THE EFFECT OF ENCLOSURE ON FOUR WOLDS VILLAGES: WEAVERTHORPE, HELPERTHORPE, EAST AND WEST LUTTON.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Great Landowners	B. English, *The Great Landowners of East Yorkshire 1530-1910,* (Harvester Wheatsheaf 1990).
The Open Fields	A.Harris, *The Open Fields of East Yorkshire*, (East Yorkshire Local History Society 1959).
Rural Landscape	A.Harris, *The Rural Landscape of the East Riding of Yorkshire 1700 - 1850*, (Oxford 1961).
De La Prynne	J. Crowther, *Description of East Yorkshire: De La Pryme to Head,* (East Yorkshire Local History Society 1992).
HUL DDSY	Sykes family papers in Brynmor Jones Library, Hull University.
Bp V Ret	Archbishop Visitation Returns.
CCDC	Dean and Chapter Records
QSF	Quarter Sessions Records

GLOSSARY

(from *The New English Dictionary of English*, 1998, unless otherwise stated)

average 1.The pasturage of cornfields, after harvest, stubble: a stubble-field
2.Land that is 'fed' in common by the parish as soon as the corn is carried - the stubble and pasture left in cornfields after the harvest is carried[1]

commons (waste) land owned by the lord of the manor and the village population had commons rights[2]

furlong length of a furrow in a common field (formerly regarded as a square of ten acres)

front (frontage) a strip or extent of land abutting a street

garth a small enclosure usually under grass[3]

ley piece of land put down to grass, clover, etc., for a single season or limited number of years, in contrast to permanent pasture

messuage dwelling-house with outbuildings and land assigned to its use

oxgang an indeterminate measure of land in open-field village varying in size formerly to have been a holding of composite character in which were included shares of all the major classes of land in the township[4]

sheepwalk a tract of land on which sheep were pastured

stinted commons grazing was reserved for 'gate-holders' with rights to pasture a given number of animals - to prevent over-stocking and over-grazing[5]

warren area set aside for the raising of rabbits, often with protected boundaries and purpose-built accomodation for rabbits and their custodians[6]

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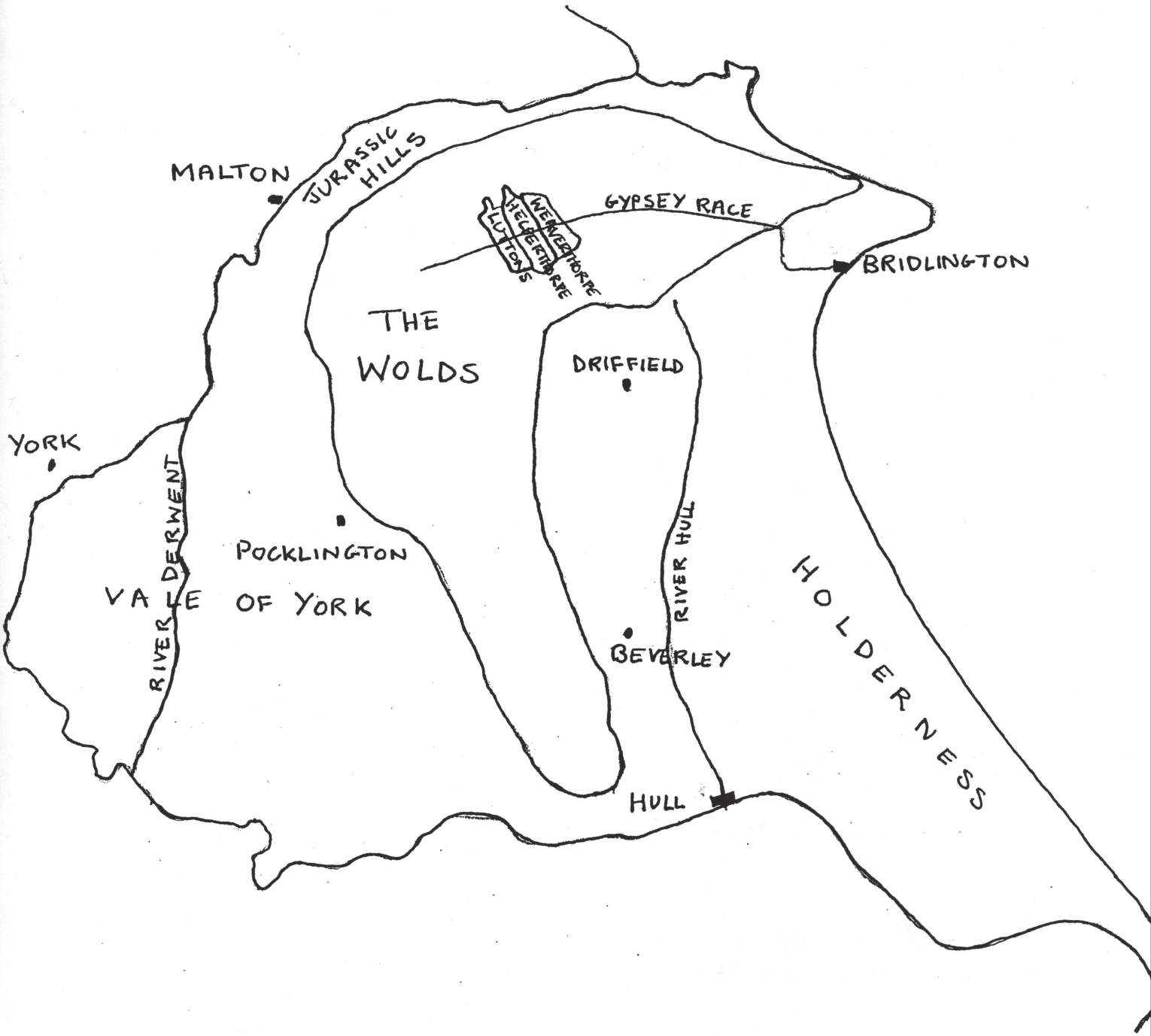
[1]Wright, Joseph, *Dialect Dictionary* Vol. 1., Frownde Henry, (London 1898), p. 98.
[2]Muir, R., *The Countryside Encyclopaedia*, (Macmillan 1988).
[3]Ibid.
[4]Harris, A., *The Open Fields of East Yorkshire,* (East Yorkshire Local History Society 1959).
[5]Muir, R., op. cit.
[6]Ibid.

Map 1.1 The East Riding of Yorkshire



Chapter 1.

INTRODUCTION

The subject of this thesis is the impact of enclosure on the East Riding Wolds villages of Helperthorpe, Weaverthorpe and Luttons Ambo, the latter comprising the twin townships of East and West Lutton. Yorkshire was divided into three administrative areas, thirds or ridings, North, West and East, until re-organisation in 1974: the East Riding was the smallest with about three-quarters of a million acres[1] and had Beverley as its administrative centre. The shape of a square with an extended south-east corner, the East Riding was bounded on the east by the North Sea, the south by the river Humber, the west by the rivers Derwent and Ouse and the north by the river Derwent. The Riding was sub-divided into six wapentakes: Howden, Dickering, Harthill, Buckrose, Holderness and Ouse and Derwent.[2] Before the thirteenth century Beverley was the largest market, the only large port on the river Hull and important exporter of wool but was overtaken by the growth of Kingston-upon-Hull, the only city in the East Riding.[3] Market and other large towns include Driffield, Pocklington, Howden, Market Weighton, Hornsea and the spa town of Bridlington. Geographically the area is dominated by the Wolds, a sickle-shaped swathe of upland curving outwards from near Filey, running south of Malton to near Market Weighton, measuring thirteen miles in breadth and thirty-seven miles in length with 307,840 acres of hills and deep valleys.[4] To the south-east of the Wolds lies the Holderness plain with several rivers including the Hull; to the south-west the Vale of York with the rivers Ouse, Derwent and Foulness; and to the north the Vale of Pickering and the river Derwent. The Riding presents a wide diversity of soil-conditions which produced differing enclosure experiences: the heavy clay of Holderness and the Hull valley, the well-drained chalk

[1] S. Neave and S. Ellis, *An Historical Atlas of East Yorkshire,* (Hull 1996), p. xi.
[2] B. English, *The Great Landowners of East Yorkshire*,(Harvester Wheatsheaf 1990), p. 1.
[3] D.H.Evans, in *Historical Atlas,* p. 40.
[4] I. Leatham, *General View of Agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire,* (London 1794), p. 34

Wolds with their thin light-loam covering and its chalky gravel valleys, the Jurassic limestone of the area north-west of the Wolds, and the various clay and light sandy soil of the Vale of York. Located in the parishes of Helperthorpe and Weaverthorpe at the time of this study, the communities of Helperthorpe, Weaverthorpeare and Luttons Ambo are situated at between two and three hundred feet above sea-level along the central road of the upland chalk valley of the Gypsey Race stream which flows from west to east into the North Sea at Bridlington. Enclosure came late to these parishes, in 1801-1804.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, enormous population changes took place: in fifty years the population of these two parishes tripled. By far the largest increase took place in the first decade of the century, when the population of Helperthorpe township almost doubled, East and West Lutton townships with the largest population in 1801 rose by nearly a quarter, and Weaverthorpe township rose by half to become the largest of the villages by 1811. This growth rate was not thereafter sustained, although between 1811 and 1851 the population of the Luttons rose towards double and that of Weaverthorpe more than doubled. By contrast Helperthorpe's population fluctuated so that by 1851 it was scarcely larger than it had been in 1811.

Table 1.1: Increase in population in Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe 1801-1851

Township	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851
Helperthorpe	72	137	157	131	160	140
% increase.		90	15	-17	22	-13
Lutton E.&W.	207	254	311	350	405	426
% increase.		23	22	13	16	5
Weaverthorpe	182	276	334	403	547	640
% increase.		52	21	21	36	17
Total	461	780	839	880	1150	1199
Total % increase		69	8	5	31	4

Source: *The Victoria History of the Counties of England. A History of Yorkshire* Vol. 3, London 1974, p. 489.

With such varied patterns of population change against a common background of enclosure, the relationship - if any - between population levels and enclosure is likely to be a complex one, especially within the wider context of a general increase in population levels in the country as a whole. Among other major factors influencing the economic and social history of the villages at the time of enclosure were the policies adopted by the major landholders in the area, especially the Sykeses of Sledmere House, lords of the manors of Helperthorpe and Weaverthorpe, and Richard Langley of Wykeham, who was also the lessee of the tithe-holder, the Dean and Chapter of York. This study is concerned with the reasons for changes in these villages in the early decades of the nineteenth century in order to assess the impact of enclosure. The approach taken is threefold: an examination of existing conditions on the eve of enclosure; a discussion of the enclosure process itself; and a survey of changes following enclosure with some attempt to assess how far the one was a product of the other. The extent to which this was possible has been limited by the available sources. In particular, the absence of most poor law records for the parishes has made it impossible to study other than by inference from evidence in parish records of baptisms, marriages and burials and later censuses the changing fortunes of the majority of ordinary people in the villages who were neither tenants nor householders and so had no legal claims which brought their names to the attention of the enclosure commissioners. Nevertheless, it is hoped to add something from the experience of these villages to the continuing historical debate about the significance of enclosure.

Joan Thirsk describes the country's agricultural history over the last millenium as 'cycles of prosperity and depression'. These cycles involved consecutive periods of what she calls mainstream and alternative agriculture. There were three periods of alternative farming when a reduction in demand allowed a diversity of crops: 1350-1500, 1650-1750 and 1879-1939, interspersed by mainstream phases 1500-1650 and

1750 -1879.[5] In the first period of alternative farming after the Black Death, 1350-1500, the country had to cope with a population reduced by up to a half, and in many places turned to less labour-intensive agriculture. As there was less demand for grain, the farmers of the day learnt the advantages of leaving 'ley' land to recover between harvests to improve yield. The second occurred in the early modern period, 1650-1750, when population growth slackened and farmers and brewers overcame problems of supply by turning to small farms using gardening methods to produce more crops and more efficiently.[6] The third was in the later nineteenth century, 1879-1939, coincidental with the growing world supply of grain and meat.[7] In all three periods, the capacity to supply was ahead of the level of demand.

The mainstream phases occurred when demand was high for grain and meat, the first, from 1500 to 1650: by 1500 the population had begun to rise and there were years of famine when bread had to be given to the poor, prices rose enormously and agriculture had to struggle to supply the demand for grain[8]. The second mainstream phase was from 1750 to 1879, the period covering this study: by 1750 the population was again rising, bringing demands for more grain and meat. As the population grew from 6.2 million in 1751 to 17.9 million in 1851, farmers strove to provide sufficient food. The burden of supply fell mainly on home producers as first the long period of international warfare between 1793 and 1815 and then the Corn Laws, 1815-1846, restricted supplies from abroad. High prices during the wars provided incentives to increase supplies of food; relatively low prices, despite the Corn Laws, after 1815 added to the need to increase efficiency. Farmers created larger farms and turned available land to arable, or converted waste, or arable, to pasture.[9] Enclosure was one of the methods used to help overcome these problems: open fields were inefficient

[5] J. Thirsk, *Alternative Agriculture*, (Oxford 1997), pp. 2-3.
[6] *Ibid,* pp. 19, 26, 41.
[7] *Ibid,* p. 3.
[8] *Ibid,* p.23.
[9] *Ibid*, p. 147.

with their communal strips, ley-land, fallow and waste. Enclosure led to a restructuring of land use. Parliamentary enclosure formalised this process. But how important was enclosure and was it always the best way forward? Were there alternative measures that could have been taken? The enclosure debate raises these issues and attempts to rise beyond the assertions of propagandists of 'improvement' such as Arthur Young or prophets of gloom, such as Karl Marx.

The effects of enclosure have long been a controversial subject. Post-medieval landowners needing to consolidate their holdings in order to maximise the land's potential, exchanged neighbouring land within existing boundaries and there were many variations of enclosure before the eighteenth century. In some areas there was no early enclosure, or only in closes around villages: in other parts enclosure included only open fields or common meadows and pastures, often leaving leys and waste land, considered unusable. Where depopulation had left few owners, enclosure could be simple but in others hostilities arose and common land was sometimes seized illegally; communities being evicted to be replaced by sheep-farms. It is difficult to assess how much land was affected and at what date because records are poor and environmental damage and population distress are difficult to quantify. By the eighteenth century owners seeking to enforce their plans for improvement were petitioning Parliament for an Act in order to complete or execute a new enclosure. Following a survey, land was allocated through a formal procedure which also dealt with the road and river structure of the parish, defining each allotment by stone wall or hedge and ditches. Where tithes were commuted, land was taken to compensate tithe-holders. After about 1760, enclosure by parliamentary Act was the usual form of enclosure and followed a standard procedure.

Controversy springs from the discussion of benefits and deficiencies suffered by all parties to parliamentary enclosure. The Hammonds, whose sympathies lay with the common people, shared the Marxist view of enclosure turning small landowners,

cottagers and squatters off the land. Their study of *The Village Labourer*, established the conventional view of parliamentary enclosure as the cause of major social problems in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and enforced emigration from the land.[10] This view has survived despite being disputed in 1910 by Johnson and Gray, using land-tax records to show that the small owner-occupiers declined in the eighteenth century before enclosure, increased during the war years of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and declined again later.[11] Gonner in 1912 found that it could not be proved that enclosure increased the poor rates, although agricultural changes probably increased some local distress.[12] More recently Chambers has observed that any decline in ownership was among middle-sized owners rather than those who held lesser amounts of land, though this says nothing about those who held no land at all.[13]

The fate of the smaller landowners has continued to concern historians. In the 1970s enclosure studies using land-tax records led Grigg, Martin, Yelling, Neeson and Crowther all to conclude that enclosure did not reduce the total numbers of owners, including the smaller ones, but in 1975 Turner showed that in a number of parishes well over half the owners had disappeared from tax returns by the end of a ten-year period. Although there was no significant drop in the total numbers of owners paying land-tax over the enclosure period, many small owners appeared to have sold up.[14] But was this the result of enclosure? Snell in 1985 thought the growth of the

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[10] J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Village Labourer* (Longmans 1911).

[11] A. H. Johnson, *The Disappearance of the Small Landowner,* (Clarendon Press 1909); H. L. Gray, Yeoman Farming in Oxfordshire from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth Century, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics, XXIV*, (1910), pp. 293-326; B. A. Holderness and M. Turner, *Land, Labour and Agriculture 1700-1920,* (Hambleton Press 1991), p. 27.

[12] E. C. K. Gonner, *Common Land and Inclosure,* (Macmillan 1912), pp. 366, 445.

[13] Cited in G. E. Mingay, *Parliamentary Enclosure in England 1750-1850*, (Longman 1997), p. 3.

[14] See J. Crowther, *Parliamentary Enclosure in Eastern Yorkshire 1725-1860,* Ph. D. thesis, (Hull 1983), p. 449.

proletariat would have happened in any case because of the increase in the peasant population.[15] Beckett in 1991, discussing the Hammonds' theory, concluded that the small-owner/farmer was harmed most by losing autumn and winter commons-fodder and land-access although commons-rights had varied according to land-ownership.[16] Ginter and Mingay have cast doubt on the utility of land-tax records as evidence: in 1992 Ginter showed the land-tax to be inaccurate in differentiating between large and small owners because of omissions where occupiers may have held land elsewhere or been supported by their families.[17] Large landowners have been seen by most historians including Turner, Armstrong and Snell as benefiting most as they were able to absorb huge costs more easily and were able to recoup costs through large rent-rises for improved enclosed land, while smaller ones had to sell their allotment because of proportionately higher costs. However there was no evidence that the turnover was caused by the inability to pay costs as costs were low in comparison with post-enclosure land-values.[18] Turner's conclusion is that enclosure, involving a shift from communal to individual ownership and husbandry, was a complex subject which has to be seen as one part of a developing system of ownership and husbandry of open fields, commons and waste.[19]

Mingay has broadened the discussion by differentiating between social effects and economic benefits: despite a loss of independence by a workforce leaving the countryside, and a growing dependence on wages, wartime food shortages and a rapidly-rising population brought a need for change which meant that enclosure was increasingly seen by contemporaries as an inevitable solution to an economic problem. Many of those leaving the countryside left behind adverse experiences.[20] Chambers

[15] K.D.M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor*, (Cambridge 1985), pp. 138-9.
[16] J.V. Beckett, *The Disappearance of the Cottager and Squatter from the English Countryside,* cited in Holderness and Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
[17] G. E. Mingay, *op.cit.*, p. 121.
[18] G. E. Mingay, *Land and Society in England 1750-1980,* (Longman 1994), p. 43.
[19] M. Turner, *Enclosure in Britain 1750-1830*, (Macmillan 1984), p. 12.
[20] G.E. Mingay, *Parliamentary Enclosure in England* , pp. 148-150.

and Mingay in 1966 noted how it was not the heavily-enclosed Midlands which saw riots but the old-enclosed poor counties of Southern England where there were low wages, unemployment and poor living conditions, demonstrating no direct connection between economic hardship and enclosure.[21] In 1997 Mingay continued sceptical about social effects, as not all cottagers and small owners suffered or suffered similarly. As poverty, migration and other social changes were national issues, regional parliamentary enclosure could not be held totally responsible for them. Enclosure was only one factor in a period of rapid changes, and social unrest was also caused by the high food costs, low wages, population growth, unemployment and dependence on poor relief, all of which also existed in areas unaffected by enclosure.[22] Legitimate rights were compensated with land but Mingay and Neeson questioned whether all former rights were fully compensated. However, Mingay mitigates this argument, concluding that the use of the commons was often overvalued since they could lose value from animal-diseases, overstocking and lying fallow.[23]

Contemporary writers such as Arthur Young and William Marshall confidently saw parliamentary enclosure as a means of improving agriculture and land-usage, although they were aware of the detrimental effect on the poor: Young thought small farms and old farming ways inefficient though he later acknowledged the independence gained from having one's own cow or allotment.[24] Chambers and Mingay in 1966 argued that enclosure was necessary to accelerate agricultural progress, to increase the amount of cultivated land and to improve the soil, producing efficiency, employment and increased food production.[25] Many of the changes attributed to enclosure were inevitable in a modern improving landscape with increasing demands for food production and growing competition from foreign suppliers. However by 1997

[21] J. Chambers and G. E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution,* (Batsford 1966), p. 104.
[22] G. E. Mingay, *Parliamentary Enclosure in England* , pp. 148-9.
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-3.
[24] Cited in Mingay, *Parliamentary Enclosure in England,* pp. 153-4.
[25] Chambers and Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution,* p. 104.

Mingay was questioning whether the resulting food-production did indeed increase from parliamentary enclosure, since only a quarter of the land was so affected.[26] Mingay, Harris and Allison have all taken up the theme of 'improvement'. The impact of enclosure on the countryside was certainly enormous as ancient roads were replaced by more convenient ones and a patchwork of straight-edged hedged fields replaced the older curved fields, paths and copses, and wild areas disappeared, the cultivation of 'waste' land resulted in the loss of wildlife, heather was burnt, grassland ploughed and marshy land drained as it was reclaimed for arable use.[27] Joan Thirsk has challenged the notion of 'improvement' by criticising the loss of many alternative crops brought about by the drive for mainstream farming.[28]

In 1974 E. L. Jones interpreted enclosure more widely as the culmination of a process of land-reallotment, reclamation, and fencing into separate parcels, stretching back in time. In the eighteenth century especially, the great estates and those of lesser gentry were expanding, creating a class of absentee landlords, as part of a 'prestige-maximisation' in which social values made up for the lower returns obtainable from agriculture compared with trade and industry. Enclosure was part of this process, not an external cause. Estate-owners' non-agricultural interests and the growth of mortgaging, together with a fall in interest-rates, assisted the funding of agricultural development, while better husbandry and technical advances rather than simple enclosure provided the real advance in productivity.[29] Enclosure accompanied a revolution in attitudes to landed property, with a widely-held acceptance of the view that land should, in the hands of a small elite who saw the countryside as a sign of status, be exploited for personal reasons to demonstrate the power and influence of the

[26]G. E. Mingay, *Parliamentary Enclosure in England* , pp. 148-150.
[27]K. J. Allison, *The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, (Hodder and Stoughton 1976); A. Harris, *The Rural Landscape of the East Riding of Yorkshire 1700-1850,* (Oxford 1961).
[28]J. Thirsk, *Alternative Agriculture*, p. 148.
[29]E. L. Jones, *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution,* (Blackwell 1974), pp. 94,96.

landowner.[30]

Within this general context, the particular local study is important. Parliamentary enclosure was an individual occurrence, its effects varying in different parts of the country. Allen in a study of the south Midlands in 1992 saw enclosure as a small element of long-term agricultural development which forced farming people into seasonal unemployment and saw the elimination of small farms by large estates: Overton in 1996 however found the main increases in productivity occurred during the parliamentary enclosure period. Neeson in 1993, writing about Northamptonshire where half of the land was enclosed and almost all consisted of open-fields and commons, felt that enclosure destroyed the peasant-economy. In her account, up to half of the villagers had commons-rights before enclosure, holding up to a third of the land as owners and occupiers. Mingay however, accepting that this was the situation in heavily-enclosed Midland areas, produces arguments to show that enclosure did not always have a detrimental effect on the poor. Neeson's evidence can be taken to show that large farms were already in existence before enclosure when half the population had no commons-access, a proportion that would have later increased in any case due to rising population. In some places, the poor were not excluded by enclosure. Arthur Young noted in Lincolnshire that cottagers were given land to reduce poor-rates. Commissioners in other areas allotted land for cottagers' cultivation or fuel or in trust for income for fuel for the poor. This would have been impossible, though, in areas with rapidly-increasing populations. Northamptonshire was not typical of other parts of the country. In the Cotswolds with little enclosure, small owners had disappeared in the seventeenth century; in Wiltshire enclosure contributed to the continued growth in numbers of both large and small owners but the decline of middle-sized owners as the proportional costs favoured larger holdings. In Cumberland and Westmoreland enclosure precipitated the decline of yeomen farmers leading to larger farms. The

[30]R. Muir, *The Yorkshire Countryside, A Landscape History*, (Keele 1997), p. 219.

landless were common before enclosure.[31]

Turner has found that for the period 1781-1819, the rate of interest, wheat prices and war were linked with the incidence of parliamentary enclosure: and Jan Crowther has linked the timing of parliamentary enclosure in the East Riding of Yorkshire with prices and interest rates, soil types, rents, the landownership structure and other factors.[32] She has divided enclosure in the East Riding of Yorkshire into three periods: those parishes enclosed before 1725, mainly deserted or shrunken, or on higher poorer land and surrounding large estates; those from 1725 to 1779, often in townships with large numbers of landowners; and those after 1779, usually with few owners and on great estates. As might be expected, therefore, the Wolds tended to be among the last parishes to be enclosed: half of the land in the East Riding was enclosed between 1726 and 1810, with the Wolds mainly towards the end of the period.[33] Crowther finds that land tax returns show most of the newly-enclosed land in East Yorkshire was held by large owners and tenanted in the main enclosure period after 1760: only fifteen to twenty per cent of land was owned by owner-occupiers - and less under old enclosures. Owner-occupiers made up only a third to a half of all owners in enclosures after 1730 on the uplands of East Yorkshire and there were few 'peasant'-owners defined by Turner as owning less than two hundred acres.[34] There was substantial stability of ownership in East Yorkshire although enclosure did partly stimulate the land-market. In the first decade after enclosure none of the four Helperthorpe owners had a single land transaction; in Weaverthorpe seven remained

[31]R. E. Allen, *Enclosure and the Yeoman: the Agricultural Development of the South Midlands, 1450-1820,* (Oxford 1992) p. 21; M. Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England 1500-1850,* (Cambridge 1996), pp. 75-7; J. M. Neeson, *Commoners: common right, enclosure and social change in England, 1700-1820,* (Cambridge 1993), pp. 61, 64; A. Young, *General View of Lincolnshire*, (1808), pp. 465-8; cited in G. E. Mingay, *Parliamentary Enclosure in England*, pp. 150-5.
[32]Turner, 1980, p. 125, cited in J. Crowther, Ph. D. thesis, pp. 161-2.
[33]Crowther Ph. D. thesis, cited in B. English, *The Great Landowners of East Yorkshire 1530-1910,* (Harvester Wheatsheaf 1990), p.185.
[34]J. Crowther, Ph. D. thesis, p. 444.

of the eight paying land-tax, and only three of the original thirteen engaged in any land-transactions; and in Luttons Ambo where eleven remained of the original fifteen owners, there were two transactions. None of the Weaverthorpe owners with over two hundred acres bought, sold or mortgaged land during the enclosure decade.[35]

It is the contention of this study that, notwithstanding all that might be said against enclosure as an 'improvement', it was the most significant undertaking that could have happened in these villages. In the eighteenth century this area was relatively backward, a century behind counties such as Norfolk and still cultivating its medieval open-field strips of land. It was the restructuring of the four villages through enclosure which allowed the agricultural innovations of the large landowners, Langley and members of the Sykes' family, backed by smaller owners with the support of the close-knit communities, which turned round the economy of the area to become one of the most successful farming regions in the country. Both population growth and migration rapidly increased after enclosure, contrary to the view that people were driven from the land. Rather, people were drawn to the villages as employment increased. Historians have used land-tax records as evidence to show reduction in the numbers of owners, especially small owner-occupiers, but in these villages a glance at wills and deeds reveals not only that the smallest owners were not included in the land-tax but also that when land did change hands it often passed to differently-named relatives. Change of name which appear in subsequent land-tax records and might possibly be thought to result from sales, often merely indicate that land has been inherited by family-members. Apart from a few sales before enclosure, the majority of small owners appear to have survived. It was the middle-sized non-resident owners with land elsewhere who decreased in number within two or three decades of enclosure as they rationalised their holdings. When it is asserted that there were few peasant-farmers on the East Yorkshire uplands or that small owners were reduced in numbers, that is because the land-tax records did not include them, not that they did

[35]Ibid, pp. 467, 494-5.

not exist; when it is thought that the large owners of these villages did not sell or mortgage land after enclosure, that was because they were mainly selling land elsewhere on their estates. Thus far, in dealing with those with a title to land, this thesis will therefore support the 'optimists' of enclosure.

The effects on the landless are difficult to assess in the scope of this study because of the scarcity of records. The loss of commons-use may not have been as important as in other places but loss of average and of summer-pasturing would undoubtedly have affected the landless and tenant-occupiers. Increasing population in these rapidly growing villages however would anyway have reduced commons access, so any deterioration may not wholly be the result of enclosure. There was poverty and poor relief in the villages as in every parish, though complete records have not survived for the extent of poverty to be measured around the time of enclosure, nor the part played by immigration and sickness in this. Further study might possibly show that much of the problem came with immigration rather than from the villages themselves. Indications are, as Mingay among others have suggested, that it was not enclosure itself but the wider agricultural context of depressed prices and population pressure after 1815 which were the cause of much rural poverty. On the other hand, agricultural improvements undoubtedly opened up these Wolds villages to progress and prosperity in the nineteenth century, with the replacement of open-fields by individual holdings and the building of good straight roads to open up communications with the wider region. At the same time successful mainstream cereal-growing possibly meant the decline of tenants' various minority crops and animals which are mentioned in eighteenth-century terriers. The measure of pre-enclosure individuality cannot be assessed, just as pre-enclosure productivity can only be surmised but the post-enclosure increases in productivity probably compensated for any loss of individuality. Enclosure was a complex process involving many factors such as land-ownership, soil-potential, prices and rents and previous agricultural practices. Timing was important. In these villages, some mainly small owners would

have enclosed much earlier but were thwarted by reluctant large owners, presumably until poor harvests and rising prices made agricultural improvement through enclosure-restructuring desirable.

In order to address this subject I have looked closely at as many records as possible within the limitations of time and availability. I have sought to build up as complete a picture as possible and found details which may have been overlooked or misinterpreted in more general works. This study of enclosure is about its effect on people. Through the use of parish-records, wills and inventories, deeds, land-tax records, churchwarden accounts, poor-rate records and the mass of Sykes' papers I have tried to look at what actually happened to the individuals involved in order to assess the impact of enclosure-restructuring on their lives and communities. Many records are incomplete or no longer exist, especially those for Luttons Ambo, but those which do survive have served to build up a reasonably adequate view of the villages. My conclusion is that enclosure was the only way in which these long-neglected villages could build up their agricultural productivity and flourish. All the indications are that, at least for half a century after enclosure, the villages as a whole grew and prospered to became part of a socially and economically progressive region where people sought to improve themselves. Closer studies could be made of individuals in order to investigate the complex migrations taking place, showing how prosperity increased mobility with both in- and out-migration, involving larger distances as the century progressed, but that would require many more words than are available for this thesis.

Chapter 2.

PRE-ENCLOSURE.

This chapter is concerned with existing conditions in Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe, East and West Lutton before enclosure through the triple aspects of landownership, population-structure and agriculture. Changes taking place throughout the country were slow to reach these villages although there were indications of movement.

Land-ownership.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ancient land-owning families were joined in rural society by new families who had made their money in business and financial circles as bankers and merchants and had married into local gentry families or had bought up waste-land or farms of struggling landowners.[1] Power lay in the ownership and exploitation of land.[2] It was a time when landowners wanted to show off their power and wealth in large estates through designing magnificent houses and parkland, for example Castle Howard in the North Riding, and their land was their sole or main source of revenue. Agriculture became a commercialised business: making the most effective use of one's land and property increased one's potential economic and social power. Some owners took an active part in agriculture but others remained inactive. There were many institutional owners such as Oxford and Cambridge colleges, the Church, the Crown and in the Weaverthorpe area, the Dean and Chapter of York, Pocklington School and the Scarborough Overseers of the Poor.[3] The majority of land was held by tenants although there was a wide variation of circumstances over the country.

[1]Howard Newby, *Country Life*, (Weidenfield and Nicholson 1987), p. 6.
[2]R. Brown, *Revolution, Radicalism and Reform, England 1780-1846,* (Cambridge 2000), p. 7.
[3]G. E. Mingay, *Land and Society in England 1750-1980,* (Longman 1994), pp. 35-36.

East Riding.

From the sixteenth century onwards enormous changes were taking place in the Riding as in the rest of the country and this was echoed in land ownership. Following the dissolution of the monasteries and redistribution of land, and depopulation, large areas of the East Riding were in the hands of a few landowners and land, especially around the Wolds, seems to have frequently changed hands, presumably to consolidate holdings or to settle debts. Estates were rarely sold but usually shrank through land-sales to off-set debts: new estates were created as land was bought and consolidated.[4] Although relatively poor, the East Riding saw much building and rebuilding by both old and new gentry in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries to improve their estates: many of its great houses and parks were created at this time. Houses built or rebuilt included Scampston, Londesborough, Burton Constable, Everingham, Sledmere and many more. Old families such as the Legards at Ganton, the Boyntons, Creykes and Constables rebuilt their medieval manor-houses, while newer families such as the Sykes resited old properties. Stones from religious houses were often used, as with Howsham Hall built from Kirkham Abbey, as well as new imported materials: bricks were used from the late sixteenth century onwards.[5] Newer estates gradually came to be created not in the vale of York but around the higher ground of the Wolds. From the middle ages the great East Riding estates were built on clay soil, thought beneficial for cultivation: low rich soil was chosen for residences - abbeys such as Meaux and Swine, and houses as at Escrick, low-lying Everingham and Howsham by the river Derwent.[6] In the late seventeenth century there were clusters of gentry-houses around Beverley, the west edge of the Wolds and south-east of York.[7] Eighteenth century

[4]B. English, *The Great landowners of East Yorkshire 1530-1910,* (Harvester Wheatsheaf 1990*),* p. 36.
[5]K. J. Allison, *The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, (Hodder and Stoughton 1976), pp. 140-4.
[6]B. English, *Great landowners*, p. 147.
[7]D.Neave, Seats of the Gentry*,* in *Historical Atlas*, p. 64.

estates however were built on higher ground and different soils: the number of estate-houses for nobility and gentry in Holderness, Harthill and Ouse and Derwent warpentakes shrank from sixty-eight in 1560 and eighty-nine in 1712 to forty-nine in 1812 while numbers in Buckrose and Dickering, upland areas, rose from Elizabeth's reign.[8] Instead of the heavy wet clay, the lighter chalky soil of the Wolds was much more suitable for growing the new fodder-crops and root vegetables and for carrying out new farming ideas. Flooding, always a seasonal problem in the Derwent valley, was not encountered on the well-drained Wolds soil. Other advantages were the room for expansion away from existing estates, the lower population away from the plains which made progress and radical changes easier and quicker with less opposition, and the more interesting and impressive countryside situated at different levels made a more outstanding estate. The new sites had varied soils which were suitable for different types of farming and crops: these families were taking a planned long-term view of the future involving new crops, farming methods, equipment and soil-improvement to get the very best from their investment. They needed enclosure before they could fulfil their vision.[9]

The great landowners included dukes, baronets, knights and esquires. Early modern land-owning families had land from the Middle Ages or acquired Crown or monastic land in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: land from the dissolution or from holding government office under the Tudors. Newcomers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in East Yorkshire, such as the Thompsons, Denisons and Sykeses, came from the merchant-class, from overseas trading and banking in Hull, York and London. Some families moved their base, such as the Willoughbys from Nottinghamshire to Birdsall. All of these circumstances, easier to see in the well-documented papers of the wealthy, are paralleled in the small landowner and

[8] H. E. Strickland, *A general view*(1812), p. 39, quoted in *Great Landowners*, p. 147: 'Formerly....the fuller of marshes, fens, and lakes, the better, as affording, probably, additional accommodations for rural life, and additional amusements'.
[9] B. English, *Great landowners*, pp. 147-8.

yeoman/farmer class, by families leaving property and capital to one male heir, if possible, to ensure continuity. There were about 150 East Yorkshire peerage and gentry families each century from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, whose holdings fluctuated, with about two newcomers every fifty years:[10] the gentry were rising in an open society into which anyone rich enough could enter.[11] Surnames disappeared as estates were combined or disposed of but name-changes did not always represent new families: surnames were changed to inherit property, such as Hutchinson to Langley, or married heiresses inherited, such as Kirkby and Masterman to Sykes.[12] Various families prospered through inheritance, a wise marriage or opportunity, or declined and were forced to sell, while some new families emerged, such as Thompson and Sykes by 1780.[13]

Sir Christopher Sykes and the Sledmere Estate.

