassador to Constantinople."

He went on to complain about the lack of employment of "country whigs" under George I.<sup>149</sup> On the one hand he inveighed against

"those who have not other fortune, depending on the war, than the command of a regiment, having nothing else to do but to make a proper disposition in the clothing of it; by which means such an interest may be made in most of the corporations as no gentleman is able to resist."<sup>150</sup>

and yet on the other, like others "attracted" into Walpole's "system", he lived to take office and to benefit from it.

Well might he inveigh, for his nearest neighbours at Wortley in South Yorkshire included the notorious Thomas Wentworth, Third Earl of Strafford, who was by 1710 building his vast mansion only 5 miles from Wortley's home. There was a consistency in his support for the attack upon the payment of an additional £2,000 pa to the First Lord of the Admiralty in 1713, when this had not been charged to the navy estimates.<sup>151</sup> The division between state beneficiaries and others among the gentry was very real. With few exceptions the larger landed proprietors of South Yorkshire maintained their positions by the early eighteenth century by keeping a close rein on the state. Even critics of the system were offered opportunities in 1714, and generally took them. Robert Molesworth's retreat into criticism after 1720, a reversion to a principled position of the early 1690's was unusual, and did little good to his fortune whatever benefit it might have brought to his conscience. Wortley Montagu, once attracted, remained in the structure, until 1718. Of the very few aristocrats who did not so benefit, one may quote the local

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149 Bohm Correspondence of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1887) Vol I p21 and G Holmes, British Politics in the Age of Anne (1967) p117.

150 G Holmes op cit p126.

151 G Holmes op cit p143.

Irish peer Lord Downe (Downay), who was active in promoting Tory bills attempting to encourage greater freedom of election. Again his acreages seemed not to expand.<sup>152</sup>

Between 1660 and 1720 connection with the central apparatus of state paid for the gentry and aristocracy. The total largesse grew, and may have become less evenly distributed. A share in the state dispensation helped to build some of the greatest landed estates from modest existing cores, and enabled "new entrants" to appear in the South Yorkshire land holding structure. Of the three bigger estates, the Kiveton estate of the First Duke of Leeds represented the most spectacular growth in size, while the Wentworth-Woodhouse estate was already established by 1660 as a basis for future growth by different means. Almost all other aristocratic holdings were influenced significantly by their owners' political linkages, which came near to determining their relative importance by the 1720s.<sup>153</sup>

### III Conclusions

The experience of three "new entrant" estates into the local landownership structure of South Yorkshire reinforces the view that the apparent stability of that structure in the eighteenth century followed a period of acquisition and relative instability. Between 1708 and 1720 new land purchases by the Earl of Kinnoull; the third Earl of Strafford and Robert Viscount Molesworth are suggestive of the benefits of office, Court favour and military and diplomatic service, at least in the sense that the new entrants were

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152 G Holmes op cit p143.

153 B E Coates "Parkland in Transition: Medieval Deer Park to Modern Landscape Park," THAS Vol IX (1969) pp132-150 and "Park Landscapes of the East and West Ridings in the time of Humphrey Repton," Yorks A J 41 (1965) pp465-480. See also for spectacular gains and losses K Darwin, "John Aislabie 1670-1742" Yorks AJ 37 pp262-324; and for no gains at all P Roebuck, "The County Squirarchy and the fight for a place in the early eighteenth century," Yorks AJ 46 1974 pp110-127.

all in greater or lesser degree making substantial gains from those sources at the very times when the purchases were made. In two cases (Strafford and Kinnoult) the settlement in land of wives' portions also played a part, but the marriages concerned seem unlikely to have occurred at all had there not been a history of political success.

By such means rapid increases in landed estate could be achieved, in a period when

"Lower grain prices ... reduced the income of farmers and through failure of many tenants to pay full rents, that of landowners."<sup>154</sup>

When the state machinery was undoubtedly growing in size and expense, it was economically advantageous to enjoy its benefactions rather than merely to pay a part of its costs through taxation, although the landed always in practice protected themselves from "excessive" taxation.<sup>155</sup>

All of the aristocratic families with South Yorkshire land had enjoyed at least one period of substantial benefits from state connection between 1630 and 1720. In most cases that connection at least correlated with, or immediately preceded, extension of acreage. Most aristocratic families enjoyed more than one such period, and usually too this coincided with advancement into the peerage or within it. Synchrony in time is not proof of functional or causal relationship, but the extent to which office holding profits, estate extension and status advance tended to coincide in time, and often ceased to operate in unison subsequently, suggests further support for the view that (in the period 1689-1714)

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- 154 A H John "Agricultural Productivity and economic growth in England 1700-1760", in E L Jones (ed) Agriculture and Economic Growth in England 1650-1815 (1967), p174.
- 155 P Mathias "Taxation and Industrialization in Britain 1700-1870" in P Mathias, The Transformation of England. Essays in the economic and social history of England in the eighteenth century (1979) pp116-130.



"The larger owners, with their more varied estate revenues and greater access to government offices and perquisites, suffered less: in some instances, too, they had sufficient influence to secure lenient assessments from the commissioners of the land tax."<sup>156</sup>

Admittedly the view that office was often of preponderant importance as a source of wealth has been contested

"it is likely that official salary and perquisites were only a supplement and not the mainstay in the incomes of those who held office. Office holding might very well be an additional cause for expenditure and consume the profits of office, as we will see in the case of Newcastle."<sup>157</sup>

But was Newcastle typical? Strafford, Molesworth and Kinnoul would have been unlikely to be able to buy South Yorkshire estates without office or place in greater or lesser degree. Among the very large estates, the Wentworth-Woodhouse property was essentially the rump of the First Earl of Strafford's acquisitions and the Kiveton estate of the First Duke of Leeds was built upon the profits of the greatest office holder of the late seventeenth century, with key purchases coinciding exactly with his most successful periods of office. Only the Arundel (Howard Dukes of Norfolk) Sheffield estate could in some degree be seen as an exception among these examples, and even there, despite a long period of relative inaction politically before the 1680s, the Howards continued to receive benefits from the products of their spectacular advance in the sixteenth century and the continued flow of official fees.<sup>158</sup>

An account of the origin of estates should not discount the relatively favourable position which large landowners enjoyed within the law of property in this period. It was not for nothing that the able lawyers of Lords Mansfield

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156 G E Mingay The Gentry (1976) p67.

157 R Kelch Newcastle, A Duke Without Money (1974) p2.

158 22 and 23 Charles II. "An Act for building Arundel House and tenements thereunto belonging, power being given to the guardians of the Body and Estate of the said then Duke of Norfolk during his lunacy."

and Hardwicke were amongst the most successful professionals of the eighteenth century.<sup>159</sup>

Alongside the more obvious gains from state payments, the state also provided through legal change the means whereby large quantities of rights to use could be converted into absolute rights of disposal. Such conversion appears to have been extremely rapid in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century England.<sup>160</sup>

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- 159 C B Macpherson "Capitalism and the changing concept of Property" in E Kamenka and R S Neale (eds) "Feudalism, Capitalism and Beyond" (1975) pp112-114.
- 160 R Brenner "Agrarian class structure and economic development in pre-industrial Europe. The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism," Past and Present 97 November 1982 pp100-113.
- J V Beckett "English Landownership in the Later Seventeenth Centuries. The Debate and the Problems;" EcHR 2nd Series XXX No 4 November 1977 pp567-581.

## CHAPTER 2

### Growths, Survivals and Extinctions. Peerage Estates

#### in South Yorkshire 1700-1850

##### I Introduction

The largest estates established in South Yorkshire by 1720 were to survive until the 1872 Return of Owners of land. Other peerage holdings had more varied fortunes. By 1800 the Earls of Strafford, Kinnoul and Holderness, and Viscount Molesworth, no longer held land in South Yorkshire. Wentworth Castle, Brodsworth, Aston and Edlington had all changed hands by inheritance or sale. Aston had been absorbed by the estates of the Duke of Leeds for a time, but then separated after the divorce of Lady Amelia Conyers Darcy from the Marquis of Carmarthen in 1778; Edlington and Brodsworth were sold, and Wentworth Castle passed to a distant relative of the last Earl of Strafford, the Vernon-Wentworth family of Staffordshire.

If there was marked contrast between the very large and smaller estates, the medium sized (3000-9000 acres) took a middle way. The Earls of Scarbrough extended their property near Sandbeck, with 8640 acres and £10335 per annum rental by 1850. Some gentry had acquired titles and extended estate size, including the Wortley family whose descendants the Earls of Wharnccliffe had 9178 Yorkshire acres and £15775 in land rent from this area in 1872. Very small peerage holdings had even more varied fortunes than those of 1000-3000 acres. Some, like Lord Galway's holdings in Swinton and Rawmarsh, were absorbed by neighbouring large peerage estates, while others remained as outliers of estates with their principal property elsewhere. Most notable in the 19th century was the emergence of new gentry

estates, of which at least 15 exceeded 3000 acres in South Yorkshire in 1872. Their owners included some very wealthy families and individuals, including the Fountayne-Wilson and Wentworth Beaumont families, both of whom were among England's wealthiest gentry families by the late 19th century.<sup>1</sup>

In this and later chapters changes in ownership and size of estates are examined and the investment behaviour of estate owners is scrutinized. A key generalization is suggested. On South Yorkshire estates as elsewhere landowners were unwilling to risk much active investment early in the 18th century, concentrating upon extension of acreage or survival at the same size. By 1750-1850 this had changed. As demographic and economic pressures mounted, rents increased, whether a landowner invested or not. As a response to this opportunity, investment increased as a percentage of gross receipts, and returns included a profit upon active capital invested in agriculture, transport developments, markets and urban developments and mining and industry.<sup>2</sup> From a narrow base of productive investment in the early 18th century, in an era when the purchase of additional land took precedence, there was a shift in estate priorities. Though some land purchases continued, from the middle of the 18th century there was a shift to investments in agriculture, coal mining and urban development. Though the pace of the shift varied according to the priorities and peculiarities of individual estates, a general move towards deepened investment can be discerned. Eventually such investment perhaps overshot the possibilities, so that returns came more slowly than expected, but by the mid-19th century the seed bore fruit with some prosperous years for landowners.<sup>3</sup> First

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- 1 W D Rubinstein Men of Property The Very Wealthy in Britain Since the Industrial Revolution (1981), pp 201-202.
- 2 E P Thompson "The Grid of Inheritance: a comment, in J Goody, J Thirsk and E P Thompson (eds) Family and Inheritance Rural Society in Western Europe. 1200-1800. (1976) pp328-360.
- 3 J R Wordie Estate Management in Eighteenth Century England. The Building of the Leveson-Gower Fortune. (1982) pp36-7

it is necessary to examine the "extensive" phase of estate development.

## II Three Great Estates 1700-1780

Of the largest South Yorkshire estates Wentworth Woodhouse provides the most dynamic example of relentless growth in acreage and consolidation of holdings over several generations, and merits extended investigation. Growth was achieved not by the spectacular purchase of single large properties, but by the amoeba-like absorption of neighbouring holdings. Vast numbers of small transactions over many years imply a policy of estate extension over the whole period.

In method there was notable continuity. Despite claims of poverty the Second Earl of Strafford (d 1695) made small purchases when convenient. Most were close to the family house at Wentworth. Among many examples could be cited the £70 paid to George Jessop and his wife Jane for a house and two crofts in Wentworth in 1677-8, together with an annual charge payable to Jessop's sister-in-law (Elizabeth Frankish, 5s) which was taken over by the Earl.<sup>4</sup> A close and lands in the Church, Clay and Windmill Fields were bought later from the same vendor for £114.<sup>5</sup> In the same year the Jessops sold a cottage, croft and parcels of land in the Windmill, Church, Clay and Cortworth fields for £80.<sup>6</sup> A similar transaction was the purchase of closes, selions and abuttals from William Hale, a yeoman of Wentworth, for £105.<sup>7</sup> Purchases were supplemented by exchanges. On May 10th 1667 Thomas Hattersley surrendered closes and lands in Wentworth, including Great and Little West Croft, six lands on the west side of Barrow Field, 49 lands in the middle of the same field, six lands more in the same field, five lands in the Church

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|---|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 4 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 37.58    | Conveyance 1677/8.       |
| 5 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 37.59a,b | " 19/20 January 1691/92. |
| 6 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 37.61a,b | " 19/20 October 1692.    |
| 7 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 37.62a   | " 18/19 April 1692.      |

Field, four lands in the Windmill Field, two lands in the Clay Field and Rough ley Noak, one acre in the Barrow Field, three roods in the Red hills, two cottages in Cortworth and a few more scattered lands. In exchange he took a messuage in Nether Hoyland with three closes, eight acres in the fields of Nether Hoyland and £4.15.<sup>8</sup>

After clearing the debts of the second Earl of Strafford, Thomas Watson Wentworth continued the same process with vigour. After 1700, a lender in the mortgage market, he used his position as creditor to obtain eventual possession of mortgagees' property, as was the practice of Sir John Bright in the period.<sup>9</sup> In November 1701, following an earlier judgement of debt on Thomas Walker (gent) in May, he accepted the assignment of a mortgage belonging to Walker. The latter's property, valued at £1084.8s.6d, was mortgaged for £500, with a further £300 to be paid to Thomas Wentworth and his sisters. Walker already owed Watson Wentworth £200, and in December 1702 further property of his was mortgaged and £66.19s.10d owed as a residue from the £200 judgement against Walker, and a further £10 lent to Watson on a promissory note.<sup>10</sup> Ultimately the mortgaged property, and another property belonging to a widow Anne Hatton in Darrington, came into Watson Wentworth's possession, in the latter case as forfeit for non-payment of interest, in December 1713. They formed a substantial part of the 219 acres of Darrington property listed as Wentworth estate in 1770, though probably not the whole.<sup>11</sup> Nearer Wentworth Woodhouse similar tactics were employed. In May 1694 William Hale of Wentworth (yeoman) mortgaged lands in the Church Field to

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8 WWM (Wentworth) Box 37 79

Exchange Deed. 10 May 1687.

9 P Roebuck

Yorkshire Baronets. 1640-1760. Families, Estates and Fortunes (1980) pp213-216.

10 WWM (Wentworth) Box 14

Nos 27, 28, 29, 31a/b, 32a/b, 33a/b.

11 SCL WWM D1578

"The Strafford, Wentworth and Rockingham Estates in and about Wentworth in the County of York." (1783-4).

William Sawsbye. The property was in turn conveyed to Thomas Watson Wentworth in January 1700-1701.<sup>12</sup> Some sellers were absentees. James Hartley of Liverpool, a wine cooper, was the son and heir of Ann Hartley of Wentworth (deceased), and he, with William Steele and his wife Charlotte, sold two acres in the Barrow, Clay and Church Fields for £20 on 30 January 1706. The local purchaser released cash to be divided between beneficiaries of a will,<sup>13</sup> A similar sale was that of a messuage in Wentworth near the churchyard and closes and lands scattered in the fields sold by Wentworth-Hodgkinson the elder of Parkland, Carrow, in the barony of Shelalagh in County Wicklow. In 1721 this property, to which he had succeeded as grandson and heir of Henry Paling, a yeoman of Wentworth, was sold for £300 to Watson-Wentworth.<sup>14</sup> Both indicate the process whereby small scale ownership was likely to diminish in the face of the centripetal influences of an expanding great estate.<sup>15</sup>

Throughout the area near Wentworth a similar process continued. In Scholes a messuage, closes and lands were bought from Nicholas Spenser of Thurnscoe for £200 in 1704.<sup>16</sup> In September 1708 80 acres were purchased in the Hallfield, Bradfield, together with two messuages and two cottages from Samuel Morewood and Elizabeth his wife for £740.<sup>17</sup> Earlier in the same year property in Roughbirchworth, Hunshelf and Oxspring was acquired from John Cunliffe of Leeds, who was in commission of bankruptcy for debts owed to Charles Mawood of Ardsley, with payments of £399 to Mawood and £200 to Cunliffe for Spinkhall Grange and closes, field land and woods.<sup>18</sup> Though

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- |    |                                   |   |
|----|-----------------------------------|---|
| 12 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 37.63         | 21 January 1700-1701.   |
| 13 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 37, 78.6      | 30 January 1706-1707.   |
| 14 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 37 4a,b 46a,b | 2-3 June 1721.  |
| 15 | G E Mingay                        | <u>Enclosure and the small farmer in the age of the Industrial Revolution (1968) p29.</u> |
| 16 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 33 21a,b      | 17/18 May 1703.   |
| 17 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 38 20         | 21 September 1708.  |
| 18 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 38 7a,b       | 7-8 January 1708.   |

the record of the purchases is complex, the strategy and tactics are clear. Large landowners could borrow relatively easily, and it was well known when they entered the market for land. High prices could be paid for property of particular value to an estate. One property in Scholes changed hands in September 1700 for £156.16s and was sold to Watson-Wentworth in May 1703 for £200.<sup>19</sup> The advantages of "rounding off" particular holdings and the extension of emparked areas justified the expense to a large proprietor when no one else could have enjoyed the same benefits. Watson-Wentworth began a process of park extension and re-organisation of the Wentworth properties which continued long after his death. This applied to properties far from the estate core, as occurred when four acres were enclosed in the Green Field at Pontefract in 1709.<sup>20</sup> Other enclosures were intended to support church livings, as occurred at Bolsterstone Common in 1714/15 and at Hind Hill in Tankersley where part of the common not exceeding 18 acres was surveyed for this purpose in March 1716/17.<sup>21</sup> Transport developments and park extension also led to land re-organisation, as when the common way between Wentworth and Greasbrook was enclosed in 1717.<sup>22</sup>

Some of Thomas Watson Wentworth's later purchases were larger. Scholes Spring was purchased from Obadiah Browne of Morthing, Rector of Whiston, in October 1714, for £950 and 10 guineas.<sup>23</sup> In Swinton and Rawmarsh there were purchases and exchanges. William Burroughs of Swinton, a Doctor of Physic, and his wife, sold a cottage, meadow, close and parcels of land for £56 in November 1712.<sup>24</sup> A variety of other purchases ensued, including a capital

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19 WWM (Wentworth) Box 33 21a/b

20 WWM (Wentworth) Box 15.34      Licence to Enclose, September 1709.

21 WWM (Wentworth) Box 37.10c      Accounts for walling and enclosing Bolsterstone Common. 1714/15; Box 35.11a 12 March 1716/17.

22 WWM (Wentworth) Box 37 66 & 67      Licence to Enclose, 4 March 1716/17.

23 WWM (Wentworth) Box 33 35 a b c      36a,b.

24 WWM (Wentworth) Box 35 41a/b      10 November 1712.



message in Swinton and lands in Swinton Wath and Rawmarsh, sold for £600 in January 1720/21. One exchange with Jane Spencer brought an enclosed part of Lower Bird Hall Flatt to Watson-Wentworth in return for the sacrifice of two closes near her house.<sup>25</sup>

Most significant was the assignment of a mortgage on a variety of Swinton properties to Thomas Watson Wentworth by Anne Leigh, eldest daughter of Thomas Lord Leigh. The mortgage was owed upon the Culworth estate of Edward Bagshaw, while another part of his estate was leased to Joseph Bingley at a peppercorn rent. Wentworth paid £1335 in February 1706/7 for the assigned mortgage and £315 for the claim upon the leased land.<sup>26</sup> In 1712 Bagshaw, Susannah his wife and their son Edward assigned The Manor of Swinton and all its lands in Swinton Wath and Mexborough to Watson Wentworth for £4198.13s.4d. In this transaction William Aislabie, an attorney of Rotherham, was Watson-Wentworth's trustee, and he organized payments of about £2000 to dependents of the Bagshaw estate.<sup>27</sup>

By such methods a large core of property in Swinton and neighbouring areas was established and supplemented thereafter, with additional purchases in 1730 (£1450, of which £600 was to satisfy quitclaims), in 1767 (£42) and a small exchange in 1738/9.<sup>28</sup> There had been a 30 year dispute between the Bagshaw and Foljambe families over the boundaries of Swinton Manor. Foljambe was lord of the manor of Rawmarsh, and the issue assumed importance because of valuable coal found under the properties, and the resultant need to drive soughs near the brook which divided Rawmarsh and Swinton Commons, to drain Wath Wood Colliery in which Watson-Wentworth had an interest.<sup>29</sup>

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- |    |                         |          |  |
|----|-------------------------|----------|--|
| 25 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 35  | 43       | 16 February 1716.  |
| 26 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 34. | 17       | Assignment of Mortgage, 11 February 1706/7.  |
| 27 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 34  | 20a; 21  | Release and Quit Claim, 24 May 1712.   |
| 28 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 35  | 2a, b 25 | William Fretwell to Thomas, Lord Malton 1415 June 1730; 499 - f. 5-6 February. 1767; 48. 9 January 1738/9. |
| 29 | WWM (Wentworth) Box 35  | 44       | Lease to John Hurst, 16 June 1724.   |

Thomas Watson Wentworth spent at least £9800 on additions to his estates in South Yorkshire. In 1716 his son married Lady Mary Finch, daughter of Daniel, Earl of Nottingham. She brought a modest marriage portion of £5000, but it was a valuable political move for an aspiring family.<sup>30</sup>

Watson-Wentworth was cautious and calculating, seeking to aggrandize his family by the accumulation of increased property. He spent relatively little on politics, playing only the role of a well-off gentleman despite great and increasing wealth. This approach was of benefit to his estates which were depleted neither by excessive political spending nor lordly extravagance. When there was competition for land in this region, and high prices, he was able to participate to the full with little risk of financial illiquidity. Like Sir John Bright he used the mortgage market to bring him purchases, and unlike some contemporaries he watched and managed his property with considerable care.<sup>31</sup>

The Wentworth Woodhouse estate in 1716 included

"All those the several manors of Wentworth Woodhouse, Tankersley, Tinsley, Newall, Newall Grange, Thornhill Hall, Greasbrooke, Barbott Hall and Hooton Roberts with the rights, members and appurtenancies thereof and also two hundred messuages, ten mills, forty dovecotes, two hundred gardens, 5000 acres of land, 3000 acres of meadow, 5000 acres of pasture land, 1000 acres of wood, 5000 acres of furze and heath, 5000 acres of moor, several free customary and chief rents amounting to £30 per annum, free warren, free fishing, view of Frankpledge, waifes and stray cattle, goods and chattells felons and fugitives, woodlands and common of pasture for all cattle, mines, veins and minerals of coal, culn, lead, iron and other metals, quarries of stone and slate." 32

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- 30 SCL WWM Deeds 1523A 1716 Marriage Settlement, 1716.
- 31 J R Wordie Estate Management in Eighteenth Century England. The Building of the Leveson Gower Fortune (1982) p229-31.
- 32 SCL WWM D1523A Indenture Quadripartite. Marriage Settlement. 2 October 1716. He had also bought the Malton Estate in 1713, see
- E A South "Earl Fitzwilliam and Malton in the early nineteenth Century.", Eng HR Vol LXXX, January 1965, pp 57-69.

The death of Thomas Watson Wentworth in 1724 left his heir a formidable inheritance. In 1702 the gross annual rental of the Wentworth Woodhouse estate including casual receipts had been £4,500 per annum. This was already the most valuable single property of the family, and rental income is misleading as a guide to its relative importance, for an extensive park was valued at £400 per annum in 1727 (at 30 years purchase, £12,000), together with the house at Wentworth Woodhouse, a further park at Tankersley with land valued at £200 per annum (£4,000 at 30 years purchase).<sup>33</sup> With other land in hand this whole including residential houses, was valued at £2,000 per annum in 1727, and accounted for about 12% of total estate assets. In South Yorkshire by that time, the Wentworth rent collection amounted to £2928, Mr Charlton's collection in Swinton area brought receipts of about £1500 per annum, and other estates further large sums.<sup>34</sup> Thomas Wentworth the younger continued to expand the South Yorkshire property between 1724 and 1750 buying and selling considerable amounts of land.

In this buying and selling (in Table 2,1) as a money calculation the balance favoured Wentworth, by about £35,000. Much of the land sold comprised small pieces or 'parcels' of land which could not be managed easily, nor consolidated for efficient management.<sup>36</sup> Outlying land in Northamptonshire was disposed of. In 1734 a small amount was sold to Mr Marder and Mr Belcher. Other parcels were sold in 1738 in Wollaston and Paddington. Large parts were sold to the Earl of Westmoreland in parcels:-

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33	SCL WWM A1273	1748.
34	SCL WWM A1273	1748 (Northamptonshire £3,000 pa, Ireland £6,400 pa and Tidmington £400 pa) See also Rentals A255 - A300.
36	SCL WWM A1273	1748 Thomas Wentworth's Purchases & Sales. Wentworth Woodhouse also WWM/D1597a.

Table 2.1 - Land Purchases and Sales of Thomas, 1st Marquis of Rockingham

1724-50

<u>Purchases</u>	<u>£ price</u>
Carr House	11,000
Greasbrook with the Tithes	39,000
Other Freeholds in Wentworth, Thorpe, Scholes and Mr Kents	3,150
Edlington Wood	2,200
Limited Right on Duke of Norfolk's Advowsons	500
	<u>£55,850</u>

Other purchases were made including:

At or near Malton	3,250
At or about Higham Ferrers	3,000
House in Grosvenor Square	5,500
	<u>£11,750</u>

Dalton Parish was bought and sold again and credited among the sales.

Sales

Dalton	2,170
In or about Rotherham	4,500
Old Weston	3,500
Nassington	1,200
Woolaston	1,800
Hooton Bushel	3,500
Tidmington	8,500
Parcels to the Navigation of the Don	1,700
Greatham	140
	<u>£26,510</u>

1728 Winchelsea and Nassington  
1732 Old Woston  
1728 Grantham  
1732 Canton and Brinton

Possibly the land in Rotherham and Dalton was of a similar type, but there is no concrete evidence to prove it. Some was sold to the River Don Navigation Company. Thomas Dyson and Thomas Francis were given rent abatements for the loss of about 7 acres for this purpose in 1748-9.<sup>37</sup> Purchases were generally of the opposite character. Most were near to existing holdings and easily incorporated as at Carr House and Greasbrough.

A motivation among sellers was debt. It resulted in the sale of 450 acres of Edlington Woods by the Molesworth family to the 1st Marquis of Rockingham in 1749. The deaths of the 1st and 2nd Viscounts of Molesworth in 1725 and a burden of debt from the past left a burden of legacies and debt which was eventually eased by sale of the Holts in 1749. The property was first conveyed to Matthew Charlton, one of the 1st Marquis' stewards, and subsequently to his employer in November 1749.<sup>38</sup>

Property in Upper Hough and Thorpe Hesley which had formerly belonged to John Kent (gent) of Kimberworth and Martha his wife was also sold to the Marquis in February 1748/9. It had been charged with the provision of portions by Kent's marriage settlement, and those charges remained upon the Upper Hough Estates. Rockingham had previously taken over mortgages upon the property from Obadiah Foljambe, a Rotherham mercer, to whom £218.14s had been outstanding in July 1748.<sup>39</sup>

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37 SCL WWM A1273 Op cit. A1272 1748/9.

38 WWM (Wentworth) Box 15 2 Conveyance. 2c September 1735. 5a 21 May 1749; 6a and b 10/11 November 1749. 7a-d. Abstract of title of Lord Molesworth to Edington (sic) Wood. The woods had been settled in trust to pay debts by the first Viscount by will in 1725. (30 April 1725. Robert Lord Molesworth's will).

39 WWM (Wentworth) Box 33 Conveyance on Trust. 47a, b, c, d 21-22 February 1748/9.

Another vendor was William Fretwell of Thurnscoe (Gent) and his mother Ann Fretwell (Widow), who sold 2 messuages and 2 cottages and a variety of closes and field land in Swinton to Thomas Wentworth (then Lord Malton) on 14/15 June 1730 for £1450. This transaction involved their release from a previous mortgage for £200 to Richard Smithwaite of Bottom Boat, Wakefield. Of the purchase money £600 was used to pay legacies under the will of John Fretwell.<sup>40</sup>

Exchanges continued, including a one acre piece at Swinton Common

"exchanged with Samuel Savile of Lersham (gent), so that the Earl's two acres may lie together." 41

Other exchanges in Wentworth involved William Jessop, the blacksmith whose father had sold property to the 2nd Earl of Strafford.

Agents and solicitors acted as intermediaries in the process of purchase. Samuel Buck, an attorney of Rotherham, made purchases for Lord Malton in Bawtry in June of 1728. Buck was agent in that area in 1715-18, and similarly Matthew Charlton (who was responsible for rents there and for the Malton property between 1774 and 1749) made purchases on the proprietor's behalf. A later steward, Evan Evans, accumulated plots at Swinton and Greasbrough over a long period which were eventually conveyed to the 2nd Marquis of Rockingham in 1774.<sup>42</sup> After the death of Thomas Wentworth of Hooton Roberts in 1725/6 property leased to him by the Duke of Norfolk in Whiston and Treeton was released with a fine and annual rent to Samuel Buck, who in turn transferred it to Thomas Wentworth.<sup>43</sup> There were other continuities. In 1736 a licence allowed the enclosure of the common way from Cowley Lane in Wath parish to Old Haigh Lane in Wentworth

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40 WWM (Wentworth) Box 35 22a 24a-b 25 14/15 June 1730.

41 WWM (Wentworth) Box 35-38 9 January 1739.

42 WWM (Wentworth) Box 37 80 81 100 25 September 1734; 29 December 1744.

43 WWM (Wentworth) Box 65 No 3

"so long as the said Earl makes another way of the same length and breadth in his own soil." 44

Lord Malton was increasing the size of Wentworth Park in this period.

By the 1720s it was six miles 1722 yards in circumference, but by:

"enclosing Bowers Ground and turning of road"

it became 7¼ miles before 1743. In that year it was extended and by 1744

"taken round by Street Farm to Hooper Hills and down by Flint Wood into The Old Falls and thence quite round Scholes Wood as above the circumference exceeds nine miles." 45

The 1740s saw the beginning of an increase in gross rental on the Yorkshire estates. Wentworth calculated the current value of his estates in 1748:

"Rents in Ireland £8,000 pa: in Yorkshire £9,000 pa: in Northamptonshire £3,000 pa. Value of parks and demesnes at Wentworth, Tankersley and Harrowden near £2,000, ... £21,000 pa. Of these the Marquis has in his power about £4,000 pa of the Yorkshire estate, about £4,000 of the Irish estate ... total about £11,000 pa." 46

In 1750 Lord Galway's estate in Hoyland was purchased for £7,500. This included the Manors of Swinton, Hoyland, Alderthwaite and Skyershall, a variety of houses, Elsecar Mill and Hoyland coal mines, 300 acres of field land, 200 acres of pastures and 20 acres of meadows and a variety of common rights. The estate had sacrificed limited amounts of scattered property to become one of the most prominent in the area by 1750, a magnate-sized holding of great earning power and considerable possibilities of further development. The total area acquired in the 27 years of Thomas Wentworth's life tenancy was 3814 acres.

In the second marquissate, 1750-1782, overall purchases were smaller in extent, with 734 acres purchased in South Yorkshire.<sup>47</sup> In location,

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44 WWM (Wentworth) Box 37 No 67, 11 November 1736.

45 SCL WWM A1273 Account of Building of Wentworth, p6.

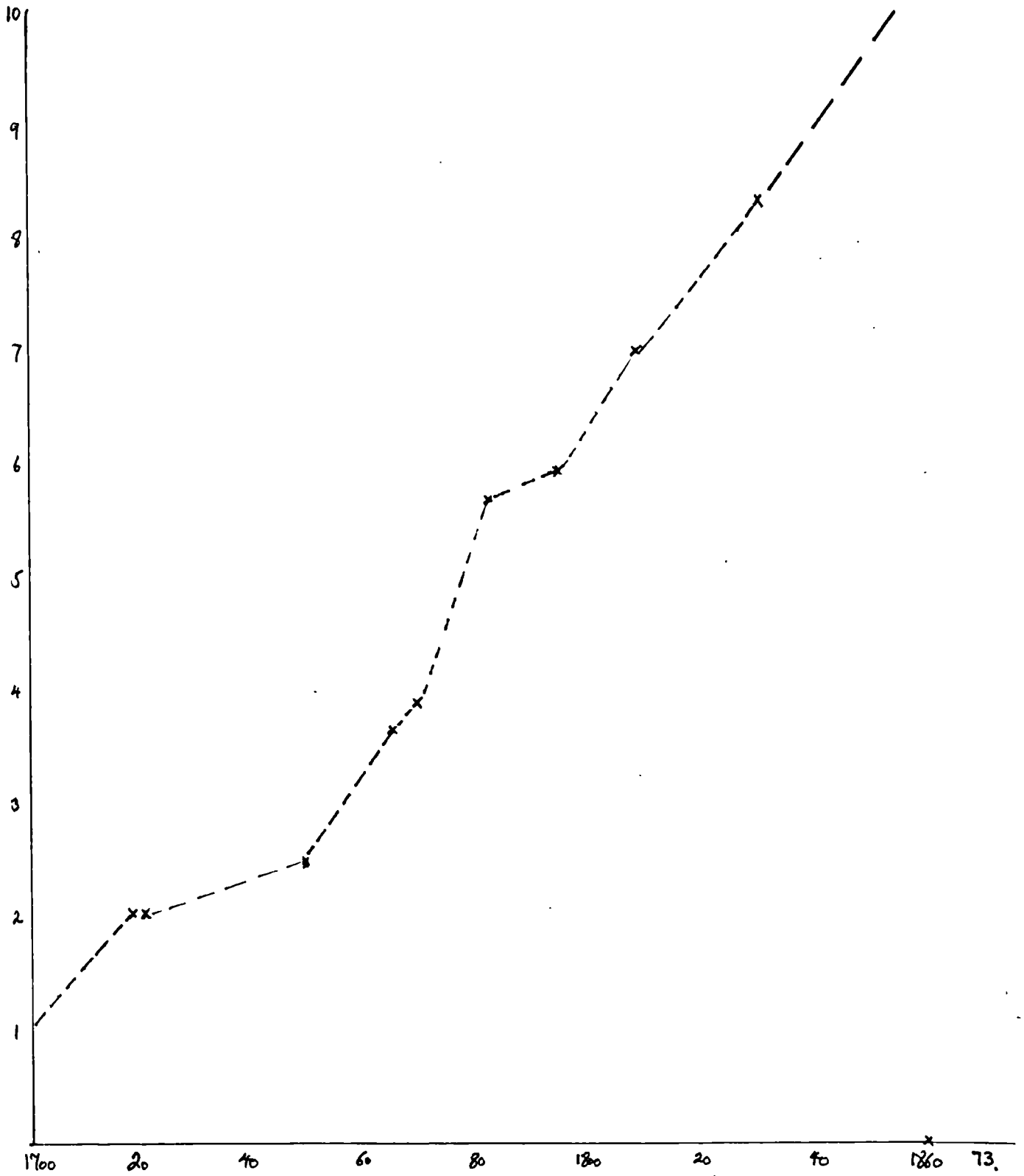
46 SCL WWM A1273 1748. Thomas Wentworth's Purchases and Sales also D1597A. An abstract of the preceding purchases made by the Honourable Thomas Wentworth and Thomas Marquis of Rockingham.

47 SCL MD 244 An abstract of the title of Lord Galway's property.

£  
1000s  
18  
4

FIGURE 2.1.  
KIVETON ESTATE OF DUKES OF LEEDS  
RENTAL RECEIPTS 1700 - 1873.

x recorded rents.





they followed the established pattern.

Land which rounded off existing holdings was bought within the area of established interests, rather than purchases being made in peripheral or new locations. The largest purchases, of over 100 acres each, were in Greasbrough, Wentworth and Wombwell at the core of the estate holding. Between them they accounted for nearly half of total acres purchased. Others were at Brampton (36 acres) Hoyland (56 acres and 3 of woods) Scholes and Thorpe (18 acres) Swinton (3 acres) Wath (3 acres). Wombwell (250 acres) was the largest purchase.<sup>48</sup>

The relatively high cost of some purchases of land by the 1760s had other causes. The agent to the Second Marquis was recommending pre-emptive purchases of coal land by 1766. After examining land belonging to Dr Heathcoate adjoining Basingthorpe Spring and 11 acres belonging to Widow Downs of Wakefield Richard Fenton recommended,

"Its very desirable to be possest of these two parcels of land if not purchast at too high a price. Your Lordship wants no coal, but should Mr Hurst purchase he will with this addition have a valuable colliery which will last many years working and perhaps if he does not purchase these grounds his own will not be worth winning or be attempted these many years."

As a relative of the lessees of Greasbrough collieries, the advice was not disinterested, but Fenton noted that the coal would be drained by the levels in existing Rockingham collieries. Such problems changed priorities in land buying. There was a need to project future trends, to predict and calculate not only the course of agricultural rents but the possibilities for exploitation of minerals and other non-agrarian developments. This land was valued at £45 an acre if it were out of lease, and could be bought for perhaps £70-80 an acre, while Fenton thought its coal

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48 SCL WWM Deeds D1597A As above.

TABLE 22. The Stafford Wenworth & Rockingham Estates in and about Newcastle-on-Tyne.

	Quantity by Mr. Skelton's Survey			Stafford Estate		Wenworth Estate		Rockingham Estate							
	A	R	P	Quantity	Rental	Quantity	Rental	Quantity	Rental	Quantity					
	Acres	Roods	Poles	Acres	£ s d	Acres	£ s d	Acres	£ s d	Acres	£ s d				
Barrow & Harlington	13	3	9	45	..	..	..	13	3	9	45	..	..	..	
W. Bowdler Stone	91	2	17	51	12	6	..	91	2	17	51	12	6	..	
3 Drayton Woods	1429	..	23	1310	..	3	6	1429	..	23	1310	..	3	6	
1170 Darrington	219	2	8	109	3	6	..	219	2	8	109	3	6	..	
Edlington Woods & cetera	400	1	29	..	..	..	..	400	1	29	..	..	..	..	
1177 Greenrough	1747	1	15	1581	15	1	855	3	16	751	3	..	703	2	1
Purchased since the Survey	52	3	20	..	..	..	..	52	3	20	..	..	..	..	
Tithes of Greenbro	..	..	..	220	..	..	..	..	..	..	220	..	..	..	
D. of Dalton	..	..	..	23	6	8	..	..	..	..	23	6	8	..	
Within the park	353	3	2	..	..	..	..	353	3	2	..	..	..	..	
1770 Hutton Woods, exclusive of Common	714	1	19	..	..	..	..	714	1	19	..	..	..	..	
Common by survey in 1738	250	..	..	642	8	6	147	..	..	272	2	18	..	..	
Not made in 1770	20	..	..	238	..	..	..	20	..	..	258	..	..	..	
1770 "Cawfield"	40	3	28	46	..	..	..	40	3	28	46	..	..	..	
1771 Howland (separated by Act)	956	1	29	731	5	..	308	5	..	395	1	17	303	..	
Woods	94	1	20	..	..	..	29	13	..	61	2	7	..	3	
1770 Houghoverworth	95	23	..	40	..	..	..	95	23	..	40	..	..	..	
1770 School & Shop	353	1	1	310	11	6	120	2	6	106	..	214	2	35	
Within the park	177	..	1	..	..	..	77	..	1	..	..	100	..	..	
1769 "Hollow" & "oreng?"	314	2	11	246	6	..	..	314	2	11	246	6	..	..	
1776 "Lousiton"	700	1	16	660	7	9	..	700	1	16	660	7	9	3	
Woods	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	
1772 Tankersley	1251	..	11	820	13	6	1251	..	11	820	13	6	..	..	
Park & paddocks in hand	267	2	15	..	..	..	267	2	15	..	..	..	..	..	
Woods	198	1	1	..	..	..	198	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	
1771 Tinsley	975	..	25	..	..	..	975	..	25	737	4	6	20	15	
Tithes of 975 & 978	..	..	..	850	4	6	..	..	..	..	97	10	..	..	
Woods	373	2	7	..	..	..	373	2	7	..	..	..	..	..	
1771 "Wath"	330	1	18	276	3	..	330	1	18	273	10	6	..	3	
1770 "Wentworth"	974	..	12	734	10	..	821	2	27	636	..	30	1	32	
Within the park	729	2	8	..	..	..	729	2	8	..	..	..	..	..	
Woods	80	..	..	..	..	..	80	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Wanbeck	225	..	..	262	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	250	..	262	
<b>Total</b>	<b>14205</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>8996</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9120</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5295</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>4050</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>3105</b>	<b>3</b>

The Survey Price is City  
 Rentable from  
 in the  
 Term

worth £100 per acre in times of good trade.<sup>49</sup>

The total sum spent on land purchases between 1750 and 1782 was less than half of that spent by the first Marquis between 1725 and 1750.<sup>50</sup> Rising land prices may have discouraged estate extension, while demands for deeper investment in existing holdings grew. Land prices seem to have grown more than most between 1760 and 1800.<sup>51</sup> Many of the motives for extension remained, including the desire for prestige and for consolidation to improve economic viability. Arguably these motives had already been well satisfied by 1782 and to the disincentive of high land costs was added the alternative investment possibilities of the funds and deeper investment in existing holdings.<sup>52</sup>

The history of peerage ownership in particular townships gives support to the view that the urge for control was persistent. In Greasbrough land was purchased when available for over 100 years. In 1698 one acre was added to existing holdings of 1208 acres for £8. Between then and 1782, 40 purchases brought amounts ranging from a few roods to 400 acres. There were many small owners of field land, but relentless purchasing extended the holdings in Greasbrough from 855 acres outside the park in land enclosed by 1784, to 1578 acres in 1750 and 1818 in 1782.<sup>53</sup> Added to the rents were tithes valued at £228 per annum in 1784, so the whole (excluding tithes) yielded £1581, 15s. 1d in 1784. Typical of the scale of purchases was that from Miss Heptonstall for 400 guineas in 1765, while in Cortworth Field Rockingham lands were mixed with Foljambe and Freeman holdings, so that exchanges were being arranged there in 1773-5. Similar

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- 49 SCL WWM R190 R Fenton - Charles 2nd Marquis of Rockingham (Nd 1766).  
50 SCL WWM D1597C Dates of Purchases.  
51 Norton, Trist & Gilbert 'A Century of Land Values: England and Wales.' JRSS LIV 1891 Reprinted in E M Carus Wilson (ED) Essays in Economic History Vol III (1962) pp128-131.  
52 S Dowell History of Taxes and Taxation in England Vol III (1888)p82-92.  
53 SCL WWM D1597A 'The Strafford, Wentworth and Rockingham Estates in and around Wentworth in the County of York. 1784'.

complexities existed in Cinderbridge Field.<sup>54</sup>

Table 2.3 - Greasbrough - Growth of the Wentworth Estate in the Township

<u>1695-1784</u>			before 1695		1695-1750		1750-1784	
	Quantity by Mr Fairbank's Survey (acres)	Rental 1784	Strafford estate acres	rent	Wentworth estate acres	rent	Rockingham estate acres	rent
1779	1747*	£1581	855	£751	723	£619	240	£211
bought since 1777	52							
Tithes of Greasbrough		£228				£228		
Tithes of Dalton		£23				£23		
Within Park	353		353					
<u>Cumulative Totals</u>	(Acres)	(1695)	1208	(1750)	1931	(1784)	2171	

\*There is a discrepancy between totals by period of purchase and Fairbank's total of 1771 (of 17 acres). This and a slight discrepancy (£2) in rental is in part the result of rounding to nearest £ (rental) or acre (quantity), but errors in earlier surveys probably are more important in the latter case.

Small transactions occurred after 1782, like the purchase of Thomas Steel's land in 1821 and a further purchase in 1822.<sup>55</sup> Long before the Parliamentary enclosure, the great estate hold upon Greasbrough had increased relative to small proprietors.

54 SCL WWM MP49 Cortworth Field 1773.

55 SCL WWM D1978C Dates of purchases; A1095 R Fenton's account of legal expenses. 1760-1778.

Similar policies were applied in Brampton, Darrington, Edlington, Hooton Roberts, Scholes, and Thorpe, Skellow and Carcroft, Swinton, Tinsley, Wath and Wentworth itself. The estate advance in acreage was backed by borrowing power and the prestige of the owners, which could only increase as rental receipts escalated from the 1760s. Control extended to tithes, which also grew more valuable. Two thirds of Tinsley tithes had been bought from the Duke of Norfolk in 1729 and by 1771 Greasbrough Tithes yielded £227.19s.4d net of collection costs, Tankersley £134.3s.6d and Hoyland £181.16s.5d.<sup>56</sup> By 1771 the Marquis of Rockingham was sole proprietor of the Tinsley Tithes, with the exception of Thomas Staniforth's land, where he had rights to only one third.<sup>57</sup>

By the death of the second Marquis in 1782 a resolute and consistent policy of territorial expansion had been pursued at Wentworth Woodhouse for about a century. Fortunate marriages, modest numbers of children and astute administration helped estate expansion. Notable had been the portion of Mary Bright upon her marriage to the Second Marquis of Rockingham in 1752. She brought land yielding £2061 per annum in South Yorkshire.<sup>58</sup> In 1744 the marriage of the Marquis' sister to William, Earl Fitzwilliam, sealed an alliance which would unify two very large estates upon her brother's death without issue in 1782, and resulted in a Fitzwilliam fortune of sufficient size to be accounted among the 15 wealthiest English peerage families in the nineteenth century. In 1883 their income of £139000 per annum placed them tenth in order of landed wealth in Britain.<sup>59</sup>

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- 56 SCL WWM R189      Miscellaneous statements of accounts of tithes, 1771.  
57 SCL FB 40          pp56-61.  
58 SCL Bright Mss B112 J Bright's rentals and accounts, 1714; B140 Rental  
1742; B148 J Battie Accounts to 1773.  
59 W D Rubinstein      Men of Property. The Very Wealthy in Britain Since  
the Industrial Revolution (1981) p194. This is an  
underestimate of their real position, as non-landed  
income was unusually large.

Dynamic growth did not make the Wentworth Woodhouse estate the largest in the area. The Sheffield estates of the Duke of Norfolk retained that position between 1700 and 1850. Divisions by family settlements and successions, and sales of land between 1799 and 1815 and in the 1840s, never reduced the estate below 18000 acres. Even the loss of 2000 acres when the Rotherham property was settled upon the 6th Duke of Norfolk's 2nd wife Jane Bickerton in 1693 was insufficient to make much impression upon the estate's growing earning power.<sup>60</sup>

By a survey of 1671 the Sheffield estates included property in Sheffield, Cowley, Bradfield, Southall, Southey, Ecclesfield, Wharncliffe, Ronsfield, Woolley Grange and Todwick; if the Woolley Grange property of 277 acres is excluded the total still exceeded 15000 acres.<sup>61</sup> The survey excluded property in Dinnington, Treeton, Whiston and Handsworth known to have been part of the estate, so that the overall acreage was much greater, and probably little different from that revealed in William Fairbank's meticulous surveys of the 1790's.<sup>62</sup> In 1815 and 1861 overall size exceeded 18000 acres despite some sales.<sup>63</sup>

In the eighteenth century there appear to have been few sales or purchases. Estate administration was conservative in this and other respects, reacting to local demands rather than taking the initiative. Local outlays were kept low and large remittances to London bankers were usual before 1800. Between 1725 and 1735 out of a total collection of about £10000 per annum, £6500-£8000 were remitted to the Duke, Messrs Wright his London banker, or to the Worksop Manor Steward who used it to maintain the house

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- 60 Complete Peerage (1926) p627.
- 61 SCL Arundel Mss S887 Survey and valuating the Sheffield Estates of Henry Howard, 1671, also BL Add MSS 27534. Survey 1657.
- 62 SCL Arundel Mss 582 Surveys 1792-5 by William Fairbank.  
83, 84, 85, 86, 87
- 63 SCL Arundel Mss 5443 1815 Valuation of his Grace the Duke of Norfolk's Yorkshire estate; 5109, 1-9 Fowler Surveys 1861.

and estate there. Such priorities were usual in the early eighteenth century on large landed estates.<sup>64</sup> The Sheffield estate was valuable, but the Dukes of Norfolk remained absentees for the most part, alienated from the Sheffield tenantry by geography and their Catholicism in a town of marked antipopish tendencies.<sup>65</sup> At the same time estate administration was not so neglected as those of some less wealthy and politically maladroit Catholics.<sup>66</sup>

Apart from the religious issues the estate was perhaps typical of other great estates. Vast in acreage and the variety of its resources, it was as yet uncentralized in its administration. Property was scattered across England, in Sheffield, Sussex, Surrey, the Strand in London, Glossop, Tideswell and Wormhill in Derbyshire. Real estate was owned in Nottinghamshire, and the estate also contained chief rents, fee farm rents, manorial and mineral rights, woodland and considerable amounts of land kept "in hand".<sup>67</sup> In Sheffield alone the property included thousands of acres of high moorland, valuable and improveable farmland on several different soils and land poised for urban or industrial development. Much depended upon the loyalty and energy of local stewards if rents were to be improved in these circumstances, and it is not at all clear that they gave estate needs priority over their personal interests.<sup>68</sup>

Annual rents were low on Norfolk property early in the eighteenth century, dependence being placed upon entry fines payable upon new leases

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| 64 | SCL Arundel Mss S184<br>BL Add Mss 27538 | 1815 Audit Book. Accounts of John Shireburn and Benjamin Blackburn. (to his death June 1735); Papers collected by Vincent Eyre, 1782.                                     |
| 65 | J M Robinson                             | <u>The Dukes of Norfolk. A Quincentennial History (1982) p160.</u>  |
| 66 | P Roebuck                                | <u>"Absentee land ownership in the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Centuries. A Neglected Factor in English Agrarian History" AgHR Vol 21 Part 1 (1973) pp1-17.</u> |
| 67 | J R Wordie                               | <u>Estate Management in Eighteenth Century England. The Building of the Leveson-Gower Fortune (1982) pp38-40.</u>   |
| 68 | G E Mingay                               | <u>English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century (1970 ed) pp52-3.</u>   |

being agreed. On good land north-east of Sheffield Francis Ratcliffe paid 6 shillings an acre before the 1671 revaluation on supposedly rack-rented property and Samuel Staniforth's 59 acres, but for several decades from 1671 rents were generally between 4 and 8 shillings per acre for arable or pasture.<sup>69</sup> By way of comparison Whiston property leased to George Taylor for three lives by the Countess of Kent in the 1650s was worth 12 shillings an acre annual rent if enclosed, together with an entry fine, and 6 to 8 shillings in the open field.<sup>70</sup>

Land rents moved little on the Arundel Sheffield estate before 1760. Of 5 Sheffield township farms exceeding 100 acres between 1720 and 1740, whether on leases for lives, annual tenancies or let "at will", rents remained between 6s 6d and 8s per acre, and poorer ground in Upper Hallam was let to Richard Clay at 5 shillings in 1737.<sup>71</sup>

One inhibition on purchasing more land may have been that little was available in Sheffield parish and its environs, or that it was too expensive. East and north of Sheffield the estate of the Dukes of Leeds blocked possibilities of estate expansion and land prices were thought high in 1720-21 and perhaps at other times. Sales of small amounts of land were usual to aid transport schemes and land re-organization, but in general the estate sold only small quantities and bought almost nothing so that acreage remained more or less static. Already land kept "in hand" included valuable woods and other resources. In 1677 land in hand in Sheffield Great Park was valued at £1159 per annum, and wood receipts were a large item on every year's receipts from 1700 to 1861.<sup>72</sup>

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| 69 | SCL Arundel Mss S577    | 1671 Survey and Valuation.              |
| 70 | SCL Arundel Mss S84A;   | BL Add Mss 27534 Hansworth Survey 1657. |
| 71 | SCL Arundel Mss S156-7  | 1737.                                   |
| 72 | SCL Arundel Mss SD190-2 | Settlement, 29 Charles II 1677,         |



After 1760 demographic pressures and urban developments, industrialization and increased agrarian outputs provided opportunities. The increase of rental revenue could clear debts from the past and allow flexibility of response to new investment opportunities. Estate administrators could satisfy family demand for additional rent for consumption and invest from increased revenue in a manner unusual before 1760.<sup>73</sup> Taxation burdens could be eased by sales of small parts of estates under wartime legislation, and high land values allowed some juggling of landed assets even within the limits set by family settlements. These conditions invoked a response in the conservative administration of the Sheffield estates, despite a general willingness to leave things to market forces.<sup>74</sup>

Between 1673 and 1712 Thomas Osborne, the 1st Duke of Leeds, added to existing family estates in South Yorkshire, purchasing the manors of Harthill and Woodall in 1673, Todwick in 1677 and the manor of Wakefield in 1700. In 1701, he purchased property in North and South Anston.<sup>75</sup> The Lordship of Woodall had an annual value of £926.13s.2d in 1703, timber in Kiveton Park was valued at £1500 and timber in Norwood, Larkhill and Larkwood was valued at £500.

"To ye park above named and adjoining to a large new mansion house well built with all conveniences and agrandisements fit for any nobleman's habitation, it hath been ye paternall seate pulled down and improved."

A substantial block of property was owned close to Kiveton, and the Duke also had property elsewhere in Yorkshire, in Nottinghamshire, Surrey, Buckinghamshire and Cornwall including the Scilly Isles, and fee farm rents and other incomes from many parts of England and Wales. Annual rents total-

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73 B Holderness "Capital formation in Agriculture", in JPP Higgins and S Pollard (Ed) Aspects of Capital Investment in Great Britain 1750-1830 (1971) pp176-179.

74 See pp 96-97.

75 J Hunter South Yorkshire (1829-31) pp139-142.

led £10342.12s.2d in 1703, and other incomes from baronies, lordships, fee farm and chief rents were valued between £2973 and £3273. Timber in hand was worth £21000, a house in Surrey £10000 and there were many other assets. The Kiveton estate was the third great estate of South Yorkshire, and had grown from modest size in 1660.<sup>76</sup> Again it displayed many unusual features of the very large estate.<sup>77</sup>

The successors to the First Duke purchased the Manor of Barnsley in 1735 and Conisborough from the trustees of the Cole family in 1737.<sup>78</sup> There were smaller purchases, like that of John Kitchen's house and land in Woodall, for which £130 was paid in 1765.<sup>79</sup> This "rounding purchase" may have been one of many, though the estates suffered some financial pressures. The Third Duke of Leeds (d 1731) married three times, and his last wife outlived him by 63 years on a jointure of £3000 per annum.<sup>80</sup> This encumbered his successors, and required a private Act of Parliament and the sale of the Seaton Ross Estate in the East Riding of Yorkshire to the Constables of Everingham for £12,000 in 1745-6.<sup>81</sup>

The rental records for the early eighteenth century are incomplete, so that it is difficult to use rentals as evidence of the growth of the estate in that period. Between February 1719 and July 1722, a local steward received £6968.11s.6d in rents, much of which was absorbed in local outgoings.<sup>82</sup> By the later eighteenth century the growth in rentals is more clear.

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- 76 YAS Leeds MSS DD5 Box (13) A General Account. 1703.  
77 G E Mingay English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century (1963) pp59-60  
78 J Hunter op cit (1829-31) pp144-149.  
79 SYCA Leeds MSS 1/5/F1/1 Mr Macdonald's 5th Account. 1765.  
80 P Roebuck Yorkshire Baronets. 1640-1760 Families, Estates and Fortunes (1980) p307.  
81 P Roebuck Ibid, p307.  
82 YAS Leeds MSS DD5/35 James Carter's Accounts.

South Yorkshire acreage may have increased as a result of the marriage between the Marquis of Carmarthen and Lady Amelia Conyers Darcy daughter of the Earl of Holderness, though she retained property after her divorce in 1779. Aston Hall, with 950 acres, had been let to a nabob, Mr Verelst in 1771.<sup>83</sup> In 1806 South Yorkshire acreage was estimated at 11270 acres, with an annual value of £10475.9s, including about 1000 acres "in hand".<sup>84</sup> Despite the abandonment and destruction of Kiveton House in 1811 the 6th Duke of Leeds (1799 - 1838 ) bought more West Riding lands, borrowing for that purpose and to buy property near Hornby. He had rents of £2464 from unsettled estate in 1830 and £35850 had been borrowed on the security of settled estates to buy additional property near Kiveton and adjacent to Hornby in the North Riding.

Despite accidents of family history including long-lived dowagers and family disputes, between the 2nd Duke of Leeds and the Marquis of Carmarthen (1712-1729), the Marquis of Carmarthen and Lady Amelia Conyers Darcy in 1778-9, and the 6th Duke of Leeds and the Marquis of Carmarthen in 1830-34, family property expanded. Purchases near Hornby were bigger than in South Yorkshire, with £143793 paid to Sir John Lawson for property there.<sup>85</sup> In the eighteenth century there had been marriage alliances with the Harley, Godolphin and Holderness families. The extension of property certainly involved large purchases, like Conisbrough in 1737, which was surveyed as 1582 acres in 1806, and it is unlikely that much was sold. Whether or not a consistent expansionary policy of smaller purchases accompanied this

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83 YAS Leeds MSS DD5 Book 23 14 Will of Earl of Holderness Probate 1778 19 GEO III. Act to dissolve marriage of Francis Osborne and Baroness Conyers: 1779.

84 SYCA Leeds MSS 2.4 "Summary Valuation of Kiveton and Conisbrough Estates 1806".

85 SCL Wh/MSS 440 Documents relating to a dispute between the Duke of Leeds and Lord Carmarthen. Proposals. 5 November 1830.

remains unproven, but the concentration of ownership by the Napoleonic Wars, and the evidence of a small purchase in 1765, in one of a few extant rentals, suggests that this occurred.

Connection, successions, good marriages and luck merely sufficed to allow large estates to maintain growth of acreage.<sup>86</sup> The expansion of rentals between 1770 and 1815 proved an opportunity and, in inflationary conditions, a temptation. Borrowing was easy for large land owners and large debts could be serviced.<sup>87</sup> Either because too many portions were financed in this way, or because they were too large and combined with extravagance elsewhere, by 1830 a bitter dispute divided the 6th Duke of Leeds from his son The Marquis of Carmarthen. The latter's marriage to one of the American Caton sisters may not have helped, though she had a portion of £10,000 and an interest in the reversion of a Maryland (USA) estate. Arrangements proposed by the Earl of Wharnccliffe as arbiter in the dispute, left Carmarthen only £6000-7000 per annum in 1830 until his father's death. Mortgage debt played a part, with disputes about the sums charged, including mortgages and portions. Estimates ranged from £249255 to £308624. The implication was that from a rental of £36296 in 1829 Carmarthen could have access to £1500 per annum with succession preserved to the Conyers D'Arcy branch of the family on the 6th Duke's death. Carmarthen questioned whether this would suffice to maintain the ducal title, and the dispute dragged on for several years leading to acrimonious exchanges between father and son and their legal advisers.

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86 J P Cooper "Patterns of inheritance and settlement by great land-owners from the 15th to the 18th centuries." in J Goody, J Thirsk and E P Thompson (Eds) Family and Inheritance. Rural Society in Western Europe 1200-1800 (1976).pp192-327.

87 D Cannadine "Aristocratic Indebtedness in the 19th century: the Case Reopened." EcHR 2nd series XXX No 4 November 1977, pp624-650. D Spring "Aristocratic Indebtedness in the 19th century. A Comment," and D Cannadine "Aristocratic Indebtedness in the 19th century, A Re-statement." EcHR 2nd series XXX iii No 4, November 1980, pp564-573.

On the 6th Duke's death much of the estate passed to Walter Lane Fox,<sup>88</sup> his son-in-law, and the Dukes of Leeds played a limited part in 19th century social and political life on a diminished fortune.<sup>89</sup>

### III The Smaller Peerage Holdings in the Eighteenth Century

Larger estates survived, albeit with larger or smaller acreages, but what fate befell smaller peerage holdings between 1700 and 1850? Had they similar resilience in face of the vagaries of family successions, economic change and varying opportunity.

Some grew in robust fashion, like the Sandbeck estates of the Earls of Scarborough which expanded in acreage and rental throughout the period. In wealth the owners were never in the first rank nationally or regionally. In 1812 their land extended to 8640 acres in the West Riding and about 12,000 elsewhere, with a rental of £30,000 per annum excluding coal royalties and a variety of other receipts. The latter did not enable them to broach the £75,000 per annum barrier separating great owners from the rest by the last decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>90</sup>

The rental for Sandbeck, Maltby, Tickhill, Stainton, Braithwell, Carrhouse and Aughton grew from £1587 to £1666 (excluding woods and quarries) between 1758 and 1767. By 1845 the 4450 acres in William Downe's survey was valued at £5207.9s.10d per annum, and by 1861 with more private property and leased Crown estate the total acreage of 5876 was valued at £4537.<sup>91</sup>

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- 88 SCL Wh/MSS 440 Dispute 6th Duke of Leeds and Lord Carmarthen 1830. YAS Leeds MSS DD5.11 6th Duke of Leeds - Lord Carmarthen, 26 October 1832; G B Wharton - Marquis of Carmarthen, 13 March 1833; DD5 18 Copy of will of George William Frederick 6th Duke of Leeds (July 1836 copy)d 1838.
- 89 W D Rubinstein Men of Property. The Very Wealthy in Britain since the Industrial Revolution. (1981) p205.
- 90 Sandbeck Lumley Saville Estate Accounts 1862. MSS EMA/69
- 91 Sandbeck MSS EMR /6/8 1758-67 Rentals, EMS/41/1 William Downe's Survey of Sandbeck and Valuation. 1845; EMS 41/1 Summary 1845 p167; EMS/45/1861. Vessey survey of Scarborough Yorkshire estates.

The three new peerage estates of the early eighteenth century barely survived it. Edlington remained in the hands of the Molesworth family until 1802, but part of the woods were sold to the Marquis of Rockingham in 1749.<sup>92</sup> In 1802 the remainder was purchased by the Wrightson family. The Earl of Strafford probably added to the Wentworth Castle estate after 1720. He and his successors had ready cash available, though he may have suffered from the tight-fisted approach of an anxious treasury, particularly in his receivership of the Post fines.<sup>93</sup> The third (18th century) Earl of Strafford, lent £30,000 on two mortgages to the 2nd Marquis of Rockingham by the latter's death in 1782. They were secured on Greasbrough, Rotherham and Wentworth land and parts of the Bright inheritance, and may have been raised to pay portions under the marriage settlement of 1752.<sup>94</sup> In 1799 the 3rd Earl died without issue and his estates passed via his sister Augusta Kaye to her son Henry Vernon. By 1804, when a legal dispute was settled, the Wentworth Castle estate contained 1557 acres valued at £2026 per annum.<sup>95</sup>

Upon Henry Vernon's death in 1814 the Leveson-Vernon family of Hilton, Wolverhampton, succeeded. Subsequently the estate remained a medium sized gentry holding, with local rents of £3600 per annum in 1865, but it was part of an estate, with property in Suffolk, Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire and Perthshire, together reputedly worth £20546 in land rent in 1872.<sup>96</sup>

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- 92 WWM (Wentworth) Box 15.2 5a 21 May 1749. 6a & b 10/11 November 1749.  
 93 TMB XXVI P197 18 March 1729. "The orders in the name of Lord Strafford and Mr Poyntz are to have letters at the Exchequer to satisfy the same."  
 94 SCL WWM D1545 Marriage Settlement. Marquis of Rockingham and Mary Bright 1752; WWM A1003, 1787.  
 95 SCL Vernon-Wentworth MSS 108 Mrs A Kaye to Henry Vernon, 6 October 1799.  
 96 SCL Vernon-Wentworth MSS 114 Wakefield and Ossett Rents. 1800-2; Valuation of Wentworth Castle Estate - 1802. Mr Elias Wright. J Bateman. The Great Land Owners of Great Britain and Ireland (1971 ed) p471.

The third new aristocratic estate was established in a process of enthusiastic purchasing between 1714 and 1723. George Henry Hay, Viscount Dupplin, was active in the market prior to his succession as the second Earl of Kinnoull in 1719, probably as a condition of his marriage settlement to Abigail Harley, daughter of the Earl of Oxford. In July 1715 Sir John Wentworth conveyed the Manor of Brodsworth and lands in Pigburn to Dupplin.<sup>97</sup> Soon afterwards there followed a series of smaller purchases around Brodsworth. John Mason sold a house in 1717, and Samuel Bayne woods in July 31 - August 1 1719.<sup>98</sup>

Subsequent purchases included acres of land and woods purchased from Hudson in April 1720 for £3540 and 339 acres of farm land purchased from William Wharam at Hampole in July 1721. Both were adjacent, and it appears that it was initially difficult to persuade Wharam to sell.

"Therefore he had no mind to sell his estate, till he hear your Lordship had given so great a price for Mr Hudson's, and it is only upon the view of getting a very great price that he offers your Lordship the sale of it." <sup>99</sup>

Eventually he sold, though he appears to have got almost 49 years' purchase. Exaggerated expectations were the product of a local scramble to buy land.

"For the people here are mad of buying land as they are of stock in the South Sea at London." <sup>100</sup>

Kinnoull had himself contributed to the scramble in his joint purchase with Lord Bingley of a large body of property from the Earl of Scarsdale in

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- 97 YAS Thellusson Mss DD 132/2/10 "A List of Deeds carried by the Archbishop of York from Brodsworth, 18 November 1762".
- 98 Ibid February 26th 1717. Articles of Agreement between the Earl of Kinnoull and John Mason 31 July 1719. Lease for a year of a Wood etc. Samuel Bayne and his wife, and Release.
- 99 Ibid Dr Coles to Lord Kinnoull . 5 March 1720; 30 March 1720; 2 April 1720; 11 April 1720; 13 April 1720; 11 May 1720; 21 May 1720; 6 June 1720; 13 August 1720.
- 100 Ibid J Wright to Lord Kinnoull ., 21 May 1720.

April 1717. Together he and Lord Bingley spent £37900 of which Kinnoul 's share was £10389.3.4. He obtained 1583 acres in the Manor of Marr, including 1073 acres of field land and enclosures, 89 acres of woods, 319 of commons and 100 of ings, with an annual rental of £265.19.7.<sup>101</sup> The sale also included a capital messuage and the presentation of the vicarage of Marr.<sup>102</sup>

By 1721 the estate yielded the following rental

Table 2.4 - Brodsworth Kinnoul Estate 1721<sup>103</sup>

	£	s	d	
Brodsworth	135	6	7½	
Marr	285	13	7	
Hampole (Hudson)	130	2	6	
Hampole (Wharam)	120	-	-	
	<u>£671</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>8½</u>	per annum

Further purchases followed, including a tenement and lands purchased from Thomas Mawood and others in December 1723, and Cliffe Quarry Close and Quarry purchased in August 1725.<sup>104</sup>

In the 1720s the 2nd Earl of Kinnoul is reputed to have become very short of money, and his two sons were supported at Oxford by a grant from the King secured by Walpole in 1723. Thomas Hay, Viscount Dupplin (1710-87) became a whig, and later gained office as Ambassador to Constantinople (1728-34). The family were still impecunious in 1740, when Dupplin tried

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101 Ibid Dr Coles to 2nd Earl of Kinnoul , 6 June 1720.

102 Ibid Calculations and sale of Manor of Marr to 2nd Earl of Kinnoul .

103 Ibid Abstract of the Valuation of the Brodsworth Estate 1721.

104 Ibid List of Deeds, 1762.



to obtain the Governorship of Barbados for his father. Instead a secret service pension of £800 per annum was allocated to the 8th Earl. Dupplin became political manager to Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle. Walpole had given him a rich place worth £1000 per annum, and he was active in politics until 1761.<sup>105</sup>

Around 1720 there was considerable pressure upon the local market for land and Kinnoul resorted to subterfuge. He tried to conceal his desire to purchase particular parcels, and to buy properties which made other freeholds less viable. Dr Coles wrote to Kinnoul on 13 August 1720

"suppose we should try to buy Crowther's Farm before he certainly knows whether your Lordship purchases Wharams Estate or no. If you do buy it you must (write) Wharam and perhaps oblige him to answer terms because without that and some others of your lands he cannot keep the farm."

There were claims of counter offers and an arrangement to

"get Mr Buck (a Rotherham attorney and friend) to purchase it for you in some other name." 106

After 1725 occasional purchases continue, including that of John Blake's land in 1739, Anne Bellamy's at some date between 1756 and 1762, and property belonging to the Reverend Holmes in South Kirby in October 1756.<sup>107</sup> But once the initial proprietorship was established priorities changed. In August 1720 Kinnoul sought to establish rights in collection of the tithes of Marr, though warned of possible consequences.

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| 105 | Romney Sedgewick              | <u>The History of Parliament The House of Commons, 1715-54 Vol 1 (1971) p118</u>   |
| 106 | YAS Thellusson Mss DD132/3/10 | Dr Coles to 2nd Earl of Kinnoul , 13 August 1720.  |
| 107 | Ibid                          | Wardfield - Lord Dupplin 1, 13, 26 January 1739/40. 17 March 1739 (11 acres leys, 23 acres in common fields, £200) List. 1762 (10 acres of field land) (60 acres on Brodsworth). |

"But if my Lord Kinnoull have a mind that it should be gathered for his own use I have nothing to say. I looked upon it to be the most fair, honest and neighbourly way to let each tenant have his own crop in his own disposal, rather than another should come and pull in pieces and squabble about it." 108

Joseph Dickenson's subsequent correspondence reveals continuing interest in further rental "improvements". By 1729 an agreement was made to enclose Brodsworth ings totalling 100 acres, of which 32 went to Kinnoull. Wharam property purchased included a share in the leys.

"which has been inclosed and the share is known value £200." 109

The new owner had a sharp nose for his own interest, and like Molesworth at Edlington, sought to rationalize and increase the rental of Yorkshire property, and to enforce rights which had been in abeyance. This represents a valid case of the erosion of the old patterns of usage and of the "grid of inheritance" in South Yorkshire.<sup>110</sup> Among smaller sales there were mortgaged small freeholds as was the case in Wentworth Woodhouse purchases in the same period, while income from interest was often agreed between the new proprietor and vendors.<sup>111</sup>

By 1762 Brodsworth was surveyed as 3755 acres, and occupied by the younger brother of the 9th Earl of Kinnoull, Robert Hay Drummond, Archbishop of York.

The latter's marriage helped create problems ending in the sale of the estate in 1787. He married Henrietta Auriol, elder daughter of London merchant Peter Auriol in 1748. It seemed an attractive match, with the respectable portion of £10000 secured in their marriage settlement. Her

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108 Ibid Mr Brailsford to Mr Wright, August 1720.

109 Ibid J Dickenson valuation (undated).

110 Ibid E P Thompson. "The grid of inheritance: a comment", in J Goody, J Thirsk, E P Thompson (Eds) Family and Inheritance (1976) p347.

111 Ibid See the Wharam (1721), Bellamy (1756-62), and Reverend Holmes (1756) Sales referred to.

fortune was, however, secured to her and her children

"without the intermeddling of my said husband or any other husband."

and came in the form of South Sea stock which suffered a depreciation in the Seven Years War. Peter Auriol's will (d 1754) and the marriage settlement provided a similar portion for his younger daughter Elizabeth, and equal shares in the capital of the estate upon Henrietta Auriol Drummond's death for her children.

The wartime losses left inadequate sums to meet all the claims upon Auriol's estate, with only £8720 available to the Trustees. A series of mortgages were raised upon Brodsworth in a very complex set of transactions between 1764 and the sale of Brodsworth in 1787. The marriage produced five sons, with three younger survivors until the death of John Auriol Drummond, a naval commander, in 1780/81. Mortgages were raised to provide portions of £2180 for each of the three younger sons upon marriage or reaching the age of 21, and earlier mortgages were also taken out to satisfy the conditions of Auriol's will in relation to his younger daughter, and to provide sums to help maintain the family as had been intended in the marriage settlement of 1748. After the death of Archbishop Drummond in 1777, the burden of mortgages upon the estate continued to grow, with frequent re-assignment of mortgages, including one taken out by John Auriol Drummond with J Banks in 1780 in anticipation of future payments from prize money, which was assigned to George Ross, and after his death in 1786 to J Crompton and T Mortimer. The eldest brother found himself liable to pay very large sums to satisfy family claims by 1786.

"Robert Auriol Hay Drummond, not being provided therewith of his own monies, hath applied to and prevailed with the said John Crompton and Timothy Mortimer to advance and lend him the sums of £3617.10s and £3617 making together with the sum of £3617.10s so paid to the said George Ross in his lifetime the sum of £10852."

The claims of his brothers were added to an already complex pattern of indebtedness by a further mortgage of the Brodsworth estates. Earlier sums payable to trustees to satisfy marriage settlements and other legal claims for portions etc had already involved mortgages upon the estates, including it seems £8720 not paid to trustees (the Earl of Kinnoul and Lord Mansfield) in 1764, £5800 payable to Abigail, Robert, Thomas and John Auriol Drummond, £11500 payable to Elizabeth Auriol, £2180 payable to Peter Drummond on marriage or attainment of the age of 21 years and £5930 on mortgage against the personal estate of Peter Auriol Drummond. More than £10000 was still outstanding from these claims in 1786, together with almost as much more in the claims of the surviving brothers themselves. It was in these circumstances that the ninth Earl of Kinnoul decided to sell as an alternative to further maintaining what appeared to be an escalation of debts and interest charges at the higher rate of 5% per annum. It is likely that some of the problems stemmed from earlier marriage settlements, which kept jointure property separate and in the case of Elisabeth Harley reserved her fortunes to her daughters, but it was the accidents of a combination of a depleted portion and a large family, and the joint enjoyment of the property both by the second Earl of Kinnoul and the Archbishop of York, which overbalanced the structure and caused sale. It was not that sale was unavoidable but rather that it appeared the best solution.<sup>112</sup> The asking price proved to be £63-£65000, with an earlier

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112 Ibid      Marriage Settlements, Wills, Mortgages, especially 1748 Marriage Settlement; Peter Auriol Will 1754; Deed Poll, 20 January 1763; May 1770 Henrietta Drummond, Will; Indenture 12 April 1764; Robert Drummond Will, 6 March proved 1776; Marriage Settlement R A Drummond - Sarah Harley, 17 July 1781; Indenture, 14 June 1786; Private Act of Parliament, 27 Geo III 1787.

offer of £50000 from Mr Cooke of Owston refused.<sup>113</sup> Other would-be purchasers included "Mr Arkwright or J W Grady" and Lord Downe.<sup>114</sup> It appears that the eventual purchaser, a London merchant Peter Thellusson, paid the sum asked or something close to it, as it is claimed that G A Drummond, one of Archbishop Drummond's younger sons, saved the family £13000 by withholding his consent as heir in tail until an adequate price was offered.<sup>115</sup>

Their estate, like that of the Molesworth family at Edlington, was one of several substantial possessions and could be sacrificed to meet a serious family exigency while properties elsewhere remained to support them. In the case of the Molesworth family Irish property had to serve, while the Earls of Kinnoul continued to depend upon Scots holdings, with a modest rental of £15413 from 12657 acres in Perthshire in 1872.<sup>116</sup>

The new peerage holdings showed little survival power in eighteenth century South Yorkshire. The Earls of Strafford failed to sustain their position by not producing heirs and the Kinnoul estates were sold through an excess of them, despite a series of excellent marriages to key political and London city families. The Molesworth family never truly recovered their fortunes from the disasters of the 1720s, though they, and the numerous Hay Drummonds, continued to staff a variety of military and administrative posts in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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- 113 Ibid R Hay Drummond - E Woodcock Esq (Lincoln's Inn)  
7 November 1787.
- 114 Ibid 1 November 1787.
- 115 J Hunter South Yorkshire (1829-31) p316.
- 116 J Bateman op cit, p255.

#### IV Great Estates - a History of Survival and Growth 1780-1850

It has been suggested that the overall pattern of development on the Wentworth Woodhouse estates involved rapid accumulation of acreage in the early eighteenth century, less buying, but important acquisitions through marriage between 1750 and 1782 and a lower rate of growth of acreage thereafter. Expenditure on additional property remained considerable throughout the period studied, but land prices were inflated and acreage gains small. Set against them were sales which reduced the net growth in the estate.

There were new opportunities after 1780, but they required investment by the landowner. The development of coal, transport, industry and agriculture was expensive, and increasingly different criteria were applied to the buying and selling of land. On the Fitzwilliam estates acquisition of coal land, or mineral rights, increasingly replaced acreage extension.

Similar changes occurred in the administration of the Sheffield Arundel estates. Expansion had been less aggressive in the early eighteenth century in South Yorkshire, though it may still have been influenced by the broad considerations suggested by H J Habakkuk

"This no doubt often had an economic nature, since it might facilitate enclosure or a more profitable arrangement of the purchaser's own land, but on many occasions it was influenced by a desire for reasons of prestige and authority, to own all the land in a particular neighbourhood." 117

A degree of complacency was understandable in the administration of this estate, as it was so much larger than any other holding in Sheffield that no significant local challenge was conceivable. Estate administrators were aware of opportunities in the late eighteenth century, encouraging enclosures, playing a significant part in the promotion of coal mining,

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117 H J Habakkuk "Economic Functions of Landowners in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in W E Minchinton (Ed) Essays in Agrarian History, Vol 1 (1968) p199.

providing leases for building and generally participating in the accelerative economic growth after 1760.

There was a significant difference between these two great estates. The Worksop Manor estate in north Nottinghamshire was the primary local residence of the Dukes of Norfolk, but after the major fire of 1761 and the cessation of rebuilding in 1767 its residential importance diminished. For all its attractions, accidents of succession marginalized its social significance to the family after the death of Edward, the 9th Duke, in 1777. This may be connected with an increasingly "laissez-faire" approach to the administration of the Sheffield estates.<sup>118</sup> The general priority was maximization of the rental in the long run, without commitment to consolidation of holdings except when it was likely to pay by producing high-rented farms or urban plots. Nor was there much resistance to sales when property prices rocketed during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Whereas the Earls' Fitzwilliam treated Wentworth Woodhouse as being "on a par" with Milton, recognizing their South Yorkshire holdings as their most valuable property, the Dukes of Norfolk were great absentees, enjoying domination of property ownership in an industrializing district which was increasingly turbulent and in significant ways culturally alien. Estate administrators therefore faced different pressures,<sup>119</sup> and responded accordingly.

At Wentworth Woodhouse after 1780 the receipts from non-agrarian sources grew. In 1789 gross rental receipts were £11142, of which farm rents and freeholders tithes amounted to £9557. The difference came from coal, ironstone, woodlands and quarries.<sup>120</sup> Despite high agricultural prices,

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118 J M Robinson The Dukes of Norfolk. A Quincentennial History (1982) p194.

119 J L Baxter and F K Donnelly "The Revolutionary "Underground" in the West Riding: Myth or Reality?" PP Vol 64 1974 pp124-132.

120 SCL WWM A255-406; A1215.

non-agrarian receipts were of increasing significance on this estate thereafter. In 1801 profits from coal and iron were assessed at £5061.11.3, and from the Greasbrough canal at £847.2.5.<sup>121</sup> Despite attempts to extract high rents after a revaluation of farm property by the agent Charles Bowns in 1809, with farm rents assessed at £17657.17s and tithe at £2110.8s for 12283 acres, an advance of £8335.15.6, the rents did not hold up in the post-war depression.<sup>122</sup> Despite a weakening of agrarian and non-agrarian receipts in the post war years, the greatest net gains were in the non-agrarian sector and especially from rapidly developing coal mining interests.<sup>123</sup>

These changes were reflected in attitudes to extension of acreage. Between 1780 and 1823 478 acres were bought for £47833.<sup>124</sup> Predominant were purchases of coal land, or transit rights to make coal workable. Typical was a proposal in 1794 to buy a property for 5000 guineas

"to drive a sough through ..... Matt Roberts land to the extent of your Lordship's Estate adjoining Southwell and a colliery open'd there and wrought towards Cortworth which would be so much nearer the market as to Admitt of an Advance on the Price of Coal." 125

Most land offered to the estate for purchase was accepted or not according to similar criteria.

"All the coal in the Wastes as in all Capt. Spencer's Estates in Darnall, Tinsley, Handsworth and Attercliffe are demised for a term of 200 years from 1757 to Messrs Clay, Phipps and Co at £50 an acre. As your Lordship's estate in Darnall is only £54 a year I don't think an addition of 60 acres in that township of much consequence to your Lordship, but if it be situate in Tinsley it might be more desirable." 126

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121	SCL WWM F107a	C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 6 December 1803.
122	SCL WWM F107a	Property Tax Assessment, 1810; A255-406 Rentals; F107a C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 26 November 1815. See also ch 8, pp460-470.
123		See Chapter 5, pp248-257.
124	SCL WWM A337-406	Purchases and Sales.
125	SCL WWM F106c	C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 21 November 1793.
126	SCL WWM F106c	C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 9 February 1794.



Here coal rights had already been let on existing property and could not be changed for a long time, the land on offer would make little difference to the Earl's overall importance in the township, and there were no valuable hunting rights, as existed in Tinsley.

Other purchases of coal land involved 9 acres bought in 1799 from William Gray for £2700, and a further 14 for £1500, three acres from John Green of Hoyland bought in October 1808 for £851.11.3, eight acres in Church Wall Close, Rawmarsh, bought from the Reverend J Adam Stephenson for £2800, and two acres costing £700 in the same parish, bought from William Thompson in February 1821. Even when coal is not mentioned explicitly, prices paid indicate exploitable undersurface resources, as in the £3665.12s paid for 12 acres in Elsecar to Richard Fenton and £18000 paid on 2 February 1827 to Messrs Clark and others for an estate at Hough and Rawmarsh.<sup>127</sup>

These purchases could help consolidation of holdings, but it was incidental to their function, which was to ease coal exploitation or, sometimes, to prevent competition. The other circumstance where purchase of land was likely between 1780 and 1830 was during or after parliamentary enclosure. Probably land bought in Bradfield in 1819 to 1820 fitted that category.<sup>128</sup>

Unlike earlier periods, there were increasing numbers of sales of Wentworth Woodhouse property after 1799. Redemption of land tax in that year led Charles Bowns to revalue and propose sales of property in Darrington, Skellow, Roughbirchworth, Bolsterstone, Attercliffe, Darnall and Brightside. In all, "detached" estates which he proposed to sell amounted to 1182 acres,

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127 SCL WWM A337-406

Purchases and Sales.

128 SCL WWM D1978c

yielding £1000 per annum. Thinking their real value £1300 per annum, it was thought that at least 10000 guineas would be raised towards a total of £13860 to £14117 required to redeem the Yorkshire estates of taxation of £700 per annum.<sup>129</sup> Some of this property appears to have been sold, for a reduced acreage is recorded a decade later.<sup>130</sup>

It was a period of extraordinary opportunities and strains. On the Sheffield estates of the Dukes of Norfolk few sales are recorded before the land tax redemption of the same year. On 20 March 1800 Vincent Eyre proposed a variety of sales from the settled estates. 277 items were listed, including tithes, manorial rights, and small plots of building and agricultural land. Between 1799 and 1813 they and some small plots in Nottinghamshire realized £21000, and in total the Norfolk estate sold property valued at £25000 under Pitt's Land Tax Redemption scheme.<sup>131</sup> Included were Ecclesfield, Darnall, Attercliffe and Brightside tithes.

Under the scheme these sums were sold to buy out land tax in exchange for consols, though S Dowell argued that

"The rise in consol prices after 1801 became an inhibition to landowners wishing to buy out the land tax charges under Pitt's scheme of 1799." <sup>132</sup>

The financial workings of the redemption are illustrated by the case of Arnold in Nottinghamshire. In 1799 a messuage, outbuildings and 30 acres of arable meadow and pasture were taxed £1.9s. Redemption cost £53.3.4d, to be paid by 1803.<sup>133</sup> This represented about 36 years purchase on the annual tax levy.

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| 129 | SCL WWM F106(k)                   | C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 3 February 1799.   |
| 130 | SCL WWM F107(a)                   | C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, Property Tax 1810.                                       |
| 131 | SCL Arundel Mss S408              |  |
| 132 | S Dowell                          | <u>A History of Taxes and Taxation in England</u><br><u>Vol III (1888) pp82-103.</u> |
| 133 | Sheepscar Library<br>Leeds MX 468 | 1799 Land Tax Account.   |

Much of the Duke of Norfolk's estate was redeemed quickly after 1800, though complicated accounts were kept for many years.<sup>134</sup>

Table 2.5 - Land Redeemed of Land Tax - 1799-1801<sup>135</sup>

<u>Area</u>	£	s	d
Surrey	270	5	3
Suffolk	392 <sub>c</sub>		
Norwich	841	15	2
Norfolk	7 000 <sub>c</sub>		
Derbyshire (Whitwell)	201		
Nottinghamshire (Worksop)	3 765		
Yorkshire (£333.16.2 pa tax redeemed)	7 595	17	4½
	<u>£21 267</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>9½</u>

It appears that most of the land tax redemption on the Norfolk Estate occurred quickly enough to avoid the period of rising consol prices after 1801, and that Yorkshire property sales contributed the lion's share of the capital required.

The sales for this purpose did not have adverse effects upon money receipts of either of these large estates. Money receipts had been rising since the 1760s. The value of land was rising, and proprietors could divest themselves of some property and maintain or increase rental revenues. The grasping of this possibility was not immediate. A steady climb in rental receipts between 1765 and the early 1780s was augmented on the Wentworth

134 SCL Arundel Mss S422

Sales for Redemption of Land Tax, 1799-1813.

135 SCL Arundel Mss S422

Sales for Redemption of Land Tax, 1799-1813.

estates by small purchases and on both of these large estates by enclosure and increased demand for property. The inflationary tendencies then strengthened, with rapid escalation after 1792. This created a variety of opportunities.

In 1786 the Arundel Sheffield estate yielded land rents in excess of £14617, to which must be added substantial coal royalties, chief and fee farm rents, mineral rents and royalties, timber receipts and cottage rents. It compared with £2930 per annum from Worksop, under £3000 per annum from land near Arundel and Littlehampton, but substantial sums from the Strand estate. There were also smaller sums from Norfolk and a variety of other casual rents and manorial rights. These do not disguise the preponderant importance of South Yorkshire rental to the financial health of the estate as a whole.

The reaction of the Duke and his advisers to the high prices of the Napoleonic Wars was to sell property in South Yorkshire and to expand holdings elsewhere. This was a policy contrary to that of the Fitzwilliam estate, which after sales for land tax redemption tended to minimize the amounts put on the market, and in general to continue to increase Yorkshire acreage. It was a time of extraordinary expedients by the peerage. The descendants of Archbishop Drummond sold the Brodsworth estate to the Thellusson family after refusing an offer of £60000 from Lord Downe in 1787.<sup>136</sup> More extraordinary was the demolition of the 6th Duke of Leeds' house at Kiveton in 1811. The most conservative of landowners were forced into consideration of alternatives not only by the opportunities of high prices of land, but by the demands of investment, by the pressure of war-time taxation and also possibly by the mounting debt burdens and high

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136 YAS Thellusson MSS DD132/2/10 R Hay-Drummond-Woodcock, 15 October 1787.

interest rates. Possibly too the experience of land tax redemption and other legal and institutional innovations of the period encouraged changes less readily contemplated before.

The Norfolk Sale Acts of 1802, 1805, 1810 and 1814 were intended to allow the discharge of mortgage debts or incumbrances and

to enable the ... Duke of Norfolk to enfranchise certain copy hold and customary lands parcel of certain manors in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Sussex, other parts of the said settled estates and for laying out the monies arising from such sales and enfranchisements in the purchase of more convenient estates and for other purposes therein mentioned." 137

Trustees were to be allowed to sell parts of the settled estates for this purpose, and this resulted in an overall picture of land freed for sale as follows:

Table 2.6 - Land freed for sale under the Estate Acts 1802, 1805, 1810 and 1814 138

<u>Acres Scheduled for Sale</u>	<u>Act</u>	<u>£ sums realized</u>		
	1802 (by 1814)	140 007	7	0
2000 (largest)	1805 (1805-11)	72 092	9	6
	1810 (1810-13	54 149	18	0
	1814			

In 659 transactions total sales grossed £236000<sup>139</sup> and £3500 from them remained in Chancery in 1838.<sup>140</sup>

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137	45 George III	1805
138	SCL Arundel Mss S422.18	Vincent Eyre's Accounts of Sales under the Estate Acts of 1802, 1805 and 1810.
139	SCL Arundel Mss S431	Final Register of Sales.
140	SCL Arundel Mss S844	

About 4000 acres in South Yorkshire were freed for sale, but less than this was actually disposed of.<sup>141</sup> Estates had already been purchased near Steyning in 1796/7, and land was bought from Lord Selsey at Batworth Park near Lyminster between 1800 and 1806, and the purchase of the Michelgrove estate near Arundel in 1827 for £27,000 may have come under the same trust arrangement.<sup>142</sup> By 1813 at least £90,000 had been used to purchase "more convenient" estates.<sup>143</sup>

Subsequent rental receipts were little affected in aggregate by sales from the 4000 acres freed under the four Acts and the sales for land tax redemption. Rents fell by £2000 per annum from the high points of 1802 and 1804 to 1812.<sup>144</sup> This is an 11½% loss in the receipts from land rent, but meanwhile mineral income grew and obscured the underlying effects. Also changed accounting procedures exaggerated the fall. Nor was estate geography greatly altered as most property sold consisted of small urban lots or enfranchisements.<sup>145</sup> Some sales well suited Norfolk interests including that of land to the Sheffield catholic community. The land and grounds in Norfolk Row in which Vincent Eyre had lived until 1813 were sold for £3045 to allow a chapel to be built.<sup>146</sup>

Local agents had few illusions about the earning power and sometimes unpopularity of traditional rights. Later Michael Ellison argued that Norfolk manorial rights were

"not worth keeping as the profits since the present Duke came into possession have not averaged much beyond £1000." 147

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| 141 | SCL Arundel Mss S433      | Survey and valuation of Sheffield Estate 1815.  |
| 142 | J M Robinson              | <u>The Dukes of Norfolk. A Quincentennial History (1982) p194.</u>                            |
| 143 | F Steer                   | <u>Arundel Castle Archives, Vol 2. A Catalogue (1972) refers to MD619, 999, 1194 and 654.</u> |
| 144 | SCL Arundel Mss S158      | Rentals 1700-1850.  |
| 145 | SCL Arundel Mss S431      | Final Register of Vincent Eyres Sales under the Estate Acts of 1802, 1805, 1810.              |
| 146 | C Hadfield                | <u>The History of St Marie's Mission and Church (1889) p32.</u>                               |
| 147 | SCL Arundel Mss S418(XIV) | M Ellison - E Blount, 17 October 1836.  |

In summary, sales between 1799 and 1815 relieved the core of the estates of tax and other liabilities and allowed agrarian holdings to be bought outside South Yorkshire at the cost of the disposal of a large number of small properties. Most were urban, though they also included holdings outside the town area itself. Included were manorial rights of doubtful earning power, some of which were disputed.

In South Yorkshire and elsewhere Vincent Eyre, treasurer to the Trustees under the Acts until 1813, discharged large numbers of accounts related to mortgages or personal debts owed by the family estates as a result of inclosures.

"1808 Paid Henry Howard Esq of Canley as Trustee of the Duke of Norfolk in discharge of mortgage dated 14 November 1805 under Loxley and Ecclesfield Enclosure Act - £1852.

1808 Paid Duke of Norfolk in discharge of sum due to him under the Brassington and Fairfield Enclosure Act in the County of Norfolk - £298.4.0." 148

At Wentworth Woodhouse there were fewer sales. The aim was to keep the estate intact. Many were connected with transport needs. Land was sold to early River Navigation Companies, Turnpike trusts, Canal and Railway companies. Examples include the sale of parcels of land near Rotherham sold to the Dun Navigation Company for £1700 between 1724 and 1728<sup>149</sup> and land in Swinton, Wath, Brampton, Hoyland and Wentworth sold to the Dearne and Dove Canal Company for £3228 in 1807.<sup>150</sup> Small amounts of land were sold for road building including land in Ecclesall in March 1822 and in Totley in April 1823.<sup>151</sup> The advent of railways brought

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148 SCL Arundel Mss S423

V Eyre's Receipts under 45 Geo 2 Estate Act.

149 SCL WWM D1597a

Thomas Wentworth's Sales and Purchases, 1748.

150 SCL WWM D1597c

Purchases and Sales.

151 SCL WWM A334

8 March 1822, A336 24 April 1823 (Purchases and sales).

greater gains from sales, including land in Brightside sold to the Sheffield and Rotherham Railway Company for £560 on 4 November 1844, and land in Eckington taken for the North Midland Railway for £500 on 5 March 1844.<sup>152</sup>

By 1848 there were larger sales

"cash received of the directors of the South Yorkshire Railway Company in part of the purchase money for land in Swinton, Wath and Brampton £3,000."

A further £3,000 was paid by that Company for land sold to them in May 1855.<sup>153</sup>

Sales to railway companies brought an unprecedented bonanza to the landowners. In 1847 the Duke of Norfolk was entitled to receive over £12,000 for land intended to be sold to the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Company.<sup>154</sup> The Norfolk Sheffield agent Michael Ellison was chairman of the Company and much involved in railway business in Sheffield, London and Manchester. Nevertheless he distrusted the Companies. Substantial sales were made to the Sheffield and Rotherham Railway in 1839-40 and to the North Midland in 1838. Ellison considered Swannick, engineer to the North Midland "a most shifty person" and insisted on

"the requisite legal security for anything engaged to be done not placing an atom of reliance upon their word."<sup>155</sup>

Negotiation with railway companies became a key function of land agency, as had the relationships with canal companies in earlier periods. William Newman was

"instrumental in composing the differences which had arisen"

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152	SCL WWM A393-4	Sales 1844.
153	SCL WWM A404	4 December 1848; G49 W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 8 May 1855.
154	SCL Fairbank MSS CP50 116	Rough Estimate (This included severances - Land was sold at £200 or more per acre).
155	SCL Fairbank MSS CP50 38	M Ellison - M Smith, 22 March 1838; ibid 15 March 1838.
	RPL Pearson MSS	Valuation of Properties 1836 (Duke of Norfolk £5404).



between the Dearne and Dove Canal Company and the Don Navigation Company in their amalgamation in July 1845, as spokesman for Earl Fitzwilliam, but

"... stated your Lordship's difficulty as a peer to pledge yourself to such an opposition to the projected railways as they require."<sup>156</sup>

It was a necessary ambivalence. Not only did the Earl become involved in the South Yorkshire Railway, but he was able to dispose of assets to the railway companies in the 1850s, including the Derwent Navigation. The importance attached to such relationships was arguably greater by the 1870s. Michael Ellison's son M Ellison Jnr, was asked to become a Director of the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway in May 1873. There were strong reservations about him sharing this and the Sheffield Agency of the Duke of Norfolk, not only because

"it would involve ... an absence from the office for one whole day in each fortnight besides perhaps occasional absences on Parliamentary business or special committees,"

but because

"sale of land to Co. would require separate advice and negotiations." and special advice would be needed if any clash of interests arose.<sup>157</sup> These were real concerns, as the estate had recently received £18,183 from the Midland Railway Co for some Sheffield property,<sup>158</sup> and were likely to need to negotiate with them in the future.

In most transactions after 1820 amounts of land sold were small and the prices paid were larger.

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| 156 | SCL WWM G49                  | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 9 August 1845.  |
| 157 | SCL Arundel Mss S481/1/17    | Charles Few - Duke of Norfolk, 19 May 1873.  |
| 158 | SCL Arundel Mss S484/1/10(6) | Charles Few - Duke of Norfolk, 28 June 1872. |

Smaller quantities of land were characteristic of the numerous transactions of the market for plots to build houses, workshops and factories. Until the nineteenth century leases were usual, but from the 1790s sales increase, though there was a later peak in sales from the Fitzwilliam and Norfolk estates in the 1840s. There may be connections between these and the depressed expectations and rentals of 1815-50. Large debts characterized both estates, tenant-right compensation and drainage expenditures were rising, and Irish receipts collapsed on the Fitzwilliam estate in the 1840s. This may have led to sales from the Fitzwilliam estate, including

"to Messrs Jessop in Brightside for £1,000 in January 1849." <sup>159</sup>

and a sale to Lord Scarbrough in Maltby for £470 in May of the same year. The sales were intended to relieve a general liquidity crisis, when rent reductions loomed high on the agenda. <sup>160</sup>

As always, family considerations played a key role in determining whether estates bought or sold land. High wartime prices encouraged further land buying in its aftermath on the Wentworth-Woodhouse estate, but little in Sheffield by the Duke of Norfolk.

"Disinvestment in land responded to the same influences, and in the same way, as new investment. When agricultural improvements were active, land prices were relatively high and sellers were encouraged to act. The sales perhaps added momentum to the improvements, by bringing in new land owners and by putting some spare resources into the hands of the sellers for investment in the residue of the estates; the repayment of mortgages certainly placed new credit in their hands for use elsewhere." <sup>161</sup>

Piecemeal purchases continued on the Wentworth estate until 1850, many of them continuing the policy of acquiring coal land or land needed to gain

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159 SCL WWM A384-A404.

1849.

160 SCL WWM A407

"General observations on re-adjusting the rents of Earl Fitzwilliam's estate in 1850."

161 F M L Thompson

English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (1971;Ed) p214

access to additional coal supplies. In the 1840s sales amounted to about £1,000 per annum, and purchases on average exceeded £5,000 per annum. Averages conceal a rise in sales after 1846 despite the belief that the land market was depressed among contemporaries and later observers. Sir J Paul noted that F Ponsonby had not found a single bidder for his estates in June 1845<sup>162</sup> and William Newman wrote in the year of commercial crisis, 1847

"I am fearful that they will not be sold as so much land is now on the market in those amongst many other counties." <sup>163</sup>

Table - 2.7 Wentworth Woodhouse Sales and Purchases 1840-49<sup>164</sup>

<u>Sales</u>	£	<u>Purchases</u>	£
18 June 1841	170	August 1839 - May 1840	1 162
January - June 1842	189	August 1840 - June 1841	19 780
February - May 1843	431	November 1841 - July 1842	10 268
December 1843 - May 1844	106	July 1842 - June 1843	13 935
October 1844 - June 1845	1 233	November 1843 - June 1844	2 591
1 April 1847	182	October 1844 - June 1845	2 971
July 1847 - April 1848	3 319	July 1845 - June 1846	7 621
December 1848 - May 1849	4 586	November 1846 - June 1847	1 808
1849 (Hemsworth)	7 500	August 1847 - May 1848	1 737
		November 1848 - June 1849	2 019

Though he referred to W Fullerton's estates in Warwickshire and Kent, the problem appears general, as is born out by a later study.<sup>165</sup> The long post-

162 SCL WWM A370-406

Sales and Purchases of Estates 1840-50.

163 SCL WWM G51

Sir J Paul - Earl Fitzwilliam, 27 June 1845.

164 SCL WWM G49

W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 28 September 1847

165 Norton, Trist and Gilbert

"A Century of Land Values, England and Wales" JRSS LIV (1891) in E M Carus-Wilson (ED), Essays in Economic History Vol 3, (1962) p130.

war depression in agricultural prices and the pressures of industrial and urban development tended to re-order estate priorities, but not necessarily in identical ways for different estates. In general the tendency of the Wentworth estate was to keep on growing until 1850, but sales could be attractive if the price was right. There was even a case of purchase of land in anticipation of future sale, at Brampton in 1853.<sup>166</sup> Nor was it only railway companies which offered high prices for land

"The Gas Co are willing to pay £1,200 an acre for land near the Don Pottery ... between Mexbro and Swinton to supply both." 167

It has been suggested that family considerations played a key role in determining whether property was bought or sold. A settlement was proposed in 1831 between Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord Milton. The latter had five unmarried daughters, and family charges amounted to £62,500. The alternatives faced to finance this and mortgages amounting to £189,000 with annual interest of £7,560, were to dispose of outlying portions of the estate to raise £30,000, or to borrow more. In the event the latter expedient was adopted for a time, but reconsidered and reversed between 1849 and 1857.

#### V Norfolk Estate Debts and the Sale of Worksop

The estate acts of 1802, 1805, 1810 and 1814 allowed the Duke of Norfolk to sell property in South Yorkshire and to purchase "more convenient" estates elsewhere.<sup>168</sup> Despite them South Yorkshire property remained very valuable.

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166 SCL WWM G49

W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 31 December 1853.

167 Ibid

26 March 1856.

168 J M Robinson

The Dukes of Norfolk. A Quincentennial History (1982) p194.

A wholesale revaluation of the Duke of Norfolk's Sheffield estate was undertaken in 1815. Rental increases proposed were large, with a proposed advance of £8,076 per annum on a land rental standing at £13,239 for 18,248 acres of farm land and urban property. Advances were greatest in industrializing Brightside, Ecclesfield and Sheffield.

Table - 2.8 Proposed Revaluation of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk's Estate 1815 <sup>169</sup>

	Let at will or on short lease Quantity (gross) - acres	Valuation £	Old Rents £	Proposed Advance £
Sheffield	2 402	6 385	3 840	2 544
Brightside	983	3 085	2 133	952
Ecclesfield	2 909	5 378	3 445	1 932
Treeton	962	1 642	1 077	564
Handsworth	481	981	611	370
Whiston	881	1 821	1 099	722
Attercliffe	125	374	228	145
Nether Hallam	81	248	156	91
Upper Hallam	2 438	670	340	330
Bradfield	6 981	727	304	422
	<u>18 248</u>	<u>21 315</u>	<u>13 239</u>	<u>8 076</u>
Let on long lease	178		1 242	
Cottages and Gardens	31		104	
Waste in park	5			
Woodland	2 582			
Market rents			<u>1 354</u>	
	<u>21 046</u>		<u>15 940</u>	

Rough ground uncultivated but inclosed and worth from 2/6 to 9/- an acre

Moorland not enclosed chiefly mountain worth from 2d to 1/6d per acre

	a	r	p		a	r	p
Bradfield	280	1	19		1 349	0	28
Upper Hallam	729	2	27		5 792	2	23
	<u>1 009</u>	3	26		<u>7 141</u>	3	11
					<u>8 151</u>	2	36

The dynamism of rising receipts offset the losses which might have resulted from the earlier sale of property in the urban districts. Some sales continued, including that of Gleadless Common in 1816.

Probably the valuer was too optimistic. Land rents fell between 1816 and 1822. They had peaked at £17,000 between 1801-7, though arrears had mounted then. From a low point in 1814 they crept upwards again. Total arrears were high by 1821-2, and peaked again in the 1834-6 period on the Arundel estates, and at Wentworth arrears peaked in 1833 and 1837, with a lower peak of arrears in 1848. There were also significant differences in the patterns of mineral and land arrears on the Sheffield estate, and in the 1830s land receipts and other returns upon non-mineral assets were weak; in the 1840s mineral arrears remained low, but after a recovery in 1845 non-mineral arrears again escalated. In some years large arrears had to be allowed to tenants, as in 1824 when £2,666 was removed from the rental after several bad years for arrears and allowances and 1836-7 and 1841 when arrears allowances ran at relatively high levels.<sup>170</sup> The valuations of 1815 were in some cases barely achieved by 1850.

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<sup>170</sup> SCL Arundel Mss S158 Rentals 1797-1850. See Appendix 2.

Table 2.9 - Comparison Valuation of 1815 and Rental 1850 - Selected Townships 171

	£ 1815 Valuation	£ 1850 Valuation
Sheffield	6 385	6 997
Ecclesfield	5 378	4 396
Brightside	3 085	3 983
Whiston	1 821	336
Treeton	1 642	1 344
Bradfield	727	479
Attercliffe	374	606

Rents in the urbanizing townships were growing, but in others they stagnated. This was the result of low prices of agrarian produce and the deep depression of these years, which reduced demand for agricultural produce, and a result of some further disposals of property.

Estate administrators could not predict future economic fluctuations at the time of the marriage settlement between Henry Charles Howard (1791-1856) and Lady Charlotte Leveson Gower in 1814, a brilliant match, linking the family with the richest aristocratic family in Britain. She was the daughter of George Granville, Marquess of Stafford and later 1st Duke of Sutherland.<sup>172</sup> Henry Charles Howard's father succeeded in 1815, when the 11th Duke of Norfolk died without issue.

Henry Charles became Earl of Surrey upon his father's succession in 1815. By the previous year's settlement Charlotte received £1,000 per annum in pin money:

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171 SCL Arundel Mss S433 Survey 1815 S158 Rentals 1700-1850.  
 172 J R Wordie Estate Management in Eighteenth Century England. The Building of the Leveson-Gower Fortune (1982) pp63-75 and E Richards The Leviathan of Wealth. The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution (1973) pp3-18.

"exclusive of the said Henry Charles Howard ... not discharged nor capable of being discharged by or virtue of a disentailing deed."

Portions were allocated for children as follows:-

Table 2.10 - Portions under the Marriage Settlement of 1814<sup>173</sup>

1 child	£20,000
2 children	£30,000
3 children	£40,000
4 children	£45,000

These and other commitments became a source of embarrassment by the 1830s. An overestimate of the future earning power of the estate was involved. The Earl of Surrey had five children, three boys and two girls. By 1838 it was deemed necessary to rid the estate of most of these commitments. Dramatic measures were executed to rid the estates of mortgage debts.<sup>174</sup>

Mortgage borrowing by the 10th Duke of Norfolk (d 31 August 1786) was not exceptional for an estate with land rent receipts of almost £27,000 per annum, of which the South Yorkshire estates contributed about £17,000. Among 1786 outgoings interest payments were £1,113, which, if accurate, implies an overall debt smaller than annual rental receipts, assuming an interest rate of 5%.<sup>175</sup> If this was the case, and mortgage debts were less than £30,000 in the 1780s, there were spectacular changes

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- 173 SCL Arunde1 Mss SP44 An Act discharging the settled estate from the Countess of Surrey's pin money and from the portions of daughters and younger sons, 4 July 1838.
- 174 SCL Arunde1 MSS SP44 An Act discharging the Settled Estate from the Countess of Surrey's pin money and from the portions of daughters and younger sons, 4 July 1838.
- 175 SCL Arunde1 MSS S185/55 Abstract and summary of the Estates of the Norfolk family, 1786 (year of death of 10th Duke, Charles);  
D Cannadine "Aristocratic Indebtedness in the 19th Century, The Case Re-opened." ECHR 2nd Series XXX No 4 November 1977 pp527-633.



in the condition of the estates between that period and the 1830s when they exceeded £400,000.<sup>176</sup> Despite the immense increments in money receipts from the South Yorkshire estates, there may have been a degree of over-commitment during the war period. Land purchases in Norfolk and Surrey gave low returns and possibly also there was personal mismanagement of the estates' affairs by the eleventh and twelfth Dukes.

The root of a part of the future indebtedness lay in the decision to secure the revenues of the London Strand estate for the rebuilding of Arundel Castle by the 10th Duke. A private Act of Parliament in 1783 allowed this and the 11th Duke of Norfolk (d 1815) pursued the restoration with vigour and great expense for more than 25 years. A leading Gothic builder and collector, he made extensive alterations at Arundel Castle, in the decoration of its grounds and at Greystoke Castle in Cumberland, where he bought up smaller estates at Blencow, Greenthwaite and Johnby to add to the enparked area.

"making it up to five thousand acres, the largest in England, a deliberate challenge to Lord Lonsdale whose park at Lowther was a mere four thousand acres. He encircled the new park with a stone wall and planted two hundred thousand trees ..."

He also built numerous follies and experimental farms, was politically highly active and a generous entertainer and patron.<sup>177</sup>

The legacy of debts passed to the 12th Duke Bernard Edward and Henry Charles, his son, the Earl of Surrey. They had difficulty in recognising the nature of the problems of the post-1815 period. This is not surprising as hard-headed businessmen failed to understand the long-term price

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176 SCL Arundel Mss SP47

List of Incumbrances, 1837.

177 J M Robinson

Op cit (1982) pp177-184.

fall. A hiatus between Vincent Eyre's management of the Sheffield estates ending in 1814 and the assumption of local responsibility by Michael Ellison in 1819 was inadequately filled by Houseman.<sup>178</sup> The auditor Henry Howard told his successor Sir Arthur Piggott in 1817

"I used frequently to tell the Duke that my denomination as auditor must be taken for non-auditienato, neither hearing nor knowing what was going forward ... The Duke did much without consulting me."

It was an awkward period. Outside advisers were insufficiently informed to recognize the problems of estate management in individual areas, and as they took seniority over Sheffield agents, the Duke and his son suffered from lack of informed advice on local conditions.<sup>179</sup>

Nevertheless the new auditor, the Staffordshire gentleman E Blount, advised Michael Ellison by letter on 14 March 1820.

"The fall in price appears rather to be likely to be permanent rather than temporary ... you had better take £2,600 for the unsold lot of timber." 180

This advice was related to a general low level of prices and is linked with the general low level of activity in this period.<sup>181</sup> In March 1820 Blount feared delay in completion of the Sheffield-Glossop Turnpike

"it being beyond the means of the individual however rich ... it will remain unfinished 'till better times'."

The pessimism of the agents grew after 1815 despite the rising value of urban property. Serious problems caused in agricultural areas by abundant

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178 SCL Arundel Mss S478 (ii) Henry Howard - Sir Arthur Piggott, 1 June 1817.

179 SCL Arundel MSS S478 (XIV-XVII) for Blount's frequent claims that he does not know local details well enough to advise on particular matters; and placing the responsibility on Michael Ellison (1830s).

180 SCL Arundel MSS S478 (IV) E Blount - M Ellison, 14 March 1820.

181 SCL Arundel MSS S478 (IV) E Blount - M Ellison, 14 March 1820.

harvests and low prices between 1833-1836 were the last straw.<sup>182</sup> In August of 1836 Blount, wrote to Ellison

"I mentioned him (The Duke) the great question of selling property to pay off incumbrances and of resettling the estates." 183

By that time land sales seemed inevitable. Enquiries into the confusingly complicated nature of estate affairs met diffidence from the Duke and antagonism from Lord Surrey. The Duke wrote in July 1836.

"I am perfectly aware of the heavy incumbrances with which my family property is burthened but I cannot so easily devise the means of their removal." 184

The realization that sales were necessary was slow and painful for the 12th Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey, requiring a careful examination of the debt and much persuasion. In the summer and autumn of 1836 Blount and Ellison were allowed to investigate the debt in detail, drawing up the "list of Incumbrances" which revealed a debt of £414,795.10.0. owed under a variety of headings.<sup>185</sup> For almost two years there followed debate about what ought to be done. From the outset the Auditor and the Sheffield Agent were convinced of the need to sell land, and the issue also involved a resettlement of the estate between the 12th Duke and the Earl of Surrey. Sales of manorial rights were proposed by them as an alternative, to which Blount replied

"No real benefit will result from any sales that will not produce £300,000. With these facts as evident as the daylight it will be for them to decide whether they will advance or not."

The experts were clear as to where opposition lay.

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| 182 | See F M L Thompson   | <u>English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century</u> (1971 Ed) p238.   |
| 183 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 | (IV) E Blount - M Ellison, 1 August 1836.   |
| 184 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 | (IV) E Blount to M Ellison, 15 July 1836.   |
| 185 | SCL Arundel Mss SP47 | Abstract of Incumbrances upon the Norfolk Family Estates 1837. Offers of £5000 for land and minerals by the Sheffield Railway were too small to help. Rotherham Public Library Pearson Mss Valuations of Properties 1836. |

"My opinion is that the Duke will be found more tractable than Lord Surrey, the latter seems to be to over-rate very much the ... he will inherit, to rely too implicitly on the value of Fornham (Surrey) and the personalty of his father and to have some repugnance to tie up his hands by resettling the whole property. He anticipated I think a better bargain with his son than he can make with his father. This is very unfortunate in regard to his real interest and that of his family." 186

By May 1837 the Duke and Lord Surrey had agreed to the sale of Worksop and the resettling of the estates, with an Act to relieve the settled estates of the pin money of Lady Surrey and portions for Lord Surrey's younger sons and daughters and a new Trust Settlement in 1839.<sup>187</sup>

"His Grace ... is now anxious to press on the arrangements to the final settlement of the whole business as it was difficult to persuade him a short time ago to entertain ... Don't come without writing previously, lest the cold fit should come on or anything occur to shake his Grace's present determination."

In June 1837 practical arrangements were undertaken for the sale of Worksop.

The Duke had been unprepared at first to accept the seriousness of the situation. The agents' investigations of this period revealed a number of causes of indebtedness. To the debt of the "List of Incumbrances" were added factors which made the problem more serious.

The Trustees of the Will of the 11th Duke Charles, who died in 1815, paid considerable sums, some of which appear in the "List" mentioned. Accounts for these continue into the 1820s. Large sums were paid by Michael Ellison into the Duke's London bank on account for Henry Howard as Executor of the late Duke of Norfolk, including £44,378.10.7. paid between 1823 and 1825. This represented only a part of the 1815 settlement.<sup>188</sup> Lesser expenses included the Duke of Norfolk's opposition to

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186 SCL Arundel Mss S478

E Blount - M Ellison, 13 October 1836.

187 SCL Arundel Mss S478

E Blount - M Ellison, 23 May 1837.

188 SCL Arundel Mss S437

Statement of Account with the Executors of the late Duke of Norfolk - M Ellison's account with Henry Howard 1823-5.

the Rotherham and Sheffield Railway Bills in the early 1830s which proved costly as noted by F M L Thompson

"the Duke of Norfolk's opposition in the Lords' committee, an opposition based on the Duke's desire to protect his own collieries from competition." 189

His agents, and especially the experienced local agent Michael Ellison, took a sceptical view of this opposition in general because of its cost.

Blount wrote

"If my understanding of your figures is correct the Duke's share of the expense will be about £800 ... He chose the latter with full knowledge of all the circumstances and he must pay the piper. I only hope that his determined hostility to Railways may not if he act upon his feelings, compel him to make larger sacrifices." 190

The cost of this opposition, met by the Duke, his colliery tenants and the Sheffield Canal Company (£2,600) combined, came to £4,200. This was not the whole cost of opposition to the railway, which made several appearances in Parliament before ultimate realisation. More positive, but also expensive, was the Duke's support for the Sheffield-Glossop turnpike scheme, shared with the Duke of Devonshire.<sup>191</sup>

Another source of indebtedness was a misunderstanding by the Duke and Earl of Surrey of the overall financial position prior to the crisis of 1836-40. Thus the 12th Duke spent large sums remodelling his favourite estate and house at Fornham only a few years before the financial crisis and continued to incur election expenses.

"A general Election was not contemplated when building improvements began at Fornham." 192

There were uncomfortable relationships between Lord Surrey and an employee, Watkins, from whom he had borrowed money.

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|-----|---------------------------|---|
| 189 | F M L Thompson            | <u>English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century</u> (1971 ed) p262. |
| 190 | SCL Arundel Mss S478      | E Blount - M Ellison, 5 January 1836.                                   |
| 191 | SCL Fairbank Mss CP.50.48 | M Ellison - Marcus Smith, 1 January 1839.                               |
| 192 | SCL Arundel Mss S478      | Duke of Norfolk - E Blount, 1 September 1837.                           |

"I am afraid that I can do nothing more than I have done to control the proceedings of Lord Surrey and his family ... in their desire to unseat and expose Watkins." 193

Ellison disapproved of Lord Surrey's borrowing, writing to him in October 1836 -

"... recently thro' my connection with one of our banks I enabled him to meet an acceptance which he had given for £3,000. He wishes this converted into a permanent loan and a large sum in addition to it, carried, which I felt almost impossible to accomplish unless I made such an exposition of his affairs as would have been both inconvenient and disagreeable ... I believe the non-availability to raise money as he wants it, which I know is the case at this moment, has awakened him to a sense of his real situation." 194

Once the decision to sell Worksop was made it was possible to make money available to Lord Surrey.

"His Grace has agreed to facilitate a loan of £200,000 for Lord Surrey's present purposes and he is now as anxious to press on the arrangements to the final settlement of the whole business as it was difficult to persuade him a short time ago to entertain." 195

Another problem was the large number of Catholic causes which the Duke was cajoled to support. By the mid 1830s they were treated carefully and selectively, but he paid £7,000 a year for acquiring sites and building churches and chapels, including some for other religious denominations and gave support to poor Catholics. The Duke claimed in August 1837

"Such payments cut deep into my ways and means." 196

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| 193 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 (XVIII) | Ellison - (Blount), 1 May 1840. The sum involved appears to be £5,000 or more in 1826 and 1829. |
| 194 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 (XIV)   | M Ellison - E Blount, 27 October 1836.  |
| 195 | J M Robinson                 | <u>The Dukes of Norfolk. A Quincentennial History (1982) p195.</u>                              |
| 196 | SCL Arundel Mss S478         | Duke of Norfolk - E Blount, 1 September 1837.   |

Retrenchment was so late because there was inadequate supervision of relationships between receipts and disbursements for the whole estate. The buoyancy of the Sheffield estate receipts, with a tendency to rise between 1820 and 1850, masked fundamental problems. The predominantly rural Norfolk estates, apart from Norwich holdings, and a rural "core" estate at Arundel in Sussex, brought low percentage returns upon investment once the wars were over. Without the Sheffield estates and London Strand the situation by the mid-1830s would have been as serious for the Norfolk estate as for predominantly rural estates elsewhere. The rise in value of the South Yorkshire estate allowed survival and later revived prosperity. Without it the story would have been gloomy.

Not that progress was even in South Yorkshire. Estate receipts were not satisfactory in 1828, 1830-6, 1838/9 and 1844-5. Though no fall in receipts from the stable areas was recorded, arrears mounted between 1833 and 1836, rising from an average of about £7,000 per annum in 1829-33 to over £11,000 per annum in 1833-6. It was the rise in land arrears which accounted for this change, increasing from £4,500 per annum in 1829 to 1833 to £7,500 per annum in 1833-36. The increase in arrears and the<sup>197</sup> difficulties they raised in administration helped identify the need for re-organization by Ellison and Blount. They had to force their views upon unwilling employers.

"Yesterday ... Lord Surrey, Mr Blount, Mr Few and myself met together when it was agreed that the sole management of the business connected with the sale of Worksop Manor Estate should be entrusted to me." 198

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197 SCL Arundel Mss S158

Rentals 1700-1850. Estimates of Arrears, Appendix B.

198 SCL Arundel Mss S478

M Ellison - Owen, 2 June 1837.

FIGURE 2.3.

Abstract of the preceding List showing the Incumbrances collectively and distinguishing those which may be regarded as permanent from those deemed desirable to get rid of

		Incumbrances	Permanent	To be discharged	
Sturveys 1 <sup>st</sup> Mortgage	Henry Howard Jun <sup>r</sup> Wright & Co.	66000 0 0		66000 0 0	
Northam 1 <sup>st</sup> M <sup>o</sup>	Henry Howard as Sec of the Debt. &	29722 0 0		29722 0 0	(originally £87,722 but being 1823 when £22,000 was transferred to the 4 <sup>th</sup> part of the property then
Mort <sup>g</sup> of Buff <sup>o</sup> Market	J. D. Churchworth and others	19600 0 0		19600 0 0	
Blackham's Mortgage	Henry Howard	4000 0 0		4000 0 0	
Mitchelmore Mortgage	Bank of England & others	124400 0 0	162000 0 0	66400 0 0	£62,000 Bank of England
Shoreham Bridge	Edward Howard & others	24000 0 0		24000 0 0	
Baker's purchase	Henry Heyworth Esq & others	8400 0 0		8400 0 0	
Workop Manor & app <sup>o</sup>	W. S. Bray & others	18000 0 0		18000 0 0	
	Executors of James Cook	25000 0 0	25000 0 0		
General Mortgage	Henry Howard Esq as Exor	23787 1 3		23787 1 3	
Lopham & Melton	D <sup>r</sup>	886 8 9		886 8 9	
	Executors of Elizabeth Wright	10000 0 0	10000 0 0		private debt of the 3
	Edward Bloom Esq	5000 0 0		5000 0 0	
	James Wagstaffe Esq	4000 0 0		4000 0 0	part of the old Mortgage £14,000
	Walter Charles Atter	3000 0 0	3000 0 0		of A's private Debt
Charge upon Giletop	Hilbert and Jinnings	25000 0 0	25000 0 0		
Charge upon Shipfield	Andrew Howard and Jinnings	16000 0 0	16000 0 0		
Trinham Mortgage	Executors of John Wright	10000 0 0	10000 0 0		
		£ 412795. 10. 0	£ 250000. 0 0	£ 237995. 10. 0	

General Abstract.

Liab marked Shipfield	66000 0 0	
	29722 0 0	
	4000 0 0	
	19600 0 0	119322 0 0
Liab marked Workop	8400 0 0	
	14000 0 0	22400 0 0
Liab marked Lunden	24000 0 0	
	24000 0 0	48000 0 0
Liab marked M <sup>o</sup> Wright & Co	22673 10 0	22673 10 0
		£ 412795. 10. 0

Add to £4000  
 Baker 25000  
 Bloom 5000  
 Atter 3000  
 Blackham 8000  
 102000  
 14000  
 £ 116000  
 leaving to be discharged  
 £ 326795. 10. 0



Enquiries about sales had already commenced, a discreet approach from the Marquis of Abercrom being given careful consideration and a less discreet and mistaken one from Sheffield Gas Co being rejected outright, as it related to land in Sheffield and not at Worksop. Ellison wrote a tart note emphasizing to the Company that there was no intention of damaging the integrity of that estate.<sup>199</sup> Mr Foljambe was also interested in the western part of the Worksop Manor Estate as early as May 1837, when the decision to sell had just been taken, and in June the Duke of Portland expressed interest.<sup>200</sup> It was an estate of almost 9200 acres of which the house, park and woodlands amounted to about 2000 acres. 7212 acres were let to farming tenants or in small lots to the people of Worksop, altogether yielding an annual rental of £6476. Land was generally redeemed but tithes were payable to the Duke of Portland, and it was claimed that rents were lower than on neighbouring estates. It was worthy of 30 years purchase.<sup>201</sup>

Political considerations arose in the protracted negotiations between June of 1837 and March 1838

"The tenants are so provided for contented minds they will not quarrel with you about the politics of the future possessor, provided he be not a radical and they will not relish one of that stamp because I think the radicals are gluttons compared with Tories in helping themselves at the expense of others and the Whigs are not characterized by bad appetites either. If your opinion of Tories be correct and mine of Whigs and Radicals be not overcharged, there seems little chance of escaping from the fangs of any decided politician. Therefore your difficulties will be increased in finding a purchaser possessing no politics." <sup>202</sup>

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- 199 SCL Arundel Mss S478 M Ellison - E Blount, 2 June 1837.  
200 SCL Arundel Mss S478 M Ellison - E Blount, 17 June 1837.  
201 SCL Arundel Mss W40 Ellison's report on the value of Worksop, 1837.  
202 SCL Arundel Mss S478 Owen - M Ellison, 17 June 1837.

After considerable numbers of enquiries, from members of the aristocracy<sup>203</sup> and from the new rich, the Duke of Newcastle paid £370,000 for Worksop Manor in March of 1838.<sup>204</sup> Then difficulties arose between the agents and the Duke

"We feel every hour the inconvenience that results from the state of mind in which is Grace is kept till the Rubicon is crossed." 205

The Duke reached a point where he lost confidence that sale was the correct solution to indebtedness. From November 1837 until the acceptance of the Duke of Newcastle's bid he raised repeated objections and criticized the work of the agents, yet allowed the sale.