Sir Christopher Sykes has the reputation for transforming the Wolds from wasteland to fine agricultural land. Tradition has it that he sold up his business interests and used his fortune to buy up Wolds land and improve it, from a rent of a few pence an acre to

[10] *Ibid,* pp.26, 28:
Table 2.1: Great Landowners in East Yorkshire.

1720	1780
Bethell of Rise	Bethell of Rise
Boyle, Earl of Burlington	Constable of Burton Constable
Boynton of Burton Agnes	Constable of Everingham
Constable of Burt. Constable	Cavendish,Duke of Devonshire
Constable of Everingham	Wyndham, Earl of Egremont
Hotham of Scorborough-Ret.	St.Quintin of Scampston
St.Quintin of Scampston*	Strickland of Boynton
Seymour, Duke of Somerset	Sykes of Sledmere*
Strickland of Boynton	Thompson of Escrick*

*denotes new entrant.

[11] *Ibid,* pp. 51,55.
[12] *Ibid*, pp. 26, 23.
[13] *Ibid*, p. 29. Thompson of Holderness, merchants in Yorkshire, Rotterdam and London, had bought Escrick, York, in 1668.

a pound an acre.[14] Actually he was doing what other Wolds landowners were doing but on a very grand scale: changes which were taking place elsewhere in this isolated part of the Wolds were probably unnoticed, but the Sykes family's extensive activities attracted attention, taking the credit for initiating those changes. The Sykes family had prospered through their mercantile activities, making their fortunes partly from the Baltic trade in Hull,[15] and through marriage to several heiresses: Sir Christopher, M.P. for Beverley from 1784 to 1790, married Elizabeth Tatton of Cheshire, heiress of the Egertons of Tatton, whose inheritance he used to build his Sledmere and Wolds estate.[16] He was carrying out his family's ambitions to increase and enclose the estate and following the fashion to build a new grand house. He did not have business interests to sell but used his parents' wealth and that of his wife[17] and borrowed the rest. He continued his family's investing and speculation to fund the enormous buying and selling of land. He did not buy only cheap land as Wolds land could be expensive.[18] He increased the wealth of his family, who helped to build up their reputation by putting up inscriptions: his daughter in West Heslerton church[19] and his son Tatton at Sledmere village well.[20]

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[14] *Ibid*, p. 63.

[15] J. T. Ward, *East Yorkshire Landed Estates in the Nineteenth Century*, (EYLHS No 23 1967), p. 6.

[16] Burke's *Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage, Vol. 2 M-Z,* (1970), pp. 2602-3: Richard, Hull merchant, married Mary, co-heiress of Mark Kirkby and gained part of the Sledmere estate in 1748.

[17] B. English, *Great Landowners*, pp. 29,107.

[18] *Ibid,* pp. 62-64: Arthur Young's 1770 work based on Legard's misunderstood comments was held responsible by Alan Harris for the misconception generally held that Wolds land was poor and inexpensive: a correction by Legard stated that unimproved outlying land was cheaper than the more expensive inclosed land. Prices varied as grass inclosures could be 20s an acre, high wolds land 1s per acre.

[19] 'whosoever now traverses the Wolds of Yorkshire and contrasts their present appearance with what they were, cannot but extol the name of Sykes'.

[20] ..'by assiduity and perseverance in building and planting and enclosing on the Yorkshire Wolds, in the short space of thirty years, set such as example to other owners of land, as has caused what was once a bleak and barren tract of country to become now one of the most productive and best cultivated districts in the County of York'.

Finance.

The financial activities of landowners seen in deeds and wills were more widespread than might have been expected. Indexes of abbreviated versions of mortgages, long leases and associated wills are held in the Registry of Deeds in Beverley recording transactions but not acreage. These rose steadily from over 1,000 in 1793 to over 2,000 in 1863, the land market seemingly unaffected by short-term activities such as depressions and wars. Large landowners, who were as likely as small owners to increase holdings by small purchases, account for a very low percentage of transactions, showing that smaller owners were very active by comparison.[21] The eighteenth century therefore was a period of land-transactions, not only involving the great landowners but equally small ones: the former generally to enlarge or consolidate estates, and the latter to sell to raise money; and both groups to mortgage their land for capital to invest or procure more land.

Sir Christopher Sykes's personal account book gives financial details rarely found elsewhere which are an insight into typical landowners' transactions. Land was so important for rents as once a merchant had moved to the country this was often the sole source of income. Christopher was primarily a financier who bought land expeditiously on borrowed money: he borrowed on mortgages, paying enclosure expenses by mortgaging allotments. He mortgaged his wife's jointure by private act, unable to raise money by government stock because of falling prices due to the wars.[22] Many others were doing the same, making extensive use of mortgaging to buy land and to keep themselves solvent: those miscalculating, or unfortunate, lost their land. Fortunately agricultural prices were rising steadily: his income from rents increased sevenfold over twenty-five years, though his continual transactions caused wide fluctuations. In most years his stock and loans made losses: his bank profits were

[21] B. English, *Great landowners*, pp. 70-1.
[22] *Ibid,* p. 65.

nowhere near his agricultural income. His largest expenses came from purchasing land and investing in his estate, for example enclosure expenses. His household expenses accounted for half his rental income although in 1789 his building costs including Sledmere House exceeded his household expenses. By 1778 his annually calculated capital was in deficit, despite four years' legacies, not taking into account his land's capital value which he presumably never considered selling.[23] He established the East Riding Bank with Robert Carlile Broadley and was in the position of knowing those in financial difficulties and in a position to sell: much land that he bought was mortgaged to others. He allegedly acquired properties on his bank's foreclosing on mortgages, but he usually bought on borrowed money and expected values to rise, not always being expected to produce the capital immediately.[24] Deposits came large and small, from the Sykes family to their employees.[25] Robert Carlile Broadley, Sykes' bank-partner, was a Hull merchant inheriting Ferriby Hall, North Ferriby, from his father Thomas in 1784. Broadley invested in land all over the East Riding, which, unlike other landowners, he often re-sold quickly for profit while other land was retained.[26]

Ownership of Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe parishes.

The four villages of Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe, East and West Lutton, though surrounded by other small Wolds communities, were relatively isolated before enclosure. They tended to be the outlying parts of large estates, and were therefore readily relinquished to consolidate land or to raise capital. Much of the land was held

[23]HUL DDSY 98/142 Christopher Sykes' personal account book, 1771-1800; *B. English, Great Landowners,* pp. 228, 103-4.
[24]B. English, *Great landowners,* pp. 65-66.
[25]Dean and Chapter Wills 1257, 1797-1807, Borthwick Institute: Thomas Ombler, gentlemen and son-in-law of Rev.John Rudd, left in his 1798 will '£200 in the hands of Mr. Broadley' although he owned no land.
[26]K. J. Allison, *Hull Gent. seeks Country Residence 1750-1850,* (EYLHS 1981), p. 38.

by non-resident landowners, though John Ness, lord of the manor of West Lutton, had once resided there, and was worked by tenants. The manors of Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe were included in various seventeenth and eighteenth century estates and changed hands several times until transferring to Mark Kirkby in 1741 and later to the Sykes' family, hence the presence of these papers amongst the Sykes' papers.[27] The Middleton family's 37½ Helperthorpe acres passed to Richard Langley around 1784 on his marriage to Dorothy Willoughby, daughter of Lord Middleton. As the Sykes family did not have holdings in Luttons Ambo, their records contain only Luttons Ambo land transactions concerning George and Elizabeth Newlove's mortgaging in 1751 eventually leading to the land passing to John Ness in 1793 and subsequently to the Sykes family.[28]

By the late eighteenth century the majority of land was changing hands within families through inheritance or marriage. On the eve of enclosure, the land tax returns between 1783 and 1801 show differing patterns for each of the villages: Weaverthorpe's owners fell from nine in 1783 to eight in 1801; Helperthorpe's fell from just six to five; and Luttons' rose from six in 1783 to sixteen in 1787 and fifteen in 1801. Lord Middleton's land, including two leased Dean and Chapter oxgangs in Weaverthorpe, were added to Langley's but some other new owners are more difficult to account for.

Weaverthorpe's Ownership.

Of Weaverthorpe's nine proprietors in 1783 there were three non-resident large landowners: Sir Christopher Sykes paid about a third of the total land tax and Richard Langley and Lord Middleton, lessee of the Dean and Chapter, paid a quarter each. By 1787 there were eight proprietors: Langley had added his father-in-law Middleton's

[27]HUL DDSY/70/21; /23; /24; /46; /82; /56; James Plaxton, *Descent of Lands in Sledmere,* (Hull), p. 57.
[28] HUL DDSY/84,88,93.

land, including the tenancy of the Dean and Chapter land, to his own and paid nearly a half of the total to Sykes' third. John Bielby occupied both the vicar's land and also his former land under the proprietorship of the Poor of Scarborough. From 1787 to 1801 and the Enclosure Act, Weaverthorpe's land tax distribution was little changed: George Bielby's land transferred to Richard Kirby of Butterwick, Thomas Milson's was inherited by his son-in-law George Posthill in 1788.

Table 2.2: Weaverthorpe Land Tax Returns in 1787.[29]

Proprietors	Occupiers	£-s-d
Sir Christopher Sykes	Richard Clarkson	6-12-0
do	Thomas Clarkson	
do	Richard Ireland	
do	John Robson	
do	Wm Robson	
do	James Sawdon	
do	Richard Topham	
Richard Langley Esq	John Bielby	9-9-4
do	Daniel Hodson	
do	John Ness	
do	JohnRobson Jr	
do	James Sawdon	
do	John Ward	
Rev G Lawson	John Bielby	1-12-0
Mr John Ness	Mr John Ness	1-1-4
Mr George Bielby	Moses Ireland	0-19-4
Poor of Scarborough	John Bielby	0-8-0
Thomas Millson	Thomas Millson	0-5-4
Richard Topham	Richard Topham	0-4-8
		20-12-0

Helperthorpe Ownership.

Helperthorpe land-tax in 1783 was paid by six proprietors: of the three large ones Lord Middleton was assessed at two-fifths, Sir Christopher Sykes a quarter and Richard Esh about an eighth. In 1787 there were five proprietors though the vicar did not own oxgangs. Langley had added Middleton's land to his own[30], paying also as lessee of

[29]QED 1/3/38 Weaverthorpe, Land Tax Records, Beverley Archives.
[30]HUL DDSY/70/125: Middleton's 36½ oxgangs to Langley's five oxgangs.

the Dean and Chapter, nearly half the total. From 1787 to 1801, little changed. From 1797 Langley's assessment was arranged differently: he had to pay a fifth of the total bill for £50 tithe, which increased his total payment, perhaps in anticipation of enclosure.

Table 2.3: Helperthorpe Ownership in 1787.[31]

Proprietors	Occupiers	£-s-d
Richard Langley Esq	Wm Anderson	8-19-5
do	Joseph Crosby	
do	Richard Ellis	
do	Richard Lovel	
do	Elizabeth Simpson	
do	Richard Smith	
do	John Warde	
Sir Christopher Sykes	John Milner	4-12-11
do	Richard Lovel	
Mr Richard Esh	Wm Lovel	3-1-10
Rev Mr Ayre	Thomas Longhorne	1-12-0
Mr Richard Kirby	Richard Spruce	0-14-7
		19-0-0

In 1784 Helperthorpe's oxgangs were owned by only four non-resident landlords: Sir Christopher Sykes as Lord of the Manor, and Richard Langley, who each owned about a third of the land, and Richard Esh of Flaxton, owning nearly a fifth, and Richard Kirby of Mowthorpe. Richard Langley owned two-thirds of Helperthorpe's fronts and cottages, whose tenants had commons-rights.[32]

[31]QED 1/3/12 Helperthorpe, Land Tax Records, Beverley Archives.
[32]HUL DDSY/70/125.

Table 2.4: Ownership of oxgangs and dwellings in Helperthorpe in 1784.[33]

Proprietors	Cottages up	Fronts down	Proprietors	oxgangs
Lord of the Manor	3	0	Sir Christopher Sykes	34
Lord Middleton	8	5	Richard Langley Esq (late Lord Middleton)	36½
Mr. Richard Esh-Flaxton	3	0	Richard Esh	17½
Richard Langley Esquire	1	1	Mr. Langley (his own)	5
Richard Kirby	1	0	Richard Kirby	6
Vicar	1	0		
Total	17	6		99

Luttons Ambo Ownership.

Many changes took place in Luttons Ambo between 1783 and enclosure. There were six proprietors in 1783: of the three large non-resident owners, Lord Middleton was assessed at about a third, and John Ness and John Bell, lords of the manor of East and West Lutton, about a sixth each. In 1787 there were seventeen proprietors, twelve of whom were residents: twelve new proprietors of which Richard Langley (paying two-thirds of his late father-in-law Lord Middleton's tax) and William Ness paid about a sixth of the total each; and ten minor proprietors including Sir George Strickland and the Duke of Devonshire as well as local people. If William Ness's came from John Ness's reduced holding, the others' could have come from Lord Middleton's holding or merely paid tax for the first time on their small allotments.[34] From 1787 to 1797 in Luttons Ambo there were numerous small changes of proprietors, usually within the families, and some changed hands more than once. Many assessments fluctuated: John Bell's and John Ness's holdings doubled (the latter gaining Newlove's in 1793) while William Ness' disappeared. John Bell

transferred a piece of land to his mother by 1801, perhaps anticipating enclosure. There were many changes of occupiers, some with multiple occupancies.

[33]HUL DDSY/70/125.

[34]*Thomas Bellerby*, a Luttons Ambo weaver inherited the house from his father William in 1767, although not in the land-tax records until 1787.

Table 2.5: Luttons Ambo Land Tax in 1783 and 1787.[35]

1787 Proprietor		£-s-d
Richard Langley	Samuel Milbourn	3-14-2½
do	Richard Lovel	
do	Roger Wise	
do	Wm Thompson	
Wm Ness	Wm Ness	3-8-3
John Bell	Christopher Rousby	3-1-9
do	Thomas Ince	
do	Wm Lovell	
Thomas Sawdon	Robert Reaston	2-10-9
do	Thomas Sawdon	
John Ness	Wm Dickinson	1-10-4¾
do	Robert Hesp	
do	Mark Tarlo	
do	Sara Pexton	
do	John Grice	
do	John Staveley	
do	Wm Lovell	
do	Mark Sutton	
do	Lawrence Stevenson	
Devonshire	Roger Wise	0-2-4¼
Thomas Bellerby	Richard Bilingham	0-1-7½
Wm/Elis Boreman	Thomas Selers	0-1-7½
Christopher Newlove	Christopher Newlove	2-0-7½
Rev G Lawson	Thomas Longhorn	1-4-4½
Richard Ezard	Richard Ezard	0-2-10
do	Richard Bilingham	
Christopher Rousby	Christopher Rousby	0-2-10
Richard Thompson	Richard Thompson	0-2-8
Wm Sawdon	Wm Sawdon	0-2-2¼
Wm Thompson	Robert Wood	0-2-0¼
Matthew Right	Thomas Kirby	0-2-0
Sir George Strickland	Sir George Strickland	0-0-9¾

[35]QED 1/3/22 Luttons Ambo, Land Tax Records.

Major Landowners.

The Willoughby family, *Lords Middleton* from 1712, lived at Wollaton, Nottinghamshire and acquired Birdsall through the marriage of Thomas, second son of the first Lord Middleton, to Elizabeth Sotheby. The Willoughby family also owned land in four other counties and in Applecross, Western Highlands. They later purchased the Settrington estate in the 1820s as well as land at North Grimston, Wharram and others.[36] Henry Willoughby Esquire was the President of the East Riding of Yorkshire Agricultural Society.[37]

Richard Langley of Wykeham Abbey was a descendant of the Hutchinsons who gained Wykeham Abbey in 1544 after the Reformation, and Richard's grandfather assumed the name of Langley to succeed to his uncle's estate at North Grimston.[38] Richard Langley married the Hon. Dorothy Willoughby, daughter of Henry Lord Middleton of Birdsall. Langley died childless in 1817 and his lands passed to his cousin the Hon. Marmaduke Dawney, brother to Lord Downe. In his will and codocils, Langley listed land in Great Driffield, Swine, Brompton and Wold Newton and a newly-bought house in Portman Square, London.[39]

Sir George Strickland of Boynton, 5th Baronet, 1729-1808, who was succeeded by his son Sir William, 6th baronet, was in Luttons Ambo land tax records from 1787 to 1797.[40] The Strickland family who obtained the manor of Boynton in 1549 were probably descended from a Marske sea-captain who married a Strickland heiress of Sizergh, Westmorland: William and his brother Henry wrote extensively on East

[36]B. English, *Great Landowners*, p. 32.
[37]*York Courant*, January 17 1769.
[38]HUL DDCV/215/50: these included manors and lands in five townships and land in sixteen other Yorkshire villages including Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe.
[39]York Wills, Vol. 161, Fol. 114, March 1817, Borthwick Institute, York
[40]*Burke's Peerage,* p. 2740.

Riding agriculture (see Post-enclosure section).

William, Duke of Devonshire, was a wealthy non-resident landlord with vast country-wide holdings, including Chatsworth, Derbyshire. The Cavendishes, the Dukes of Devonshire, were descendants of the Cliffords through female lines, gaining the Londesborough estate in 1753 after the last Lord Burlington's daughter married into the Cavendish family.[41]

Minor Landowners.

Below the aristocracy and the gentry class of knights, baronets and esquires, came the small landowners' class of prosperous yeomen and husbandmen with smaller amounts of land, who usually worked their own land.[42] These plots were usually inherited over several generations, as with four small Weaverthorpe yeomen landowning-families in the land tax records: *George* and *John Beilby, Thomas Milson, George Posthill* and *Richard Topham*.[43] Helperthorpe had two small gentry landowners: *Richard Esh* of Flaxton and *Richard Kirby* of Mowthorpe, previously Butterwick and Helperthorpe.[44] Luttons Ambo had many minor landowners: two non-resident gentlemen and lords of the manor, *John Ness,* West Lutton, of Butterwick, and *John Bell,* East Lutton, of Scarborough and the rest were yeomen or artisans, resident and non-resident, who had inherited within the family.[45]

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[41]B. English, *Great landowners*, pp. 191, 13, 27.
[42]*Ibid,* p. 3.
[43]HUL DDSY/70/97, 98, 100 and Dean and Chapter wills, Borthwick Institute: *George* and *John Beilby*, father and son, had inherited from their yeomen grandfathers; *John Beilby* and *George Posthill* from their father-in-law, *Thomas Milson*, Weaverthorpe yeoman; *Richard Topham*, Butterwick, from his Helperthorpe farming family.
[44]Parish records for Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe; Dean and Chapter Wills: *Richard Esh*, Flaxton, late of Helperthorpe, from his father, Helperthorpe gentleman; *Richard Kirby*, Mowthorpe gentleman, from his family.
[45]Weaverthorpe Parish records: *John Ness*, lord of the manor, Butterwick gentleman farmer, father of *William*, died during the enclosure award, leaving everything to his wife *Ann*. *John Bell* esq. of Scarborough and lord of the manor of East Lutton was

Apart from the landowners, there was an affluent class of landless residents whose wealth is illustrated in the wills, inventories and declarations of thirty-eight villagers available for the villages from 1763 to 1801. Property was held by all four East Lutton and all seven Helperthorpe deceased, by half of the ten West Lutton deceased, and by about a third of the seventeen Weaverthorpe deceased who left wills, most of which remained in the family at enclosure. Half of the West Lutton will-makers and two-thirds of the Weaverthorpe ones were not landowners. The deceased left up to around £500, and one of around £1,000. Residents appeared remarkably financially informed: mortgaging and investment were much in evidence in the nineteenth century wills of these villages. Wives were generally given annuities and the right to the home for their natural life: if a farm was involved, it was often left to the wife and eldest son and then passed to the son after his mother's decease. Sometimes adult children were given the interest of sums and then the sum passed to grandchildren when they reached the age of 21. Any annuities or legacies from the land, if not from income, must have come from investing the mortgage of the property. Capital was invested in order to live off the interest.[46]

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succeeded in 1791 by his wife *Jane* and in 1795 also by his son *Mr. John Bell*. The remainder included resident yeomen, husbandmen and artisans who inherited from relatives.

[46] 1256, Dean and Chapter Wills, 1784-1796, Borthwick Institute. Thomas Tindale, Weaverthorpe yeoman,stated in 1765, 'If my wife stand in need it shall be lawful for her to sell on Mortgage all the premises to raise money for her better Maintenance'; William Sawden, yeoman in 1796, left his two sisters the interest of £300 for life at £4 per cent per annum, the capital going to his nephew on their decease.

The church.

The other two landowners in the Weaverthorpe villages were the vicar and the Dean and Chapter of York who were also holders of the tithes, payment of which took a tenth of villagers' animals and produce in kind or money.[47] Tithes went to the Crown after dissolution and were often acquired by laymen: tithe-rental was sometimes worth more than farm-rental. Most large landlords owned or leased tithes and the advowson, the right to present the parson.[48] The corn tithe and half of the wool tithe went to the lessee of the Dean and Chapter of York, and the other half of the wool tithe to the vicar, who had full lamb, hay and clover tithe as well as other vicarial tithes.[49] However the Helperthorpe vicar had not demanded all cattle-tithes for nearly twenty years because of 'a suit in the Spiritual (illeg.) Court given against the late Vicar'. Communal tything-date decisions were made: the Helperthorpe tything of lambs was moved by mutual consent to shearing day, because ewes had not always 'yeaned or dropped through'.[50] The vicars also received other money from many other petty tithes and oblations, fees and mortuaries from the villagers. In Weaverthorpe the vicar held a vicarage-house and two oxgangs and the Helperthorpe minister held a vicarage-house but no glebe lands all with appropriate rights.[51] Houses and land belonging to the Dean and Chapter of York in Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe, that is one messuage and two oxgangs in Weaverthorpe in 1801, were leased to Henry Willoughby (Lord Middleton) for 21 years in 1771, succeeded in 1785 by his son-in-law Richard Langley, at an annual rent of £26, later £30, to the Dean and Chapter plus £30 payable in two instalments on Midsummer and Candlemas Days, to the vicar of Weaverthorpe, and £20 payable to the Helperthorpe vicar, for a term of twenty-one years, renewed every seven years. The lessee was responsible for the chancels of the

[47]Terriers, Terr. K., Weaverthorpe 1781, Helperthorpe 1786.
[48]B. English, *Great Landowners,* p. 177.
[49]Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe Terriers, Terr. K., Borthwick Institute.
[50]Helperthorpe Terrier 1778: Helperthorpe records MF 700 1733-1885.
[51]Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe Terriers, Terr. K.

churches.[52]

Although religion was thriving in many parts of the country, in eighteenth-century rural East Yorkshire vicars were later sometimes regarded as neglecting their congregations through absenteeism and pluralism, and alienating them through tithe-collection. In 1764 less than a third of East Riding parishes had a resident parson and the work was often carried out by curates.[53] Eighteenth-century Wolds churches were seen by nineteenth-century religious leaders as places of religious apathy. Wolds clergy appeared complacent as they fulfilled their duties, although many neglected their ministry.[54] Weaverthorpe's eighteenth-century terriers and visitation returns showed poor parishes with absentee vicars. In 1743 Weaverthorpe church and Luttons Ambo's chapel-of-ease shared their vicar with the neighbouring village of Foxholes. Helperthorpe, a separate parish in 1743, shared its sixty-year-old vicar with Rillington and Scampston and teaching the catechism was left to a schoolmaster.[55] In 1764 the octogenarian Helperthorpe vicar, ministering there for thirty years, was acting-curate for the Weaverthorpe parish, including Luttons Ambo, as the ill vicar's home was uninhabitable.[56] In 1786 Helperthorpe vicarage house was in a neglected state. Weaverthorpe vicarage in 1781, unused by a vicar for eighty years, had housed a tenant's animals before 1764, and was being rebuilt by the vicar from its 'ruinous condition'.[57] Neglect made villagers susceptible to religious dissent: evangelicalism brought religious commitment. In the eighteenth century Methodism spread from York and Hull through the East Riding. In 1764 there were Methodists registered in East Riding twenty-three parishes.[58] John Wesley made twenty visits to the East

[52]Index to the Dean and Chapter Lease Books WJ 1768-1784, WK 1784-1801, York Minster.
[53]B. Dyson, *A Guide to Local Studies in East Yorkshire,* (Hutton Press 1985), p. 79.
[54]Rev. Henry. Woodcock, *Piety Among the Peasantry,* (Toulson, c1880), pp.14,25.
[55]1743 Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, Vol. 2, (YAS Record Series, Vol. LXXV, 1929), Weaverthorpe, p. 252, Helperthorpe p. 83.
[56]Bp. V 1764 Weaverthorpe Ret 3; Bp. V 1764 Helperthorpe Ret., Borthwick.
[57]Weaverthorpe Terriers, 1764 and 1781, and 1786 Helperthorpe Terrier, Terr. K.
[58]*Historical Atlas,* p. 108*;* Brian Dyson *A Guide to local Studies in East Yorkshire,* p.

Riding, including Weaverthorpe in his 1781 tour.[59] The first record of dissenters in Weaverthorpe was a request in 1789 to register the house of farmer Richard Topham as a house of public worship.[60]

Population and structure of the villages.

From 1700 to 1801 the population of the East Riding nearly doubled, from 65,000 to about 111,000.[61] Population was low in Wolds villages although parishes were large: in the eighteenth century most had fewer than fifty families or 200 inhabitants.[62] Wolds parishes were experiencing changing populations: in these four villages less than a fifth of the surnames occurring in the late seventeenth-century were present a century later. Populations were low, households small and relatively poor: a third of households were discharged in the Hearth tax lists and only three households per township had more than one hearth. Weaverthorpe's population appears reduced by a third from thirty-eight householders in 1672 to twenty-seven families recorded in 1764, almost two-thirds of which consisted of only one or two adults. Helperthorpe's population remained fairly constant at eighteen households in 1672, fifteen in 1742 and eighteen in 1764 when more than half consisted of one or two adults.[63] East and West Lutton in 1672 had thirty-six households. In 1801 the population of Weaverthorpe was 182, Helperthorpe 72 and East and West Lutton 207. Nearly half of the deceased who left wills, declarations and inventories for the four villages from 1763 to 1801, came from Weaverthorpe, implying a more affluent community than Luttons Ambo, which had the larger population in 1801. Agriculture was the

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[59]Nehemiah Curnock, *The Journal of John Wesley, Vol. V1,* (Charles H. Kelly 1915), p. 328.

[60]Weaverthorpe DMH 1790/6, Borthwick Institute.

[61]B. English, *Great landowners*, p. *3.*

[62]A. Harris*, Rural Landscape,* p. 19.

[63]The Hearth Tax List for Howden, Ouze and Darwant, Harthill, Wilton and Buckrose Wapentakes, 1672, (Ripon Hist. Soc.1996); parish records; Bp. V 1764 Weaverthorpe Ret 3; Bp. V 1764 Helperthorpe Ret.

dominant employment amongst the will-makers: around half were farmers, husbandmen and yeomen. Only one gentleman was on the list.[64]

Table 2.6: Occupations in wills and inventories.

Occupation	Weaverthorpe	West Lutton	Helperthorpe	East Lutton	Totals
Yeoman	4	4		1	9
Farmer	5		1	1	7
Husbandman	1	2	1		4
Labourer	1		1		2
Tailor	1			1	2
Alehousekeeper		1	1		2
Shepherd	1	1			2
Poulterer	1				1
Carpenter/wright		1			1
Cordwainer		1			1
Gentleman			1		1
Vicar			1		1
Weaver				1	1
Others	3		1		4
Total	17	10	7	4	38

A wider variety of men's occupations appeared in the parish records from 1791 to 1800 although not everyone was represented: those who married earlier or elsewhere, or had no children baptised or buried in this period, or were buried elsewhere or later than 1800, were not included. With successive children, different parental occupations were given. Many men graduated from a labouring job to other occupations while some men returned for a while to labouring, or perhaps held some occupations simultaneously. Many appeared once and may have been temporary residents but despite the small numbers, results indicate the range of occupations. Farmers, yeomen and husbandmen were described differently in the wills from the parish records: these terms appear to be concerned with social status, rather than with landowner/tenant status. Some occupations were not given. Every occupation of each

[64]Dean and Chapter Wills, Borthwick Institute.

man in the records was recorded once and the occupations have been arranged in groups[65]: agriculture employed nearly two-thirds of the workforce with half of these as labourers, presumably agricultural, and about a tenth of the workforce was connected with providing services for farmers. Despite Luttons Ambo's higher population, Weaverthorpe appeared more significant with ten Weaverthorpe farmers to Luttons Ambo's seven, the same with shepherds. West Lutton was the only village to have a schoolmaster and all four tailors whose village was given. The vicar and curates, and two butchers, were based in Weaverthorpe, with grocers and shopkeepers in both Weaverthorpe and West Lutton. Included in the parish records but not in wills, were blacksmith, shoemaker, farrier, smith; butcher, grocer; hawker, pauper; servant, soldier, curate and schoolmaster, perhaps because these were new or young-men's occupations, or not equated with wealth or possessions. Women were only accorded the descriptions of spinster, widow or pauper: there were six paupers, one female and two male paupers in Weaverthorpe, two East Lutton female paupers and a West Lutton labourer/pauper, elsewhere described as labourer or husbandman. Presumably families were self-supporting as ten out of 189 baptisms had no father recorded but mothers were seldom recorded as paupers. There is evidence in the wills and marriages of some measure of local migration.

[65] Farmers and yeomen; labourers; shepherds; husbandmen; clothiers - tailors, shoemakers, cordwainers; services - farriers, smiths, blacksmiths; shopkeepers - butchers, grocers, innkeepers; craftsmen - carpenter, wright, weaver; clerical - vicar, curate; gentlemen; paupers; others - tinker, hawker, soldier.

Table 2.7: Occupations given in parish records 1791-1800.[66]

	Weaverthorpe	W.Lutton	E.Lutton	Helperthorpe	Of this parish	Not given	Total
Labourers	16	12	17	7	2		54
Farmers/yeomen	10	4	3	5	1		23
Shepherds	10	3	3	2		1	19
Husbandmen	3	2		1			6
Clothiers		4	1	3	3		11
Services	2	4			3		9
Shopkeepers	4	4		1			9
Craftsmen	1	1	3	1			6
Clerical	4	1					5
Gentlemen		1					1
Others	1					2	3
Pauper	3	1	2				6
Not given	4	2		4	2	1	13

Pre-enclosure housing.

While brick was used in other areas from the late seventeenth century, Wolds village homes typical of many across the county, had rubble walls built of chalkstone and limestone with mud instead of lime-mortar, all of which soon decayed.[67] Despite a lack of timber, wooden frameworks were sometimes used.[68] Although there were some relatively affluent villagers, and some building as Langley's Helperthorpe cottages increased from nine cottages in 1784 to fifteen dwellings in 1801,[69] most villagers in the pre-enclosure Weaverthorpe area lived in dreadful conditions. Leaning white-washed mud-walled cottages, or 'nooks' huddled together along the main street: about six feet high, thatch-roofed, and 'beetle-browed' with tiny windows. The family gathered round a large fire of wood and coal, whose spacious chimney projected half way across the cottage, allowing them to view the sky above.[70] Cow-dung or gorse

[66]Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe parish records 1791-1800, Borthwick Institute.
[67]Strickland (1812), p. 40, in Crowther, Ph.D. thesis, p. 542.
[68]K. J. Allison, *The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, (Hodder and Stoughton 1976), pp. 145-146: in Octon near Weaverthorpe, a cottage had 2 pairs of crucks between brick and chalk walls. When the trees were felled at Settrington in the 1590s, most of the 78 homes in 1600 were built on crucks and timber was bought by men from 3 dozen villages.
[69]HUL DDSY/70/125.
[70]Rev. Henry Woodcock, *Piety Among the Peasantry,* (Joseph Toulson c1888), p. 22.

from the commons was probably used as fuel in the absence of wood, as in Fimber later[71]. Cottages had a central door and larger ones had a room on each side of the central chimney-stack and a central staircase if there were two floors: farm-houses sometimes had a third bay with its own chimney-stack and was used as a back-kitchen.[72] Sometimes animals shared the home as in Helperthorpe vicarage.[73] Affluent homes had three or four rooms: usually (dwelling-)house, a parlour used for sleeping, chamber and kitchen. Furniture was sparse and functional; dishes usually of pewter. Husbandry equipment could be extensive and of higher value than furniture.[74]

Pre-enclosure agriculture.

The fourteenth century Black Death devastated medieval feudal agriculture eliminating forty per cent of the country's population and emptying villages including some on the Wolds. The reduced population turned to sheep-farming for wool as less labour-intensive: feudally-farmed arable land became large pastoral farms employing shepherds. The enclosure of sheep marked the beginning of enclosure, to designate different land-uses.[75] By the sixteenth century population-figures began to recover to the same as before the Black Death: a heavy urban demand for bread exerted pressure on agriculture, cultivating as much land as possible. A new kind of farmer working individually, the yeoman, grew crops to meet this demand, selling at distant markets. Urban demand for meat encouraged cattle-rearing in the North, West and Scotland.[76] The dissolution of the monasteries led to extra land falling into the hands of local gentry and yeomen farmers who strove to improve the land to increase production.[77]

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[71] J. D. Hicks (ed.), *A Victorian Boyhood on the Wolds*, (EYLHS 1978), p. 5.
[72] K. J. Allison*, The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, p. 146.
[73] Helperthorpe Terrier 1764, Terr. K, Borthwick Institute.
[74] York Dean and Chapter Wills, Borthwick Institute.
[75] A. Howkins, C. Dyer, 'Power, Plague and Profit*', Fruitful Earth,* (BBC 2 series, August 1999).
[76] A. Howkins, J. Thirsk, *ibid.*
[77] K.J. Allison, *The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, p.114.