"Yesterday the Duke really alarmed by the recapitulation of all his objections to the sale of Worksop and by the very earnest in which he reprobated all those who had led him to approve it ... we must not delay one moment beyond what is absolutely necessary to send each candidate the price ... he will be pledged beyond the possibility of a retreat. We are taking every necessary step to accelerate the sale of such properties as will be disposed of in Surrey, Norfolk etc, without waiting for the result of the great one. I think you will do well to follow the same course at Sheffield." 206

There was disagreement between estate functionaries. Ellison accused Few of needless duplication of enquiry. Perhaps impatience is not surprising given the continued difficulties with the ageing Duke.<sup>207</sup>

"Mr Blount spoke yesterday to the Duke on the subject of the proposed arrangements ... was more opposed than ever ... said he wouldn't look at anything ... that we all joined against him etc ... so that at present we are quite at sixes and sevens." 208

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|-----|----------------------|--|
| 203 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 | Duke of Portland. Marquis of Abercrom. Lord Hatherton. Duke of Newcastle. Mr Foljambe (part).  |
| 204 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 | M Ellison - E Blount, 25 October 1847. "Mr James Brown, formerly a Leeds merchant ... at all events to run the "noble" competitors a hard race" (recently offered £280,000 for Riberton Park) Liverpool Merchant (S478(XVI) 25 February 1838) Bristol MP (S478(XVI) 25 February 1838). |
| 205 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 | E Blount - M Ellison, 20 March 1837.   |
| 206 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 | E Blount - M Ellison, 20 November 1837.  |
| 207 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 | (XV) M Ellison - C Few, 18 December 1837.  |
| 208 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 | (XVI) C Few - M Ellison, 14 February 1838.   |

In the circumstances it is surprising that the price of £370,000, secretly planned by Ellison as reasonable, was in fact realized from the sale of Worksop. A price of £420,000 was asked, but Ellison certainly saw this as the seller's bid.

"In our first estimate of ways and means you will find we only put down Worksop to produce £320,000. If, therefore, we can make £370,000 of what we now offer and £20,000 of all that is reserved (town property in Worksop) we shall not do amiss, but hope that the whole will not raise less than £400,000." 209

Ellison was not given the sole right to deal with the bidders, which he resented deeply, believing that this was a revocation of the earlier commitment by the Duke and that the negotiations by the lawyer Few with the Duke of Newcastle's agents did little good.

"The Duke seems most heartily tired of him and is quite disposed to rid himself of his services if they deserve the name." 210

Bids for the estate by non-peers were discouraged by the high price. The neighbouring Duke of Portland was interested but agents advised him that the price, inclusive of the sum for timber, was too high.<sup>211</sup> Even Newcastle jibbed.

"Mr Few informed me of the Duke of Newcastle's improved bidding for Worksop and he has requested me to tell him how he can parry his Grace's statement that he can only make 2½% of his money at the price he offers. I think the annual means of the estate may be increased to £10,000 by cutting down timber in regular falls, but that would be the extent. This would only yield a return of 2½% on £100,000, but it must be borne in mind that in fixing the price of this estate we have assumed that no one would think of purchasing it who had not residence or some local object in view as well as investment." 212

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209 SCL Arundel Mss S478 (XVI) M Ellison - E Blount

210 SCL Arundel Mss S478(XVII) Ellison's comments on Few in several letters to Blount, 13 May 1840.

211 SCL Arundel Mss S478 (XVI) Smith-Godfrey to M Ellison, 25 February 1838.

212 SCL Arundel Mss S478 (XVI) M Ellison - E Blount, 24 February 1838.

When the Arkwright family and Lord Cambermere enquired Newcastle clinched the transaction, paying £370,000. In October 1838 Ellison stated -

"when the purchase money is paid by the Duke of Newcastle for Worksop, I shall again of course be in town but it is impossible to say exactly when this will be. I should imagine his Grace will defer it no longer than he can help as the interest to be paid to us, commencing yesterday, will amount nearly to £40 daily." 213

Two weeks later a worried note passed from Ellison to Blount.

"I have hear the same report you mentioned that the Duke of Newcastle has some difficulty to procure the money." 214

By December a payment of £20,000 was made and the contract and title accepted. 215

These worries were accompanied by the passage of the Act breaking the 1814 Marriage Settlement and allowing the resettling of the estates on the coming of age of Lord Fitzalan.<sup>216</sup> The management of the settled estates was in the hands of Trustees, at least from 1839-1868.<sup>217</sup> Money from sales of Worksop Manor Estate, of property in Worksop, South Yorkshire and Norfolk was paid into an account at Messrs Wright and Co - "The Family Arrangement Account."

"To this account all monies arising from sales effected under the arrangement shall be placed and from which the incumbrances agreed to be discharged as well as the expenses of sales and other business connected with the same arrangements shall be paid." 218

- 
- |     |                            |   |
|-----|----------------------------|---|
| 213 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 (XVI) | M Ellison - E Blount, 1 October 1838.   |
| 214 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 (XVI) | M Ellison - E Blount, 15 October 1838.  |
| 215 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 (XVI) | C Few - M Ellison, 6 December 1838.   |
| 216 | SCL Arundel Mss SP44       | "An Act giving effect to certain Powers of Appointment over the settled estates of the Duke of Norfolk etc." 4 July 1838. |
| 217 | SCL Arundel Mss SP48       | Copies of deeds, schedules of payments relative to trust estates 1839/45. Trust accounts continued at least until 1860.   |
| 218 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 (XVI) | M Ellison - E Blount, memo, 1838.   |

£000

rent

36

34

32

30

28

26

24

20

18

16

14

12

10

8

6

4

2

1700

20

40

60

80

1800

1820

1840

1860

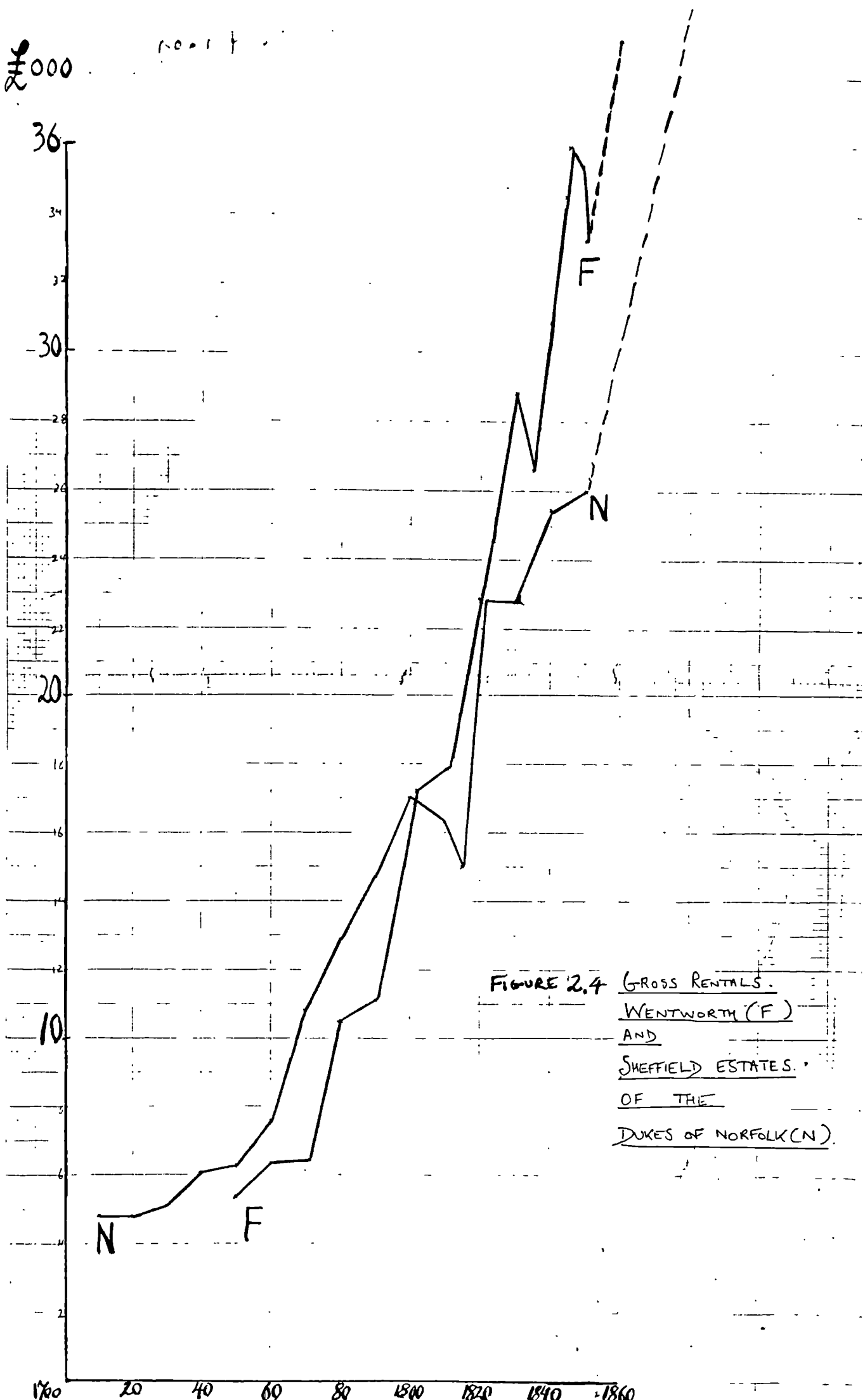
N

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FIGURE 2.4 GROSS RENTALS.  
WENTWORTH (F)  
AND  
SHEFFIELD ESTATES.  
OF THE  
DUKES OF NORFOLK (N)



Money could not be withdrawn without a counter-signature by Blount or Ellison. This avoided a problem.

"Lord Fitzalan being of age ... the modern disentailing deed ... for the old recovery will enable the Duke, Lord Surrey and Lord Fitzalan to pocket the cash. Those sums which under the Act of Parliament for sale were to be paid into Council must I apprehend be so paid and then on petition be paid out again as the Act vests the estates in Trustees and those Trustees can alone give a title under the powers of the Act."

As in the resettling of the estate in 1838 the agents were concerned to avoid this.<sup>219</sup> Their fears proved groundless.

The settlement held for a long period, dividing the estates into two sets. Family estates remained, as well as those settled by the agreement of 31 May 1839. South Yorkshire contained much "family" property as "The Schedule" prepared in relation to resettlement in 1869 indicated.

Table 2.11 - Family Estates of the Dukes of Norfolk, 1869

	<u>£ per annum</u>
Sheffield Market and Fairs (net)	6400
General Sheffield Town Property	26500
General Yorkshire County Property	8500
Residue of Yorkshire estate inc £3000 from Woods	6500
Coal Letting in Yorkshire exclusive of Sheffield Collieries	2600
Sheffield Collieries (in hand)	-

Thus the South Yorkshire holdings remained important as a source of growth in income and liquidity for the estate when other parts of it were in Trust or deeply committed to family requirements.<sup>220</sup>

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219 SCL Arundel Mss S478 (XV) C Few - M Ellison, 10 January 1837.  
220 SCL Arundel Mss S484.3 Sheffield Estates, July 1873.  
(8a.b.c)

Apart from the sale of the Worksop Manor Estate separate sales were conducted in Worksop town and Sheffield. The Worksop urban sales were conducted piecemeal between 1840 and 1848. Precise figures for aggregate receipts are not available, but £8,000 was raised between 1840 and 1845.

South Yorkshire sales were limited and insufficient to greatly change estate rental receipts from that area. Land and buildings in Sheffield, Brightside Bierlow, Attercliffe, Upper and Nether Hallam and Bradfield were included in a total valued, at 22 years purchase, at £7536.14.4. As was usual when sales were effected in South Yorkshire it was claimed that they did "not to effect the integrity of the estate" In Sheffield as in Worksop the sales proceeded piecemeal over a number of years, and exact receipts are difficult to establish but included large sums from railway companies

#### VI Rents and Estates at the Beginning of the Victorian Era

The smoothness of the resettling and subsequent banking retrenchment measures was disturbed by the banking crisis of 1839 to 1840. This affected all the major estates in South Yorkshire to some degree, and persisted for a number of years. The source of difficulty was not only the extent of debts, but dispute about the apportionment of income between Lord Surrey and the other claimants on the estate. Such disputes occurred frequently on resettling estates, as had happened between the 6th Duke of Leeds and Lord Carmarthen in 1830.<sup>221</sup> There were other causes too. Since the death of the 9th Duke of Norfolk in 1777, there had been two indirect successions to the title, Charles, 10th Duke of Norfolk (1720-86) and his son the 11th Duke (d 1815) were members of the Greystoke branch of the Howard family, and brought their own retinues of family dependants addi-

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221 SCL Wh/M 440

Duke of Leeds and Lord Carmarthen's  
Dispute 1830.

tional to the remaining commitments to the family of the 9th Duke. In 1815 the Glossop Howards succeeded, and again brought their own family interests and priorities. This is not an unusual "succession rate"; but probably imposed some financial burdens. More serious were the priorities of the owners. Though the 10th Duke was apparently retiring and probably not extravagant, this cannot be said for his son. His

"shamelessly buying and selling parliamentary seats ...

lavish entertaining and patronage (and the)

easy democratic manners of a Whig duke"

were almost certainly expensive, though it has been claimed that he could be shrewd in business. The evidence for this is scanty, for he was an avid builder and emparker, remodelling Greystoke Castle and extending the park to 5000 acres, the largest in England. Sale of Sheffield urban land to serve such priorities smacks more of noble indifference to long-run profitability than of business calculation. The expenditure in restoring Arundel Castle, re-organizing the park and collecting art were large.<sup>222</sup>

Though less flamboyant his successor continued the same

"policies of laissez-faire growth in Sheffield and Arundel."

In 1827 the Michelgrove estate was purchased, and the Arundel estate was almost doubled in size. It was the long survival of the 12th Duke's large family and pretensions of the Earl of Surrey and these priorities which resulted eventually in a level of debts which required the sale of Worksop.<sup>223</sup>

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222 J M Robinson

The Dukes of Norfolk. A Quincentennial History (1982) p171; pp172-184.

223 Ibid

pp194-7. Evidently the 4th and 5th Lords Calthorpe had similar priorities. D Cannadine Lords and Landlords: the Aristocracy and the Towns 1774-1967 (1980) pp129-135.



The longterm erosion of estate earnings also played its part. Price depression had severe effects in country and town.

"But as Trade continues in the same depressed condition in which it has been for the last eighteen months, things may be said to grow worse as money becomes more scarce." 224

"Trade is as dull there as here, and in consequence improvements on the estate in the way of buildings are also at a standstill while the factories which stopped working two or three years ago are still untenanted. There is little prospect of their being otherwise." 225

These conditions led to a series of short-run embarrassments at a most inconvenient time.

"I dare say the Duke will feel somewhat annoyed at the Bank of England having given notice for the paying in of the sum charged upon Michelgrove. There can however be little difficulty in raising the money in some other quarter, tho' perhaps in the existing state of things it will not be procured at a less rate of interest than 4½%." (£62,000) 226

The defection of an agent at Arundel with the proceeds of a half-year's rental and legal problems on the Norfolk estate added to administrative inconveniences in 1840.

"We have most discouraging accounts from Wm Hamilton of the different moduses in Norfolk and I much fear we shall be defeated in them all. If it should so turn out I cannot contemplate the loss at less than £4,000 besides a great loss of income. There is no trusting to Lawyers and parsons." 227

Worse was to come. In late November 1840 Messrs Wright & Co the London banker of the Norfolk family was in serious difficulties.

"This disastrous affair of Wrights will I fear prove in result ruinous in the extreme to a great many parties. I anticipate most improbable consequences will ensue." 228

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- 224 SCL Arundel Mss S478(XVIII) M Ellison - E Blount, 14 March 1840.  
225 SCL Arundel Mss S478(XVIII) M Ellison - E Blount, Speaking of Glossop and Sheffield Estates, 31 July 1840.  
226 SCL Arundel Mss S478(XVIII) M Ellison - C Few, 5 September 1840.  
227 SCL Arundel Mss S478(XVIII) M Ellison - E Blount. Defection of "Leary". 20 August 1840.  
228 SCL Arundel Mss S478(XVIII) M Ellison - Marcus Smith, 27 November 1840.

So great was the involvement of the estate's affairs in those of Messrs Wright & Co that steps had to be taken to ameliorate the crisis.

"I regret to find by your letter that Mr Wright's concerns are still worse than I thought then but I hear from Few that it will probably be so arranged that we may have the joint assistance of both Ellison and Mr Barnwall.

I have no doubt of your anxiety to do everything that can possibly be effected for my interests in this shocking business." 229  
Blount fell ill at this point and Michael Ellison took over the responsibilities of administering estate affairs and re-arranging banking business. Interim arrangements were made.<sup>230</sup>

"Thank you for your doings with the Smiths Brothers." 231

When Wright's Bank was unable to pay creditors, whose customers included the Duke of Leeds, the Trustees opened an account at Smith, Payne and Smith, one of the most respectable banks with contacts in many north midland towns.

"The Account at Smith, Payne and Smiths should be opened in the names of the three Trustees with power for any two of them to draw. Please then obtain Lord Howard's signature to a paper to the above effect. I shall receive the dividend due Wright and Co Bank for the Duke's Trustees on Monday." 232

Wrights survived, but at the price of help from the Norfolk Estate Trustees amongst others.

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- 229 SCL Arundel Mss S478(XVIII) Norfolk - E Blount, 3 December 1840.  
230 SCL Arundel Mss S478(XVIII) C Few - M Ellison "WEB called yesterday to say he was too unwell to interfere any further."  
"Lord S has just called. He will not allow your appointment to be put in competition with any other." 20 December 1840.  
231 SCL Arundel Mss S478 (XVIII) C Few - M Ellison (undated 1841).  
232 SCL Arundel Mss S478 C Few - M Ellison, 23 May 1841.

"It is agreed between the undersigned ... for ... the payment of £10,000 to Wright and Co from the Earl of Surrey and Lord Fitzalan of even date herewith shall not be paid off without we might consent for the share of four years accede that the same should not be called in until twelve months after the death of the Duke of Norfolk provided the interests be fixed or it falls due or within month afterwards." 233

The estate administrators were afraid of placing "all their eggs in one basket" after the shock of Wrights' near failure. The Smith, Payne and Smith Bank to which the Trustees' account moved was reputed to be among the most careful in the management of its affairs, even to the extent of a certain rigidity in outlook.<sup>234</sup> Meanwhile Ellison and other estate functionaries became assignees of Wright and Co and were still meeting about its affairs in February 1843. These remained unsettled as

"Mr Fairbrother made an explanation which was not generally satisfactory, settled for a dividend of 1/- to be paid early in April." 235

However, by 1841 the crisis for the Norfolk estate was nearly over, exacerbated though it had been by general economic conditions. Receipts from the sales of Worksop Manor, parts of South Yorkshire and Norfolk flowed in. The Worksop sale was of the greatest fundamental importance. It relieved the settled estates of a burden of mortgage debts, including one of £20,000 on Sheffield Market.<sup>236</sup> The relief from debt charges and the provisions of the over-generous settlement of 1814, allowed the estates to provide improved income for the 13th Duke when he succeeded in 1842. Subsequently South Yorkshire receipts were buoyant, and provided the

233 SCL Arundel Mss S478

Memorandum in C Few's handwriting (copy),  
19 May 1841.

234 J E Wadsworth

"A Banking Dynasty". The Banker's Magazine  
No 1379, February 1959, p122.

235 SCL Arundel Mss S523

Michael Ellison's Diaries, 21 February 1843.

236 SCL Arundel Mss SP47

James Oakes Mortgages for £20,000 upon all  
Sheffield, Worksop estates.

most dynamic component of the Norfolk holdings. To put the tangled affairs of 1836-42 into perspective, there was less danger of massive loss of income on these estates than was thought, even had the resettlement and retrenchment period been delayed. Later inconveniences were avoided by taking steps, including sale, in good time. The Worksop estate sale was backed up by other smaller transactions in Worksop town, Sheffield and by the sale of farm land by the Trustees of the 1838 Estate Act;<sup>237</sup> and the sale of Fornham on July 20 1843 for £75,000. It was the purchaser of Worksop, the Duke of Newcastle, who was to find himself bankrupt by 1870, by which time Norfolk receipts had increased immensely to perhaps £60,000 per annum from South Yorkshire alone.<sup>238</sup>

Another effect stemmed from the period of the Worksop sale. Despite the huge size of the South Yorkshire estate the sale of Worksop substantially altered the balance of interest in the area. The Dukes lived at Arundel, or in Bernard Edward's case at Fornham in Suffolk, from early in the nineteenth century. Significantly, Sheffield sought incorporation in 1838 and acquired it in 1843.<sup>239</sup> There was an independence by then even among estate employees of Michael Ellison's stamp. He represented the Duke, but he was a South Yorkshire man, deeply involved in local affairs and business interests. As the century proceeded receipts from the South Yorkshire area grew in significance to the Norfolk's estate but a spirit of independence was abroad. Even estate functionaries of the area were not immune. The remoteness of the Norfolk family thus contributed to the antagonism which developed between the corporation and the estate in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>240</sup>

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237 SCL Arundel MSS S523 19 July 1843.

238 SCL Arundel MSS S511 General Receipts and disbursements, 1871.

239 D Fraser Power and Authority in the Victorian City (1979) p139.

240 SCL Arundel MSS eg See Wake. Deposit 1970 Box 2. Controversy over Sheffield Markets etc. "Inquiry into Sheffield Markets 1888/9"; J M Furness Record of Municipal Affairs in Sheffield (1893).

There was no spectacular increase in land rents on the ducal estates of South Yorkshire between 1820 and 1850. By 1821 they amounted to £22790 and by 1850 £25926, though they had marginally exceeded £26000 in 1848 and 1849.<sup>241</sup> It was coal receipts, both rent and royalties, market receipts and other earnings which increased disposable income. The "New Domesday Survey" in 1872 greatly exaggerated the Duke of Norfolk's land rental. The Parliamentary Return recorded 15270 acres yielding £231,354 in that year.<sup>242</sup> The 15th Duke revised that figure to £39897, a sum which excluded minerals, shooting rights etc. It included mineral rents as opposed to royalties.<sup>243</sup> Much of the expansion in South Yorkshire rental was the product of the 1850-72 period, and a cash receipt of £57817 in 1872 reflected the quoted figures for land rents from the West Riding above, together with receipts from markets, wood sales, game, drainage rents, improvements, tolls and roadworks and other miscellaneous receipts.<sup>244</sup> The exaggeration was in part the product of the inclusion of the rents paid to lessees under the ground landlords' names in a few cases in the return. As Lord Halifax stated to the 15th Duke of Norfolk

"what a rental would appear under the name of the Duke of Westminster" if the "Return" had included London.<sup>245</sup> The Duke had suffered from this statistical distortion along with Lord Calthorpe and Sir J St Aubyn, and the Birmingham ground landlord was particularly incensed

"Altogether the Returns are ridiculous from gross exaggeration and numerous additions." <sup>246</sup>

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- |     |                          |  |
|-----|--------------------------|--|
| 241 | SCL Arundel Mss S158     | Arundel Rentals.   |
| 242 | PP 1874 LXXII.II.        | "Return of Owners of Land 1873" (pp1874 LXXII)   <br><u>West Riding Section</u> . Norfolk claimed an acreage of 19440. |
| 243 | SCL Arundel Mss S190     | Abstract of Accounts 1871-2. Total payments to the Duke £80,920.   |
| 244 | See also J Bateman       | <u>Op cit</u> , p334.  |
| 245 | SCL Arundel Mss S484 (8) | Lord Halifax - Henry Fitzalan Howard, 15th Duke of Norfolk, 29 November 1875.  |
| 246 | SCL Arundel Mss S488 (8) | Lord Calthorpe - 15th Duke of Norfolk, 29 November 1875.   |

Ridiculous or no, there was an increased awareness of the vast wealth which such ground landlords controlled. Many of the Norfolk estate debts had been lightened in the aftermath of the sales, so that from being among the more substantially indebted peers in 1838/9, the estate had become more lightly burdened and perhaps more carefully administered by the 15th Duke's majority in 1869, with Trustees in charge of the Parliamentary estates from 1839 until that year. Then it became possible for the 15th Duke to indulge in a taste for building which in his long life was to leave the estate indebted into the next century despite the mortgage of Sheffield markets for £170,000 in 1894 and their sale to the Corporation, along with the mortgage four years later. A more reliable estimate of the condition of the estates by then is provided by resettlement documents, and by surveys in 1861 and 1871-4.<sup>247</sup> By 1873 Family estate in Sheffield area yielded the incomes as shown in Table 2.12.

#### VII Land Ownership by the Mid-Nineteenth Century

The map of great estates in South Yorkshire revealed by the Parliamentary Return in 1872/3 is not very different from that of a century earlier, but differs substantially from that in the later seventeenth century. The Norfolk estates had surrendered some property, but retained about 20,000 acres in the Sheffield area. The earning power of the estate was growing rapidly, and greatly enhanced by urban and industrial development. The Wentworth Woodhouse estates had grown in the eighteenth century, then settled at around 19000 acres for much of the period after 1780, while the recorded acreage of the Dukes of Leeds had grown in the eighteenth century before

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247 SCL Arundel Mss S109(1-9) Mr Fowler's Surveys and Valuations, 1861.

Table 2.12 - Duke of Norfolk's Family Estates, July 1873

<u>Family Estates</u> (settled 31 May 1839)	£ Net	pa
Sheffield Markets and Fairs Gross £8900		
Outgoings £2500		6400
Sheffield Town Property		26500
General Yorks County Property		8500
Residue of Yorks Estate inc £3000 from Woods		6500
Coal lettings in Yorkshire ( <u>Not</u> Sheffield Collieries)		2600
Sheffield Collieries (in hand)		
Sussex estate inc of average annual timber receipt	16000	
Surrey estate " " " " " "	3000	
Norfolk and Suffolk Estates inc average annual timber rec.	5400	
Perpetual Rent Charges, Norfolk and Suffolk	2000	
Derwent Hall estate and shootings known as Green Stitches		294
Trust monies belonging to Capital account and subject to be re-invested in land, say @ 3% pa		1700
On Deposit		10000
Consols		41655
Mc/Sheffield Lines Railway Stock (Securities and Liquid Assets)		5000
		56655

also Norfolk House  
House in John Street  
Leasehold House 14 Waterloo Place from 1862 53½ years  
(considerable deductions for management etc)

Charges on Family estates

Duchess Minna Jointure - £5000  
Portions for Duke's brother and sisters (interest) £2025  
£45000 @ 4½% except Lady Minna and Esmeralda whose  
shares have been paid.  
Corn Exchange Costs - £30000

2 Advowsons Handsworth £868.19s net  
St Margarets, Suffolk £204.10s subject  
to outgoings (Tried to sell these after  
disentailing)

Parliamentary estates included the Strand (£9000 per annum) and lands in  
Sussex (£7000 per annum), Arundel Castle and Grounds, amounts owed by the  
Metropolitan Board of Works for property sold to them in the Strand, London,  
several advowsons and a number of sums outstanding in Chancery etc, espe-  
cially those raised under estate Acts in 1846 and 1863. 248

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248 SCL Arundel Mss S484 /3/8a.b.c July 1873.

shrinking in the nineteenth, with a recorded acreage of only 14777 acres in the North and West Ridings, and rental income from them of £18359 per annum in 1872. Smaller estates owned by peers sometimes showed remarkable stability in maintaining their size, as occurred with the property of the Earls of Scarborough, whose 8640 acres in 1872 compared with a similar size of property a century earlier, or the Earls of Effingham. Others grew, as occurred with the Wortley estates, which exceeded 9000 acres and £15775 per annum income from rents in 1872, or disappeared into the hands of newcomers or the baronetage, as occurred with the Kinnoul Brodsworth estate sold to the Thellusson family, or the Wentworth Castle estate incorporated into the Vernon-Wentworth family properties. A marked feature of the 1872 Return is the extent and value of a number of very substantial gentry holdings, some of which subsumed earlier smaller peerage properties in the area. Thellusson replaced Kinnoul, the Molesworth property disappeared early in the nineteenth century, and the Cannon Hall estates had expanded with particular rapidity.

At the beginning of this chapter a measure of concentration of land ownership was proposed and applied with caution to eighteenth-century South Yorkshire. Concrete evidence points to greater concentration by 1872, with over 83000 acres in the seven largest landed estates, or 25% of the total land. As such measures say nothing of the variety of forms of property, or about the concentrations in ownership of the mass of abstract rights, local services and other forms of property, it can only be an understatement of the real economic power which the owners and administrators of large estates continued to exercise in nineteenth-century England. There were others only a little below the 9000 acre category, but, overall, estates



over 1000 acres occupied about 50-55% of South Yorkshire land in the mid-nineteenth century. <sup>249</sup>

Table 2.13 - Landowners of more than 1000 acres in South Yorkshire 1872

	<u>Acres</u>	<u>£ per annum</u>
Aldham W. Frickley, Doncaster	3103	5055
Allott Rev J. Maltby	1592	2176
Brown J. Rossington	8562	11388
Cadman W. Wath	1476	2382
Chadwick W. Arksey, Doncaster	1229	1296
Childers Cantley Hall	5709	5711
Copley Sir Josh. Sprotborough	3783	5228
Edmunds. Worsborough	1462	10322
Hon C Fitzwilliam. Wentworth	1582	1953
Fullerton J. Thrybergh	3331	13000
Lord Halifax. Hickleton Hall, Doncaster	2730	3821
Jones. Badsworth Hall	1568	2028
Earl of Mexborough, Methley Hall	(6969)	31309
Mrs Miles. Firbeck	1342	1906
Sir R Sitwell (executors) Eckington	1544	2471
Stanhope TWS. Cannon Hall, Barnsley	11357	11070
Taylor T. Dodsworth, Barnsley	2427	6429
Thelluson C S A. Brodsworth, Doncaster	(6948)	9493
White Sir T W. Wallingwells	2207	2571
Wilson J W R. Bolsterstone	1580	1975
Wright C. Rivelin, Sheffield	5100	2500
Wright G. Anston	1579	1967
Wrightson R. Cusworth	4616	7711
Duke of Norfolk	15270	231354
Duke of Leeds. Kiveton	10034	18359
Earl Fitzwilliam. Wentworth Woodhouse	19164	73794
Viscount Downe	1773	2313
Lord Effingham Howard	1445	3013
Earl of Scarbrough. Rother Abbey	8640	10335
Sir Wm Cooke Bt. Wheatley	3638	6228
Winn Charles. 1872	2461	4558
Saville A. Rufford	16000	35000
Bland T.	4320	10126
Vernon Wentworth	(5111)	15240
Cooke P D. Owston, Doncaster	3379	4646
Beaumont. Carlton	3536	5492
Earl of Wharnccliffe. Wortley	(9178)	15775
Beaumont. Bretton	(9015)	18364

Source: The Return of Owners of Land Volume 2. The West Riding of Yorkshire. J Bateman The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland (1971 (Ed))

249 There is a considerable margin of error in this calculation, as it includes evidence from J Bateman and "The 1872 Return" which cannot always be separated into the categories needed, ie Bateman does not distinguish between property in different parts of the West Riding, and sometimes does not do so for North and West Ridings, or East and West. This means that the figure is likely to be an overestimate. The Return does underestimate some figures, including the Arundel estate. Where there is evidence to adjust the figures this can be done, but overall a margin of error of 5% seems reasonable. (Total 194670)

## CHAPTER 3

### Objectives, Structures and Personnel in Estate Administration 1700-1850

#### I Estate Priorities and Early Eighteenth Century Stewardship

In eighteenth century England

"when landlords spoke of improvement it was usually an improved rental they had in mind."<sup>1</sup>

This view reflects the priorities of the whole range of landowners from peerage to minor gentry. It was a materialistic age, and status and power followed close upon the acquisition and use of wealth, though it was still generally reflected through the medium of land.

Nevertheless the pursuit of priorities could differ in style and intensity, as can be seen by a close examination of the larger estates in South Yorkshire. The Arundel estate was managed upon the principles of the powerful absentee at least until the 1760s maximizing rental receipts and attempting to minimize local spending by the estate, and continuing to use antiquated leases for lives and substantial entry fines for farm and other property. Though the Eighth Duke made Worksop Manor his main seat and extended it between 1701 and 1714, the administration of the South Yorkshire estate appears re-active rather than creative.<sup>2</sup> The stewards collected fines, rents, royalties and other dues, kept the courts of the Lord of the Manor and maintained his numerous rights. Initiative for investment or re-organisation came from stewards or local people, and the estate responded when land in Sheffield Park was let in 24 farms in 1707, and in the numerous responses to requests for land for building houses and industrial premises. The local chief stewards were already powerful and substantial figures in the late Seventeenth Century, and employed lesser stewards and bailiffs and a woodward to control the extensive woods kept in hand and managed by the estate for the whole period studied.

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1 G E Mingay English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century (1963) p172.

2 J M Robinson The Dukes of Norfolk, A Quincénnial History (1982) p152.

FIGURE 3.1. THE FIRST MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM'S INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS SON. 1749.

In Points of Religion rather be in Conversation Religious, then speak earnestly  
 against the Catholics; for they are very learned & wise Men & can speak much for  
 Their Cause, They hold the same Fundamentall Points that we do only Ambition  
 Pride & Covetousness & want of Charitie do cause these hatefull Contentions  
 use not Violent Exercises, as Foot Ball, pitching the Heavy Barre, Leaping running Leaps  
 Dancing above Ground high, Vaulting, or any such like, as shooting in a Bow too  
 strong for youse that may straine you in any part of the Body, for tho you feel nothing  
 presently, yet being old they will pain you. — Your Tennis use Charitably  
 yet with Discretion & be not too great a Loser or too much overwrought with them  
 for notwithstanding all their Flatterings & Flatterys, they seldom love their Landlords,  
 in their Hearts: let no Tenant whatsoever have a lease, unless you be contented to make  
 him your Master, or can allow him to joyn with your Enemies, for I have had good  
 and sound Experience of such grievous Effects; against your Tenants having Leases  
 may sue you, or any of your Friends on an Action of Trespass; if you or they do but come  
 upon their Ground to them Letten, I have known & we see Leases letten upon payments  
 or tender of a certain Summ of Money to be void with covenants what to Plow and  
 what Manure to put into the Ground, & when &c But I like better to have Men Tenants  
 as will, for their Houses & Grounds let them be yearly viewed, by two Trusty Servants  
 together with the Bailiff of the Manor touching their Reparation, If you be a Man of  
 Judgment your well deserving Tenants will never be afraid to be cruelly removed  
 In choice of your Tenants ever prefer him that is of a staid & hardy Nature, Wealthy and  
 is like to encrease it; what you want in Foregifts you have in yearly Rents which is better  
 if any bring you Presents receive them not, till you know of them that they have no Matter  
 to move you in, for otherwise to take it is against your Credit & Profit, if any of your Tenants  
 or Officers have Grounds or Farms &c of any Great Manor or any of their Friends depend on  
 these Great Men, take heed how you trust them too much with any Secrets &c for if Displeasures  
 happen, your said Tenants or Officers must for Fear be against you, or not with you.  
 Buy Land or Bargain with none but those Men who have a good Conscience & be able to  
 warrant it, & not Beggerly, & if necessity or opportunity that may not be lost  
 constrain you to deal with dangerous Persons do it not only by Advice of learned  
 Counsel, but also sound Advice of Friends. in any Case take heed you put not  
 With the Bird in Hand for The Bird in the Wood

Caveat  
 Emptor

Stoneyhurst, Lancashire, a prominent catholic gentleman, and herself an ardent catholic and jacobite.<sup>6</sup> In the same year John Shireburn became steward of the Sheffield estates, where he remained until his death in December 1726.<sup>7</sup>

Perhaps in Sheffield a catholic absentee landowner and steward found conservative management and the cloak of tradition essential in the early eighteenth century. Investment by the estate was restricted, even by contemporary parsimonious standards. In June 1725 and at Michaelmas, land rents, arrears paid up, chief rents, payments for forges and furnaces, entry fines, tithes and woodsales and casual receipts, amounted to £10,287,19.10, of which £7,910.17.3 was remitted to Messrs Wrights Bank in Covent Garden for the Duke's use and a further £919.12.2 to the maintenance of the House at Worksop. This left £1,458 to meet local outgoings, including taxation, maintenance of the new estate offices and house in Norfolk Park, erected about 1720, with a chapel, dining room, office and other facilities.<sup>8</sup>

Restricted investment in South Yorkshire contrasts with expensive political or residential tastes elsewhere. Expenditure on elections were large at Castle Rising Norfolk before its sale in 1695.<sup>9</sup> At Worksop the improvement of house and gardens involved expenditure on frequent occasions between 1701 and 1767, especially in remodelling the house and grounds before 1761 and rebuilding it after the fire of that year.<sup>10</sup>

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| 6  | J M Robinson    | <u>The Dukes of Norfolk, A Quincentennial History (1982) p150.</u>   |
| 7  | SCL Arundel Mss | S184 Auditbook (copy) J Shireburn, B Blackburn 1724-1736.  |
| 8  | SCL Arundel Mss | S184 Auditbook J Shireburn's account 1725.   |
| 9  | J H Plumb       | "Robert Walpole's World; The Structure of Government." In D Baugh (Ed) <u>Aristocratic Government and Society in Eighteenth Century England. The Foundations of Stability.</u> (1975) pp121-133-135. |
| 10 | SCL Arundel Mss | S184 Auditbook. 1724-1736. Jo Crisp Receipt 1731. A1266 1738-1740; J M Robinson op cit pp160-161.  |

In South Yorkshire the Osborne and Wentworth families sought more direct influence in the early eighteenth century. This required subtlety, as the First Marquis of Rockingham indicated to Charles his son with all the flourish of Augustan ideology.

"Your tenants use charitably, yet with discretion, and be not too great a loser or too much overwrought with them, for notwithstanding all their fawnings and flatterys, they seldom love their landlords in their hearts. Let no tenant have a lease unless you be contented to make him your master-or can allow him to joyn with your enemy again your tenants having leases may sue your or any of your friends on action of trespass. I have known diverse leases letter upon payments or ... with covenants, what to plow and what manure to put into the ground, when and but. But I like better to have men tenants at will for their house and grounds; let them be yearly viewed by your trusty stewards. If you are a man of judgement your well deserving tenant will never be afraid to be cruelly removed. You owe this care to your King, your Country and to all your tenants and dependents for every one of these in some degree feel the benefit of a large estate virtuously employed or the misery of one brutally disordered. The former cherisheth, the latter plunges may be hundreds of families into distress and difficulties for want of a good landlord who ought to be a nursing Father to all who have dependancy upon him.<sup>11</sup>

Thomas Watson- Wentworth emphasized the two essential problems in estate administration in eighteenth century England. The first was the continued maintenance of a particular definition of the political economic and social relations between landlord and dependent, whether farm tenant, labourer or servant. He sought to legitimize the unequal social relationship and to ensure the possibility of future enjoyment of the privilege and property of the family. Effort must go into maintaining the structures for the future despite their imperfection in controlling men's loyalties. Behind socio-cultural issues lay the task of extracting the landowner's rents from the estates, the source of contradiction. The interest of the superordinate was to maintain a degree of hierarchical differentiation from those over whom he ruled, but at the same time to cultivate their identification by defining the relationship as an

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11 SCL WWM M2 P560

Undated enclosed sheet of instructions to Charles, Second Marquis of Rockingham by his father Thomas, "Being near the age of forty-five years."

organic partnership in a cooperative enterprise.<sup>12</sup> To this end in the early eighteenth century neither Thomas Watson-Wentworth (d 1724), nor his successor appear to have unified their estate administration under any single head but their own. They carried out any centralized co-ordination that was to be achieved before 1750. The Wentworth Woodhouse estate was broken down into collections as follows.

Table 3.1 - Collections on the Wentworth Woodhouse Estates 1723

		£
Robert Wharam	Wentworth	2928
"	"	2022
	Malton	
	Charltons (Yorkshire also)	1520
Nichols	Northants	1550
Pashleys	"	1500
Nickersons	Ireland	4146
Ortons	Ireland	2300
Tidmington	(sold 1734)	400
		<u>£18334</u> 13

Though the rentals of this large estate were gathered together and the owners were inveterate calculators, no consolidated accounts survive with the exceptions of papers in the First Marquis's own hand explaining the position to his son and family in the last years of his life.

One difficulty of estates of great size lay in evolving bookkeeping and administrative procedures to prevent dishonesty among employees and to ensure that rents paid. No amount of interest by the owner, even when they were as ambitious and acquisitive as the Watson-Wentworths between 1697 and 1750, could compensate on large estates for the efforts of trained and assiduous stewards whether from a legal or a surveying

12 H Newby, C Bell, D Rose,  
P Saunders

Property, Paternalism and Power.  
Class and Control in Rural England  
(1978) p29.

13 SCL WWM A1273

Collections in 1723.

background. Rockingham stewards were each responsible for particular areas, within which they collected rents and sought to stem arrears. They reported upon the land market, aiding the policy of gradual estate extension through a large number of small and medium acquisitions. Charlton and Wharam do not appear to have been surveyors, as others, including John Gee and J Dickinson, steward to the Earl of Kinnoul, were occasionally employed in that function as in the survey of Swinton in 1731.<sup>14</sup> Charlton and Wharam emanated from minor gentry backgrounds, Wharam selling property in Hampole to Lord Kinnoul in 1720-1721 for about £4,000. Thomas Wentworth was a trustee of a marriage settlement of the marriage of Wharam and Sarah his wife which had made part of this property her guarantee of jointure, and had to make a judgement on the price to be paid to protect her interest.<sup>15</sup> On another occasion Charlton made purchases of land in Whiston, though these may have been made on behalf of the Marquis of Rockingham.<sup>16</sup>

In the 1720s and 30s Wharam had more responsibility in South Yorkshire and overlooked Charlton. By 1749 Charlton was carrying out Wharam's past duties and was being paid £40 per annum, and he went on to become steward at Harrowden in Northamptonshire after 1750, and his son was apparently running the London House at Grosvenor Square in 1773-1775.<sup>17</sup>

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| 14 | Sheepscar L, Leeds. Mexborough Mss. MX468. | Refers Dickinson Survey 1731.  |
| 15 | YAS DD132/2/10. Thellusson Mss             | J Dickinson-Lord Kinnoul .<br>9th August, 1720; Robert Wharam of Wentworth and John Coles (for Earl of Kinnoul ), agreement 21 April 1721. |
| 16 | SCL WWM A1272                              | Rental (copy) 1735-1753.   |
| 17 | SCL WWM STW 6C (i)                         | I Charlton - B Hall, 15 May 1773;<br>3 March 1774, 4 March 1775.   |

Because Thomas Watson-Wentworth and his son, the First Marquis of Rockingham, spent long periods at Wentworth Woodhouse, it was easier for them to exercise personal control over detailed aspects of business. Until he reached a great age this was rarely possible for Sir Thomas Osborne, the First Duke of Leeds. Before 1700 he had spent his life in politics and was forced to do much at a distance. This circumstance required able and thorough stewardship if there were to be improved returns upon property. The appointment of Leeds as trustee in a number of settlements was inevitable given his abilities and position, but instructions issued on his behalf suggest that either he or his appointees adopted business-like practices in estate administration. In one trusteeship a surveyor was sent to view Lord Dunblain's estate in Dorset in June 1687. He was

"To go to find out and then to inform yourself from all the places and tennents (sic) belonging to the said estates.  
To collect all Rents and arrears of rents as are due from the said tennents and to then these monies returned to Mr Francis Child and Mr Jo Rogers Goldsmiths near Temple Bar, London.  
To view all the several farms and Lands so as to make an Estimate of the value and  
To find whether there can purchasers had who will buy those lands or which of them and at what rates? Or what Fines may be raised on those estates and what not raised? And all laws.  
To give an account of what woods timber there is on the estate and of what value the same may be."<sup>18</sup>

A man responsible for this inquisition would not be easily satisfied in controlling his own property. The greatly enlarged Leeds property in Yorkshire was administered by Mr J Robinett between 1694 and 1706. The expense of building the house at Kiveton swallowed the local rental so that the steward had to call for supplies of cash from Mr Robert in London, who acted in the equivalent of a general agency function. Robinett suffered sharp criticism in 1694.

"I am sorry my Lord thinks I do not take ye due care in collecting the tenants arrears as I ought. I am sure ye want not due calling on it ... it would be much greater ease to me if ye would pay in



a more reasonable time than to be so far in arrears for the truth there is severall of them ye cannot pay their last half years rent before ye make it out of this years."<sup>19</sup>

Though this particular storm passed, in 1700-1703 a Mr Vernon visited Kiveton to make estimates of the work still to be done in building and extending the grounds, and to estimate the amounts of cash required. Evidently control in this activity was difficult to achieve or inexpert, and very detailed estimates and accounts were produced between 1702 and 1706.<sup>20</sup> (see chapter 9)

Meanwhile a detailed account of the whole Leeds estate was undertaken in April 1703, with a survey and valuation of a summary character indicating annual rents of £10,342.17 shillings 2¼, total timber valued at over £20,000, the Kiveton House and environs valued at £12,000, another house in Surrey valued at £10,000 and a variety of other incomes exceeding £3,000 per annum in value.<sup>21</sup>

Rents continued to be collected by the Kiveton steward during the life of the Second Duke of Leeds (d 1729) who had been ousted in succession in favour of his son after a series of disputes with the First Duke.<sup>22</sup> In 1719, The Marquis of Carmarthen's steward James Carter collected the rents without fixed rent days, made payments to colliers, labourers and to those supplying the house, sold spring wood and other timber and remitted taxes where this had been agreed with tenants.<sup>23</sup>

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| 19 | YAS Leeds Mss DD5 Box 33               | Robinett-Robert, 22 August 1694; 22 September 1694; 17 October 1694.                                       |
| 20 | YAS Leeds Mss DD5 24 Box 1             | Letters regarding Kiveton Buildings, 20 August 1700; 23 September 1703; Accounts DD5, 24 Box 2, July 1706. |
| 21 | YAS Leeds Mss DD5 Box 23 No 13.        | 'A General Account', 8 April 1703.   |
| 22 | P Roebuck                              | Op cit, (1980) p266.   |
| 23 | YAS Leeds Mss DD5 Box XXIV Box 3 No 10 | James Carter's General Cash Book. Commencing 2 February 1719.  |

In 1719 despite the large size of the Kiveton estate the practice was little different from that on smaller peerage properties. Living-in stewards collecting rents received small salaries and enjoyed other benefits. John Stanyland steward at Wortley in the 1680s received over £2,000 per annum in rents on behalf of the family, with a salary of £20 per annum, but when the Sheffield attorney John Battie took over the collection of Wortley rents in 1719 from Messrs Rhodes and Phipps, he required £50 per annum to collect rents and battle against arrears on this valuable property.<sup>24</sup> He carried out legal business and transactions utilizing bills of exchange, and did similar work for other properties, and it is doubtful if £50 represents his real remuneration for the enforcement of a strict regime in the collection of the Wortley rents in the aftermath of Wortley Montagu's embassy to Constantinople in 1718. Battie had carried out legal work for Edward Wortley Montagu before 1719 but on taking up the stewardship was responsible for a drive to keep down arrears and to increase the rental, which grew from £972.7s 10d in 1721 to £1,175 for Wortley itself in 1725. Elsewhere, despite Battie's pressure, receipts were 'sticky' in the difficult times of the 1720s. The employment of a professional of Battie's status necessitated the additional cost of a house steward, Matthew Northall. At Wortley the critical factor in estate management was the long survival and character of Edward Wortley Montagu himself for in this matter as in others he displayed an accumulative temperament, and he left a huge fortune to his daughter on his death in 1761.<sup>25</sup>

In the 1720s it was unusual for attorneys to exercise the complete control over their clients' property which sometimes came later. Lord Raby's

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24 SCL Wh/mss 136 John Stanyland accounts 1681-1688.

25 SCL Wh/mss 138 Yearly rents 1719-1725; see also Romney Sedgewick The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1715-1754 (1971) p138.

steward at Wentworth Castle, J Bromley, managed the house, building, the emparkment of the surrounding area and the collection of rents in the Barnsley area and at Wakefield between 1708 and about 1720.<sup>26</sup> A relative had been employed by the Second Earl of Strafford and committed suicide in 1669, thereby sacrificing family property some of which fell into the hands of the Reresby family,<sup>27</sup> J Bromley's stewardship, like Robinett's at Kiveton, was dominated by financial and practical problems attendant upon building on a scale beyond the finances from Yorkshire rents. Fortunately Lord Raby had large financial resources to cover the costs and buy additional land. In July 1710 Bromley reported that some land was available in Rockley and that it was rumoured that:

"Mr Watson or Mr Spencer (Cannon Hall) has laid some money on it but I question the truth of it."

Bromley had collected a May rental of £519 at Stainborough and Wakefield all of which was already disbursed by ealy July.<sup>28</sup>

At Brodsworth George, Earl of Kinnoull, employed Mr John Wright as land steward, Samuel Buck (1685-1749) of Rotherham for legal business and Dr J Coles for information about land available for purchase, including the strengths and weaknesses of sellers' positions. Coles also organised financial transactions for the Earl, including the provision of cash for local use,

"Not having any person here I well trust I though it convenient to send ye Gardener Master Henly yesterday to York to receive the £400 due upon the Bill your Lordship sent me."<sup>29</sup>

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- 26 SCL Vernon Wentworth Mss 77.1-6 Lord Raby - J Bromley, 1696-1712. British Library. Add Mss 22238. Strafford Mss J Bromley - Lord Raby 7.6.1708-11.6. 1/11; Add Mss 22241. Building Accounts 1709-1724.
- 27 P Roebuck Op cit (1980) p293.
- 28 BL Add Mss 22238.24 J Bromley - Lord Raby, 5 July 1710.
- 29 YAS TheIlusson Mss DD Dr J Coles-Lord Kinnoull, 11 April 1720. 132/2/10

He also dabbled in stock in the South Sea Bubble of 1720.

"But I think as they are so low at present and must rise surely in a little time and considering the 55 per cent dividend it must be very convenient to purchase some small stock at present and therefore beg your Lordship would buy me £200 stock ... have near £200 by me at this time."<sup>30</sup>

Dr Coles was evidently a man of substance and well informed about local conditions. His activities in the land market on behalf of Kinnoul overshadowed steward and attorney between 1715 and 1722, with some dangers.

"I have been reflected upon and abused by a couple of proud insolent fellows for employing who I though fit in buying Mr Hudson's estate for your Lordship. I mean Mr Payter Jackson and his brother the bully Captain, the former of whom pretends you sent him to Brodsworth last Christmas to imploy him in this affair and that my pragmatcal employing another it have done him a great prejudice in an affair he has upon his hands at present."<sup>31</sup>

The problems faced by Kinnoul and his friends, or by Lord Raby or Robert, Viscount Molesworth at Edlington, were those of a newcomer to the area, building up a consolidated holding by purchases. They needed reliable local advice. Raby employed Bromley, a man with local connections, Kinnoul Dr Coles, who may have been an old family friend with little local connection, and Molesworth the notable attorney Joseph Banks of Sheffield. But as yet there was no formal hierarchy of authority between these people. When legal advice or cash was needed, or a case fought, an attorney was employed. Routine rent collection, setting of farms or supervision of building and garden were in the hands of stewards of various attainments, though increasingly skilled surveyors were used, so that on Kinnoul 's estate Joseph Dickenson of Elmsall replaced Wright as steward by 1729. He was a noted surveyor who had worked for Kinnoul when the latter was purchasing additional land in 1720-1722.<sup>32</sup> In Sheffield the Bright's steward, the attorney Thomas Battie, employed the surveyor

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30 Ibid 5 October 1720.

31 Ibid 5 June 1720

32 YAS Thellusson Mss DD Joseph Banks - Joseph Dickinson,  
132/2/10 10 February 1729.

John Gelly to revalue farms in 1725, and on well run estates this was widespread by 1700.<sup>33</sup> Little counted as much as confidentiality, however, at a time when the strife of political life reflected through to local antagonisms in society and the land market.

## II The Rise of the Attorneys 1700-1760

In Sheffield as in other areas a small number of highly successful attorneys prospered in doing estate business in the early eighteenth century. They were important as agents in the implementation of changing concepts of property and prospered personally in the process.<sup>34</sup>

Joseph Banks (1665-1727) was prominent. He undertook legal work for the Howards, Osbornes and Pelham Holleses, and was friendly with Robert, Viscount Molesworth. He became MP for Grimsby (1715-1722) and Totnes (1722-1727) and was closely tied to the Treasury interest. In 1715 he bought a half interest in Lord Widdrington's estate for £7,500, selling it back for £12,000 in 1727. He also speculated in South Sea Stock and in Deeping Fen drainage in Lincolnshire. Upon his death he left the Revesby estate to his son, which was worth more than £3,000 per year.<sup>35</sup>

Few other attorneys of Sheffield and Rotherham could match this success within a generation, but many had gentry and other connections, and most enjoyed some success. In Sheffield Thomas Wright was making money as Clerk of the Town Trustees until his death in 1741/2. He had

"... a new built little box, very pleasantly situated in a grove of five thriving oaks,"

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- 33 SCL WWM B 98 and 99 Revaluation of Ecclesall. 1725; Sarah Tyacke (ed) English Mapmaking 1500-1650 (1983).
- 34 C B Macpherson "Capitalism and the Changing Concept of Property," in E Kamenka and R S Neale (eds) Feudalism, Capitalism and Beyond (1975) p110.
- 35 G Holmes Augustan England. Professions, State and Society 1680-1730 (1982) pp158;162.  
R Sedgewick The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1715-1754 (Vol 1) p433.

close to the Sitwell estate at Renishaw.<sup>36</sup> His contemporary John Battie of Warmsworth, like many attorneys, acted for several estates, including the Bright properties and those belonging to Edward Wortley Montagu. He was steward of Sheffield Manor Court, and his office was nursery to a school of professional successors. One was his son-in-law, Samuel Dawson, elected Clerk of the Town Trustees after John Battie's death, and later Clerk of the Sheffield-Wakefield Turnpike Trust and active in other turnpike affairs between 1759 and 1770.<sup>37</sup>

In estate stewardship John Battie was succeeded by his son William in the administration of the Bright estates, and between them they retained that responsibility for more than 50 years until Battie the younger retired in 1773. Battie the elder was widely respected in a wide range of legal business for many clients.<sup>38</sup> Other attorneys built up a clientele from a Rotherham base, including Samuel Buck and members of the Aislabie family and a branch of the Foljambe family, one of whom was steward to the Earl of Effingham from July 1774 until July 1787 at a salary of £50 per annum. Several were prominent in local property transactions throughout the eighteenth century. In Sheffield when Samuel Dawson died in 1777 he was succeeded as Clerk to the Town Trustees by yet another pupil of John Battie, James Wheat (d. 1805).<sup>39</sup>

These attorneys concentrated upon legal business in the active land market of the early eighteenth century, the changing functioning of courts at all levels and the increasing complexity of legal and financial

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- 36 G Holmes Op cit pp161-162.
- 37 R E Leader Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century, 2nd Ed (1905) p190.  
SCL Tibbits Mss 404 Correspondence regarding Sheffield-Wakefield Turnpike 1759-1769.
- 38 Sheepscar L Leeds J Battie sworn at Rotherham Court 26 April  
Mexborough Mss MX356 1723, for a Chancery Case (with W Oates and Rawson).
- 39 G Holmes Op cit p164; SCLMD 3191-5 Effingham v Foljambe.  
R E Leader Accounts 1788-1796,  
Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century, 2nd Ed (1905) pp190-191.

arrangements. They were highly informed about the region's economy, and its people, and not unfamiliar with the metropolis and the higher courts with which they had frequent communication. Upon occasions they were called to give evidence to House of Commons or House of Lords Committee upon measures effecting the region.<sup>40</sup> Given their concerns, and those of the more elevated legal experts consulted by the largest owners in their Chancery and Family Settlement business, there had to be a subordinate stratum of estate stewards to administer the regular business of most estates. Here reliability was the prime consideration, as the First Marquis of Rockingham found in sending a clergyman Dr Griffiths to administer his extensive Irish estates between 1742 and 1747. Griffiths claimed that the estates were in ruinous condition and exaggerated his efforts and expenditure in improving them. A rental of £25,528 had been remitted in three and a half years prior to his arrival. He claimed a total remittance of £62,938 in five years. Rockingham disagreed,<sup>41</sup> and after his recall claimed £80,000 per annum Irish receipt, of which half was in his own power.<sup>42</sup> Subsequently Hugh Wentworth, a relative, administered the vast Irish properties, and their yield greatly increased before the end of the century. In the eighteenth century this was probably the most likely method of ensuring some degree of probity in the administration of distant property, especially in so difficult a country, and the tradition continued in the nineteenth century when Lord Milton spent long periods residing at Coollatin in the lifetime of the Fifth Earl Fitzwilliam and took great interest in estate administration there.<sup>43</sup>

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- 40 S Lambert Bills and Acts, Legislative Process in Eighteenth Century England. (1971) pp137-138; 167-168
- 41 SCL WWM M22 Petition Rockingham Versus Dr Griffiths 1748.
- 42 SCL WWM A1272/3 A short abstract of the condition and value of the whole estate 1748. Rockingham's calculation seems compatible with D Large "The Wealth of the Greater Irish Landowners 1750-1815".  
IHS Vol XV No 57, 1966 pp22-29; 33-34.
- 43 SCL WWM T2 Earl Fitzwilliam - Lord Milton correspondence 1840-56.

At home honesty and energetic stewardship was difficult to achieve. In 1741 Thomas Wentworth (then Earl of Malton) employed a surveyor to look over his estates. Captain Thomas Buck, who may have acted for the Earl in a function akin to later Agency, explained its purpose

"... it has put Mr Hume upon his mettle, and if my intelligence be right (and I have it direct from one of your Lordship's tenants) Mr Hume has received the greatest part, if not all of last Ladyday's rents, and if he does not soon remit them to your Lordship, he does not act honestly. But I am informed he has made a purchase not a great many months ago. What effect that may have I cannot tell. He is very angry at me for sending ye man ... He is getting ye tenants to sign something which he gives out is to set the man's report aside. If he acted honestly what needs he care who comes over the estate and to invalidate a report before he knows what it is."<sup>44</sup>

Smaller blocks of property posed more serious problems when the owner was remote, and usually there were stewards for each distinct unit of property. Timothy Kiplin farmed Badsworth Rectory and received £10 from the Bright estate before 1750 to collect their rental in that area. He probably enjoyed a beneficial tenancy until his death about 1740. He was succeeded by Matthew Walshaw. In Sheffield the Batties collected rent from Ecclesall, Sheffield and Westwell and overlooked the extensive timber interests, for £50 per annum. These estates became the guarantee of Mary Bright's jointure after her marriage to the Second Marquis of Rockingham in 1752, but they also remained guarantee for a former settlement for the jointure of Sir John Ramsden's wife, with a charge levied on the Badsworth property. In fact the Bright property was not full incorporated into the Wentworth Woodhouse administration until 1807.<sup>45</sup>

Two developing professions aided the landowner in extracting rent from his estate. Good surveying removed much doubt. Though there had been earlier improvements, the extant seventeenth century surveys compare

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44 SCL WWM M1 p255

Captain Thomas Buck - Earl of Malton  
29 October 1741.

45 SCL WWM Bright Mss A748

Accounts. William Battie, Matthew Walshaw  
1747-1755; WWM D1852 1807-1808.



ill with their late eighteenth century counterparts, as is indicated by a comparison of the 1671 survey of Arundel estate in South Yorkshire with those by Dickinson, Gelley or William Fairbank in the eighteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Close surveys and valuations were made in the late seventeenth century, but seem more usual on smaller gentry properties, like that of Sir John Reresby's Thrybergh property in 1680.<sup>47</sup> Surveys were an expensive, but increasingly effective weapon in enforcing landowners' claims. This undoubtedly aided the absentee. The Kingston estate at Adwicke upon Dearne had recently been re-organised by Trustees when a new survey and valuation was undertaken there and at Beighton, Derbyshire, in 1738. The work was carefully done, and must have made the central audit insisted upon after the Trusteeship of 1726-1732 easier to enforce.<sup>48</sup>

Once such surveys and valuations had been made, and methods generalized, they were a lever to enforce increased rentals, aiding the identification of under-rented and under-productive properties, and enabling surveyors to make comparisons over long time periods. J Dickinson, John Gelley and others were precursors of the thorough surveying practices of William Fairbank late in the eighteenth century. Surveys were usual long before, but increased in frequency and thoroughness upon estates with full records in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>49</sup> Accurate surveys underpinned legal institutions favourable to the propertied.<sup>50</sup>

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| 46 | SCL Arundel Mss S77  | 1671. BL Add MSS 27538. 139 Survey 1637.   |
| 47 | Sheepscar L Leeds MX 290   | Sir John Reresby Thrybergh Estate, Denaby Brinsforth and Ickles Manor. 1680.   |
| 48 | Nottingham UL Manvers Mss<br>Mss 178<br>See also G E Mingay                          | Surveybook 1/37.<br><br><u>English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century (1963) pp67-70.</u>  |
| 49 | SCL Arundel Mss 583-94   | Surveys 1792-1796 and Maps; S443: Surveyed Valuations. 1815; S109. (1-9) Mr Fowler's Surveys and Valuations, 1861.   |
| 50 | E P Thompson<br><br>D Hay, P Linebaugh,<br>E P Thompson<br>D Hay<br><br>J H Langbein | <u>Whigs and Hunters. The Origin of the Black Act (1975) pp258-269</u><br><u>Albion's Fatal Tree. Crime and Society in Eighteenth Century England (1975) especially "Property, Authority and the Criminal Law," pp17-63, but also "Albion's Fatal Flaws," P&amp;P 98 February 1983 pp96-120.</u> |

Attorney-stewards cooperated at the local level with the magistracy and often were themselves functionaries in manorial courts. In Sheffield the Eyres and later Michael Ellison were responsible for the Dukes of Norfolk's courts, and similarly the Batties serviced the Ecclesall manorial court.<sup>51</sup> They were the middle ranks of a structure led by the most successful lawyers, like Philip Yorke, Lord Hardwicke and William Murray, Lord Mansfield. The latter dealt with Chancery and Family Settlement matters, while others lawyers handled parliamentary business for landed families.<sup>52</sup> William Murray, Lord Mansfield and Lord Chief Justice, was a close friend of Mary (Blount) wife of Edward, Ninth Duke of Norfolk, and advised that formidable lady and her husband on family settlements, as well as acting in catholic causes on her instruction.<sup>53</sup> It was a clearly articulated, increasingly expert if cumbersome legal structure, favourable to large owners' interests yet profitable at all levels to its practitioners.