Travel across Europe brought new alternative tastes in food, new ideas in agriculture and new crops: asparagus, artichokes, turkeys and potatoes. New scientific ideas emerged, encouraging soil-fertilisation using urban refuse and waste. Land-ownership was promoted. Maps were drawn-up marking boundaries as people became land-conscious. The countryside experienced organised management as a new market-driven environment replaced open-field community-farming.[78]

Seventeenth-century husbandry, concerned with nurturing the land, was replaced by eighteenth-century farming for profit. Scientific ideas spread including the four-course Norfolk rotation of clover, wheat, turnips and barley. Clover converted nitrogen into nitrates in the soil in preparation for cereal-growing; turnips were grown as cattle-fodder to give more nutrients to produce better manure for soil-improvement. This came from Norfolk yeomen, and was taken up by aristocratic landowners as improved productivity produced higher rents.[79] Eighteenth-century writers such as Marshall and Young disliked peasant-farming and looked to large farms to improve the mainstream food-production yield.[80] In 1700 the population of England and Wales was about 5 million, there was some growth from 1700 to the 1720s, then a period of heavy mortalities from fevers following bad harvests, but from the 1740s the population in the country grew rapidly to 9.2 million in 1801.[81] The end of the eighteenth-century brought severe agricultural crises: at a time of war preventing imports, and other difficulties, there were disastrous harvests in 1794-5 and in 1799-1800. Cereal prices rose enormously and there were times when corn, imported from 1770, was not available. Food-prices rose, shortages occurred and in places the starving population rioted.[82]

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[78] J. Thirsk, A. Howkins, 'Power, Plague and Profit', *Fruitful Earth*.
[79] A. Howkins, Mark Overton, 'John Bull was a Farmer', *Fruitful Earth.*
[80] Cited in J. Thirsk, *Alternative Agriculture*, pp. 252-3.
[81] D. Hey , *Yorkshire from AD 1000*, (Longman 1986), pp. 181-2.
[82] R. Wells, *Dearth and Distress in Yorkshire 1793-1802*, (Borthwick 1977), p. 2.

The dating of a possible agricultural revolution has gradually retreated from between 1750 to 1850, back to an earlier date. Changes began earlier: in 1731 Jethro Tull produced 'New Horse-Houghing Husbandry' and his seed-drill and horse-hoe to replace manpower.[83] Kerridge dated an agricultural 'revolution' from 1500 as the result of key improvements: rotation of crops followed by years of 'ley' land; increase of arable land through drainage; the use of fertilisers including seaweed, lime and marl; stream-diversions to deposit silt to enrich grassland; new crops including fodder-crops, vegetables and dye-crops; the inclusion of new crops in rotations and to feed animals; and new stock and new breeds, improved by better feeding. Thirsk questions how far sixteenth century innovations had spread: the development of farming took place over a very long period of time, a 'continuum gathering momentum', built on sixteenth-century accomplishments, through to the late eighteenth century achievements and a blossoming in the 'high-farming' of the nineteenth century. Each crop had its own time-scale history before it became established.[84] Thirsk accounts for the farmers' success in food-production through careful arable-cultivation and traditional stock-selection, aided by the gentry's input with exchange of practical experience, journals and farmers'clubs; extension and improvement of land through reclamation and enclosure; and productive and varied farming systems using innovations in new crops and techniques. The time-scale was affected by regional variations, generally later in the north: progress depended on class-ownership of land, labour-force structure and market-transport facilities. Thirsk defines agricultural revolution as fundamental rather than swift change.[85]

[83] A. Howkins, 'John Bull was a Farmer', *Fruitful Earth*.
[84] Kerridge cited in J. Thirsk, *England's Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History, 1500-1750,* (Macmillan 1987), pp. 56-7.
[85] J. Thirsk, *England's Agricultural Regions*, pp. 60-1.

Wolds agriculture.

Over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Wolds agriculture changed from a still-traditional late medieval system of farming, making little use of the vast area of waste and sheepwalks. Some Wolds arable land had been intensively cultivated from medieval times while other land had been unused: in some areas the bare hill-tops and the sides of the dry steep valleys could not be ploughed. Others such as Fimber, Fridaythorpe and Wetwang managed to cultivate all of their land,[86] but the land of deserted Wolds villages such as Cowlam, Cottam, Mowthorpe and Swaythorpe shows how those places became sheepwalks and pastures as the line of cultivation fell back: these were presumably the villages later mentioned by Marshall and Leatham as being rabbit-warrens and sheepwalks and having no internal divisions.[87] From the eighteenth-century onwards, many villages gradually became more industrialised and more and more residents became less dependent on farming: there were more tradesmen, craftsmen and others dependent on the small industries appearing.[88] Unsuccessful attempts were made to set up industries in the countryside to offer more employment but agriculture remained the principal employment in the Wolds villages.[89]

Before Parliamentary enclosure the Wolds countryside consisted of large open areas outside the small compact villages: there were few isolated farms or homes away from the villages where houses were more protected from the weather and wells or ponds were situated. Ancient trackways which were used as drove-roads linked the villages without going over the arable fields.[90] One route led from the Thirsk area, and

[86]K. J. Allison, *The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape,* p. 115.
[87]A. Harris, *The Rural Landscape of the East Riding of Yorkshire,* (Oxford 1961), p.29.
[88]G. E. Mingay, *Land and Society in England 1750-1980,* (Longman 1994), p. 25.
[89]Arthur Young, *A Six Months Tour through the North of England, Vol. 2,* 1771,(Kelley 1967.)pp. 6-7.
[90]A. Harris, *Rural landscape,* p. 21.

possibly further north, by Malton and across the Wolds to Goole and Hull.[91] Before enclosure the uplands were bare and treeless: the largest growth was the widespread gorse (or whins), used as fuel. Many places were not essentially suitable for woodland, which would have been useful for shelter, as the chalk of the Wolds hills is covered with a light loam soil while the valleys contain chalky gravel. The countryside could be bleak as the lack of hedges and windbreaks meant that the wind blew across wide expanses of open field and waste areas. After centuries of occupation, some woods remained as markers between the high Wolds and the low Wolds but it was not until the 1750s that landowners began planting trees in parks and plantations.[92] The full extent of earlier woodland is not known but Millington and Settrington had woods until the 1590s when 1,600 trees on the Wolds escarpment at Settrington had been felled and 1,000 were left: in 1600 with 235 acres of woodland it was decided to use the empty land as pasture.[93] Between 1775 and 1800 Christopher Sykes planted more than 1,000 acres of timber, 4.5 million trees, creating shelter-belts which protected exposed land, gave cover to game and improved parkland. Timber was a useful future asset, as used in enclosure. He was following his father Richard who had planted 20,000 trees at Sledmere before 1749 and continued into the 1750s: others did the same but not to such an extent. Christopher grew some trees at Sledmere and transplanted them but others were bought-in from nurseries in York and Beverley.[94] The Wolds in the eighteenth century were seen as good hunting country: a Wetwang property was described as 'well-stocked with Game and in a fine Sporting Country'. Enclosure may have improved fox-hunting by providing hedges and because foxes became less wild and less difficult to catch than in the gorse of the wilder countryside, the advantage of cover probably increased their numbers. They could however be seen less easily in enclosed countryside.[95]

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[91] *York Courant* 1775: newspaper advertisements for the owners of lost cattle.
[92] A. Harris, *Rural Landscape,* p. 17.
[93] Ibid, pp.119, 131.
[94] B. English, *Great landowners,* p. 181.
[95] *York Courant* 1772, J. Crowther, Ph. D. thesis, pp. 203-4.

The chalk Wolds, where some rents were lower than in other parts of the East Riding,[96] were hardly enclosed in the eighteenth century: in East Yorkshire only a twentieth of commons and waste were enclosed.[97] The land lay under two main field systems: open-fields and some early enclosures, often in the villages. Early enclosure had taken place where owners agreed to consolidate land but tended to be on lower land with better soil: Settrington in 1668 enclosed common land meadow and pastureland.[98] In 1770 Butterwick had sixty-seven acres of old inclosure to 1,660 acres of open land while Fridaythorpe in 1817 had forty acres of old inclosure and 1,800 acres of open land. The arable fields lay beyond the small closes, garths and paddocks of the village, between the villages and the common pastures. In the high Wolds valley, the field-pattern was repeated on both sides of the main road through the village.[99] Open township boundaries were often marked only by old roads, earthworks, stones or piles of turf.[100] Wolds townships had infields and outfields: infields were closer to the villages, raised a higher rent because they had a higher quality soil due to extra manure being used, and were cultivated regularly with one fallow between crops. Outfields could be left fallow or 'ley' for from three to six years or more.[101] Corn was grown in outfield in ley land every three to six years according to Leatham in 1794 and left after the harvest without manure or fallow: sheep were left on fallow at night which provided some fertiliser.[102] Travellers such as Defoe commented on the extensive pastures and sheep-walks of the Wolds. Grassland was at its highest extent in the late eighteenth century: Strickland judged that two-thirds of land had been under grass. Harris has estimated that at least a half of the total area in many places was grassland.[103]

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[96] A. Harris, *The Open Fields of East Yorkshire* (EYLHS,19), p. 9.
[97] M. Turner, *Enclosure in Britain,* p. 22.
[98] K. J. Allison, *The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, p. 130.
[99] A. Harris, *Rural Landscape*, p. 21.
[100] A. Harris, *Rural Landscape,* p. 18.
[101] Isaac Leatham, *General View of Agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire,* (London 1794), p. 42.
[102] Ibid, p. 42
[103] A. Harris, *Rural Landscape*, p31.

The open-field system from medieval times meant that the arable land of each township was in two or three fields, from a hundred to several thousand acres, sub-divided into strips. The strips of individuals were put into falls or flats or furlongs and were scattered amongst those of the rest of the community and worked communally in cooperation with one's neighbours. Strips could be hedged into long narrow closes or into the reversed S shape where farmers had turned their ploughs.[104] Individuals could have hedged fields when exchanges in arable strips had taken place though sometimes disputed by villagers demanding commons rights. Meadows were also divided into individual strips. Common pastures and wasteland were undivided and were used by villagers for pasturing their animals and for firewood, turf, food and timber. The bylaws or pains, the system of regulations which organised the open-field system efficiently, came from the manorial courts and was concerned with agricultural aspects such as rules for gleaning after harvest and gathering firewood as well as the maintenance of pathways. The agricultural year, found in the terriers of the area, used religious dates such as Lady Day, Michaelmas and Candlemas as markers. The smooth running of the system depended on communal cooperation, though there could be flexibility when the farmers wished or at times of bad weather. Sowing, ploughing, harvesting, and mowing were all carried out in cooperation with one's neighbours, and animals were put out to pasture or brought in according to traditional dates.[105] The manorial courts were overseen by the lord of the manor: Richard Sykes' diary recorded the existence of manor courts at East Heslerton, Helperthorpe, Weaverthorpe, and Sledmere.[106] The open-field system lasted for over a thousand years suggesting that it cannot have been so inefficient: it suited the society of the time.[107] By the eighteenth century however society was changing and had new requirements.

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[104]K. J. Allison, *The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, p. 131.
[105]A. Harris, *The Open Fields,* p. 22.
[106]HUL DDSY/102/1 Diary of Richard Sykes 1752.
[107]C. Turner, 'Plague, Power and Profit', *Fruitful Earth.*

Open-fields meant lack of individuality and the large amount of fallow was wasteful. The existing rotation in fields prevented more livestock from being kept through lack of pasture and winter feed. In some areas fields were subdivided to make room for mixed crops and pasture.[108] Drainage was inefficient on these strips where divisions between strips could be ditch, grass balk or furrow, depending on soil type and area.[109] Strickland criticised these farming methods whereby everyone had one or two ridges and by ploughing into the centre of the ridge sought to reduce the dryness or wetness or to keep their soil and manure from other ridges. This only increased the adverse conditions and was costly to correct.[110] The many divisions were wasteful of arable land, just as the lack of hedges in pastures and commons allowed animals to stray and animal diseases to spread quickly. The rights of common in open-field villages varied amongst villagers and landowners: some had strips of arable land and meadow and rights of common for pasturing animals but others had only grazing rights of meadows. In 1800 there was a great deal of overstocking in pastures because some commons were stinted and others were not.[111] Common rights could be claimed through owning an oxgang or through owning a messuage with land or a cottage. By the time of enclosure, land was often owned by a small number of proprietors. Increase in the size of holdings happened at enclosure but often had taken place over generations. Neighbouring villages could have noticeably different landowning structures.[112]

The Wolds were known for sheep and wool and most Wolds farms kept sheep, on arable land after harvest and on fallow providing manure for the soil. High Wolds inventories for 1690 to 1700 list flocks of 700 to 800: at the beginning of the

[108] K. J. Allison, *The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, p. 126.
[109] A. Harris, *The Open Fields of East Yorkshire*, p. 24.
[110] Strickland, p. 108, Crowther, p. 61.
[111] L. D. Stamp & W.G.Hoskins, *The Common Lands of England and Wales*, (Collins 1963).
[112] A. Harris, *The Open Fields of East Yorkshire,* p. 17.

eighteenth-century there were an average of thirty-three sheep on Wolds farms, seventy-one from 1737 to 1743, and in the 1740s a third of farms had ninety or more. Inventories from 1688 to 1743 show two-thirds of Wolds farms held sheep of a higher value than cattle. There were two main breeds of sheep, Wolds and Holderness. Wolds sheep were small and hardy with a short, thick, close fleece which was lighter and finer than the Holderness. There were a few Scottish or moorland sheep but the Wolds sheep were the most popular until the mid-eighteenth century when Lincoln and later Leicester sheep were introduced to give a larger animal with a heavier fleece. Wolds sheep were used in Leicester for breeding. Fairs and markets around the Wolds attracted large numbers of sheep. Kilham had an important sheep-fair in the seventeenth century and later the Market Weighton September fair, the largest in northern England, had seventy to eighty thousand sheep for sale.[113] Cattle were kept on the pastures of the Wolds but herds were small: in the 1690s only eight or nine, and in the early eighteenth century numbers were higher on lowlands. Water was scarce and supplies like the Gypsey Race were erratic: cattle were moved around in search of water in times of drought. Sledmere cattle were taken to Kirby Grindalythe when the pond dried out. Corn and sheep were the most usual with cattle as an extra and most had a few pigs, some poultry and a horse: larger farms specialised in sheep, barley and rabbits. The most typical farm was a small mixed farm with about fifty to sixty acres and a share of the commons which produced crops for both home and market.[114] In the late eighteenth century at a time of early enclosure and agricultural improvements much of the high Wolds were covered in large areas of rabbit warrens with burrows on the hillsides. There were markets for rabbit in York and Hull and in Glanford-bridge and Malton for the skins which would be used in hat manufacture in London and Manchester.[115] There were one or two market-centres on the Wolds but these were large villages such as Kilham with declining markets: from the late seventeenth

[113] A. Harris, *Rural Landscape,* pp.31-33.
[114] Ibid, pp.33-35.
[115] W. Marshall's "*The Rural Economy of Yorkshire" 1788*, in J. Crowther, *Descriptions of East Yorkshire, De La Pryme to Head,* (EYLHS 1992), p. 28.

century onwards successful Wolds farmers marketed their produce and purchased seeds and provisions in Malton, Beverley, Pocklington and Driffield.[116]

The eighteenth century saw the introduction of a diversity of new crops in Yorkshire: rape was grown in lowland areas as food for sheep as well as for vegetable oil to export to Holland, hops were grown around Doncaster and liquorice had been grown around Pontefact since the previous century. By the 1720s clover had replaced peas in some areas, turnips began to replace rye, and potatoes were grown in fields in the North Riding from 1760.[117] The East Riding was slower than other parts of the country and a century behind East Anglia. From 1730 to 1810, the main period of enclosure in the East Riding, enormous changes began in the rural landscape. Marshall's 'Spirit of Improvement' brought new drainage, land reclamation and new farmsteads, roads and plantations: turnips were introduced in fields in 1745 and great changes took place in crop rotation and animal husbandry. Hunmanby had clover from 1754 and sainfoin from the 1740s though not on a large scale before the 1750s. The Wolds showed the most rapid progress, with turnips grown in inclosures and open fields after the 1750s: Young described them as 'coming in' in 1769 and Marshall described them as the 'basis of Wolds-husbandry' twenty years later.[118] Details of farming, animals kept, agricultural equipment owned and oxgangs of corn grown, are evident in wills and inventories though these were less informative about which crops were grown on the high Wolds. Less wheat was grown on the high Wolds than lower and although wheat steadily increased, barley remained more widely grown in the eighteenth century. Hay was limited on the high Wolds, because of the lack of meadowland, growing only by the sides of streams and at the end of strips in arable

[116] A. Harris*, Rural Landscape*, p. 9.
[117] D. Hey, *Yorkshire from AD 1000,* pp. 189-191.
[118] I. Leatham, *General View of Agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire*, W. Marshall, *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire* 1788 (London 1794), cited in A. Harris, *Rural Landscape* pp. 61-2.

fields: many Wolds farmers had to either hire meadows or buy in hay.[119]

Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe and East and West Lutton.

These four villages were farmed communally in an open-field system before enclosure but presented different experiences. In 1801 they each had a few old-enclosure garths and closes around the village centre and beyond these was the arable land divided into infield and outfield, the leys for crop-rotation and fallow, Weaverthorpe's horse pasture, cow pasture and common and Helperthorpe's pasture, sheep pasture and cow moor. The infields were the better land, well-manured and used for a variety of crops.[120] Weaverthorpe's arable land was divided into ten falls within which Weaverthorpe church's two oxgangs of glebe land were scattered, named as Long lands Fall, Stone Pits Fall, Wandale Fall (three plots), East Greet Fall, West Greet Fall, Milne Hill Fall, Standles (two), West Hills (two), Short Butts (two), and Wo(u)lds Dyke.[121] Details are not known of Luttons Ambo as the 1801 enclosure award gives only north and south side land, though West Lutton had only 400 acres of arable to 1,200 acres of grass.[122] By 1784 Helperthorpe's 2538 acres were divided into about two-thirds arable to just over a third of pasture. It had two fields each divided into three falls (furlongs): the North side, Mill Hill, Brik(?) Leads and East Bottoms, being twice the size of the South side, with Croom Dale, East Byehill and Byehill. The whole area contained a hundred oxgangs, and each oxgang, containing about twenty-three acres, had land in one of the six falls.[123]

[119] A. Harris, *Rural Landscape*, p. 27.
[120] CA/329/44, John Dalton's Notebook, 1A 1801, Weaverthorpe Enclosure Award, Beverley Archives.
[121] Weaverthorpe Terriers, Terr. K., Borthwick Institute.
[122] Dean and Chapter MSS, York T2, (unavailable), cited in A. Harris, *Rural Landscape,* p. 28.
[123] HUL DDSY/70/125.

Table 2.8: Acreage of Helperthorpe Manor in 1784.

	Acreage- a-r-p.
North field	1044-3-32
South field	571-1-30
North - Cow Moor	269-0-30
South - Pasture and New Close	652-3-0
Total	2538-1-12

In 1772 Helperthorpe had three crops to a fallow in the infield, including clover and turnips, but the outfield, mostly under grass, had one crop to a fallow, probably oats or barley. West Lutton probably had the same but later.[124] By 1784 every year a third of the falls lay fallow and the remaining two-thirds grew wheat, barley, oats, peas, clover and turnips. There were two pastures, on the north side Cow Moor, and on the south side a pasture and a large parcel of grass called New Close, which was laid down as pasture when turnips and clover had been introduced.[125] In 1801 Weaverthorpe's and Helperthorpe's infields were recording the crop-rotation of turnips, barley, clover, wheat; the outfields for crops and fallow.[126]

Weaverthorpe Cow pasture was stinted at twenty sheep-gates for each house and oxgang, one cow-gate with a 'follower' for each house and oxgang, and a horse or ox-gate for each oxgang. Helperthorpe Cow Moor was stinted at 2½ gates to every cottage and oxgang and twenty sheep-gates to every cottage. (A gate was one beast or two young.)[127] However in 1785 John Milner and James Sawden, tenants from the 1740s, claimed that Helperthorpe Cow Moor had always been unstinted. Before distemper appeared among the 'horned cattle', people turned all their cattle onto the

[124]A. Harris, *Rural Landscape*, p. 25; Helperthorpe 1786 terrier claimed that the 1778 terrier did not include turnips because 'none or few before that time pulled', in Helperthorpe Parish Records 1733-1885, MF 700.
[125]HUL DDSY/70/125.
[126]CA/329/44. John Dalton's Notebook, 1A 1801. Weaverthorpe Enclosure Award. East Riding County Records Office, Beverley.
[127]Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe Terriers, Terr. K.

Cow Moor and Milner and his father turned on ten or fourteen cattle all summer until the average time.[128] After the distemper, no beasts were turned on. Instead they turned on six or eight horses. Around 1773 the fields began to be sown with turnips and clover and after that the Cow Moor was stocked with sheep instead. Sykes's, Kirkby's and Esh's tenants stocked the Cow Moor in the same way although they had only one horse each. Four successive tenants of Lord Middleton, later of Richard Langley, farmed two homesteads with seven fronts and thirty-seven oxgangs in Helperthorpe and stocked the Cow Moor without stint, as did Langley's tenant of one house one front and five oxgangs, and no-one was molested, which Milner thought demonstrated there was no stint for houses or oxgangs. James Sawden of Weaverthorpe (presumably before 1773) had turned three or four horses onto Helperthorpe Cow Moor immediately after the Weaverthorpe average was eaten, and continued upon the moor until Martinmas or before according to the weather. His father also turned onto the moor without opposition. Sawden drove his horses from their own field in Weaverthorpe onto Helperthorpe moor: having a right of average in both Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe, he turned into the Weaverthorpe field. Helperthorpe people turned onto Cow Moor, both in right of cottages and oxgangs at one house to a gate, but as Sawden did not turn his horses on as long as other people, they did not object to three or four horses for two oxgangs.[129]

Communal animal-husbandry appeared difficult in West Lutton before enclosure and must have been an incentive to enclose. In 1792 there were problems of tenants' animals straying onto neighbours' land when two yeomen impounded horses and sheep for trespassing on the land of another, William Ness, landowning son of the lord

[128]The traditional gleaning-rights of villagers after harvest.

[129]HUL DDSY/70/127, 30 Sep 1785. John Milner's father of Helperthorpe farmed a homestead and 22 oxgangs from 1745, from 1760 17 oxgangs, as Sykeses' tenant. James Sawden, Weaverthorpe butcher, had farmed since 1741 ten oxgangs of the Sykeses, and leased two of three Helperthorpe oxgangs his father-in-law Francis Tindal, a farmer who died in 1766, had leased from the Sykeses.

of the manor. Records list three indictments, each against two different West Lutton yeomen: the first for rescuing horses being impounded by a West Lutton yeomen, for trespassing on William Ness' land and for assault and battery on Ness; the second indictment for rescuing forty sheep being impounded by Ness, trespass and assault and battery; and the third for breaching the pinfold and for freeing twenty sheep impounded by Ness for trespassing on his land.[130]

Tithes-lists included many crops and animals, presumably produced locally, including hay, clover, rape, corn, hemp, flax; potatoes, turnips, apples and other fruit; sheep and lambs producing wool and milk of ewes, cows and calves, horses and foals, pigs, geese, ducks, turkeys, pigeons, bees and honey, hens and eggs.[131] The inclusion of ewes' milk suggests an alternative to those unable to afford a cow. Livestock owners kept a higher value of sheep followed by cattle, then horses, then pigs and any other animals, as illustrated in Thomas Thompson's will and others, although assessed values varied. Animals, oxgangs of corn and husbandry equipment are mentioned in half of thirty-eight pre-enclosure wills and inventories of the four villages. In East Lutton two families had kept horses, sheep, and cattle and one of them had kept pigs. In Helperthorpe all but one had kept animals and a husbandman left six oxgangs and property in Langtoft. In Weaverthorpe half of the seventeen deceased had kept animals, and one had rented 18 oxgangs of corn. In West Lutton three left animals. Animals included cattle, sheep, pigs, horses, hens and geese kept in barns, garths and stables which suggests that the loss of commons may have affected these people only seasonally, for summer pasture.[132] In 1764 a vicarage-house tenant kept a cow in the

[130]QSF 335 Easter 1792, QSF 338 Christmas 1792, Beverley Archives.
[131]Weaverthorpe Terriers 1781 and 1786, Terr.K
[132]Dean and Chapter Wills, 1784-1796, Borthwick.

parlour and a pig in the pantry to fatten.[133]

Who actually sought the enclosure in Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe and Luttons Ambo?

Edward Anderson, a local farmers's son, compared the open fields of Weaverthorpe with the newly-enclosed Kilham, about six miles to the south-east, from the villager's point of view, and preferred the post-enclosure changes: Weaverthorpe seemed a century behind Kilham where he lived on wheat and better meat and had finer clothes. In Weaverthorpe there were small poorly-managed farms spread over a large area and half of the land was lying waste. Farmers ploughed with ox and ass. Manure from towns was unobtainable and farmyard manure was poor: it was wet, mainly straw and full of seeds which grew weeds instead of corn. Thistles grew and spread in fallow fields and diseases such as sheep scab spread from neighbours' animals because of the lack of hedges in open fields. After enclosure things changed: houses were built in new fields, everywhere was enclosed and the old swarth became tillage land. The ling (heather) and whins (gorse or furze) had almost gone, waste was burnt, and drains were cut so that the marshy ground became fertile. The hill plantations had been stony

Table 2.9: Items in yeoman Thomas Thompson's will

Items	£-s	Details	£-s
100 sheep	£46-10s	30 couple of ewes/lambs	12s a couple
		40 wether sheep	9s each
		30 hogg sheep	7s each
8 beasts	£27-2s	3 milk cows	4gns each
		2 steers	£4-10s each
		2 yearling calves	£4
		calf	£1-10s
5 horses	£19	bay mare and foal	£8
		bay 2 yr old filly	£5
		bay mare lame	£5
		bay nag blind	£1
Sow and piggs	£1-10		
5 oxgangs corn	£30	in sev.fields of E. Lutton	£6 per acre
100fleeces	£10		2s each
Total	£134-2s		

[133]Weaverthorpe 1764 Terrier.

and covered in sheep bones but these were replaced by clover. Thatched roofs on houses were replaced by tiles. In post-enclosure Kilham the corn was sheltered and screened from the elements by trees. Sheep which used to be lost in snow-drifts were now fenced and could not stray. Harvest-sheaves and pea-reaps were protected from the winds and each farmer having his own land defined prevented any arguments.[134]

It is debateable whether all changes can be attributed to enclosure: if his reminiscences are accurate, the larger and more accessible market-town of Kilham may have simply absorbed many of the inevitable changes which were sweeping the Riding earlier than the more remote Weaverthorpe. About a year after his transferral to Kilham, turnips and clover were grown in Helperthorpe fields. Enclosure re-allotment certainly permitted agricultural and land improvements: Helperthorpe church in 1764 was bounded only by a bank of earth, having never been fenced.[135] It is unfortunately not known whether Anderson's pro-enclosure views were shared among these villages' residents: there is no mention of loss of commons-rights. Parliamentary enclosure as a means of accelerating change was taking place around Weaverthorpe which must have been significant to these landowners.[136]

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[134] *'The Sailor',* Edward Anderson, in J. Crowther, Ed., *Description of East Yorkshire: De La Pryme to Head,* (EYLHS 1992), pp. 49-54. He was born in Luttons Ambo in 1763 and moved to Kilham in 1772 when his father's farm was sold and in his poem he remembered his Wolds childhood:

'On Yorkshire Wold we mostly barley eat,
For then they grew very little wheat,
We liv'd on barley bread and barley pies;
And oats and peas the want of wheat supplies;'

[135] Helperthorpe terrier 1764 in parish records, Borthwick Institute, York.

[136] B. English, *Yorkshire Enclosure Awards,* (Hull 1985), p. xi.

Table 2.10: Dates of enclosure of neighbouring villages

Village	Dates	Village	Dates
Duggleby	1765	Wold Newton	1772/6
Thwing and Octon	1769/70	Boynton	1777/83
East Heslerton	1770/2	Rillington	1778/80
West Heslerton	1770/4	Thixendale	1794/5
Kilham	1771/3	Settrington	1797/99
Butterwick	1771/4		

Meetings were called in West Lutton in 1769 and in 1775 but nothing further is known.[137] Further negotiations took place in 1790 but Crowther speculates that perhaps there was insufficient support or that the tithe lessees demanded too much compensation.[138] Evidence of interest in enclosure is in the correspondence of Sir Christopher Sykes to Mr. John Bell of Scarborough in 1790 when Sir Christopher stated that he would not promote enclosure or obstruct what other proprietors wanted, and again in 1790, when he suggested offering the tithe-holder a fifth of field and leyland and a third of vales and pastures not usually ploughed.[139] This response seems curiously generous to the tithe-holder when compared with the Middleton enclosure when the rector was asking for a fifth of Field lands and a sixth of all the rest, but Sir Christopher would not give him more than a seventh of the residue. Mr. Bell's response was presumably not favourable, as enclosure did not proceed, but interest was shown again in 1799. George Britten, Sir Christopher's agent, wrote to Sir Christopher of John Ness's talking of a meeting respecting the intended enclosure.[140] John Ness and John Bell, the lords of the manor of Luttons Ambo, presumably felt that enclosure was in the best interests of the villages. If they had succeeded, enclosure might have taken place around 1770, at the same time as Octon and Thwing and other surrounding villages.

[137] *York Courant*, Oct. 17 and 24 1769 and Dec. 1775.
[138] J. Crowther, *Parliamentary Enclosure in Eastern Yorkshire 1725-1860,* Ph. D. thesis, (Hull 1983) p.60.
[139] HUL DDSY/10/9 Letter Book 1790-95 Sir Christopher Sykes.
[140] HUL DDSY/10/66.

Summary

Eighteenth century East Yorkshire was the scene of great changes taking place: land was changing hands between the large land-owning families as agriculture became an important commercialised business. Estates were spreading from the low-lying clay soils to the higher chalky Wolds soil. By the late eighteenth century the majority of Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe was owned by two non-resident landowners who had inherited the land through their marriages, Sykes from Kirkby and Langley from Lord Middleton, as part of their growing estates. Langley also held the Dean and Chapter land. East and West Lutton however were still owned by many small proprietors: when Langley took over Middleton's land, ten new small proprietors became qualified to pay land-tax. The villagers were mainly yeomen, artisans and labourers living in small miserable cottages huddled along the village street. Households were surprisingly small because of the migration of young people and a small birth-rate. The church offered little support. Richard Langley, lessee of the Dean and Chapter, and the vicar, each held two acres in Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe field-rights, and collected tithes from parishioners who paid a tenth of all animals and produce in kind or in money. Unsurprisingly there were the beginnings of religious dissent.

Agricultural progress was very diverse in different areas because of various factors allowing for change: land-ownership, traditions, soils and resources. There was no clearly-defined agricultural 'revolution' but rather a gradual evolution from medieval practices. By the late eighteenth-century prior to enclosure, the four long-neglected villages of Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe and East and West Lutton still followed medieval agricultural traditions and practices in an open-field system with some ancient enclosure although there were signs of a need for change. Agricultural changes were taking place: the introduction of new crops, changes in crop-planting, and the reorganisation of land-use, alongside the traditional corn-and-sheep farming. Problems such as animal-disease in the common-fields and altercations over straying

animals, and meetings seeking enclosure, showed a dissatisfaction and a desire for change. Like Edward Anderson, villagers must have compared the enclosure changes in neighbouring villages with their own pre-enclosure situation and sought modernisation. However enclosure attempts were unsuccessful until 1801.

Chapter 3.

PARLIAMENTARY ENCLOSURE.

Enclosure presented a precise ordering of the land, officially recognising informal agreements and removing any conflicts over ownership. The effects of parliamentary enclosure varied greatly across the country: it strongly affected some counties whilst in others it had little effect. Much of England, outside the Midlands and central south of England, was enclosed by the eighteenth century: some southern counties had little land remaining to enclose, often only commons and waste not worth enclosing. Nevertheless there were 5,265 private parliamentary enclosure acts in England between 1730 and 1844 of which 3,094 or almost three-fifths were concerned with open-field land.[1] Some acts only formalised existing agreements, some were concerned only with a small proportion of open-field land and others merely completed earlier enclosures.[2] Parliamentary enclosure affected only about a quarter of agricultural land but had an intense effect. Turner concluded that in fourteen counties, mostly in the Midlands, between a third and a half of their area was affected by parliamentary enclosure, accounting for 3.54 million or just over half of the total English acreage enclosed at this time. A further almost three million acres of open-field arable and commons, over two-thirds of such land in England, was enclosed in these fourteen counties by private acts, concentrating enclosure-activity in a relatively small Midland area. The enclosure of commons and wastes was most significant in the north and east of the midland enclosure zone, in Northamptonshire, Norfolk, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire - especially in the East Riding where enclosure was particularly intense around the Wolds. The East Riding of Yorkshire, separate from the cluster of the Midlands counties, was Turner's seventh highest county as over two-fifths of its total area was affected by private Act enclosure of open-field arable and associated commons[3].

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[1] M. Turner,*English Parliamentary Enclosure,* cited in G. E. Mingay, *Parliamentary Enclosure in England 1750-1850*, (Longman 1997), p.14.
[2] G. E. Mingay, *Parliamentary Enclosure*, p.14.
[3] Turner pp. 184-5, 53, in G. E. Mingay, *Parliamentary Enclosure*, pp. 16-18.

Table 3.1: Percentage of area affected by parliamentary enclosure.[4]

Name of counties	No.counties	% affected by parl. encl.
Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Northants., Oxfordshire	4	More than 50%
Bedfordshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, East Riding Yorks.	4	40-50%
Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire.	6	30-40%
Total	14	Over 30%

Other counties were little affected by parliamentary enclosure: eleven had less than a tenth of land affected by any parliamentary enclosure, and a further sixteen had only between a tenth and a fifth of such land affected. In some areas only commons and waste were affected as there was little open-field land to enclose.[5] The enclosure of open-field and commons was therefore concentrated in a relatively small area of the country but where it did take place, it had a highly-intense effect.

The Timing of Enclosure.

From a few acts a year from the 1730s to 1754 when enclosure merely confirmed agreements, there was a steady rise in the number of enclosures to a peak in the 1760s and 1770s when enclosure brought legal confirmation, tithe commutation and road improvements as well as a means to over-rule smaller proprietors. Despite a fall in the 1780s, numbers of acts rose at the time of very high food-prices during the Napoleonic wars 1793-1815, to a peak at the beginning of the nineteenth century during which the Weaverthorpe enclosure took place[6]: 38% of parliamentary enclosure acts took place between 1755 and 1780, and 43% between 1790 to 1830.[7]

[4]G. E. Mingay, *Parliamentary Enclosure,* p. 16.
[5]*Ibid*, pp. 19-20.
[6]Ibid, pp. 21-23.
[7]M. Turner, *Enclosures in Britain 1750-1850* (Macmillan 1984) p. 17.

Table 3.2: Average annual number of enclosures from 1730 to 1844.[8]

Years	Av.Annual No. of enclosures
1730s-1754	4
1755-1764	22
1770s	64
1780s	under 24
1790-1819	75
1800-1814	95
1815-1819	46
1820-1844	16

Rising prices and the need to increase in productivity to satisfy demand, both exacerbated by bad weather and subsequent poor harvests in the latter half of the eighteenth century, encouraged proprietors to seek enclosure. Enclosure of open fields meant more efficient use of existing arable-land: enclosure of commons and waste brought new land into cultivation. Freedom to change land-use and efficient improved farming-methods on a greater acreage meant an increased yield. The timing of each enclosure depended on soil and ownership. Good soil tended to be enclosed earlier: delays were often caused by lack of agreement over allotments, rights or tithe-compensation.[9] Many contemporary writers saw enclosure as the only efficient way to progress. Isaac Leatham in 1793 recommended more and cheaper enclosure as a means of achieving agricultural improvement and progress.[10] Tithing, together with open fields and commons, delayed progress and Young, among others, recommended commutation of tithes at the same time as enclosure. Although admitting there had been some depopulation it was felt that it was right to give every one their own fair share of land.[11] T. Brown in 1794 felt that enclosure was bound to mean extra employment both with the hedging and also cultivation of the extra land, and Sir F. M.

[8] G. E. Mingay, *Parliamentary Enclosure*, pp. 21-23.
[9] *Ibid*, pp. 24, 25, 27.
[10] I. Leatham, *General View of Agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire,* (London 1794) p. 57.
[11] W.E. Tate, *The English Community and the Enclosure Movements*, (Gollancz 1967), pp. 85-7.

Eden described the miserable conditions under which cottagers lived which could only be improved by enclosure.[12]

Enclosure allowed greater flexibility in crop-growing: comparison between enclosed and non-enclosed parishes on the Wolds showed similar proportions of crops but a higher figure for oats, and 30% less barley, in enclosed parishes. In late eighteenth-century pre-enclosure Wolds parishes such as Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe, where commons and wastes were abundant and enclosure was late, rotation of crops was already taking place showing in order of acreage, barley, oats, wheat, turnips/rape in Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe, and in the latter, pulses.[13] Enclosure meant an increase in arable-land, to be cultivated more efficiently. In 1798 in Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe and Luttons Ambo, which had unsuccessfully sought enclosure since 1769, there was only half the stint of sheep because abundant pasturage encouraged a high stint.[14] Crowther concluded that many factors were involved in the timing of each individual East Yorkshire enclosure, including prices and interest rates, the different soil types, rents and the structure of landownership.[15]

Weaverthorpe ownership in 1801.

The 1801 enclosure notebook of the surveyor, John Dalton, listed the claims of fifteen Weaverthorpe proprietors, seven of whom had not paid land-tax, with their extra rights, including: Sir Mark Sykes, Bt., lord of the manor of Weaverthorpe who claimed the whole of the common baulks (the untilled boundary strips) as well as over

[12]T. Brown, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Derby (1794) p. 35; Sir F.M.Eden, The State of the Poor, 1,Preface, pp.xviii-xx, in A.Aspinall &E.Anthony Smith, *English Historical Documents Vol XI,* (Eyre and Spottiswode 1959).
[13]1801 Acreage Returns, and J. A. Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure in England 1450 - 1850*, (Macmillan 1977), pp. 201,167.
[14]Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure in England 1450 - 1850*, p. 154.
[15]Crowther, Ph.D. thesis, p. 162.

a third of the oxgangs and nearly a third of dwellings; Richard Langley, who claimed the corn tithe and half of the wool tithe as lessee under the Dean and Chapter, and, in his own right, over a third of the oxgangs and nearly a third of dwellings; and the Vicar who claimed a half of the wool tithe and all other tithes, two oxgangs and a house. Only seven altogether claimed ownership of oxgangs. Sykes and Langley owned half of the dwellings between them: only two other people held more than one dwelling.

Helperthorpe ownership.

John Dalton's notebook listed five Helperthorpe proprietors, four owning oxgangs, including: Sir Mark Sykes Bt., lord of the manor, holding a small part of the cow moor and six balks throughout the fields as well as a third of the oxgangs; Richard Langley, holding the corn tithe and half of the wool tithe as lessee under the Dean and Chapter, and, in his own right, seven balks in the fields, two-thirds of the dwellings and between a third and a half of the oxgangs; and the vicar, Rev Richard Forrest, who held half of the hay, wool, lamb and all other tithes and a house. Langley and Sykes together owned three-quarters of the oxgangs in both villages. More dwellings must have been erected: since 1784, Langley's nine cottages and six fronts, had changed to three messuages and twelve cottages: Sykes' two farmsteads and four cottages (five cottagers) in Weaverthorpe to six messuages and six cottages.[16]

[16]HUL DDSY 97/28; HUL DDSY/70/125.

Table 3.3: Ownership of Property Claims in Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe, 1801.[17]

	Weaverthorpe			Helperthorpe		
	Mess.	Cott.	Oxgs.	Mess	Cott.	Oxgs.
Sir Mark Sykes Bt	6	6	55	2	1	34
Dean & Chapter	1		2			
Richard Langley, Esq.	6	7	57	3	12	42.5
John Ness,gentleman	1		12			
Richard Kirkby, gentleman	1		8	1		6
Overseers of Scarboro Poor	1		4			
Vicar	1		2	1		
Richard Topham, gentleman	2	3				
George Posthill, yeoman	1	1				
Robert Bielby	1					
John Bielby, yeoman		1				
Richard Clarkson, yeoman		1				
John Robson, yeoman		1				
Ann Robson		1				
William Robson, yeoman		1				
Richard Esh				1	2	17.5
Total	21	22	140	8	15	100

Weaverthorpe land tax.

Land tax returns should be expected to illustrate ownership but the 1801 Weaverthorpe land tax returns listed only eight proprietors as in 1787. Two had changed, one bought and one inherited. Sir Christopher Sykes's share was a third, Richard Langley's a quarter as lessee of the Dean and Chapter and a quarter in his own right. There were three other proprietors paying small amounts each and three more with very minor amounts. One of the latter was the only resident landowner on the list. Apart from these eight proprietors, four of the ten occupiers in the land tax returns - *John Bielby,* (three tenancies), *Richard Clarkson, John Robson* (two

[17]John Dalton, Notebook 1A 1801, Weaverthorpe Enclosure Award. CA/pp. 329/44. East Riding County Records Office, Beverley.

tenancies), and *William Robson* - were listed as Weaverthorpe yeomen in the enclosure award in 1801 and awarded about an acre each in lieu of rights for cottage-ownership. The other six occupiers received nothing.[18]

Table 3.4: Land tax paid in Weaverthorpe 1801.[19]

Proprietors	Occupiers	£-s-d
Richard Langley	Francis Morriss	4-17-4
do	Matthew Grice	
do	John Robson	
do	James Sawdon	4-12-0
do	John Bielby	
do	John Ness	
Sir Christopher Sykes	Richard Topham	6-12-0
do	James Sawdon	
do	Richard Ireland	
do	William Robson	
do	John Robson	
do	Thomas Anderson	
do	Richard Clarkson	
Rev Richard Forest	John Bielby	1-12-0
Mr John Ness	Himself	1-1-4
Richard Kirby	Moses Ireland	0-19-4
Scarborough Poor	John Bielby	0-8-0
George Posthill	Himself	0-5-4
Richard Topham	Himself	0-4-8
		20-12-0

Helperthorpe land tax.

The 1801 Helperthorpe land tax listed the five enclosure claimants, who had also been in 1787 records: of the annual £19, *Richard Langley* now paid more, over half of the total, a sum for the tithe and a sum for his own land; Sir Christopher Sykes now paid less at a fifth; and three others paid a small amount. None of the ten occupants was awarded land in Helperthorpe in exchange for rights.

[18]Details of small owners in chapter 2, p. 29.
[19]QDE 1/3/38 Weaverthorpe Land Tax Assessments.

Table 3.5: Land Tax paid in Helperthorpe 1801.

Proprietors	Occupiers	£-s-d
Richard Langley	Richard Crosby	6-11-1¼
	Richard Lovel	
	Richard Ellis	
	Elizabeth Simpson	
	Mary Smith	
	Wm Anderson	
Richard Langley	Tithe	4-1-3
Sir Christopher Sykes	Richard Lovel	3-13-0
	Wm Lovel	
Richard Esh	Jonathan Ringrose	2-7-11½
	Thomas Ellis	
Rev R. Forest		1-12-6
Richard Kirby	John Milner	0-14-6½

Luttons Ambo ownership.

There is no record available for the claims for compensation for lands and rights in Luttons Ambo before enclosure. The 1801 Luttons Ambo land-tax record listed fifteen proprietors, from fourteen in 1797, paying a total of £18-12s.: one had changed hands and part of Bell's was now paid by his mother. Richard Langley paid nearly a quarter; the lords of the manor, John Ness of East Lutton and John Bell of West Lutton, about a fifth each; Jane Bell, the latter's mother, William Sawden and Rev. R. Forest paid small amounts; and nine minor payments were made by other proprietors, five of whom worked their own land and one of whom was a tenant of Richard Langley. Of the other seventeen occupiers, two mentioned twice, and two of whom were also Helperthorpe occupiers, only two were awarded land in lieu of rights as cottage-owner. The Schoolmaster and Usher of Pocklington School (whose lessee was Richard Langley),[20] William Ness and Sir George Strickland, fifth baronet and

[20]John Lawson, *The Endowed Grammar Schools of East Yorkshire,* (EYLHS 1962): Pocklington Grammar School was founded in Pocklington parish church in 1514 by John Dolman, of a local landed family. The school's confiscated lands were restored

lord of the manor of Boynton, were later awarded allotments though they do not appear in land-tax records.[21] Richard Langley as lessee of the Dean and Chapter of York held the corn tithe in West and East Lutton and half of the wool tithe, as well as his own land. The vicar had half of the wool-tithe and other tithes but no glebe land or common-rights. The two lords of the manors may have held extra rights.

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after the reformation, in 1551.

[21]Others in the enclosure award included William Ness, West Lutton gentleman, son of John and Ann; Christopher Rousby, East Lutton cordwainer, who also bought up the rights of three yeomen; Charles Parkes, East Lutton grocer and his wife Ann who bought the rights of her mother Mary Ezard, West Lutton widow, and of her brother Charles, West Lutton yeoman; Mrs. Jane Bell, Scarborough widow and mother of John; and a cordwainer and three yeomen.

Table 3.6: Land tax paid in Luttons Ambo, 1801.

Proprietor	Occupier	Sum Assess
Richard Langley	Himself	4-2-11½
do	Richard Lovel	
do	Richard Train	
do	Ellis Thompson	
John Ness Lord of Manor WL	Dorothy Ombler	3-17-7½
do	Wm Ness	
do	Richard Posthill	
do	Robert Grice	
do	John Grice	
do	Himself	
do	John Sandiman	
do	Himself	
Mr Bell Minor Lord of Manor EL	James Ince	3-13-1
do	William Lovel	
Mrs Bell widow	Richard Williamson	2-12-6
Wm Sawdon Minor	Wm Sawdon	2-7-7
do	Thomas Ince	
Rev Richard Forest	Himself	1-11-0
Ellis Thompson	Robert Wood	0-2-13
Mary Ezard	Charles Ezard	0-2-7½
do	Martin Wise	
Chris Rousby	Himself	0-2-3
Joseph Robson	Thomas Hudson	0-1-10½
Elizabeth Hill	Herself	0-1-10½
John Bogg	Himself	0-1-10½
William, Duke of Devonshire	Martin Wise	0-1-6
James Boreman	Robert Grice	0-1-6
Richard Thompson	Himself	0-1-6

Who were the residents of these villages at the time of enclosure?

In the 1801 census Luttons Ambo with 207 was the highest populated area although the acreage was slightly less than Weaverthorpe (population 182). Helperthorpe was the least populated, with only 72 inhabitants.[22] The population was dependent on agriculture and the majority of the population were tenants: Helperthorpe had no

[22] *The Victoria History of the Counties of Engand, A History of Yorkshire* Vol. 3, London 1974, p. 489.

resident owners. In Luttons Ambo the number and ownership of the dwellings is not known but land tax records indicate only about seven resident small owners. John Dalton's figures of forty-three dwellings in Weaverthorpe, population 182, half with farm-land and half without, and of twenty-three dwellings in Helperthorpe, population 72, a third with farm-land, appear to suggest a mean figure of about four members per Weaverthorpe household and three members per Helperthorpe household.[23] This suggests a figure of above forty houses in Luttons Ambo and, as there appeared to be only seven resident owners and about thirteen resident land-tenants from the land-tax returns, that leaves at least twenty, or half, of tenant-households without land, either owned or tenanted. Given that houses may have been subdivided, Dalton's listing of Weaverthorpe's dwellings, only half with farm-land, and of Helperthorpe, only a third with farm-land, suggests the same conclusion. Many residents thus not accounted for as occupiers or land-tenants in land-tax records must have been landless cottagers. It is those cottagers and labourers not accounted for as proprietors or occupiers of land, who probably suffered most from enclosure, losing any informal tenant access to the commons, as the proprietor of cottages was compensated but not the tenant.

Old Enclosure.

Of the 2920.1 acres in Weaverthorpe, less than two per cent, 47.7 acres, had been already enclosed into 56 small allotments, closes and garths, making each on average less than an acre. Most of these allotments, apart from those of Sykes, contained a dwelling-house. There were sixteen allotment-holders, and the church-yard: Sykes owned over a third of allotments and Langley over a quarter. As allotments varied in

[23]These household sizes are extremely low, 4.8 or 5 being the acceptable figure, but there had always been small households and migration by young people from these poor villages, as from Helperthorpe in later censuses, and 1791-1801 parish records show very small families. 1764 visitation returns show that two-thirds of Weaverthorpe families consisted of only one or two adults and over half of Helperthorpe families had only one or two adults and some years no child was born. There is no evidence of any large prosperous households.

size, Sykes in fact owned over half the acreage and Langley about a fifth. Most land was valued on average at 35s. per acre but Sykes' under 33s., suggesting poorer soil or lack of houses, and the vicar's was just over the average. By comparison, unenclosed open land was valued on average at under 11s. per acre. In Helperthorpe, old enclosure accounted for 34.4 acres, out of a total of 2546.3 acres, and this had been divided into thirty-five allotments, on average an acre each. Of the five owners, Langley and Sykes held about a third of the allotments and about a third of the acreage each. The average value was again 35s. per acre, but Sykes' was under 31s. Unenclosed open land was valued at just over 10s. per acre, slightly lower than at Weaverthorpe.

Table 3.7: Early enclosure in Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe.

	Weaverthorpe			Helperthorpe		
Name	Allotments	Houses	Acreage	Allotments	Houses	Acreage
Sir Mark Sykes	20	12	26.5	9	3	13.5
Dean and Chapter	1	1	1.5			
Richard Langley	14	13	8.6	16	15	14.4
John Ness	1	1	0.6			
Richard Kirby	2	1	1.3	2	1	0.7
Scarborough Poor	2	1	0.6			
Richard Esh				6	3	4.5
Richard Topham	6	5	2.5			
George Posthill	2	2	1.8			
Robert Bielby	1	1	0.3			
James Boreman	1	1	0.3			
Richard Clarkson	1	1	0.3			
Joseph Robson	1	1	0.1			
Ann Robson	1	1	0.2			
William Robson	1	1	0.2			
Vicar	1	1	0.6	2	1	1.3
Church yard	1		1.7			
Total	56	43	47.1	35	23	34.4
Open land			2873			2511.9
Total			2920.1			2546.3

The Enclosure Process.

The enclosure of Weaverthorpe parish were dealt with as two separate awards. The villages of Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe were listed in the awards with 2873 acres, and 2511 acres respectively, and Luttons Ambo, (East and West Lutton), with its 2800 acres. It is curious that the villages were organised in this way when Luttons Ambo was in the parish of Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe was a separate parish: perhaps because the Sykes' family owned land in Helperthorpe and Weaverthorpe but not in Luttons Ambo. The commissioners were concerned with all of the land in the townships, the open fields, lands, meadows, pastures, leys, commons, and other wastelands. They also had to deal with the public and private roads and ways, gravel and stone pits for repairing the public highways, common watering-places for animals

and also ditches, mounds, waterworks, bridges, gates and stiles, both their maintenance and their public use.

Before enclosure arable made up over two-thirds of Weaverthorpe's and Helperthorpe's total land. About a third of arable land had been divided into the infields, north side and south side, and used for the rotation of crops - turnips, barley, clover, wheat, fallow, barley. Nearly a sixth had been divided into outfields; and between a quarter and a fifth had been leys, adding up to over two-thirds of the total of 2873 acres. Eight hundred acres of open land or waste was divided between the horse pasture and the cow pasture, with just two acres of common, all of which were used for the livestock of the village. In Helperthorpe about a third of the arable land made up the infields, mainly on the north side; the outfields were about a tenth; and more than half was leys, the north side larger than the south side. Eight hundred acres of waste was divided between the ten-acre sheep pasture, the pasture and the smaller cow moor.[24]

[24]Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe enclosure award CA/p329/44 Act 1801:Award 2 Aug 1804, ERCRO. East Lutton and West Lutton CA/p356-386/45 1801:1804, ERCRO.

Table 3.8: Distribution of land in Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe before enclosure.

Weaverthorpe		Acres	Total	Helperthorpe		Acres	Total
Arable				Arable			
In-fields	North side	527		In-fields	North side	491	
	South side	408	935		South side	74	565
Outfields	North side	183		Outfields		173	
	South side	331	517				173
Leys	North side	368		Leys	North side	540	
	South side	253	621		South side	437	976
	Arable Total		2073		Arable Total		1714
Waste				Waste			
Horse pasture		454		Pasture		587	
Cow pasture		344		Sheep pasture		10	
Common		2	800	Cow moor		201	798
	Total open land		2873	Total open land			2512

Records are not available for Luttons Ambo although West Lutton apparently had only a quarter arable, 400 acres, to three-quarters,1,200 acres, of grass.[25]

The Commissioners.

The petition to Parliament asking for the right to introduce the enclosure bill needed the consent of the majority of proprietors. By 1801 only two or three commissioners were usually chosen as there was now a pool of men available with enclosure experience. Once the commissioners had been appointed and authorised to execute the Act, and had administered an oath to each other to act fairly and impartially (or in the case of any Quaker being appointed, had made an affirmation of the same), they proceeded to accustom themselves with the area, to confirm and fix the boundaries, to determine the rights of all interested parties, including requests for particular areas, to make an accurate survey and plan and then to allot the various areas. Illiterate owners,

[25]Dean and Chapter MSS, York T2, (unavailable), cited in A. Harris, *Rural Landscape,* p. 28.

often with small holdings, had to rely on others for their written claims. The commissioners' ruling on claims, property rights and reallotment was legally binding. Farming usually continued as normal under the responsibility of the commissioners but enclosure often took place at a quiet time in the agricultural year to avoid the complication of harvesting, gathering or cutting. The commutation of tithes was often carried out at the same time as enclosure with the tithe owners receiving land in lieu of tithes: the tithes system was not popular with owners and this part of the reallocation was carried out first.[26] Owners were told which fences they were responsible for, how to fence and hedge their land and were given time to do this. Tithe fencing was carried out by the commissioners and the tithe owners were excused from paying these costs or their legal costs. The attorneys drafted the award - in Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe's case Robert Scott of York and John Piper of Pickering - and three copies were drawn up on parchment and signed by the commissioners who were responsible for settling the accounts. The award was enrolled at the Registry of Deeds in Beverley on 18 September 1804.[27]

The appointed commissioners, especially in the Wolds, were usually relatively local men familiar with the area: the Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe award had as commissioners John Hall of Scarborough, William Whitelock of Brotherton and Isaac Leatham, a Quaker, of Barton-le-Street. The surveyor was John Dalton of Hessle, Hull.[28] John Ness told George Britton that Mr. Legard of Ganton objected to Mr. Cleaver or Mr. John Hall being commissioners and requested Mr. Scott and Mr. Piper as solicitors.[29] The Luttons Ambo Award, also enrolled 18 September 1804, had as its commissioners Joseph Dickenson, a Quaker of Beverley Park, and William

[26]J. Crowther, *Enclosure Commissioners and Surveyors of the East Riding*, (EYLHS 1986), pp. 9-10.
[27]Ibid, p. 11; Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe enclosure award CA/ pp. 329/44 Act 1801: Award 2 Aug 1804, ERCRO.
[28]Ibid, p. 12; Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe enclosure award .
[29] HUL DDSY/10/66: letter in 1799 from George Britten to Sir Christopher Sykes.

Whitelock, of Brotherton, and the land surveyor was Ralph Burton of Salton. William Dawson, of Tadcaster, was nominated umpire to decide differences of opinion.[30] Commissioners usually had other employment such as land agent, farmer, lawyer or estate steward, giving them experience in running a farm, collecting rents and seeing to repairs. They were educated men and often followed family members into the profession. Often they encouraged improvements: Isaac Leatham, author of "General view of the agriculture of the East Riding" in 1794 and steward of Osbaldeston estate at Hunmanby, encouraged farmers and tenants to grow turnips as part of a six-crop rotation.[31] Commissioners often had close contact with landowners but were expected to remain impartial: the 1801 Standing Orders of the House of Commons stated that no interested person should be named as a commissioner, surveyor or valuer, although Crowther has found some cases in which this rule was not followed.[32] There appears to have been complete impartiality in the Weaverthorpe awards, perhaps because each had a Quaker amongst the commissioners, and Quakers had a reputation for 'impartiality and freedom from corruption and political implications'.[33]

Division of Land: Roads.

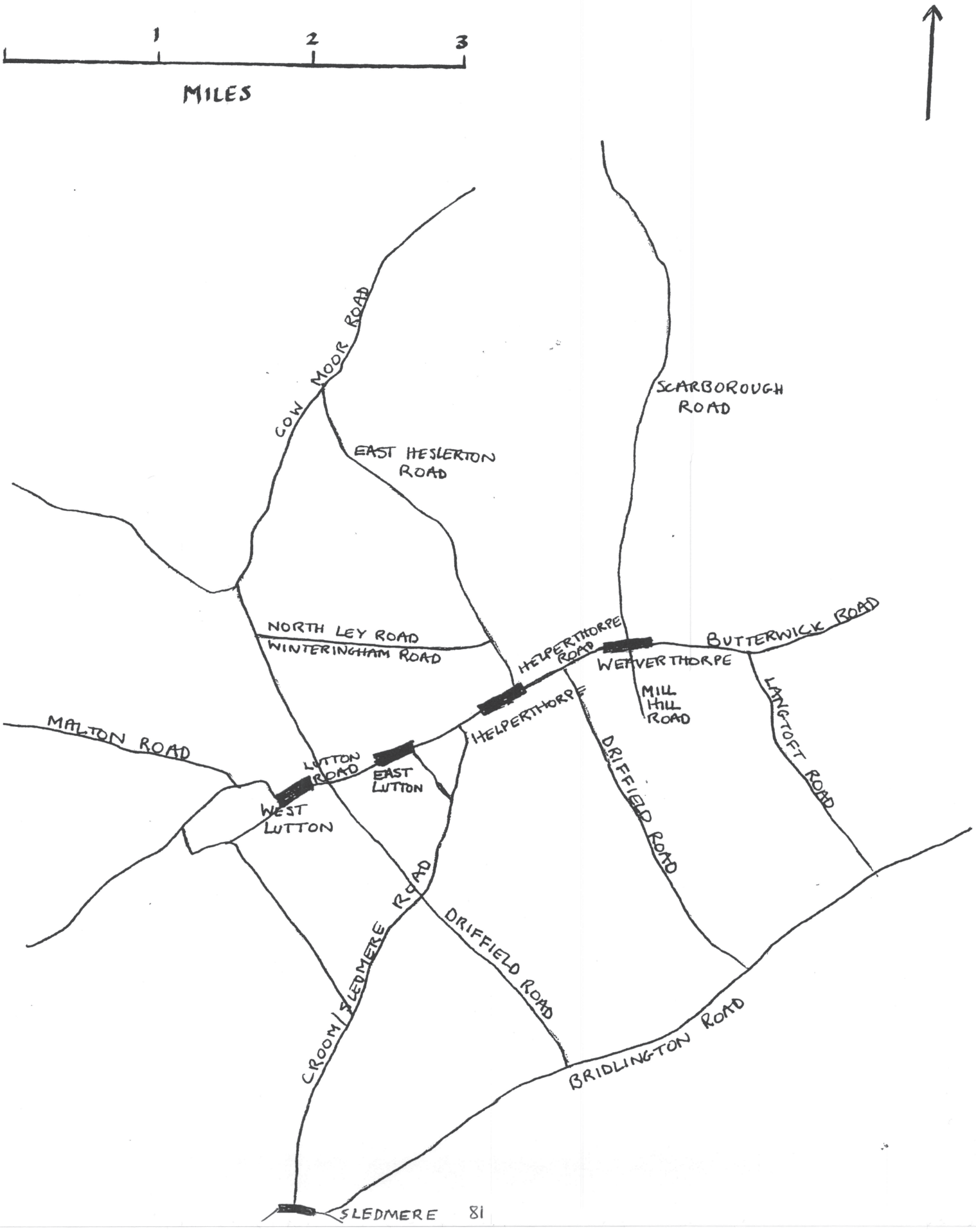
Before allocating land in lieu of tithe the commissioners had to decide a number of issues of common interest such as roads and streams. In other enclosures the Great Wolds Valley road beyond Weaverthorpe was moved to further north to avoid seasonal flooding from the Gypsey Race, which itself was straightened.[34] First they

[30]East Lutton and West Lutton CA/ pp. 356-386/45 1801: 1804, ERCRO.
[31]J. Crowther, *Enclosure Commissioners and Surveyors of the East Riding*, (EYLHS 1986) pp.16-17.
[32]Ibid, pp. 23-4. In a case of conflicting interests, John Hall in correspondence appeared to have bought land at Etton in 1818-1820 on Lord Hotham's behalf, as his agent, at the same time as he was enclosing it. There were further examples at South Dalton in 1822-1827 and in Cherry Burton in 1823-1829 where Hotham was awarded fifteen and a half acres for common rights.
[33]*Ibid*, p. 26.
[34]K. J. Allison, *East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, p. 156.

designated the lines of public roads and published details in the newspapers on 18 October 1801 with notice of appeal at the general Quarter Sessions in the East Riding within six months. The Driffield Roads in both Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe were amended and extended, and re-advertised on 18 November 1801 in lieu of the previous ones, presumably in response to objections: any further objections could be delivered in writing to Robert Scott's office in York within fourteen days. The public roads in Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe and Luttons Ambo were, as required by the General Enclosure Act, to be at least 40 feet in breadth, exclusive of ditches or fences, and were to be kept in repair in the same manner as other public roads in the townships. There were six roads in Weaverthorpe, nine in Helperthorpe and ten in East and West Lutton, some new but some extending ancient ways. Next came the private roads or ways which were important for villagers' every day life: in Weaverthorpe one was to be thirty feet in breadth exclusive of ditches and maintained in the same way as the public roads, and a second twenty feet in breadth to allow inhabitants to use the well and kept in repair by the landowner Richard Langley. In Luttons Ambo there were four private roads, all but one in East Lutton.[35] The creation of so many roads, especially in Luttons Ambo, illustrates the previous absence of permanent links between the various communities and further afield and the consequent lack of easy communication between these villages and the outside world: communication must have been especially difficult in exposed areas during severe winter weather. The villages previously suffered from not being connected to a major route. They were encircled to the north by the turnpiked York-Scarborough road and the Malton-Filey road, to the west by the Malton-Beverley road, to the south by the Malton-Bridlington road and to the east by the partially-turnpiked Scarborough-Hull road. Neither did they have access to the Driffield Navigation to

[35]Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe enclosure award CA/ pp. 329/44; East Lutton and West Lutton CA/ pp. 356-386/45.

Map 3.2 Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe, and Luttons Ambo enclosure roads



Beverley and Hull or the River Derwent from Yeddingham and Malton to Goole and the Humber.[36] Both Hull and Bridlington had long been exporters of agricultural produce to the north and south-east of the country as well as to Europe.

After the roads came the provision in each award for the 'Gypsey Race' stream running on the North side of Lutton Road through East Lutton, West Lutton, Helperthorpe and Weaverthorpe, to continue its present course for the use and benefit of inhabitants. It was to be repaired and cleansed, taking care not to make it too deep nor to allow obstructions, by the owners of lands through which it passed: the part which extended across roads was the responsibility of the district road surveyors. The Weaverthorpe award also called for the repair and erection of bridges by the surveyors. Next came the allotment of land for public stone-quarries and gravel-pits, for lime-burning and for building and repairing buildings. Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe and Luttons Ambo each had four pits. The Luttons Ambo award contained the usual detailed instructions for the construction of ditches and the planting of hedges. Ditches were to be three feet wide at the top, sloping to six inches at the bottom, and two feet in depth. Quick set (hawthorn) hedges were to be planted fourteen inches from the edge of the ditches. The young plants were to be protected from damage from cattle by posts and rails until they grew strong enough: where two ditches met, posts and rails could be erected to prevent cattle from straying. Ditches were to have a free-flowing course of water at all times though a temporary bank could be built to fill a pond for cattle. One copy of the Weaverthorpe award and plan was to be kept in the home of Sir Mark Masterman Sykes in Sledmere.

[36]Baron F. Duckham, *The Inland Waterways of East Yorkshire 1700-1900,* (East Yorkshire Local History Society 1972), p. 4; K.A.Macmahon, *Roads and Turnpike Trusts in Eastern Yorkshire,* (East Yorkshire Local History Society 1964), pp. 38-39.

Assessment of allotments and value of township.

Complex calculations were made in order to assess the value of the land. In Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe the value of the roads was deducted from the value of the fields and leys, then 2/11 for the tithe and 1/20 for average. The resulting sum was divided among the proprietors. From the value of the horse pasture and the cow pasture in Weaverthorpe, and the south side pasture and the sheep pasture in Helperthorpe, were deducted the value of the roads, 2/11 for the tithe, and then a deduction of a quarter for average. The remaining pasture lands in Helperthorpe and the horse pasture in Weaverthorpe were then divided among the holders of oxgangs. The cow pasture in Weaverthorpe was divided amongst the occupiers of houses and holders of oxgangs but in Helperthorpe not only were the roads and 2/11 for tithe deducted from the values, but also the vicar's right and 1/32nd part allocated to Sir Mark Sykes as Lord of the manor. The result was then divided among the occupiers of houses and holders of oxgangs. The sum of all these factors gives the total value of the township to be divided.[37] The average value of the land appeared to have been now assessed as about 10s. per acre.

[37]John Dalton, Notebook 1A 1801, Weaverthorpe Enclosure Award. CA/pp. 329/44. East Riding County Records Office, Beverley.

Table 3.9: Value (in shillings) of lands at enclosure in Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe.

Weaverthorpe		Value in s	Total	Helperthorpe		Value in s	Total
Roads	Fields	350		Roads	Fields	256	
	Cow pasture	80			Pasture	145	
	Horse pasture	20	450		Cow moor	15	425
Tithes	Fields	3833		Tithes	Fields	3004	
	Cow pasture	601			Pasture	1405	
	Horse pasture	1075			Cow moor	265	4674
	Common	13	5582				
Arable land, leys			16386	Arable land, leys			12844
Cow Pasture			2231	S. side pasture			4741
Horse pasture			3629	Cow moor			1145
Averages	Fields	862		Glebe			10
	Cow pasture	744		1/32d part as Lord			37
	Horse pasture	1075		Averages	Fields	676	
	Common	58	2873		Pasture	1580	2256
			31150				26133

With the land-value assessed, John Dalton then assessed the quantity and value of the arable land and leys owned by certain proprietors and for old roads, excluding the horse and cow pastures and common. It is not clear exactly how these sums were arrived at but the proprietors were the same names as those owning oxgangs, though the figures are much larger and in different proportions, perhaps taking into account extra claims such as lord of the manor, ownership of the common baulks and tithe-ownership. Of the seven Weaverthorpe proprietors, Sir Mark Sykes was awarded the highest acreage at over half the total and Richard Langley had about two-fifths. Of Helperthorpe's four proprietors, Richard Langley had about two-fifths and Sir Mark Sykes and Richard Esh about a third each.

Table 3.10: Assessment of acreage owned (before deductions) in Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe.

Weaverthorpe		s	s	Helperthorpe	s	s
	Acreage	Value	Per acre	Acreage	Value	Per acre
Sir Mark Sykes	874	9040	10	591	5800	10
Richard Langley	798	8201	10	720	6904	10
Dean and Chapter	28	274	10			
Richard Esh				298	3034	10
Vicar	26	268	10			
John Ness	167	1736	10			
Richard Kirby	118	1211	10	102	1009	10
Scarborough Poor	55	594	11			
Old Roads	7	107	15	2	42	20
Total	2073	21431		1714	16790	

Assessment of land-value.

In order to assess each individual's land in Weaverthorpe, John Dalton first of all recorded the messuages, cottages and oxgangs owned, and the quantity and value of the arable land and leys owned by the seven oxgang-holders in Table 3.6. The value of the allotment of arable land and leys was then assessed at just over 15s. in the £.

To this was added a figure for the cow pasture, divided by oxgangs and houses, for all fifteen Weaverthorpe award-holders in Table 6; a figure for the horse pasture divided by the oxgangs - applicable only to the original seven oxgang-holders; a figure for averages and commons with 3s for the average of balks divided by houses and oxgangs. This gave a total value to the allotment of fields and pastures for each of the fifteen award holders.

Just short of 80s. was then taken from the Scarborough Poor for fences and given to the other twelve proprietors, excluding the vicar and Dean and Chapter, in the proportion to the value of their allotment. A final total was thus reached for the value of the land held by each award holder.

Then tax was taken from all award-holders, excluding Scarborough Poor, the vicar and the Dean and Chapter, equal to one year's purchase on the value of fields and pastures

at allotment, plus the value of old inclosure taxed at 2/6d in the £. A second tax of 2/3d in the £ was taken from the four oxgang-holders, excluding Scarborough Poor, the vicar and the Dean and Chapter.