The accurate knowledge of the surveyors was married to the clout of enforcement by developing legal institutions. It was a partnership pregnant with implication for rental improvements.

### III The Consolidation of Agency and Beginnings of Auditing 1760-1820.

By 1760 each of the three largest estates in South Yorkshire employed a single powerful steward with responsibility for the administration of property in the area. From then on the status and incomes of these men grew. Smaller peerage holdings usually had local stewards. They were men of lesser status and qualifications, and might be subject to control by superior Agents elsewhere.

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| 51 | SCL Arundel Mss S523                                | Michael Ellison's diaries 1820-1860; WWM.   |
| 52 | G Holmes<br>B English and<br>J Saville<br>S Lambert | <u>Augustan England, Professions State and Society 1680-1730 (1982) pp116, 128.</u><br><u>Strict Settlement. A Guide for Historians (1983) pp32-52.</u><br><u>Bills and Acts (1971) pp1-15.</u> |
| 53 | J M Robinson  | <u>The Dukes of Norfolk, A Quincentennial History (1983) p155.</u>  |

More detailed accounting systems also developed, although essentially these remained a check upon stewards' honesty rather than a measure of the efficiency of the estate. With the growth of urban, industrial, mining and more sophisticated agrarian concerns, and the management of extensive woods, hierarchies of specialized functionaries emerged.

The similarity in structure of the great estates does not imply that they were equally well administered. Stewards were variable in their efficiency and the opportunities and problems of estates differed. Some stewards were in office for long periods, with advantage if they were efficient in the predictability of estate proceedings to tenants as well as to owners. Otherwise they contributed to the waste of resources of an ill run enterprise. No steward was proof against indifferent or spendthrift owners despite the attempts to protect the integrity of estates in family settlements.<sup>54</sup>

The South Yorkshire estates of the Dukes of Leeds were subjected to variable stewardship. Early in the eighteenth century they may have been carefully run, and the records for the 1765-1810 period give favourable impressions. One steward, Aneas MacDonald, was employed at Kiveton from 1760 to his death in 1781. Paid £150 per annum he collected rents for all South Yorkshire properties of Francis Godolphin Osborne, Fifth Duke of Leeds (1751-1799) and fee farm rents from Nottinghamshire, Wheatley and Halifax valued in 1765 at £959 per annum, and also from Kingston property valued at £950 per annum. His collection increased from £4,342 in 1765 to £11,274.15s in 1781. After paying South Yorkshire outgoings he remitted £3,004.19s2d to Mr Jackson in 1765 (70%) and £8,530.2s6d to George Brooks in 1781 (76%).<sup>55</sup> Few purchases of additional land were

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54 F M L Thompson English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (1963) pp285-286.

55 SYCA Leeds Mss 5/F1/1-3 Aneas MacDonald's Accounts, 1765, 1769, 1781.

made so that most of the rise in rental seems to be the result of the secular rise in rents which occurred on South Yorkshire estates after 1760. Rentals of 1794 and 1807 confirm that the rise continued into the high inflation of the war years. By 1807 Harthill rental had trebled from £588 in 1765 to £1,800, and Woodall increased from £581 to £928. Other property increased rental more quickly. Woodall Common was valued at £79 in 1765 and £524 in 1794, and both South and North Anston doubled their rentals.<sup>56</sup>

MacDonald had considerable responsibilities as house steward at Kiveton as well as collecting rents. The estate had at least three collieries in hand at Todwick Common and Wales and was sinking new pits, paying a banksman's salary of £78,4s in December 1765. Hobson and Company was sinking shafts and Fowler and Company, Allen and Company and Wilson and Company were getting coal. The house and gardens consumed 237 quarters of coal per annum and surpluses were sold, a process made easier as markets widened with the opening of the Chesterfield Canal in 1777.<sup>57</sup> MacDonald kept a record of sales of estate produce including oats, wheat, barley, peas, cattle, sheep, pigs and timber, though receipts from the last were only £145,9s2d in 1765.<sup>58</sup> Earlier in the century the estate had sold hop poles for use in the Trent Valley which were valued at more than £80 in 1735.<sup>59</sup> MacDonald's stewardship saw the beginning of the rise in rental which brought gains and opportunities to all local estates. Later the Leeds estate was not so closely managed. The mansion at Kiveton was abandoned in 1810 and pulled down, and Hornby was subsequently the main

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|----|------------------------|--|
| 56 | Ibid 5/F1/1-3          | Rentals 1794; 1807.  |
| 57 | SYCA Leeds Mss 5F1/1-3 | 1765; 1769; 1781. See also chapter 4 pp  |
| 58 | Ibid 5F1/1             | 1765.  |
| 59 | YAS Leeds Mss DD5      | 5 February 1735. "Sold Mr William Smith of East Retford his Grace's second sort of hop poles." |

family home outside London, For a time the rental grew, perhaps aided rather than hindered by enclosures and the running down of direct farming of a large demesne and park. By the 1830s estate administration left much to be desired so that G B Wharton, who had been sent to view the property, noted the deleterious effects.

"It will never do for your Grace to be another year without a resident agent in the West Riding and therefore I wrote Mr Mauve that he must quit next Ladyday."<sup>60</sup>

It can only be surmised that lack of attention to detailed estate management may have resulted from the long and bitter dispute between the Sixth Duke and his son the Marquis of Carmathen between 1829 and 1834.<sup>61</sup> The Leeds estate may be unusual among the largest of the area. Elsewhere economic development brought increasingly complex administrative structures, with a variety of separate departments. Though the Wentworth Woodhouse estate administration has been studied, its large size and complexity make it a useful source of comparisons with the other grandee holdings.<sup>62</sup>

A justification for more study must rest in the attempt to place it in the context of the development of other South Yorkshire estates and of the region's economy, and in investigation of aspects of its development which have escaped former research.

This large estate did not suffer inattention from its owners. Estate administration grew in complexity and sophistication as economic development created new opportunities. The First and Second Marquises of Rockingham displayed deep personal interest in estate affairs and the Second Marquis was an inveterate calculator who required precise justification for

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| 60 | YAS Leeds Mss DD5                     | G B Wharton - Duke of Leeds, 2 December 1839.  |
| 61 | SCL Wh/M 440<br>YAS DD5/11/Bundle 2   | Duke of Leeds - Lord Carmarthen Dispute 1830;<br>Dispute 1830-1834.  |
| 62 | J T Ward<br><br>D Spring<br><br>G Mee | "The Earls Fitzwilliam and the Wentworth Woodhouse Estate in the Nineteenth Century." <u>YBSER 11/12 1958-1960 pp19-20.</u><br><u>The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century, Its Administration (1963).</u><br><u>Aristocratic Enterprise. The Fitzwilliam Industrial Undertakings 1795-1857 (1975).</u> |

particular administrative decisions. In the 1760s he made detailed calculations of the relative advantages of Scots and English cattle, relative costs of lime production and the carriage of coal and lime, costs of brick tile and coal production, and a host of other matters.<sup>63</sup> During his illness in 1770s, the Marchionness made many decisions but some were delayed until his recovery. These were not always matters of greatest importance, and his interest can be expected in an "improving" age, but his personal involvement possibly restricted the independence of stewards by restricting their initiative.

Richard Fenton of Banktop was the first outstanding agent for the estate. He replaced Evan Evans in 1755 or soon afterwards, and remained active until 1788. A relative of the Wakefield and Leeds coalmasters, he was a descendent of the Underbank branch of that extensive clan.<sup>64</sup> His agency represented a "half way house" between the ad hoc stewardship arrangements of the early eighteenth century and the functional division between Agency and Auditorship usual by about 1820, for he not only collected all Yorkshire rents in the West Riding, but had oversight over the accounts of other stewards in mainland England.<sup>65</sup> Like his father the Second Marquis was his own co-ordinator, but he relied increasingly on Fenton's service, though he carried on his own correspondence with Hugh Wentworth, the Irish steward, and Postlethwaite, his London financial adviser, and with house stewards at Wentworth Woodhouse. Fenton received an annual salary of £300 in the 1780s and claimed £2,231.14s.9d expenses from 1760-1778 for frequent visits to London, travel and the "extraordinary trouble" of re-organising Malton. Much of Fenton's work was

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63 SCL WWM R174;R176

Miscellaneous papers and calculations.

64 J Goodchild

The Coal Kings of Yorkshire (1978) pp 81-85.

65 SCL WWM A 1003; 1782/3

1788.

financial and legal. After 1750 the estates were burdened with £40,000 in mortgage debts raised in loans to pay portions to the Second Marquis's sisters. These caused concern when interest rates rose in the Seven Years War (1756-1763). Fenton made progress in re-scheduling outstanding debts

"Our monied men in the Country are not near such cowards as your monied men in London."<sup>66</sup>

Nesbitt, Rockingham's London banker, often held only a small balance, and Fenton complained of liquidity problems, but was successful in re-assigning the Marquis's debts, while the London adviser James Postlethwaite of Hooton Gardens became First Clerk to the Treasury in 1759, the year of peak interest rates.<sup>67</sup> In that year William Buck, a Rotherham attorney who was Clerk of the First Marquis' executors, became incapable of business, and his work fell into Fenton's hands. The latter complained

"Exchange has been extremely high, sometimes even twelve per cent. Lord Rockingham has lost above £100 this year unavoidably."<sup>68</sup>

Fenton went on to pay off some debts, with thirteen creditors with debts of £3,040 paid off by 1765, including £150 to Mr Evans th former steward.<sup>69</sup>

In an active search for new loans, larger debts were re-assigned, including £1,000 owed to Mr Grabeth, to Lord Mansfield, and £1,000 owed to Mr Marshall, to Lady Celia Isabella Finch. Such efforts had only marginal impact when the burden of debts left by the First Marquis was large and an active political career had been pursued since 1753 in Yorkshire and nationally. Rockingham's wealth was extra-ordinary, but it was subjected to exceptional demands.<sup>70</sup> Upon the death of Charles in 1782, they were to result in debts and legacies amounting to £151,730

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- 66 SCL WWM R172/18 R Fenton - James Postlethwaite nd 1759. Overall debts and legacies of Thomas First Marquis of Rockingham amounted to £114,660 still unpaid in 1764. (WWM A1215, 1795).
- 67 SCL WWM R172/7 R Fenton - James Postlethwaite 7 March 1757.
- 68 SCL WWM R172/20 R Fenton - James Postlethwaite nd 1759.
- 69 SCL WWM R171/3 An account of the First Marquis' debts paid by the present Marquis, 1765.
- 70 F O'Gorman The Rise of Party in England The Rockingham Whigs 1760-1782 (1975) especially pp95-135'
- SCL WWM A1097 (1762) £122,000 owed in London, requiring interest payments £4,800 pa. - 156 -

and requiring interest payments of £5,904 in 1787. His debts exceeded those of his father although the Second Marquis left no children.<sup>71</sup>

His father's debts demanded large loans in the 1750s, including £10,000 in 1752 from Edward Wortley, £5,000 in 1753 from the Earl of Strafford and £24,000 in 1755 from the Earl of Hardwicke. £13,000 was later raised on a mortgage of the Irish estates to Samuel Buck of Lincoln's Inn in January 1770 and by 1778 £20,000 was owed to the Earl of Strafford alone among Yorkshire neighbours, with mortgages upon Badsworth and Wentworth property.<sup>72</sup> Wortley and Strafford were political opponents, and may have hoped to profit from some future fading of Wentworth Woodhouse's economic and political fortunes, and the possibility of foreclosure, particularly when it is noted that Wortley's daughter was married to Lord Bute, one of Rockingham's key opponents at Court.<sup>73</sup>

Fenton faced a formidable task in servicing these debt burdens and trying to improve the rentals of Rockingham's extensive properties. At Wentworth Woodhouse rents exceeded £10,000 per annum between 1760 and 1765 to which were added Malton receipts of £2,500, Badsworth £332, and other incomings. Fenton could only hope in 1765 that outgoings would not exceed incomings, for £10,000 per annum was being swallowed in maintaining the great house at Wentworth Woodhouse and its environs in

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- 71 SCL WWM A1215 "An Account of the Debt and Legacies of Thomas late Marquis of Rockingham unpaid the 24 May 1784 and such part thereof as have been discharged by Earl Fitzwilliam since that time. Ditto Charles Marquis of Rockingham" (to 1795); SCL WWM A275. Interest 1787.
- 72 WWM (Wentworth) Drawer B Rockingham Mortgages 1755-1770; D159. Deed Poll 1 September 1778. D1546 Mortgage on 10,00 acres in Ireland. Tooker of Rotherham and Samuel Buck of Lincoln's Inn, 1770.
- 73 SCL WWM R171/1a Richard Fenton's Letters and Accounts 1765; Ibid R171/5 R Fenton - Marquis of Rockingham 14 November 1765; D Large "The Wealth of the Greater Irish Landowners. 1750-1815." IHS Vol XV No 57 March 1966, p22.  
See also SCL WWM A229 1755-1756 Rentals.,



the early 1760s, and in interest charges which increased from 1754 to 1763. Fenton was forced upon occasion to borrow on his own account to meet bills, lent £6,000 of his own to the Marquis, and had to juggle with cash and bills of exchange to meet current outgoings, so that it is difficult to see how the estate could have remained solvent in the long run without Mary Bright's inheritance of 1752, incomes from outlying property and large receipts from Ireland.<sup>74</sup> Fenton's outgoings in 1765 for debt servicing were swallowing half the Yorkshire receipt, so that there were difficulties paying wages. Yet the estate continued to grow in size.<sup>75</sup> Expensive works abounded, in emparking, building of stables and improvements to Wentworth Woodhouse. The Agent was forced to increase income.

By 1770 a sustained campaign of re-survey and valuation of much of the Rockingham property was underway. Farm properties were converted from leases for years with entry fines to tenancies at will in order to allow future re-organisation and to increase rental returns. In 1772 William Battie gave up his stewardship of the Marchioness' estates and William Fairbank of Sheffield collected from his Sharrowhead house John Gelley's Ecclesall Survey and valuation of 1725 and other maps of Sheffield Moor and Ecclesall and later re-valuations including those made by William Battie himself in 1752. With these in hand a general increase in the Bright rentals was undertaken.<sup>76</sup> The estate also began to participate in this period in widespread Parliamentary enclosures, and these were followed by substantial rent increases.<sup>77</sup>

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74 SCL WWM D1597 (1784).

75 SCL WWM R222 (d) William Battie - Marquis of Rockingham. Memorandum January 1773. See also chapter 9 pp533-535.

76 SCL WWM A257,A259 Rentals 1774; 1775.

77 SCL WWM R186-90 William Martin - Marquis of Rockingham 1765-1772.

The mansion at Wentworth Woodhouse was itself a major drain on resources. From 1764-1772 the house and its park, and the farms in hand were administered by an ex-employee of the Dunn Navigation Company, William Martin, and thereafter by an ex-military officer Benjamin Hall until 1805. Martin had kept accounts for the Navigation, and sent coal for the Marquis to London while employed by the Company in 1764. He was responsible for a multitude of activities on the estate, and controlled a large household. Despite a voluminous correspondence with the Marquis, he was removed as part of a general purge of Wentworth staff and expenses in 1771, and made shrill complaint about his losses.<sup>78</sup> He had been paid £200 per annum keep for a horse and half keep for himself, twice the salary that he had from his former employers and a larger salary than the steward of the whole Sandbeck estate at this time. After dismissal it was claimed that this was payable only if he lived in his own house and that his accounts were inadequate, culminating in the delivery of one late copy only to Fenton in 1772.<sup>79</sup> He was replaced by Hall, who attempted to discipline house, home farms and park management, a task for which Martin by implication had been inadequate.

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Richard Fenton continued in overall control, surviving the succession after the Second Marquis' death in 1782 and relying increasingly upon his nephew, clerk and pupil, Charles Bowns, until the latter eventually succeeded him in 1789. After the death of the Second Marquis in 1782, there was another cost-cutting exercise at Wentworth. The prestigious horse-racing string was under threat, but the Earl relented.<sup>80</sup> Though at first he was reluctant to accept the large expense of Wentworth, he

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- 78 SCL WWM R191 William Martin's salary claim, January 1772 - 9 April 1772, Sandbeck Lumley Mss. HMA/16 1773 80 Thomas Scholey £50 per annum. (Steward or accountant).
- 79 SCL WWM M(1) 3(1) Earl Fitzwilliam - Benjamin Hall 13 July 1782.
- 80 SCL WWM F128 1769 Then debt amounted to £45,000 and sales were contemplated

probably came to see it as being essential to the maintenance of his Yorkshire political interest. The Third Earl Fitzwilliam already had a substantial fortune.

Table 3.2 - Fitzwilliam Estates Before Succeeding to the Rockingham Estates 1782

	1761	1762	1763
	£	£	£ (per annum)
Norfolk	1195	1175	1217
Nottingham	1282	1219	1365
Peterborough	110	109	160
Lincoln	900	900	900
Northants (Milton)	2400	2396	2231
	<u>5787</u>	<u>5797</u>	<u>5893</u>

The Third Earl Fitzwilliam was a nephew of the Second Marquis, and like his uncle was to take interest in the details of estate management. His influence was at least as pervasive, and he was to preside over a period of extra-ordinary diversification in estate affairs. By the 1780s Fenton was firmly established in his Yorkshire Agency, an experienced professional aided by an able and legally trained clerk Charles BOWNS. The latter was to take the profession of Agency to new levels after 1789.

The Sheffield estates of the Dukes of Norfolk were administered by several powerful stewards in the eighteenth century. Vincent Eyre followed Blackburn in 1736 and retained charge until succeeded by Henry Howard in 1761.<sup>81</sup> The Eyres were catholic gentry with estates at Hassop in Derbyshire. Active in coal, banking and other enterprises, they had the confidence and social polish to represent a great absentee in a town where papists

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81 R Meredith The Eyres of Hassop (Unpublished MA thesis, University of Sheffield 1963).

were unloved.<sup>82</sup> From 1736 the Duke of Norfolk employed the Reverend Christopher Gradwell to say mass at the Lord's House for the tiny Sheffield catholic congregation until his death in September 1758. From then until 1786 the Reverend John Lodge served the catholics of the area. The Eyres, and subsequently Henry Howard, sustained a community of 319 catholics in Sheffield by 1767. Many lived by estate employment or leased property or were survivors of a small number of old catholic gentry families like the Broomheads.<sup>83</sup> Henry Howard, agent from 1761-1779 was a descendent of Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel (d 1652).

"In the eighteenth century nearly every member of the family entered the (catholic) religion and lived abroad as nuns or priests; in each generation only one son married and carried on the line."

Three of Henry Howard's brothers became priests and he was educated at Douai. After failing as a wine merchant in Dublin he was appointed Agent for the Duke of Norfolk's northern estates in 1761. He married Juliana Molyneux, the daughter of the protestant Sir William Molyneux. Mary (née Blount) wife of the Ninth Duke of Norfolk overcame the obstacles of his age (51) and religion to enable the marriage to occur. As a consequence the eldest of their three sons Bernard Edward (b Sheffield 21 November 1765) became Twelfth Duke of Norfolk in 1815.<sup>84</sup>

Though Sheffield was generating increased rental receipts, and the Dukes tended to make Worksop Manor their main home in the mid-eighteenth century, there was no active investment policy in South Yorkshire property. As Lords of the manor their interests clashed with those of the inhabitants, in justice, administration, prison and market provision, and sometimes over commercial and industrial affairs. The Eyres ran the Sheffield manorial courts about which there was complaint in 1770, with a petition

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82 C Hadfield History of St Marie's Mission and Church (1889) pp20-24.

83 J M Robinson The Dukes of Norfolk. A Quincentennial History (1982) pp187-189.

84 J M Robinson The Dukes of Norfolk. A Quincentennial History (1982) pp187-189.

for a separate court to settle small debts.<sup>85</sup> Henry Howard was agent when Paine planned urban terraces of superior quality in the early 1770s. They were never built, but there was expansion of building and coal mining activity before Howard's death.<sup>86</sup> Thereafter, Vincent Eyre entered partnership with the Duke of Norfolk to exploit coal, and enjoyed, it seems, considerable independence in running the estate. Results were unsatisfactory and by 1813 it is evident that local stewardship required overhaul.

"The traffic in leases for money meets his Grace's decided approbation... Fees on renewal must be reduced to the stamp cost."<sup>87</sup>

Vincent Eyre had not only entered into coal mining in partnership with the Duke. He and his son overlooked large sales for land-tax redemption and the sales under a series of estate acts in 1802, 1805 and 1810, with a final Act in 1814. The leases of some property let appear to have been lax, and none less than the vital leases of the Duke's coal.<sup>88</sup> In these circumstances, when Eyre retired as Agent in 1814, a thorough-going re-organisation on the Sheffield estates made them conform more nearly to the administrative structure of other big estates here and elsewhere in England.<sup>89</sup>

On both the Wentworth Woodhouse and Sheffield properties a powerful auditor was placed in overall charge. The Earl's Fitzwilliam seem to have been content with prominent local or near local men, but the Duke of Norfolk employed Sir Arthur Leary Piggott (1752-1819) as his auditor. From a Barbados family, he practised as a barrister and as Attorney-General there before becoming Commissioner of Public Accounts in 1780

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|----|----------------------|---|
| 85 | SCL WWM R187.45      | Account of controversy about Sheffield Manor Courts n.d. (1770).  |
| 86 | See Chapter 6        | pp335-336 and Chapter 5 pp256-259.  |
| 87 | SCL Arundel Mss S391 | Duke of Norfolk's Instructions 1813-1814.   |
| 88 | See Chapter 5        | pp260-261; 301-302.   |
| 89 | E S Richards         | <u>The Leviathan of Wealth, The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution (1973) pp19-36.</u> See also G Firth, "The Roles of a West Riding Land Steward 1773-1803". <u>Yorks AJ Vol 51 1979 pp105-116.</u> |

and King's Counsel in 1783. By 1787 he was Solicitor-General to the Prince of Wales. Until 1793 he worked at the Common Law Bar, then in the Court of Chancery. In 1806 he became Attorney-General, was knighted and became MP for Steyning and then for Arundel until his death. Symbolic of his expertise was inclusion on Castlereagh's Committee on the Civil List in July 1819.<sup>90</sup>

Piggott's formidable personality and expertise were turned to the regularizing of the Duke of Norfolk's affairs in 1814. Detailed orders clarified required accounting procedures, though the audit remained essentially retrospective. From 1814 South Yorkshire agents had to make full accounts, rentals, vouchers etc for audit and agents were required on a whole range of policy matters to clear recommendations with the Duke's London adviser and with the auditor. A sustained attempt was made to prevent too close an identification with local interests and vulnerability to local influence and corruption.<sup>91</sup>

In practice such ideals were not easy to achieve in early nineteenth century England. Houseman, Sheffield agent from 1814-1819, received a barrage of instructions from above, and pressure from the town may have led him to favour some ill-advised schemes, like that for a limeburning works near the canal basin and close to the built up area of the town. Piggott resisted, perhaps aware of risks of claims for damages which might result from noxious fumes even in polluted Sheffield. He also recognised that it might blight an area where urban development was soon to bring great gains in rental.<sup>92</sup> Piggott tried to insulate the Duke from industrial and commercial problems and to leave risks to the

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90 Dictionary of National Biography vol XLV (1896) pp82-83.

91 SCL Arundel MssS478 (ii) A Piggott - Houseman, 28 December 1818.  
Ibid 31 December 1818 see also.

92 A E Dingle "The Monster Nuisance of All Landowners, Manufacturers and Air Pollution 1828-1864"  
ECHR 2 Series Vol XXXV, no 4 November 1982,  
pp529-548.

business classes. He was in part responsible for the decision to lease the coal mines to new leasees and not to attempt direct control in 1820.<sup>93</sup> Detachment was not always easy to maintain in an industrial district. Trade fluctuations and the problems of individual businesses took effect upon rental receipts in slump periods like 1841-1843. Then decisions had to be taken which could effect not only individual survival of firms, but the prosperity of the district and with it the whole rental. After 1820 estate managers sometimes intervened more than Piggott would have wished, but he left an administrative structure which was more functionally specialized and suited to industrializing pressures than that of the Eyres. In Sheffield and elsewhere this system was to clarify the position of the Duke of Norfolk and his successors, though it could not protect them from financial problems which were already inherent in the family settlements of 1814, or from all the consequences of a previous slowness to adopt the most efficient estate administration.

Henry Howard, executor to Charles Eleventh Duke (1746-1815), expressed these problems clearly to Sir Arthur Piggott in 1817.

"... the Duke did so much without consulting me or importing to anyone what was transacting, and there were so many allowances and so many agents and uderagents in all directions employed that I often obtained information ... from the result only of difficulties in money matters. Nor was it easy to get details from Mr Ryder and other attorneys, still less from the Duke who postponed often giving details I wanted and then forgot them and mislaid the papers, thus often leaving the agents as puzzled as myself, so that I used frequently to tell the Duke that my denomination as auditor must be taken from non-auditienato neither hearing nor knowing what was going forward."<sup>94</sup>

It was not that the Duke of Norfolk had failed to employ an auditor in the period between 1777-1815, but rather that they had not allowed him to function efficiently, in a period when inflation, changes in family

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93 see chapter 5

pp301-302.

94 SCL S478 (ii)

Henry Howard - Sir Arthur Piggott.  
1 June 1817.

succession and a proliferation of estate Acts, tithe and land tax commutation made estate business especially difficult to control. Only in the post war years was the system put fully into operation, though the structure had been in existence for at least forty years.<sup>95</sup> After 1819 on this and the Fitzwilliam estates it came to maturity in a form which survived throughout the Nineteenth century.

Table 3.3 - Stewards, Agents and Auditors. Norfolk Estates, South Yorkshire

STEWARD/AGENT		AUDITORS	
Arthur Palmer	1700-1709		
John Shireburn	1709-1726		
B. Blackburn	1726-1735		
Vincent Eyre	1736-1761		
Henry Howard	1761-1769		
Vincent Eyre 2	1779-1801	Henry Howard	1814
Vincent Eyre 3	1801-1813	Sir Arthur Piggott	1814-1819
Richard Houseman	1813-1819	Edward Blount	1819-1841
Michael Ellison	1819-1861		
Marcus Smith and M J Ellison	1861-1871		

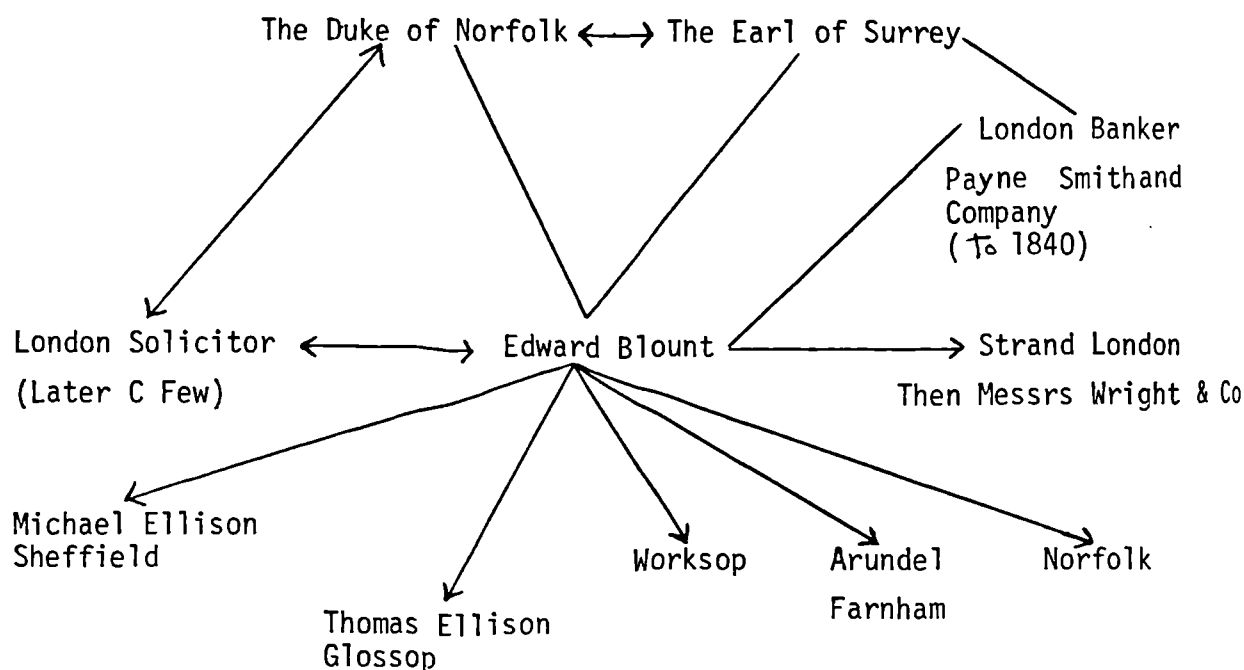
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95 SCL Arundel Mss S478 (ii)

Henry Howard - Sir Arthur Piggott  
1 June 1817. Howard refers to  
difficulties for forty years.



Table 3.4 - Norfolk Administrative Structure Circa 1820



#### IV Auditors, Agents and the Maturity of the System 1810-1870

Professionalisation in land agency was developing apace in South Yorkshire by 1815. A local school of expertise had grown up, central to which was the role of Charles Bowns. Agent to the Wentworth Woodhouse Estate, he also became auditor for all their estates in England and Ireland, a combination of function which was not to recur as specialisation followed his death with the separation of agency or stewardship from auditing.

After working for many years under his uncle Richard Fenton, Bowns, an attorney by training, became agent in 1789. By 1811 he was responsible for control of 867 tenants on 17,522 acres of land in South Yorkshire with farm rents of £28,000 and mines canals and woods, tithes and other receipts amounting to £12,000 more. He audited further accounts for Fitzwilliam property, valued at £40,000 per annum, and claimed that his former salary of £400 should be increased to £1,200 per annum. Once agreed this was to give him an annual salary exceeding that

of James Loch, agent for the Sutherland estates and at the pinnacle of the profession.<sup>96</sup>

Bowns claimed

"The agencies I hold has necessarily occupied so much of my time that it has not been in my power to pursue the profession of solicitor to that extent which is sufficient to enable me to answer the growing expenses which I experience."<sup>97</sup>

This appears surprising. Bowns was active in land agency, working for Mr Wortley, Mr Fullerton, Sir George Wombwell and several other gentry landowners. Land agency and related legal work led him to train expert assistants, of whom J Ellison and his own nephew William Newman were two.<sup>98</sup>

"He is the most honourable man as lives."<sup>99</sup>

His position was exceptional

"His being Auditor of other stewards' accmpts whilst he was himself steward of an estate, ... the two ought not to be united in one person, the present is the proper opportunity for making another more suitable arrangement."<sup>100</sup>

By 1818 Earl Fitzwilliam clearly recognized the need for functional specialization and the distinction between stewardship or agency and auditing, and no subsequent employee of the estate combined the tasks. Between 1789 and 1818 Bowns administered estates of great complexity during the most precipitous price rise of the nineteenth century and the beginnings of the subsequent long deflation. His auditing involved

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96	E Richards	<u>The Leviathan of Wealth. The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution (1973)</u> p25.
97	SCL WWM F106	C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam June 1811.
98	SCL Wh/m 3/33-5. Sandbeck Lumley Mss EMC/14/12	C Bowns Account with Mr Wortley 1796. £100 salary 1798. Thomas Gee - Lord Scarbrough, 25 April 1813.
99	Sandbeck Lumley Mss EMC/14/12	Thomas Gee - Lord Scarbrough, 25 April 1813.
100	SCL WWM F107a	Earl Fitzwilliam's undated memorandum at the death of Charles Bowns. May 1818.

26,000 English acres and a gross Irish rental increasing from £17,653 in 1783 to £33,464 in 1815.<sup>101</sup>

Among his achievements was a massive revaluation of South Yorkshire property in 1811-1812, the oversight of legal and agency business relating to enclosure and other agricultural developments, negotiation with estate industrial enterprises including the lessees of large ironworks like the Walkers of Masborough and representation of the estate on the management boards of several transport undertakings in which his employers had an interest. Everywhere he acted with energy and confidence. His tone could be imperious even with his employers. Perhaps that was more usual by the late eighteenth century, as agents and auditors extended their expertise, authority and remuneration. Mr Parker, auditor to the young Earl of Mexborough wrote of his financial position in 1783

"... I have given the dark side of the case, but be assured my Lord it is as near truth as I can state it, and I must beg leave to say that it is necessary your Lordship should attend to and understand your own affairs; by doing so everything will become easy and pleasant through life and I will not presume to hint what won't be the consequence of inattention..."

At the time a rental of £8,000c had to service debts of £40,000, and with current outgoings

"Expenses not unavoidable should by all means be avoided for your Lordship will see from this estimate that there won't be £40 per annum to defray them."<sup>102</sup>

Situations of financial stringency evoked strong reaction from agents. R Legard was employed to view the Scarborough Sandbeck estate in 1783 in an economy campaign. Scarborough's brother, Lumley Saville of Rufford had recommended his employment, but was taken aback when

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| 101 | D Large                           | "The Wealth of the Greater Irish Landowners,"<br>IHS Vol XV No 57 1966, p42.<br>quoting Coollatin Mss NLI Mss 6053,6001. 6007-7050  |
| 102 | Sheepscar Library<br>Leeds MX 619 | Mr Parker - Earl of Mexborough, 3, 6 and 8<br>May 1783. See also M Miles "The Money Market in<br>the Early Industrial Revolution: The Evidence<br>From West Riding Attorneys C. 1750-1800,"<br>BH Vol XXIX No 1 1981 pp127-146. |

among fierce economies he suggested disemparkment.<sup>103</sup> The suggestion was not adopted, but it demonstrates the confidence of the experienced professional agent, who often displayed analytical thoroughness and an "hauteur" characteristic of the gentry backgrounds from which they were recruited.

Charles Bowns personified these traits, and made his mark on a wide range of estate activities. As clerk to his uncle Richard Fenton and as agent he was involved with the Wentworth Woodhouse estate for almost half a century from 1771 to 1818. His view on estate industrial enterprise ought therefore to be treated with respect. Generally he tried to avoid direct management of industrial activities and was doubtful after 1815 about further direct working of coal.

"I don't think it advisable for your Lordship to embark deeper into that trade."<sup>104</sup>

His views and those of Sir Arthur Leary Piggott co-incided, and were based upon the common wisdom of the period and direct experience. Venture capital and the management of industrial enterprise were best combined, so that Piggott sought in releasing the Duke of Norfolk's coal mines in 1818 to

"... throw the management of the whole subject into hands much more qualified to deal with it than a person of the Duke's rank and status, with the disposition which he always feels, to avoid litigation whilst it is practicable to do so."<sup>105</sup>

In practice the Norfolk coal mines were usually leased thereafter, with exception of a period of direct working between 1870 and 1875.<sup>106</sup>

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| 103 | Sandbeck Lumley Mss<br>EMC 126/18 a/b/c<br><br>EMC/26/25 a/b<br>EMC/26/24 | R Legard - Lord Scarbrough 3 March 1800;<br>22 April 1800; Lumley Saville - R Legard<br>20 April 1800;<br>20 April 1800;<br>Lumley Saville - R Legard 17 April 1800. |
| 104 | SCL WWM F107 a .52  | C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam 5 January 1818.   |
| 105 | SCL Arundel Mss<br>S478 (ii)  | A Piggott - Houseman 28 December 1818.   |
| 106 |   | See chapter 5 pp305-317.   |

On the Fitzwilliam estate some coal was always mined and sold by the estate, producing considerable gross income but uncertain profits. Despite Bowns's views the Earl's Fitzwilliam became ever more involved in mining.<sup>107</sup> When Bowns died his nephew William Newman became agent at Wentworth Woodhouse, and Francis Maude of Wakefield was appointed auditor for the whole estate. Newman had trained with Bowns, but was allowed only part of his work

"But although I think the steward of an estate not a fit person to be auditor of other stewards of estate accounts, I think him a proper person to audit accompts not of a similar description, such as those of Biram's Expenditure at Wentworth."

Correspondingly he was paid a smaller salary.

"I am obliged to say that I have thought B's late salary too high. It was regulated on a principle not properly applicable to an estate of the size and to some peculiar circumstance belonging to it ... I admitted it because I would not bargain with an old servant with whose activity, intelligence and fidelity I was most perfectly satisfied, but with the best opinion of Newman's character and of his fitness for the situation ... I offer him a salary of six hundred a year."<sup>108</sup>

Newman encountered a plethora of difficulties after 1818. His accounts were carefully drawn up and administration of tenanted land seems to have been thorough, though he had immediately to deal with the deflated rentals and high arrears of 1819-1821. His control over the estate industrial enterprises was weak, not least because he was never allowed managerial freedom in that area. Instead coal mining and the administration of Wentworth Woodhouse itself were the preserve of Joshua and Benjamin Biram. They communicated directly with successive Earl's Fitzwilliam, and reduced Newman's audit of their books to a formality by obtaining the owner's permission for their plans. Newman and the new auditor never achieved the authority of Bowns and serious attempts at financial

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See chapter 5 pp263-291.

108 SCL WWM F107a

Earl Fitzwilliam's memorandum on the death of Charles Bowns May 1818; J Goodchild The Coal Kings of Yorkshire (1978) p90. F Maude (1765-1842) was sole guardian to the son of Thomas Fenton of Leeds.

control over estate coal mining and the other industrial enterprises were only begun when economic crisis in Ireland and England weakened the estate rental in the late 1840s. Then auditor and agent combined to enforce leasing of ironworks in 1849 and to attempt to control colliery expenditures. They enforced some savings, but critical issues were fudged. Criticism of Benjamin Biram implied criticism of the decisions of the Fifth Earl Fitzwilliam himself.

As Daniel Maude wrote in 1848

"Allow me to say, however, that I can scarcely with any conscience or satisfaction to myself suggest to your Lordship any measure of economical reform while the extravagant item remains unreformed to some extent at least."<sup>109</sup>

He wrote of the coal mining enterprise. Despite attempts to distinguish capital investment from other outlays in 1846, their accounts remained confused, with exaggerated profit figures produced for years because no sinking fund had been allowed for interest upon the large annual capital outlays. Neither Newman nor Maude were able to force the Earl to confront the problem. In 1852 Maude wrote

"I have a strong conviction that the economical reform really so necessary should be mainly applied to the expenditure of Mr Biram's book."<sup>110</sup>

Rising demand for coal in the 1850s weakened the position of the critics and essentially the agent and auditor failed to curb the expansion of coal production and capital expenditure before 1857.<sup>111</sup>

The Fitzwilliam and Norfolk estates were similar, for both contained a wide range of property. In some townships land from the two estates was intermixed as at Brightside where in 1794 205 Fitzwilliam

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| 109 | NCRO Milton Mss   | D Maude - Fifth Earl Fitzwilliam, 27 December 1848.  |
| 110 | NCRO Milton Mss   | D Maude - Fifth Earl Fitzwilliam, 27 December 1852. See chapter 5 pp297-303.   |
| 111 | D Spring<br>G Mee | <u>The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century, Its Administration.</u> (1983) pp81-83.<br><u>Aristocratic Enterprise. The Fitzwilliam Industrial Undertakings 1795-1857</u> (1975) pp78-93. |

acres were intermingled with 1,794 belonging to the Duke of Norfolk.<sup>112</sup> At Little Sheffield Moor and Ecclesall there were similar properties in close proximity. Their land had vast industrial and urban development potential, and both were producers of coal and among the leading lessors to other producers, and leased coal from others to allow more rational production in the nineteenth century.

In such matters legal expertise was always at a premium, and it was necessary to be fully informed about enforcement of the landowner's claims to function as an agent. Collection of rents was not always easy. Mr F Needham, a bailiff of the Fitzwilliam estate at Ecclesall, had a small farm at Marsh Green which had been out of repair. He had

"at his own expense, with the exception of the timber allowed, ... put the said house and outbuildings into complete repair and erected some additional rooms and offices ... and by the best system of management that he could adopt got the land into an excellent state ... but in consequence of the violent outrages committed upon the property and the disposition manifested by a great part of the inhabitants of the immediate neighbourhood, after the house were attempted to be set fire to, the late petitioner found the lives of the whole of his family in the utmost danger which induced him and his family to move to Sheffield."

His barn was burned, causing £100 of loss and on separate occasions there were attempts to set fire to haystacks and to the house when the family were in bed

"by throwing down the chimney a fireball."<sup>113</sup>

The turbulence of parts of the district made it desirable to employ solicitors or attorneys as agents and barristers or judges as auditors. Francis and Daniel Maude, auditors of the Fitzwilliam estates from 1818 to at least 1857 were barristers. Maude the elder gave an opinion on a tithe dispute in Adwick in October 1815, and on the

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112 SCL Arundel Mss S86 Survey and Valuation. Brightside 1794.

113 SCL WWM F107 W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, March 1822; 7 and 20 April 1822; 11 May 1822.

surrender of Wentworth Castle in December of the same year.<sup>114</sup> The Maude's were a long established Wakefield family. An ancestor, Francis Maude, subscribed to a £100 share in the Aire and Calder Navigation in 1700, and in the early nineteenth century they continued to live at Hatfield Hall near Wakefield receiving an allotment near the Bottom Boat Road under Wakefield enclosure award in May 1796.<sup>115</sup> Maude was a bankruptcy commissioner for Isacc Bower and Joseph Hopkinson of Sheffield when they were discharged of debt in February 1808, with the notable Hugh Parker and others. In May 1819 Francis Maude began to audit the Wentworth accounts.<sup>116</sup> He continued until 1841 and was succeeded by his son Daniel, a stipendiary magistrate in Manchester. Similarly Newman was a solicitor, and Michael Ellison the Sheffield agent of the Duke of Norfolk had legal training before becoming agent first at Worksop and then in Sheffield in 1819. Much of their work entailed drawing up leases, the serving of notices on the expiry of tenancies, and legal cases arising from disputes, as well as policy proposals which could end in private bill legislation. Agents or auditors sometimes presided over manorial courts, and Michael Ellison controlled the Court of Requests (and Court Leet) in Sheffield and a Court of Requests at Glossop.<sup>117</sup> Local legal business reinforced their financial role as collectors of estate rents, and added to their authority in bargains with tenants or negotiation with third parties.

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| 114 | SCL WWMF 122         | J N Birks - Levison - Vernon 1 December 1815.   |
| 115 | R W Unwin            | "The Aire and Calder Navigation. The Beginnings of the Navigation." <u>The Bradford Antiquary XI NS 1976 p80;</u> |
|     | Sheepscar LL         |   |
|     | Mexborough Mss MSA68 | Wakefield enclosure, 5 May 1796;  |
|     | SCL Jackson Mss J632 | 19 February 1808.   |
| 116 | SCL WWM F107/105     | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam 24 May 1819.  |
| 117 | SCL Arundel Mss S523 | Michael Ellison Diaries, 2 February 1843;<br>16 April 1843.   |



Table 3.5 - Bailiffs, Stewards, Agents and Auditors Wentworth Woodhouse 1700-1850

STEWARDS	
James Wharam	to 1740
Matthew Charlton	to 1751 (£40)
John Battie	to 1747 (£10)
William Battie	1747-1773 attorney
Timothy Kiplin	1696-1728
Matthew Walshaw	to 1765
Evan Evans	1750-1755
Richard Fenton	1755-1788 attorney
Charles Bowns (nephew of Fenton)	1789-1818 £300 £400 £1200 1789-95 Solicitor 1796-1811 1811-1818
William Newman Solicitor (nephew of Bowns)	1818-1861 £600 £800 1818- 1830s
Francis Maude Daniel Maude	1818-1841 1841-1857
HOUSE STEWARDS	
William Martin	1764-1772 £200
Benjamin Hall	1772-1805
Joshua Biram (nephew of Hall)	1805-1835 £300 1831
Benjamin Biram	1835-1857 £120

Bright Property  
Lady Rockingham's  
jointure

Table 3.6 - Structure 1811

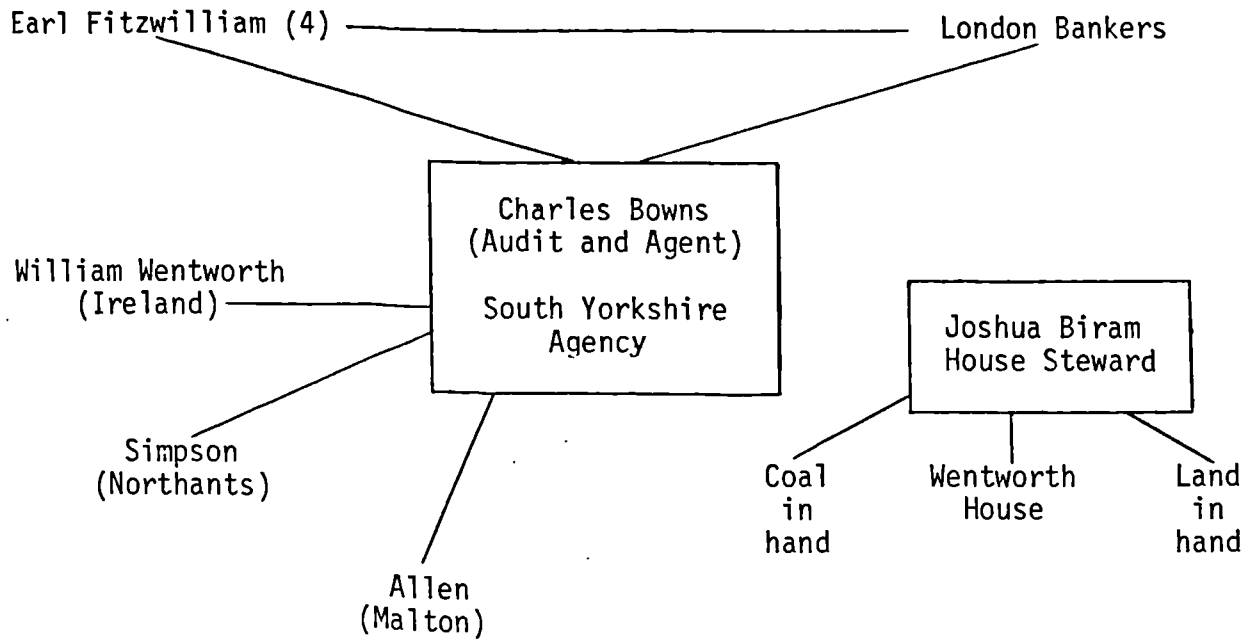
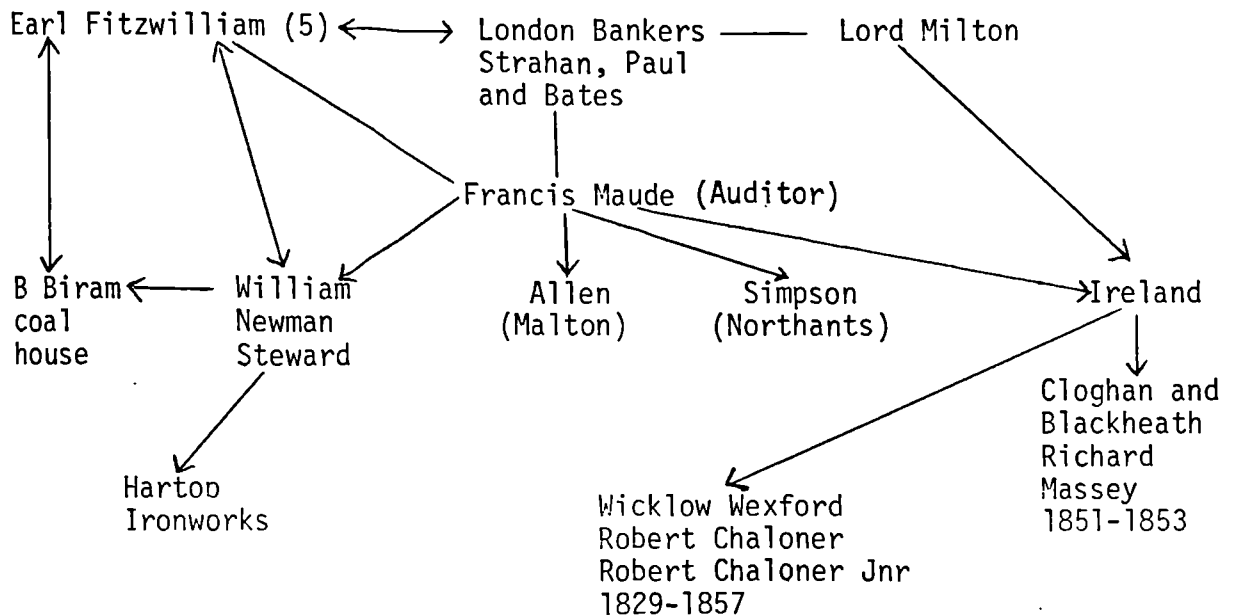


Table 3.7 - Structure 1840



They played their part as pillars of local order, leading figures in social life and political organisers.

Legal perspectives had their limitations, as Maude recognized in minerals control

"I have no practical knowledge of the details of which this is composed and therefore cannot speak with the slightest authority, but I came to my conclusions a good deal from one's knowledge of human nature."<sup>118</sup>

Difficulties stemmed from the employment of essential specialists in ironworks, mining or building and construction, while attempting to control such activities and home farming with an accounting system intended merely to prevent peculation. In 1852 Maude sought a reduction of 10-12% in all expenditure. He wrote to Fitzwilliam

"I do not ... impute any want of conscientiousness to any of your servants-heads of various departments, but it is not to be expected of any persons in whom trust is unlimited over whom the superintendance is so thoroughly nominal if indeed there is any superintendance, who never know the pressure of circumstances nor a denial, nor even a reluctant or tardy grant of whatever supply they may call for to be the watchful and careful managers which at all events now it is only desirable but necessary that your agents should be."<sup>119</sup>

Why was the Auditor unable to enforce such changes in the last years of the Fifth Earl Fitzwilliam's life. The key lies in the Earl's own role and the agreement between himself, his son Lord Milton and Benjamin Biram about the desirability of supporting industrial enterprises and coal mining. By 1855 Maude wrote to the Earl

"My croakings must be very distasteful to you and yet my duty will not allow me to stifle them."<sup>120</sup>

Maude seems always to have been more cautious than his employer. No sooner did he tidy one scheme and another would spring up to cause

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| 118 | NCRO Milton Mss | Earl Fitzwilliam - D Maude, 26 November 1852. |
| 119 | NCRO Milton Mss | D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 26 November 1852  |
| 120 | NCRO Milton Mss | D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 6 August 1855.    |

anxiety. He particularly resisted the purchase of Sir Robert Price's Foxley estates to relieve him of debt in his bankruptcy in 1855.

"If you will allow me to speak very plainly, I think both you and Sir Robert are rather concealing difficulties from yourselves and each other rather than overcoming them."<sup>121</sup>

Rapid changes in the law, the disruption of economic fluctuations and the changing institutions of banking, insurance and property itself with increased shareholding, made auditing an increasingly complex task.

The audit was

"intended to be a check on your Lordship's behalf against the steward. He is not an accountant employed to ascertain that the steward is keeping his private accounts accurately."<sup>122</sup>

Fitzwilliam estate resources seemed to spread ever wider by the 1850s, with large loans to Sir Robert Price, shareholding and directorships in railways in Britain and Canada and a miscellany of other activities. In 1855 the failure of the London Banker Strahan, Paul and Bates brought not only an additional London house in lieu of debts, but suspect shares in the Portland Iron Works of Glasgow. Though a local ironmaster, Hartop, went to examine the works, the Earl had to rely on Cuckney, a London financial expert, to evaluate them. This must have been particularly galling to Daniel Maude who had extracted the Earl from unprofitable direct working of his own ironworks in 1849 and was beset by problems caused by Sir Robert Price's failure.

By 1855 Maude's view differed little from a previous generation of auditors.

"... these trading affairs create the great embarrassment and with these I must urgently pray of you not to engage."<sup>123</sup>

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| 121 | NCRO Milton Mss | D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 1 July 1855.<br>See chapter 5 pp319-321. |
| 122 | NCRO Ibid       | 30 October 1847  |
| 123 | NCRO Milton Mss | D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 28 August 1855.                          |

Functional division between auditor and agent was well established on the Norfolk estates when Michael Ellison moved from the smaller Worksop stewardship to Sheffield in 1819. The son of Matthew Ellison Esquire of Brewood County Staffordshire was born in 1787. In 1802 his father was agent to Bernard Edward Howard at Glossop and in 1814 he became agent to Lord Petre at Stapleton near Pontefract. One of three brothers who became agents, he moved to Worksop in 1816 and Sheffield three years later.<sup>124</sup> His elder brother Thomas had succeeded their father at Glossop, and another

"J Ellison ... has in a great measure conducted (under Mr Bowns) the business of the above agencies, has kept, all the different accounts, conducted and given directions as to repairs, superintended the management of the farms, under all the agreements I have imposed on the tenants and seen that the same were fulfilled."<sup>125</sup>

He became steward to the Earls of Scarbrough at Sandbeck after this thorough apprenticeship, remaining there at least until 1860.<sup>126</sup>

To serve the Duke of Norfolk there were other qualifications, as the steward Watkins noted in recommending someone for the post to Ellison.

He was

"a marketable agent ... son of Mr Hude and he is well spoken of active about twenty two years old a catholic and has uniformly conducted himself well and has a very clear and proper notion of general business."<sup>127</sup>

Ellison administered the Sheffield estates for 42 years. Apart from the standard duties of agency he planned the extension of the town eastward down the banks of the Don and overlooked an extension of

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| 124 | C Hadfield                       | <u>A History of St Marie's Mission and Church (1889) p55.</u>                                |
| 125 | Lumley Mss Sandbeck<br>EMC/14/12 | T Gee (Little Houghton) - Lord Scarbrough<br>25 April 1813.                                  |
| 126 | Ibid EMC 124/51                  | His predecessor William Minns received<br>£100 per annum as agent in 1810.<br>(HMA/25 1810). |
| 127 | SCL Arundel Mss S487 (ii)        | Watkins - Michael Ellison 13 October 1819.   |

market facilities, and was a key figure in the building of the Manchester Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway. Associates considered that the Sheffield agency was

"... at the summit of your ambition."<sup>128</sup>

He immersed himself in an immense amount of business. By March 1820 this included attendance as a trustee on the Aston and Glossop Turnpike Trusts, the Gaslight Committee, the Town Trust, the Lancastrian School, The Police Commissioners, the Shrewsbury Hospital Committee, the Barnborough and Penistone Inclosure Commissions, the administration of the Brightside Workhouse and of Courts of Requests in Sheffield and Glossop.<sup>129</sup> He was a founding proprietor of the Sheffield Independent Newspaper in 1820 and a leading catholic citizen, as was Mr Thomas Dunn, lessee of the Dukes Manor and Handsworth coal from 1820-1840.<sup>130</sup>

For over twenty years the estate auditor was

"Edward Blount of Bellamore Staffordshire, a gentleman highly estimable as well for the responsibility of his character as for his knowledge and experience of business."

He was a kinsman of the Duke, and descended from the Blount family of Blagden. Mary Blount had married the future Ninth Duke of Norfolk in 1727, and her sister Henrietta Blount was second wife of Philip Howard of Sudenham. Their son and nephew of the Duke Edward Howard had been expected to succeed to the Dukedom when he died in 1767. Edward Blount (1769-1843) was a nephew of Mary Blount and became MP for Steyning. He married Francis, daughter and co-heir of Francis Wright on 20 April 1803. It seems to have been a good tempered and successful administrative team. Blount was not overbearing with the younger man and respected his opinion, and together they guided the estate through a difficult period including

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128 SCL Arundel Mss S478 (ii) Watkins - Michael Ellison 13 October 1819.

129 SCL Arundel Mss S523 Michael Ellison Diaries 1820.

130 D Read Press and People 1790-1850 (1961) p91.  
He mistakenly thought all the reformers backing the paper were unitarians.

the controversial sale of Worksop in 1838 and the resettlement between the Duke of Norfolk and his son in 1839. These were exceptionally delicate matters which could have caused greater difficulty with less level-headed and principled advice to the owning family.<sup>131</sup>

Less easy were Ellison's relations with the London lawyer Charles Few. The latter displayed little understanding of differences between London and South Yorkshire conditions. Throughout their professional relationship Ellison grew irritated by the necessity of detailed explanations of local and London practices. Few was responsible for family legal work and administered the Trust set up by the Family Settlement of 1839. This was a complex matter and perhaps it overburdened Ellison who was already very busy.<sup>132</sup>

Like Charles Bowns before him on the Wentworth Woodhouse Estate, he "held a special and what may be called an exceptional position of trust, so as to make his case a peculiar one ..."

Up to his retirement (in December 1860) he alone was manager of the Sheffield estate office. He greatly improved accounting procedures and urged similar improvements elsewhere. Later in life he appears to have audited steward s' books from other Arundel estate properties.<sup>133</sup>

In Sheffield he was assisted by Marcus Smith, his clerk from 1825 and a surveyor with expertise in land and mining measurement. In practice the latter did much of the negotiation with would-be farming or industrial tenants. Smith appears to have been less diplomatic than Ellison and the two men often disagreed bitterly. In 1830 Ellison wrote

"... we must have a more perfect understanding ... I have frequently been much annoyed in finding my directions to you not only not

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| 131 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 (ii)    | A Piggott - Houseman 10 June 1819;<br>Complete Baronetage (1926) p270 |
|     | SCL Fairbank Mss CP 50,48    | M Ellison - Marcus Smith 1 June 1839.<br>See chapter 2 pp113-128.     |
| 132 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 (XVIII) | M Ellison - E Blount 13 May 1840.                                     |
| 133 | SCL Arundel Mss S484/1 (69)  | Charles Few - William Wake 6 May 1872.                                |

followed but something substituted in lieu of what I had intended to be done."<sup>134</sup>

With the building of the railways and the frequent need to visit Norfolk House or Arundel to see the Duke, Smith was often asked to supply cash to Ellison. Failures to do this, or to obey vital instructions still continued in 1841, when Smith transferred a large sum to the wrong account,

"... all this arrives from what I so frequently complain of, your disinclination to attend to my instructions."<sup>135</sup>

There were differences in style and approach between Ellison and Smith in the treatment of tenants. In Fowler's report on the Brightside industrial and house properties in 1861 it was stated

"The large amount of confidence placed by the lessees in the lessors and their agents and the cautionary mode of proceeding which we understand to have been pursued by the Agents after the verbal agreement has been made will probably induce the Trustees to think a written agreement for the lease unnecessary.

Whilst parties are willing to rely on the honourable terms of the agreement it appears undesirable to adopt any new mode of proceeding lest any change should disturb the confidence which now so satisfactorily exists."<sup>136</sup>

Essentially this was the legacy of the Ellison agency, but it referred specifically to industrial tenants with ever increasing bargaining power. Other tenants may also have had cause to trust Ellison, but he was sometimes less happy with Smith. After a tenant's complaint in May 1842 Ellison wrote

"I will institute an inquiry into the matter of his complaint at present only expressing sorrow that he should have augured he had cause to make it. This is all I have said to him, but to you (sic), I may say, that if the facts prove to be as stated by him, he has reason to complain, for whether he is to make a new fence or not,

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| 134 | SCL Fairbank Mss CP 50(15) | M Ellison - Marcus Smith (1830).          |
| 135 | Ibid CP 50(72)             | M Ellison - Marcus Smith 3 February 1841. |
| 136 | SCL Arundel Mss S109.1     | Mr Fowler's Report (1861) Brightside.     |



does not appear to justify your destroying his old one, without any communication with him."<sup>137</sup>

Smith dealt with many of the tenancy arrangements in practice, making surveys of farm land, assessing amounts of coal extracted and bargaining with tenants. This also involved negotiations for loans to tenants. In September 1839 a valuation of Mr Lee's premises in Pond Mill Lane including the steam engine evaluated whether or not to lend to the occupier of the building. Smith assessed the property at £900 and thought a loan of up to £700 acceptable. This then required Ellison's approval.<sup>138</sup>

Smith handled a vast amount of business in a long working life and it would be surprising if his judgement had gone unchallenged. After his death, in 1871, there was a complaint from one Joseph Smith about his harshness in leasing arrangements.<sup>139</sup> More telling as a critic of Ellison and Smith are the reports by Fowler in 1861. Though the surveyor praised the arrangements in the urban development of the estate, the commentary upon agricultural tenancies and upon the extensive rural holdings was generally critical.<sup>140</sup> Here the policy of 'laissez-faire' led to

"The evil consequences of relying upon the tenants to maintain the farm houses and buildings and gates in repairs at their own cost."<sup>141</sup>

In reality the widespread dilapidation of farm buildings and labourers' cottages especially in the upland parts of Sheffield and Ecclesfield parishes, appears to have been the long run result of a policy of low investment in the estate. While the urban area grew fast and rents expanded with it, there was a tendency to neglect agricultural parts of the estate.

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| 137 | SCL Fairbank Mss CP 50(97) | M Ellison - M Smith 1 May 1842.  |
| 138 | SCL Fairbank Mss CP 50(55) | Report. Marcus Smith 14 September 1839.  |
| 139 | SCL Arundel Mss S484.1,20  | M E Ellison - Charles Few 13 January 1874.   |
| 140 | SCL Arundel Mss S109(1)    | Mr Fowler's Report 1861.   |
| 141 | Ibid ie S109(3)            | Survey and valuation Treeton, Whiston, Aston, Rotherham, Handsworth, 25 May 1861; S109(6) Upper Hallam; S109(9) Ecclesfield. |

This was a strategic policy decision which agent and surveyor might influence but were unlikely to change given the priorities of owners. In many respects Ellison's priorities favoured development, as his personal interests show, but the Dukes of Norfolk were generally distant absentees between 1814 and the late nineteenth century. When the Twelfth Duke died in 1842 Thomas Dunn, a prominent Sheffield catholic and coal entrepreneur, wished to erect a memorial to him by public subscription. Ellison demurred as it

"... may not be properly taken up."<sup>142</sup>

The building of St Marie's Church which was opened in 1850 might be perceived as a memorial to a major supporter of religion in general and of catholic revival.<sup>143</sup> Ellison played a major part in organising the subscriptions for the church and tenders for building in 1843. At the opening on September 14 1850 his daughter and the Earl of Surrey were first to take communion.<sup>144</sup>

Ellison was influential in other ways. In 1843 he became chairman of the Manchester-Sheffield Lincolnshire Railway Company

"having been influential in bringing the Railway to town."<sup>145</sup>

He had opposed the Duke of Norfolk's parliamentary obstruction to the Sheffield Rotherham link in 1836, and was subsequently very active on behalf of his Company, spending time on railway affairs between 1836 and his retirement. He drafted Company reports, worked on parliamentary business in London and negotiated contracts, including that

"... for the second portion of the (Woodhead) Tunnel let to Hattersley for £39,000."<sup>146</sup>

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| 142 | SCL Fairbank Mss CP 50 (96)  | M Ellison - M Smith 22 March 1842.  |
| 143 | J M Robinson                 | Op cit pp191-195.   |
| 144 | C Hadfield                   | <u>History of St Marie's Mission and Church (Sheffield 1889) pp102-103.</u> |
| 145 | SCL Arundel Mss S484/1       | M E Ellison - Duke of Norfolk 14 May 1873.                                  |
| 146 | SCL Arundel Mss S523 (Diary) | 17 May 1843.  |

His inspections of works were not a formality, as when he complained about the quality of Thomas Brassey's works at Broadbottom, Cheshire in June 1843.<sup>147</sup> By 1860 Ellison received £1,200-1,600 per annum from the Norfolk estate in annual salary, and an £800 annuity was granted on retirement with £400 to his wife in the event of his death. Smith had been with him as clerk since 1825, with a salary rising from £105 1825-1831 and £637 per annum in 1860. It appears that the estate chose to regard him as not being in direct employment until that date, although most of his work was estate business and he was paid from estate resources.<sup>148</sup> After 1860 he and M E Ellison, son of the former agent, acted together as agents until Smith's death in 1871 and the appointment of the son as sole agent in 1872. By then it was recognized that exceptionally able and active agents could face contradictory pressures in acting for a great estate. A condition of his taking the agency was that he surrender the agency of the Earl of Effingham's Tusmore estates which he had inherited from his father, though he retained the agency for their Rotherham property. The estate administration in London also attempted to discourage him from taking a seat on the Board of the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Company when he was invited to do so by John Brown, because of fears that it would take too much time and lead to conflicts of interests. M E Ellison prevailed, consent being given

"... at will and pleasure and subject to the consent being withdrawn at any moment."<sup>149</sup>

This involved the resurgence of old rivalries between Sheffield agent and the London lawyers Few and Company, of whom his father had sometimes been bitterly critical.<sup>150</sup>

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| 147 | Ibid                                       | 12 June 1843.   |
| 148 | SCL Arundel Mss S484/1 (69)<br>S484/1 (76) | Charles Few - William Wake 6 May 1872;<br>Few and Company Returns on salary paid<br>from time to time to Mr Marcus Smith. |
| 149 | SCL Arundel Mss S484/1/17                  | Charles Few - Duke of Norfolk 19 May<br>1873.   |
| 150 | SCL Arundel Mss S478 (XVIII)               | M Ellison - E Blount 13 May 1840.   |

Among functions he inherited were clerkships in the Glossop and Marple Bridge and the Chapel-en-le-Frith Turnpike, director of the Sheffield Banking Company, treasurer of the Bradfield Game Association and many more similar appointments. The petition in favour of his appointment in 1872 included almost all the local notables, including the Mayor, MP, and twelve JPs, the Master Cutler, Town Trustees, the Chamber of Commerce and the owners of twenty-seven major industrial works.<sup>151</sup> Continuity in estate management could help or hinder estate development. Ellison the elder adopted clear-sighted and successful plans for urban and market development which were generally approved by the Birmingham surveyor Fowler in 1861. Industrial, commercial and house builders went ahead with only a verbal guarantee from Ellison despite the

"Unusually stringent covenants in the leases."  
once they were granted.<sup>152</sup>

In a period of rapid population growth and rapid industrial changes it was invaluable to have an agent who generated confidence in all strata of the local business classes, especially when the estate and the catholicism of its owners were unpopular. Perhaps the price paid was neglect in agriculture, where the laissez-faire low investment policy was so miserly as to invite condemnation in the 1861 survey. Probably the pressure upon Ellison, Smith and subordinate officials was too great. Ellison's commuting between Sheffield, London, Manchester and Glossop had become frenetic by 1843, and involved a mass of different types of business. A combination of rapid economic development, administrative overload<sup>153</sup> of a small number of personnel and the owners and trustees wish to control but not to invest had its worst effects on agriculture. There leases

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- 151 SCL Arundel Mss S484 (1) Petition in support of M'E Ellison as agent for Sheffield from the chief inhabitants 1872.
- 152 SCL Arundel Mss S109,1 Mr Fowler's Report 1861.
- 153 SCL Arundel Mss S523 (Diary) 1820-1859.

were not well ordered, buildings and other capital were deficient, and many tenants were incapable of effecting change by their own efforts. Before 1860 the estate owners had little cause to complain of such problems to the ageing and trusted agent, for the persuasive figures of the rental surged upwards every year between 1850 and 1860.<sup>154</sup>

On other estates administrative practices and problems varied. G B Wharton noted the deleterious effects of not having a resident agent on the Kiveton estates of the Duke of Leeds in 1839.<sup>155</sup> By contrast, the Wortley estates were closely controlled, with a resident steward and regular surveys and valuations which usually led to an increase in rental.<sup>156</sup> The Scarborough estates seem to have been managed in a lively and spirited way after a low point around 1800 which may have been the product of family financial problems rather than weakness in stewardship, though that did not escape the criticism of the visiting surveyor Mr R Legard.<sup>157</sup> William Downes (1845) and Messrs Vessey (1861) found many individual points of criticism, including the need for drainage, better tenants and more capital investment, but in general the estate seems to have been well run.<sup>158</sup> On most estates there was a rapid rise in rental until 1815, then gains became harder to make. The Wortley estate rental of the Earls of Wharnccliffe increased from £3,332 in 1804 to £4,268 in 1851, for a near identical acreage (4,037 acres 1804; 4,046 acres 1851).<sup>159</sup>

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| 154 | SCL Arundel Mss                                  | Rentals 1850-1860.  |
| 155 | YAS Leeds Mss DD5 box 21                         | G B Wharton - Duke of Leeds 2 December 1839.                |
| 156 | SCL wh/m 408/9 1/78; 79; 3/36                    | G Senior - Earl of Wharnccliffe 21 September 1846; Rentals. |
| 157 | Sandbeck Lumley Mss EMC126/18 a, b, c            | R Legard - Lord Scarborough 3 March 1800.                   |
| 158 | Sandbeck Lumley Mss EMC/41/1 1845; EMC/45/ 1861. |   |
| 159 | SCL wh/m 3/10 wh/m 3/18                          | Wortley survey 1796 (dated also 1804). 1851                 |

Some estates had difficulty with large redundant mansions, and ornamental gardens. One solution was to demolish, as happened at Kiveton Park in 1810-1811, and Worksop Manor in 1840. At Wentworth Castle after the death of the Third Earl of Strafford in 1799 neither Henry Vernon (d 1814), nor his successors, were anxious to maintain the house. The park was let to cattle graziers, land in hand was leased where possible and there were difficulties with poaching. Jo Birks, the agent and Helmsley the house steward, tried to cut expenses in a period after 1814 when rent days were poor, produce prices weak and the owner unsympathetic. Eventually the estate rental improved to £3,600 in 1865, with much help from coal revenues.<sup>160</sup> The smaller blocks of aristocratic gentry property shared many of the attributes of their more extensive neighbours after 1800. Most were not solely dependent upon agricultural rents, with the spread of receipts and in many cases access to coal, ironstone and timber. In turn this meant that smaller properties required attention to non-agricultural matters.

It was rarely in their interest to employ a resident expert except for stewardship purposes. Occasionally outside expertise would be called to comment on coal mines or agricultural arrangements. Whereas large estates could employ experienced coal viewers, as occurred in the direct working of the Duke of Norfolk's coal in the late eighteenth century and again between 1870 and 1875, or throughout the early nineteenth century at Wentworth Woodhouse, the owners of smaller properties called in outsiders. At Wentworth Castle one of Mr Edmund's coal stewards was called in 1818 to examine the coal mine and J Curr viewed in Barnsley.<sup>161</sup>

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160 SCL VWM 122 J Birks - Mrs Vernon 4 November 1814. Mrs Vernon -  
 VWM 148 J Birks 16 November 1814;  
 correspondence 1816-1818.

161 SCL VWM 148 Helmsley - Vernon 25 January 1818. YAS Mss DD5

Surveys and valuations of land had long been commonplace, but they appeared increasingly detailed and critical as the nineteenth century progressed. This could cause resentment as when George Senior at Wortley claimed that nine out of ten of the visiting Mr Blackadder's suggestions for improvement were his own to the surveyor.<sup>162</sup> At another level there was a tendency to add yet another layer to the hierarchy of estate administrators after 1850. The internal expertise of agents and steward was increasingly thought to require a check other than the auditor's search for financial probity. The Trustees for the Fifteenth Duke of Norfolk's Minority unearthed many problems in the 1860s, and after his coming of age in 1869 paid careful attention to his affairs for some years. Under pressure from Henry Howard of Glossop, an ex-trustee, the London clerk to the Trustees, Charles Few, invited Thomas Stotter to view the Sheffield property, and particularly to value land which had been sold or might be taken by railway companies. Stotter had been agent for thirty years for the Earl of Derby's estates in Lancashire, and had been involved as engineer in the development of his property in north Liverpool. The intention was evident in 1873. As the Sheffield agent M E Ellison continued in the steps of his father as a leading local figure and administrative pluralist, Howard and Few sought re-assurance, as their agent acted for the estate and as director of companies with which they had to do business.<sup>163</sup> Already in their extensive coal mines regular outside viewing had been introduced to keep check upon the records and recommendations of Emerson Bainbridge, who managed the Norfolk Manor mines from 1870-1875.<sup>164</sup> Unlike earlier auditing which was primarily concerned with the steward's honesty the typical report from land survey or mining engineer was now concerned with

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| 162 | SCL Wh/M 408/9                          | G Senior - Lord Wharnccliffe 21 September 1846.  |
| 163 | SCL Arundel Mss<br>S484 (3)5, 6a,<br>6b | C Few - Thomas Stotter 12 July 1873; T Stotter -<br>C Few 14 July 1873; C Few - Duke of Norfolk<br>16 July 1873.   |
| 164 | SCL Arundel Mss<br>S484                 | Collieries. G B Forster Report 31 May 1871;<br>C Few - P & J Kevan 17 July 1871; Kevan Report<br>16 December 1872. |

future usage and exploitation. Surveyors criticized lack of fences, drainage or adequate buildings, and engineers projected possible future production and the capital and labour costs to attain it. In practice the agent of the great estate, who was still usually legally trained, became a managerial figurehead, overlooking functional areas of activity with their own different expertise and requirements. In turn he too could expect the occasional visit of a consultant who was believed to represent best practice in estate administration.



## CHAPTER 4

### South Yorkshire Landowners and Transport Facilities

#### Before the Railways 1700-1840

Though the pace of development was slower than in later decades there are numerous signs of quickening economic activity in South Yorkshire before 1750. They occurred in a landlocked region of high transport costs, and improvements of transport facilities played a key part.

Before 1750 river improvement was critical, and by that date the twin systems of the Don and the Aire and Calder Navigations gave substantial advantages to agricultural, industrial and above all mineral producers within range of their recently improved facilities.<sup>1</sup> It appears that road improvement had been less successful, though schemes had existed, and as a result transport remained expensive for passengers and goods, while there were many small market areas for bulky and heavy products.

After 1750 transport improvement accompanied economic development.

G G Hopkinson noted

"During the sixties coal mined around Rotherham penetrated the Trent Valley as far South as Newark and along the Fosse Dyke to Lincoln, from which the adjacent parts of the country were supplied as a result of the temporary exhaustion of the collieries around Nottingham and in the inability of the pits in South Derbyshire ... to compete in this market as the roads between them and the Trent were in such bad condition."<sup>2</sup>

Such problems were widespread. It was ideal to transport coal and other bulk products entirely by water and this remained hard to achieve in a hilly region. The successful Derbyshire Butterley Company sold little of its

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1 R W Unwin

"The Aire and Calder Navigation. Pt 1, The Beginning of the Navigation". Bradford Antiquary Vol XI NS 9, (1976) pp53-85; ibid "The Navigation before the Canal Age". BA Vol XII NS 10, (1977) pp151-186.

6  
6 T S Willan

The Early History of the Don Navigation. (1965).

2 G G Hopkinson

"The Development of Lead Mining and of the Coal and Iron Industries in North Derbyshire and South Yorkshire 1700-1850." (unpublished PhD Thesis 1958, University of Sheffield) p245.

product in the Rother Valley because of competition from nearer ironworks and inadequate transport links.<sup>3</sup> Agriculture too was influenced, as more lime was used together with other inputs, and output was sent to widening markets. This was especially important in the west of the district though lime was much used wherever there was inclosure of waste and common. Young noted the use of four quarters of lime per acre at Ecclesfield and the Marquis of Rockingham had supplies of limestone from Hooton Roberts and kilns at Hooper, Wentworth and Kilnhurst producing lime for use on the estate and sale.<sup>4</sup> In this area large landowners initiated few transport schemes, but they provided valuable support and some capital. The implications of improved communications for estates were well known and much discussed.<sup>5</sup> It is true that the two early river navigation schemes were not energetically supported in their inception or early operation by peerage owners of land. Early directors, and the bulk of the shareholders, were attorneys, merchants and ironmasters and a smatter of less wealthy gentry.<sup>6</sup> The 7th Duke of Norfolk opposed the Don Navigation in the 1720s much as his successors opposed Sheffield canal schemes between 1793 and 1813 and the rail link to Rotherham in 1835-6.<sup>7</sup> Always their fear was damage to their monopoly of Sheffield coal supply, and to their lessees of coal and water rights.<sup>8</sup> Owners rarely resisted improvements unless direct interests were likely to be damaged. Private Acts of Parliament required their support, and with it parliamentary

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- 3 P J Riden "The Butterley Company and Railway Construction 1790-1830" TH Vol 6 No 1 (March 1973) p46.
- 4 SCL WWM R174 Various Memoranda, 2nd Marquis of Rockingham Feb-Apr 1764.
- 5 See p
- 6 R W Unwin Op cit; T S Willan op cit; pp1-30.
- 7 BL Add Mss 27538: The Navigation of the River Dunn considered in Respect of my Lord Duke of Norfolk.
- 8 SCL Arundel MSS S478 (XIV) E Blount - M Ellison 5.1.1836. By then opposition to the railway proposal in Parliament had cost the Duke of Norfolk about £800, Sheffield tenants £800 (coal lessees) the Sheffield Canal Co £2500.

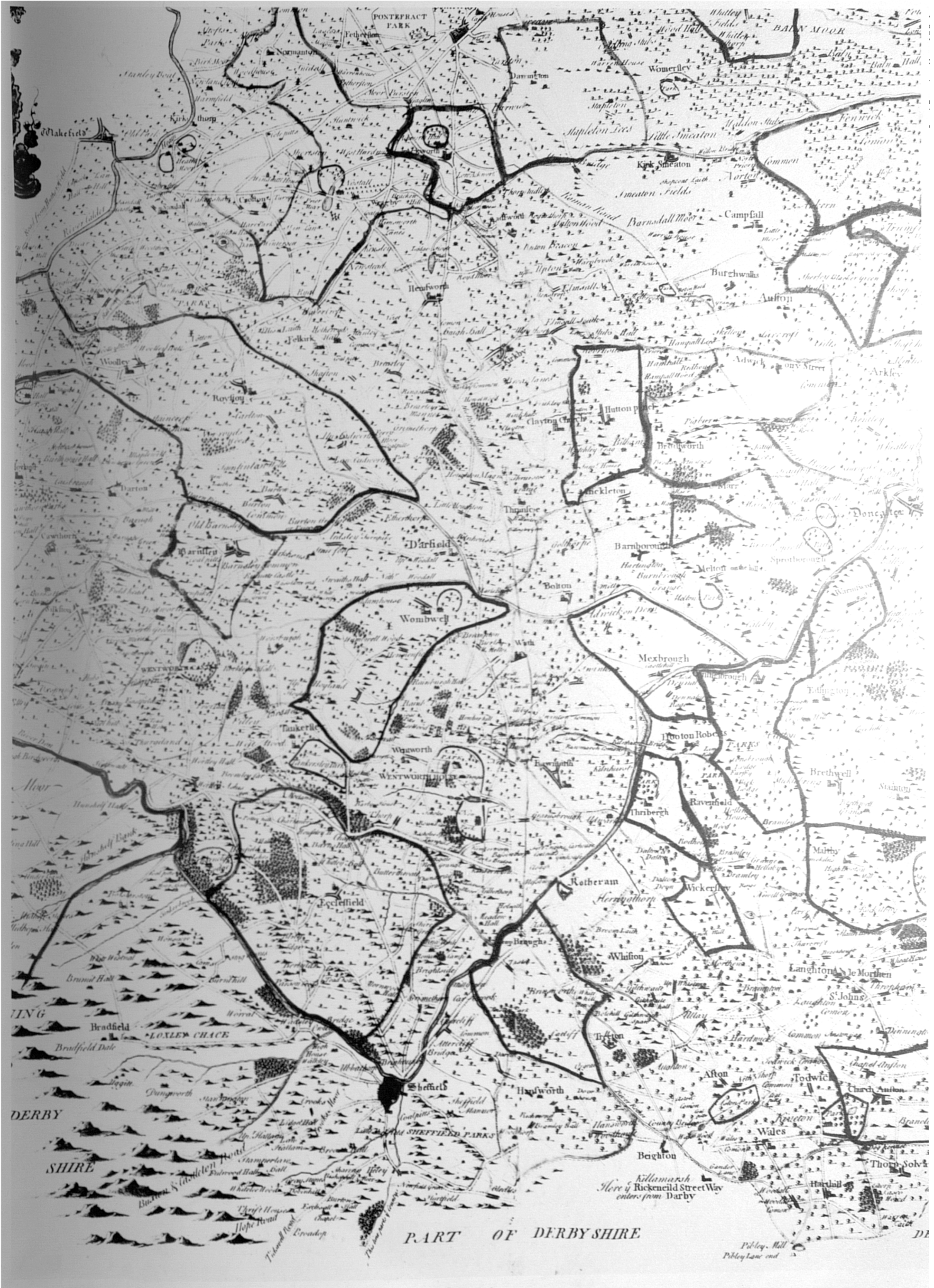


Figure 4.1 Dickinson's Map of South Yorkshire c1750.



Figure 4.1 Dickinson's Map of South Yorkshire c1750.



That many landowners supported such schemes is well known, but the extent of that influence, in parliamentary support, in finance, and in striving for equity and a degree of accountability in Trust operations, is worthy of further investigation. Examples of their willingness to divert routes to fit their own interests have been noted without a broader discussion of the role played. Such diversions have been recorded as that of the Rotherham to Barnsley Turnpike which was diverted via Wentworth Woodhouse to Tankersley and the Doncaster to Tinsley Road which had sought to avoid Hooton Roberts but was restored to that route on the intervention of Richard Fenton, the second Marquis of Rockingham's agent.<sup>12</sup> Similarly G Townend sought the Earl of Mexborough's assent to routing the Doncaster to Tadcaster road via Grimston in October 1789.<sup>13</sup>

As with the improvement of the inland rivers of South Yorkshire, initiative for the spurt of turnpike trusts established after 1750 rarely came from the upper class. Instead the professionals and commercial elements in the towns predominated. In February 1760 Mr A Johnson of Wakefield wrote to Samuel Dawson the Clerk of the Town Trustees of Sheffield on the question of whom to list as Commissioners for the Trusts in the Sheffield area. A property qualification was deemed essential by Parliament. It was commonly set at £50 in annual rents, £1000 in personalty or reality or the equivalent in some mixture of assets. There was pressure to increase the qualification in the Sheffield-Sparrowpit Turnpike bill.<sup>14</sup> Dawson resisted

"If greater qualifications be required Sheffield and the country about it will have only very few persons to act, and the Derbyshire people would carry everything as they pleased." <sup>15</sup>

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| 12  | SCL WWM R5        | Letters and papers of the 2nd Marquis of Rockingham Feb- April 1765. |
| 13  | Sheepscar L Leeds | Mexborough Mss MX303. G Townend - Earl of Mexborough 8 October 1789. |
| 14  | SCL Tibbits MSS   | TC 362.1 Memorandum relating to the intended Turnpike.               |
| 15. | SCL Tibbits MSS   | 404.15 John Dawson - Samuel Dawson, 27 March 1760.                   |

In the event 140 persons were listed, including Richard Fenton the Rockingham steward and most of the notables of the Sheffield area as well as many gentry from Derbyshire. There was one category excluded

"I find Sir LP would by no means have any of the Navigators made Commissioners and in that he is certainly right if by any method it can be avoided." 16

This particularly applied to the Sheffield-Bawtry Trust. In the event shareholders of the River Don Navigation Company were specifically excluded in the Act for the improvement of the Sheffield-Bawtry road, and for good reason, as Pilkington explained to the Reverend William Rowley of Cawthorne

"You will also observe that no person interested in the Navigation is to Act as a Trustee, where the Tinsley Road is concerned. And as the two Navigation Acts are in part recited and established, I do not see how the law could justify the application of one shilling of the tolls collected between Tinsley and Bawtry to the repairs of the road between Tinsley and Sheffield. The first obligation which the Navigation is under is to make uphold and repair the Tinsley Road to Sheffield, and indeed all the other roads in the township of Tinsley ..... the claim of Sheffield to a free road to Tinsley appeared so just, and the obligation of the navigators to make it so strong, that I thought it unreasonable to disregard their request." 17

As the Don Navigation proprietors were already a powerful and wealthy body this caused many problems, and helps to explain the continued preponderance of peerage and gentry money in subscriptions to local schemes for Turnpiking. Noticeable too was lending by clergymen susceptible to gentry influence, as in the loan of £1000 to the Worksop-Attercliffe Turnpike Trust by the Reverend John Griffith of Handsworth, the Reverend John Stacey of Ballifield and William Harrison of Orgreave (Gent) in 1764.<sup>18</sup> The Reverend William Rowley of Cawthorne was active in the promotion of the Wakefield to Sheffield Road.

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16 SCL Tibbits MSS TC 404.13 Alan Johnson - S Dawson, 18 February 1760.

17 SCL Tibbits Mss 404.18 Sir L Pilkington - Rev William Rowley, 29.5.1760.

18 SCL Tibbits Mss 362 Deed poll, 1764.

It was one matter to list persons qualified to act as Commissioners, it was another to get them to act. Johnson of Wakefield described the organising role which was required of enthusiastic promoters.

"Commissioners need to be (in the military sense) embodied and drawn out and I accordingly classed them to act upon the respective roads as I think their interests and inclinations will lead and have sent the Beadles abt with the lists to shew em and to desire any of em that rather chuses to act upon a different road than that which he is put down for to strike out his name in one place and insert it in another." 19

Although there were seven or eight turnpike roads leading into Wakefield, there was more co-ordination as to whom should act as Commissioners or later as Trustees than might at first be apparent. In the spurt of road improvement there, and near Sheffield between 1756 and 1776, a small number of attorneys tried to co-ordinate the appointments of Commissioners, to seek wider support including that of landowners, and to ensure that suitable trustees were appointed. There was also pluralism of office and function between different trusts. Nor is it accidental that Samuel Dawson, Clerk and Treasurer of the Sheffield Wakefield Trust, was Clerk of the Town Trust of Sheffield. He was the son-in-law of the attorney John Battie, steward of Sheffield Manor Court, and had succeeded Thomas Wright to the Clerkship in 1741-2, retaining that office until his death in 1777.<sup>20</sup> These men drew upon a network of local notables to administer the trusts, like the Reverend William Rowley of Cawthorne who was active on behalf of several trusts.

The relations between Dawson and Rowley illustrate many of the problems which occurred with a relatively efficient Trust, and are worthy of further investigation in the attempt to clarify the differing roles of landowners

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19 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 404.13

Alan Johnson - S Dawson, 18 February 1760.

20 R E Leader

Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century. 2nd Ed (1905) p190-1.

and those actively involved in improving the roads.

Table 4.1 - Sums Subscribed to the Sheffield-Wakefield Turnpike Road.

1767 January <sup>21</sup>

<u>at 4%</u>	<u>£</u>	<u>interest pa £</u>
His Grace of Norfolk	1200	48
His Grace of Devonshire	600	24
Marquis of Rockingham	600	24
Earl of Strafford	<u>900</u>	36
	3300	
 <u>at 5%</u>		
Sir Thomas Wentworth	500	25
reps of Sarah Wood	1200	60
Savile Finch Esq	100	5
Hudson Collector of Sheffield	360	18
Rev Mrs Fisher	100	5
Mrs Eliz Robinson	300	15
Members of a Society at Silkstone	<u>100</u>	5
	2660	

A very substantial part of the capital required for the Sheffield-Wakefield road was raised from local landowners rather than mercantile or other commercial interests. The initial subscriptions were somewhat smaller but there were delays in interest paid at times when considerable expenditure was being incurred in improving the road between 1759 and 1762, which caused loud clamour from subscribers. Sarah Wood complained to Samuel Dawson, the

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21 SCL Tibbits Mss 365. 331.



Clerk and Treasurer of the road, in November 1761,

"I was very much surprised to hear nothing from you. There was a year's interest due to me ye eleventh of the month. I was promised when I put my money into ye turnpike I should have ye interest paid every half year." 22

Evidently she and Sir Thomas Wentworth of Hickleton complained to the Earl of Strafford who had been a large subscriber and early supporter of the scheme. There ensued repeated demands from the Reverend William Rowley, one of his men of business, that the Trust should produce comprehensible and regular accounts, pay interest on time to subscribers, and keep tolls down and on a fair basis for the agricultural and coaching interests. Strafford insisted

"having induced some of his friends to subscribe to the road ... if he cannot give some satisfactory and authentic account of its situation when they enquire after it, his Lordship must appear (what he does not chuse to seem) regardless of what becomes of his friends." 23

Though unafraid for the safety of his own capital, and not doubting Dawson's personal integrity, for his interest due in the first half year of 1762,

"He will by no means hear of being put off till Christmas but for the reasons you give is content to wait a while." 24

Eventually sums of interest initially agreed were capitalized to compensate for non-payment of interest, so that, for example, the Duke of Norfolk's initial investment of £1000 in 1760 became £1200 in 1767.<sup>25</sup>

So identified with the early plans to improve the road was the Earl of Strafford that the Reverend William Rowley of Cawthorne, who did business on his behalf and was a supporter of the road, expected that when a bar was

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22 SCL Tibbits Mss 365. 331 January 1761.

23 SCL Tibbits Mss 363. 48 Sarah Wood - Samuel Dawson, 22 November 1761.

24 SCL Tibbits Mss 363. 49 William Rowley - Samuel Dawson, 1 August 1762.

25 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 365, 331-341.

to be erected at Hangman Stone

"... the greatest opposition (if there be any) will come from Lord Rockingham ..."

Rowley argued in October 1761 when the Commissioners for the Turnpike were short of money that

"they must have the Bars where they will raise money, or some friend must be so kind to advance a sum, unless the road, after all the charge and trouble is to be spoiled the moment it is compleat." 26

In the event Rockingham subscribed to the road, but some other landowners proved more difficult. When he had agreed to subscribe at the very time when Rockingham's subscription was being sought, Thomas Wentworth was

"withholding his money, which occasions many bills to remain unpaid (and) is sure a kind of Egyptian Tyranny that will have brick and furnish no straw." 27

This was a bargaining tactic to secure the best price for land sold to the Trust. In January 1761 he had also joined Sir Rowland Winn and Sir George Armytage in raising objections to some features of the enabling bill in January 1761 for the Turnpiking of the Bawtry to Sheffield road which linked into the cross country route improved by the Little Sheffield to Sparrowpit Turnpike. They appear to have been joined in their opposition by the Duke of Leeds, whose property was largely bypassed by the route followed, but they were defeated on the amendments to the Bawtry Bill by those favouring the proposed route.<sup>28</sup> William Rowley and Samuel Dawson were involved in that scheme also, and Rowley wrote from London where he awaited the call to give evidence before the House of Lords Committee,

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26 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 363 (47) W Rowley - S Dawson 9 October 1763.

27 ibid.

28 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 404 (21) W Rowley - (S Dawson) 10 January 1761;  
(22) 22 January 1761.

"I want a copy of the Bill of Amendment for the Duke of Devonshire who will take the trouble to study the objections that are made to it ... The Duke of Leeds has been attacked by other Dukes at present in high stations, and has consented to a conference in which I hope our friend Sir Lionel (Pilkington) will give the finishing blow to this opposition, so it will be dead and gone before the committee. You hear Mr Wortley is dead."

As the Bawtry Bill contained a branch improvement to Wortley it was of significance to the promoters of the Wakefield to Sheffield Trust, and was generally supported by them. In the event opposition was overcome, with support from the Duke of Devonshire and the county MPs Sir George Saville and Mr Lascelles.<sup>29</sup>

Sir Samuel Pilkington was a Trustee of the Sheffield to Wakefield Road as well as acting on behalf of the Bawtry-Sheffield Turnpike. Landowner involvement continued once the Act was passed. The Rev Rowley was in the Earl of Strafford's connection in the district. He attended Parliament for the House of Lords Committee on behalf of the would-be Trustees of the Bawtry Trust, remitted tolls from the Sandal Toll Bar for some years and acted as the Earl of Strafford's representative in negotiation with the Trustees of the Sheffield-Wakefield Road. This last role proved onerous, requiring him to enter into repeated demands that the Trust should present its accounts, pay interest on time and complete its improvements. From the first the Earl adopted an imperious tone. A brief memorandum of August 21, 1759 stated

"Lord Strafford orders  
That ye lane from Chappelltown to Ecclesfield be opened as soon as possible.

Likewise Notton Ridings be amended.

Also from wood more down to New Milner Dam and ye road amended about Sandell Castle." 30

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29 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 404. 22 William Rowley - Samuel Dawson, 22 January 1761.

30 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 364. 6 Memorandum, 21 August, 1759.

Nor did the tone ease as time passed. From the first he demanded accounts on a six monthly basis, and that they be rationalized so as to show annual incomings and outgoings. Large subscribers were in a powerful position to enforce accountability in the period when a Trust was committed to the expense of building the improved road so as to justify the tolls charged, and with-held part of their subscriptions until improvements were completed. This relatively successful and busy turnpike had problems in the early years. In September 1760 it remained uncompleted in several places, and the toll gate at the Wakefield end was not yet erected. There was much objection to the tolls

"... the temper of the people about Wakefield, the latter is what it always was, bad, very bad. One comfort is that as many as please can go round by Oakenshaw (a long and very bad way) and come in at Agbride Turnpike. Some actually do this, of which I never hear speak but I laugh heartily. Such as were most strenuous for the Cock and Bottle (alternative route) represented it as folly to imagine that any would go so far as the bottom of Sandall Common to save a penny (much less a half penny) whereas in fact they go five times as far and ten times worse way to save a half penny. There are some who ride through the Calder at Libset to save their penny such sordid dogs dwell in the country - yet I am persuaded the tolls are the best secured that they can be and I have small doubt now of their answering very well." 31

These were not the only problems. Toll houses were not yet built and the toll bar employees complained that they could not live in their huts. They missed night travellers, and nearer the south end of the road

"Mr Crooks chain near Staincross has been demolished and the man attending it thrashed. I believe there are warrants issued for bringing the delinquents before Justice Wood. These outrages have been committed by Mr Cotton's leaders of pigs and charcoal who since the bar was erected on the Grange Moor Road left their usual way to evade paying tolls and are exasperated at this chain which catches them, or obliges them to go their old road." 32

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31 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 363. 42 Rev William Rowley - Samuel Dawson,  
27 September 1760.

32 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 404. 19 Rev William Rowley - Samuel Dawson,  
19 June 1760.



Figure 4.2 Jeffrey's Map of South Yorkshire 1772 (west)



Figure 4.2 Jeffrey's Map of South Yorkshire (east) 1772.

Apart from recalcitrant users the road faced many of the other problems inherent in the Turnpike method of road improvement. Commissioners appointed in the first act could not be persuaded to attend meetings, attorneys' bills in securing legislation were high, probably exceeding Sir Lionel Pilkington's bill of £300 for the Sheffield-Bawtry Road with the Wortley extension, which he claimed was reasonable. It was thought best to set initial tolls high and be able to reduce them at a later date, but that sharpened initial objection. It was claimed in petitions for the Act of Parliament

"The tolls as at present settled are the same (or rather less) than in other counties and other roads in this county, and according to late Acts of Parliament on this occasion, as the former turnpike roads, are so excessive bad, by the tolls not raising sufficient to keep them in repair, or the money not being properly laid out."<sup>33</sup>

Not everyone concerned agreed. Apart from the strenuous objections of the users, Sir Lionel Pilkington, who presented the bill and supported it, expressed the view to Samuel Dawson on 25 December 1761

"Surely three (Toll gates) must be sufficient, for the single tolls are very high. I do not indeed conceive how the county can bear the burthen of four. But whatever number of full tolls may be desired, it must not be forgot that the tolls at Sandal Bar must be kept down to the pitch of the Agbridge Turnpike. For otherwise a great part of our passengers in going to and returning from Wakefield, will give preference to that Bar."<sup>34</sup>

Pilkington advised the Sheffield-Bawtry road projectors to set tolls high in April 1760 because they could always be reduced later and he was an acknowledged expert on such matters, so his opinion was taken seriously. Nor was he alone in it. Fears that the Marquis of Rockingham might oppose the scheme were rooted in a likely objection to excessive tolls. Increasingly the Earl of Strafford's demands for accounts took on the same tone

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33 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 363. 16 Memorandum re Sheffield-Wakefield Turnpike Bill.

34 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 404. 20 Sir L Pilkington - Samuel Dawson, 25 December, 1760.



between 1761 and 1766. By April 1763 the Reverend Rowley, caught between his patron and his interest in the road, begged for an account of a recent meeting of the Trustees

"as it may save me a scolding bout."<sup>35</sup>

Later in the same year the Earl accused the Trust of being too partial to the interests of coach proprietors - Rowley was compelled to write -

"If no favour can be obtained for poor farmers why will the Gentlemen be so enormously partial to the owners of a stage coach. A deduction of one-third was but desired in favour of the farmer and that but in summer time, whereas the latter hitherto have scarce paid one fourth of their first tolls at any time of the year."

The question at issue was the low rate of composition for tolls which he alleged the coach proprietors were being allowed, and a virtual doubling of the coach composition rate with a modest concession to farmers was proposed. Already Strafford sought a reduction in the tolls

"for the Country in general, and upon ordering propositions to be made to that purpose several times to the Commissioners hath been always informed that the State of the road cannot yet admit of it."<sup>36</sup>

It was a long campaign, for toll reduction was not achieved until January 1, 1766, when an order was made for their reduction during the following summer period. In the interim Strafford demanded accounts every half year and delayed payment of a part of his subscription until October 1766. By that date (Richard Fenton) the steward of the Marquis of Rockingham had become a trustee, and it is likely that his and his employer's interests worked in the same direction. Strafford was not satisfied by the compositions with coach owners, for operators like Richardson of Wakefield were allowed to compound for £31.10 shillings in lieu of tolls rather than the £40 he thought appropriate in equity to farmers moving animals.<sup>37</sup> When tolls were

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35 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 363. 51 William Rowley - Samuel Dawson, 5 April 1763.

36 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 363. 52 William Rowley - Samuel Dawson, 5 October 1763.

37 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 363. 57 ibid. 28 October 1766. 55 Trustees Minutes. 1 January 1766.



reduced he remained unsatisfied. Rowley wrote in October 1766

"It will be needless for me to repeat what his Lordship says about obscurity and puzzling in matters of account. It is I believe a natural jealousy in him to fancy (the) worst of everything of that kind."

Once he had got his security and his interest, and ensured that others had likewise,

"He hath altered his temper for the better and I hope for the time to come you and I may have more ease and quietness." 38

This seems doubtful, for in 1769 and 1772 he was still demanding that the Trust send the accounts with a Clerk for his personal inspection at Wentworth Castle, and still complaining about their lateness and inadequacy.<sup>39</sup>

Amidst administrative and legal complexity, user resistance and conflicts of interest between different routes, one might well ask what happened to the quality of the road. In 1759 a Tankersley farmer Saintforth Wroe had estimated that the

"Widening, Fencing and making the road from Wakefield to Sheffield, to wit, to cast a bed 24 Feet broad betwixt ditch and ditch in the lanes and 30 feet betwixt Ditch and Ditch in the commons, to cover the same with stone 20 foot broad, 8 inches thick at the edge by 18 inches high in the middle, ... and the stone to be laid in three coverings, plus the cost of gates."

would be £4172.<sup>40</sup> The road was approximately 22 miles in length, and Wroe estimated that each gate would cost about £47, which was the cost of the gates on the Derbyshire-Sparrowpit Road and of the new gate erected at Pitsmoor.<sup>41</sup> In the event between 1759 and 1766 the task of improving the road was split between three Surveyors, Benjamin Thompson of Wakefield, James Brooke of Sheffield and Saintforth Wroe of Tankersley, who was in

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- 38 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 363. 67 William Rowley - Samuel Dawson, 18 December 1767.
- 39 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 363: 72 (Wm Rowley) - S Dawson, 2 November 1769; TC 404 32 Earl of Strafford - S Dawson, 13 November 1772.
- 40 SCL TC 363 Saintforth Wroe Quotation, 5 April 1759.
- 41 SCL TC 363 55 Trustees Minutes 1 January 1766 (Sheffield-Wakefield Road).

charge of the middle section of the road. Perhaps because of delays in erecting the northern gate and problems in the improving of the south end of the road, or perhaps merely to achieve economy, Saintforth Wroe was appointed surveyor for the whole road on January 1 1766, at an annual salary of £31.10s. He retained this post for at least ten years as well as others elsewhere, and was consulted by several Trusts, contracting to improve the Whittington Moor to Brimington Road in March 1777.<sup>42</sup> Detailed accounts indicate that substantial work was done not only in improving the road to the specifications he had initially described, but in easing the gradients the numerous hills on the route. He kept precise and clear accounts of his expenditure on the road presenting them quarterly to the Treasurer Dawson. In the summer quarter of 1767 £144.2s.10d was expended on improving the road, and in the last quarter to 1 January 1768, £109.11.11½. In the summer (3rd quarter) of 1770 road improvement cost £148.17.10 and in the first quarter of 1773 £67.12.10. Over the whole of 1768 Wroe disbursed £500, which was not untypical of the period from 1766 when the road was already much improved, to 1776 when the extant accounts ceased.<sup>43</sup> Tolls yielded £926 in 1767, so that in general the Turnpike does appear to have expended more than 55% of its toll income on improvements to the road.<sup>44</sup> By 1774 £4300 had been expended, and the Trustees declared themselves anxious to borrow additional sums on the security of their improved road, though it is unclear how much additional money was raised.<sup>45</sup> Then there was agreement that the road had been

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- 42 D T Smith "The Chesterfield, Brimington and High Moors Turnpike Trust 1766-1803." THAS (Vol 8), No 3 1977, p205.
- 43 SCL Tibbits Mss 364 .13 1767; 20, 1768; 69, 1776 Saintforth Wroe Accounts.
- 44 SCL Tibbits Mss 363 85 Trustees Resolution (1774 nd) The road thus appears to satisfy W Albert's Criteria of efficiency. W Albert The Turnpike Road System of England 1663-1840 (1972) pp88-89.
- 45 SCL Tibbits Mss 363 16 Memorandum re Amended Bill; 364,3,4 Samuel Dawson expenses re Act and Second Act. His expenses between 9 November 1757 and January 1758 (119), re 2nd Act 1761, £47. There were other and probably greater expenses for L Pilkington, costs of drawing up the bills etc. It was agreed that attorney's costs were high for this Turnpike.

substantially improved despite initial heavy legal expenses and some payments for land including £72 for 7246 square yards belonging to the Duke of Norfolk at Hood Hollings and payments to G Wentworth Esq of Hickleton.<sup>46</sup>

Much of the work was conducted by sub-contractors, of whom John Moorhouse was one of the most significant. He gathered statute money in some parishes, where it was paid in lieu of the statutory duty to maintain roads, supplied large quantities of bricks and carried out crowning work on the road.<sup>47</sup>

One difficult matter for the Trustees and the parishes through which the turnpike ran was the question of statutory liability for road maintenance. The goodwill and co-operation of landowners was required for this to be satisfactorily resolved. Where good will was lacking problems arose, as occurred at Woolley. The inhabitants had only a few hundred yards of the road in their parish. Initially it was agreed that as this was such a small part of the statutory liability, they should maintain their section of the turnpike as part of that liability in

"in perfect repair, ... and I engaged that they should strictly perform this agreement."

By April 1773 this undertaking by Godfrey Wentworth was not being maintained to the satisfaction of the trustees, and the inhabitants were summoned for the performance of their part of the statutory labour in keeping up the road.<sup>48</sup> The expedient of allowing local bodies to retain obligations was unsuccessful. The necessity for unified maintenance, with the Surveyor calling upon statutory labour in the correct proportion to the parishes

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- 46 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 363 22 Land taken from Duke of Norfolk; TC 364. 8 An account of damage done in the land belonging to Godfrey Wentworth Esq by making the Turnpike Road thro Notton Ridings. £23.12.5 (annotated 27 October 1761).
- 47 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 364 .70 Saintforth Wroe Accounts, 69. 70. 1776.
- 48 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 363. 78 Godfrey Wentworth-(Hickleton) to Trustees of Sheffield-Wakefield Turnpike Trust.

overall mileage to be maintained and the extent of the Turnpiked section within that, was clearly recognised. By the 1770s the road was sufficiently improved for there to be less resistance to the tolls, and unlike many Trusts the Sheffield-Wakefield paid regular interest at 5% until the railway age.

East of Sheffield the Duke of Leeds and his neighbour the 3rd Earl of Holderness supported the turnpiking of the north-south trunk route from Doncaster to Rotherham and on to Pleasley and Nottingham. This was divided between two trusts, and in 1765 Aneas Macdonald, steward at Kiveton, subscribed £140 to the trustees of the Rotherham roads and £160 to the Doncaster-Rotherham route. By 1769 Tunnicliff, treasurer on the northern Trust, paid a years interest on £200 (£9) and in 1794 the Rotherham Pleasley Road paid a years interest of £18.4s.4d, which at 5% would indicate an investment of £364. In the same year the Doncaster Turnpike paid £10 in interest. These gains were offset by some other costs, as the steward claimed expenses from his employer to attend meetings (2 guineas in 1769 for one meeting).<sup>49</sup> The Duke of Leeds thus had an interest in a major road which competed with the Sheffield-Wakefield route. This induced opposition to their proposals in 1760-61, but he eventually gave way to the combined influence of the Dukes of Devonshire and Norfolk and the Earl of Scarborough.<sup>50</sup>

The Duke of Leeds also joined the Earl of Surrey in supporting the Gander Lane Trust linking Sheffield and Clowne. These roads were heavily used by coal traffic between the Arundel estate collieries and Sheffield.<sup>51</sup>

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49 SYCA Leeds Mss 5F1/1.1

Macdonald's 5th Account 1765; 5F1/1.2 9th account 1769; 5F1/1.4 Receipt. 1794.

50 SCL Tibbits Mss TC 404. 22

William Rowley - S Dawson, 22 January 1761.

51 G G Hopkinson

"Road Development in South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire," THAS Vol 10 (1971) pp10-30.

The road probably helped the Duke of Leeds to sell coal down the Rother Valley, though his coal could not compete in the Don valley even with a better road. Had that been the case it seems unlikely that the owners of the Arundel estate would have sought road improvement at this time. Earlier in the eighteenth century the ninth Duke of Norfolk had prevented or weakened competition by preventing the transit of non-Arundel estate coal through the Park and other property he owned and there was a dispute with Mr Spencer of an Attercliffe Colliery on that issue in 1762.<sup>52</sup> The benefits of the road were shared between the two coal owning patrons and a Trust was a less expensive method of maintaining the road in the Park than the private responsibility devolved upon the Arundel estate previously.

West of Sheffield the Dukes of Norfolk and Devonshire made substantial contributions to the east-west communication much used by goods traffic. Norfolk subscribed to the Sheffield-Baslow and the Sparrowpit Road of 1756.<sup>53</sup> The Sparrowpit Trust borrowed large sums from Benjamin Roebuck and J M Saint, which amounted to £8000 in 1764.<sup>54</sup> The expense was greatly increased by the necessity of accepting responsibility for the Tideswell-Buxton route as well as the main trunk road to north-west England. Both sections of road had steep gradients and other problems, but the road via Tideswell to Buxton was particularly difficult.<sup>55</sup> The Dukes of Devonshire and Norfolk also expended very large sums on the Sheffield to Glossop road improved between

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| 52 | R E Leader                 | <u>Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century</u> (1905 ed) p 284.  |
| 53 | SCL Tibbits Mss TC 404.10. | 31 Geo II Act for improving the Sheffield Sparrowpit Gate Road and the road from Barberfield Cupola to Buxton.                   |
| 54 | SCL Tibbits TC 362         | B Roebuck et al to William Battie the Younger, one of the Treasurers of the Trustees of the Sheffield-Sparrowpit Turnpike, 1764. |
| 55 | SCL Tibbits TC 362         | Fairbanks conclusions re Tideswell-Buxton roads.   |

1815 and the 1840s. In 1820 Ellison suspended the work for a time because of the expense, and subsequently the road was plagued not only by its high costs, but by poor accounting. To Michael Ellison's acute embarrassment his brother Thomas, steward of the Glossop Norfolk estate, failed to keep the Trust's account accurately. Eventually in 1839 Michael had to instruct his Sheffield clerk, Marcus Smith, to unscramble the confusion.

"I am glad that you have made out the Glossop Road Accounts, so that they may be considered as something like correct. My brother has certainly been grossly negligent but I cannot acquit Frost Altogether from blame ..." 56

It was not the end of the affair. In 1849 the Dukes of Devonshire and Norfolk had to relieve the Trust of debts of £10700 in arrears of interest and borrowed capital.

More typical of eighteenth century peerage investment in turnpikes was the £4600 owed to the Second Marquis of Rockingham at his death. With interest of perhaps £250 per annum it was a substantial investment in five or six roads of service to his estates in South Yorkshire.<sup>57</sup> Alongside estate indebtedness of £300,000 inherited by the third Earl Fitzwilliam in 1782, or mean annual outgoings of £2500 on horseracing between 1801 and 1830 it appears modest.<sup>58</sup>

Turnpike Trusts relieved landowners of troublesome obligations. In 1778 the Don Navigation Company threatened to indict the inhabitants of Wath for not repairing a road near Wath Wood. The Wentworth steward Benjamin Hall mobilized all carriages and labour that could be mustered so

"that the road shall be made perfectly good,"

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56 SCL Fairbanks MSS CP 50.48 M Ellison - Marcus Smith, 1 January 1839.

57 SCL WWM A1215 Account Debts of Charles 2nd Marquis of Rockingham, 1782.

58 SCL WWM A122 Receipts and disbursements 1801-30.

to prevent indictment, perhaps because estate traffic caused most of the damage.<sup>59</sup> The rerouting of turnpikes to fit estate needs might be re-considered when it is recognized that the landowner usually paid considerable sums to ensure improvement, and that estate labour and materials were often absorbed in the process. This seems to have been the case with the turnpiking of the Rotherham to Tankersley road, which passed through the Wentworth Woodhouse Estate. Estate commitment was not limited to the subscriptions. In 1765 Richard Fenton complained

"The taking away the hill and the turnpike work have been expensive."<sup>60</sup> Costs included the attendance of the agent or steward at frequent Trust meetings, and a substantial contribution to the superintendence and building of the road. The Surveyor, Saintforth Wroe of Tankersley, farmed a Wentworth property and was surveyor of the Sheffield Wakefield Road, in part until 1766, and throughout in the next decade. Even in 1759 he had been regarded as an acknowledged expert, quoting a estimated price for the whole Sheffield-Wakefield route. Later he advised elsewhere, including among clients the Chesterfield, Brimington and High Moors Trust in October 1777. Employed by them he was paid £678.16s.8d for work in November 1779.<sup>61</sup>

He supervised the work on the Rotherham-Tankersley road for at least six years, from 1767-73. Stone and other materials were supplied by the estate for boundary walls and road surfacing. Expenditure on labour amounted to £110-150 per annum throughout that period. While the improvement went ahead the Marquis of Rockingham and his steward did their best to persuade

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59 SCL WWM Stw 6(i)

C Bowns - B Hall, 21 February 1778.

60 SCL WWM R171

R Fenton - 2nd Marquis of Rockingham, 15 November 1765.

61 SCL WWM A1502; A1286

W Albert The Turnpike Road System in England (1972), p163. D J Smith "The Chesterfield, Brimington and High Moors Turnpike 1776-1803." THAS Vol 8 No 3 (1977) p205.

a sceptical tenantry of its benefits.<sup>62</sup>

Few landowners subscribed to more than five trusts in this area. Norfolk invested in the Sheffield-Wakefield, Gander Lane, Sheffield-Penistone, Attercliffe to Worksop, Sparrowpit and Glossop Trusts before 1820, and his total investment probably compared with the £4600 lent by the second Marquis of Rockingham in 1782. The Earls of Strafford and Lady Bute of Wortley after 1761, invested in fewer local roads, and probably invested less.<sup>63</sup> As with earlier turnpike trusts, the Rotherham-Wakefield was sometimes slow to pay interest. In 1798 £1200 was paid in interest to the third Earl Fitzwilliam, most of which was from Turnpike Trusts, but it included 13 years arrear from the Rotherham and Wentworth Trust, so that average annual interest received probably remained about the £250 of 1782, on an investment of just under £5000.<sup>64</sup> Subsequently Fitzwilliam and his successor supported an extension of the Greenhill Trust beneficial to his Ecclesall property and in 1809 an extension of the Rotherham to Swinton Road which was also supported by Messrs Walker, Bingley and Kent.

Later difficulties which turnpike trusts had in meeting interest payments ought not to obscure an early and important role. Complementary as they were to the system of water transport they were in some cases viable for many years once initial improvements had been made, though there was sometimes under-estimation of the continuing costs of maintenance. In the 1760s financiers like Elizabeth Parkin, William Osborne and Benjamin Roebuck, businessmen like John Spencer or Walter Spencer Stanhope, and the financially astute Edward Wortley Montagu, would not have lent to trusts unless they had

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62 SCL WWM

Stw III (ii) Earl F - B Hall, 5 September 1773.

63 SCL WWM A1502; A1286

64 SCL WWM A288

1798.



considered them respectable investments.<sup>65</sup> The Sheffield-Wakefield Trust and the Sparrowpit Trust satisfy W Albert's criterion of efficiency, spending more than 55% of income on road improvement between 1760 and the late 1770s.<sup>66</sup> Nor would investment have continued unless returns were sufficient, while external benefits were probably greater still in this generally land locked district, as was more broadly suggested by William Albert.<sup>67</sup>

Investment continued between 1820 and 1845. Barnby Moor and Rotherham Turnpike Trust had expended £3460 in October 1826 and collected revenue of £3300 with balances due of £160 and overall subscriptions promised of £6450. In 1826 the Worksop-Attercliffe Trust planned improvements in the crossing of Lindrick Dale which would cost over £400.<sup>68</sup> The turnpike improvement of the Owlter Bar to Eckington road, with a branch to Staveley was approved by Parliament in May-June 1840. For the Greenhill-Eckington section of six miles the costs were estimated as follows.

Table 4.2 - Estimates re Cost of the Greenhill - Eckington Road, 1840

	£
Road Making	2207
Purchase of Land	175
Toll Houses and Gates	200
Costs of Act	518
Total	<u>£3100</u>

Initially support followed a similar pattern to that in the earlier period, with £500 promised by the Duke of Devonshire and substantial amounts from

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|----|--------------------------------------|---|
| 65 | B Holderness                         | "Elizabeth Parkin and her investments 1733-66. THAS Vol 10 (1971), p84. £400 in the Sparrowpit Trust in 1760.         |
|    | R Simpson                            | "Walter Spencer Stanhope, Landowner, Businessman and MP". (Unpublished MA thesis. University of Nottingham 1959) p96. |
|    | R Leader                             | Op cit p89.   |
| 66 | SCL WWM A1292                        | Rotherham-Wentworth Trust Toll Bar Book.  |
| 67 | W Albert                             | <u>The Turnpike Road System in England</u> (1972) p196.   |
| 68 | SCL Fairbank Mss CP20<br>Pearson MSS | 10; 11; 12. Estimates. Rotherham Public Library. Barnby Moor and Rotherham Turnpike Road, May-October 1826.           |

other landowners and Sheffield notables. Nor was there much opposition.<sup>69</sup>

It was calculated that receipts would be generated as follows

Table 4.3 - Estimated Receipts and Outgoings of the Greenhill-Eckington Road,

<u>1840</u>	£
Total Income (present traffic per annum)	607
Probable Increase	<u>52</u>
	<u>659</u>
Outgoings	
Interest at 5% on £3100	155
Management and incidentals	<u>125</u>
	<u>280</u>

It was estimated that £60 per mile would remain available each year to repair and improve the road, with management costs limited to four permanent staff, a clerk at £20 per annum, a surveyor at £40 and two toll keepers at eight shillings a week with free housing.<sup>70</sup> This set of calculations was not untypical of smaller late turnpike schemes, but though accepted by Parliament its eventual reception by landowners leads one to suspect that they had come to more jaundiced views than earlier. The fifth Earl Fitzwilliam had land at Eckington and was asked to subscribe. He replied

"I am a great friend to the improvement of roads, but I am no friend to the imposition of tolls, which I think never ought to be done except where active new lines are made, or such considerable works are made upon the new lines, as the communities liable for the maintenance of roads cannot be called upon either by law or fairness to undertake.

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69 SCL FB Mss CP20 (65) C and A Alderson, Maesnida, Caernarvon, dissent notice.

70 SCL FB Mss CP20 (23) "Minutes of Evidence given to the House of Lords Committee re Greenhill Moor and Eckington Road". May-June 1840.

Under this principle I should feel not indisposed to support the measure provided the tolls are so limited as to be applicable to the new works only, but not to relieve parties now liable by law to the maintenance of the roads. The practice of calling a road a turnpike, and clapping a toll upon the travellers back has been too common and ought not to be continued." 71

The Trustees pushed on with their improvement between 1840 and 1843, though it remains uncertain if Fitzwilliam subscribed. The largest subscriber, the Duke of Devonshire, at one point subscribed £300 instead of the promised £500, and the Trust encountered difficulty when its cheque to a contractor was not honoured by Parker Shore and Company when the Sheffield bank failed in 1843, leaving the Surveyor and the other Trustees in dispute about whom was then liable.<sup>72</sup>

By the early nineteenth century tolls appeared to become standardized on turnpiked roads, and obviously seemed too heavy to Fitzwilliam in relation to improvements undertaken. Fairbank calculated that by 1841 11% of Brightside Township's roads formerly maintained by parish rates were turnpiked, so that the Trusts involved should be eligible to receive that proportion of the £1320 levied in rates for road maintenance. Similar was the situation in Ecclesfield, Lower Division, with 3045 yards of parish maintained roads and 1845 yards of turnpiked, while in Chapeltown the Wortley and Wakefield Turnpike Trusts relieved the parish of over four miles of heavily used thoroughfare.<sup>73</sup> Labour and carriage of materials was expensive, the latter costing 9d per cubic yard per mile and greater rates for shorter journeys, so that there was a temptation to shift responsibility for maintenance and for liabilities resultant from neglect or change. Ever forth-

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71 SCL FB Mss CP20 (30) Earl Fitzwilliam (5) - J Fairbank, 4 January 1840.

72 SCL FB Mss CP20 (64) Josiah Fairbank - Albert Smith, 11 March 1843.

73 SCL FB Mss CP20 (9) Calculations, 27 May 1841.

right, Michael Ellison reacted to one such ploy in March 1842

The .."Surveyors of the Highways are either great asses themselves, or they imagine that I am one of that tribe ... If the alterations they are making are of no public benefit, they have no right to make them, and if they are so, they have no right to call upon the Duke of Norfolk to hold them harmless from the consequences that may arise to the damage to the property of his Grace's lessees in the execution of the work." 74

Whether the existing parish road system was more effectively administered than the much criticized Trusts remains an open question, but the adoption of the Trust method, with a greater degree of co-ordination, commonality of personnel and expertise than has sometimes been allowed, suggests that it was not, and that the Trusts represented an improvement in an imperfect world, to the roads and their administration.<sup>75</sup>

## II The Opening of the Mineral Resources - Landowners and Navigation

### 1750-1850

River Navigation improvement in South Yorkshire before 1750 has been thoroughly investigated and the outline of the history of canal development is well known.<sup>76</sup> An account of estate development in the region requires some treatment of the impact of transport innovations upon the markets for agrarian produce and minerals, and as an influence upon rentals, land values and landlord investment behaviour. Rather than seeking to redescribe the building of the whole network of canals, this section seeks to outline

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- 74 SCL FB Mss CP50 (95) Michael Ellison - Marcus Smith, 20 March 1842.
- 75 SCL FB Mss CP20 (4) Wakefield Road Old Tolls; Sparrowpit Road New Tolls by Act of 1811; Tolls Doncaster and Saltersbrook Act 1810.
- 76 T S Willan                    The Early History of the Don Navigation (1965).  
G G Hopkinson                "The Development of Inland Navigation in South  
Yorkshire and North Derbyshire, 1697-1850." THAS  
Vol 7 (1957), pp229-251.
- D Hey                            Packmen, Carriers and Packhorse Roads. Trade and  
Communications in North Derbyshire and South Yorkshire.  
(1980).
- P. H Abell                      Transport and Industry in South Yorkshire (Barnsley  
1977).
- C Hadfield                     The Canals of Yorkshire and North East England, Vol 1  
(1973).
- C M Butterworth               The Sheffield Canal (Sheffield 1970).

their impact upon estate development and to examine the policies of landowners in relation to transport changes.

With the exception of the Dukes of Norfolk most larger landowners wished to widen the markets for agricultural produce and coal or ironstone in this period. Where mineral resources were exploited before 1750 they were usually limited by the strait-jacket of land sale. Turnpikes helped, but the transit of heavy bulky goods remained expensive in much of South Yorkshire into the early decades of the nineteenth century. In 1814 or thereabouts the three miles land carriage from Tinsley to Sheffield cost five shillings a ton, when water carriage from London to Tinsley cost only 9 shillings 8½ pence a cwt. Lime at Calver in Derbyshire was available at six shillings a ton, but cost 25 shillings a chaldron of 25 cwt, or £1 a ton in Sheffield 11 miles distant. Meanwhile Chesterfield, which was already served by canal navigation, obtained lime at 15 shillings from sources in the Anston and Killamarsh area.<sup>77</sup>

The turnpiking of the 1750-1820 period reduced but did not fully alleviate the difficulties in the exploitation of minerals. As this offered greater opportunities the pressure to improve water transport increased, and resulted in canal penetration into extensive areas previously denied access to cheap bulk transport.

The Marquis of Rockingham recognized the tyranny of short distances in 1764. It appeared worthwhile to him to set up tile making kilns at Wentworth rather than bringing "slates" across the upper Don Valley from Bolsterstone. He studied the costs incurred by Gilbert, steward to the Duke of Bridgewater in Lancashire, who produced bricks and lime on the

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77 SCL FB Mss CP4 (2) Calculations re canal carriage costs. 1811-14.