In Helperthorpe a similar process was carried out but instead of Weaverthorpe's cow pasture and horse pasture, Helperthorpe's south side pasture divided by oxgang, and cow moor divided by house and oxgang, were added. The Dean and Chapter did not appear in these calculations. The vicar gained by owning a house, but not any oxgangs. Tax was assessed in the same way as in Weaverthorpe. Sir Mark Sykes had a second allotment for the cow moor as Lord of the Manor.

Yelling states that the usual amount for tithe-commutation depended on the power of the tithe-holder: usually one-fifth for open field, one-seventh for old enclosure and one-ninth for common-waste, land ill-afforded by rights-holders.[38] The eventual 2/11 for old enclosure and about 1/4 for arable here appears generous.

In Weaverthorpe, Sir Mark Sykes now had land valued at between a third and a half of the total compared with land valued at over a half of the total value before enclosure, and Richard Langley now had land valued at well over a third of the total compared with a fifth before enclosure. In Helperthorpe Richard Langley's share was between a half and a third of the total value and Sir Mark Sykes' was about a third, both similar to before enclosure. There were no new owners as there were no rights to be exchanged for land. Sir Mark Sykes and Richard Langley now owned between them over two-thirds of these two villages, compared with a similar proportion before enclosure. There is no evidence of the process undertaken, nor the original holdings, in West and East Lutton, but presumably the same process was carried out.

[38]Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure in England 1450 - 1850*, p. 102.

Table 3.11: Net value of assessment after deductions.

Proprietors	Weaverthorpe Value of allotment	Helperthorpe Value of allotment	Total
Sir Mark Sykes	10081.9	7031.8	17113.7
SMS-Lord of the Manor		36.9	36.9
Richard Langley	9679.1	8844.8	18523.9
Richard Esh		3710.4	3710.4
John Ness	1986.5		1986.5
Richard Kirby	1372.6	1252.1	2624.7
Scarborough Poor	614.2		614.2
Dean and Chapter	350.6		350.6
Vicar	345.8	28.6	374.4
Richard Topham	174.4		174.4
George Posthill	64.9		64.9
John Robson	37.4		37.4
Ann Robson	36.8		36.8
William Robson	36.7		36.7
Robert Bielby	36.5		36.5
Richard Clarkson	36.2		36.2
John Bielby	36.0		36.0
Total	24780.8	20904.6	45685.4

Allotment of Land.

The allotment of land began with awards to Richard Langley, as lessee of the Dean and Chapter of York, and to the vicar, in place of glebe lands and to compensate for tithes and any other rights. The Weaverthorpe award states that several allotments had been exchanged with the written consent of owners: those of the churches were with the consent of the Archbishop of York and the Dean and Chapter of York. After this came the allotment for the lord of the manor and then any other allotments both for rights of average and common and for any land held, the smallest allotments being last. Each award was accompanied by the direction of which fences to make and maintain, or maintain only, if they had already been made by the commissioners' orders. The award to the overseers of the poor of Scarborough, whose fences had been

made, was reduced to cover their proportion of expenses for the enclosure and their fences. In West Lutton, the Schoolmaster and Usher of Pocklington School received an allotment reduced by their proportion of the fences made and any other expenses due.

The holder of a small allotment of land did not have other business interests through which to raise the money to cover his costs. These costs were proportionately higher for a small owner than for a large landowner: a small plot required half the fencing of a piece of land four times the size. Therefore with all the costs of enclosure a proportion of allotment holders often appeared forced either to sell their rights before the enclosure award, or to sell some or all of their allotment of land afterwards, either to avoid, or to be able to pay, these costs. The precise costs are often unknown or difficult to ascertain because of so many variables to take into account but they are assumed to have been high.[39] Snell and others estimate the costs of parliamentary enclosure to have been between £3 and £18 per acre as fees and other costs rose rapidly around the turn of the nineteenth century.[40] In Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe enclosure-costs were very low by comparison though Snell may have included extra costs: Crowther gave the actual costs from the Sykes' papers as 14s. per acre in Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe, 17s in Weaverthorpe and 17s6d in Helperthorpe with the tithe allotment adjustment. These were reasonable compared with the average of eight East Riding townships between 1790 and 1815 which was 27.2s. non-adjusted and 33.8s adjusted per acre.[41]

[39] A. Armstrong, *Farmworkers* (Batsford 1988.) p. 35.
[40] K.D.M.Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor* (Cambridge University Press 1985.) p. 188.
[41] J. Crowther, Ph.D. thesis, Tables 6.4,6.5, pp. 324-5, from HUL DDSY 98/1.

Allotments.[42]

The land distribution appears a good practical operation as proprietors were given a variety of land. Cottage-owners and the smallest holders were given allotments around their homes along the main street. Beyond the houses, closes and garths, the former infields and outfields were divided into long allotments, taking in different soils, amongst all of the larger owners: the north field to Sykes, the west field to the vicar and Kirby and the south to the rest of the owners. The cow pasture went mainly to the Dean and Chapter and to Ann Ness, who sold about an acre to Robert Carlile Broadley.[43] In this way the smallest had easy access from their homes in the village centre and larger holders could establish an independent holding with its own farmstead outside the village. In Helperthorpe the same pattern was followed as owners received a variety of land: the cow moor went to Sykes; the pasture to Langley, Esh and the Dean and Chapter; the north field to Sykes, the vicar, Kirby and Langley; and the south field to Langley, Esh and the Dean and Chapter. Presumably in East and West Lutton the same variety of soil was given to owners: the award details only the north and south side which were each divided into several large and small allotments. No map is available.

The number of proprietors and the acreage allotted to them varied in each village. The Dean and Chapter and the Master and Usher of Pocklington School were now listed separately from their lessee Richard Langley. Weaverthorpe had fifteen proprietors, compared with eight in Land Tax returns, the same number as claimants: Robert Bielby of Ryton had sold his rights to Richard Topham and Ann Ness had sold some to Robert Carlisle Broadley. There were no new proprietors. Almost half of the fifteen award-holders held less than five acres and over two-thirds less than a hundred acres each, while the two major non-resident landowners held over nine hundred acres

[42]See Appendix 1, Tables 1-4.
[43]Sykes' one-time bank-partner, see Chapter 1.

each or about two-thirds of the land between them. There were only two institutions: the Dean and Chapter and the Overseers of the Poor of Scarborough. Helperthorpe had the same proprietors as in the Land Tax and the same two of the village's six owners held over three-fifths of the land between them but no-one held under a hundred acres. Luttons Ambo had seventeen owners, two more than in the Land Tax: seven in East Lutton and six in West Lutton and four held land in both. Pocklington School was the only institution. Various transactions had taken place, presumably to raise money, or land-consolidation or enclosure costs: Mary Ezard had sold to her daughter Ann, and husband, Charles Parke; Richard Thompson, John Bogg of Wetwang and William Sawdon all sold rights to Christopher Rousby. Sir George Strickland and William Ness, the latter gaining two considerable allotments, obtained land although not in the 1801 land-tax records. In East Lutton allotments were small: no-one held over five hundred acres and over half of the eleven owners held less than fifty acres, four of them under twenty acres. West Lutton similarly had ten owners of whom four held under five acres, half under twenty acres, and no-one held five hundred acres or more.[44]

[44]See Table 3.14: development from Crowther's table, Ph.D. thesis, p. 621. Crowther's table of percentage of ownership showing social and economic groups does not include the institutions of Pocklington School and Scarborough Poor.

Table 3.12: The enclosure awards measured in acres, roods and perches.[45]

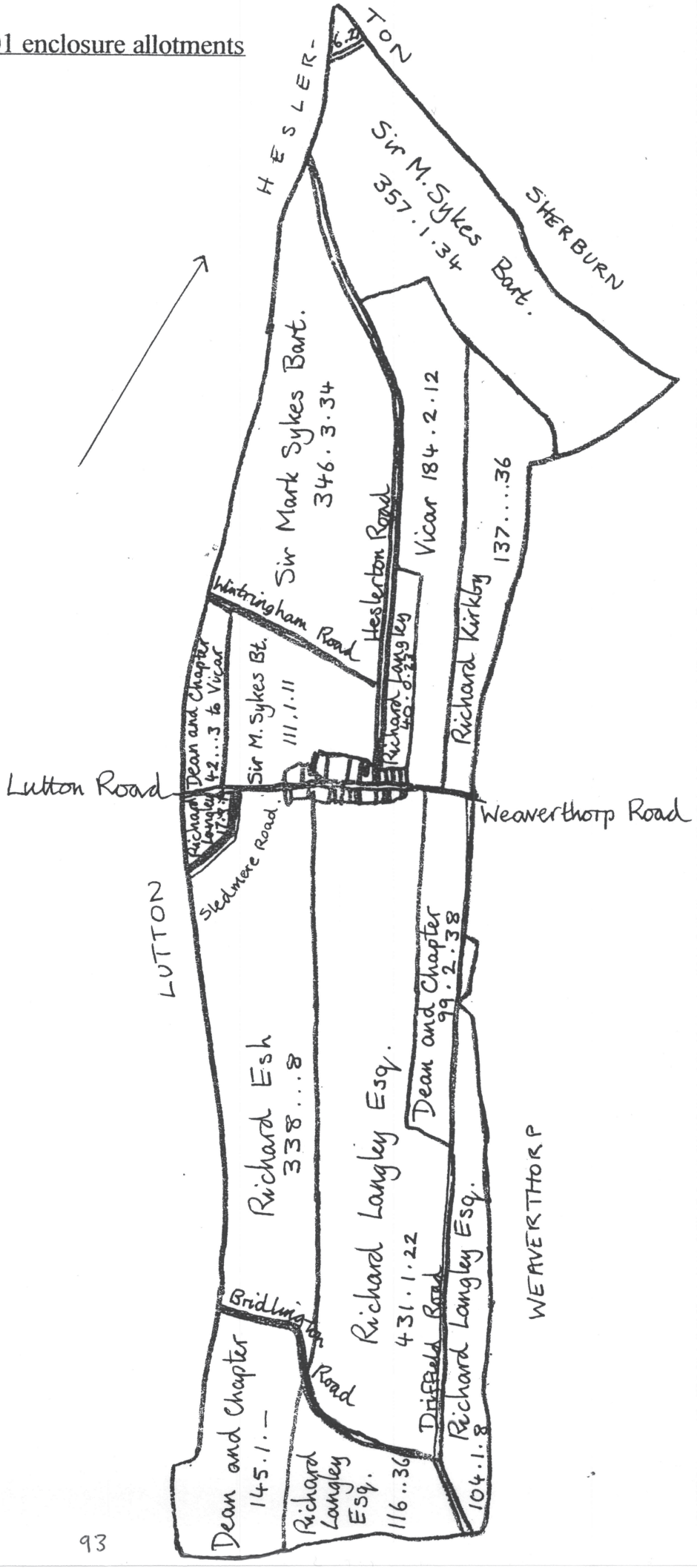
	Weaverthorpe	Helperthorpe	East Lutton	West Lutton	Total
Sir Mark Sykes	946-1-26	824-3-31			1771-1-17
Richard Langley	958-3-23	714-2-17	60-2-38	1-2-1	1735-2-39
Dean and Chapter	503-0-24	244-3-38	428-1-10		1176-1-32
John Bell			327-2-33	208-2-29	536-1-22
William Sawdon				495-1-14	495-1-14
Richard Esh		339-3-24			339-3-24
Vicar	80-2-28	225-3-27	31-1-28		338-0-3
Mrs.Jane Bell			344-3-3		344-3-3
William Ness			126-1-29	181-1-2	307-2-31
Ann Ness/John Ness dec	203-1-7		28-0-28	73-3-2	305-0-37
Richard Kirkby	98-0-12	137-0-35			235-1-7
Master/Pocklington Sch				93-3-11	93-3-11
Overseers of the Poor	37-2-10				37-2-10
Christopher Rousby			16-0-0		16-0-0
Duke of Devonshire			13-0-0		13-0-0
Richard Topham	11-1-28				11-1-28
Sir George Strickland				8-2-19	8-2-19
Charles & Ann Parke			3-1-0		3-1-0
George Posthill	2-3-22				2-3-22
James Bowman			2-2-34		2-2-34
Thomas Sawdon				2-1-12	2-1-12
Richard Clarkson	1-2-14				1-2-14
William Robson	1-2-10				1-2-10
John Robson	1-1-30				1-1-30
John Bielby	1-1-21				1-1-21
Ann Robson	1-1-9				1-1-9
Joseph Robson				1-1-4	1-1-4
Robt.Carlile Broadley	1-0-37				1-0-37
Thomas Thompson				1-0-28	1-0-28
	2810-3-21	2487-2-12	1382-2-3	1067-3-2	

In summary, the three outstanding landowners in these villages were: Sir Mark Sykes with over 1771 acres, Richard Langley with over 1735 acres of his own as well as being lessee of Pocklington School with over 93 acres, and lessee of the third major landowner, the Dean and Chapter of York, which held over 1176 acres. After these came nine owners with between around 100 and 550 acres each, then seventeen owners with less than fifty acres each, of whom twelve held less than five acres.

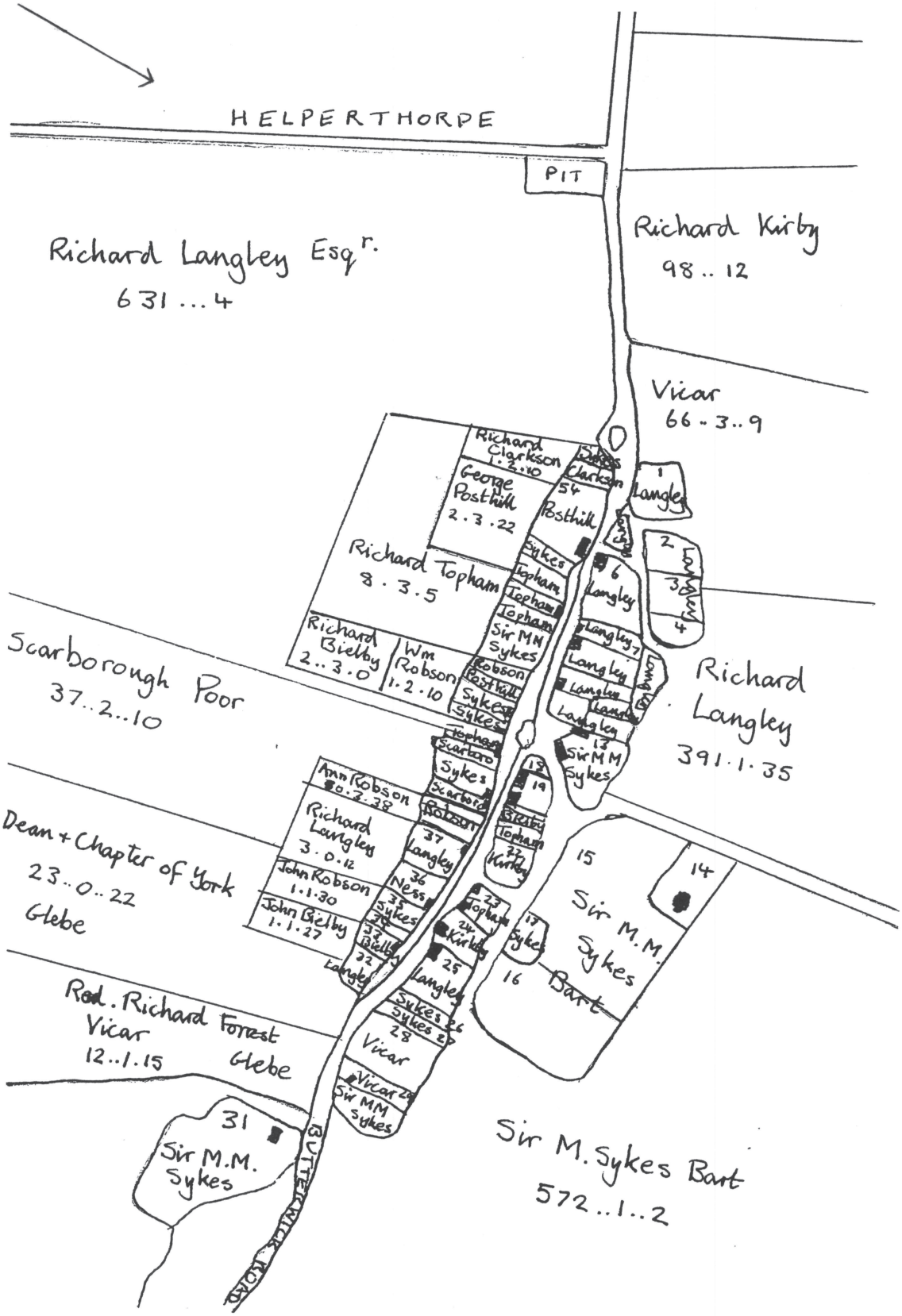
[45]Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe and Luttons Ambo enclosure awards.

Map 3.3 Weaverthorpe 1801 enclosure allotments

Map 3.4 Helperthorpe 1801 enclosure allotments



Map 3.5 Weaverthorpe village-centre 1801 enclosure allotments



Map 3.6 Helperthorpe village-centre 1801 enclosure allotments

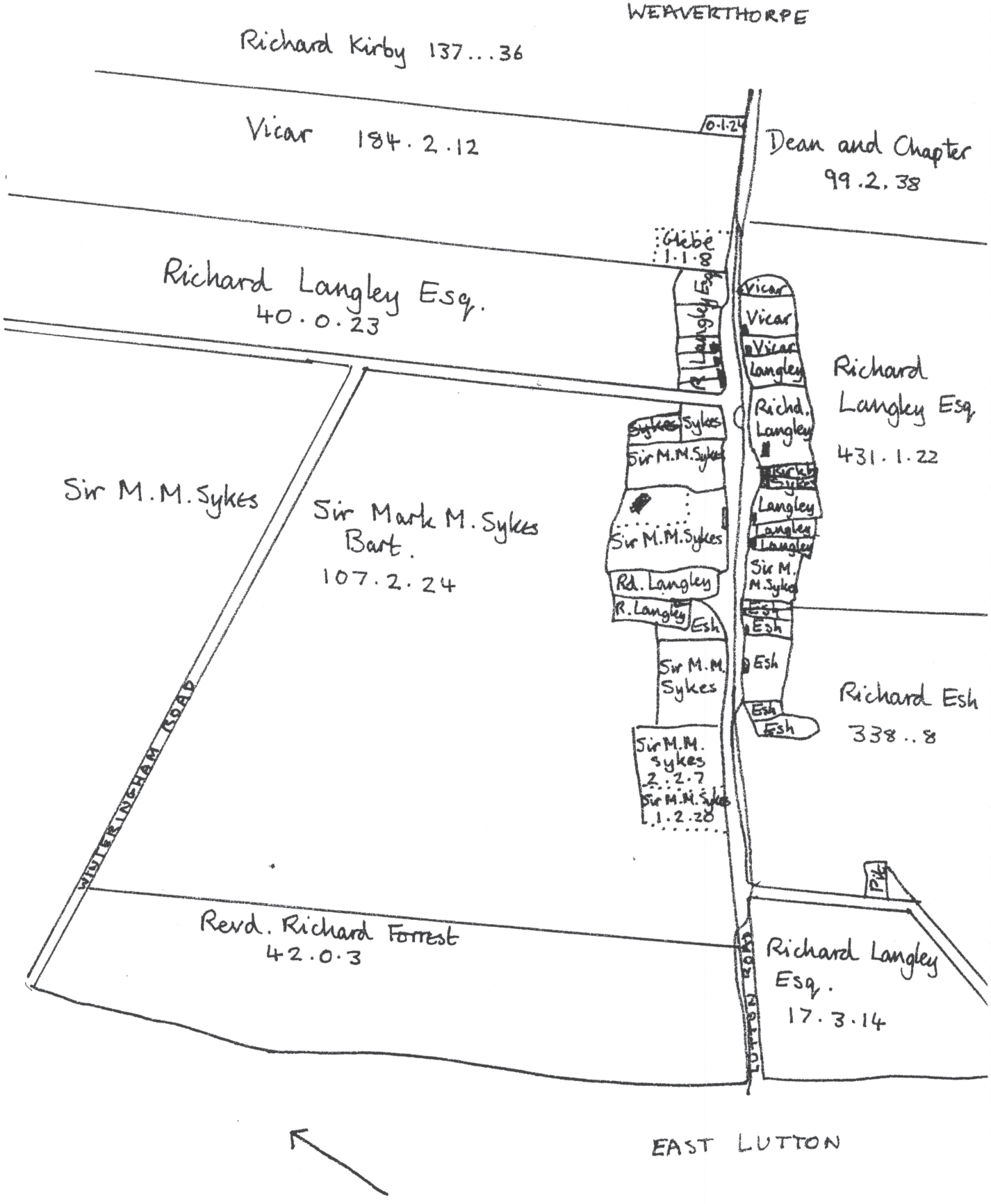


Table 3.13: The number of proprietors and acreage allotted to them.

Acreage	Weaverthorpe	Helperthorpe	East Lutton	West Lutton
Under 5 acres	7		2	4
5-19	1		2	1
20-49	1		2	
50-99	2		1	2
100-199		1	1	1
200-299	1	2		1
300-399		1	2	
400-499			1	1
500-599	1			
600-699				
700-799		1		
800-899		1		
Over 900	2			
Total	15	6	11	10

The ownership of the villages is an interesting mix. The long list of Weaverthorpe and Luttons Ambo owners with many small rights holders, demonstrates the number of people, from various parishes and with various occupations, who received land in compensation for their rights, a different situation from Helperthorpe with its few, mainly large owners. The non-resident smaller award-holders appear to have had connections with the villages in Weaverthorpe parish, often as former residents. Apart from the vicar and the Dean and Chapter, Weaverthorpe had three major absentee landlords, three minor absentee landlords and seven new local minor landlords; Helperthorpe had just three, major absentee landlords. East Lutton had, apart from the vicar and the Dean and Chapter, two major absentee landlords, one local landlord with 126 acres, three minor absentee landlords and three local minor awards. West Lutton with the smallest acreage, had variously one major absentee landlord, two local major holders (181 acres and 495 acres), Pocklington School, three absent minor landholders and two minor local landowners.

Applying Crowther's table of social and economic groups in Weaverthorpe,

Helperthorpe and Luttons Ambo, as a basis for further examination by investigating East and West Lutton separately, each village produced its own ownership-pattern.[46] The great majority of land went to the gentry and aristocracy, followed by the Dean and Chapter, but individual villages did not all follow this pattern. Nearly three-quarters of Weaverthorpe land was held by the gentry, with the Dean and Chapter holding under a fifth. Helperthorpe's gentry held over four-fifths and the rest was shared between the Dean and Chapter and the vicar. About two-fifths of East Lutton was held by the gentry, nearly a third by the Dean and Chapter and about a quarter by one woman. West Lutton showed the greatest discrepancy with only three groups: nearly a half was held by yeomen, slightly less to the gentry and less than a tenth by an institution, Pocklington School.

Table 3.14: The percentage of land held in each village by various groups.

	W-ac.	0%	H-acres	0%	EL-ac.	0%	WL-ac.	0%	LA	0%	Total	0%
Gentry	2004.6	70.3	2016.7	81.1	556.2	40.2	474.1	44.4	1030.3	42.0	5243.2	67.3
D &C	503.2	17.6	245.0	9.8	428.3	31.0			459.3	18.7	1234.9	15.9
Women	204.6	7.2			344.8	24.9			344.8	14.1	581.5	7.5
Yeomen	20.3	0.7			2.7	0.2	500.1	46.8	503.0	20.5	524.0	6.7
Vicar	80.7	2.8	225.9	9.1	31.4	2.3			33.7	1.4	352.2	4.5
Insts.	37.6	1.3					93.8	8.8	93.8	3.8	132.7	1.7
Artisans					19.3	1.4			19.3	0.8	19.3	0.2
Total	2850.9		2487.6		1382.6		1068.1		2450.7		7789.2	

Fair Allotment of Land?

Were the awards allotted fairly to large and small owners: was each individual treated equitably? A comparison with land held under old enclosure in Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe reveals huge differences in the size of increases even after other rights such as house and oxgangs have been taken into account: for example, George

[46] Crowther's Ph.D thesis, p. 621: figures for Luttons Ambo showed that over two-fifths of land was held by the gentry, over a fifth by yeomen, less than a fifth by the Dean and Chapter and about a sixth by women, with minute amounts to the other three groups but individually there were large differences between East and West Lutton.

Posthill's low increase despite owning two houses, compared with other small proprietors who owned only one. And why did John Robson gain a larger piece of land than Ann Robson, who owned twice as much land in early enclosure, or why did William Robson, who owned fractionally more than Ann Robson, gain less than her? The outcome was the effect of the commutation of the tithe.

Ann Robson and John Robson were both small owners with a cottage each, she with 0.208 acres under old enclosure and he with 0.115 acres (about half). Neither owned arable land nor leys but they received the identical allowance for rights to the cow pasture and averages, common and balks. From their identical totals was then taken 2/11 for tithes on their old enclosure. Because Ann had had a larger holding, she had a larger sum deducted: over twice as large as John's. The result was that her final total was smaller than John's even though she had originally held twice as much as him and their rights were identical. Small award-holders who did not hold additional land to their cottage and old enclosure land, had a larger amount deducted for tithes than those with a smaller amount of old enclosure land, and resulted in having a smaller award than neighbours with less old enclosure land. Tithe deduction for their old enclosure thus affected their award in inverse proportion to their holding: the larger the old-enclosure, the smaller the value of the new award. Therefore William Robson had a lower value to his allotment because of a larger tithe deduction for holding more old-enclosure land. Ann Ness' increase was huge compared with Richard Kirby's through his larger old-enclosure holding and subsequent tithe reduction, even after taking into account her twelve oxgangs compared with his eight oxgangs. Unfortunately comparisons can not be made for Luttons Ambo.

Table 3.15: The increase in value (in shillings) in new allotments from the old.

	Weaverthorpe			Helperthorpe		
	Old encl.	2/11 for tithe	Net val.	Old encl.	2/11 for tithe	Net val.
Sir Mark Sykes	807.7	157.8	10081.9	410.8	74.7	7031.8
Do as Lord of Manor						36.9
Dean and Chapter			350.6			
Richard Langley	300.7	54.7	9679.1	504.3	91.7	8844.8
Ann Ness*	22.7	4.1	1986.5			
Richard Kirkby	45.5	8.3	1372.6	24.5	4.5	1252.1
Overseers of the P	21.9	4.0	614.2			
Vicar			345.8			
Richard Topham*	88.3	16.1	174.4			
George Posthill	61.7	11.2	64.9			
John Robson	4.0	0.7	37.4			
Ann Robson	7.3	1.3	36.8			
William Robson	7.8	1.4	36.7			
Robert Bielby	8.8	1.6	36.5			
Richard Clarkson	10.4	1.9	36.2			
John Bielby	11.6	2.1	36.0			
Richard Esh				144.1	26.2	3710.4

Figures have been reduced to one decimal place for ease.

* Ann Ness's increase includes the land sold to Broadley; Richard Topham's includes land bought from Robert Bielby.

Conclusions.

All of the fields, commons and wasteland were divided and permanently set out and fenced in straight lines with adequate provision for quarries. New straight roads increased communications; a well-regulated water-supply benefited the communities. The effects of enclosure are debateable. Although impartial, it favoured large owners as their wishes defeated those of small owners. Were the groups affected - landowners large and small, commons rights-holders, landless cottage-tenants, the church, and tithe-holders/lessees - all treated justly or did some benefit to the detriment of others? Did the land-allotments compensate tithe-holders fairly? Proportionate costs were unfair to small owners: some sold immediately or did not survive agricultural depression under the burden of debts caused by costs and mortgages,. However costs were low, compared with the increased post-enclosure value. Large owners spread the

costs over their other holdings and could more easily raise mortgages. Larger allotments, with owners funding building-costs, could mean better tenants able to improve the land. Small-owners sometimes received land thought too small for survival, to compensate for commons-access. Was failure through the lack of business-awareness, or caused by enclosure-costs? What were the effects of loss of commons-access on the community? Agriculture had progressed despite the delay in enclosure but did enclosure give rise to agricultural prosperity, or depressions in the nineteenth-century? At the turn of the century, French wars, bad weather and harvests, low imports of wheat and inflationary corn-prices, and high enclosure-costs, caused farmers to borrow heavily and rents to rise steeply.[47] Did enclosure lead to equal agricultural success for everyone or only the largest? Were all landowners able to continue their holdings over the next few years? Did enclosure mean more employment or migration? Enclosure, as seen by agricultural historians such as Crowther, Mingay, Harris and Allison, did not change agriculture but rather came as a result of changes which were taking place and as a means of permitting further changes to take place. Was this true in Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe? Did the benefits of enclosure out-weigh the expense? These remain to be answered in the next section.

[47]Vance Hall, *A History of the Yorkshire Agricultural Society,* (Batsford 1987) p. 24.

Chapter 4.

POST-ENCLOSURE.

Between 1750 and 1850 enormous social changes took place through the country: huge population growth combined with mass migration and a gradual industrialisation were occuring at the same time as great agricultural changes were sweeping the countryside. Historians, beginning with the Hammonds, for a long time credited adverse social changes to enclosure, perceiving enclosure responsible for the removal of 'peasants' and their way of life from the countryside. Enclosure commissioners were held responsible for allotting the majority of land to large landowners in lieu of rights, instead of compensating the villagers for their loss; for apportioning to small landowners plots of land too small to be viable, and whose enormous costs caused them to sell to larger owners able to recoup their losses elsewhere; for taking away the cottagers' commons rights and consequently their independence, leaving them dependent on their paid employment; for taking away the employment of agricultural workers, causing them to leave the land to work in urban areas; for being instrumental in providing a workforce for urban industry and for destroying traditional rural society.[1] It is important to understand how each of the different parties was affected by enclosure, both socially and economically: the aristocratic and gentry landowners, the small-landowners, the tenant-farmers, the labourers, the clergy and the village-craftsmen.

Did the numbers of small-owners decrease through enclosure? Two-fifths of Buckinghamshire owners disappeared from parishes enclosed from 1780 to 1820,

[1] J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Village Labourer* (Longmans, 1911), held the Marxist view of enclosure turning small landowners, cottagers and squatters off the land which became the accepted orthodoxy for a long time: H. Newby, *Country Life,* (Weidenfield and Nicolson 1987), p. 23 saw villagers deprived of their self-reliance through the loss of commons-rights; Turner, *Enclosures in Britain,* p. 64, held enclosure responsible for rural depopulation; Mingay *Parliamentary Enclosure,* pp. 148-9*,* and Neeson, *Commoners,* pp. 61,64*,* questioned whether all commons-rights were fully-compensated.

compared with one fifth from earlier enclosure. Between 1780 and 1825 Warwickshire owners fell from four hundred to under three hundred on land enclosed from 1770 to 1825: the mean average holdings of the largest twenty-seven owners increased to over ten thousand acres from just over eight thousand for the largest in 1780. Mingay claimed that 'small land-owners were not very seriously affected by enclosure' but there is not enough proof either way.[2] Other factors may have been involved. Turner's work on Buckinghamshire has challenged the view that peasants had disappeared before enclosure.[3] He thought that well over half of the owners had disappeared from tax returns by the end of the ten-year period, although there was no significant drop in owners paying land tax over the enclosure period.[4] Small-owners were thought to have received land too small to be viable, after reductions for tithes and new roads, but this may have been the case also before enclosure: it could be made viable by intensive farming.[5]

Land-ownership.

East Riding.

Timing of enclosure and its impact had been varied. While the oldest estates had often enclosed before parliamentary enclosure, early parliamentary enclosures had tended to be reduced settlements on high poor land and those closely surrounding great estates, often those with a large number of proprietors. The newer great estates on the Wolds enclosed late.[6] Between 1730 and 1810 68,000 acres were enclosed in Holderness, 44,000 acres in the Vale of York and 206,000 acres on the Wolds, although in 1810

[2]Cited in E.Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State*, pp. 141-2.
[3]J. Crowther, Ph.D. thesis, pp. 368, 444: a peasant owning less than two hundred acres.
[4]M. Turner 1975, p. 575-80, cited in Crowther, PH.D. thesis, p. 467.
[5]G. E. Mingay, *Rural Life in Victorian England* (Heinemann 1977), pp. 13, 43.
[6]B. English, *Great landowners,* p. 185

there were still 20,000 Wolds acres awaiting enclosure.[7] By 1830 after the main surge of parliamentary enclosure, the largest East Riding landowners remained substantially the same as in 1780, although Constable of Everingham had reduced through recusancy, Denison, Hotham and Lawley had advanced, the latter two through inheritance from Thompson. Landowners had encouraged enclosure not only because of the consolidation of their land and land-gain to replace rights but also because of the opportunity, claimed by Hotham, of purchasing extra land, as well as the rise in the land value of awards resulting in higher income from rent.[8] Enclosure was a good investment for owners in war-time as post-enclosure rents rose, though often some time after enclosure because of building improvements. The Duke of Devonshire's rents, including East Lutton, more than tripled from 1795-1826 covering the period of enclosure but he sold his East Riding estate in 1845.[9] Among the great East Riding landowners of 1830, the Sykes family owed much of their acreage to parliamentary enclosure, although earlier Christopher had claimed not to promote enclosure[10]. They gained over 18,000 acres in this way: others, with fewer acres gained from enclosure, had tended to enclose earlier. The Sykes' family appeared in the land-tax records of thirty-six townships: almost a third of those enclosed early, a third enclosed between 1769 and 1778, and just over a third of those enclosed after 1790. The family members had different land-acquisition patterns depending on their fortunes:[11] they benefited from enclosure although they encouraged few.[12] Sir Christopher bought large estates in Wolds townships between 1780 and 1800 but apart from the Sledmere and Croom enclosure in 1775, had no active role in other enclosures.[13] Sir Mark

[7]Mingay, G. E. *Land and Society in England 1750-1980* (Longman, 1994), p. 62.
[8]B. English, *Great landowners*, p. 186: Christopher Sykes, having spent almost £2,000 on his South Dalton allotment, received rent increased five times over twenty-five years.
[9]Ibid, pp. 191-2.
[10]HUL DDSY/10/9 Letter Book 1790-95 Sir Christopher Sykes:August 5 1790.
[11]Crowther, Ph.D. thesis, p. 379.
[12]B. English, *Great landowners,* p. 186. The Sykeses spent £67,250 (nearly £4 an acre) on enclosure and building costs.
[13]B. English, *Great landowners,* p. 190. He bought Garton-on-the-Wolds in order to

bought little but some enclosures, Molescroft 1803, Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe and Luttons Ambo in 1804 and Wetwang and Fimber in 1806, were carried out with his encouragement.[14] His brother, Sir Tatton, succeeding in 1823 when enclosure was complete, purchased fifteen thousand acres.[15]

Table 4.1: Great landowners of East Yorkshire 1830 and acreage awarded after parliamentary enclosure[16]

Family	Acreage
Sykes of Sledmere	18137
Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire	5940
Strickland of Boynton	5931
Hotham of S. Dalton (inherited from Thompson)	4968
Bethel of Rise	4442
St. Quintin of Scampston	3530
Constable of Burton Constable	962
Wyndham, Earl of Egremont	287
Lawley of Escrick (inherited from Thompson)	204
Denison*	123

*new entrant

East Riding large houses reflected post-enclosure land-changes taking place: in 1810 of seventy-four mansion-houses, only just over half were owner-occupied, a quarter were let to gentlemen or stood empty, and a sixth were neglected or used as farmhouses: a handful had been built on new estates but a sixth were in ruins or had been demolished.[17] There was a movement away from the Hull Valley and the eastern

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be able to ride towards Beverley for 6 miles through his own grounds and bought much of Thixendale until there was only one other owner at enclosure in 1795.

[14]Ibid, p. 190.

[15]J. Crowther, Ph. D. thesis, p. 379.

[16]B. English, *Great landowners,* pp. 29,185.

[17]H. Strickland, *A General View of the Agriculture of the East Riding*, p. 36, in Crowther J. *Description of East Yorkshire: De La Pryme to Head* (EYLHS 1992), p. 58.

edge of the Wolds, part of a general move of the gentry from lowland to upland. The western edge of the Wolds was thought to be more healthy and attractive than Holderness and the Vale of York, and nearby York was the social and administrative centre of the north of England.[18] After the Napoleonic wars, great house building ceased in the East Riding with Rise 1815-20, although existing houses were extended, such as Sledmere, Birdsall and Escrick, as households became larger with dependents and more servants.[19] New landowners such as Broadley and Denison used existing houses or rented. Smaller commercial men, such as shipbuilders, built at Warter and Tranby Croft but their acreage was smaller. The 1832 Reform Bill meant that political power not only came solely from land-ownership but with merchants, financiers and industrialists: after the Napoleonic wars, at a time of agricultural depression and deflation, the wealthiest left their money to gain the highest interest rather than to add to their estates.[20] As post-enclosure estates had increased in size and financial importance, they required a manager to supervise day-to-day administration and to encourage tenants to use the latest innovations to make the best of the land, either an individual resident or local individual, a firm of agents in London, York, Hull, Beverley or Malton, or a local firm of solicitors. Of the eleven largest landowners who owned over ten thousand acres each, in 1841 five had resident agents, one had a non-resident solicitor and one had a London and York firm of agents. Of four main institutions, two used non-resident agents, the Crown used the Commissioners of Woods and Forests and the Dean and Chapter of York used a chapter clerk.[21]

Crowther found in her study of thirty-four East Riding townships that the proportion of tax paid by owner-occupiers in the tenth year of enclosure (about a year or two after

[18]D. Neave, Seats of the Gentry, in S. Neave and S. Ellis, *An Historical Atlas of East Yorkshire,* (Hull 1996), p. 64.
[19]B. English, *Great landowners*, p. 218.
[20]Ibid*,* pp. 204-5.
[21]B. English, Patterns of Estate Management in East Yorkshire c1840-1880*, The Historical Review*, Vol. 32, (1984), pp. 29-30.

enclosure) generally fell in both numbers and proportion of tax paid, but may not have been typical. There was a general rise in numbers of owner-occupiers in most townships at this time which may not have been due to enclosure: absentee-owners were more likely to sell land away from home than owner-occupiers.[22]

Wolds Ownership.

'The lands of the Wolds belong chiefly to large owners; being mostly occupied by tenants; few of them..being in hands of yeomanry'.[23] A large proportion of the land of the high Wolds villages was in the hands of a few large owners probably because of depopulation over the centuries. Crowther found that although the mean average number of owners in the High Wolds in the land tax records remained fairly stable in the years 1787, 1807 and 1827, numbers varied according to date of enclosure - low in those which enclosed early and high in those enclosing later. In those which enclosed early, proprietors numbered between three and four in 1787, 1807 and 1827; those enclosed from 1730 to 1779 around twelve to thirteen; and those enclosed after 1779, around fifteen and sixteen.[24]

Ownership of Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe, and Luttons Ambo.

Six aristocratic and gentry families and the Dean and Chapter of York, each allotted at least five hundred acres in Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe and Luttons Ambo, held land from at least one other enclosure: in three cases in up to twenty-five enclosures. The Sykes family were allotted the highest mean average of acreage per enclosure, 725 acres, whereas Broadley, a speculative purchaser, was allotted only a mean average of 205 acres in the same number of enclosures.

[22]Crowther, Ph.D. thesis, pp. 533-4.
[23]W. Marshall, 1788, p. 239; cited in J. Crowther Ph.D. thesis, p. 387.
[24]Crowther, Ph.D. thesis, pp. 533-4.

Table 4.2: Enclosure allotments of Weaverthorpe,Helperthorpe and Luttons Ambo large landowners.[25]

Family	Seat	Acreage	No. of enclosures.	Av. ac. per
Sykes	Sledmere	18137	25	725
Dean and Chapter	York	8687	25	347
Langley	Wykeham, NRY	8231	13	633
Dukes of Devonshire	Chatsworth,Derby. Londesbrough, ERY	5940	10	594
Strickland	Boynton	5931	11	539

The land tax records for Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe and East and West Lutton both before and after enclosure confirm Marshall's view of ownership although Weaverthorpe's smallest owners were not included in the records. Eighteen 'peasant' owners appeared in the villages' enclosure awards. Little change took place in the ownership of these villages over the thirty years of land tax records after enclosure, dismissing the idea of small proprietors not surviving enclosure costs: land tax returns show a great stability of ownership. The Weaverthorpe 1805 post-enclosure land tax returns record the largest eight proprietors from the enclosure award, with Sykes paying about a third of the total and Langley paying two amounts, for himself and as lessee of the Dean and Chapter, totalling nearly a half. It omitted the six award-holders who received under two acres each but their existence is seen in wills and in land transactions in deeds, whether mortgaging or sales.[26] By 1832 the last year of the tax returns, four owners had died and their holdings had been inherited. One gentry landowner's land had passed to the Sykeses and another was about to: Ann Ness' son owned half of her land in 1832 and sold about 128 acres in 1839 to Sykes. Richard Kirby sold his land in 1803 to his son John, a Leeds merchant, who mortgaged it in 1814, perhaps to fund its newly-built Dotterill Cottage farmstead. Bankrupt in 1817, John sold his 235 acres by 1821 to Sykes's trustees and 'ran away to America'[27].

[25]B. English, *Great landowners*, p. 374.
[26]Dean and Chapter Wills, Borthwick Institute,York; Registry of Deeds, Beverley.
[27]HUL DDSY/70/96, /61, /65, /75; J. Plaxton, *Descent of Lands in Sledmere,* (Hull),

Table 4.3: Land tax in Weaverthorpe in 1805 and 1832.

1805			1832		
Proprietors	Occupiers	Assess	Proprietors	Occupiers	Assess
Sir Mark Sykes	Richard Topham	6-12-0	Sir Tatton Sykes	Thomas Anderson	6-12-0
	James Sawdon			Thomas Longhorn	
Richard Langley	Thomas Marshall	4-17-4		John Quickfall	19-4
	Wm Spink		Hon M. Langley	Jonathan Marshall	9-9-4
	Thomas Longhorne	4-12-0		John Smith	
	James Wallgate			Vasey Dickenson	
Rev Richard Forest	Rev T. Ashworth	1-12-0		Michael Ellis	
	Henry Barmby		Dean of York/glebe	Rich Barmby	1-1-4
Mrs Ann Ness	Herself	1-1-4	glebe	Abraham Ashworth	0-10-8
			John Ness	Thomas Clarkson	0-10-8
Richard Kirby	Moses Ireland	19-4	Richard Metcalf	Thomas Alsop &tc	0-10-8
Scarborough Poor	John Bielby	0-8-0	Scarborough Poor	Thomas Coventry	0-8-0
George Posthill	Mary Posthill	0-5-4	Wm Posthill	Himself	0-5-4
Richard Topham	Himself	0-4-8	Mary Spink	Wm Lovel	0-4-8

Helperthorpe land tax returns similarly showed stability of ownership among its five owners. Langley paid over half the total both for his holding and as lessee of the Dean and Chapter while Sykes paid about a sixth. By 1832 three owners had died and their land been inherited and Kirby's land had passed to Sykes (see Weaverthorpe). Richard Forest was Dean of York.

p.57

Table 4.4: Helperthorpe Land Tax in 1803 and 1832.

Proprietors	Occupiers		Proprietors	Occupiers	
Richard Langley		10-12-3	Marmaduke Langley	Richard Wharton	10-12-0
				Wm Knaggs	
Richard Esh	Wm Allerson	2-6-5	Robert Esh	Leon Clarkson	2-17-7½
Sir Mark Sykes	Richard Lovel	1-16-6		Thomas Ellis	
	Wm Lovel	1-16-6		Wm Cockburn	
			Sir Tatton Sykes	Wm Lovel	4-7-7½
Richard Kirby	John Milner	0-14-6½		John Lovel	
	Thomas Ellis	0-1-6½		John Quickfall	
Rev. Richard Forest		1-12-6	Dean of York	Richard Barmby	1-12-6
		19-0-0			

Luttons Ambo 1805 land tax returns show fourteen of the seventeen enclosure award-holders: land allotted to Pocklington School and the Dean and Chapter was in the name of their lessee Langley, and John and Ann Ness' land presumably was added to their son William's land. Four proprietors each paid about a fifth of the total and nine paid very small amounts. The 1832 returns again show a great stability of ownership: eleven owners remained the same or land was inherited within the family, losing one owner. Two properties changed hands without obvious signs of inheritance, a small part of Langley's was in the hands of a vicar and one small property appears unaccounted for. In April of the same year the estate of about 244 acres in East Lutton occupied by George Brown, son-in-law of the late Ann and John Ness, and over two acres of garths, closes and cottages in West Lutton, was ordered to be sold by the Chancery court presumably to pay Ness family debts (see Weaverthorpe). Some of the land at least went to a small proprietor from Malton, not to the usually-predicted large owner.[28]

[28]DDBV 55/39 1832 Sale bill, Beverley Archives.

Table 4.5: Luttons Ambo Land Tax in 1805 and 1832.

1805			1832		
Proprietor	Occupier	Assess.	Proprietor	Occupier	Sum Assess.
Richard Langley	Robert Major	5-0-0	Marmaduke Langley	Edward Barber	4-1-6
do	Robert Topham		do	Richard Train	
do	Richard Train		Rev Thomas Shields	Robert Grice	0-18-6
John Bell Esq.	James Ince	3-16-5	do	John Grice Jnr	
do	William Brand		do	John Harper	
Mrs Jane Bell	Richard Williamson	2-1-11	Exec late John Bell	Robert Foster	3-16-3
Wm Ness Gent	Dorothy Ombler	3-11-6	do	Wm Brand	
do	Robert Hesp		do	Frances Williar	2-2-1
do	Richard Posthill		George Brown Esq	Himself	3-11-6
do	William Grice				
do	John Grice				
do	William Dickenson				
do	Thomas Stephenson				
do	John Kellington				
do	Himself				
Wm Sawdon yeoman	Thomas Ince	3-4-10	T.Mitchelson Esq	Nicholas Grun	3-4-10
	William Sawdon		do	John Sawdon	
Rev.Richard Forest	Henry Barnby	0-5-7	Rev.Richard Forest	Richard Barmby	0-5-7
Chris. Rousby	Himself	0-3-6			
Duke of Devonshire	Martin Wise	0-3-1	Duke of Devonshire	Wm Kirby	0-3-1
Joseph Robson	Robert Grice	0-1-10½	John Grice	Himself	0-1-10½
Wm Boreman	Himself	0-0-10	Wm Boreman	Wm Cass	0-0-10
Charles Park	Himself	0-0-10	Charles Park	Himself	0-0-10
Sir George Strickland	Robert Harper	0-0-8	Sir W Strickland	Robert Harper	0-0-8
Elizabeth Hill	Herself	0-0-6½	Thomas Sawdon	James Carr	0-0-6½
Ellis Thompson	Robert Wood	0-0-5	Ellis Thompson	Wm Nichol	0-0-5

Large Land-owners.

After enclosure the development of townships depended on the qualities of the landowners owning the majority of the land: in the Weaverthorpe villages principally the Sykes family and Richard Langley. Richard Langley whose rents doubled from nearly £5,000 in 1784 to over £11,000 in 1803, Weaverthorpe villages'rentals producing £2,274, suffered enclosure costs like smaller owners. In 1803 he and his wife petitioned the House of Lords to sell land in trust in North Grimston, Leavening, Acklam and Barthorp, presumably to fund enclosure building-costs. He later successfully expanded his own estate as well as improving the Dean and Chapter

land.[29] The Sykes estate was run by various members over the enclosure period. Sir Christopher who appeared unsympathetic to labourers in the 1795 cereal crisis',[30] died in 1801, leaving debts of £87,594 which led to the 1812 Sykes Estate Act to sell part of the estate under settlement.[31] He was succeeded in 1801 by his eldest son Sir Mark, M.P. for York 1807 to 1820, who took the surname of Masterman when he married Henrietta, the Settrington heiress, in 1795.[32] Mark, traveller, gambler, collector of fine art and books, sold his father's bank and was forced to sell land in 1812, his wife's York house in 1817, land in 1823 when depression led to falling prices and left debts when he died.[33] In 1819 an anonymous letter, exalted his and his father's improving work on the Wolds.[34] He was succeeded in 1823 by his brother Sir Tatton who sold his library to pay debts. Sir Tatton was very well-known, well-liked and admired for his toughness, generosity, hard work, and agricultural and racing successes, though 'his tenants' cottages were a disgrace'.[35] The Strickland family of Boynton, with land in Luttons Ambo and owning half of Weaverthorpe by 1860, illustrated the paternal patronising responsibility of local landowners, Henry encouraging hard work towards independence, education to improve labourers' employment-prospects, and Friendly Societies as giving a sense of economy and independence. Sir William expressed concern in agricultural recession for the distress of various agricultural-groups.[36] In a period of war and agricultural

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[29]CC, D/C 9 Wea 1; HUL DDCV/215/42, /48; York Wills, Vol. 161, Fol. 114, March 1817, Borthwick Institute: Langley's will generously mentioned his wife, sister and servants; codicils mentioned in 1813 a house recently purchased in Portman Square, London, and in 1817 additional lands and houses.

[30]HRO, DDSY 101/54: letter from Sykes to W. Wilberforce 1796, cited in Roger Wells *, Dearth and Distress in Yorkshire*, Borthwick Papers 1977, p. 16: he argued that the book 'The Case of the Labourers in Husbandry' should be ignored lest it 'make the common Labourers dissatisfied and unhappy'.

[31]J.Crowther, *Enclosure Ph.D.,* p. 379.

[32]Burke's *Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage, Vol. 2 M-Z,* (1970), pp. 2602-3.

[33]B. English, *Great landowners,* pp. 66, 218.

[34]*Yorkshire Gazette*, July 3 1819.

[35]*Malton Messenger*, March 28th 1863, Sir Tatton Sykes' obituary; B. English, *The Great Landowners of East Yorkshire*, pp.218, 220;Rev. H. Woodcock, *Piety*, p. 31.

[36]H. Strickland, pp. 285-8, in Crowther, pp. 64-6; Board of Agriculture, *The*

depression it took men of vision, energy and economic competence to successfully build up their estates through agriculture and to support tenants who had lost commons-rights. The Weaverthorpe proprietors appear to have conscientiously managed the land and to have earned respect: under their paternalism the villages flourished.

Small owners.

In the years following enclosure the deeds recorded a flurry of financial activity in these villages among the small owners, but it is not clear without other information which were sales and which mortgaging. Obviously many were active financially in mortgaging to pay enclosure costs and to finance agricultural changes following enclosure, as seen in mortgaging by Langley's trustees.[37] There would be informal borrowing from extended family and friends giving flexibility of repayment, as glimpsed by the use of friends as trustees in wills, as well as formal transactions. Because the smaller owners were excluded from the Weaverthorpe land-tax returns, what happened is not known apart from glimpses in the wills. A closer inspection of deeds, land tax records, wills and parish records would disclose small owners' activities. A brief glance indicates that most families probably held on to land as families were intermarrying: it would have taken a few years before it could be ascertained that immigrants were buying land. The post-enclosure Weaverthorpe wills show families not awarded land in the enclosure act, who left land which must have been inherited or purchased, often to married daughters with subsequent name-changes.[38] Because of these omissions in land-tax records it has appeared that there were fewer small owners after enclosure: numbers surviving were probably actually higher than generally thought. Perhaps this is why Turner thought that well over half

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Agricultural State of the Kingdom 1816, (Adams & Dart),pp.361-6.

[37]Registry of Deeds, Beverley: July 6 1804, 579.938.

[38]Dean and Chapter Wills, Borthwick Institute, York.

of the owners had disappeared from tax returns by the end of the ten-year period.

Landownership-changes assisted small landowners, yeomen and artisans, to join the electorate: in 1807 ten of the population of these villages qualified through freehold land held locally or in other villages. Although the great landowners lived on their estates, the small landowners often held land in one village but owned or rented land and lived in another, presumably being more convenient or profitable. Land belonging to the electorate does not seem to have been always registered in the enclosure award, deeds or land tax records. In Helperthorpe a yeoman, farmer and cordwainer held land respectively in Snainton, Langtoft and Sherburn; in East Lutton a tailor, yeoman and cordwainer owned land in Scagglethorpe, Yedingham and Flixton and two yeomen, a linendraper and a cordwainer held East Lutton land (although one was not found in records); in West Lutton a grocer and a yeoman (the latter again not recorded anywhere) qualified; and in Weaverthorpe a yeoman was listed.[39]

Again there existed a class of landless villagers who had money, whether inherited, earned from tenanted land or possibly from previous sales elsewhere. The financial activities of the more affluent residents of the villages are illustrated in twenty-eight wills, inventories and declarations for the four villages between 1803 and 1833, fourteen in Weaverthorpe, seven in Helperthorpe, five in West Lutton, and two in East Lutton. A third of the deceased mentioned securities, mortgages, interest, bonds, banknotes and gold, of whom four held no land or property. Half of each village's wills mention property, houses and land, and six of the twenty-eight rented out houses. All of the proprietors in Weaverthorpe and East Lutton wills held property in their village but the Helperthorpe landowners held property elsewhere. Large amounts of money were left, some by the landless: up to £3000 in Helperthorpe, by someone without land.[40] Of nine Dean and Chapter tenants in the four villages in 1827, five

[39]Yorkshire 1807 Poll Book, p. 70.
[40]Dean and Chapter Wills, Borthwick Institute, York.

paid between £122 and £238 annual rent. They must have been profiting successfully to pay such considerable rents.[41] The cottagers, although among the most affected by enclosure, had no control over the reorganisation. Numbers involved can be estimated from house-numbers in enclosure claims but effects of the loss of the commons are not recorded. The only evidence of these families' names is in the parish records but their employers and residences remain unknown.

The loss of small owners during or before enclosure was generally not to larger owners but to other local small owners, for part-time farming or investment. Although post-enclosure small owners appear to have retained allotments while medium owners disappeared, later in the century most Weaverthorpe land found its way to large landowners. By 1860 there were twenty-five small owners each owning only a few houses and land totalling thirty acres, the highest an eleven-acre plot. The majority of the land was divided between Sir Tatton Sykes with six farms, and Sir George Strickland, who had bought the Dean and Chapter land, with five farms. Lady Downe retained 274 acres inherited from Langley, the vicar and Overseers of the poor of Scarborough retained their land and one small-owner held a farm of seventy-four acres. The medium-sized owners had disappeared.[42] Because of the time-scale the loss in numbers of owners must be attributed to agricultural depression rather than enclosure.

[41]DDCV 215/12 P. 269, Borthwick Institute.
[42]DDX 429/5 Weaverthorpe Highway Rate Book 1860, Beverley Archives.

The Church.

Tithes were not commuted in counties like Cumberland where enclosure was mainly on wasteland which was not directly tithable, though compensation could be given for tithes on animals. In Staffordshire three-quarters of acts dealt with commons and waste and only one quarter mentioned tithes. In Oxfordshire, mainly open-fields enclosure, three-quarters of enclosures commuted tithes. Counties with open-fields transferred considerable amounts of land to incumbents.[43] Enclosure stimulated 'extensive building of houses which were appallingly apt symbols of the new status they assumed'.[44] The first parliamentary return of the 1803 Residence Act showed that about half of all parishes in England did not have a resident parson but parsonage-house improvements supported by enclosure-allotments could improve the situation: from 1777, Gilbert's Act allowed clergy to borrow up to two years' income on a mortgage to improve the parsonage-house, allowing Queen Anne's Bounty to lend at a low rate of interest.[45] The vicar could be an important intermediary between the gentry and local people, between conflicting groups, but large enclosure-allotment often separated him from parishioners, as well as causing distinctions between clergy with varying allotments.[46] In thirty-four enclosures in East Yorkshire between 1800 and 1819 with a total acreage of 62,160 acres, the church acquired 10,942 acres, 17.6% or more than a sixth, in lieu of tithes, but slightly more in the Weaverthorpe villages.[47]

In the Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe and Luttons Ambo enclosures and tithe commutation the Dean and Chapter became the third largest landowner in the villages,

[43] A. Jones, *A Thousand Years of the English Parish,* (Windrush Press Gloucestershire 2000), p. 160.
[44] Ward, *The Tithe Question,* pp.73-4, cited in A. Jones, p. 161.
[45] A. Jones, pp.159, 205.
[46] R. Hall and S. Richardson, *The Anglican Clergy and Yorkshire Politics in the Eighteenth Century,* (Borthwick 94 1998), p.1.
[47] J. Crowther Ph.D. thesis, pp. 404, 626-9: between 18.7% and 19.3%.

and the vicar the seventh largest. Tithe-commutation and land-rights increased glebe-land from merely two acres in Weaverthorpe, to over eighty acres in Weaverthorpe, over two hundred and twenty-five acres in Helperthorpe and over thirty-one acres in East Lutton. While Dean and Chapter land appeared profitable, financial figures are unavailable for glebe-land. In 1833 the Rev. Duntze secured a loan of £334 from Queen Anne's Bounty for repairing and enlarging the Weaverthorpe vicarage house but in 1840 Richard Jennings was appointed sequestrator of Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe vicarages after a court order against Duntze for debts.[48] In 1844 the Dean and Chapter appointed William Gray to sequester the benefice of Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe to levy a debt of £800 owed by Duntze and a replacement minister was appointed.[49] Duntze was vicar in the 1849 terrier but after his death in 1856 the parishes of Helperthorpe and Weaverthorpe each had their own vicar. Glebe-land was reorganised to two acres of churchyard, twelve acres and sixty-seven acres in Weaverthorpe; sixty-five acres in East Lutton; and two plots of eight acres, and over a hundred and eighty-three acres in Helperthorpe. This latter was divided into four, later five, closes and the whole area planted with quickwood.[50] The large land-allotments possibly raised resentment and generated the growth of Primitive Methodism, which earned the praise of Sir Tatton Sykes.[51] The 1851 religious census returns for Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe and West Lutton reveal the long-term growth in popularity of the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist chapels.[52] The 1864 visitations

[48]WM 1815-36, p. 675; WN 1836-1842, p. 311, Minster Archives, York.

[49]G. E. Mingay*, Rural Life in Victorian England,* p. 146: two years' annual income for the majority of clergymen; WO 1842-1860, pp. 87-88 and 115, Minster Archives, York.

[50]Terriers:PR WEA 18 Weaverthorpe 1861and Helperthorpe 1857, Borthwick Institute, York

[51]H.B.Kendall, *The History of the Primitive Methodist Church, Vol. 2,* (Dalton*),* p. 98: Tatton Sykes gave land for three chapels, 'If it had not been for the dissenters, the English people would have been heathens; and they are worthy of a site on which to build a chapel in every village in the Land. Most of the religion between Malton and Driffield is to be found amongst the Methodists'.

[52]British Parliamentary Papers, Population Vol. 10, 1851 Census. In West Lutton in the afternoon, over two-thirds of the population attended either the Primitive Methodist chapel, or the Wesleyan Methodist chapel, and a third in the evening in the

blamed dissent and the very bad state of disrepair of the churches for very low attendances.[53]

Dean and Chapter land was developed as a successful agricultural estate in the hands of an experienced estate-owner, Richard Langley. The 1176 acres were ultimately sold in 1853 by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to Viscount Downe, Langley's eventual heir, for £22,203.[54] From 1750 to 1790 as farming had prospered rents rose nationally by a half, doubled between 1790 and 1815, and then when the Napoleonic wars ended fell by up to a quarter.[55] Rental figures paid by tenants to the Langleys followed this pattern over the years, with a peak from 1811 to cover enclosure-building costs, falling later. Figures for the Dean and Chapter estate show that Langley received £986 rent annually from Lady Day 1806 to 1811, increased by about a quarter to £1295 from 1811. To offset this Langley claimed the building of a farmhouse with outbuildings and to have subdivided and fenced several allotments with ponds at a cost of £2126, and after the lease was granted in 1806, had laid out quickwood and rails and built a barn and stable at the farmstead to make for a more convenient occupation, at a cost of £672, making a total of £2797.[56] In 1813 Langley's fine for the new seven-year lease was £1,533. It was noted that the same claims for deductions were made for the expenses for buildings as in 1806, but that the deductions would not be continued.[57] For the lease renewal in 1827 by Marmaduke Langley, fine unknown, rental figures had fallen by about a fifth to £1058. It is not

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Wesleyan chapel. The Primitive Methodist chapel attracted more than the average congregation for the Church of England, closed for that day as services were held fortnightly.

[53]V 1865 Vol 2, Weaverthorpe; Vol 1, Helperthorpe;Vol 2, Luttons Ambo, Borthwick, York.

[54]CC.D/C 10 Wea.1., Borthwick Institute, York: 223 acres were still charged with the annual sums of £30 to Weaverthorpe church and £20 to Helperthorpe church and with repairs to the chancel of Weaverthorpe church, continuing the Dean and Chapter's lessee's responsibility.

[55]G. E. Mingay*, Land and Society*, p. 48.

[56]DDCV 215/12 pp. 200, 269.

[57]DDCV 215/12 p. 269.

known also what fines were received from Langley on the renewal of leases in 1841 when tenants' rents had risen to £1187, but the amount of fine to allow Langley to make 9% profit was given as £1787, and also figures were given to allow him to make 7% profit (£2480) and 6% (£2930), all of which appear to have allowed less profit than the 1813 fine when rents were higher.[58]

Enclosure benefited the church both through land-compensation for rights and through tithe-commutation. Landowners paid heavily to free themselves but although tithes accounted for a tenth of produce, about a fifth of land was generally allowed for tithe-holders as well as costs for fencing. Huge enclosure-allotments to the vicarage changed the standing of the vicar from tithe-collector to large landowner. Whether extra land was preferable to pre-enclosure tithes and common-rights, made him more accessible to his flock or alienated him, depended on the individual. Extra land could have been used, employing local labour, to produce profits to benefit the church and the community. In these villages there is no evidence of financial advantage for the churches. Instead over the next half-century the vicar repaired and extended his house, and was suspended though debt. The churches' poor building-conditions discouraged congregations who turned to the dissenters' chapels. The second Sir Tatton Sykes restored Weaverthorpe church and rebuilt Helperthorpe and West Lutton churches as late as the 1870s. There is no evidence of great advantage to the vicar through either produce or rents or whether he employed the most profitable use of the land. By leasing out land to a successful landowner the Dean and Chapter made good financial use of their land. It would be interesting to compare the business success of the newly-landed clergy after enclosure, with that of the other local landowners.

<u>The effects of enclosure on the population.</u>

Migration was thought greater from newly-enclosed land than from previous enclosures but Chambers and Gonner have shown that the idea of the mass of the

[58]CC.D/C 9 Wea 1.

population being driven into town by enclosure is false. Gonner stated that there was no close correspondence between the amount of enclosure and increase in population figures between 1750 and 1811.[59] Enclosure ought to have resulted in rural depopulation as people lost their access to the land but in fact the opposite was the result. Late eighteenth century enclosure of common-land had varying effects on population but always positive: where more land was cultivated there were rises in population but where land was converted to pasture, growth was low. Land-use changes continued to support high employment, at a time of a rapid rise in rural population and rural employment needs.[60] Enclosure was charged with turning peasants into labourers, but peasant farmers had often already become employees before enclosure and welcomed the post-enclosure work.[61] Live-in farmstead staff, supplied with board and lodging, were able to save their wages in local banks and use their substantial savings to set themselves up and marry: they prospered better than day-labourers living with their dependants.[62] The enclosure movement was accused of introducing class but merely emphasized earlier social and economic class-divisions: parish records indicate pre-enclosure marriages were among families of the same social classes - labourers, yeomen/farmers or gentry.[63] A new agricultural social-hierarchy built up after enclosure differentiating between the various wage-related skills of workers and subsequent wage-differences, with shepherds uppermost, followed by plough-boys and bird-scarers at the base.[64] Open villages grew like towns as the population lost their reliance on the land: cottages were built to let and a wide

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[59]C. K. Gonner*, Common Land and Inclosure,* (MacMillan 1912), cited in J.A.Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure in England 1450 - 1850,* Macmillan 1977, p222.
[60]J.A.Yelling, *Common Field,* p226.
[61]E. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State, Early Industrial Britain 1783-1870* (Longman 1997), p. 140.
[62]A. Harris*, Rural Life in Victorian England,* p. 78.
[63]W. E. Tate, *The English Village Community and the Enclosure Movements* (Gollancz 1967), pp. 170,174.
[64]R. Brown, *Revolution, Radicalism and reform, England 1780-1846,* (Cambridge 2000), p.5.

number of trades and services appeared as the population grew.[65]

East Riding population.

Between 1801 and 1861 the population of the High Wolds doubled along with that of the Riding and the country. In 1801 the East Riding population was one of the lowest in the country with less than 100 people per square mile - only 69 excluding Hull - compared with an average of 152 per square mile in England and Wales. However the East Riding's rise doubled over the next sixty years, almost equalling that of the rest of the country.[66] In the same period Yorkshire's population increased by 109% and York's by 88%.[67] Half of the East Riding increase came from the expansion of Hull from 29,965 to 99,196 while towns grew enormously: Norton by 385%, Driffield by 226%. There was extensive rural population growth as two-thirds of rural areas had rises over a half; and a third, mostly in the High Wolds, doubled. Agriculture was labour-intensive and employment abundant although it was poorly-paid and often seasonal: enclosure necessitated fencing, and change from pasture to arable required manpower, for both of which the increase in Wolds population provided farmworkers. In Holderness and the Vale of York where there was no such demand: there was emigration from the Vale of York to the urban areas such as York, Goole and the West Riding.[68] This growth was not steady however over the half-century. Numbers fell in rural parts of the East Riding from 1816 as emigration increased through agricultural recession,[69] though not affected as much as other places, then rose again after 1828 as agriculture prospered, although emigration, which had fallen, increased again.[70]

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[65]A. Harris*, Rural Life in Victorian England*, p. 19.
[66]M. T. Wild, 'Population Change 1801-1991', in *Historical Atlas*, p. 46.
[67]D. Hey, *Yorkshire from A.D. 1000,*(Longman 1986), p. 247 and *British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 3*. 1841 Census, Sessions 1841-43. (IUP 1971) p. 8.
[68]M. T. Wild, 'Population Change 1801-1991', p. 46.
[69]Board of Agriculture, *The Agricultural State of the Kingdom 1816,* (Adams & Dart),pp.361, 363-4.
[70]A. Harris*, Rural Landscape,* p. 98.

Migration was assisted by the annual Michaelmas or Martinmas hiring-fairs in market-towns and large villages, developed from the earlier sittings, which enabled farm-workers to find residential positions on farms.[71]

Wolds population.

The population of twenty-one townships in and around the Great Wold Valley, rose between 1801 and 1831 by two-thirds and the growth in employment could have been higher than this as workers travelled daily from neighbouring villages. Six of these Wolds parishes enclosed from 1801 to 1831 on average almost doubled their population over that period, each of which was more rapid than the normal growth of almost a third: the slowest was East and West Lutton at over two-thirds and the fastest was Weaverthorpe at 121%.[72] Population growth was not always directly related to enclosure: from late enclosures which almost doubled between 1801 and 1831, rises ranged from hardly any in Towthorpe to Cowlam which almost quadrupled. Seven eighteenth-century enclosures, with an average of 66% growth from 1801 to 1831, ranged from Butterwick with 17% to Wold Newton with 138%. Exceptional population increase was linked with agricultural change in which enclosure played an important part, but if agricultural development happened at some other time, then the relationship was broken. Individual circumstances were critical: Wold Newton enclosed as early as 1776 and never had much downland to convert but its large expansion came 1801 to 1831.[73] Different population increases depended on the various landowners and settlement restraints: in close parishes landowners, wary of

[71]J. E. and P. A. Crowther, *The Diary of Robert Sharp of South Cave, Life in a Yorkshire Village 1812-1837,* Records of Social and Economic History, New series 26, (Oxford 1997), p. xxxvii; H. Strickland, (York 1812), p. 261, cited in A. Kussmaul, *Servants in husbandry in early modern England,* pp. 61-2; and Kussmaul, p. 51.
[72]Yelling, J. A. *Common Field and Enclosure in England 1450 - 1850* (Macmillan 1977), p. 223.
[73]Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure in England,* p. 224.

the potential charge on the rates, only accommodated estate workers and servants. Any extra workers were brought in from open villages and towns, for example gangs at times of harvest. Langtoft, an open Wolds village, grew by 149% from 1801-6 whereas Sledmere a close village by only 49%: those which declined were all close.[74]

Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe and Luttons Ambo population-structure.

In order to determine the link between enclosure and subsequent population rises it is necessary to make a detailed study of the individual parish's enclosure award, land tax records (though these may omit the smallest owners and occupiers), 1841 and 1851 census returns to observe the long-term migration pattern and household structures, and wills and parish records to look at the families involved. Every parish had its individual situation in which various factors influenced population growth: for example, were there sufficient homes to enable the population to grow or were farm-workers travelling daily from another parish? Did the growth occur in the rise of many small village-households or in a few large farmsteads? While the population doubled between 1801 and 1851 in Helperthorpe and Luttons Ambo, in Weaverthorpe the figures more than trebled, illustrating all the features of a growing open village. The population of Helperthorpe, a semi-close village, was very low and doubled between 1801 and 1811 but fell between 1821 and 1831. In the 1830s Helperthorpe's population increase was accounted for by the large farmsteads out of the village but emigration reduced the population as several young people left between 1841 and 1851.[75] Although Luttons Ambo's figures were larger than Weaverthorpe's before enclosure, they did not rise as much as Weaverthorpe's. Some of the extra growth appeared to come from the services and other industries which sprang up.