**Figure 4.3**  
**Tukes's Map**  
**of 1787**

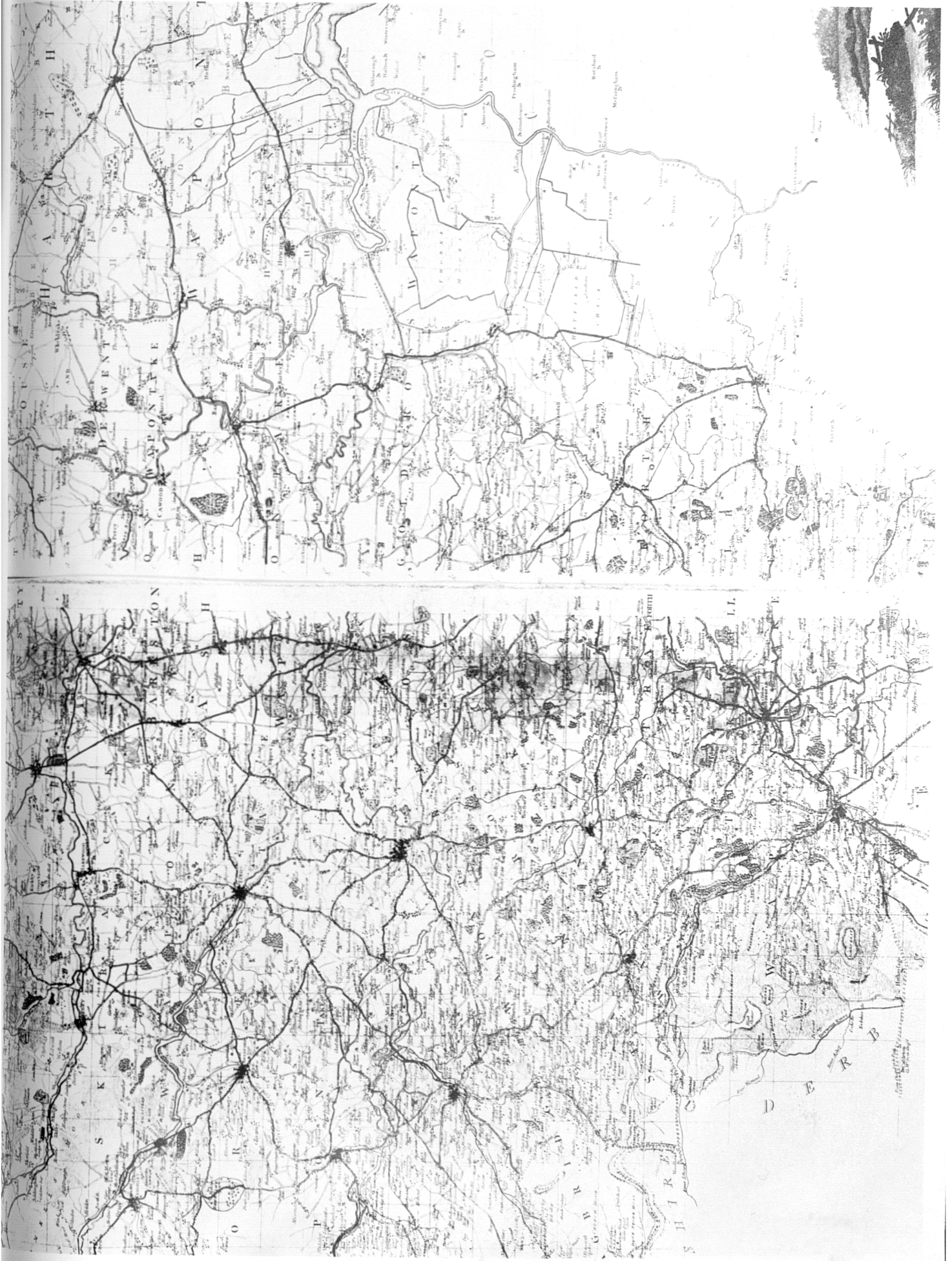




Figure 4.3  
Tuke's Map  
of 787

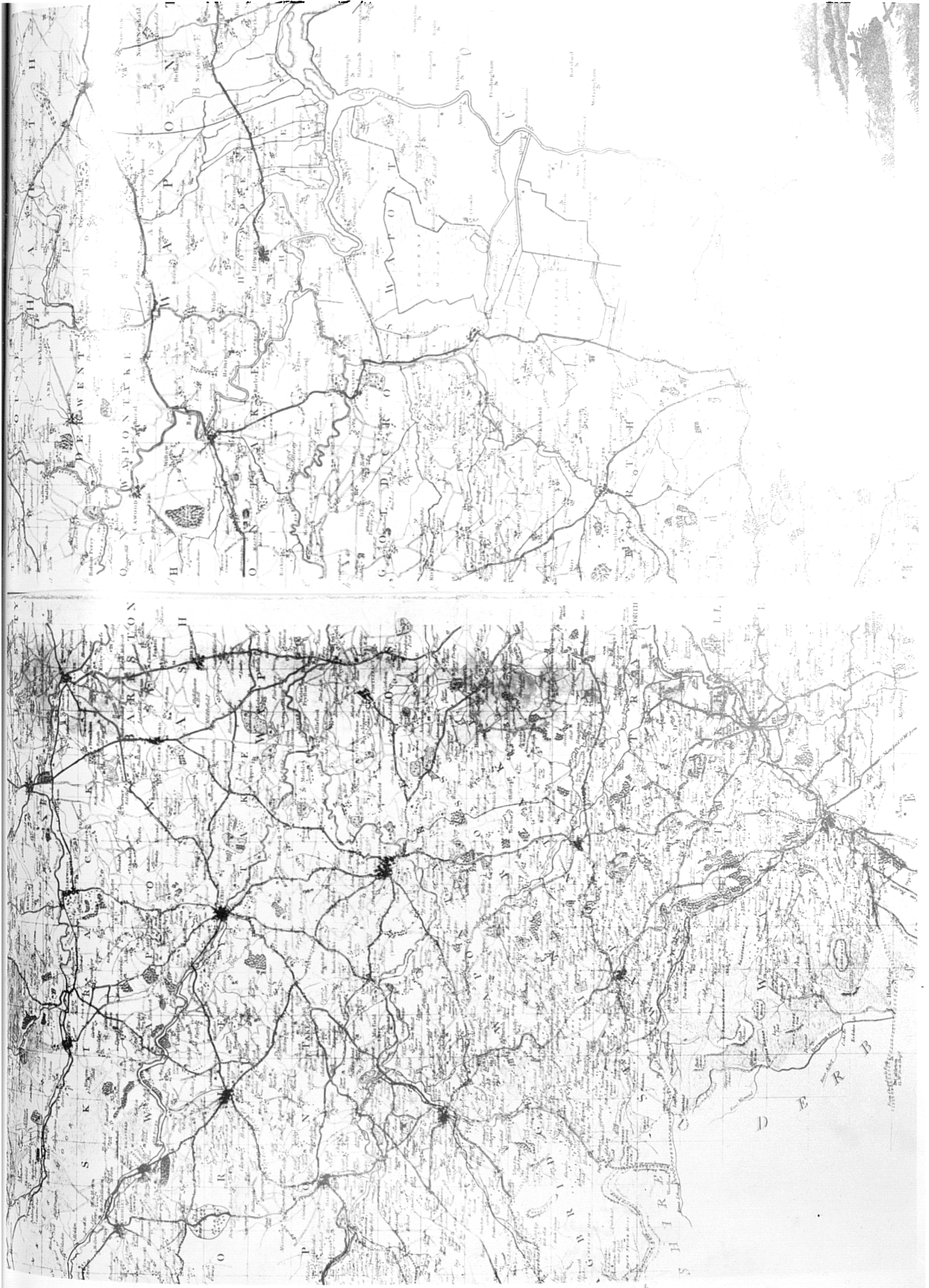


Table 4.4 - Returns upon Don Navigation Investment (Av. per annum)<sup>79</sup>

	£
1770-90	6000
1790-1810	8000
1810-20	12000
1820-30	16000
1830s	33% per annum

For a single £100 share a widow, Sarah Hoyle, received £60-84 twice annually between 1808 and 1818. 10 shares bought by Sheffield Town Trust in 1726 yielded £1500 per annum in 1781.<sup>80</sup>

Merchant, industrial and venture capital from outside the region were available in the latter decades of the eighteenth century for canal investment, but landowners were less prepared to be excluded from a powerful voice in the finance and control of canals than they had been with earlier river improvements on the Don, Aire and Calder. In the case of the Wentworth estate little tutelage in such matters was required. Since 1720 the Derwent Navigation linking Malton with the Ouse had been under their control. By this means a valuable Yorkshire property was connected to the sea, but also to the Don and Aire and Calder River Navigation systems, and to the Trent. Tolls were leased after 1750 to the Fentons, who paid £250 in a half yearly payment in 1752, £342 in 1766 and £684 per annum between 1767 and 1777.<sup>81</sup> The lease appears to have been profitable enough to excite envy amongst would-be alternative lessees. In 1774 Luck Annington tried to enlist Benjamin Hall (the Wentworth estate steward) to the cause of wresting the lease from the Fentons' control.

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79 G G Hopkinson

Thesis 996 University of Sheffield pp86-90.

80 SCL Tibbits MSS TC 1070

Sarah Hoyle. Receipts 1808-18; BL Add MSS 27538. 90. Proposals to apply Trust money to more beneficial uses.

81 SCL WWM 74a

"Mr Wentworth's Case". 1 January 1722/3; A488; A498.



"I beg you will be cautious how you mention to his Lordship the plan of the River Derwent he may perhaps not take it well, or think me too much interested in a plan of that nature, indeed I own I should be benefitted by it, so would the whole country, but none so much as his Lordship and should Mr Fenton drop (and I hear he is not likely to recover) and Mr Ayrton's lease soon expiring would give his Lordship a good opportunity to open his river. If what I trust in confidence to you should meet his Lordship's approbation be careful it is not mentioned to Messrs Fenton and Ayrton, for I should be timid with fright and called over the coals into the bargain for mentioning an affair so repugnant to their interests." 82

Whatever the exact proposal, the ploy failed, and the Fentons retained the lease until 1807. By 1793 they paid £1300 rent to the estate and repaired locks dams etc, and were calculated to profit by £2160 out of a year's receipts of £4160.<sup>83</sup> Fenton claimed that repairs cost £800 in 1794 and hoped to prevent a rent rise when the lease fell in, but the new Wentworth agent, a nephew of his predecessor Richard Fenton, and his pupil in estate agency, had learned his lesson well ... and insisted upon increased rent.

"He (Fenton) farther said that he did not expect any advance upon the Derwent Navigation during the Greasebrough Colliery lease at the same time he admitted he had no promise of that being the case."<sup>84</sup>

A higher rent appears to have been taken until 1807 when the Navigation was taken in hand by the estate and managed direct. Railway competition damaged its tolls after 1845 and it was sold to the North-eastern Railway Company for £40,000 in 1854.<sup>85</sup> Meanwhile Colonel Francis Fenton owed over £2000 to Earl Fitzwilliam in 1821, and was considering selling land to meet this debt.<sup>86</sup>

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- 82 SCL WWM Stw 6(ii) Luck Anningson to Benjamin Hall, 10 October 1774.  
 83 SCL WWM F746 Malton Navigation Calculations (1793); see also  
 J Goodchild The Coal Kings of Yorkshire (1978), ppl-85.  
 84 SCL WWM F106.6 Charles Bowns-Earl Fitzwilliam, 9 February 1794.  
 85 B Duckham "The Fitzwilliams and the Navigation of the Yorkshire  
 Derwent", H, II 1967 pp45-61.  
 SCL WWM G50 d D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 21 February 1855.  
 86 SCL WWM F121.20; 21; 23.

By 1770 the utility of canals as a means of opening up land-locked coal was appreciated, their potential profitability understood and demand for bulk goods increasing. In adjacent areas canal building was proceeding and opening up valuable new resources. This was especially the case near the Chesterfield canal which passed through the Kiveton estates of the Duke of Leeds en route from the Rother to the Trent.<sup>87</sup> In the Don Valley the opening of coal resources was paramount and the short canal built to the coal mines at Greasbrough was the first major experiment in canal building.<sup>88</sup> Surveys were made in 1769 and 1775 by Varley and Smeaton, and the canal was built between 1779 and 1784/5, with a new reservoir in Wentworth park at Morley Pond. In 1779 £2000 was paid for canal costs, including £30 to Smeaton for his estimate, and between 1780 and 1785 a further £1400 was expended according to an incomplete account.<sup>89</sup>

This canal, with a main cut only one and a half miles long and a lesser branch, was a modest beginning, superceding a "Newcastle" plated iron waggon road constructed by the Fentons in 1763 for the transport of coal from their leased collieries at Greasbrough. They leased the canal, and paid rent to Earl Fitzwilliam according to the amounts of coal moved along it, which amounted to £847 in 1803 and £407.7.11d on Ladyday 1822. The latter is probably the figure for the half year, and the receipt varied considerably, amounting to £1515 in 1801-2.<sup>90</sup>

It was the success of this short canal, and the recovery to profitability of others in the region that led to the spurt of canal promotions in 1792-3, of which the most important were the Keadby Canal linking Don

87 SYCA Leeds Mss 5/F4

1794 Receipt.

88 G G Hopkinson

"The Development of Inland Navigation in South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire. 1697-1850." THAS Vol 7 (1957) p241.

89 SCL WWM A293

1801-2 Account.

90 SCL WWM A335

1821-22 Account.

and Trent, the Barnsley Canal and the Dearne and Dove. Initial drive and a willingness to risk capital came from the directors and shareholders in existing River Navigations, and they contrived to raise most capital locally and to draw in large landowners who had become too aware of the potential benefits to wish to be excluded. A result of this collusion was, as Walter Spencer Stanhope noted for the Barnsley Canal meeting of October 23, 1792

"18000 rejected from distant adventurers."<sup>91</sup>

Undoubtedly Earl Fitzwilliam's participation in the Dearne and Dove Canal was intended to open up his own land-locked coal and to countervail the power of the Don Navigation Company. Though the Barnsley and Dearne and Dove schemes involved Aire and Calder and Don Navigation Directors, and though the two collaborated in acquiring the legislation for them to go ahead, landowners had reason to distrust the Companies. They were unwilling to risk a high proportion of the large capitals required, but wished to limit monopoly power. It was not possible to do this by ensuring that the estate agent served as a committee member of the appropriate Navigation Company, though this helped. Charles Bowns was a member of the Dun Company Committee in 1792-3.<sup>92</sup> It did not ensure that developing estate interests were adequately protected. The great profitability of the Navigation Companies allowed them a flexibility of action and policy denied to others as happened later with the railways. The point of weakness for all schemes was while the work was still incomplete, when incomes were small and expenditure large. If participation of landowners was secured at this stage it aided the Parliamentary progress of bills and helped overcome opposition, and secured to the land owners a proportion of future gains. Though land-

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91 R M Simpson

"Walter Spencer Stanhope; Landlord, business entrepreneur and MP." (Unpublished MA Thesis (University of Nottingham 1959) p84.

92 SCL Elmhurst Mss EM772

Committee of River Dun Co 1792-3.

"... the canal meeting ... was decided by a great majority against the extension of the branch from Cobcar Ing to Elsecar Colliery. The principal ground on which the objection was founded was that on account of the deficiency of money it would be improper to extend any of the branches of the canal beyond the limits of the Act until the whole of the undertaking was completed. The estimate of the expenses of making the proposed extension amounted to £2800 and a doubt was entertained as to the Additional dues for so short a distance being equal to the interest on the sum to be expended." 98

Probably this represented the nadir of the canal promoters expectations in the Barnsley area. Walter Spencer Stanhope MP, chairman of the Barnsley Canal Company and the Aire and Calder, and shareholder in other schemes, was forced to take drastic action to push the Barnsley canal project forward and just as they had agreed not to oppose the Dearne and Dove, and to charge matching dues in 1792, the Barnsley and Dearne and Dove Canals were both forced to go back to Parliament to seek approval of further capital provision and additional works. Meanwhile Fitzwilliam paid in 1797 a further £600 in four calls, and £300 for the eighteenth and nineteenth calls amounting to £1500, so that a formal subscription of 30 £100 shares had cost £3450 in (19 first) calls between 1792 and 1803 and his total investment approached £5000.<sup>99</sup>

By 1799 seven miles of canal had been constructed with a branch to Cobcar Ing despite the 1796 objections and an extension to Earl Fitzwilliam's colliery along which flowed 720 tons of coal per week. A 472 yard tunnel had been completed at Adwick at a cost of about £12000, and other work included 16 locks, 19 stone bridges, two swivel bridges, 18 culverts, two aqueducts, a canal basin and reservoir. The 1800 Bill justified the need to raise extra capital as follows

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98 SCL WWM F71 13.1 C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 24 November 1795.

99 SCL WWM A281; A282 Shares in Dearne and Dove Canal.

"The deficiency arises from the great advance in the price of Timber, Labour, Deep cutting, extra Banking and Puddling, which were first thought unnecessary in the making of the Tunnel and the mistaken idea of the value of land cut through, most of which extraordinary expenses could not be foreseen." 100

An additional problem was caused by high interest rates. Interest on the £60000 already expended amounted to upwards of £12000. They thus sought an additional £30000 either by new subscription or from the existing proprietors.

It was only as the link with the Barnsley Canal was completed and traffic in coal, pig iron, limestone, lime, timber and other merchandise increased that the canal became viable. Until 1805 annual dues collected did not exceed £1000 in any year. In 1805-6 (January to January) they were £2271 and from then on greatly expanded to £7222 in 1817.<sup>101</sup> A turning point was 1808, and in 1809 it was possible to begin to repay capital as well as interest on debts incurred to Walter Eyre and Stanley's Bank and to Earl Fitzwilliam, and to declare the first dividend of 5%. Fitzwilliam was owed £5000 on a mortgage, for which he received 5% in 1806-8, and this debt was reduced as the canal became more profitable in the years 1808-14.<sup>102</sup>

The Dearne and Dove Canal thus involved Earl Fitzwilliam in a large longterm financial commitment, but the benefits to his property and annual incomes were to be vast. The canal was completed to Elsecar by 1798, and coal output increased from his collieries in response to the growing market in the Don Valley, where shortages had helped create the demand for coal from the Barnsley area. There was also rapid development of the iron industry at Elsecar itself with the erection of Milton and Elsecar Ironworks there.

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- 100 SCL Elmhurst EM977 May 1800 "Case respecting Bill to enable them to finish and complete their canal.
- 101 SCL WWM H15 Dues and Traffic. Dearne and Dove Canal 1799-1806; H16 ibid 1817.
- 102 SCL Elmhurst EM772.19 Dearne and Dove Canal Accounts. 31 March 1808; 16a Accounts 1808; 22 Account 1809.

The Canal records illustrate to a degree the rise in importance of these products.

Table 4.5 - Coal and Iron Transported on the Dearne and Dove Canal 1798-1817<sup>103</sup>

	<u>coal (tons)</u>	<u>iron</u>	<u>limestone</u>	<u>lime</u>	<u>dues (£)</u>
1798	13325				
1799	33581	906			
1800	33581	906	481	445	1327
1801	24637	1484	3360	1115	1269
1802	14020	1749	1949	722	741
1803	17867	1965	3953	742	930
1804	16761	1644	2864	482	857
1805	32604	3118	5992	598	1887
1806	32889	3675	9399		2271
1815	83012	8847	22479		6814
1816	99258	4647	14003		7310
1817	104044	2015	13680		7222

In the first decade of operations the benefits to Earl Fitzwilliam's property were outstanding. In the last six months of 1806 Elsecar coal accounted for 10130 tons of the 11637 total carried on the canal, while the growth of the iron works consumed great quantities of coal and also contributed to the traffic figures above, with a spectacular peak in pig iron carriage in the final war years to 1815. Although the Earl at one point (1806-8) had over £10000 sunk in the venture, its benefits to him were correspondingly large, and his financial exposure was quickly reduced

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103 SCL WWM H14; H15; H16. Dues and Tonnage on Dearne and Dove Canal 1799-1816.

as the mortgaged £5000 was repaid after 1808. As the Elsecar branch was completed by 1797 and demand for coal grew there before that from Worsbrough and Cawthorne could be exploited, he also derived benefits in coal income and from the sale of land at the wartime high price.<sup>104</sup>

Though the involvement of Earl Fitzwilliam was large, he did not extend his holdings into a wide variety of canals. Some smaller business oriented landowners did, of whom Walter Spencer Stanhope of Cannon Hall, Gamaliel Milner, Richard Milnes, Francis Edmunds and the Fontayne-Wilsons were some.<sup>105</sup> Spencer Stanhope was outstanding, with shares in the Dearne and Dove, Don Navigation, Douglas Navigation and the Leeds Liverpool Canal as well as the Aire and Calder and Barnsley Canals of which he was Chairman.<sup>106</sup> His interests as an MP, where he was acknowledged as expert on canal business, enhanced his identification with Navigation affairs.<sup>107</sup> Landowners with large estates invested in those canals which were of value directly to them. Characteristic was the Duke of Leeds' involvement. First he was a subscriber to the Stockwith (Chesterfield Canal Company) of 1769, aiding it in obtaining approval despite opposition from the Don Navigation Company. It was supported by the Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire and a body of wealthy Chesterfield lead merchants. Like many canals it soon exceeded the original estimates by James Brindley and his pupil John Varley, and the Duke was among those lending money to the Company in 1778. Then,

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104 See Chapter 2, pp 95-96..

105 R Simpson "Walter Spencer Stanhope. Landowner, Businessman and MP" (Nottingham University MA (1959)) pp85-93. The Duke of Norfolk co-operated with him in steering the Barnsley Bill through the House of Lords in May 1793. (ibid p85).

106 G G Hopkinson "The Development of Inland Navigation in South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire, 1697-1850," THAS Vol 7 (1957) pp237-241.

107 SYCA Leeds Mss 5/F4 1794 Receipt.

despite completion, no dividends were being paid. He lent £1240 at 5% and his successor received £868 for 14 years interest in 1792. Thereafter he appears to have been in regular receipt of £55.16s per annum interest (at 4½%) and a rent of £26 per annum for a reservoir on his property. Again it may have been a good bargain from his point of view. It gave access to his land-locked coal mines at Wales and Todwick to both Chesterfield and into the area to the east. It crossed his estate and widened the market for lime and limestone available there, and because much of his land lay along the high ridge east of the Rother it caused little severance to the core of his property, as the canal took to the Norwood tunnel between Todwick and Harthill.<sup>108</sup> The Duke was also the Lord of the manor of Barnsley and a natural supporter of the Barnsley Canal, to which he subscribed.<sup>109</sup>

Once the Barnsley and Dearne and Dove network was complete the major limitation to the markets of coal proprietors close to the various branches of these canals was the efficiency and toll systems of the Aire and Calder and Don Navigations. In this matter the interests of Earl Fitzwilliam, the Duke of Leeds, the Earl of Strafford and his Vernon-Wentworth successors and gentry families like the Edmunds of Worsborough and Spencer Stanhope co-incided. They wished to see the efficiency of the waterways linking the Barnsley area and the sea improved. There was a general complaint that both made great profits and were unwilling to invest in improvement. Fitzwilliam prevented a Bill by which the Don Company sought to improve the Don by a "patchwork" approach in 1808-9. William Jessop had reported on the difficulties on the river in 1808. The

"Impediment to proper depth of water in Navigation is the want of complete control of mill waters at Aldwark and Thrybergh." 110,

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- 108 SYCA Leeds Mss 5/F 1/9 1807, SCL Jackson Mss 1255. Chesterfield Canal abstract of tonnage.
- 109 SYCA Leeds Mss 5/F 1/4 William Mauve's 13th Account 1794.
- 110 SCL WWM F68/31 William Jessop - Charles Bowns, 18 December 1808.



In February 1809 Fitzwilliam would not agree to piecemeal improvement and a lack of upstream improvement, which led the Don Company to drop their bill.<sup>111</sup> Such problems persisted so that in March 1826 William Newman complained when negotiating on behalf of leading coal owners.

"Altho' they are a very opulent body they never make any improvements ... without charging additional dues more than sufficient to remunerate them." <sup>112</sup>

This is certainly an arguable case, although by the time of Newman's complaint the Don Company were planning a variety of improvements including those near Aldwark Mill.<sup>113</sup> The Aire and Calder Navigation was often subjected to similar attack, but while it paid huge dividends, it carried out vast improvements between 1820 and 1850, including new cuts to avoid shallow areas and extensive harbour and dock facilities at Goole.<sup>114</sup>

The last vital navigation link in the water transport system of South Yorkshire was the building of the Tinsley to Sheffield Canal between 1814 and 1819. Plans to this end had been defeated in 1782 and 1792, and were allowed to go ahead only when the Duke of Norfolk gave his assent and subscription of £2000 in 1813. Earl Fitzwilliam favoured the route north of the Don which eventually was not taken. He subscribed £1000 nevertheless. It was a recognition that for his estate the possibility of coal sale in Sheffield was a valuable gain, even when the route was long and the engineering more complex than the preferred northern alternative. Like the major promoters of the canal he accepted the paramountcy of the Norfolk interest

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111 SCL WWM F68/37  
F68/39

C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 19 February 1809;  
J Watson - Earl Fitzwilliam, 2 March 1809.

112 SCL WWM G49

W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 22 February 1826.

113 SCL Fairbanks Mss CP19.15 Proposed cut specification, 16 March 1829

114 SCL Fairbanks Mss CP19.9 Recital of Act of Parliament, Aire and Calder Navigation, Knottingley - Goole Canal, 1828 Act.

in Sheffield. Hugh Parker, Chairman of the Promoters, expressed this sentiment in his address of July 1814.

"The predilection manifested by his Grace the Duke of Norfolk for the southern side (of the Don) if even it were uncombined with our sentiments, would so obviously demand from the town a respectful attention, that we think it quite unnecessary to expiate upon the weight which is due to it." 115

The canal was built at a cost of £104719, with most of the capital coming from mercantile interests rather than the landowners who had long contested its desirability.

It was floated as part of a new generation of ambitious schemes intended to link with the Chesterfield Canal near Eckington and a canal projected via Totley to Padley and on to Chinley in Derbyshire. The latter would have greatly improved water transport across the Pennines, as Parker prophesied in 1814.

"We naturally ask what local advantages those towns possess over Sheffield. Inland Navigation, we believe to be the chief advantage and if we look nearer home, we shall find a most striking example of the immense improvement that a canal diffuses throughout a country, by contrasting the present flourishing state of Barnsley and its neighbourhood with what it was before it had a Navigation." 116

The ambitious links were not to be. Though surveys were made the Padley Link was never begun.<sup>117</sup> In August 1832 the shorter and less expensive junction with the Chesterfield Canal was revived. It was recalled that Outram had reported on the possibilities for that link in 1793, and that it had been a major intention of the projectors of the Sheffield Canal that

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115 SCL Fairbank Mss CP4.47 Hugh Parker's Address, 15 July 1814.

116 SCL Fairbank Mss CP4.47 Hugh Parker's Address, 15 July 1814.

117 SCL Fairbank Mss CP4.23 Report of W and J Fairbank on proposed Canal from proposed High Peak Junction at Padley Mill to unite with the River Dun Navigation at Tinsley, 11 August 1813. Estimated £250000.

a link should be facilitated by keeping to the south side of the Don in 1813-19. It was supposed that the expense would be £46204 for a seven or eight mile canal

"... so that Sheffield having then two sources of supply in competition with each other could not fail of possessing in eminent degree, those advantages so essential to the prosperity of its manufactures, which arise from the cheapness of fuel." 118

Though it was argued that it needed only one or two locks, no basins and warehouses, and that it passed through an area giving access to 20 million tons of coal, as well as providing other advantages, it was never built.

Most later canal schemes were not favoured as they offered dubious gains and threatened damage to entrenched interests. Neither William Newman nor the Dearne and Dove Company favoured a proposed Barnsley and Went scheme in 1819 and their opposition was joined by the Don and Aire and Calder proprietors. Newman thought it beneficial to Lord Hawke but

"The most effectual opposition must I apprehend come from the Landowners Smyth of Heath, Winn of Nostell and Sir Francis Wood." 119

"Penistone, Hoylandswaine, Oxspring, Midhope, Thurlston, Thurgoland etc and other Townships bordering on the moors (were) praying that the application may be made to Parliament as soon as possible as the proposed railroad would most essentially benefit the agricultural interest of that very extensive and (for the most part) newly inclosed district by the introduction of lime at a far easier rate than they can now possibly obtain it." 120

This solution to the problems of a hilly area was not yet to be. Just as earlier monopolists of coal supply had feared intrusion, the Dearne and Dove Company, Edmunds of Worsborough and Newman, Agent to Earl Fitzwilliam, opposed the venture. The canal feared that it might be bypassed, the others

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118 SCL Fairbank Mss CP4.(5) Junction proposed. Sheffield with Chesterfield Canal, August 1832.

119 SCL WWM F107/105 W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 24 December 1819.

120 SCL WWM F107/118 W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 6 January 1821.

that they might lose some of the market for coal both in the producing area and elsewhere. After several years of debate the railroad scheme foundered when faced with opposition from the Duke of Norfolk despite support from the River Don Company.<sup>121</sup>

It may be a mistake to discount the influence of canals after 1850. Messrs Vessey and Sons surveyed the Adwick estate of Earl Manvers in 1860 and noted

"The new canal that intersects part of this property will be of material service to the farmers by affording them the means of sending their produce to the adjoining markets at a considerable cheaper rate than by land carriage and by giving them an opportunity of procuring lime and all sorts of manure for their land and materials to mend their roads."

The surveyors went on to note that some farms suffered from their distance from towns or transport at this late date, although Adwick was seven miles equidistant from Rotherham and Doncaster.<sup>122</sup>

Elsewhere it was realized that the obvious advantages of water navigation might be offset by costs. In the low lying parishes east and north of Doncaster there were always fears that changes in navigable rivers and locking etc might increase the potential flood risks.<sup>123</sup> In 1818 when the Aire and Calder Navigation began its plans for a new cut from Waddlesley on the Aire to join the Dutch river near Newbridge, Lord Downe resisted

"Every benefit arising from water carriage we possess already from our contiguity to the river, so that in that respect it would be no advantage whatsoever. And certainly there can be none in the intersection that would take place of the whole of my property through Gowdale, Snaith and Cowick and the destruction of some of the very best grazing land. Added to which it would be the means of bringing watermen and all that description of people to my door and my neighbourhood, which is now quiet and peacable would in a course of a few years become similar to Knottingley."<sup>124</sup>

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- 121 G Hopkinson *op. cit.* (unpublished PhD) University of Sheffield (1958) p86.
- 122 NUL Manvers Mss Mas 8 1862 Messrs Vessey's Report, Adwick.
- 123 SCL Downe Mss SCR 66 J W Warwick - Dawes Danvers Esq, 21 March 1836; 18 May 1836.
- 124 SCL Downe Mss SCR 66 Lord Downe - Chairman of Aire and Calder Navigation Company (copy) 20 September 1818. plus attached notes. This appears correct and similar to the values per annum of Don Company Shares. SCL Baxter Mss 61050 J Johnson - T Broadhead 4 August 1807; N Standish - T Broadhead, 3 September 1807; 16 January 1808.

There emerged further resentments against the wealth generated by the Aire and Calder. Lord Downe claimed that the Navigation Company tried to avoid all taxation by classification of its assets as personal rather than real property, and that it sought exclusion from parish rates and poor assessments, while its shares, originally valued at £100 now paid an annual income of £175.<sup>125</sup> An opinion of June 1834 claimed that land and buildings which had gained in value because of use by a canal company, must be rated as if they had not been so used under the provisions of the canal act.

Once transport requirements were satisfied, landowners were likely to resist further change unless private benefits ensued from sales of land, or access to coal previously under-exploited. Landowners spoke often of public interest, and thought corporate bodies less responsible in its defence than themselves. Yet they fought stonewall defences against the breach of local monopoly. The resistance of successive Dukes of Norfolk to competition in the Sheffield coal market is a classic case of such defence although they feared for the interests of lessees of water rights. Elsewhere it suited the Marquis of Rockingham, his successors and neighbours to open up the water transport of the Barnsley coal field, but they jibbed when new transport innovation threatened to widen supply of coal in the 1820s. By the 1820s they had supported the short canals which fitted their interests and were deriving handsome benefits in coal revenues, increased land values and a share in dividends. Little that they did contradicts the views of J R Ward for though they invested large sums and were less limited by overheavy mortgages than Ward thought, most of the earliest initiative and capital came from elsewhere.

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125 SCL Fairbank Mss CP4 71 Copy Opinion V V Follett. Inner Temple, 7 June 1834.

"... in this field of endeavour the landed interest received more benefit from the town dwellers than they from it." 126

If they had initiated few of the earliest schemes except when prompted by their commercial neighbours, they had invested, given parliamentary and local support and helped to maintain long-run enthusiasm for transport ventures when initial enthusiasm waned in the face of construction set-backs, escalating costs and high interest rate periods. If the total size of their investments remained a modest percentage of the whole in canal schemes and their involvement with turnpikes was varied in intensity, on balance road or water transport constructions fitted their notions of improvement and increased rentals, and was more encouraged than otherwise albeit in a piecemeal and ultimately self-interested way.

### III Postscript on Railways

Conflicts of landowner interest re-emerged with proposals to build a railway from Sheffield to Rotherham in 1835-6. At first defeated in the House of Lords' Committee because of opposition from the Duke of Norfolk, the Sheffield Coal Company and the Sheffield Canal Company, the decision was quickly reversed in 1836. The railway was built and opened in October 1838. Like the canal it threatened to open up the Sheffield market to outside supplies. Unlike the earlier project such supplies were forthcoming at reasonable prices after 1838. The high costs of transport on the canal, the result of an unfavourable route and monopoly position, had maintained price differentials in the Sheffield market until that time to the disadvantage of outside producers.<sup>127</sup>

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126 J R Ward The Finance of Canal Building in Eighteenth Century England (1974) pp158-9.

127 Minutes of Evidence before the Lord's Committee on the Sheffield and Rotherham Railway Bill (1835) pp80-90. See also W W Hart "A brief survey of the events leading up to the opening of the Sheffield and Rotherham Railway, 31 October 1838," THAS Vol 9 1961-4, W Ibbotson "A letter on the rejection of the Sheffield and Rotherham Railway Bill by the House of Lords." Local Pamphlets, Vol III, SCL (Sheffield 1835).

In truth those in favour had an overwhelming case, which made the project popular in Sheffield. They also had the backing of Earl Fitzwilliam, whose steward Benjamin Biram gave evidence to the House of Lords Committee in favour of the bill. Neither Michael Ellison the Sheffield agent nor Blount the Duke's auditor agreed with the opposition to this scheme by the Duke of Norfolk.<sup>128</sup> Thereafter Fitzwilliam became active in a number of Railway schemes and was a prominent member of the House of Lords Committee on Railways in the 1840s. The Earl of Wharncliffe chaired the Board of the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway, and Ellison was a leading shareholder and director and Chairman of the same company. In general the benefits to landowners from railway development greatly exceeded their costs and inconveniences. They participated in investment and direct dividends and profits, extended the markets for produce and especially coal, eased communications within their estates, profited from sale of land to the Railway Companies and saw rents and the capital value of their property rise as transportation improved. The loss of local monopolies was more than adequately compensated, for what was lost in high rents from monopolized coal or water transport was regained in sale of land at good prices and increased value of remaining property.<sup>129</sup>

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128 SCL Arundel Mss S478 (XIV) Blount - M Ellison, 5 January 1838.

129 SCL Arundel Mss S189 (b) New Markets 1848-1858; S189 (b) Receipts for land sold to Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Co for the Victoria Station, 9 June 1851.

Rotherham Public Library  
Pearson MSS Valuation of Properties over which Sheffield Railway Line is intended to pass (Norfolk £5404) and

A Offer "Ricardo's Paradox on the Movement of Rents in England c1870-1910", ECHR Vol XXXIII, No 2, May 1980 pp236-252.

## CHAPTER 5

### Land, Mining and Industry 1700-1850

The pattern of industry was complex in South Yorkshire in 1700. Workshop manufacture of a wide variety of edge tools was well established in Sheffield parish, water power was heavily utilized and raw material supply and markets were already internationalized. Out-villages developed their own specialisms and workshop manufacture was complemented by iron and coal production dominated by interlocking business partnerships.<sup>1</sup> Much is known of these activities, though there is probably scope for investigation of the economics of production and commercial relations between producer and merchant. South Yorkshire may repay an application of the concept of "proto-industrialization", despite recent attacks upon the idea.<sup>2</sup>

The aim here is more modest. Large landed estates co-existed with an industrializing region. What impact did this structure of property ownership have and how was industrial and commercial development perceived by estate owners and administrators? Some aspects of the problem have been touched upon before, and this study is not innocent of such forebears, but it tends towards the comparative, utilizing evidence from several estates, and tries to put industrial concerns within the estate perspective.<sup>3</sup>

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- 1 D Hey                    The Rural Metalworkers of the Sheffield Region (1972) p6.  
A Raistrick &        "The South Yorkshire Ironmasters, 1690-1750," ECHR Vol IX  
E Allen                    (1939) pp168-85;  
G G Hopkinson        "The Charcoal Iron Industry in the Sheffield Region 1500-  
                                 1775", THAS Vol 8 (1961), pp122-151.
- 2 D C Coleman        "Proto-Industrialization: A concept too many." ECHR  
                                 Vol XXXVI No 3 (1983) pp435-448.
- 3                            See .Introduction, piv, fn 4 and Bibliography.



## 1 Coal Leases in South Yorkshire 1700-1750

Before and after 1750 peage landowners generally avoided direct investment in industrial undertakings with the exception of mining. In that activity they generally preferred to transfer the problems of extraction and investment to a lessee, but could not always obtain one.

Coal had been mined on the Earl of Shrewsbury's land in Sheffield Park in the 16th century and in 1619 it was leased at £76 per annum rent, an amount increased to £200 on the eve of the Civil War.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere there were many small mines, and some of similar scale. Lionel Copley, a wealthy iron master, leased coal from the Hon. Henry Howard at Whiston in 1655, and in 1671 also leased Attercliffe Forge, Wadsley forge and furnace, a farm, demesne lands and another iron works at Rotherham for a rental of £100.6.8. He also leased the rectory and manor of Rotherham and Kimberworth for £130 per annum and coal pits in the area for £100.<sup>5</sup> Another coal lessee in 1670 was Sir John Bright who with Thomas Stacey leased Han(d)sworth colliery for £30 per annum in a lease which was probably a renewal of an earlier arrangement with the Countess of Arundel. Many other pits were let for small sums, like that at Gleadless Moor let to William Fenton for £10 per annum in 1670 or the Chappell Wood mine let for 10 shillings to Gervas Horstaff in the same year.<sup>6</sup>

Most coal pits were small in scale but in the 17th century there were already some exceptions. Proximity to the market aided the development of the Norfolk coal as Sheffield demand increased. In 1692 Richard Richmond, a

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4 L Stone

"An Elizabethan Coal Mine". EcHR 2 Series III  
(1950-1) pp97-102.

5 SCL Arundel Mss S129

6 ibid

WWM (Bright MSS) 52/6 Handsworth Pit lease to  
Sir John Bright from Dowager Countess of Arundel  
£30 per annum 1651.

London merchant, leased the Great Laws and Nunneries coal mines on the Duke of Norfolk's estates, and the same mines were then re-leased to Richard Bagshaw of Castleton until 1700. Large pits at Kimberworth were let at £100 per annum and at Whiston for £55 on property belonging to the Earl of Effingham. Again the lessee was Lionel Copley, an iron master and supporter of schemes for improved transport in the area.<sup>7</sup> At Carlton Wortley's pit was let for £40 per annum between 1680 and 1684.<sup>8</sup> Most productive units were small, and coal lessees paid an annual rent and were subjected to covenants which sought to prevent excessive exploitation. Between 1700 and 1750 a common pattern was to stipulate the rent per hewer, or to limit the total number of hewers to be employed at a given rent. If averages mean anything, a typical pit may have cleared £20-40 profit in the late 17th century.

Meanwhile commercial organisation was more complex than extraction. Lessees were usually wealthy men, gentry, iron masters, merchants, attorneys or land stewards who frequently owned some land themselves. For example Joseph Banks (1665-1727) was a prominent Sheffield attorney living in "The new Great House, in Prior Row, near the Church Gates", until he sold the property to Thomas Heaton, an iron merchant, in 1710.<sup>9</sup> He was a wealthy local attorney, acting for the Dukes of Norfolk, Leeds and Newcastle and trusted in money matters by Robert Molesworth soon after his purchase of Edlington estate. He may have been among the future Viscount's creditors.<sup>10</sup> In any event his wealth was well known and he eventually possessed land in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire including Revesby Abbey worth £3,000 a year in 1727.<sup>11</sup>

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- 7 G G Hopkinson "The development of the South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire coalfield 1500-1775." in J Benson & R G Neville (eds) Studies in the Yorkshire Coal Industry (1976)pp1-30.
- 8 SCL WHM A136 Rentals 1680-4.
- 9 R E Leader Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century (1905 ed) piii.
- 10 HMC 15th Report MSS in Various Collections Vol 8 55 Robert Molesworth to Hon Mrs Molesworth, 25 March 1690.
- 11 G Holmes Augustan England, Professions, State and Society 1680-1730 (1982) pp160, 162.

Local notables leasing coal included the wealthy lead merchants the Clays and the Bagshaws, successful families like the Brights, Staniforths and Walkers, some of whom had acted as estate stewards like Thomas Creswick, who leased a coal pit in 1671, and ironmasters like Copley, Fell, Spencer or Simpson.<sup>12</sup> As a man with capital Joseph Banks was drawn into partnership with Henry Bromehead, yeoman, of Fulwood, and another attorney Thomas Chapell, to exploit collieries in Crookes for a rent of £40 per annum with a further royalty to the Norfolk estate of one fifth of the profits. Banks evidently had little interest in the mining of coal, but entered the partnership as a business speculation seeking a return upon his capital. In April 1710 he was partner in the lease of the Han(d)sworth colliery with the ironmaster John Fell and Stacey, for 19 years.<sup>13</sup>

The geographical and market situations of the Wentworth Woodhouse, Kiveton and Sheffield Arundel coal were different. Norfolk coal was close to its market and of increasing value to estate revenues between 1700 and 1750. Park coal was leased at £400 per annum rent in 1725, with an agreement that a fifth of the value of all sales over £2,000 per annum should be paid to the landowner. Between 12 November 1728 and 24 June 1730 the Park colliery paid £859.2.8 in profits in excess of £2,000. Similar arrangements were made at smaller collieries. Attercliffe excess profits totalled £43.12.6. between August 1733 and 1734.<sup>14</sup> But the Park mines coal remained the most valuable single lease, yielding £1,377 in excess profits in the last six years before the lease expired in 1758. Then coal receipts including annual rents and excess profits exceeded £1,000 per annum and were about 10% of gross receipt for the Arundel Sheffield estates.

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12 SCL Arundel Mss S158 Rentals.

13 SCL Arundel Mss S376 Contract Book. 10 April 1710.

14 SCL Arundel Mss S184 1729, 1733-4.

Profit was not secured without problems. The eighth Duke of Norfolk opposed the improvements in the River Don, and tried to protect the lessees of Park coal against more distant competition even from pits owned by himself but leased. A riot in 1728 was incited by a price increase for coal, and Handsworth and Gleadless producers were prevented from taking the short route to Sheffield via the Park so that their selling costs were increased by being forced to travel via Heeley. A long dispute arose later, culminating in a legal case in 1762. when the Duke tried to prevent tenants in Spencer's Attercliffe Colliery from crossing the common over which he had jurisdiction as Lord of the Manor.<sup>15</sup>

Wentworth and Kiveton estate production was on a smaller scale except on land close to the Don. William Spencer of Bramley Grange rented Kimberworth colliery from the Earl of Malton in 1723 for £245 per annum and J Hurst rented a colliery at Swinton for £200 and another at Greasbrough for £63 in the same year. The latter was leased to the catholic entrepreneur John Bowden in 1742 for £240 per annum. These were some of the Wentworth estates's largest collieries before 1750. Others were land locked and required nearby markets. This probably applied to Lawwood, leased to Spencer in 1737, and even more to pits let to William Chadderton who

"pays 10 shillings for a coal pit at Tinsley, Orgreave Moor pays £10 for one getter £15 for two and £7 for every getter after that."<sup>16</sup>

Throughout South Yorkshire small collieries abounded serving local markets. In Ecclesall on Bright property two collieries were leased in 1735, one on the waste and another in a close for £6 each per annum. By 1759 one of these produced 1,017 pit loads of coal after additional investment.<sup>17</sup>

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- |    |               |  |
|----|---------------|--|
| 15 | R E Leader    | <u>Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century</u> (1905 ed) p284. |
| 16 | SCL WWM A1267 | 1740.  |
| 17 | SCL WWM A1267 | Bright Mss 102; WWM A745. 1758.                            |

237 quarters of coal, all of which came from the Todwick Common and Wales collieries. They produced a total of 595 thousand quarters of coal valued together at £154.18s in that year, while a third colliery produced 907 thousand quarters of coal valued at £249.11.2. Total output then exceeded £400 value per annum, but costs were considerable. The partnership leased the coal getting to Fowler and Co, Allen and Co and Wilson and Co, and a further partnership was involved in sinking work (Hobson and Co). The estate paid its own banksman to overlook their activities, at the considerable salary of £78.4s in December of 1765.<sup>21</sup>

The Dukes of Leeds had coal interests elsewhere, including among their tenants the Fentons in Wakefield, who leased three collieries from the estate in 1808 at £272.10s rent plus royalties, and a variety of other properties for which they paid £195.13s per annum in that year.<sup>22</sup>

Evidently on this estate in the 18th century initial work was undertaken at the landlord's expense, but from 1720 to the Napoleonic Wars coal-getting was leased wherever possible, and subsequently coal land in Wakefield was sold to the Fentons.<sup>23</sup>

## II A Spurt in Development 1750-1785

In 1752 a new life tenant succeeded at Wentworth Woodhouse, inheriting estates of unusual potential at a time of extraordinary opportunities. In little more than a generation Charles, 2nd Marquis of Rockingham, saw his Yorkshire rents and other receipts double.<sup>24</sup> Manufacture and mining were

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21 SYCA: Leeds Mss 5 FI/I Mr Macdonald's 5th Account Collieries.

22 SYCA Leeds Mss 5 F-/D General Rental. Manor of Wakefield 1808.

23 J Goodchild The Coal Kings of Yorkshire (1978) pp46-47.

24 SCL WWM A1272; A273 Rentals.

already widespread on his estates, particularly in the mixed industrial-agrarian villages in the triangle of land between Sheffield, Barnsley and Rotherham. After 1750 local transport by land and water was improved and numerous business enterprises grew, while the villages and towns of the area expanded. With these changes, the fortunes of the Marquis seemed assured. Ecclesfield was but one parish which doubled its population between 1743 and 1801.<sup>25</sup>

The conditions justified taking economic risks. The need for fuel in particular required improved transport. With better roads, river navigation and canals, markets for bulky goods widened. Given the existing level of demand for coal after the Seven Years War (1756-63) one must agree with the widely held view that

"In order to grow beyond the stage of the small landsale colliery, a concern had to be either very close to the large towns or groups of large ironworks, or it had to wait for the development of canals and railways." <sup>26</sup>

In fact in the landlocked areas of South Yorkshire coal demand increased in pockets and was served by local pits with tiny markets by 1750. Population was growing in many villages as well as in the bigger towns, creating domestic demand, and manufacture also used fuel.<sup>27</sup> Larger centres, like Sheffield, created demand for different types of coal. In 1772 half of Sheffield's house coal was supposed to have come from Darnall colliery, and coal shortages caused problems in the cutlery trades in the 1770s and 1780s.<sup>28</sup> Similar specialization is likely to have taken place around Rotherham, while mines close to the Don enjoyed a wider market after its improvement to Tinsley in 1751.

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- |    |                  |   |
|----|------------------|---|
| 25 | D Hey            | <u>The Village of Ecclesfield</u> (1968) p48.                         |
| 26 | S Pollard        | <u>The Genesis of Modern Management</u> (1965) p65.                   |
| 27 | D Hey            | <u>The Rural Metalworkers of the Sheffield Region</u> (1972) pp27-36. |
| 28 | BL Add Mss 27538 | Papers relating to the Duke of Norfolk's Estate in Sheffield.         |

The general growth of opportunity influenced the landowners. Wentworth pits continued to be leased to tenants in the 1750s, with collieries at work at Elsecar, Westwood and Lawwood. Elsecar coal was taken "in hand" to provide coal for lime burning which was supplemented by shallow pits on Swinton Common and at Braithwell. Bingley, lessee at Lawwood, died in 1763, and the pit was taken in hand, the coal being used in the production of brick and pantiles and being sold.<sup>29</sup> The 2nd Marquis had visited the Duke of Bridgewater's mines at Worsley in the early 1750s, and made calculations about the likely profitability of a leased mine at Elsecar as follows for a period of 13 years.

Table 5.1 - Calculation of Profits for a Colliery for 13 years<sup>30</sup>

By rent for 11 years @ £35.14s.0d per annum	392	0	0
By land as valued from penalty	200	0	0
By shafts sinking at 3 in 2 years (which cost £6.0s.0d in 13 years)	35	0	0
Expense of tools	50	0	0
Expense of wood @ 1/6 day 300 per year	195	0	0
	<u>772</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>0</u>
TOTAL Expenses	772	14	0
By Total expense of Getters 13 years	1596	5	0
Sum Total	<u>2368</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>0</u>
By sale of coals	£4436	5	0
<u>Balance</u> - Expense	2368	19	0
Sale	4436	5	0
Clear Profit	<u>£2067</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>

29 SCL WWM R174 23 176; WWM F98 176.

30 SCL WWM R222 Miscellaneous Notes. Elsecar (not dated).

### III The Growth of Demand and Experiments in Direct Working of Coal

1780-1820

("The lease was 'the basis' of industrial activity ... the concession upon which nearly all industrial concerns of any size were founded" (AH John p164).)

The great expansion in coal output and in coal profits came on the South Yorkshire great estates in the war period (1793-1815). Money receipts expanded most rapidly in inflationary conditions, but outputs too were growing. The development of the coalfields under the Wentworth, Arundel and Leeds estates varied considerably in their detailed history during this period.<sup>42</sup>

On the Wentworth estates colliery receipts averaged rather less than £2,000 per annum between 1785 and 1794 on direct operation, while the Fentons expanded their output also. From direct working overall profits from coal to the estate owner were stagnant through the 1780s decade, although there were individual years of peaks (1786) and troughs (1789) in receipts. The 1790s mark an active period of planning, development, investment and increases in receipts on the Wentworth estates, for coal receipts quadrupled in money terms within less than a decade. The reasons for this expansion are not difficult to discover. Hopkinson noted that

"Earl Fitzwilliam built the first South Yorkshire canal in 1780 from the river Don at Park Gate to collieries on his estates at Greasbrough."<sup>43</sup>

This canal was leased to the Fentons as part of their extensive matrix of enterprises.<sup>44</sup>

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- 42 WWM A1341 - A1346 Wentworth Colliery Receipts 1785-1827 see Figure
- 43 G G Hopkinson (Thesis 1958) p274.
- 44 SCL WWM A293 Accounts of 1801. Account of Charles Bowns with Earl Fitzwilliam, Greasbrough canal - £1,515.4.2½.



A widening of opportunity and the resources and willingness to invest themselves allowed his lessees, the Walkers and the Fentons, to exploit their coal in that area more dramatically, with Fenton output reaching 50,000 tons in 1800 alone.<sup>45</sup> The Dearne and Dove canal was opened to the Fitzwilliam mines in 1798 and completed by 1804 by which time 26,000 tons of coal were shipped to the Don. This canal, with its branches to Milton and Elsecar ironworks, was vital to the industrial undertakings close to Wentworth Woodhouse, the mines at Elsecar and Lawwood being aided by escape from their dependence upon the roads to Kilnhurst to transport coal. The cut from the Dearne and Dove to Elsecar was planned by Earl Fitzwilliam when temporarily excluded from the planning of the main Dearne and Dove canal. It was finally completed to Elsecar in 1798 by the Dearne and Dove company.<sup>46</sup> In the subsequent six years colliery receipts from Elsecar and New Elsecar pits increased from approximately £3,000 (1799) to £7,900 (1805).<sup>47</sup> By then these two collieries accounted for more than two thirds of total colliery receipts from collieries directly run by the estate administration and for the larger part of the coal transported on the Dearne and Dove canal.<sup>48</sup>

A large quantity of the estate coal was being consumed by a rash of new enterprises upon the estate. Initially one must agree with A Birch that

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- 45 SCL WWM Wentworth Accounts A757(1). January 1783 Fentons. £1150 ½ year due. Michaelmas. Canal and coal dues 1782; also  
T S Ashton Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution (1963 ed) p46-48. Capital in 1796 reached £14,393.
- 46 SCL WWM H15 Account of Dearne and Dove Canal 1807.
- 47 SCL WWM A1341-A1346 Colliery Receipts (See Figure 5.1).
- 48 SCL WWM H15 Account of Dearne and Dove Canal 1807;  
H16 Account 1817.

"It is impossible to decide now how far the expansion of the iron industry was brought about by the initiative of landlords in offering land for exploitation and to what extent the landowners were persuaded by prospecting individuals or other groups with capital to invest, to lease their land for industrial purposes." 49

In 1796 a search for ironstone had been carried out in preparation for an agreement with the Walkers of Masbrough. Charles Bowns, the Earl's agent, conducted the negotiations. An agreement was complete by 1797 and in 1799 Milton ironworks appears on the rental. By 1802 rent for ironstone removed was being paid and by 1806 the Walker Ironworks at Milton and Holmes together yielded three thousand tons of iron.<sup>50</sup> Meanwhile at Elsecar, less than one mile away, Messrs Darwin took out a lease of an ironworks for 18 years in 1795.

"Messrs Darwin and Co have begun their blast and find the metal extraordinary good and to answer their fullest expectations. The Thorncliffe Company are testing a great deal of metal which they also find of good quality, but meet with many interruptions, by Throws, in getting the stone."

Soon there was hard bargaining from the Walkers, who sought the same prices as the Thorncliffe Company for coal in 1797. Newton Chambers were in difficulties because of

"the uncommonly distracted situation of the minerals which could not be foreseen."

They sought relief by being allowed coal from Westwood Colliery at the same price as that agreed, as they had been disadvantaged by an unexpected dip in the seams.

These works had been in operation for some time already, and unsuccessful attempts were made by the Earl to discover whether they were profitable.<sup>51</sup>

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- |    |                                     |   |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|
| 49 | A Birch                             | <u>The Economic History of the British Iron and Steel Industry 1784-1879</u> (1968) p196.   |
| 50 | SCL WWM F107<br>SCL WWM A1341-A1346 | C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam ( ) 1806;<br>1802.   |
| 51 | A Clayton<br>SCL WWM F71 13/12      | Unpublished typescript (SCL) <u>Milton and Elsecar Ironworks</u> p208/9;<br>C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 24 November 1795;<br>13 January 1797. |

There was doubt, but the new ironworks took large quantities of coal from the estate, to which was added profits from the sale of ironstone. The anticipated coal demand had already been catered for, to some degree - prospecting for new coal near Elsecar was afoot early in the 1790s. 5000 guineas was paid for Matthew Roberts' estate. A level was driven to the extent of the Earl's property adjoining Southwell and a colliery opened there and developed towards Cortworth in 1793. At Thorncliffe an agreement was made with Newton Chambers to erect

"one or more blast or smelting furnace or furnaces" and boring was going ahead in Wath Wood, reaching a depth of 90 yards.<sup>52</sup> In 1795 details of a new sinking at Elsecar are recorded.<sup>53</sup> Coal receipts began from the New Elsecar Pit by 1795, though they do not increase dramatically until 1798/9 (from £600 c to £2,000 c). New Elsecar was the largest coal mine operated by the Fitzwilliam family before the 1820s, when the larger New Parkgate was completed and eventually exceeded the New Elsecar mine in value of output.<sup>54</sup> For a time in the late 1790s Old Elsecar pit was out of action. There were problems of management as the scale of operations and the numbers of mines increased. Michael Hague had been in charge at Old Elsecar, but he and his workers left the pit. The mine was smaller in scale than either Lawwood or New Elsecar and was run on a sub-contract basis. The Earl and his agent sought anxiously for some alternative after the failure of labour relations where it was implied that Hague "took away" the other workers.

"it is a business of some importance to fix a proper plan for future management ..."

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- 52 SCL WWM F106 C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 21 November 1793;  
24 December 1793.
- 53 SCL WWM A1341-A1346 1785-1827 Gross Receipts from Collieries
- 54 SCL WWM A1341-A1346 " " " " " "

In 1801 property taxation records allow a glimpse of the profitability of coal and iron. Collieries at Lawwood, Elsecar, Greasbrough and Tankersley, and some small collieries in Ecclesall, together with ironstone produced profits of £5061.11.3, dues on Greasbrough coal adding £847.2.5. The tax on Lawwood and Fenton's Greasbrough collieries was based on average profits over a five year period. Profits from collieries were treated as articles of trade, rather than paying a duty of 9d in the £1 as tenants of farms did. Fitzwilliam paid as follows

£374.16	on	£7496.12.3	for mines in 1801
£470.14	on	£9414. 5.4	for tenant farms <sup>55</sup>

In the early 19th century the Elsecar old colliery was extended and it continued to work successfully for several decades, grossing £3,000-£4,000 per annum between 1800 and 1819, after which money receipts from the colliery declined sharply, an indication that output was declining.<sup>56</sup> This colliery employed about 25% of the labour force of the New Elsecar Colliery in 1808, when their gross receipts appear to have stood in a similar relationship ( £2,000 - £8,000 per annum).<sup>57</sup>

Subsequently the balance between the two collieries was re-dressed by Joshua Biram. He moved miners from New Elsecar to the old colliery and sank a new pit at Old Elsecar which was completed by early 1813.<sup>58</sup>

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- 55 SCL WWM A1341-A1346 Gross Wentworth Colliery Receipts 1785-1827: WWM F107 C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 6 & 12 December 1803.
- 56 SCL WWM A1341-A1346 Money receipts of Old Elsecar decline from over £5,000 in 1819 to average of about £2,000 in the later 1820s.
- 57 SCL WWM A1341-A1346 also AAClayton Hoyland p208 - gives details of employment ie New Elsecar 1808, 95 men and boys, 3 shafts. Old Elsecar 1808, 20 men and boys.
- 58 SCL WWM A122 1813.

There were increasing sales of coal outside the estates, and ironworks on them appear to have consumed about 100,000 tons of coal between 1809 and 1812. By 1815 the seven Fitzwilliam collieries produced 87,000 tons of coal per year, this increasing to 120,000 tons by 1823.<sup>59</sup>

Details of costs of sinking new pits are not easy to obtain though some estimates are necessary in order to analyse the relationship between colliery receipts, investment in collieries and aggregate rental receipts for the estates in this period. The very large New Park Gate Colliery (1820s) cost £15,000 to sink, but it was sunk by lessees. It alone produced 52,000 tons of coal in 1828. It appears likely that the total investment in the Fitzwilliam mines was about £30,000 in 1815.<sup>60</sup> Of this total a high proportion had been invested in the improvements at Old Elsecar and the large scale investment in New Elsecar. Additional were capital expenditures at the old mine at Lawwood. There is an individual entry of over one thousand pounds in the 1780s.<sup>61</sup> These investments were spread over a considerable period of time, with high levels of investment preceding the rise in receipts and output in the late 1790s, and further high levels of investment in the 1808-15 period.<sup>62</sup>

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59 SCL WWM A1341-A1346 See Wentworth Colliery Receipts 1785-1827. By Collieries Gross.

60 SCL WWM F100 Miscellaneous Papers about Collieries.

61 SCL WWM A1341 Payments made to Sundries. 1785 - outgoings - to Lawwood Colliery £1132.

Probably includes wage payments but substantial investment must have taken place here to maintain steady output thereafter.

62 Estimate based upon relationship between

- (a) Outputs of War Years
- (b) Cost of Sinking Individual pits (£100 av) in war
- (c) Costs of Engines (1795 - £1,000)
- (d) Rail etc

Comparison also with Arundel coal mines in Sheffield Park etc Capital Estimate of 1813 - SCL Arundel MSS - Capital of assets at the Arundel Mines was reckoned at £13,000 approx in 1813. The Duke of Norfolk was regarded as a great coal owner ie the Fitzwilliam estimate may be exaggerated through comparison of outputs. It is inflated by the price fall after 1813 - the £15,000 on New Park Gate's 50,000 ton production capacity may have 'bought' more capacity than a greater monetary investment in the war years.

Much of the expansion was financed from the profits of previous years, and figures for individual collieries seem to support this view. Between 1775 and 1781 the figures for Lawwood and Elsecar are as follows:

Table 5.2 - Receipts from Lawwood and Elsecar Collieries

		£	s	d
Balance in favour of				
Lawwood Colliery -	1775	564	6	
	1776	650	19	5
	1777	824	15	3½
	1778	888	7	6
	1779	1018	12	10½
	1780	1089	15	5¼
	1781	1189	14	7

(+ extra charges £53.10.0)

Elsecar (Old)	1775	93	16	0
	1776	106	10	0
	1777	101	7	0
	1778	103	2	0
	1779	98	17	0
	1780	98	5	0
	1781	123	2	0
	TOTAL	725	2	0

div by 7 = £103.11.0

- excess charges

clear annual profit = £88.1.0. <sup>63</sup>

On this basis it would appear that the Lawwood colliery clear profits did not average less than £700 per annum in the later 1770s. The collieries run directly as opposed to those clear rented with a royalty, to the Walkers, Fentons etc at Greasbrough and Parkgate, were probably accounting for half of the £2,000 colliery receipts of the 1780s. The other half can be

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63 SCL WWM F98.