Population-figures in these four villages between 1801 and 1851 shows that the male

[74]M. T.Wild, 'Population Change 1801-1991', p. 47.
[75]Crowther Ph.D. thesis, p. 97; 1851 Census, pp. 59, 65; *Rural Landscape*, p. 98.

population was higher than female generally in these villages but especially in Helperthorpe and East and West Lutton because of a large number of single male agricultural workers living on the new farmsteads, less noticeable in Weaverthorpe.[76] In examining the long-term pattern, the first possible breakdown of ages in 1841, shows that the higher male figure, increased by farmstead-workers, occurred in the ages ten to twenty-four in Helperthorpe, fifteen to twenty-four in West Lutton and fifteen to nineteen in East Lutton, after which time presumably male workers married and settled down elsewhere. Conversely in the ages from ten to fourteen in Weaverthorpe and Luttons Ambo the female figure was higher than the male after which the female figure fell, presumably as they sought resident work elsewhere, and the male figure rose. Both figures fell from the age of twenty-five in all villages, except females in West Lutton, as they migrated elsewhere to find work.

[76] 1841 and 1851 Censuses, Beverley Library:

Table 4.6: Number of male and females in the villages between 1801 and 1851

	1801		1811		1821		1831		1841		1851	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Helperthorpe	39	33	82	55	86	71	68	63	94	66	81	59
Weaverthorpe	93	89	142	134	164	170	211	192	272	275	322	318
Luttons Ambo	110	97	137	117	169	142	186	164	214	191	220	206
West Lutton									136	125	141	126
East Lutton									78	66	79	80

Table 4.7: Age of population in 1841.

	East Lutton		West Lutton		Helperthorpe		Weaverthorpe		
Ages	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total
0-4	12	10	29	22	16	9	36	43	177
5-9	9	8	16	15	8	6	35	34	131
10-14	6	9	11	17	10	4	26	36	119
15-19	12	4	15	10	11	7	31	30	120
20-24	9	9	17	11	20	10	32	29	137
25-29	4	3	9	11	4	7	19	22	79
30-39	5	6	13	16	6	7	31	35	119
40-49	6	6	16	10	8	6	28	22	102
50-59	6	6	5	6	6	5	13	11	58
60-69	4	3	4	2	3	3	12	10	41
70-79	3	3	2	4	1	2	6	2	23
80-89	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	6
Total	77	67	137	124	94	66	272	275	1112

Before enclosure, parish records and number of houses produced surprisingly low sizes of households: lack of opportunities leading to migration of younger people and therefore a low birth-rate meant that households contained few members. After enclosure the spurt in population figures and the influx of young people to the villages meant larger households: instead of a mean of three or four, the figures in the 1841 and 1851 censuses show a mean average of five or six members. The number of houses between 1841 and 1851 corresponded with the population rise to produce the same mean average size of household in both years.

Table 4.8: Household size in 1841 and 1851.

	1841 Hseholds.	1851 Hseholds.	1841 Pop.	1851 Pop.	1841 Hsehold. size	1851 Hsehold size
Weaverthorpe	101	126	547	644	5	5
Helperthorpe	23	25	160	140	6	6
West Lutton	48	50	261	269	5	5
East Lutton	26	29	144	160	6	5.5

Households in 1841 ranged from a single person to the large farmsteads, found in the records after 1810, with up to twenty residents. Each village still had a surprisingly large number of small to medium-sized households, offset by a few large post-enclosure farmsteads or large agricultural worker households. The pattern for each village varied. In Weaverthorpe, half of the households were small with four or fewer members, while a tenth of households held between nine and twenty members. In Helperthorpe, households held between three and fourteen members: nearly a quarter of all households had only three members. In West Lutton, over half of the households held five or fewer members and two had twelve or more. In East Lutton, half of the households held five or fewer members and four held ten or more members.

Table 4.9: Number in households in 1841.

	No. in household																		
Households	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Weaverthorpe	3	7	16	24	17	7	7	10	1	2		3	1	1			1			1
Helperthorpe			5	1	2	2	3	4	2		2	1		1						
West Lutton	1	3	6	8	10	5	7	4	2			1		1						

Using different household types identified by Crowther in her study of the nature of population changes[77] to examine the long-term post-enclosure household changes in these villages, there was a trend away from agriculture. The five main types of occupation were: agricultural labourer households, including shepherds and agricultural workers; service households, including journeymen craftsmen, shopkeepers, vicars and doctors; larger farmer households, housing a majority of young men as farmworkers and married men as shepherds; one person or a couple of people, elderly, young married or other; other households, paupers, retired, unemployed, and widows and wives without husbands present and employment unknown. The majority of households were concerned with farming either as

[77]Ed. D. R. Mills, *English Rural Communities*, J.R.Sheppard, *Rural Population Changes Since 1851: Three Sample Studies*, (Macmillan 1973) pp. 223-224.

agricultural workers or farmers, whether owner or tenant: nearly three-quarters of households in Helperthorpe and over half in the other villages. However the number of service households was increasing over the years as is also seen in parish records: in Weaverthorpe over a quarter of households and about a quarter in East and West Lutton although this fell in East Lutton. In Helperthorpe service households rose from very few in 1841 to over a quarter in 1851. The number of small Weaverthorpe households almost trebled between the two years, and West Lutton's figure doubled, presumably as the young migrated.

Table 4.10: Number and type of households in 1841 and 1851.

	Weaverthorpe		Helperthorpe		West Lutton		East Lutton		Total	Total
	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851
Agricultural	44	41	11	5	20	20	12	13	87	79
Service	27	38	3	7	8	10	6	4	44	59
Farmer	12	11	6	6	8	6	4	4	30	27
Small	9	25	3	5	4	8	4	1	20	39
Others*	9	11	0	2	8	6	0	7	17	26
Total	101	126	23	25	48	50	26	29	198	230

*In 1841 the 'others' figures mainly included households headed by a woman without occupation, and household heads of independent means: in 1851 this category included paupers and women heads of household who were either widows or often married to shepherds living-in at one of the farmsteads.

A rudimentary comparison of the 1841 and 1851 censuses, the latter giving birth-place, shows that of those who remained in 1851, about half had been born elsewhere, mainly in other local Yorkshire villages. Between a half and two-thirds of the 1841 population had disappeared, although they were replaced by others: some household heads had died, some women had probably married, but many had left, mainly young members of families, young agricultural-labourers' families and young farmstead-residents. Without earlier records of birth-places, one can only surmise that migration increased after the dramatic post-enclosure population rise. Despite such instability,

population-figures remained much the same, increasing slightly more in Weaverthorpe: if there was adequate employment, why did people leave the villages, both those born there and elsewhere, to be replaced by others? The annual East Riding Michaelmas and Martinmas hiring-fairs (see p.109) encouraged the outflow of young people, presumably seeking advancement elsewhere, to be replaced by an inflow of migrants. Further knowledge of migrants' progress could be traced through parish records.

Table 4.11: Post-enclosure migration.

	East Lutton	West Lutton	Helperthorpe	Weaverthorpe
1841 population	144	261	160	547
Of which resident 1851	49	111	60	231
Birthplace of 1841-51 residents				
Same village	16	46	30	96
Other three villages	13	10	7	21
Other birthplace	20	55	23	114
Disappeared 1841-1851				
Total	95	150	100	316
M	50	79	60	145
F	45	71	40	170
1851 population	159	267	140	640

A view of 1841 heads of household, in order to see how many had migrated before the 1851 census, presents proportionately fewer females who might have disappeared through marriage. Of those who remained, few had been born in the same village: the highest was Helperthorpe with a third. The ones who disappeared would be either from death or migration. Two-thirds of the heads of households in East Lutton disappeared between 1841 and 1851, over half of Helperthorpe's, and a third of West Lutton's and Weaverthorpe's heads. About half of the absent were agricultural labourers, nearly a quarter of Helperthorpe's were tenant farmers and there was a small number of females without occupations. The remainder presented a variety of occupations. A full study of these people together with parish records would establish

who had died and what had happened to their families.

Table 4.12: Household heads who migrated between 1841 and 1851.

	Resident1841	1841-51	Born in vill.	Absent	Farmers	Ag.labs	Females	Others
East Lutton	26	9	1	17	2	9	1	5
Helperthorpe	23	9	3	14	4	6	0	4
West Lutton	48	30	8	18	1	8	3	6
Weaverthorpe	101	67	9	34	2	19	5	8

The villages' post-enclosure death-rate does not support a theory of population loss through death: a low mean age at death, similar to inner-city districts' figures, was caused by a high proportion of infants' deaths. It is impossible to compare with pre-enclosure figures as ages at burial are unavailable but forty years after enclosure, figures were depressing. In 1812 half of the ten burials in Weaverthorpe from these villages were infants and four were between fifty-nine and seventy-four years leaving a mean age at death of twenty-nine years; in 1832 of eleven burials whose age was known, over half were under thirty years and the rest over seventy, giving a mean age of thirty-two; and in 1842 nearly half of the twenty-six burials were infants giving a mean age at death of twenty-eight. Having survived childhood, some villagers lived into their seventies and over.

Table 4.13: Ages at death in 1812, 1832 and 1842.

	Age at death											
Year	Not given	Under 1	1-5	6-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90
1812	3	5				1			1	2	1	
1832	3		2		3	2					3	1
1842		12	2		3		1	1	2	2	2	1

Structural population-changes in these four villages were caused by the need for resident male labour as enclosure had given the opportunity to create new farmsteads away from the village centre. The average household-size increased but the

population increase was accommodated in larger numbers of households as well as in a few larger households. Whether a restriction in house-building kept the population lower, especially in Helperthorpe, remains unknown. After enclosure households were not the same type in each village as the larger the village, the more non-agricultural households were appearing. A further study of long-term occupational changes could discover whether people actually changed employment, whether sons took different employment from fathers or whether the service households were immigrants to the villages while agricultural households migrated to rural agricultural work or to urban employment. Sons were leaving to work elsewhere, either as agricultural workers or service workers, while service households among others were moving into the villages.[78] People were not driven out of the villages but having lost the economic advantages of commons-rights, were free to seek opportunities elsewhere of employment, housing, amenities and social activities. Most migrants travelled locally to where they could prosper: small-villagers were drawn by the development of larger farms in the High Wolds villages, whose villagers migrated to Malton and Norton and then outwards to places such as Scarborough and York, Hull and the West Riding. From relatively low pre-enclosure immigration, successful post-enclosure agriculture brought an enormous turnover of population of tenants and resident workers, growing over the years: those who left the villages were replaced by even more immigrants.

[78]M. B. Gleave *Dispersed and Nucleated Settlement in the Yorkshire Wolds 1770-1850,* in Mills D. R. *English Rural Communities*, (Macmillan. 1973), p. 113: Gleave found that the majority of incomers were labourers, craftsmen and tradesmen rather than agricultural tenants but these villages' 1851 censuses show that, while service-industries were mainly incomers, agricultural tenants were often drawn from other areas.

Employment.

Enclosure was seen by historians such as Chambers and Mingay as advantageous to the countryside as a provider of additional employment for labourers, creating long-term maintenance-work which raised wages. However after enclosure-work was completed, long-term work was scarce in some areas of the country: some land did not survive as arable because of harvest-failure on poor soil, and agricultural work sometimes became seasonal and poorly-paid with low status.[79] Nationally the agricultural revolution agitated rural society after 1780 as work became seasonal and living-in disappeared. Unemployment increased after 1815 as farmers sought to save wages.[80] In 1801 36% of the population of England and Wales was employed in agriculture, forestry and fishing, an increase of 8% from 1750 while the population increased by 70%, but although the numbers continued to rise by 1850, the proportion fell.[81]

In the early nineteenth century the East Riding was solidly dependent on agriculture. Industry played a small part due to the lack of resources of coal, wood or swift-running water. Hull became the main industrial centre with lead-works, iron-foundry, glass-works, oil-mills, brick-and-tilesworks, ship-building, sail-clothworks and various other trades and crafts. Other towns had one or two industries: Hessle had a white-lead factory, Howden a canvas-factory using flax, Driffield a spinning-and-weaving factory, Wansford an unsuccessful carpet-works of Christopher Sykes,[82] York a glass-works and white-lead works, Bridlington ship-building. There were various brick-and-tiles works at Norton, Bridlington and other places but not on the Wolds because of the lack of clay. Woollen-cloth was no longer made although some women spun

[79]Mingay and Chambers, cited in E. J. Evans *The Forging of the Modern State,* p. 152.
[80]R. Brown, *Revolution, Radicalism and reform,* p. 135.
[81]Ibid p. 133.
[82]B. English, *Great Landowners,* p. 197.

wool stockings and flax at home.[83] The building of the large post-enclosure farmsteads and replacement of stone-built thatch-roofed cottages brought a steady demand for pantiles and bricks. By 1850 at least eighty East Riding brickyards were producing pantiles but the only Wolds brickyard was the Sledmere estate yard at Garton established in 1814. Bricks were produced in Holderness, Vale of York and on the Humber banks where heavy clay was available and had to be brought from a long distance to build Wolds post-enclosure farmsteads. Middleton-on -the-Wolds farms used bricks from Newport on the Market Weighton Canal where there were seven brickyards in 1823.[84] There were a number of Wolds villages, including Weaverthorpe, among twenty East Riding townships with ropeworks, although most ropeworks were in towns. They produced mainly sheep-nets for farming, and nets for the Hull fish-industry. Hemp had been grown over the Vale of York and taken as yarn to weavers in every East Riding village to turn into sheets or sailcloth but numbers of weavers decreased to ten in 1823.[85] As the century advanced, the rise in population and in affluence following enclosure brought new occupations to support the communities. By 1841 agriculture employed less than a third of the East Riding workforce, a fifth of which were farmers and nearly four-fifths agricultural labourers; just under a third were in commerce, trade and manufacturing; and a sixth were domestic servants.[86] Larger Wolds villages had a higher proportion of non-agricultural employees than smaller ones which had up to total agricultural employment.[87]

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[83]H. Strickland, *A General View of the Agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire, 1815,* p. 282, in Janice Crowther (ed.) *Description of East Yorkshire: De La Pryme to Head,* (EYLHS 1992), pp. 63-4; Arthur Young, *A Six Months Tour through the North of England,* Vol. 2*,* 1771, (Kelley 1967), pp.6-7: Sir George Strickland set up a woollen factory on the Yorkshire Wolds, but it failed because of the fall in woollen exports.

[84]P. G.Los and W.A. Los, *Brick and Tile making,* in Historical Atlas, p. 82.

[85]D. and S. Neave, *Brewing and Malting, Ropemaking, Textiles and Tanning,* in Historical Atlas.

[86]British Parliamentary Papers, Population, Vol. 3. 1841 Census, (IUP 1971), p. 34.

[87]M. B. Gleave, Dispersed and Nucleated Settlement in the Yorkshire Wolds 1770-1850*,* in D. R. Mills *English Rural Communities*, (Macmillan 1973), p. 114.

The absence of large landowners in the Weaverthorpe villages meant that the most influential residents included the vicar, schoolmaster, parish clerk, resident farmers and people of independent means, mostly resident in Weaverthorpe. The need for extra services to support the post-enclosure farms and increased population meant an increase in craftsmen, carpenters, smiths, farriers, and blacksmiths, to make and repair implements and farm machinery, and suppliers of goods and services, grocers, tailors, shoemakers and drapers. By 1823 there was a corn mill in East Lutton and a licensed victualler in each village, two in Weaverthorpe. By 1840 there was a saddler, bricklayer, sail-maker, rope-maker, butcher, four academies, two surgeons; and a lunatic asylum in Weaverthorpe by 1851. Transport improved with carriers in all four villages, visiting markets in Driffield and Malton. Other institutions brought new professions: Weaverthorpe School built by Sir Tatton Sykes in 1848, Wesleyan chapels opened in Weaverthorpe in 1814, in West Lutton in 1817, and Primitive Methodist chapels in Weaverthorpe and West Lutton. The effects of enclosure snowballed as the villages grew and prospered. By 1857 there was a plumber, painter, glazier and a post office receiving daily letters from Malton.[88]

Forty years after enclosure the workforce of these villages consisted of about a third of West Lutton and Weaverthorpe and nearer a half of East Lutton and Helperthorpe's population. The occupations in the 1841 census have been divided between twelve different employment categories also including those without occupation or occupation unknown, unemployed males over fifteen being usually farmers' sons, and those without occupations who were 'independent'.[89] Two-thirds of Helperthorpe's

[88]Baines, Yorkshire Directory, Vol. 2, East and North Ridings, 1823; White. Yorkshire Directory, Vol. 3, East and North Ridings 1840; Sheahan and Whellan. York and the East Riding, Vol. 2. 1856; Kelly, Post Office Directory of Yorkshire 1857, p. 1524.

[89]farmers; agricultural labourers; agricultural workers including shepherds; agricultural occupations including gamekeepers, gardeners, millers; medical; service suppliers including blacksmiths, bricklayers, millers, ropemakers, saddlers, carriers; clothiers including cordwainers, drapers, dressmakers, shoemakers and tailors; craftsmen including joiners, wheelwrights, carpenters; providers including butchers, grocers, publicans, shopkeepers; domestic servants; clerical including clerks, vicars and

workforce, over half of East and West Lutton's and just under half of Weaverthorpe's were agricultural labourers, compared with a quarter for the East Riding. These with agricultural workers and farmers became over two-thirds of East and West Lutton's workforce and three-quarters of Helperthorpe's workforce but just over half of Weaverthorpe's workforce, compared with under a third for the East Riding. Female servants made up a tenth of Luttons' workforce and higher in Helperthorpe and Weaverthorpe. Clothiers were over a tenth of the workforce but less in Helperthorpe. Nearly a fifth of Weaverthorpe's workforce was made up of various service suppliers, craftsmen, providers and other white-collar workers usually found in larger, urban or later-nineteenth century townships.

Table 4.14: Occupations from 1841 census.

	Weaverthorpe	West Lutton	Helperthorpe	East Lutton
Agricultural labourers	94	53	46	33
Female Servants	30	11	11	6
Clothiers	21	13	5	9
Service suppliers	16	3	1	3
Farmer	12	10	7	4
Craftsmen	7	5		
Agricultural workers	5			3
Providers	5		1	1
Clerical	4		1	
Education	2			
Medical	2			
Agricultural occupations	1	1		
Total	199	95	72	59
Without employment	348	165	88	85
Independent	9	9	2	2
No occupation M 15+	14	3	3	5
No occupation F 15+	120	48	34	30
No occupation M Under 15	91	50	31	23
No occupation F Under 15	114	55	18	25
Total	547	260	160	144

Forty years after enclosure the first available employment-figures showed that post-enclosure economic prosperity and huge growth in population in these thriving

primitive preachers; education.

villages brought various new occupations. The growth of agricultural mechanisation created a need for various craftsmen to service the equipment while a more affluent population required more female servants, milliners, dressmakers, tailors and governesses. Occupations continued expanding over the century.

The Poor.

Much of enclosure coincided with the national agricultural depression of the French wars and their aftermath. The surplus of labour on the demobilisation of thousands of soldiers, together with some good harvests and the subsequent fall of wheat prices brought nationwide poverty, especially for clay-land arable farmers, leading to the protective 1815 corn law. Rural poverty was worse in southern England where surplus farmworkers led to lower agricultural wages: farming became less agreeable as employment became less secure and more seasonal, for planting and harvest.[90] Here, through enclosure, many cottagers lost their informal common rights such as fuel - wood or dung - and pasteurage of animals, although in some places only cottagers with sufficient land for winter cattle could graze them on the common in summer.[91] Loss of commons-rights changed the framework of village society in parts of southern England, creating a distinction between landowners and the landless, losing the opportunity to rise into a higher social class.[92] Gonner felt that some increase in poor-rates was caused by enclosure where changes from arable to pasture reduced the need for labourers but different vestry attitudes to relief makes it difficult to establish the connection.[93] In the Midlands where land was converted to pasture, the extra population turned to urban industry or to rural unemployment.[94] By contrast, in the

[90]R. Brown, *Revolution, Radicalism and reform,* pp. 134-5
[91]A. Harris, *Rural Life in Victorian England,* p. 13.
[92]W. E. Tate, *The English Village Community and the Enclosure Movements,* pp. 170,174.
[93]Cited in J.A.Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure in England,* p. 227.
[94]G. E. Mingay*, Land and Society,* p. 45.

1860s East Yorkshire's high populations still created overcrowding and the North Harthill rural deanery clergy and the *Yorkshire Gazette* called for landlords to inspect tenants' overcrowded conditions and to improve the situation of farm-servants where whole families huddled in one bedroom. However East Riding farmworkers were described as the best-fed and 'most cared for in the kingdom'.[95]

Post-enclosure Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe, West and East Lutton experienced large-scale immigration causing enormous population-growth through agricultural success which suggests that there was ample work available. Few parish poor-law records before 1837 are available but parish support appears low and those affected were mainly incomers, suffering old-age, sickness or widowhood without local family to support them, probably drawn by the agricultural boom. Between 1800 and 1827 only four households or individuals were removed. From 1837, the Weaverthorpe villages were amongst twenty-one townships in the Driffield district paying Driffield Workhouse quarterly for taking in those who received no benefit. In the first quarter March 1837 six people received money or food, of which three suffered sickness and one was a deserted wife, all living elsewhere, and only two were of Weaverthorpe. Two Lutton paupers were resident in Nafferton Workhouse for six weeks and two Weaverthorpe paupers in Driffield Workhouse for almost six weeks.[96] No paupers were registered in the 1841 census but in 1851 seven were recorded, five in Weaverthorpe and two in West Lutton, all aged between fifty-five and eighty-five. Four were born elsewhere and three were widows.[97] Sir Tatton Sykes' rental books, listing two land-tenants in Helperthorpe and three land-tenants and six cottages in Weaverthorpe, shows that one land-tenant was allowed to build up arrears and gradually repay it, and two cottagers, neither born locally, to build up seven years'

[95] Yorkshire Gazette, 12 Dec. 1863, pp. 8-9; Ibid, 19 Dec. 1863 p. 8.
[96] Index to East Riding Quarter Sessions Removal Orders 1800-1827; PUD E 1-1, Poor Law Minute Book for Driffield, pp. 42-3, 66-67, 70-71, 86-87, 90, Beverley Archives.
[97] 1841 and 1851 censuses, Beverley Library.

arrears by 1849.[98]

There is no evidence that enclosure itself had an adverse effect on the poorest of society. The effects of enclosure on the general population are debatable: parliamentary enclosure took place at a time of a rise in population throughout the country and of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation. After enclosure agricultural improvements could be carried out through bringing more land into use, leading to a greater prosperity and subsequent rise in population: changes were coincidental to enclosure. Informal tenants' rights were lost as rights were allotted to landlords in enclosure. Those without rights lost privileges such as fuel, animal-grazing, gleaning and freedom to roam on common-land, causing hardship. However many had lost common rights earlier or were too poor to afford animals. Common rights could be sold or inherited separately from related buildings, and stinted commons had reduced pasture-rights. Enclosure was blamed for driving English peasants from the countryside to work in urban industries but migration was a long-standing drift for work and opportunities increased migration between rural and urban areas at this time. Migration was complex and it is difficult to calculate the extent of choice. Enormous population-growth, increased travel on good enclosure roads, a growth in independence and new prospects must have had an unsettling effect on a population steeped in agricultural tradition. The landless labourer was seen as losing his independence and aspirations but there already existed a reasonably affluent landless class: before enclosure class-divisions existed, not solely based on land-ownership. Enclosure meant the eviction of squatters living on or near commons, and loss of their part-time employment but records of parish financial assistance are poor. There may have been more dependency on charity by villagers no longer self-sufficient but agricultural depression and wheat prices rather than enclosure created poverty: the

[98]HUL DDSY(4)10/2 Rental book 1823-49, HUL DDSY (4)/10/4 Cottage rental book 1832-49: a pauper from Cottingham, and an agricultural labourer from Norton, from the 1851 census.

1834 Poor Law later came in at a bad time for falling wheat prices following depression since the 1820s rather than at a time of much enclosure. The loss of the communal working of the fields to the church's calendar and traditional seasons' activities may have removed a sense of community .

Agriculture.

Without enclosure and subsequent agricultural improvement, England may not have been able to feed its growing industrial population.[99] In 1500 four-fifths of the national workforce was farming, down to a third of the population by 1800 and the rest in industry, putting great pressure on farmers to supply the country's food. Agricultural output increased two and a half times between 1700 and 1850 and was responsible for supporting huge population-growth. Industrial revolution and economic growth could not have taken place without agricultural growth to sustain it.[100] Between 1750 to 1850, food production doubled but the population trebled, increasing by thirteen million people and food was imported to feed the rest.[101] The Napoleonic wars halted the growing import of cereals by 1793 and British gentry and aristocratic landowners patriotically, paternalistically and self-interestedly set about feeding the country.[102] Agricultural output increased as a result of improved techniques in farming, mechanisation and enclosure, the most important changes coming through improved soil-fertility, improved livestock-breeding and the introduction of new fodder-crops such as turnips and swede from the Low Countries, widely used by the 1750s allowing wasteland to be cultivated. They brought an increase in livestock by enabling farmers to feed animals in winter.[103] Farmers with a

[99] A. Howkins, 'John Bull was a Farmer', *Fruitful Earth,* (BBC 2 Television, November 1999.)
[100] M. Overton, ibid.
[101] G. E. Mingay, *Land and Society in England 1750-1980,* (Longman 1994), pp. 20,22.
[102] A. Howkins, op.cit.
[103] R. Brown, *Revolution, Radicalism and reform,* pp. 130-1.

flexible and adaptable approach and larger estates with money and land with which to experiment were the most successful. Farmers read new literature and attended agricultural shows exhibiting new equipment, well-bred animals, the advantages of drainage, fertilisers, crop-rotations and new farm-buildings.[104] Those who failed were often in poor-soil areas or had invested unwisely, over-stretching themselves at a time of depression and fluctuating prices. Light soils were more successful in raising cereal-yields as wheat yields increased 16% even in the 1815 to 1835 depression, and dairy prices rose.[105] The importance of soil-fertilisation was realised and included the use of animal-dung, town-waste and others such as soot, bones, slag, marl and lime. Enclosure brought increased productivity including a ten per cent increase in post-enclosure grain-production in Oxfordshire, Warwickshire and Northamptonshire. In order to produce food cheaply, agriculture became more scientific, moving to mixed-farming, arable and livestock, by the 1830s, and from 1840 onwards farming flourished.[106]

East Riding Agriculture.

The wide variety of soils in the East Riding produced differing results immediately after enclosure, some more successful than others. In the Holderness area, only a third of land was cultivated until tile-drainage improved the heavy wet soil but there was more grassland and greater numbers of cattle than on the Wolds. The vale of York had the same problems but areas of lighter soil were more successful.[107] In 1812, two-thirds of the Wolds was cultivated, only a third of Holderness and the Vale of Derwent, about a half to the south-east of the Riding, and less than a third of Howdenshire. Strickland found diverse conditions and achievements after enclosure but overall saw enclosure as beneficial. He praised the enclosure of good land, though

[104]G. E. Mingay, *Land and Society,* p. 36.
[105]E. J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State,* p. 143.
[106]R. Brown, *Revolution, Radicalism and reform,* pp. 130, 132, 134-5.
[107]Allison, *East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape,* p. 158.

was often censorious of the uses which the land was put to: the clay-lands were better used not for cereal-growing. He found that areas of sandy, barren and moor land around the Wolds did not sustain their initial productivity and did not make up for enclosure expenses.[108] Post-enclosure cultivation required extra horses and extra buildings to house them, as well as extra manure, which necessitated Wolds high barns with fold-yards for cattle. Wheel houses appeared whose power was used for various chopping and crushing tasks for feeding cattle.[109] Although technology is usually regarded as a feature of high farming from the 1840s onwards, the horse-drawn threshing-machine was used in Scotland from the early seventeenth century. Leatham saw one used in the East Riding in 1794, and Strickland found it in widespread use in 1815 on the large post-enclosure farms. As the century progressed, horse-power was gradually replaced by steam-power: the threshing-machine which had replaced the flail and winter hand-threshing, became steam-driven from the 1840s.[110] Although not in general use until the 1850s, the threshing-machine was used much earlier in the North to cut costs: agricultural-wages were higher because of urban competition for manpower. Some farmers used old methods of flail and hand-threshing to give their employees winter employment and so keep them from parish-support.[111] As agriculture blossomed, agricultural societies began: the Yorkshire, with its first show in York in 1838, annually increased its livestock and implements entries.[112]

Enclosure had brought enormous changes to East Riding roads and travelling-conditions: before enclosure when roads were often grass, produce was carried on horse-back and roads were wide in order to avoid black-spots in bad weather. Enclosure produced better, narrower and straighter, well-made roads providing for

[108]Strickland, pp. 91-3, 108, in Crowther, *De La Prynne,* p. 60.
[109]Allison, *The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape,* pp. 164-5.
[110]J. E. and P. A. Crowther, *The Diary of Robert Sharp of South Cave,* p. 78.
[111]Brown, *Revolution, Radicalism and reform,* p. 132.
[112]Hall*, Yorkshire Agricultural Society, p. 58.*

heavier carriages, which in turn demanded better road-surfaces. Many changes of road-width were experimented with over the history of enclosure: early ones allowed for sixty feet between ditches and a road width of twenty feet which was felt to be wasteful of land, and later road-spaces of forty or thirty feet allowing the same width of road. Although post-enclosure roadside grazing was sometimes rented to raise money for parish resources, wide verges were otherwise thought wasteful of land: they encouraged vagrants to camp, persuaded villagers to graze their animals and place manure, timber and rubbish there, which led to damage to fencing, and was unpleasant for neighbouring landowners.[113] However in some areas they offered much-needed extra grazing as more land changed from agricultural use: various quarries produced minerals, slate, gravel, sand brick-clay and timber, and land was lost to canals and railways.[114]

There was relatively little ancient woodland remaining in the Riding at the time of enclosure and that was only in certain areas where its existence depended on the state of the soil and the work of the landowner. The most ancient woodland in the Riding to be found in the Ouse and Derwent area where there were extensive woods such as the mature oaks of Thompson of Escrick, and other woodlands at Seaton, Grimthorpe, Scoreby and Kexby, and belonging to the Earl of Egremont, as well as smaller woods of oak and ash. In Buckrose to the west of the Wolds was Settrington Wood of ash and oak belonging to Lady Masterman Sykes, as well as woods at Howsham and Firby. Holderness clay soil had not produced any woods apart from those at Rise, and with good oak but poor ash because of the soil and at Burton Constable where an ancient wood was removed leaving a small wood of oak and ash. Beverley's West-Woods had been removed by the Bishop of Durham or his lessees.[115] In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Wolds landscape changed considerably

[113]Strickland, p. 266, Crowther, *De La Prynne,* p. 63.
[114]G. E. Mingay, *Rural Life in Victorian England,* p. 29.
[115]Strickland, p. 175, Crowther, *De La Prynne,* pp. 61-62.

under enclosure as large straight-edged fields were enclosed by thorn-bushes, elder, or willow where the water-table was very high.[116] After enclosure woodland was extensively planted by landowners: as well as quickset used around Wolds allotments, plantations of Scotch pine, spruce, larch, beech and ash were planted over the Wolds. Large woodlands were established at Sledmere, Boynton, Kilnwick Percy, Welton and Wintringham and on the lower slopes at Neswick and Bishop Burton. On the lower Wolds and in the vale of York and Holderness oak and elm were commonly used in the hedges but such widespread tree-planting did not take place in Holderness, and only on the lighter soil areas of the vale of York.[117] Robert Grimston of Neswick and Sir George Strickland of Boynton had begun planting around the 1770s but following Sir Christopher Sykes' later extensive planting, many others continued, some hoping to make a profit. In 1810 Sir Mark Sykes was continuing the work of himself and his late father to create a two thousand acre wood at Settrington and district, with five thousand trees per acre supplied and planted by a nurseryman but the rise in the cost of labour, rent and other costs raised the expense of the project.[118]

Wolds Agriculture.

The Sykes of Sledmere are renowned for transforming the Wolds although other landowners were doing the same to a smaller extent, for example the Legards of Ganton and the Osbaldestons of Hunmanby.[119] The arable-land of the High Wolds villages, with its thin layer of soil on top of the chalk, enclosed before 1790, initially produced less corn than before enclosure. Outfields were not improved because of lack of manure, and sheep-walks and pastures which had never been ploughed and were noted for their grassland, successfully produced good corn for a few years but later were becoming unproductive. Enclosure fencing was neglected and rotten and

[116] Ibid, p. 63.
[117] Allison, *East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape,* p. 159.
[118] Strickland, p. 181, Crowther, p. 62.
[119] Harris, *Rural Landscape,* p. 126.

enclosure-hedges eaten by sheep had not grown properly.[120] Wolds farmers basically followed the Norfolk rotation system of barley, seeds, wheat and turnips but with variations according to individual circumstances of geography and soil. Wheat gradually became more widespread on the Wolds although more successful in a clay-soil. Despite Strickland's early reservations, comparison of Wolds arable acreage in the 1801 crop returns and in the 1840s Tithe Surveys indicated that in some villages yields increased two or three times over.[121] Lime, chalk, bones and town-refuse for soil-improvement was transported by river to more remote areas of the county, and after the Driffield to Malton railway was opened in 1853, to certain villages on the high Wolds. Carriers transported these goods from railway-stations to farmers and carried farm-produce to market.[122]

[120]Strickland, pp. 91-3, 108, cited in Crowther, *De La Prynne*, p. 60; Allison*, East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape,* p. 158.
[121]Harris, *Rural Landscape,* pp. 102-3.
[122]Ibid*,* p. 104

Table 4.15: Arable acreage in 1801 crop returns and 1840s tithe survey

	1801	c1840
Cherry Burton	1222	2683
Cowlam	476	1564
Gt. and Little Driffield	1954	3853
Foxholes	564	2364
Sancton	1189	1800
Thorpe Basset	444	1200
Warter	2902	4700
Wharram le Street	826	1455

The new farming on the Wolds was mainly arable and by 1850 grass was rare on the high Wolds except on the sides of dry valleys and close to farmsteads where it was useful at lambing-time and for providing shelter for dairy-cattle. Villages with the higher proportion of grassland were either pre-enclosure open-field systems or ones with rabbit-warrens.[123] In 1810 about twenty East Riding rabbit-warrens remained, covering about twenty thousand acres but were about to disappear. Rabbits, thought to be unprofitable, were unwelcome as they invaded neighbouring land and encouraged poachers.[124] Some criticised the scientific farming for the loss of mixed farming and crops such as chicory, teazles, flax and sainfoin, and the destruction of wildlife, rabbits and wolves, amazingly surviving in the nineteenth-century.[125] Although enclosure is held responsible for restricting variety in agriculture, Rev. Henry Woodcock later referred to Alderney and Kerry cows, Southdown and Leicester sheep, pigs, poultry, ducks, geese, harvest ale, onions, beans, potatoes, cabbage and rhubarb though how widespread is unknown.[126] Sheep continued to be an important basis of farming after enclosure, especially on the Wolds. Although cattle became more numerous in the county as the century progressed, Wolds farms only kept a few

[123]Ibid, pp. 100-2.
[124]Strickland, p. 246, in Crowther, *De La Prynne,* p. 63.
[125]C. Hayfield cited in R. Muir, *The Yorkshire Countryside, A Landscape History*, (Keele 1997), p. 223.
[126]Woodcock, *Piety,* p. 211.

for fattening in winter in the yards and for supplying dairy produce for the large households.[127] Improved livestock-breeding included the introduction of shorthorn cattle. Leicester sheep remained popular and sales attracted great attention, as with the sale of the Tatton Sykes' flocks following his death in 1863.[128] Instead of permanent and oatfield grass, whereby sheep were kept on pastures and folded on harvested fields to fertilise the soil, sown grasses, turnips and swede, and linseed oil-cake now provided their feed. Corn and sheep, roots and seeds, the basis of the Norfolk rotation, remained the essence of chalk-soil Wolds agriculture although the farming methods changed. Arable-fields took over the countryside and wheat increased in importance while the rabbit-warrens disappeared.[129]

The new Wolds farmsteads away from the village-centres were built to a set simple plan: the house to the west, the barn and stables to the north, 'stack hovels' for cattle and implements on the east, all around a square straw yard which was open to the south. A high brick wall with tall boarded gates protected the farmstead from the environment, as did a belt of trees from the prevailing wind, and there was a piece of sheltered pasture-land for lambing. The enlarged pantiled roof collected rain-water. These farmsteads stood alone in the fields with large holdings: up to two thousand acres at Mowthorp and Cowlam.[130] Strickland welcomed the building of farmsteads away from the village-centres as more appropriate buildings erected in better situations, but found that miserable cottages in the Wolds villages were allowed to decay and were not all being replaced. More expensive brick-and-pantiles cottages were built in other areas of the Riding which justified their expense by savings in labour and thatch and reduced the risk of fire.[131] The post-enclosure building which

[127]Harris, *Rural Landscape*, p. 105.
[128]*Malton Messenger*, October 10, 1863.
[129]Harris, *Rural Landscape,* pp. 104, 126, 106.
[130]W. Marshall, *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire,* (1796*),* p. 241, in Janice Crowther, (ed.) *Description of East Yorkshire: De La Pryme to Head,* (EYLHS 1992), p. 28.
[131]Strickland, p. 39, in Crowther, *De La Prynne,* pp. 58-9.

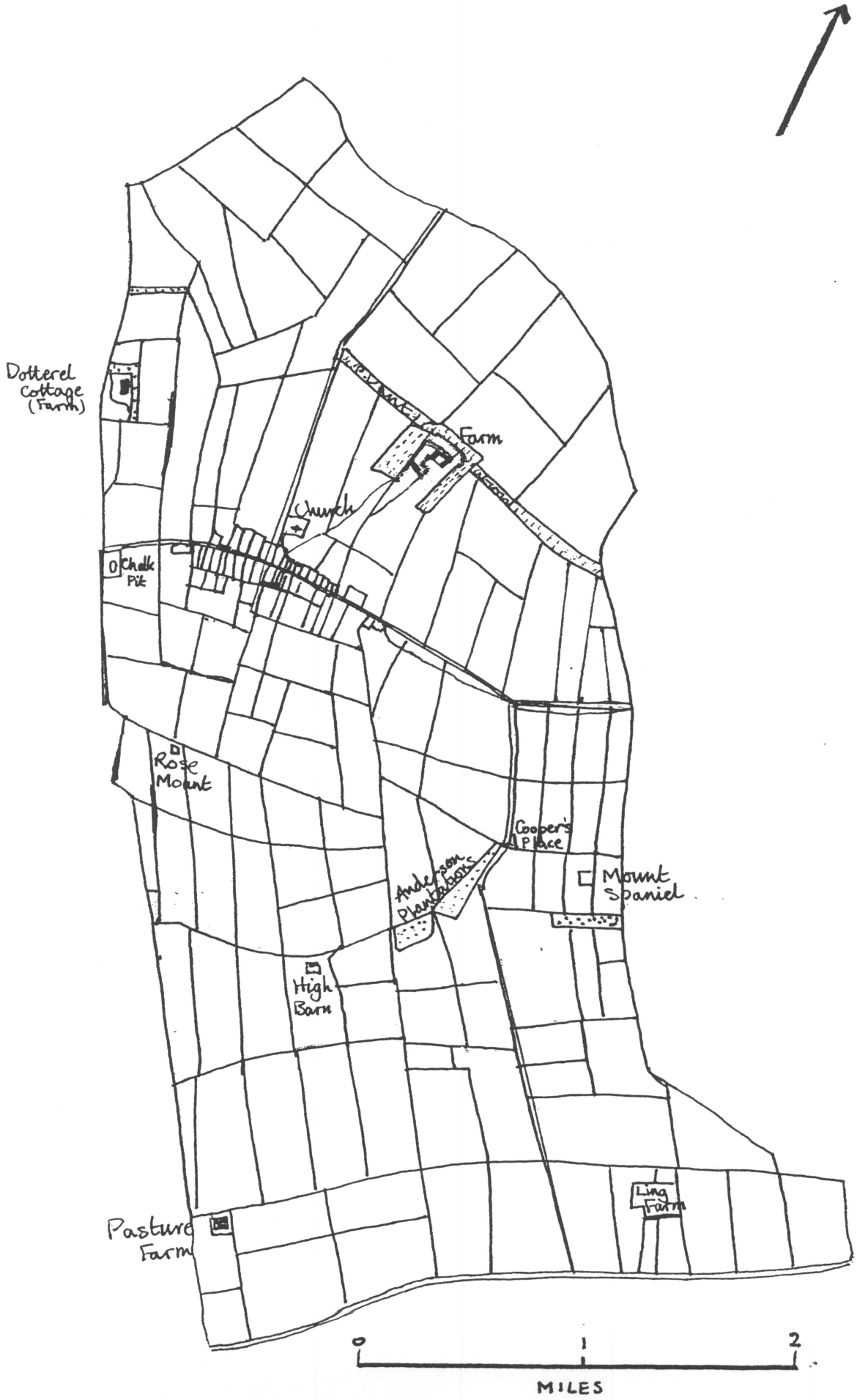
took place, for example the rebuilding of new limestone houses in Settrington, showed that proprietors had sufficient capital to make improvements.[132] Some labourers' cottages had small gardens attached in which they grew vegetables and fruit-trees for their own use and not for market: they were able to keep a pig and some a cow.[133] Rebuilding of village homes depended on the affluence and willingness of the landowners. Some landowners restricted house-building to avoid the risk of paying the poor-rate: homes in Kirby Grindalythe in 1755 later disappeared.[134]

Weaverthorpe, Helperthorpe and East and West Lutton.

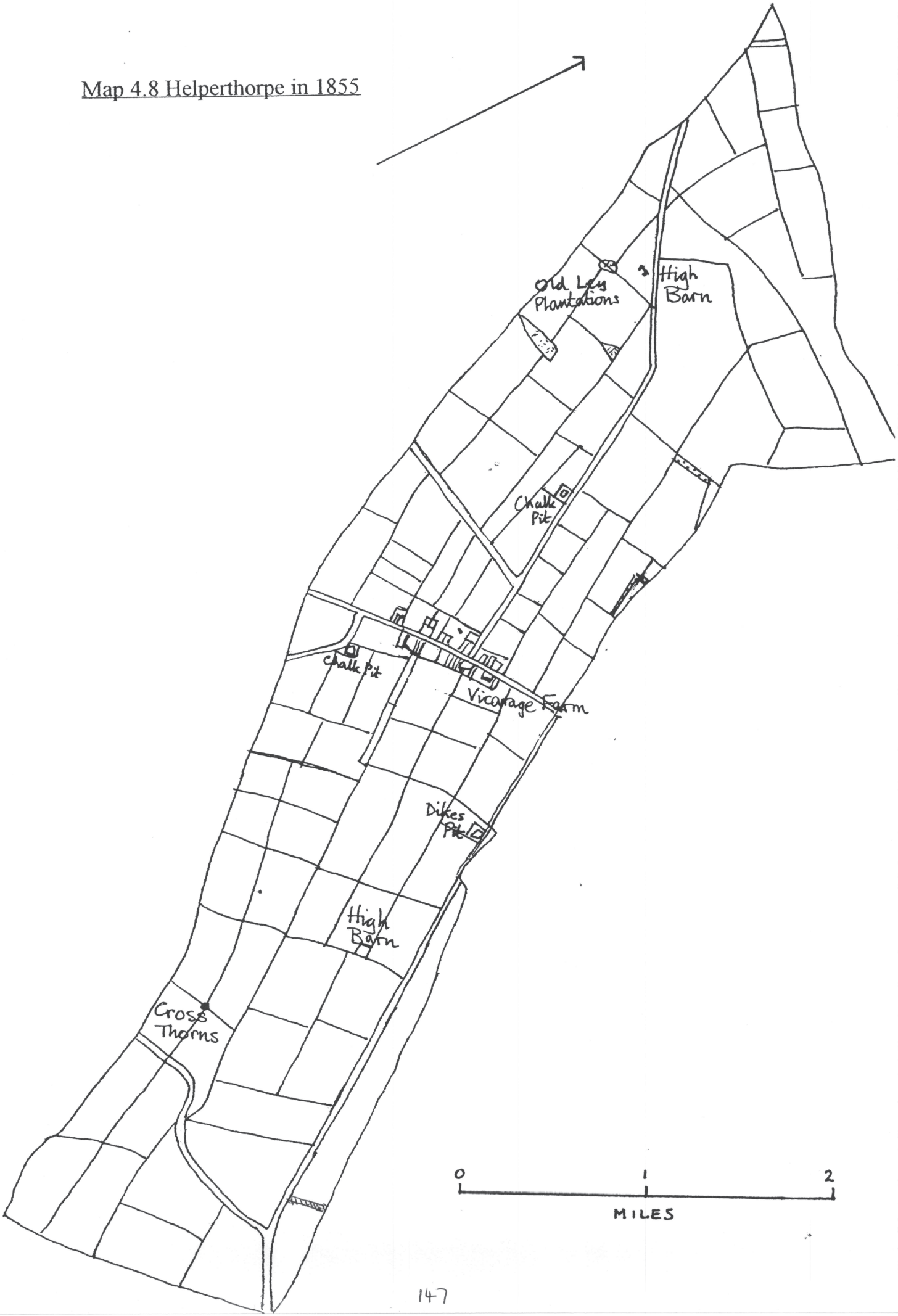
There is little evidence of crop-production figures after enclosure but evidence points to long-term prosperity. Changes were long-term because of enclosure-costs and agricultural recession but large allotments were divided and eventually farmsteads and high-barns erected away from village-centres. In 1805-6 Richard Langley spent nearly £3,000 on Dean and Chapter land, fencing several allotments, building a farmhouse, outbuildings and ponds. Richard Kirby built Dotterill Cottage around 1814, though subsequently went bankrupt. It is not clear which farms were out of the villages: by 1851 Weaverthorpe had fourteen holdings, Helperthorpe had five holdings, West Lutton five holdings, and East Lutton four holdings, all between fourteen and five hundred acres.[135] Land was turned to arable growing oats, turnips, grass-seeds, barley and wheat, with some pasture-land and plantations. An anonymous letter-writer commended Sir Mark Sykes in 1819 for 'well-conditioned farms, admirable buildings, cornfields, rich meadows and all the artificial grasses...'[136] The Dean and Chapter land's numerous closes, fields and pastures, were mainly arable

[132]Crowther Ph.D. thesis, p. 544.
[133]Strickland, pp. 174, 285, in Crowther, *De La Prynne,* pp.61, 65.
[134]Allison*, East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, p. 193.
[135]1851 Census, Beverley Archives.
[136]*Yorkshire Gazette* 1819.

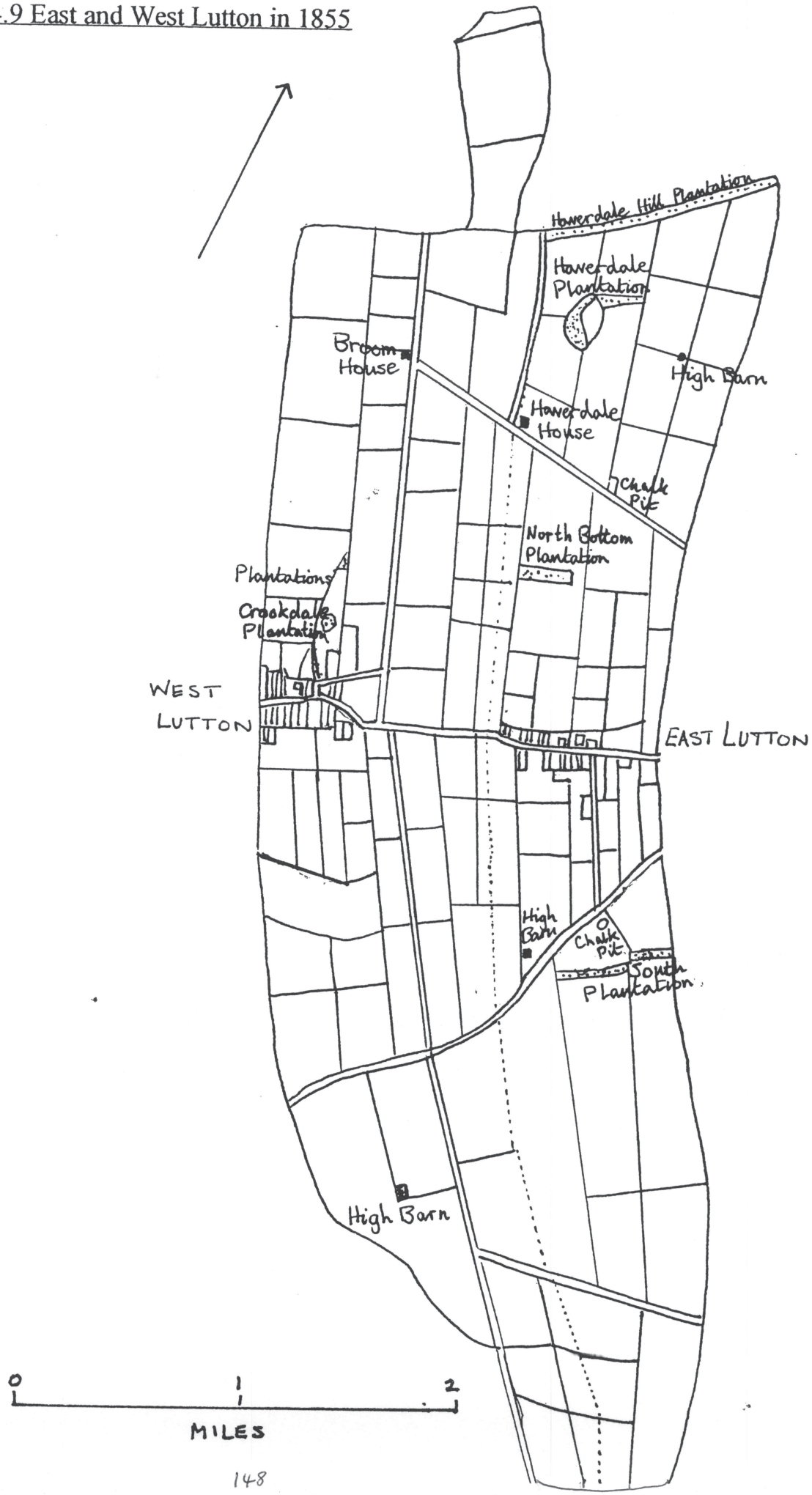
Map 4.7 Weaverthorpe in 1855



Map 4.8 Helperthorpe in 1855



Map4.9 East and West Lutton in 1855



producing the usual crops: about 1,100 acres of arable-land, thirty acres of pasture, forty-five acres of cottage allotments, under two acres for The Ling Farmstead, and one acre of woodland.[137]

Table 4.16: Dean and Chapter acreage 1853.

Village	Acreage	
Weaverthorpe	481-1-35	Arable
	1-2-10	Ling farm homestead
	19-0-5	Pasture
	1-0-31	Woodland
Helperthorpe	200-3-21	Arable
	43-3-26	Cottagers' allotments.
East Lutton	169-2-33	Arable
	5-1-8	Pasture
West Lutton	256-1-5	Arable
	6-1-31	Pasture

The 1832 sale of 244 acres of Ness land described a healthy part of the country abounding with game and having two hunts. The land, including eleven acres of thriving plantations, was well-cultivated with fine productive land, producing ample crops of turnips, barley, oats, wheat and grass-seeds. Tenants' cottages had been replaced by brick ones.[138]

Sir Tatton Sykes placed the highest importance on soil-management and from 1823 allowed fifteen per cent off farmers' rents for bones.[139] In a Weaverthorpe, probably typical, 1855 lease-agreement, he charged an extra £30 annual rental for every acre burnt or converted from grass to tillage and an extra £20 for every acre cropped with woad, flax, hemp, cole, rape, turnip or mustard. Land had to be ploughed and sown in

[137]CC. D/C 9 and 10, Wea 1. Borthwick Institute, York: 1827, 1841, 1853.
[138]BEV DDBV 55/39.
[139]HUL DDSY(4) 10/2: Sir Tatton Sykes' rental book 1823-49.

the best methods of husbandry, adapted to the nature of soil and practised in the area. Over six years crops were planted in alternate years: seeds, fallow, turnips or rape in one year, and corn in the other. Two corn crops must never be in immediate succession: peas, beans and tares were considered as corn. Hay, straw, manure, soil, ashes, dung or compost would not be removed but converted into manure for the farm (except manure from the previous year which was taken together with unused hay and straw by Sykes.) Straw, stubble, couch or twitch grass could not be burnt; all weeds had to be destroyed, and no more than one acre of potatoes could be grown any year. Besides the spreading of all manure produced, twelve bushels of ground bones were to be spread on every acre sown with turnips or rape and compensation would be paid for any lime or marling limestone used.[140] Tatton Sykes is often credited with the invention of bone-meal fertiliser, although it was in common use in the 1830s and 1840s and bone-mills had been erected from the 1820s.[141]

Land-rentals increased slightly over the years in these four villages: Sykes' land was leased around sixteen shillings per acre in 1812 but eighteen shillings in 1854; Dotterill's 160 arable acres and sixty-five of grassland at nineteen shillings in 1855.[142] Dean and Chapter land in 1806 was an average of nearly seventeen shillings per acre, in 1811 twenty-two shillings per acre and in 1841 was between ten and thirty shillings per acre, average about twenty-five shillings per acre.[143] Farmers appear to have prospered: although one notice-to-quit was issued, from a Sykes' farm in 1820.[144] It is impossible to distinguish the importance of livestock after enclosure. Inventories do not exist after 1803, the time of the enclosure-award in these villages, but about a third of the four villages' wills from 1803 to 1833 listed stock and corn, of which half

[140] HUL DDSY 70/147.
[141] J. E. and P.A. Crowther, *The Diary of Robert Sharp of South Cave*, p. 42.
[142] HUL DDSY/70/132-142, 71.
[143] CC. D/C 9 and 10, Wea 1.: 1811, 1841.
[144] HUL DDSY/70/71.

mentioned cattle but none identified sheep.[145]

Records illustrate the importance of agriculture in these villages over at least half of the century: as late as 1841 nearly three-quarters of households in Helperthorpe and over half in the other villages were concerned with farming either as agricultural workers or farmers, owners or tenants, which indicates the abundance of work available. The rise in population and heavy immigration after enclosure, especially in Weaverthorpe, indicate agricultural prosperity. Enclosure was the important element in both the initial and long-term success of these flourishing villages which developed from pre-enclosure outlying parts of estates into individually thriving agricultural communities.

How much of the agricultural growth was only achievable through enclosure?
Was there any alternative?

Enclosure was the efficient way of transforming unprofitable Wolds pasture, commons and waste into production as valuable arable land. Enclosure was one of the improvements used to bring a higher yield, better food production and newer crops, without the waste of fallow: Wolds wheat production increased, replacing barley for finer bread-flour. The careful leasing of Wolds land to good tenants who enriched the soil with bone and lime ensured successful farming. Enclosure produced an expansion of new ideas as many old practices were swept away: sheep had traditionally been folded on the fields to produce manure but the increase in winter-cattle, fed on swedes and turnips, meant that beneficial manure was produced during winter. Fencing, hedging and ditches gave the landowner independence away from the constrictive and controversial communal field-strips. Large owners consolidated their land and built farmsteads with large numbers of workers on land away from the village-centres. Small-owners' plots were placed side-by-side in neighbouring villages. The cottager

[145]Dean and Chapter wills, Borthwick Institute, York.

was liberated to earn a satisfactory wage and become self-supporting instead of having commons-rights, many of which he may have already renounced. Enclosure produced work on fencing, hedging and ditching, and road-making. Work-intensive cultivation, planting many crops with no fallow and extra fertilisation, required extra manpower. New roads brought improved travelling-conditions and better communications with easier access to markets. Post-enclosure pits provided chalk for homes and roads and to reduce the soil-acidity. Many new houses appeared in these Wolds villages to accommodate the increasing population, although some increase was absorbed by adding extra rooms to existing houses for larger households: some farm-houses remained in the village centres. Enclosure-awards authorized the use of wells and well-regulated ponds for animals. Plantations were grown as wind-breaks to shelter sheep. Enclosure came at the end of agricultural consolidation when changes had begun already taken place. The alternative to enclosure would have been to continue with an antiquated agriculture. Valuable land was ill-used as fallow, waste, or strip-markers when it was badly-needed to increase crop-production. The only way forward was to enclose. The question to be asked was 'Why did they not enclose earlier?'

Chapter 5.

CONCLUSION.

Enclosure has long been held responsible for creating rural change but it is the contention of this study that enclosure was coincidental to those changes. Enclosure furthered the process of agricultural change by formalising agricultural innovations which were changing the countryside and rural society. Enclosure, which used to be thought of as introducing major changes leading to an agricultural revolution, actually came at the end of a long period of improvements. An agricultural evolution had been taking place over a long period of time. Agriculture responded to the demands of an increasing population: to greatly improve production and to make the prime use of all land. The large landowners were the instigators of agricultural improvements. Through vast investment in new farming methods, new crops, soil-fertilisation and the use of machinery, they revolutionised agriculture, increasing production to feed a growing population, and at the same time brought about increased employment. When the landless did suffer loss through enclosure, although the actual loss is difficult to quantify through lack of records, the overall benefits to the majority of the population appear to have outweighed the disadvantages.

The agriculture of these four Wolds villages seemed to vary from the national picture. From an antiquated pre-enclosure open-field system, a century behind East Anglia, the large heavily-manned post-enclosure farmsteads appeared when there were fewer farm-servants elsewhere and living-in farmworkers were disappearing to be replaced by temporary day-workers. Wolds agriculture developed to become one of the most successful in the country: farmers with abundant work could afford workers when others were endeavouring to cut costs. These four villages of the Great Wolds Valley were located on good well-drained light soil, with an adequate source of water and protected in the valley from the worst of the harsh Wolds weather. Only part of this land was cultivated, because of post-medieval neglect. Enclosure was the means of bringing the rest of the area into cultivation by dividing the land and giving each

owner their individual allotment. It meant the end of communal farming but released owners to follow their own modern ideas and practices. The unfairness of enclosure came with the division of the land: only owners with legal rights were allotted land. There was no longer common-land for the villagers to share, for grazing animals, for gleaning after harvest, for fuel, recreation or any communal activity, although it is not known to what extent these practices existed before enclosure. Those without home-ownership or a legal right had to rent any land they required. Those who could not afford to, had to survive without, or leave. Those who could not support themselves would be dependent on the parish.

The assessment of enclosure, of both economic and social effects, depends on the situation previously and whether enclosure was responsible for those changes. Enclosure was an individual event concerning a specific location and the circumstances of that location: land, soil, owners, tradition and history, as well as reasons, hopes and aims for what enclosure could achieve. It was a huge investment for all concerned and in these two enclosures, Weaverthorpe with Helperthorpe, and East and West Lutton, there appear to have been no objections. Enclosure marked a tremendous turning-point for these four closely-knit villages. It completely transformed the villages physically and brought them out of their traditional past into the modern future of the nineteenth-century. The entire land, closes, garths, infields, outfields, commons, leys and pastures, was taken from its ancient ways, stripped of the burden of the tithe, and divided out in a practical and rational allotment to all of those with a genuine legal right to the land. The allotment-holders of the villages were a various mixture of non-resident gentry, yeomen and small owner-occupiers and, as with the landowners of the Riding, they remained much the same as before enclosure for at least thirty years after. There were a few small sales before enclosure and perhaps a few in the coincidental agricultural depression afterwards, which was after all the rationale behind enclosure, but generally ownership remained within the families. Confusion over numbers occurred when land-tax records omitted the small

owners. It was not the smallest who lost their land: they appear to have survived probably through mortgaging with the communal support of family and friends. The owners who disappeared seem to have been the smaller non-resident gentry, once-residents with long-inherited land and with interests in various places. A study of their businesses might reveal explanations. The landless cottagers ought to have been the most affected by loss of common-land and its amenities but there are no records of their views: only suppositions can be made. Helperthorpe Cow Moor was freely used before enclosure for grazing sheep and horses using the right of average but it is not known what happened afterwards: as this was seasonal they must have previously had somewhere else to keep animals. Allotments were available for rent from the Dean and Chapter land and others. It is not known if any hardship was caused: poor law records are unavailable but later ones appear to contain names of new residents and the sick normally resident elsewhere. The Church gained a great deal of land from enclosure and from commutation of tithes: the Dean and Chapter lease-fines increased and the vicarage-land was leased and little is known until the vicar's debts in the 1840s.

If population growth and immigration are signs of prosperity then enclosure was successful. Post-enclosure population of the villages rose dramatically but not uniformly. Luttons Ambo's population, the largest population of these villages in 1801, rose almost a quarter by 1811 but was overtaken by Weaverthorpe's rise of a half, while Helperthorpe's almost doubled. In the agricultural depression that followed, the populations rose only around a fifth from 1811 to 1821 with Helperthorpe slightly less. As agriculture improved, Weaverthorpe's rise continued until in 1851, over three times larger than before enclosure; Luttons Ambo's growth slowed down but had doubled by 1851; and Helperthorpe's, although more than double, was almost the same as in 1811 through persistent migration. The social structure of the villages was strongly affected by the reorganisation of land. Weaverthorpe as the largest village developed the most urban-type amenities and

services: once established as such it attracted more businesses and immigrants. Helperthorpe, with a few large-owners, fluctuated in size but was always subject to out-migration by its young: perhaps there existed a housing-shortage encouraging day-labourers. West and East Lutton, owned by many small-owners, doubled in size by 1841 though West Lutton's population was twice that of East Lutton and had proportionally more farmers and craftsmen. Expansion of the cultivated area required a larger work-force and the building of farmsteads in the fields brought large numbers of young residents, mostly male, as well as more families to the village centres. By 1841 half of the population of the villages were under twenty years of age and two-thirds under thirty.

Household size increased after enclosure to an average of five or six by 1841 but there was a spread in each village from the small nuclear family to the very large farmsteads with several unmarried male residents. In Luttons Ambo half of the households held less than five members, in Weaverthorpe half held less than four: in Helperthorpe nearly a quarter held only three. Over the next decade the number containing one or two members rose: in Weaverthorpe almost trebling to a fifth of the total. Employment changed with the post-enclosure agriculture but, despite a wide range of occupations by the 1841 census, agriculture remained the main employment. In 1841 and 1851 the majority of the heads of household were concerned with farming, either as farmers or labourers, but the number of service or professional families were increasing with the rise in numbers of households. Farmers, agricultural labourers and agricultural workers made up two-thirds of East and West Lutton's workforce and three-quarters of Helperthorpe's, but just over half of Weaverthorpe's, where clothiers, services-providers, craftsmen, tradesmen, and white-collar and professionals made up the total. Female servants now made nearly a tenth or higher of these villages' workforce: the growing affluence of the villages produced a need for more servants, shopkeepers and tradesmen as well as surgeons, schoolteachers and other services. Although young people were migrating to the villages, there was also a movement

away, perhaps because of lack of opportunities or homes but also because the annual hiring-fairs and live-in farm servants continued to shape employment in this part of the world. Despite the out-migration, at the same time many of the craftsmen, tradesmen and those providing services came in from other areas.

Enclosure completely changed the Wolds countryside physically, from small nuclear villages surrounded by two or three informally-marked and communally-farmed fields, and beyond them, the tree-less leys and commons used for grazing animals. Instead the entire area was divided, fenced and ditched into straight-sided allotments, fertilised and sown with new crops: the role of sheep changed as the fields became mainly arable. Roads were straightened and new ones built, trees were planted and farmsteads were built away from the village. At first work was labour-intensive and horse-power was used: gradually technology took over and machines replaced horse and manpower for some activities. Efficiency was the means of advancement. Enclosure brought about the physical reconstruction of the villages, which led to much-needed agricultural changes which, as the villages were heavily dependent on agriculture, accelerated the inevitable social changes. The enclosure experience was undoubtedly beneficial to landowners large and small in the long-term, however difficult it may have been in the short-term depression which coincidently followed enclosure: the affect on the landless can only be surmised. There is no evidence of immediate hardship: many families appeared to remain and some later gained land, suggesting increased prosperity. The later heavy out-migration, coincidental with heavy in-migration particularly of the young, at a time when annual hiring-fairs continued to shape the structure of the labour market among young adults, suggests not eviction from the land but rather a search for new opportunities.

APPENDIX

The location of allotments.

Table 1: Weaverthorpe Owners.

	A-R-P	Where	Exchange from
Dean and Chapter	281-0-26	Common or cow pasture	
do	23-0-22	South field	
do	191-2-35	South field and pasture	
do	7-0-21		
Rev. R. Forrest.	1-2-4	Glebe Garth	
do	12-1-15	South field	
do	66-3-9	W. field	
Sir Mark Sykes	0-2-12	Garth	R. Langley
do	571-3-4	North field	
do	373-2-22	South field	
do	0-1-28	North field	
Richard Langley	0-1-34	ancient lanes-3	
do	0-3-9	Cottage/close-Cowper's Garth	Sir Mark Sykes
do	0-2-38	Esh Close (&£25)	Richard Topham
do	0-1-27	Garth or old enclosure	Sir Mark Sykes
do	0-1-22	Garth or old enclosure	Sir Mark Sykes
do	0-1-10	Garth or old enclosure	Sir Mark Sykes
do	0-1-20	Near blacksmith shop	
do	0-2-14	Sand Pit Close	Sir Mark Sykes
do	0-3-38	West Close	Sir Mark Sykes
do	319-1-35	West field	
do	3-0-12	South field	
do	631-0-4	South field	
Robert Carlile Broa	1-0-37	Cow Pasture	Ann Ness-purchase
Ann Ness	203-1-7	South field and Cow Pasture	
Richard Kirby	98-0-12	West field	
Overseers-Scarbor	37-2-10	South field	
Richard Topham	0-3-23	Cotts. with garths-2-Esh Close	Richard Langley
do	8-3-5	South field	
do	1-3-0	South field	Robt Bielby-purchase
George Posthill	2-3-22	South field	
John Bielby	1-1-21	South field	
Richard Clarkson	1-2-14	South field	
John Robson	1-1-30	South field	
Ann Robson	0-0-23	Garth	Sir Mark Sykes
do	0-3-38	South field	
do	0-0-28		Sir Mark Sykes
William Robson	1-2-10	South field	

APPENDIX

Table 2: Helperthorpe Owners.

	A-R-P	Where	Exchange.
Rev. Richard Forrest	0-1-12	Garths-2	Richard Langley
do	1-1-8	North field	
do	182-1-4	North field	
do	42-0-3	North field	48-2-0 (EL)
Dean and Chapter Lessee	145-1-0	Pasture	
do	99-2-38	South field	
Sir Mark Masterman Sykes	6-0-27	Cow Moor	
do	107-0-24	North field	
do	346-3-34	North field	
do	2-2-7	North field	do
do	1-2-23	North field	Richard Esh
do	0-1-16	Part Cook's Garth	Richard Langley
do	357-1-34	residue Cow Moor/ N. field	
do	2-2-26	West Close	do
Richard Langley	0-1-23	ancient enclosed land	Sir Mark Sykes
do	2-3-39	ancient enclosed land	do
do	0-3-12	Garth	Vicar
do	40-0-23	North field	
do	1-0-0	North field	do
do	115-2-36	Pasture-Help.	
do	431-1-22	S. field/Help. pasture	
do	104-1-8	S. field/Weav. pasture	
do	17-3-14	South field	
Richard Esh	338-0-8	S. field/Help. pasture	
do	1-2-16		Sir Mark Sykes
do	0-1-0		Richard Kirby
Richard Kirby	136-3-11	North field	
do	0-1-24	North field	Richard Esh

APPENDIX

Table 3: East Lutton Owners.

	A-R-P	Location	Exchange
Dean and Chapter Lessee	100-3-29	North side	
do	95-2-38	North side	
do	0-0-15	South side	
do	13-1-24	South side	
do	34-1-27	South side	
do	44-0-32	South side	
do	48-2-0	South side	Vicar-Help.
do	91-0-5	South side	
Rev. Richard Forrest	31-1-28	North side	
John Bell	0-0-24	Garth-N. side	Dean & Ch.
do	183-1-17	North side	
do	83-3-20	North side	
do	14-2-0	South side	
do	45-3-12	South side	
Richard Langley	12-0-11	South side	
do	48-2-27	South side	
Mrs. Jane Bell	92-0-20	North side	
do	252-2-23	South side	
Heirs of late John Ness	28-0-28	North side	
William Ness	126-1-29	North side	
Wm. Duke of Devonshire	13-0-0	South side	
Christopher Rousby	16-0-0	South side	
Charles and Ann Parke	3-1-0	South side	
James Bowman	2-2-34	South side	

APPENDIX

Table 4: West Lutton Owners

	A-R-P	Location
William Ness	0-0-12	Adj.St. Mary's Flatt
do	175-0-0	North side
do	5-3-34	do
do	0-0-36	do
Master/Usher Pocklington School	93-2-18	do
do	0-0-33	do
John Ness deceased	73-2-28	do
do	0-0-14	do
Sir George Strickland	8-2-19	North side
Thomas Sawdon	2-1-12	do
William Sawdon	71-2-28	do
do	12-2-37	do
do	0-0-14	do
do	186-0-10	South side
do	149-1-8	do
do	75-1-37	do
John Bell	51-3-26	South side
do	74-3-3	do
do	82-0-0	do
Thomas Thompson	1-0-28	South side
Richard Langley	1-2-1	do
Joseph Robson	1-1-4	South side

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