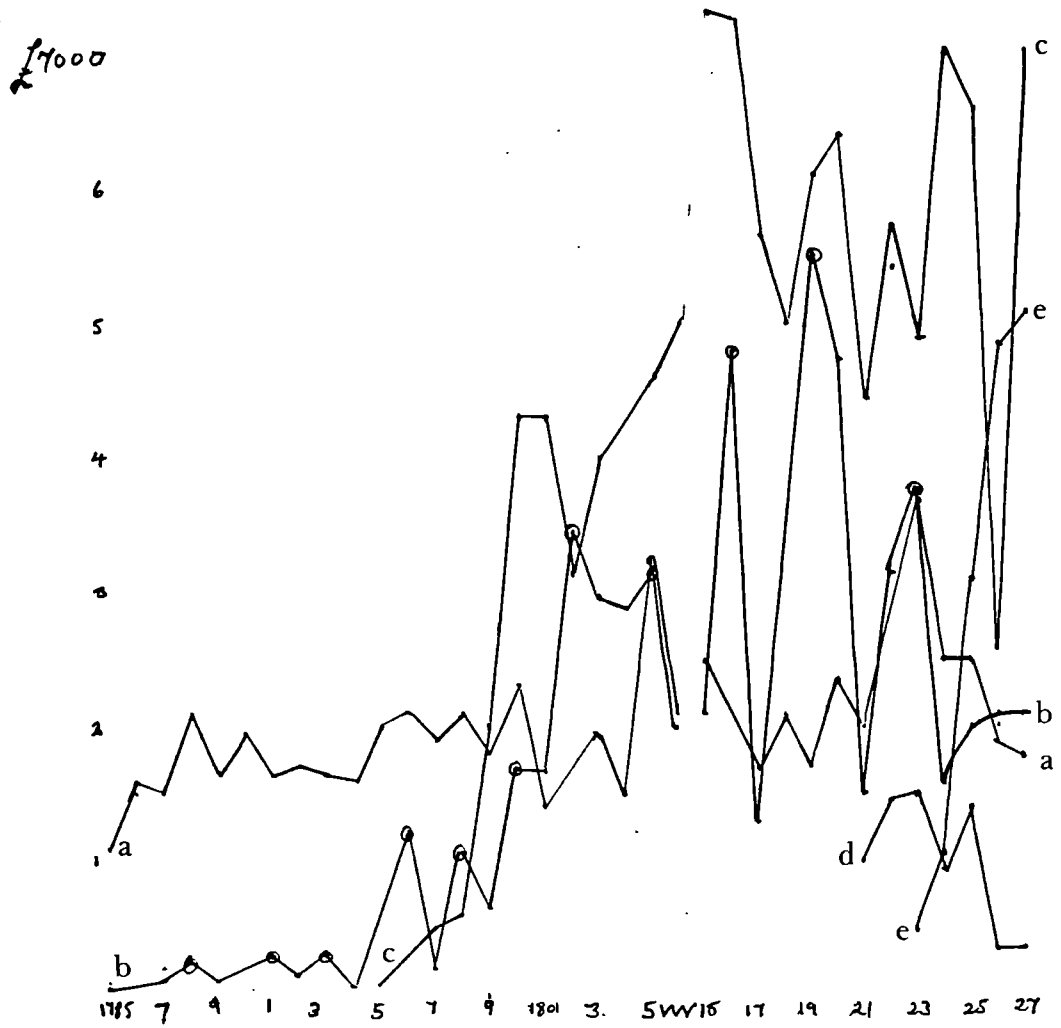
FIGURE 501

Wentworth Woodhouse Gross Colliery Receipts from direct working.

1785-1827.

(Excludes coal rents and royalties from Walkers, Tanton, and Westwood Colliery, all of which were leased. [Source AB41 - A1346.]

- a Lowwood Colliery
- b Elsecar "
- c New Elsecar "
- d Rainier "
- e New Parkgate "



regarded as rent. Before the Napoleonic Wars direct colliery investments seem unlikely to have been worth more than £4,000 - £6,000.

As the scale of enterprise grew so the financial involvement of the Fitzwilliam estate increased also. Coal exploitation on this scale involved toleration of high arrears from lessees. Inflation exaggerates the real significance of the peaks of arrears of payment for coal and ironstone, but readiness to accept slow payment from tenants of iron works was probably the most significant contributor to the high arrears of 1796-1805. Arrangements by which the cost of undertaking new work was totally or partially met by the landlord were frequent, especially in the sinking of new soughs or new pits. Average annual receipts of about £12,000 per annum in the 1815-21 period were based upon extensive investments at an earlier date, investments which were a response to a situation providing unique opportunities. If a nominal capital of £30,000 is small in relation to the receipts of these years, one could argue that a good deal of it must be accounted as "rent" in the strict sense.<sup>64</sup>

Crude calculations based upon notional estimates of the real inputs into mining give some idea of the levels of return which were possible in mining in the boom era, and especially before the price fall after 1815. The coal enterprises run by the estate, and those leased to the Walkers, Fentons and others brought large direct profits (as repayment to burden of uncertainty and risk) and an element of 'insurance' against losses on less profitable enterprises, especially necessary social overhead capital like

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64 G G Hopkinson

(unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Sheffield 1958) pp334-6 - on Fentons. Thus £30,000 - (say crude return upon investment over 10 years at 7½%) = £2,000 per annum. Overall 15% return on £30,000 direct investment.



canals and roads. There are signs during the war years that entrepreneurs were prepared to risk their capital and more able to take on large investment than previously, in coal and in the iron industry. The 'rent' element in the overall receipts of the landlord grew rather than diminished after the early years of wartime, as in the crisis of 1797, when rental arrears, bank crashes and unemployment were rife in the South Yorkshire region. However geological accident did push out major coal masters in the Wentworth lands by gradually eliminating the Fentons. Their mines were in shallow seams in the Greasbrough area which were already depleted by 1800, this being one reason for opening up the Barnsley area by canal systems between 1792 and 1805. By 1810 Thomas Fenton owed over £5000 to the estate, in unpaid rents and royalties. These escalated to £6720 owed by his executors in May 1816, together with £4310 owed on bond. They suffered major losses after 1816, finishing mining in this area by 1824, though they continued in Leeds, on the Leicestershire coalfield, and sank pits near the Cromford canal.<sup>65</sup>

At the same time entrepreneurs expected 'Old Billy'<sup>66</sup> to invest in other enterprises, thinking that the great coal owner would find little difficulty in a sleeping partnership in a pottery enterprise. J Brameld wrote on 1 January 1806,

"I can perceive one mode, and at present only one, by which to escape the loss and evils of breaking up the concern, but I could not have brought myself to mention it; were I not encouraged by the paternal interest your Lordship has seemed to take in my welfare, that is for your Lordship to purchase the eighteen shares which the other partners offer and which I think they would sell on very moderate terms rather than break up ..."

John Brameld<sup>67</sup>

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65 G G Hopkinson (Thesis 1958) p336;  
SCL WWM F107/40 C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 22 May 1817.

66 Creevey's nickname for Earl Fitzwilliam.

67 SCL WWM F106 C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 3 May 1808;  
J Brameld to Earl Fitzwilliam, Swinton,  
1 January 1806.

Brameld suggested that the Earl buy shares at £12,000 - £15,000 from his partners to keep the Swinton Pottery which employed several hundred people in operation. The Earl declined at first and finally stepped in when closure was imminent. The financial provisions are unknown but involved substantial investment.

In this case the Earl eventually accepted a financial commitment rather than allow the pottery to close. Later it was thought necessary to pump further resources into the enterprise despite negligible returns. Available experience was unpromising, £500 lent in November 1807 to Jo Baskett had paid no interest in February 1812. He was in the Sheffield trade and then sought additional credit.<sup>68</sup> Such investment was unusual in the war years, when there was little sign of the longer term difficulties which were to bedevil them and other manufacturers in this area after 1815.

The range of the Earl's engagements in mining was extraordinary, for between 1790-1820 he became the greatest coal owner of the area and the acknowledged spokesman for the coal industry of South Yorkshire. His support for industrial enterprises should be seen in that context, as they consumed much of his coal.

A transformation to large scale direct working was not inevitable even for estate owners with much coal to exploit. The Arundel Sheffield estate coal in the Park and at Manor was leased for much of the early 18th century, but in 1758 John Bowden, one of the most important coal lessees of the previous period, surrendered this lease to the Duke and no successor could be found. There followed a seven year period of direct working. It

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<sup>68</sup> A Eaglestone and  
T Lockett

SCL WWM F107a

The Rockingham Pottery (1966) pp18-32;

C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 26 February 1812.

has recently been argued that this occurred because the collieries were run down and required new investment and because coal supply was essential to the town's prosperity.<sup>69</sup> These arguments are persuasive, as similar circumstances were to recur. The landowner had a total revenue from these estates of £13,206.5.7½ in 1761 of which income from forges and furnaces was £3,851.9.0½, while the Sheffield Park and Manor collieries contributed £1,150. This does not fully describe the problems. In 1760 leasing data suggest the beginnings of an upsurge in demand for building land and small plots of land for small holdings. Failure of coal supply would have hit the metal working industries directly and, indirectly, most of the economy of the rapidly growing town in a critical phase of its development.<sup>70</sup> Under direct control Wood Pits and the Manor collieries increased their output. Old workings were closed down and new pits and headings installed, yielding £1,000 per annum between 1760 and 1765. Then Townsend and Furness leased the pits for £1,000 per annum. The estate tried to prevent excessive extraction by employing a viewer who made regular reports on the mines' workings and the estate erected the Newcastle way which was completed from the mines to the bottom of Parkhill in 1774. 1¾ miles in length it cost £3,280, but was damaged in an attack by a mob when price increases were rumoured. The tramlines and trucks were burned and a new loading stage broken up and burned. Despite promises that coal prices would not increase, from the Town Collector, the Master Cutler and the Arundel Agent, the Hon Henry Howard, the riots flared again a few months later.<sup>71</sup> Howard removed himself from the Lord's House in Sheffield to one formerly belonging to the Staniforths of Darnall and an

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69 I A Medlicott

"John Curr and the Development of Sheffield Collieries 1781-1805" THAS Vol 12 1983 pp51-2.

70 SCL Arundel MSS S382-3

Applications for building leases of 99 years 1772-1816.

71 R E Leader

Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century (1905 Ed) p84;

SCL Bland MSS 9.10.11

Papers relating to John Curr.

"Association for mutual protection of person and property" was formed. The rails were re-laid in iron, with an additional rent charge to the lessees which reached a total of £1,460 per annum in 1779. In the interim the 9th Duke of Norfolk died in 1777 and trustees called for detailed reports on the collieries from the viewer John Curr and John Stephenson of Kimberworth Park.<sup>72</sup> By 1778 the collieries were making losses and by Lady day 1781 the lessees had to withdraw.

The reasons for their financial weakness have been clearly stated in the viewer's reports and appraisal. Geological difficulties in the Manor and Handsworth areas were often to prove troublesome to the Arundel estate coal mines in the next hundred years, and the depth of pits made water a more serious problem than before. The trade of Sheffield was hard hit in the American War, new capital investment was needed, while there was competition from other collieries.

As the only organisation with the capital available to meet these challenges, the estate took the Park and Manor coal mines into direct management and invested large sums between 1781 and 1789, including £4,700 (1781-4) in Wood Pits and £13,823 at a new colliery in Attercliffe.<sup>73</sup> As recent work has shown

"The last 20 years of the eighteenth century saw the Norfolk collieries in the forefront of mine haulage and winding technology,"

and as was to happen later at Milton ironworks near Wentworth Woodhouse, a foundry was established which sold large quantities of its goods to the Norfolk collieries. As well as managing the pits John Curr took a leading part in establishing this works, which produced steam pumping and winding engine parts, waggons and rails, and other ironwork valued at

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72 I A Medlicott

(op cit) p52. SCL Bland MSS 9.10.11.

73 SCL Arundel Mss S221

£14,069 between 1792 and 1801.<sup>74</sup>

In 1786 the Sheffield Agent Vincent Eyre was taken into partnership with the 11th Duke of Norfolk, the two sharing capital costs equally. Eyre had already invested in the Attercliffe Colliery and this continued from December 1786. In the period from then until June 1790 £13,822.16.11 was spent there, another colliery was sunk in the Ponds at a probable cost of about £8,000 around 1787, and a further major colliery was opened up at Crookes Croft, so that Curr could claim that £20,000 had been invested by 1793 in the Sheffield collieries.<sup>75</sup> Of this capital some came from the agent Vincent Eyre, who from 1789 had a profit sharing agreement with the 11th Duke of Norfolk whereby the Duke took a quarter of the profits after certain initial deductions had been paid to him and Eyre. Eyre received 10% interest on the capital expenditure he had incurred, a condition renewed in a lease of 1805.<sup>76</sup> Sheffield coal demand was met until 1792 when a severe shortage occurred, leading to the opening of competing collieries at Dore House and Intake, and increased activity in existing collieries in Attercliffe and Darnall.

The price war which resulted was a disaster for the Norfolk coal interests, reputedly losing the Duke £24,000 and losing large sums at the competing collieries. Large financial resources enabled the Duke to win, buy out Dore House Colliery in 1801 and put up the price, to make a gross profit of £18,000 in 1804. However this experience was not conducive to further direct involvement in mining in the area, especially as drainage problems had put Attercliffe colliery largely out of action in 1800/1 and

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74 I A Medlicott op cit, p54.

75 SCL Arundel Mss S223 S214

76 SCL Arundel Mss SD 14 SD 666

involved a law suit and the dismissal of John Curr. In 1805-20 the Sheffield Norfolk Collieries were leased to the Eyre family, who in turn re-leased them.<sup>77</sup>

These events accompanied the continued leasing of other Norfolk coal. Richard Swallow of Chapeltown ironworks being somewhat distant from a waterway, mined his own coal in Parkin Wood (1789) and leased ironstone from the Elmhurst family in Dodworth at an annual rent of £87.10s on 10 October 1800<sup>78</sup> and Richard Swallow II leased coal from the Duke of Norfolk in 1804. In both cases the amounts produced were large. Newton Chambers leased coal from 1793, on a 21 year lease, taking out perhaps 350,000 tons of coal between 1793 and 1804.<sup>79</sup> There were other similar arrangements with ironworks distant from the main waterways.

The leasing arrangement for the Sheffield Norfolk collieries after 1805 was no more satisfactory than direct management had been previously. As before 1780, the sub-lessees had neither the vision nor the economic interest, given the leasing conditions, to maintain their productive potential. The terms of the lease to the Eyres were "vague and unsatisfactory."<sup>80</sup> The result was rapid extraction, removal of necessary supporting pillars, lack of attention to necessary soughs, and flooding at Crookes Croft in 1812, when that mine had to be closed. No preparations for new collieries or faces were made while most available coal was taken at Sheffield and Woodthorpe. Handsworth colliery became subject to frequent flooding. An

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77 Based on extended account in G G Hopkinson (thesis) p329-333.

78 SCL EM 359                      Articles of agreement. William Elmhurst -  
Richard Swallow - 10 October 1800.

79 G G Hopkinson                      (Thesis 1958) p323-4.

80 SCL Arundel Mss S478 (ii) A Piggott-Houseman, 28 December 1818.

inquiry was inaugurated after the flood of 1812, at a time when the Duke was attempting to make provision for his successor. Though a surveyor, Mr William Locke, was appointed and his duties clearly outlined, little improvement seems to have followed. A further inquiry began in 1816 and eventually discovered the full extent of the damage and neglect in the Sheffield estate coal mines.<sup>81</sup>

By 28 December 1818, Stobart advised them

"Not to open any treaty for letting his collieries to Mr Dunn and his associates nor to advertise them publicly for letting, on account of the inconvenience and injury which Mr Stobart points out as likely to attend that measure when known to the present lessees by their afterwards working extraordinary quantities of coal and laying the same up for supplying the sales for a considerable time he thinks at least a year after the expiring of the term at Lady day 1820."

Already detailed enquiries had been undertaken

"Fornham 7 May 1816 Ordered by His Grace that inquiries shall be made immediately as to the quantity of coal worked by the Sheffield Coal Co during the year 1811, 1812, and 1813,

Ordered that enquiries shall be made with a view to ascertaining the usual mode of working coal by other proprietors in the neighbourhood of Sheffield,

Ordered that an immediate investigation be made as to colliery leases." <sup>82</sup>

In the period 1806-20 a number of firms were extracting coal, apart from the offending Nixon Littlewood and Partners, the sub-lessees of Crookes Croft, Handsworth and Woodthorpe collieries.<sup>83</sup> The Swallows of Chapeltown ironworks continued to take ironstone (and coal) to 1808, when Swallow II

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| 81 | SCL Arundel SS S231  | 1813 also S478 (ii) A Piggott - Houseman, 28 December 1818.  |
| 82 | SCL Arundel Mss S391 | Instructions for the Management of the Arundel Estates, 1813.  |
| 83 | SCL Arundel Mss D13  | George Hills opinion concerning rents, terms and conditions of lease for collieries in Sheffield, 1 June 1819. |

went bankrupt and his successor Darwin extracted both coal and ironstone, paying perhaps £1,600 between 1808/11. Sowerby and Littlewood extracted large quantities of coal between 1805 and 1810 paying sums which, at £50/£120 per acre, probably exceeded £9,000 in 5-6 years. Newton Chambers continued to extract large quantities of coal, taking out 8 acres (at £100) between 1814-16. All these lessees, who paid a fixed rent and royalties, extracted quantities beyond those which piecemeal records reveal.<sup>84</sup> Overall the trend of receipts in this period is clear - Norfolk coal, ironstone and quarry receipts increased rapidly. After the financial and technical problems of 1780-1805 the owner had not deepened direct investment in coal. Instead there was a desire for tightening controls upon independent investors. When this failed, a further £18,000 had to be invested. The mines after 1820 were subjected to detailed provisions and careful inspection and protection by the landowner. When a valuation of the materials and stock of the Sheffield Collieries was made on 24 June 1805 - it revealed the extent of the stock component of direct capital investment in mines, which was as great as the total capital in a large cotton mill.

24 June 1805 Stock etc of the Sheffield Collieries.<sup>85</sup>

High Hazel Colliery Stock	£6,381. 6.8
Sheffield etc Colliery Stock	<u>£6,274.19.1</u>
	<u>£13,620.18.3½</u>

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- 84 SCL Arundel Mss 231 Norfolk Coal and Iron Extracted 1805-16.
85. SCL Arundel S231 Mss - it is not clear if all mines in direct management are included. There is no mention of the Attercliffe collieries for example which would indicate not: see also
- R Lloyd Jones &  
A A Le Roux
- "The Size of Firms in the Cotton Industry. Manchester 1815-41" ECHR Vol XXXIII No 1, 1980 pp78-82.



The stock was presumably directly in the landlord's ownership before transfer for the use of the lessees, the Eyres. The sum involved is large, but not so great when compared with the large sums claimed to have been gained or lost in individual years previously, when prices were lower than 1805 levels. Of course the total capital value was certainly much greater, as past sums spent in sinking pits, headings and fixed capital embodied in the pits are not included in this figure.<sup>86</sup>

#### IV Crisis and Opportunities, Estates, Mines and Industry 1815-1857

After the last peak of wartime prices in 1812, the boom of the war years subsided. Prices fell dramatically for agricultural and industrial produce and made inroads into the incomes of farmers, merchants and businessmen. As low prices persisted expectations altered, and pleas for rent reductions became endemic. In considering them estate administrators could not ignore a welter of bankruptcies and widespread unemployment. Rent and coal receipts confirm the underlying trend in South Yorkshire. On the Wentworth estate a peak of gross rent receipts occurred in 1813, and was touched only once again, in 1817, before a recovery in 1821. Colliery receipts too were volatile, exceeding £12,500 in 1815, then falling below that figure for half a decade. Thereafter the quantities sold, and coal prices, continued to be highly volatile, with marked booms in 1825 and 1828 and years of much reduced sales and prices between.<sup>87</sup>

In these circumstances large capital investments were at risk, and there was uncertainty about new ventures. Traditions of estate management

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- 86 SCL WWM A1341-A1346 1805 was a high price year, near the peak of the first upsurge of wartime prices, (1802 and 1805-6) in rentals which show half year lag .
- 87 SCL WWM A122 General Account. 1801-30. This sum was the amount paid to the Wentworth steward J Biram from the collieries, not a profit figure.

since at least 1750 had led landowners to abate rents in price fall periods, and sometimes to combine or substitute capital investment with that expedient. Evolved to enable the temporarily embarrassed farm tenant to survive, these practices had been applied also to industrial undertakings. But their problems were different. To be of value to industrial enterprise, investment or credit had to be substantial by 1815, especially for firms in heavy industry. Their capital needs were unprecedented, and were greater than those usual in textile trades.<sup>88</sup>

The long-run prosperity of the Wentworth Woodhouse and Sheffield estates of the Dukes of Norfolk depended upon the continued development of mining and manufacture, though farm rents were still a substantial part of each year's receipts. Both estates had large coal mining interests, and both were forced into recognition of the inter-relationship between the continued growth of demand for coal and the development of industrial enterprise and domestic demand. Nevertheless different circumstances and the differing priorities of owners led to different responses to the opportunities and dangers of a regional economy in flux. The Dukes of Norfolk had the good fortune to control a large urban area within which rentals from building land generated a growing income despite a relatively "laissez-faire" policy on the owners' part. Between 1786 and the death of the 12th Duke in 1842 the aggrandizement of Arundel and the purchase of property in Southern England was the family priority, combined with an expectation that Sheffield would yield a growing income with a minimum of estate administration initiative.<sup>89</sup> Between 1780 and 1814 the "hands off" approach allowed

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88 R Lloyd-Jones and  
A A Le Roux

"The Size of Firms in the Cotton Industry:  
Manchester 1815-41" EcHR 2nd Series XXXIII No 1 1980  
pp72-82.

89 J M Robinson

The Dukes of Norfolk. A Quincentennial History  
(1982) p194.

administrative defects, but the inherent economic dynamism of the area saved the day. After 1819 the estate was subjected to the agency of Michael Ellison. His vigour and presence between 1819 and 1861 compensated for the gothic remoteness of the owning family. The Wentworth Woodhouse estate also contained urban property, but this was less in extent and financial importance than either the Norfolk urban holdings or the large coal and industrial enterprises which were a marked feature of the Wentworth estates 19th century development.

The fourth and fifth Earls Fitzwilliam have been represented as leading examples of aristocratic paternalism in industrial and social policy.<sup>90</sup> This cannot be denied, especially when their involvement and concern are compared with the owners of some other large estates in the area. By 1839 so little interest had successive Dukes of Leeds in South Yorkshire property that they had not employed a local agent for some years.<sup>91</sup> The Dukes of Norfolk fell between, maintaining an administrative presence and employing vigorous underlings, but remaining personally aloof and displaying a greater personal interest in land purchases and building elsewhere.

It is likely that paternalist practice reflected more than evangelical concern of specific individuals. Of Earl Fitzwilliam's gross rental of about £80,000 in 1811, half came from South Yorkshire. Farm rent amounted to £28,000 per annum, and mineral rent, woods, canals and tithes etc amounted to £12,000 more. Substantial investments had been made in the Dearne and Dove, Greasbrough and Derwent Navigations and in turnpike roads. The estate included five coal mines under estate control in 1819, and a

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90 G Mee

Aristocratic Enterprise. The Fitzwilliam  
Industrial Undertakings 1795-1857 (1975)  
pp186-207.

91 YAS Leeds Mss DD5

G B Wharton - Duke of Leeds, 2 December 1839.

number of others leased, and the Earl owned large quantities of coal mining and iron producing equipment, including steam engines, inclined planes and a large amount of other capital investment. By 1820 it was claimed that he had spent £120,000 on purchasing coal land, and the practice of leasing coal from adjacent owners was established. These practices had displaced the territorial extension of the estates as the major priority after 1770. The Earls' Fitzwilliam had become leading figures in the Yorkshire coal industry, a position which was to be retained for many years.

In these circumstances, the opportunities of the estate suggested an interventionist strategy, and its distance from any really large urban centre promoted attempts at self-generated and interlocking mining and industrial development, where industries were encouraged which created demand for each others' products and employment for the area's inhabitants. Their consumption also added to the local demand for food and other supplies. The narrow market for coal before 1798, and the limits on foreseeable development after that, suggest that locally induced sales were the priority in the development of small coal mines and manufacture before the completion of the canal system. This had early limits, which were transcended once the Dearne and Dove Canal was completed to Elsecar in 1798.

By 1815 gross coal receipts had been buoyant for many years, never falling below £6,000 per annum and exceeding £12,500 in that year. Payments to the collieries exceeded £50,000 in 15 years, with mean outgoings per annum of £3,670.<sup>92</sup> After 1815 output continued to increase but coal prices fell so that money receipts oscillated from year to year, though

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92 SCL WWM A122

Receipts and disbursements 1801-30.

they held up better in the 1830s than some historians have indicated.

J T Ward compared mineral and gross rental incomes as follows:

Table 5.3 - Earl Fitzwilliam's Wentworth Estate Income<sup>93</sup>

	Mineral Income £	Total Rents £
1801	4,214	26,135
1831	2,576	32,396
1841	11,082	43,489
1850	8,991	44,356
1871	37,210	71,281
1901	87,743	130,585

Gross receipts from the collieries totalled £176,063 between 1816 and 1830, with a mean receipt per annum of over £11,700 and payments to the collieries of £124,207 in the same period, a mean of £8,280 per annum. Ward's mineral income figures given for the first four decades of the century are misleading. The gross receipt figures do not represent capital investment and profit. Outgoings included labour and materials costs and payments from estate collieries to the estate need not represent their whole receipt.<sup>94</sup> Moreover collieries leased to ironworks or other coal producers and paying rents and royalties are not included in this calculation, but were included in property tax figures. In this period leasing coal producers were important and also acted as customers of the estate mines.

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93 J T Ward

"West Riding Landowners and Mining in the Nineteenth Century" YBSER Vol 15/16 1963 p65.

94 SCL WWM A122

Receipts and Disbursements 1801-1830; WWM F107. C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 6 & 12 December 1803.

Table 5.4 - Iron Works on or Close to the Wentworth Woodhouse Estate 1849<sup>95</sup>

	No. of Furnaces	Fitzwilliam land
Elsecar	3	"
Masbro	1	"
Milton	2	"
Thornccliffe	3	"
Chapelton	2	"
Parkgate	1	"
Holmes	<u>2</u>	"
	<u>14</u>	

The likelihood of increased output and revenue from mines is suggested also by Dr G Mee's study, indicating a labour force which increased from 197 in five collieries in 1819 to 317 in six collieries in 1828.<sup>96</sup> The low figures quoted must exclude mineral royalties from enterprises leasing coal, and cannot take into account very large sums expended not only on the purchase of coal bearing land, but also upon coal rights between 1799 and 1842. Leased coal cost no less than £32,935.6.3 in that period. Typical were leases in Hoyland in 1799 from William Gray and Joseph Wingfield, who leased coal in the Elsecar Great Bed to the Earl for 99 years for a total sum of £6,900.<sup>97</sup> As F M L Thompson noted, direct investments in Earl Fitzwilliam's coal interests

"were marked up from a nominal value of £65,000 in 1830 to £100,000 in the 1840s".<sup>98</sup>

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- 95 A Birch The Economic History of the British Iron and Steel Industry 1784-1879 (1967) p390.
- 96 G Mee Aristocratic Enterprise. The Fitzwilliam Industrial Undertakings 1795-1857 (1975) p24.
- 97 WWM (Wentworth) Box 61 Coal Deeds
- 98 F M L Thompson English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (1963) p174.

The Birams' suggestions for expansion were generally followed despite a claim that the Earl was somewhat uncertain of the value of his investment.

In many years between 1815 and the 1840s Joshua and his son Benjamin Biram required more than 50% of the gross South Yorkshire rental receipts to finance outgoings at Wentworth House and expenditure in the estate coal and industrial enterprises. For more than 30 years William Newman the local agent complained, but proved incapable of preventing expenditure. In 1818/19 Joshua Biram required about £7,000 half yearly to run the collieries and to service the House and its environs, while remittances to London amounted to £6,000 half yearly.<sup>99</sup> In 1825 Newman pronounced with confidence

"the profits of the collieries and the mines should form a regular Fund sufficient for the entire supply of Wentworth House and thus enable me at rent days to make larger remittances from thence to Messrs Snow" (London Bankers). 100

He was too sanguine. It was a year of high confidence when Newman himself toyed with the idea of entry into an iron concern. The optimism was soon dispelled and subsequently Newman was left in deficit after paying outgoings in some years. By March 1831, despite some savings by Biram, Newman reported that Earl Fitzwilliam was overdrawn by £3,000 from Messrs Walker's Bank in Rotherham. Newman reported

"I have been twice over to Wentworth to consult Mr Biram as to the practicality of lessening the expenditures, but the works which are going on and the Barley and Oats which the farmer is laying in leave no hope of accomplishing so desirable an object. I think, however, a general reduction might be made in labourers' wages and in the sums paid for team work, similar to what has already been made at the collieries and at the furnace." 101

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| 99  | SCL WWM F107/103 | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 23 April 1819.    |
| 100 | SCL WWM F107/153 | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 1 March 1825.     |
| 101 | SCL WWM F107/163 | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 24 November 1830. |

Economy was in practice difficult to achieve in estate collieries, and estate investment was tied into a productive process yielding returns which came more slowly than had been anticipated in the high-price years of the war. Despite that experience the weaknesses of the iron industry of the area were so chronic that the landowner was forced to either support the continued operation of inefficient concerns in order to maintain demand for coal, or face the prospect of larger-scale unemployment, strain upon the poor rate and possible social disorder. Coal and the South Yorkshire iron industry remained locked together in a series of interrelated booms and slumps between 1815 and 1873. The annual rents for minerals were seen as

"base figures below which estate receipts from that source were unlikely to fall. Coal and Ironstone due 1822. One years rent £4,102.12.6." 102

This figure does not include substantial royalty payments which lessees were obliged to make, and it was royalties which oscillated most. But when conditions continued depressed, with low coal sales, rents themselves might not be paid and arrears mounted. There were also encouraging developments. The completion of the Sheffield canal encouraged the Earl to consider selling coal in a wider market. In 1819 Newman wrote

"... no part of your Lordship's coal sells for more than 4/10 per ton. Coals in the neighbourhood of Sheffield are selling for 5d per cwt or 8/4 per ton." 103

Not only was there an increase in coal sold, but there were purchases of coal land in the 1820s, including

"the Kent's estate for £27,000." 104

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102	SCL WWM A335	1821/22 Net Rental.
103	SCL WWM F107/101/	W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 16 March 1819.
104	SCL WWM F107/102	W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 15 April 1819.



At Elsecar the practice of giving more than 20 cwt to the ton to coal buyers was discouraged despite the

"probable suspension of one of the furnaces"

operated by the Darwin's at Elsecar ironworks.<sup>105</sup> The recovery of confidence in the 1820s is symbolized by the opening of New Park Gate colliery with lessees' capital in the late 1820s. Later attempts to sell coal in London could have been symptoms of local glut as much as evidence of business confidence.<sup>106</sup>

As G Mee has pointed out, the accounting systems did little to help. In 1846 Daniel Maude examined the Birams' books. He found confusion in the accounting for capital investment, interest upon investment and payments made to the coal manager himself. Thus he noted

"Last year new waggons	£1,000
Driftway to new colliery	£500"

He judged that the former should be capital, with interest charged upon it each year.

"all the expenses of sinking pits are put to capital and interest charged, but there no sinking fund is set apart before the profits are estimated, for the reproduction of these expenses so that your Lordship by the amounts may appear to be receiving a large annual profit and yet in the closing of a colliery may have incurred a serious loss." 107

Also Biram calculated his percentage return upon the fallacious estimate of profit, taking a percentage on sums which should have been used to replace capital investment. This practice had gone on for many years, and

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105 SCL WWM F107/106 W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 9 June 1819.

106 SCL WWM STW 15 XVIII B Biram - Maxfield, 1 November 1832.

107 Northants CRO Fitzwilliam Correspondence, D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 11 December 1846.

was built into the Birams' salary claims in 1831.<sup>108</sup> As that claim was accepted by the Earl, it must also have remained the basis for the Earl's views about the Birams' operations from 1831 to the late 1840s, and explains the continued confidence of the fifth Earl in his mining operations despite the criticisms of agent and auditor. The result of this confidence was a continued flow of investment into coal mining operations based upon an exaggerated view of the direct profits gained from them. In conventional terms this made little sense to the auditor, but probably worked beneficially for the economy of the district given the critical role of the estate operations in it and the high degree of inter-relatedness between colliery and metal working operations. Investments included not only the large sums expended on the mines themselves and upon coal, railroads and eventually railways, but also the building of colliers' cottages at Elsecar in two phases, in the late 1830s and between 1850 and 1855. In 1838/9 £4,810 was expended by Biram on houses at the different collieries, 28 were built at Elsecar, 8 cottages at New Parkgate, 5 at Jump, and an old engine house was also converted to other purposes at Elsecar.<sup>109</sup>

Eventually the exaggeration of profit began to have effects upon liquidity in the trade depression of 1841-3. It is difficult to be sure of the sources of Biram's indebtedness to the Bank at any one time because household and colliery accounts were confused, but in 1842 Biram owed £10,000 to the bank, and by 1843 Newman had

"been unwilling to trespass further on the bank and had put off several payments till the rent days. He (Biram) has had of me as much as £4,900." 110

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- 108 SCL WWM G40 B Biram - Earl Fitzwilliam, 1 December 1831; 24 December, 1831.
- 109 SCL WWM A375 1830-9 "Money expended by Mr Biram in building houses at the different collieries".
- 110 SCL WWM G40 B Biram - Earl Fitzwilliam, 15 January 1843.

Despite technical problems in coal mining and the long standing financial weaknesses of the operation of ironworks the large estate was among the most stable of regional institutions. The investment in collieries and housing, and the miscalculations about overall profitability must be set against huge resources. At times the landed proprietor became not only the supporter of infant industry and the dominant force in regional coal mining. He was also a provider of credit to enterprise. On the Arundel estate in Sheffield Ellison was prepared to lend money on mortgage to those with leased buildings as security. In the extreme case of the collapse of Parker Shore and Company's Old Sheffield Bank in 1843 the Sheffield and Rotherham Bank feared a run on their resources. The Directors asked Fitzwilliam to deposit £9,000 at their bankers in London to insulate them against the emergency, stressing the likelihood that many accounts would be bad, the suspension of work by many Sheffield firms, and the risks entailed in throwing a great number of workers out of employment.<sup>111</sup> This was not unusual by the 1840s. When the London bank of Messrs Wright came near collapse in 1840 the Norfolk estate administrators played a key role in preventing complete collapse, and continued to play a part in the management of the bank's affairs for several years. In 1843 Michael Ellison recorded,

"21 February 1843. Meeting of Wright's assignees. Mr Barnwall, W Blount, Mr Charleswood and Self attended. Mr Fairbrother made an explanation which was not generally satisfactory. Settled for a dividend of 1/- to be paid early in April." 112

In this case the London bank was so involved in the Norfolk estate's affairs that to allow its collapse risked enormous losses to the estate and indeed to the estate administrators who had personal accounts with their employer's

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111 SCL WWM G40

B Biram - Earl Fitzwilliam, 15 January 1843.

112 SCL Arundel Mss S523

Michael Ellison Diaries. 1843. 21 February 1843.

bank. Similarly the regional economic damage caused by the failure of Parker Shore and Company was serious, and the failure would itself have been prevented had it been possible. Ellison seems to have attempted to avoid the catastrophe, but the regional economy had been debilitated by the long-standing structural problems of the iron industry, and a rescue proved impossible. To understand why it is necessary to examine the development of the iron works which were major consumers of coal in that period.

The Elsecar and Milton ironworks were not alone in their difficulties between the collapse of the boom of 1825 and 1849. For much of that time they were "in hand" and made substantial losses.<sup>113</sup> £22,408 appears to have been expended at Elsecar ironworks in "promiscuous payments" between 1826 and 1830.<sup>114</sup>

"In Yorkshire the four works had nearly 11,000 tons of iron on hand at a time when the iron masters had been forced by competition to sell their iron even lower than those charged in Staffordshire. In South Yorkshire Darwin by this time had become bankrupt. Lord Fitzwilliam, the landlord of Milton and Elsecar furnaces, had either brought up or foreclosed upon these works for rent arrears and they were in the hands of other tenants. According to Thomas Butler, several ironworks were nearly abandoned, including the Vickers works at Sheffield, Attercliffe, Brightside and several others."<sup>115</sup>

Darwin failed in 1827, and the Elsecar Furnace was run in hand until 1849. The Milton ironworks almost failed, but was rescued by a Bank of England loan to the lessees for which Fitzwilliam was the guarantor in 1826/7.

In both cases collapse came after the short boom of 1825, but the problems were long term. Ironstone was in short supply, and there was increased restriction upon extraction from parkland or good farm land.

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- 113 G Mee Aristocratic Enterprise. The Fitzwilliam Industrial Undertakings 1795-1857 (1975) pp57-63.
- 114 SCL WMM A122 Elsecar Ironworks. Promiscuous payments.
- 115 A Birch The Economic History of the British Iron and Steel Industry 1784-1879 (1967) pp160-1.

Technologically the works in the area were probably outdated, requiring an increase in scale and modernization of capacity characteristic of the industry in the 19th century. A succession of lessees had failed after 1815, and among those who did not, the Walkers and Newton Chambers sought reductions of rent and other concessions by 1816.<sup>116</sup> The need for concession was recognised.

"Elliott of Rotherham is made a Bankrupt, by whom loss will be sustained and I fear the same will happen with Adams and Barker of Doncaster who have not been able to honour a Bill accepted by them drawn by Mr Parker - these two iron founders were the principal consumers of the coke made at the Tar Works and I think it may be well to consider what prospects there are of vending the produce." <sup>117</sup>

In 1816 resistance to abatement was maintained in the renting of ironstone. None was made to the Darwins, Thorncliffe or the Walkers, and Bowns considered the price they offered so low

"it would be preferable that the surface of the land remain in its present state." <sup>118</sup>

By the following spring this approach was under question

"I hear that the Walkers have purchased a large estate in Staffordshire or Shropshire of Lord Dudley Ward in which property there are extensive mines and ironworks and that they are abandoning the getting of metal in this neighbourhood. I do not feel any regret on this account." <sup>119</sup>

By May 1817 the

"List of Arrears is the largest in number of Tenants and of the largest amount that I have ever known."

The depression was general, with serious problems in agriculture and industry and Biram had to take £1,000 from the rents, while there were 12 debts

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|-----|--------------|---|
| 116 | SCL WWM F107 | C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 7 September 1816. |
| 117 | SCL WWM F107 | C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 23 November 1816. |
| 118 | SCL WWM F107 | C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 7 September 1816. |
| 119 | SCL WWM F107 | C Bowns - Earl Fitzwilliam, 29 March 1817.    |

"desperate by the reduction in the produce of ironstone and coal."

Among them was Colonel Francis Fenton, who was in serious debt, owing £6,720 to the Executors of Thomas Fenton, and £4,340 on bond. His title to coal mines in the Methley area was in doubt, and the Greasbrough colliery was losing money, amounting to £580.14.7½ in the first quarter of 1817.<sup>120</sup>

By 1818 the Wentworth Tar Works experiment was ended, leaving the tenant Parker with debts of about £600, and Bowns advised strongly against the Earl taking over the direct exploitation of the Thorncliffe coal, considering it better to reduce the price to the ironworks proprietors.<sup>121</sup> After Bowns' death in 1818 rentals of coal and ironstone and even the basic rents of premises were reduced. On February 10th Chambers and Co petitioned that

"as the immense consumption of Government in time of war is not likely to revive,"

a new agreement is due. An actual loss in trade of £2,141 was exacerbated by £2,050 in bad debts while the

"increased depth of the mines and the increased distance from the furnaces together with the diminished thickness of the minerals"

made them less profitable to work. In the event the ironstone was reduced to £200 an acre and the coal remained at the same price.<sup>122</sup> There followed protracted negotiations with the Walkers who agreed to a lease on Milton ironworks offered over a period of either 7 or 10 years. The buildings became Earl Fitzwilliam's after the end of the lease, while they retained

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120 SCL WWM F107/40  
F107/37

ibid 22 May 1817;  
31 March 1817.

121 SCL WWM F107

ibid 8 January 1818; 23 January 1818; 13 February 1818.

122 SCL WWM F107/64  
F107/65

W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 10 February 1818;  
Earl Fitzwilliam - W Newman, 19 February 1818.

an

"option of taking the engine and blowing apparatus also at a valuation."

It was already calculated that the supply of ironstone could not overreach a period of 10 years, and Fitzwilliam agreed to the new furnace being taken away after that period.<sup>123</sup>

The Walkers were renowned for driving a hard bargain, and seem to have obtained favourable conditions by negotiation at the low point of the post war depression. By the end of 1818 Biram was considering employing more colliers, and in 1819 the Kent estate was bought specifically for its minerals. Possible opposition to the purchase came from the Foljambe Trustees, who inspected the minerals and saw the purchase as primarily "connecting their mineral property". The price was "on the verge of imprudence", but the Rawmarsh property lay close to other Wentworth land and included a working colliery and colliery housing as well as two good sized farms and Rawmarsh Hall.<sup>124</sup>

The recovery proved illusory, though in May rents were better than expected.

"from the depressed state of the markets".

There was a reduction in coal sent down the canal from Elsecar and by June Newman reported at Elsecar Furnace

"... probably suspension of one of the furnaces. That Company has I fear too many irons in the fire. They are divided against themselves and certainly the concern at Elsecar is suffering greatly through mismanagement." <sup>125</sup>

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| 123 | SCL WWM F107/79  | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 4 December 1818. |
| 124 | SCL WWM F107/102 | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 15 April 1819.   |
| 125 | SCL WWM F107/106 | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 9 June 1819.     |

This did not bode well, and the acutely depressed conditions of 1819-22 further eroded their position and that of other ironmasters. The Walkers surrendered their Milton lease in 1821 and the works was purchased by Henry Hartop and Company, and the Darwins continued in difficulty until their failure in 1827.<sup>126</sup>

In these circumstances it is unsurprising to find that mineral and ironworks arrears always accounted for a large proportion of money owed to the Fitzwilliam estate.

Table 5.5 - Wentworth Woodhouse Estate

Mineral, Ironworks and Pottery Arrears 1831<sup>127</sup>

	£	s	d
Messrs Graham's arrears	5,554	18	0
Messrs Graham's mineral arrears	655	9	4
Singer Booth and Co minerals	3,009	15	6
Other mineral arrears	255	0	0
Messrs Brameld (Pottery) arrears	3,644	11	10
	<u>13,207</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>8</u>

These figures compared with a total of £7,914.7.9 non-coal or industrial arrears in the same year, on a total rental of about £46,000 per annum from South Yorkshire property. Arrears from coal and ironstone lessees had arisen from earlier periods. Increasingly they became so large that the landowner was forced to take a detailed interest in the management of the concerns themselves. How otherwise, in an age of imperfect accounts, was the estate administration to judge the validity of claims that rents or

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126 G Mee op cit, p45.

127 SCL WWM A358 1831/2.



Table 5.6 - Wentworth Coal and Ironstone Arrears 1788-1810<sup>128</sup>

	£		£
1788	2,891	1800	5,633
1789	2,300	1801	2,880
1790	2,360	1802	4,350
1791	2,340	1803	2,499
1792	2,300	1804	1,224
1793	3,521	1805	1,550
1794	3,520	1806	2,104
1795	2,944	1807	1,470
1796	4,021	1808	2,914
1797	4,116	1809	2,910
1798	4,443	1810	2,910
1799	5,334		

royalties were equitable between landowner and tenant? In the price fall from 1813 the experience of the best coal viewers or ironworks managers was tested by the domestic fluctuations of the cycle. In 1837 arrears on the Wentworth estate exceeded £30,000, a peak for the half century which was approached but not exceeded in 1848. In this escalation of arrears both farm rents and industrial interests contributed, but the biggest problems were undoubtedly the industrial concerns.<sup>129</sup> By 1835 Messrs Graham owed £25,000.<sup>130</sup> Arrears mounted too on the Norfolk estates after 1829, reaching almost £10,000 in 1833, of which about a third were minerals arrears. A judicious avoidance of deeper commitment to investment outside the estate coal mines, and an estate economy less dependent upon the coal-ironworks symbiosis allowed Michael Ellison to keep arrears on the Arundel Sheffield estate below £10,000 after 1837.<sup>131</sup> After a series of poor rent days in the early 1840s some of these were written off in 1843.

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128	SCL WWM A	Rentals 1788-1810.
129	SCL WWM A358	(Rentals)
130	SCL WWM A371-380	Rentals.
131	SCL Arundel Mss S158	Rentals.

Ironworks problems included the predicted lack of ironstone. By 1836 Messrs Chambers and the Grahams could only continue by "drifting" in Tankersley Park.<sup>132</sup> Such shortages must have pushed up costs, and by the early 1840s a flood of Scottish iron at low prices made the inefficient and high cost plant of the region uncompetitive.<sup>133</sup> It was this market situation which created pressure for technical improvement and the controversies over hot and cold blast which characterized the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>134</sup> For all the technical expertise neither Elsecar nor Milton made money before their lease to William Dawes in 1849.

Special cases were two pottery enterprises in Swinton. Up to 600 people depended upon the Bramelds' Rockingham pottery and Messrs Green for employment. In 1826 Earl Fitzwilliam sank £10,358 of his own money in the Bramelds' pottery and he became sole mortgagee after a longstanding failure to pay rent.<sup>135</sup> In 1822 Messrs Greens' of the Don Pottery mortgaged their works to the Earl for £2,000 as they owed £1,700 for coal,

"as without it I apprehend they must shut up their works."<sup>136</sup>

The Bramelds survived until 1841, when Fitzwilliam forelosed for non-payment of £4,500 in rent.

In 1831 Messrs Sanderson had stopped their works at Parkgate, and in 1832 Newman was pessimistic about the Grahams at Milton.

"I cannot think that Mr Graham will persist in his pretensions, and if he should, I have every confidence that he will fail."<sup>137</sup>

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|-----|-----------------------------------|--|
| 132 | SCL WWM G40                       | B Biram Rentals - Earl Fitzwilliam, May 1836; ibid 3. February 1836.                         |
| 133 | Newton Chambers MSS               | M Chambers - Messrs Newton Chambers, 4 December 1843.  |
| 134 | G Mee                             | op cit pp53-4.   |
| 135 | A A Eaglestone and<br>T A Lockett | <u>The Rockingham Pottery</u> (1964) p46.  |
| 136 | SCL WWM G49                       | W Newman - Lord Milton, 27 April 1832.   |
| 137 | SCL WWM G40<br>WWM G49            | B Biram - Earl Fitzwilliam, 31 December 1831;<br>W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 27 April 1832. |

Total owings to Walkers Bank in Rotherham grew, being

"about £4,000 exclusive of the £6,000 which is the net product of the last rent days"

in 1833, but there were hopes of Elsecar becoming self supporting.<sup>138</sup> Newman's hopes were a chimera. Graham owed £25,000 in 1835 and a further £3,000 had been necessary to pay their bills by 1838. By then the large firm of Booth and Co were in difficulties, owing £1,079 to Fitzwilliam. It was proposed that the Earl take over the capital of the firm for which they would pay 6%. They already owed substantial sums to Parker Shore and Co's Old Sheffield Bank. Meanwhile Hartop at Elsecar required £500 at Elsecar Furnace to carry on.<sup>139</sup> The Graham's debts included

"£1,000 advanced ... for workmen's houses"

in 1837-8.<sup>140</sup> In July 1838 £6000 was paid to them, purchasing their buildings and machinery, which was rented back to the concern, and on 31 December 1840 Jessop valued their assets in buildings and machinery at £20,637, from which the £6,000 above was deducted.<sup>141</sup>

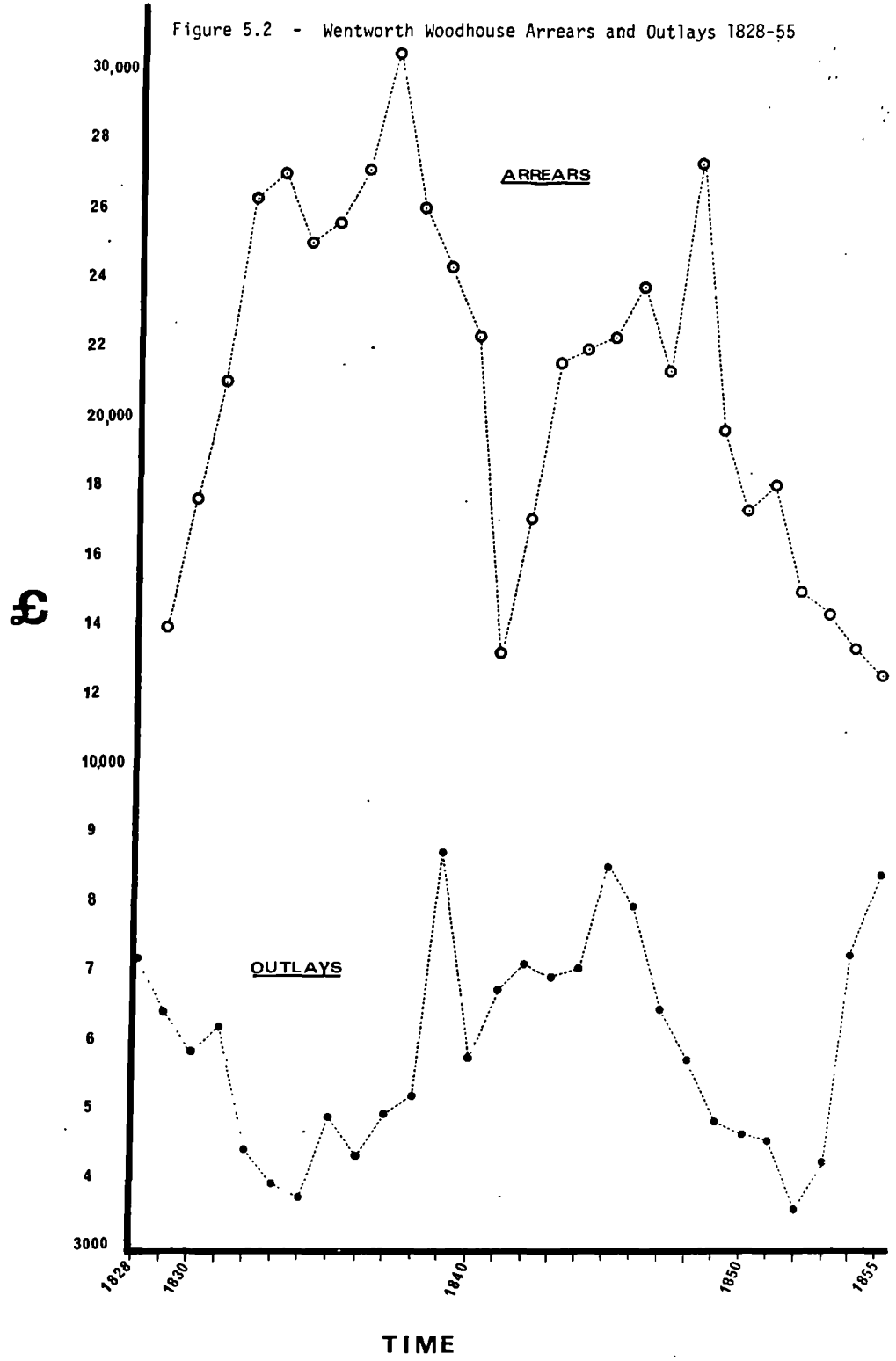
Earl Fitzwilliam lent large sums to Booth and Co, ensuring that his debt had priority over that to Parker Shore and Co. He also acted as guarantor for tenants' ironworks. By 1842

"Messrs Parker and Shore are so straitened by the general state of embarrassment in the trade of Sheffield that they are reluctantly obliged to call upon your Lordship to pay off the £3,000 advanced to Messrs Booth and Co on your Lordship's guarantee." <sup>142</sup>

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138	SCL WWM G49	W Newman - Lord Milton, 26 November 1833.
139	SCL WWM G49	W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, May 1838.
140	SCL WWM A371	1837.
141	SCL WWM A375	1 July 1838; 31 December 1840.
142	SCL WWM G49	W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 19 April 1842.

Figure 5.2 - Wentworth Woodhouse Arrears and Outlays 1828-55



Booth and Co owed Fitzwilliam £2,400, and a total of at least £25,000 to Messrs Parker Shore and Co, though some of this was "old lent and considered lost". The company needed a further £2,000 to continue and Fitzwilliam took over the buildings and engines as guarantor and required a rental of 6½% per annum over and above that property which had already been acquired. A new winning of coal had recently been opened at Tinsley Colliery and the Company tried to sell their Park Iron Works, leased from the Duke of Norfolk, which they regarded as their least profitable asset.<sup>143</sup> These steps were taken, and averted the total cessation of their activities in 1843 when Parker Shore and Co failed. Again Earl Fitzwilliam was involved when Messrs Bramah and Booth discussed setting the works going on a larger scale in 1844. Newman noted

"£5-6,000 needed as Bramah lacks capital and might then fail".

In these difficult times Newton Chambers, who had survived by product differentiation and active marketing, sold Hemmingfield colliery, and the Grahams were further embarrassed, asking for temporary abeyance of a £2,000 sum owed under an agreement of 1840. They had made

"an outlay of upwards of £2,000 emanating unavoidably from the carrying out of the agreement."

but their new plant was no insurance against

"the unparalleled depression in the iron trade which is locking up our resources in addition to which we had to encounter during the last 18 months the large expenditure at these works sanctioned by your Lordship in the autumn of 1840." 144

They were nevertheless being pressed to pay a month later.<sup>145</sup> Relations

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|-----|-------------|---|
| 143 | NCRO        | Fitzwilliam Correspondence. W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 19 April 1843. |
| 144 | SCL WWM G51 | Graham - Earl Fitzwilliam, 14 September 1842.                           |
| 145 | SCL WWM G51 | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 22 October 1842.                           |

were never easy between estate and tenant and by 1845 they complained that the soft coal supplied by the estate was detrimental to their iron in response to the longstanding claim that it was deficient in quality compared with that produced from Elsecar. They asked that Biram take the 10% of soft coal they mined and sell it with other soft coal from the estate mines in response to an earlier order that they should not sell

"any more soft coal by water at Elsecar." <sup>146</sup>

They remained in difficulties until the surrender of their lease to Fitzwilliam in 1848.

The Earl's tenants were instrumental in the destruction of Sheffield's oldest surviving bank in 1843. Apart from Booth and Co's loans, other Fitzwilliam tenants attempted to manipulate his known interventionism. In 1839 Otley Shore informed Newman that William Dyson of Abbeydale Works

"has lately required rather more advance than usual in consequence of certain improvements which have been carried out both on his Lordship's premises and on his own."

The banker was worried by this advance in the bad trading conditions of 1839-43, but sought reassurance in a promise by Dyson that he was owed £1,500 by Earl Fitzwilliam for improvements. <sup>147</sup> The bank was told

"His Lordship never engaged to contribute more than £500. Mr Dyson has ... imprudently and ... under some misconception expended about £1,400 upon the house and £200 upon the outbuildings."

He had been paid £850 and

"... if the advance of another £500 will relieve him and enable him to go on creditably and as usual in his business and in his account with you, his Lordship might not object to do so."

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146 NCR0 Fitzwilliam MSS Graham - Earl Fitzwilliam, 12 August 1845.

147 SCL WWM STW 19 (i) A-S Otley Shore - William Newman, 28 October 1839.

The offer was accepted, but subsequently

"part of his works was blown up and his own life attempted by a kind of hand grenade which was thrown in at his window. The suspension of his trade and the urgency of his creditors brought on his own bankruptcy."

Parker Shore and Co were his main creditors, and he was bankrupted in part by their failure. In 1845 he had

"got a certificate"

and his

"scythes are in high estimation".

Again he sought Fitzwilliam's guarantee for £800 in entering a partnership with the Sheffield Bank.

The Dyson debt was trivial compared with that owed to Parker Shore and Co by Messrs Booth and Co. They owed the bank £32,556.3.10 in January 1843. It was an old account, negotiated by Mr John Shore Junior, a partner in the bank until 1828. No interest had been charged. Booth and Co

"... began a large colliery on the property of Earl Fitzwilliam and they thought it to be a prosperous concern, and from explanations that had been made the debt has been increased. The colliery was now making a profit of £3,000 a year."

The security for the sums lent had been the works worth perhaps £15,000 according to Mr Booth, and Brightside property yielding £900 per annum. This was a further works which Booth believed

"the most advantageous concern on the river."

John Shore Junior had incurred a second debt to Booth and Co of £26,000 with interest, liquidating the first. For this second debt there was no security, and from 1828 until 1843 the Bank made persistent attempts to get security and to recover payment. It continued to grow, and they

obtained only warrants of attorney. By January 1843

"The whole liabilities of Booths is £65,448 without interest. If interest had been added to the £32,000 in 1828, it would nearly have doubled itself. It would have made it altogether nearly £100,000. The whole security ... is the power to raise £10,000 and a bond besides." 149

For the local economy it was a financial collapse of exceptional character, the greatest financial scandal of the 19th century. Neither landed proprietor directly affected could do more than attempt to contain economic devastation. The Bank had not taken account of bad debts. John Shore Junior had left the bank in 1828, owing £29,796 to the bank, became bankrupt thereafter and went to America about 1836. Mr Hazzard, a clerk in the Bank for 40 or 50 years, appropriated £1,500 over a long period, but was kept on and gave a promissory note in 1835, but was unlikely to be able to pay, and another partner, Mr Blackclock, died in 1827 owing £2,198.13.10, a sum which had neither been repaid nor had interest been charged. In 1832 Duckett and Co failed owing £6,000 to the bank. Though the partners had considered that the bank could pay 10 shillings in the pound, and Parker and Mr Shore senior considered that their private property would eventually cover the debts, the extent of the catastrophe for Sheffield business was enormous.<sup>150</sup> Though the Sheffield Independent tried to defend the bankrupts the Standard thundered

"In a moral point of view we are not aware of a single case that has occurred among the joint stock bank disasters of the last eight years one more worthy of condemnation or which was more generally injurious to the district embraced within the sphere of its operations."

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149 Sheffield Iris Bankruptcy proceedings, 15 July 1843.  
150 Sheffield Iris 29 July 1843.



The collapse brought ruin to dozens of families, and was especially condemned because of the large sums withdrawn from the bank by the partners since the bad debts emerged in the early 1830s. The eventual balance sheet was worse than the partners had thought

Table 5.7 - Parker Shore and Co January 15 1843 Accounts

£300,000	bad or doubtful debts
£220,000	good debts
£16,000	property
£43,932	losses
£43,277	expenses

Hugh Parker, the managing partner, had emoluments and rents of £34,346 and had drawn from the bank £58,000 since 1835. In 1835 £148,349 in bad debts already existed, and a further £17,540 was contracted between 1835-1843.

For all the moral outrage at managerial incompetence and the ruin of the innocent, the troubles of the iron trade had been a critical aspect of the destruction of local credit. In Great Britain it was estimated in May 1843 that at the previous year end 190 blast furnaces out of 529 in total had been out of blast. Yorkshire was then producing 42,000 tons of crude iron out of 1,210,000 in Great Britain.<sup>151</sup> British iron had fallen 23% in price since the beginning of 1842.<sup>152</sup> This was the culminating crisis for the inefficient, relatively smaller sized, and less well placed South Yorkshire industry, and its capital base had been steadily eroded since 1825 or even 1813. Whereas

"the trade in Staffordshire and Shropshire is now in the hands of a much more substantial body of capitalists than it had been in any former period of depression,"

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151 Sheffield Iris 20 May 1843.

152 Sheffield Iris 15 April 1843.

in South Yorkshire this was not the case. Despite attempts to modify methods of production, all too often new investment involved the throwing of good money after bad, with little possibility of profits. Only radical changes like

"running the iron in a melted state direct from the smelting to the puddling furnace"

to cut costs<sup>153</sup> and the new men and major innovations of the next decades in a new era of specialization were to rescue the South Yorkshire iron industries from a much weakened condition.

In these circumstances direct control of ironworks was no more likely to be successful than the more usual leasing policy. In the hope of preserving local employment and demand for coal the fourth and fifth Earls' Fitzwilliam managed first the Elsecar and then the Milton furnaces as estate enterprises between 1827 and 1849. Between 1827 and 1840 perhaps £10,000 was lost at Elsecar, or 10 shillings per ton of iron made.<sup>154</sup> Though fully detailed accounts do not survive, and may never have existed, and the fragmentary records suggest differing levels of expenditure and income there, the furnace undoubtedly lost money.<sup>155</sup> Accounting was weak, management idiosyncratic under Henry Hartop and efforts at reform frustrating. As Daniel Maude, the estate auditor, noted in August 1845

"His promised explanations consisted of long rambling accounts of the losses of all iron works during past years ... I have had a sight of the books and they are certainly in a very unsatisfactory state. The important books are not entered up for three years." 156

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|-----|----------------|--|
| 153 | Sheffield Iris | 2 April 1843 (extracted Report from Birmingham Gazette). |
| 154 | SCL WWM G44    | Half yearly statements of iron made.                     |
| 155 | G Mee          | op cit, pp45-63.   |
| 156 | SCL WWM G50    | D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 25 August 1845.              |

The South Yorkshire iron industry was weak, an adjunct of the Bradford iron works which set prices.<sup>157</sup> Even enterprising firms met difficulties. Newton Chambers and Messrs Graham supplied piping on a large scale to gas and water undertakings. M Chambers wrote in May 1843

"It is impossible to do business in London at present to our satisfaction. The Scotch will bring us to ruin ... Reports Welsh and Staffordshire £5.15 cold blast ... I am at a loss what to do ..."

He could not quote less than £6.2.6d per pipes of 1.-5 inches, and Grahams were believed to have tendered at £5.10s for 12 inch pipes for the Southwark Water Company. Neither could compete with Scots' iron at under £5 a ton.

It was in these circumstances that the losses of Elsecar should be understood, but Hartop's vague costing left leeway for claims of profits for the 1840s of £2-3000 per annum. He sought 20% of this sum as his share. Maude rejected these "visionary notions".

"I cannot but be amused at his attempt to convince your Lordship in the fact of his own accounts such as they are, and of the more melancholy fact of the actual disappearance of so much money from your pockets, that you have been in reality a gainer by some £80,000 when you supposed you were a loser ... Perhaps the fitting answer ... would be that when the profits were paid over your Lordship would then return the percentage ... it is almost needless to say that I think he has no claim ... and I am glad you have referred the matter to me as a mere matter of business." 158

Hartop quarrelled with agent Newman and the Grahams at Milton over the optimum size of plant for cold blast pig iron furnaces, considering 35 tons the limit while others thought 50-60 tons feasible. Without new investment the issue was academic, and to that end new lessees were sought as an alternative to estate spending. Collieries given up by Booth and Co at Tinsley Park were let to Benjamin Huntsman in 1845 and the same approach was adopted wherever possible elsewhere.<sup>159</sup>

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| 157 | SCL WWM STW (1)  | H Hartop - Scholefield (Parkgate) 1840.  |
| 158 | SCL Newton Chambers MSS<br>SCL WWM G50                     | M Chambers - Messrs Newton Chambers, 20 May 1843.<br>D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 16 April 1849;<br>25 January 1851.                                  |
| 159 | NCRO Fitzwilliam MSS<br><br>SCL Newman and Bond<br>MSS 304 | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 11 February 1847.<br><br>Draft leases re Tinsley Park collieries taken over<br>from Booth and Co by B Huntsman 1845-66. |

Applications for leasing of Milton were sought in 1848 and Elsecar in 1849. Maude was convinced

"... your Lordship cannot through the fluctuations of years carry on the iron trade to profit and that in the long run you will be the gainer by selling your minerals and giving another the fair trader's profit for manufacturing for you." 160

William Dawes, a Birmingham ironmaster, applied for both. He had been

"in partnership with his brother in some extensive ironworks a few miles from Birmingham. Their lease will expire in March."

He looked at both and in less than two weeks offered to run both in cold blast, being supplied with iron stone from Tankersley and Skiers Spring. Hartop was to get the ironstone and Biram the coal. Enquiries were made about his abilities of Sir John Guest and Mr Scholefield MP, for Birmingham.<sup>161</sup> In two months contracts were prepared.

Dawes was the most enterprising industrialist to appear on the Fitzwilliam estates since the departure of the Walkers. He sought free brick and stone, and continued to fight for every concession from the estate owner which he might possibly gain. In 1850 he asked

"for 22cwt to be considered as a ton"

in coal purchases and soon Newman anxiously reported

"Dawes has erected bar ironwork and puddling furnaces at Elsecar, outside the terms of the lease."

Mistakes in the lease required counsel's opinion, while Dawes works became noisy, but by May 1850 Newman reported

"Within the last month or six weeks (Dawes has) considerably altered the mode of exhaust at Elsecar which has been the means of lessening the sound very considerably and one had hoped had ceased to disturb the neighbourhood." 162

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160	SCL WWM G50	D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 16 April 1849.
161	SCL WWM G49	W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 3 February 1849; 5 February 1849.
162	SCL WWM G49	W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 22 August 1855.

Anxiety to lease the premises had led the administrators to let coal and ironstone too cheaply, and there was an attempt in 1852-3 to rectify this as coal prices rose by

"suspending the completion of the lease ... until some further arrangement is made requiring 10/- per ton for ironstone." 163

Dawes appears formidable in negotiations, and at one stage threatened withdrawal in 1849

"the Lady at home raised difficulties about a residence, however this was too preposterous after all that had passed." 164

He so annoyed Maude that the auditor complained

" ... would the Lady like a wing of Wentworth." 165

More serious for the fifth Earl was the question of employment, for employment and coal sales were the two major policy objectives in both direct working and leasing of the works between 1815 and 1857. Fitzwilliam hoped that giving notice to workmen at Elsecar

"will be rendered unnecessary by Mr Dawes employing all these people, indeed I shall rather expect him to do this for I very much dislike the introduction of strangers ... of course I don't apply this to the employment of confidential servants and employees." 166

Dawes brought his own clerk, which was probably desirable after the debacle of former iron works book keeping, and obtained a favourable lease. He invested substantial capital of his own, and appears to have prospered, avoiding the arrears so characteristic of estate ironworks in former times. Indirect evidence of this is the growth of Elsecar, for the ironworks were

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163	SCL WWM G49	W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 15 January 1853.
164	SCL WWM G50	D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 5 July 1849.
165	SCL WWM STW (19) ii	D Maude - W Newman, 25 June 1849.
166	SCL WWM STW (III) NCRO Fitzwilliam MSS	Earl Fitzwilliam - W Newman, 26 April 1849; W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 14 December 1849.

a major market for local coal.

"I have been at Elsecar and am obliged to order the building of towards 40 new houses. It is frightful to think of the population we shall have growing up there." 167

If the social fears of greater population troubled the Earl, the expansion of income consequent upon it must have done much to allay them. Nearly £30,000 was paid in rent and arrears for coal and ironstone in 1859/60 and this became a "normal" level of receipt after 1853.<sup>168</sup> Fitzwilliam was often more optimistic in financial matters than his advisers

"... the arrangements with Mr Dawes have indeed been somewhat untoward, but nevertheless the clear profits of the collieries in hand were last year above £16,000, so that with rent, the total mineral income (in hand and let) exceeds £30,000 (it is very near £38,000). 169

#### The Context of the Fitzwilliam Rise in Income 1849-57

The collapse of Irish receipts, considerable mortgage debts and a variety of other problems at last produced the reorganization of the Wentworth Woodhouse estates which had long been required. Lord Milton wrote to the Earl in January of 1849

"I am indeed sorry to hear so melancholy an account of your affairs, but I trust you will find some means of improving them and that your Irish property will not continue so entirely useless as it seems to be." 170

The banking firm Strahan Paul and Bates were pressing for repayment of large debts so that he had to press his agents to send "remittance to reach Temple Bar soon". 171

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167	SCL WWM T2	Earl Fitzwilliam - Lord Milton, 30 March 1852.
168	SCL WWM A419/20	1859/60.
169	SCL WWM T2	Earl Fitzwilliam - Lord Milton, 21 December 1855.
170	NCRO Fitzwilliam MSS	Lord Milton - Earl Fitzwilliam, 11 November 1849.
171	SCL WWM STW (III)	Earl Fitzwilliam - William Newman, 28 November 1849.

Interest payments were already approaching £50,000 per annum, and eating considerably into a stagnant revenue. It was in these circumstances that the ironworks were re-let and other more fundamental re-organisation undertaken. In 1849

"an entire new arrangement of Lord Fitzwilliam's mineral affairs" was undertaken. Mr Woodhouse, an experienced coal viewer, was called in to put

"the colliery affairs under a good system of management." 172

At last Daniel Maude and William Newman found a means of encroaching upon the near autonomy which Joshua Biram exercised in coal mining matters. The Earl himself was of the opinion that Biram, house steward and coal manager

"is not sufficiently watchful in that object ... to prevent the increase in the claims of the bank upon him." 173

and it resulted in a demand for economy in all estate departments.

The drive for economy began as a product of a dispute between Hartop and Biram between 1847 and 1849. Ever diplomatic, Daniel Maude wrote to the Earl in April 1849

"It ought not to be overlooked that Biram has had great experience and that he has some interest in the question in the same direction as your Lordship. Is he the collier interested or is the iron-founder in no ways interested in the profitable working of the colliery, most likely to be mistaken?" 174

Hartop sought to discredit Biram, but only excited an outside viewing of the collieries.

Some defects were inevitably found when the Fitzwilliam operations were compared with supposed good practice elsewhere. Whereas much iron-

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172 SCL WWM STW 19 (ii) D Maude - William Newman, 16 July 1849.

173 SCL WWM STW (iii) Earl Fitzwilliam - William Newman, 14 January 1850.

174 SCL WWM G50 D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 16 April 1849.

work was done by smiths at Elsecar, Lord Ellesmere

"purchases all castings and allows no smiths at collieries ... the gentleman to whom I refer says that his principle is to keep his collieries as poor as possible, for he finds that much is asked for or thought needful which he finds can be done well without." 175

Maude knew that Hartop, displaced from Milton, was trying to discredit Biram.

"I am afraid that this colliery question is being made more of a battlefield than one would wish and that your Lordship is in the troublesome position of an umpire between two combatants."

Maude saw that because Biram and the Earl had made many decisions in tandem without consulting either himself or Newman, the responsibility for adjudication could only rest upon the Earl himself in this affray. Biram had spent large sums at the collieries. In 1845 £11,015 was expended in opening new workings.<sup>176</sup> Maude also accepted Hartop's criticism that

"the same work (of casting and foundry work for the mines) may be done more economically by one establishment than by three if that one be managed with judgement. How Biram could need 10 smiths at one colliery while you had the foundry on hand I do not know."

But he knew that Hartop wished to set up a foundry himself and sought to prevent it. Hartop claimed that he had the personal authorization of the Earl to do so.<sup>177</sup> Newman and Maude had together persuaded the Earl to take the iron works out of Hartop's hands and to let both to Dawes, and Newman must at one stage have doubted for Maude reassured him.

"I know that you have had a hard battle to fight but if you remember we did get a very reluctant consent last autumn to the letting of Elsecar." 178

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- |     |                      |  |
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| 175 | SCL WWM G50          | D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 5 July 1859.         |
| 176 | SCL WWM T2           | Earl Fitzwilliam - Lord Milton, 6 November 1845. |
| 177 | NCRO Fitzwilliam MSS | D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 28 May 1849.         |
| 178 | SCL WWM STW 19 (ii)  | W Newman - D Maude, 7 March 1849.                |



For the time being the Earl agreed to the outside inspection and by July 1849 Maude sought to re-assure Biram against Hartop's attacks.<sup>179</sup> Subsequent economic expansion seemed to vindicate the coal manager's position, though Maude continued to complain that

"superintendence is so thoroughly minimal"

in the collieries, while he had

"a strong conviction that the economical reform really so necessary should be mainly applied to the expenditure in Mr Biram's book." 180

By September 1851 the Earl noted

"I am happy to say that affairs at Temple Bar are much improved. I can now look at the account without dismay." 181

Despite weaknesses in land rents, amounting to a 14% reduction in 1851, the pressure was relieved as the widening markets offered by railway development at last secured an expanding market at better prices.

"The coal trade is increasing beyond my expectation. The Great Northern want a supply of 5,000 tons a week. This is far beyond what we can do without a greatly increased staff of colliers and as I think this might be done very gradually I have only engaged for 2,000 but it is quite evident we must go beyond this limit or risk the loss of the market." 182

The 1850s provided rewards for large amounts of capital sunk in development over a long period. In 1850 new works at Elsecar, houses, other new works, stores and shops cost £2,206, and £1,418 was spent on the Tankersley railway. Twelve coal mines were recorded on the estates, yielding rent of less than £10,000. Arrears generally amounted to about 15% of this rental. Rent payments for coal mines and ironstone were as follows

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179	SCL WWM STW 19 (ii)	D Maude - W Newman , 2 July 1849.
180	NCRO Fitzwilliam MSS (GC)	D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 26 November 1852.
181	SCL WWM T2	Earl Fitzwilliam - Lord Milton, 16 September 1851.
182	SCL WWM T2	Earl Fitzwilliam - Lord Milton, 26 November 1851.

Table 5.8- Coal and Ironstone Rents - Wentworth Woodhouse 1850<sup>183</sup>

	£
Tankersley Coal	1,400
Tankersley Ironstone	708
Tinsley Coal	1,692
Milton Field Coal	140
Swinton Coal	97
New Park Gate	1,386 + 626
Strafford Main	430
Pitsmoor Coal	201
Rawmarsh	105
Mosbrough	70
Elsecar Mid Colliery	1,046 + 448
High Elsecar	383
Low Elsecar	574
	<hr/>
	9,201
	<hr/>

Royalties more than doubled this figure.

Railways were critical to the great expansion from the mid-century onwards, and coal owners sought to negotiate en bloc with the new interests. The Earl of Wharnccliffe (d 1855) was a railway director and alternated the chairmanship of the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway with the 5th Earl Fitzwilliam in the 1850s. It had been calculated that a Worsborough branch of the Sheffield Barnsley and Wakefield railway would create demand for about 18 million tons of coal in May 1847, and the Earls benefited from sales of land at between £80 and £100 per acre. By 1846 Wharnccliffe received £1,000 per annum in rents from the Worsborough Bridge Company, coal and iron rental, and in 1874 mineral rents on the

Wortley estate exceeded £15,100, though they had only reached £3,851 in 1863.<sup>184</sup> As relatives of the Marquis of Bute and coal owners in North-east England they were well aware of the advantages of coal.<sup>185</sup>

Within a relatively short time local coal owners came into conflict with the directors of the Great Northern Railway. The South Yorkshire coal owners believed that the company was attempting to establish a monopoly of the Yorkshire coalfield and the control of the price of coal in the region. When

"there seems to have been a simultaneous feeling ... that they were entitled to an advance"

by the owners in 1852, the railway company withdrew their waggons at Elsecar and elsewhere rather than pay the higher price.<sup>186</sup> This struggle underlay the initial decision to build the South Yorkshire (coal) railway and later decisions to extend it to the tideway.<sup>187</sup> Another tactic used by the Great Northern was to try to get lower prices by stocking in the summer when demand was weak, and to buy enough coal to carry themselves through the early part of the winter.

"the colliers would thus be fairly employed at the pits during hay-time and harvest, and only partially so afterwards when they could get no other work." 188

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- 184 SCL Wh/m 408/9                      Bateman and Bennett. 13 May 1846; G Senior.  
Earl of Wharnccliffe. 8 November 1847; 4 July 1847;  
24 July 1847  
Wh/m 3/36                                1863; 3/36 Rental 1874.
- 185 J Davies                                "Aristocratic Town makers and the coal metropolis.  
The Marquises of Bute and the Growth of Cardiff  
1776-1947" in D Cannadine (ed) Patricians, power  
and politics in nineteenth century towns (1982)  
pp18-67.
- 186 SCL WWM G88                        Earl Fitzwilliam-Jarrett. 31 May 1851; Earl  
Fitzwilliam - E Denison. 22 January 1853;  
WWM - G49                                W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 15 January 1853.
- 187 SCL WWM G49                        W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 15 January 1853.
- 188 SCL WWM G49                        W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 5 May 1855.

The Railway Company sought out non-members of the coal owners association and tried to avoid buying from the members. Newman tried to break this attack. Coal sold to the Great Northern for 5/- a ton sold in London at 18/-, and coal sold at 7/- at 27/- in May 1855.

"The profits of the Great Northern Co at the price they have obtained have been so disproportionately great when compared with the profits of the coal owners that I think you will agree with me that each step in advance should properly be 4<sup>D</sup> rather than 3<sup>D</sup>" (sliding scale).

In August 1855 the proposal was adopted by the coal owners and by the Barnsley coal owners in the same month. For a time the Railway Company retreated, and waggons were sent to Elsecar, but there were further difficulties when the Great Northern sought to use Earl Fitzwilliam's name as an agent

"so that they can sue for non payment for coal"<sup>189</sup>

Coal output climbed in 1852-3, with 190,000 tons raised at Elsecar and gross receipt of £45,000 in 1853, while this took no account of

"a falling off especially of hard coals arising from the increased consumption of Elsecar Iron Works." <sup>190</sup>

Coal production from all Fitzwilliam estate mines exceeded 250,000 tons, excluding those leased, and capital spending mounted. In 1854-5 £5,000 was invested in house building in Elsecar, and Newman still thought Biram extravagant in 1856, in expenditures at Elsecar and Parkgate collieries.<sup>191</sup> It seems that the fifth Earl placed little curb on his veteran steward and colliery manager before his death in 1857.

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189 SCL WWM G49 W Newman - Robert Baxter, 20 May 1855.

190 NCRO Fitzwilliam MSS B Biram - Earl Fitzwilliam, 19 January 1854.

191 NCRO Fitzwilliam MSS D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 20 December 1856.

The Yorkshire agent Newman may have been unable to limit the growth of spending on coal mines investment, but he played an important part in securing markets for coal by his role as the Earl's representative. On at least four occasions he led local coal owners in trying to reduce transport costs from the Barnsley area. In 1826 Don Navigation improvements seemed likely to cut off Earl Fitzwilliam's property.

Newman argued

"The Company ought also to give up their intended advance in the dues of coals as it is but fair, when they ask your Lordship to assent to a measure of importance to them, that they in return should not hesitate to make a concession with respect to the dues on coal."

Other coal owners had deputed Newman on their behalf and the Navigation Company was forced to cut dues on coal and limestone by half and to split collection points, placing them at Eastwood and Mexborough so that those travelling short distances would not be penalized.<sup>192</sup>

Again in 1845 he was

"instrumental in composing the differences which had arisen in the negotiations for the amalgamation of the Dearne and Dove canal company and the Don Navigation."

The Don Co accepted all the debts contracts and liabilities and paid five years salaries to officers of the Dearne and Dove.

The Don directors

"In consequence of the reduction of dues ... require that the coal owners will join in opposing any railway scheme which may be prejudicial to the consolidated canal and river Navigation".

Newman gave only "qualified assent", noting that

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192 SCL WWM G49

W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 16 February 1826;  
24 February 1826; 31 March 1826.

"your Lordship might be compelled to contravene or even to make a railway in self defence."

It was the root of the South Yorkshire coal railway scheme of the following year, in which the Earl's stake was eventually £16,000 in 1857.<sup>193</sup> Nevertheless he supplied the Don Navigation Company with 20,000 tons of coal in 1847.<sup>194</sup>

The fifth Earl feared monopolies, and justified the high prices of land sold to railway companies as a defence against enterprises set up solely for private profit without responsibility in the districts through which they passed. It was a matter of principle in the long retention of ownership of the Derwent Navigation to Malton before its sale in 1854.

"... everything very prosperous except the Derwent Navigation which I fear cannot revive at all so that it may become a question whether it may not be as well to negotiate with the railways. I have hitherto objected to this because it kept the monopoly of the Scarborough Railway in check, but now that the Thirsk and Malton is opened that will perhaps produce the same effect." <sup>195</sup>

It was sold in 1854 for £40,000.<sup>196</sup>

The improvement of the Fitzwilliam estate finances in the mid 1850s was in part the product of improved administration, but more responsibility rests upon the autonomous rise in receipts. Fitzwilliam wrote to Lord Milton on 21 December 1855, in a year that had been marked by a revival of financial alarms,

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|-----|------------------------------|--|
| 193 | SCL WWM G49                  | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, 1 July 1845.  |
| 194 | SCL WWM G49                  | W Newman - Earl Fitzwilliam, November 1847.  |
| 195 | SCL WWM T2                   | Earl Fitzwilliam - Lord Milton, 10 November 1853.  |
| 196 | SCL WWM T2<br>F M L Thompson | Earl Fitzwilliam - Lord Milton, 12 August 1856;<br><u>English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century</u><br>(1963) p262. |

"I said the pecuniary consideration does not much matter, nor does it, for upon making up the revenue accounts this year as I always do in October or November, I find the gross income exceeds £130,000 so that with your Irish income it is near £170,000 which far exceeds any previous year so that by cutting down the building expenses (which in Newman's account were unusually large, Elsecar etc) last year, there will be no difficulty in meeting the charge, so that tho I was rather startled when I found Ward's schedule exhibiting so large an increase, I am now quite satisfied of what the Chancellor of the Exchequer would call the soundness of the financial system. There seems indeed to be no end of the increasing income at Wentworth, tho it is not quite consistent with rural enjoyments ..." 197

The ageing Earl's peace of mind involved disposal of outlying property as well as the continued growth of coal incomes, but there is no doubt that the Wentworth system was playing its part as the most dynamic segment of the Fitzwilliam's estate economy.

VI Landed Estate Industry and Coal in an Urbanizing Economy. The Sheffield Arundel Estate 1815-75

If landowner paternalism seemed appropriate in the opening up of the coal near Barnsley, there was less need in Sheffield. There the landowner could reduce intervention and social presence and enjoy substantial returns nevertheless. The population of the Sheffield parish made "a wonderful advance" from 31,314 persons in 1801 to 111,109 in 1841 and 185,157 people in 1861. Between 1851 and 1861 there was a population increase of 37% and a 51% increase in housing provision.<sup>198</sup>

A ground landlord could expect rents to grow in these circumstances, and excluding minerals and markets Arundel Sheffield rents expanded from £17,282 in 1801 to £19,291 in 1850 and £24,911 in 1860.<sup>199</sup> In general industry was allowed to look after itself in these circumstances, with

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197 SCL WWM T2 Earl Fitzwilliam - Lord Milton, 21 December 1855.  
 198 SCL South Yorkshire Notes and Queries Vol 2 p46.  
 199 SCL Arundel Mss S355 1860;  
                                   S158 Rentals 1700-1850.

only a broad framework of encouragement from the landowner. Apart from the troubled iron-works already discussed, and the implications for the supply of credit in the town, most manufacturing establishments remained small until the 1840s. Occasional mortgage credit, encouraging leasing arrangements and trust and the provision of protection and some services, was sufficient to allow trade to develop in its own fluctuating and individualistic manner.

Coal mining could not be left entirely to market forces, for receipts from it were a vital component of estate income and Sheffield's whole prosperity depended upon expanding supply. The Norfolk estate's near monopoly of local supply was modified by the completion of the canal in 1819 and by the building of the rail link to Rotherham in 1839, but in the former case the canal brought advantage to the Duke of Norfolk by being routed to the south of the River Don, thereby allowing mines to use it for transport and drainage. The Duke's lessees continued to dominate local coal supplies.

The problem of the 1805 leasing have already been discussed. In 1816 an investigation was ordered by the Duke:

Fornham 7 May 1816

"Ordered by His Grace that inquiries shall be made immediately as to the quantity of coal worked by the Sheffield Coal Co during the year 1811, 1812 and 1813.

Ordered that enquiries shall be made with a view to ascertaining the usual mode of working coal by other proprietors in the neighbourhood of Sheffield.

Ordered that an immediate investigation be made as to the colliery leases."

By December 1818 the lessees, Sorby and Co, were being "kept in the dark"



about the lease which was due for renewal on Lady day 1820. Thomas Dunn and Jeffcock were making an offer to take over the lease, and there were fears that if Sorby and Co realised that the lease would not be renewed

"... these gentlemen will avail themselves of all the advantages which the extraordinary terms of this present lease gives them, and at the same time they refuse to submit the question of the breach of covenant and the consequent damages thereof to arbitration, which coupled with the sort of the answer, goes near to holding the lessor at arms length and bidding firm defiance." 200

It was agreed that the new tenants would settle accounts with the old lessees,

"It would throw the management of the whole subject into hands much more qualified to deal with it than a person of the Duke's rank and status, with the disposition which he always feels to avoid litigation whilst it is practicable to do so." 201

Despite this litigation followed the termination of the lease. Sorby and Co were prosecuted for dilapidation in the coal mines in 1820, a case ending in arbitration.<sup>202</sup> The lease to Dunn and Jeffcock was already agreed in March 1820 after an outside viewing by Mr Stobart, who was also employed valuing coal belonging to the Duke of Cumberland near Barnsley.

The main Norfolk coal mines required large expenditures by the new lessees, who agreed a lease similar to those operating in North-East England and more advanced than those usual on Lord Dudley's estates at this time.<sup>203</sup> A minimum annual royalty of £4,500 was payable to the owner, together with payment for coals got. The Company had difficulties in meeting the terms, paying £16,000 to renew and reorganize the mines and suf-

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200 SCL Arundel Mss S478 E Blount - M Ellison, 13 June 1820; 21 June 1820.

201 SCL Arundel Mss S478 Duke of Norfolk - M Ellison, 15 March 1820.

202 SCL Arundel Mss S478 E Blount - M Ellison, March 1820.

203 T J Raybould "The Development and Organization of Lord Dudley's Mineral Estates 1774-1845" ECHR 2nd Series Vol XXI 3 December 1968, pp539-40.

fering from low prices in the 1820s. There may also have been some competition from coal brought by canal. Nevertheless overall production grew and with it the amount received by the landowner. The leasing arrangement appears to have been generally satisfactory, and the lessees co-operated with the Duke in opposing the railway bill in 1836, and opened up new faces of coal in 1839.

"I am glad to know that the winning of the Sheffield Bed of coal is accomplished. The lessees may now set to work and make their fortunes as rapidly as the engine moves." 204

In the post-war period mineral arrears were usually between £2,500 and £3,500 per annum until in the early 1840s many of them were eliminated by payment or the disappearance of iron works enterprises which were liquidated or re-organized. Thereafter arrears remained low.

Constituted as the Sheffield Coal Company their lease was renewed in 1840 with stipulations as follows -

"Minimum payment of £2,800 pa 7 acres of Sheffield Bed  
£1,200 pa 6 acres of Manor Bed  
£500 pa 5 acres of Handsworth Bed"

They were to flatten hillocks and leave a 30 yard barrier between their workings and those of others. The Duke agreed to give no way-leaves to others and was not to lease coal to other coal masters.

By 1840 steam had replaced the horse gin for winding, and technological changes allowed deeper workings, including the use of ventilation fans pioneered by Benjamin Biram at Elsecar. Nevertheless the coal company met some of the problems which would later trouble their successors. Hounsfield, Dunn and Jeffcock gave notice that they must quit the Handsworth

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204 SCL Fairbank MSS CP50 (50) M Ellison - M Smith, 9 June 1839.

colliery within 12 months in March 1843 because the coal was exhausted as a result of a fault.<sup>205</sup> Later lessees of the Norfolk collieries were to suffer from this difficulty. Thomas Dunn was a lessee of the Woodthorpe colliery in 1843, and an assignee of Parker Shore and Co. By 1861 it was estimated that the Duke of Norfolk owned three-quarters of the Silkstone and Parkgate seams, or 70 years' supply at the 1860 rate of extraction. Leases were granted on the now usual system of a fixed rent "got or not got" (£10,390 in 1860) and an acreage payment, which varied according to the quality and size of the seam between £180 and £350 per acre in the Park and Handsworth areas. "Got or not got" clauses limited landowners' risks. Lessees had to build coal railways, maintain barriers and drainage, make good damage and generally follow "best practice". They had also to allow free access to the Duke's inspectors. In 1860 production was 226,800 tons of coal from the Norfolk pits.

Some coal was always let to iron producers and other coal mine operations outside Sheffield. Newton Chambers leased coal and ironstone from The Arundel estate as well as Fitzwilliam. In 1843-4 they and Earl Fitzwilliam spent £10,000 each in excavating a 3,000 yard sough from Skiers Spring to drain the Parkgate and Silkstone seams of coal and ironstone, and estate administrators had the task of ensuring that surveys were accurate. Ellison employed a secretary who was a qualified surveyor, but also did some of this work himself, noting on 11 April 1843 that Haigh offered £60 an acre for the coal near Chambers' colliery and an interview with

"Mr Locke to explain his survey of minerals at Chapelton, as usual his account was so lucid as not to be intelligible."

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205 SCL Arundel Mss S523 M Ellison diary, 21 March 1843.

Chambers also leased coal near the Grange on the Effingham estates in 1843.<sup>206</sup>  
 By the 1870s there was a long list of lessees of Arundel Sheffield coal.

Table 5.9 - Arundel Estate Coal Lessees c1875<sup>207</sup>

J Denton & Co Silkstone	£250 per acre 1874-80	£1,000-1,500 per annum
J Denton & Co Parkgate	£150 per acre 1874-80	No overall figure
	7 acres - over £1,000 per annum	
Wm Dunn Gainsford and Thomas Robert Gainsford 1876-80	£3,000 per annum	£13,848 Total
Sheffield Coal Company Ltd 1885-7	(£100 per annum)	£4,904
Newton Chambers & Co 1875	Coal and Ironstone	Large
Nunnery Colliery Co Ltd 1874	Details to 1889	Large
Rothervale Collieries	£400 minimum in lease 1875	
Holmes Collieries 1879/80	£5,000 minimum suspended 1879	

A guide to the annual value of coal leases other than the Sheffield collieries, is the estimate of £2,600 per annum made in July 1873.<sup>208</sup>

The increased scale of colliery working created problems in attracting lessees with sufficient capital. In 1865 the Sheffield collieries were leased to Benjamin Huntsman of East Retford Hall, who took a 21 year lease and claimed that he had spent £64,000 on the Sheffield collieries then in the hands of Trustees under the 1839 family settlement, sinking a new pit at the Nunnery colliery, and £48,000 on collieries of which he was

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206 SCL Arundel Mss S523 M Ellison Diary, 11 April 1843.

207 SCL Arundel Mss S233

208 SCL Arundel Mss S484 15th Duke of Norfolk's estates.

a tenant, in Tinsley and perhaps elsewhere.<sup>209</sup> In 1870 he sought a reduction in the acreage payment, claiming that £400 per acre was a high rent for coal 4 feet 9 inches thick. The rent was kept at £400 per acre, as Marcus Smith, the estate surveyor, claimed that the seams would thicken again. Huntsman tried to transfer his assets to a limited liability company but was forced to surrender his lease on 7 October 1870. His difficulties were compounded by a long strike and

"the burning of his pit at Tinsley."<sup>210</sup>

The Duke now faced a problem which had not arisen in Sheffield that century, a coal mining enterprise producing over 200,000 tons per annum, without a lessee. The terms allowed Huntsman were not ungenerous, though he complained:

"... after certain valuations were got out the lease was surrendered on the terms of the Duke allowing to Mr Huntsman £5,000 in cash in repayment of that amount recently paid to his grace for rent, and also buying back from him certain surplus stock stores and materials, by writing off rent to an amount exceeding £30,000."

Huntsman continued to claim that he had taken the lease of 800 acres of Silkstone coal of 6 feet thickness, and 400 acres of Parkgate at 5 feet 3 inches, as he believed he had lost £31,000 in his period of working the mines. He tried to persuade estate administrators to allow measurement of the seams which had become inundated with water in 1870, when effective pumping made them accessible again in 1873. This was resisted, and the mines were taken "in hand" from October 1870 until 1875, encompassing a boom period in the Sheffield trades.

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209 SCL Arundel Mss S484 B Huntsman - J R Hope Scott, 11 October 1870.  
(2) 15D

210 SCL Arundel Mss S484 C Few Notes on B Huntsman lease 1873. See also  
(2) 15g c

SCL Newman Bond Mss 304 Leases. Earl Fitzwilliam - B Huntsman 1 January 1845; 1866; B Huntsman - Captain Douglas 30 April 1870.

The mines were managed by Emerson Bainbridge. In May 1871 a Newcastle viewer G B Forster made a close study of their operations, assessing capital requirements to maintain present output or increase it to 280,000 tons, and critically examining the drainage and other problems. He concluded that output should be so increased, and that a widened market was desirable

"as there does not appear to be a chance of disposing of the surplus quantity in Sheffield." 211

He considered that additional capital spending of £3,000 on new equipment was desirable, with £1,500 required merely to preserve existing output. This latter aim required alterations to the winding drum, a new boiler, additions to the screening apparatus, 11 new waggons for the washing apparatus, a small engine to pump water to the coke ovens, extra sidings on the railway, one horse and two ponies and the renewal of 12 coke ovens. Increased output also required extra tubs, waggons, screens and sidings. Bainbridge was also believed to need about £3,000 as trade or working capital.

Forster underlines the problem which had troubled Huntsman. There was a need to improve the drainage of the mines. Two new pumps were needed in the Silkstone pit. Although in the previous year this had been kept clear of water by using an engine at Soaphouse pit, in 1869-70 it had "barely kept the mine clear of water when going at 6 strokes a minute." Extra pumping capacity would cost a further £3,000, and in the interim it was suggested that water might be given standage in the Parkgate seam

"to allow engine to stand 14 days without finding its way into the workings." 212

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211 SCL Arundel Mss S484 G B Forster Report, 31 May 1871.

212 *ibid*

Direct working was expensive. Bainbridge produced fortnightly accounts and the estate

"supplied the money's required for working the pits which have amounted to a very large sum ... and which of course are in addition to the money's received on the sale of coal and coke." 213

Sales outside Sheffield were made via the Shireoaks Company by an exclusive arrangement, and coke sales were gradually increased from washed small coal. The estate administrators had to address themselves to a multiplicity of problems. Howard of Glossop noted that Sheffield coal sold in that town, and complained that it was regularly much overweight in the autumn of 1871. According to enquiries in Sheffield this proved usual, and Messrs Davey stated

"my own opinion is that you might have not upon average been so good as most other collieries in your district."

By 1872 it was possible to assess the collieries' progress. Between October 1870 and February 21 1872, 259,149 tons of coal were raised. £8,861 was expended upon capital and a profit of £13,120 made. Most capital expenditure occurred in 1870-1, with only £329 expended between September 1871 and February of 1872. £20,000 had been advanced since the Duke's occupation of the colliery and the position was summarized as follows -

stock in hand May 10 1871	£96,772
available working plant	£56,456
28 February 1872	£60,319

The Soaphouse pumping engine was abandoned so that only one engine was run, which was risky, but less expensive. Since July 1871 coke prices

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213 SCL Arunde1 Mss S484/1

for the manufacturing trade had risen, from 14/9 to 21/- a ton, and coal too had increased in price, from 6/- to 8/- a ton. Costs had risen, as colliers' hours had been reduced, and colliery labour remained scarce. An 8% increase in wages and 5% increase in materials costs added to the problem of shorter hours, so that costs overall rose by 10%.<sup>214</sup>

By the early 1870s demand depended ever more upon manufacturing trade, and Sheffield was enjoying the greatest boom for decades.

"Such a state of trade has not been known for many years and as it is impossible for it to continue long as it is now this appears to be the best time for the Duke to receive offers from the parties desirous of having a lease of the colliery."

A profit of £30,000 was predicted for 1872, and likely profits of £20,000 in future years, if trade remained good. An incoming tenant was expected to pay £20,000, to cover capital expenditures of £8,861, since October 24 1870, and £11,139 which was the difference between assets and liabilities. A further £20,000 was payable as the "current going value". A payment for the value of the stocks of coal etc was payable, and the Silkstone bed was to be let at £200 an acre and Parkgate at £150 per acre. A minimum rent of £7,000 per annum was anticipated, which would provide a more than sufficient cover for interest on estate capital of £60,419 sunk in the venture (£1,809 per annum). The tenant was also to install the pumping plant previously advised by Forster, at a cost of £3,000 within 12 months, and to erect 30 additional coke ovens. He would receive £11,139 for present running accounts to offset costs of £4,300, making a total tenant out-payment of £31,861. It was estimated that net profit to the lessee would amount to £11,191, or 35% of his outlay per annum.<sup>215</sup> The Duke would

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214 SCL Arundel Mss S484 2/3a G B Forster - C Few, 28 February 1872.

215 SCL Arundel Mss S484 2/3a G B Forster - C Few, 28 February 1872.



receive £35,000, which would purchase an annuity of £2,800 for 20 years at 5%, so that to a rental of £8,809 would be added an income from the annuity of £2,800.

Though a potential lessee appeared, the mine was not let, and the worries of direct working continued. Mr Allott worked collieries in Brightside and claimed that he needed to sell these in order to work the Arundel mines in Sheffield. In February of 1874 he was still trying to negotiate, but the estate administration withdrew their offer of a lease.

In February 1872, when

"The present good state of the whole plant and the improved condition of the works generally will be appreciated by the tenant," 216

the gamble with the pumping engine rebounded upon the estate administration. On February 29 the bottom part of one of the main pumping spears broke and the sole engine was stopped for some days. Rising water caused several thousand tons of roof falls, and then the main engine beam showed wear, and was stopped for two and a half days while new rivets were inserted. It had been an unusually wet season and the engine had been hard driven. More expenditure was needed

"We have the promise of the first of the three duplicate engines in the early part of June and are now making preparations for fixing it." 217

Production recovered, but the peak of the boom was past. In the week beginning February 7 1872, 7,665 tons of coal were sold at a profit of £1,447. The week beginning April 3 saw only 4,866 tons sold, with a profit reduced to £407.<sup>218</sup> Large reserve stocks were accumulated in the spring

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216 SCL Arundel Mss S484 2/3a G B Forster Report, 28 March 1874.

217 SCL Arundel Mss S484 Emerson Bainbridge - C Few, 29 April 1872.

218 SCL Arundel Mss S484 Emerson Bainbridge - C Few, 29 April 1872.

and summer months. By October 1872 capital expenditure reached £68,499 and £6,097 was deducted for depreciation, so that the plant was valued at £62,401, £11,000 more than in October 1870. In two years wage payments had amounted to £29,000 and the balance of profit inclusive of interest on capital and expenditure on landlord's rent for coal was £16,732.15.2.<sup>219</sup>

There was no possibility of complacency. By January 1873 it was recognized that if the Duke's collieries ceased pumping, a neighbouring colliery at Intake owned by Rhodes would probably flood, and issues of compensation would arise. The Nunnery colliery Silkstone pit was only one third investigable, after recent flooding

"the remaining parts having fallen in were completely blocked up".

The cost of re-opening those areas was likely to be great. The curves were too big, so that it needed two or three men to replace them on the roadway or inclined planes if they came off, and there was a need for wider roadways, with more expense and risk of roof fall. A risk of inundation from the old Soaphouse colliery also existed. The Nunnery Parkgate workings and the ventilation were judged satisfactory, but in the Manor Castle workings it was three-quarters of a mile from pit shaft to coal, and there was a need to remake the roadway. 27 acres of Silkstone coal in Nunnery and Castle workings were valued at £10,800 at £400 per acre, and 24 acres of Parkgate at £200 per acre at £4,800.

The viewer J Denton argued that the levels should be pushed southwards into the best section of the Duke's coal. Cost savings could be made by utilizing estate timber in the mines instead of using foreign timber which can be bought more cheaply, but was less good than that sold

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219 SCL Arundel Mss S484 Kevan Report, 16 December 1872.

from the Duke's estate. In 14 years of inspection of the Duke's mines he claimed never to have seen so much water.

The distances from coal face to pithead were becoming an expensive problem. 15 horses were employed on the roadway of 1½ miles in the manor pit, with a cost of 1/4d a ton to remove the coal. A rise in water occurred in the Manor pit, requiring additional pumps, and there the roadway passed through the fault in the Nunnery estate, requiring "puddling" dams to prevent flooding. It was advised that the Manor pit access be abandoned in favour of an access point to the south, obtained either by the purchase of Mr Rhodes mines, or by another route.

"we have only this morning got to the extent of our powers in endeavouring to get rid of the water in the Manor pit and the best course would now seem to be to take up all the rails on the pit side of the fault and remove all the timber which can be got at and to put in dams both near the Manor pit at A and at the fault...."

Three options remained - to close the Manor pit and use only the Nunnery colliery to develop that estate; to let the southern part of the area with its plant of rails and tubs to Mr Rhodes with a fixed rental of (say £1,500) per annum; to buy from Mr Rhodes the Woodthorpe colliery and through it develop the southern part of the estate. Bainbridge, the colliery manager, favoured the third, but as coal prices fell and other troubles abounded, the estate administration became more and more anxious to lease their collieries.<sup>220</sup>

By March 1874, 220 men worked in the Parkgate seam of Nunnery colliery, producing 400 tons per day. In the Silkstone seam there remained great damage, with 262 men producing 352 tons a day. 200 acres of coal

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220 SCL Arundel Mss S484 2/12 J Denton - M Ellison, 4 January 1873.

were cut off by the geological dip, and leasing was the preferred alternative. Coal prices had fallen by more than six shillings a ton since 1872, and demand had fallen, so it was difficult to find investors with the large sums required to take over the mines. The estate administration distrusted companies, which further narrowed the field.

"Any lease must be granted to individuals and not to a limited liability affair as its covenants would (probably) be worthless." 221

It was not to be, for Limited Liability was becoming fashionable. Two companies approached the estate administration in 1874. One, represented by Frederick Bardwell, proposed to raise £60,000. Directors included the Norfolk colliery manager Emerson Bainbridge, Mr E M Bainbridge of Newcastle, William Cochrane of Middlesbrough, Mark Firth, Henry Unwin, Samuel Fox, and F J Mappin. The estate would receive £12,000 a year, based upon rent and a royalty of £60 per foot for the Silkstone coal and £45 per foot for the Parkgate, while £1,500 was offered as interest on the plant. There followed haggling over footage rates, the annual interest rate and rolling stock valuation of £25,000 - £30,000, but the intention to let was clear

"on no account to miss the present chance of letting the colliery." 222

The miners' strike of the summer of 1874 had similar causes. They refused

"to accept the reduction of 12½ per cent in their wages, which we in common with the rest of the district gave them notice of ... in the meantime trade is so very slack that we are enabled to supply the demand from stock. I had provided about 7,000 tons in anticipation of the strike." 223

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221 SCL Arundel Mss S484 2 15a (b) 4 May 1873.

222 J T Ward "West Riding Landowners and Mining in the Nineteenth Century," YBSER 1963 p64.

223 SCL Arundel Mss S484 2/17 (note) "On Mr Bean's Report." July 1873.

It was a far cry from the boom year of 1872, when several coal customers complained bitterly about shortness of supply including Mr Badger who sued the Duke of Norfolk for loss of business caused by failure of coal supply.<sup>224</sup>

"In 1875 the 15th Duke let some 1,300 acres of Barnsley coal at a minimum rent of £5,000 and a footage royalty of £50. The lessees broke their contract during the depression but the Duke remitted the rent, and when operations were resumed in 1883 he reduced it to £3,000 and the footage to £30." 225

Evidently the experience of direct running of the collieries had been troublesome, while the capital demands of mining needed larger enterprises and the company form to spread the risks as mines grew deeper and more difficult to manage. In South Yorkshire

"For years collieries have been spreading towards Wales where the coal lies cheaper and is more expensive to work. At what rent and with what conditions are Kiveton Park and others let." 226

Entrepreneurs with large capitals sunk in colliery enterprises were increasingly resistant to landowners' terms on leasing. They sought to ensure that leases should not be forfeited in the event of bankruptcy, liquidation or winding up, that assignment of leases be allowed without lessor's permission and without payment. In John Brown and Co Ltd versus Cooper and others

"Mr Foljambe required a payment of £20,000 in consideration of his consent to the assignment of a coal lease granted by his father, and I am informed that Lord Wharnccliffe has required the payment of £4,000 prior to his consent being given to the assignment of a coal lease." 227

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| 224 | SCL Arundel Mss S484 2 15 a (b) | 4 May 1873.   |
| 225 | J T Ward                        | "West Riding Landowners and Mining in the Nineteenth Century", <u>YBSER 1963</u> p64. |
| 226 | SCL Arundel Mss S484/2/17       | (note) "On Mr Bean's Report" July 1873.   |
| 227 | SCL Arundel Mss S484 2/21       | M E Ellison's Opinion, 2 March 1874.  |

They also sought to reduce inspection rights by lessors and their agents, and to restrict the application of covenants which might allow early repossession by the lessor.<sup>228</sup> But one thing lessor and lessee had in common whatever their disagreements

"I believe Lord Fitzwilliam has also agreed to act with the (coal) Masters' Association."

Its organization was similar to those in Derbyshire and Leeds both of which had been formed recently. A further reason to prefer leasing to the trials of direct working was the problem of engagement in trade disputes with

"men who are daily becoming more despotic." <sup>229</sup>

The mining arrangements on the Arundel and Fitzwilliam estates indicate that direct working of coal was often a matter of necessity for landowners. The Earls' Fitzwilliam persisted long in direct working of much of their coal, and co-operated with lessees to help them in their operations. The Norfolk estate always leased if it could, but as late as 1870-75 was to be found in direct management of its most valuable coal mines in Sheffield at a time of peak demand. A variety of considerations delayed the return to leasing, which was only accomplished when the boom had passed. There was little desire to repeat the experiment thereafter.

On the Norfolk's estates in Sheffield, as at Wentworth, estate concerns were extremely varied, and related to the interdependence of the region's economy.

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228 SCL Arundel Mss S484 2/20 W Wake - Few and Co, 27 February 1874.

229 SCL Arundel Mss S484 2/26a E Bainbridge - C Few, 15 July 1874.

In 1860 there were 37 stone quarries, 2 fireclay quarries, 4 open coalmining operations and one coal and ironstone quarry yielding together over £5,000 per annum. Extensive timber operations yielded £3,000 per annum as well as numerous manufacturing operations on the Norfolk estate land. The most impressive recent developments were the steel and engineering works of Savile Street East and Carlisle Street which greatly enhanced the Brightside rental. Land there was let at 2d per square yard to Mark and John Firth (for a rolling mill, tilt and other buildings), Samuel and Robert Jackson, William Joseph and Charles Lockwood (merchants and manufacturers) Humphrey Turner, William Hawksley and Matthew Wild and John Brown and Charles Cammell. John Brown paid £102.16 for 9,870 square yards in 1861, and Charles Cammell, whose Cyclops works continually expanded between 1862 and 1864, added about 2,000 square yards to its already substantial site in that period. Sanderson Brothers had over 12,000 square yards, paying an annual rent of £100, and Messrs Martin and Jobez Stanley 2,400 yards at £40. A large amount of land was leased to the Midland Railway Company, quite apart from substantial sales. One lease involved 3 pieces of land amounting to 13 acres and separate amounts together totalling 6,000 square yards, with an annual rental of £843 in 1861. These substantial rents poured in from industrial property between 1850 and the 1870s, greatly adding to the value of the estates. Industrial growth and housing provision added to the estate rental and to the demand for minerals, with a rise in rental overall as Sheffield spread down the Don Valley in new industrial districts. Sheffield town property alone yielded £26,500 to the Norfolk family estate rental in 1873, to which was added incomes from markets, coal leases, timber and other Yorkshire incomes amounting to £18,000 exclusive of income from the collieries in hand at

this time, and of earnings from £5,000 in Manchester Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway stock, and the advowson of Handsworth valued at £868.19s per annum. Sheffield remained the estate's most valuable asset, a classic demonstration of the hardnosed adage

"where there's muck there's brass." 230

#### VII From Business Paternalism to Plutocracy. The Prospect After 1850 .

Though some landowners continued to do so, it was no longer imperative for them to make huge direct investments in industrial or transport undertakings upon their estates in the railway age.<sup>231</sup> Large landowners were in a position which allowed a wide perspective on their affairs should they choose to adopt it. Their role as leaders of society, their scatter of property and their access to metropolitan supplies of credit and information meant that they could become widely informed in their judgements as investors if they were willing to make the effort. It was the auditor Daniel Maude's persistent view of the Fifth Earl Fitzwilliam's interests that led him to urge that

"these trading affairs create the great embarrassment and with these I must urgently pray of you not to engage." 232

With the exception of coal mining Maude was successful by the 1850s in obtaining lessees for the ironworks and other industrial concerns which had been a problem for three decades. But as one problem was interred others arose. The financial affairs of the Fifth Earl Fitzwilliam became

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230 SCL S48 3 7E; 7c

"The Family and Parliamentary Estates of the 15th Duke of Norfolk, as settled on 31 May 1839." July 1873.

231 Northants CRO Fitzwilliam  
MSS

D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 17 June 1855.

232 G Mee

Aristocratic Enterprise. The Fitzwilliam Industrial Undertakings 1795-1857 (1975) p12.



ever more complex between 1845 and his death in 1857.

Irish rental collapse worried the fifth Earl a great deal, for he was a man of demanding and self-critical conscience.<sup>233</sup> The plight of Irish tenants led him into involvement, as Chairman for a time, in the St Andrews Railway Company of Canada.

"The two great objects which I originally had in view were the employment of Emigrants from Ireland and the construction of the railway. The first of these being in the main accomplished, the question with me was how the (railway) was to be constructed."

The progress of the railway building was slow, and unsatisfactory to several shareholders from whom the Earl had to answer embarrassing enquiries. Though the size of his shareholding is uncertain it may have been similar to that in the New Brunswick Railway of which he was also a director. He had taken out a holding in 1846 or 1847, paying

"10 per cent on 20 shares of £20"

in 1847.<sup>234</sup> By 1856 he was so disillusioned with its performance that he resigned as he did not feel that a new prospectus issued in the hope of raising new capital could fairly offer

"all or any of the advantages it now holds out ... my engaging in it induced others to engage to whom disappointment which has ensued is a more serious affair than to myself." 235

Both of these Canadian companies had great difficulties in completing their projected plans. The capital of the latter was halved in 1857, from £800,000 to £400,000.

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| 233 | SCL WWM G88      | Earl Fitzwilliam - H Townshead (26 3 1856; 16 9 1856).             |
| 234 | NCRO Milton Mss  | Miscellaneous volumes. Account 123, 1847.                          |
| 235 | SCL WWM G88 1856 | Earl Fitzwilliam - Directors, New Brunswick Railway Company, (nd). |

There were yet more international involvements which grew from home grown concerns. The South Yorkshire Railway Company sought to extend continental coal sales in France via the Anglo-French steamship Company in 1857

"The French Company are exporting from 1500 to 2000 tons of coal a week from Grimsby ..." 236

The Directors of the South Yorkshire Railway Company proposed to invest £250,000 for which 6 per cent interest was to be allowed together with a further £3-5000 per annum exclusive of this payable by the Anglo-French Company to the Railway Company. The Board of the South Yorkshire recommended this, but sought the Earl's opinion as one of South Yorkshire's greatest coal owners. He concurred and a great expansion in Fitzwilliam output followed as South Yorkshire coal penetrated wider markets than before. It was less than twenty five years since Benjamin Biram had written, after fraud by Gibbons and Company in 1832,

"... we do not intend to drop the thoughts of a London Trade." 237

As an aristocrat with well known industrial interests, Fitzwilliam was also drawn into industrial investments outside the regions where his estates were located. Most onerous was the lending to a lifelong friend, Sir Robert Price of Foxley in Hertfordshire. This drove Maude near to despair in the depressed late 1840s. As he concerned himself with the collapse of Irish receipts and the intractable problems of estate administration, not least of which was the leasing of South Yorkshire industrial enterprises, the fifth Earl became deeply immersed in Price's affairs.

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236 SCL WWM G88

Buston - Earl Fitzwilliam, 15 January 1857.

237 SCL WWM Stw 15 xviii

B Biram - Maxfield, 1 November 1832.

While calculating estate debts Maude complained

"It is melancholy to see our Landed Aristocracy needlessly going so fast to ruin, as so many like peers are doing." 238

£58,000 was lent to Price in his attempts to develop iron, tinsplate and coalmines in South Wales. It was this lending together with a host of other commitments which forced the fifth Earl to borrow about £100,000 additionally on mortgage in the late 1840s, though at first he refused to recognize this.

Price was unable to make the industrial enterprises pay and he borrowed from Fitzwilliam over a period of years, drawing £120,000 in 1847 alone.<sup>239</sup> Beyond a certain point continued involvement was largely conditioned by fear of the confusion if Price's business concerns collapsed. By 1854 he was persuaded by the Earl to place his estate in the hands of trustees, but he procrastinated. An attempt to find partners in 1850 failed, and the tinsplate manufactory was not put into operation because of lack of capital in 1852. Investigation of Price's overall position by Treherne revealed that

"Sir R P as a Country Gentleman will scarcely be able to manage such a trade or to induce the slightest hope that he can ever make it a profitable concern." 240

A second report in 1854 came to the same conclusion. At bankruptcy Price owed £235,561 gross, of which £64,000 was owed to the Earl personally, independent of further sums for which he had become Price's guarantor.<sup>241</sup> It placed him in an embarrassing position as he had more intimate knowledge than other creditors. He was advised to relinquish his interest payments

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238 SCL WWM Stw 19 ii

D Maude - W Newman, 16 January 1849.

239 Northants CR0 Mss

Miscellaneous Volumes. Accounts 123, February - September 1847.

240 SCL WWM G51

Sir R Price - Earl Fitzwilliam, 25 July 1854.

241 SCL WWM G53

Reports on Sir Robert Price's Debts, 1852; 1854.

to ensure the payment of others. Fitzwilliam even considered buying Price's property at Foxley, a move which Maude opposed with every legal and economic argument he could muster until his opposition became very blunt,

"I think you and Sir Robert (Price) are rather concealing difficulties from yourselves and each other than overcoming them." 242

He argued that Fitzwilliam could only offer a fair investment price, that the estate would be a "Prodigious charge on the family estates," and that the purchase would lead to unpleasant speculations. By October 1855 Price was bankrupt.<sup>243</sup>

That Earl Fitzwilliam was prepared to take such risks to support industrial enterprises after the difficulties experienced on his own South Yorkshire estates is remarkable. Though biased by his friendship for Price and by then arguably the wealthiest of Britain's aristocrats, it is unlikely that he would have lent unless he thought the concerns could pay on behalf of his fellow landed proprietor. As early as 1843 the formidable industrialist Sir John Guest had made a "most unfavourable observation" on the future of the works, though his occupation as a rival ironmaster may have justified Price's comment that

"he wished for the failure of all our attempts to render Iron Works productive." 244

Whatever the interests of the commentator, Guest's opinion was valued by Fitzwilliam on other matters, and here the observations appear justified. Fitzwilliam extricated himself at the cost of losses of interest owing and perhaps some capital.

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242 Northants CRO Fitzwilliam Mss D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 1 July 1855.

243 Northants CRO Fitzwilliam Mss D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 22 October 1855.

244 Northants CRO Fitzwilliam Mss Sir Robert Price - Earl Fitzwilliam, 1 November 1843.

One further industrial investment involved ironworks. In the last years of the fifth Earl's life he was drawn into a substantial shareholding of £18,000 in the Portland Ironworks near Glasgow. In 1855 the London Banking House of Strahan, Paul and Bates failed after lending over £300,000 to a man of "Shovels and pickaxes".<sup>245</sup> Paul had been sufficiently trusted by the Earl to be able to admonish him for financial naivety on several past occasions, and had been banking for him for over 20 years. In the bankruptcy proceedings Fitzwilliam was allocated a house in London, which was large enough to be considered as an alternative town house to the grand house in Grosvenor Square when the lease fell in, and shares in a Glasgow Bank which was in turn deeply committed to the Portland Ironworks, and the Earl found himself a major shareholder in yet another iron concern.<sup>246</sup> There followed protracted enquiries of Mr Robertson at the Royal Bank of Scotland and of Messrs Lancaster and Co of the works to discover its profitability.

John Hartop, the South Yorkshire ironmaster, who had managed the Elsecar Works from 1827-1849, was despatched to Glasgow, and there were many other enquiries but the ageing Maude concluded upon his examination of their accounts

"(they) are to me intelligible as far as they go".

Nevertheless he could not

"form any judgement as to the prosperity or otherwise of the concern." 247

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- 245 Northants CRO Fitzwilliam Mss D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 17 June 1855.  
 246 G Mee Op cit (1975) p56.  
 247 Northants CRO Fitzwilliam Mss D Maude - Earl Fitzwilliam, 28 August 1856.

Whether it proved profitable, was disposed of, or was recom-  
pense for losses through banking failure involves research beyond the  
immediate scope of this work. What it and other later involvements in  
industrial enterprise illustrate is the difficulty of disengagement from  
such concerns. No matter how strong the advice of agents and despite the  
attractions of a disengaged position, the proprietor of extensive property  
in an industrial district found difficulty in adopting the position of  
mere rentier. Where this was attempted, as arguably was the case in long  
periods of Arundel or Leeds estate administration, it tended to lead to  
deterioration of assets, and local expert agents worked against the dis-  
interest of distant employers once they were appointed, as occurred with  
Michael Ellison in his 40 years agency in Sheffield. There were also  
powerful and impersonal forces at work as finance diversified both oppor-  
tunities and risks. The greater flexibility and transferability of capital  
assets made for a rationalisation of investment flows, especially among  
the very rich, for they were most likely to have a wide spread of assets  
and to transfer large sums from one area to another, while banking was  
greatly developed by the scale of their transfer payments. This meant  
that in the periodic banking crises of 19th century England large land-  
owners were likely losers, as occurred in the failure of Snow and Co in  
1840 and Strahan Paul and Bates in 1855, though probably this was more  
serious when London bankers failed, while the commercial classes suffered  
in provincial towns from failures like that of the Roebuck bank in 1778  
and Parker Shore and Company in 1843, both of which rocked Sheffield busi-  
ness and institutions.

A rational response to such problems was to spread assets into a  
wider portfolio. Shareholding in industrial and other commercial holdings

became usual after 1850 for the Earls' Fitzwilliam though some local gentry had long had large holdings of this type, including some who had diversified their shareholdings and invested very large sums in the age of turnpiking and river and canal navigation before 1830.<sup>248</sup> Many more increased their spread of holdings during the period of railway construction between 1830 and 1855, perhaps mobilizing capital freed by sales of property at high prices to buy shares. As J T Ward noted, while Lord Fitzwilliam only signed a contract for railway subscriptions for £125 in 1845, Frederick Vernon Wentworth of Wentworth Castle signed in that year for £11,400, and many lesser gentry made commitments to invest sums of about £2,000 each in railways in that year.<sup>249</sup> Direct involvement in industrial investment was not even typical in the industrializing area of South Yorkshire. Of D Rubinstein's Landowners leaving £2 million or more between 1809 and 1939 no less than four out of nine in Britain owned substantial blocks of property in South Yorkshire and had long identification with the area.

These were Andrew Montagu (1815-95(, born Andrew Fountayne Wilson,) who was a descendent in the female line from Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, finance minister to William of Orange.<sup>250</sup> He was also a descendent of Richard Fontayne Wilson, the largest single proprietor of the Aire and Calder Navigation in the 1820s. In 1826 alone he had received £9,322 from his holdings, only being rivalled by Sir William Milner's £7,843.<sup>251</sup> The others were the 6th Earl Fitzwilliam, W B Beaumont, 1st Baron Allendale (1829-1907) and Wentworth, 1st Viscount Allendale (1860-1923).<sup>252</sup> Most

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- 248 P Simpson Walter Spencer Stanhope, Landowner, Business Man and MP. Nottingham University MA (1959) unpublished, pp71-93.
- 249 J T Ward "West Riding Landowners and the Railways." Transport History Vol IV (1959-60) p245.
- 250 W D Rubinstein Men of Property (1981) pp201-2.
- 251 B Duckham "Selby and the Aire and Calder Navigation 1774-1826", TH Vol VII No 1 May 1965 p92.
- 252 W D Rubinstein Op cit (1981) p201-2.

owned coal bearing land in South Yorkshire and minerals elsewhere, but what is most noticeable about all those landowners is the sheer diversity of their assets in the late 19th century.

This applied too to proprietors with lower land rents. Lord Wharnccliffe owned much coal land, in South Yorkshire and the North East, had property in Scotland and Cornwall and was interested throughout his life in a number of Canadian enterprises including the Canada Westland and Petroleum Company, Halifax Sugar Refining Ltd and in the USA the Powder River Wyoming Cattle Company, as well as holding a number of Directorships in the United Kingdom.<sup>253</sup> Canadian interests had begun as early as 1794 when J A Stuart Wortley visited Canada, and John Stuart Wortley travelled in the United States with Edward, 14th Earl of Derby in 1824-50.<sup>254</sup>

The spread of investment interests began half unconsciously for the largest landed proprietors. It was a response to the rapid changes of economic environment, to particular exigencies and connections, and to the impact upon estate wealth of periodic crisis of employment and credit. An impetus and some experience came from the conscious wish to develop estate resources including not only raw material supplies but also the pool of tenant labour. There was little inhibition on the geography of such involvement when the largest estates most typically included a wide spread of properties throughout Britain, and it appeared natural for some landowners to extend that investment and interest into colonial areas after 1850. Transfer of resources from one region of Britain to another had been the norm before the 19th century and intensified within it.<sup>255</sup> Traditionally

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253 SCL Wh/Mss 476-80

254 SCL Wh/Mss 445

This comment refers to Edward Montague Stuart Granville Montague Stuart Wortley Mackenzie, 1st Earl of Wharnccliffe 1827-1899.

255 E Richards

The Leviathan of Wealth. The Sutherland Estate in the Industrial Revolution (1973).



consumption was the prime aim of such transfers, but the mechanisms could be used as readily for investment should that become the intention. This does not mean that investment transfers were always welcome, but there was acceptance by the mid-nineteenth century that great wealth implied the duty of investing a significant proportion of gross annual rentals. This went furthest in agriculture but was not unknown elsewhere; though flows from capital starved areas also continued with their negative effects in relation to development.<sup>256</sup>

By the 1870s the 6th Earl Fitzwilliam and the Duke of Norfolk were accounted among the wealthiest of British subjects. Both had annual landed incomes in excess of £175,000 per annum. Personalty and non-landed sources of income, and in these cases mineral incomes in particular greatly added to that wealth. The 6th Earl Fitzwilliam left an estate of £2882,000 in 1902. A contribution to this private fortune came from a widening portfolio of investments which yielded profits as follows in the period 1871-83, from a nominal capital of £31,161 throughout. Its variations are of interest even though the underlying calculations involve an idiosyncratic idea of profits.

In the highly prosperous years of the early 1870s industrial and commercial undertakings provided addition to annual rental income. The risks and uncertainties in such enterprises are demonstrated by the collapses in the later years. Just as direct returns upon the Fitzwilliam industrial undertakings had been poor between 1815 and 1850, these areas

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256 C O Grada

"The Investment Behaviour of Irish Landlords 1850-75. Some Preliminary Findings." AgHR Vol 23 1975 part 2 pp139-155.

Table 5.10 - Profits Earl Fitzwilliams<sup>257</sup>

	£
1871	27000
1872	31494
1873	47854
1874	29810
1875	0
1876	28433
1877	13377
1878	5353
1879	713
1880	12953
1882	6235
1883	6919

of activity continued to provide variable results after 1874.<sup>258</sup> Earlier experiments in direct control were usually the result of failure to find suitable lessees after 1815, while the activities at least maintained coal demand for estate mines. After 1850 there was less necessity to risk landlord capital in industry as lessees appeared. Whereas in the 1840s six collieries were directly managed, two remained so in 1869. They were larger, and this was still a large amount of colliery work for a landowner to manage, when perhaps 5 per cent of English collieries were managed in this way.<sup>259</sup> As has been seen in the boom of 1870-5 much of the Norfolk Sheffield coal was mined in collieries under direct control also, after the surrender of the lease by Benjamin Huntsman in October 1870. The proprietor was forced to undertake expensive capital investments prior to letting in 1875, ironically after the boom in prices had broken.

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257 W D Rubinstein

Men of Property (1981) p202.

258 SCL WWM A1576

Earl Fitzwilliams Capital Account 1871-1883.

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